

Motivating the contents of UG

Proposals have traditionally come from characterizing a specific acquisition problem for a particular linguistic phenomenon, and describing the (UG) solution to that specific characterization.

Constraints on long-distance dependencies (Chomsky 1973, Huang 1982, Lasnik & Saito 1984, Pearl & Sprouse 2013a, 2013b, 2015) Where did Jack think Lily bought the necklace from __?

*Where did Jack think the necklace from ____ was too expensive?



Motivating the contents of UG

Proposals have traditionally come from characterizing a specific acquisition problem for a particular linguistic phenomenon, and describing the (UG) solution to that specific characterization.

> English anaphoric *one* representation (Baker 1978, Pearl & Mis 2011, 2016) Look – a red bottle! Do you see another *one*?



UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

Benefit of computational modeling: We can make sure the learning problem is characterized precisely enough to implement. It's not always obvious what pieces are missing until you try to build a model of the learning process. (Pearl 2014, Pearl & Sprouse 2015)



UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

How to evaluate a learning theory proposal:

See if it's successful when embedded in a model of the acquisition process for that learning problem.

UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

How to evaluate a learning theory proposal:

See if it's successful when embedded in a model of the acquisition process for that learning problem.



Recently, in computational modeling, we've seen the integration of rich hypothesis spaces with probabilistic/statistical learning mechanisms (Sakas & Fodor 2001, Yang 2004, Pearl 2011, Dillon et al. 2013, Pearl & Sprouse 2013, Pearl et al. 2014, Pearl & Mis 2016, among many others).

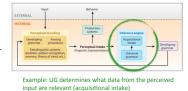
UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

How to evaluate a learning theory proposal:

See if it's successful when embedded in a model of the acquisition process for that learning problem.

We've also seen the development of more sophisticated acquisition frameworks that highlight the precise role of UG (Lidz & Gagliardi 2015).



The Lidz & Gagliardi (2015) acquisition frameworkImage: State of the state of

UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

How to evaluate a learning theory proposal:

See if it's successful when embedded in a model of the acquisition process for that learning problem.

This computational modeling feedback helps us refine our theories about both the knowledge representation the learning theory relies on and the acquisition process that uses that representation.



UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

How to evaluate a learning theory proposal: See if it's successful when embedded in a model of the acquisition process for that learning problem.

How to decide if any components of the proposal are UG: Examine the components of the successful learning solution.

UG proposals: Generation & evaluation

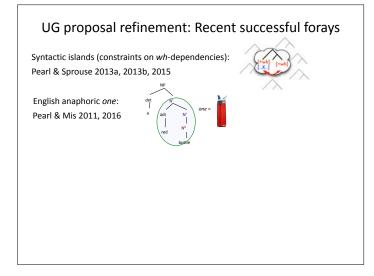
How to generate a learning theory proposal: Characterize the learning problem precisely and identify a potential solution.

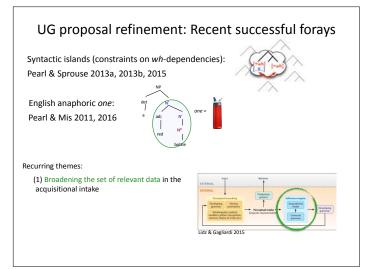
How to evaluate a learning theory proposal: See if it's successful when embedded in a model of the acquisition process for that learning problem.

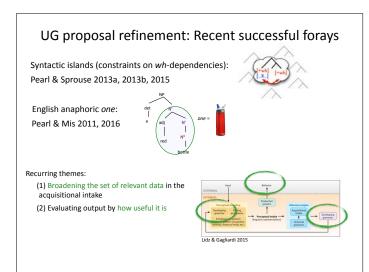
How to decide if any components of the proposal are UG: Examine the components of the successful learning solution.

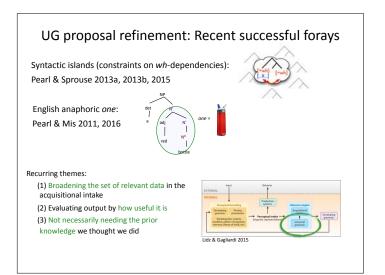
Are they necessarily both domain-specific and innate? Note: We may use "innate" as a placeholder until we can determine if it's impossible to derive the relevant component (Pearl 2014, Pearl & Mis 2016).

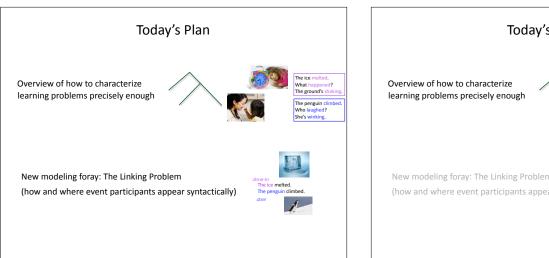




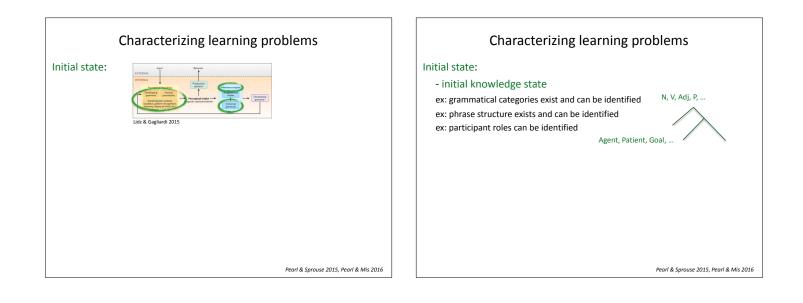


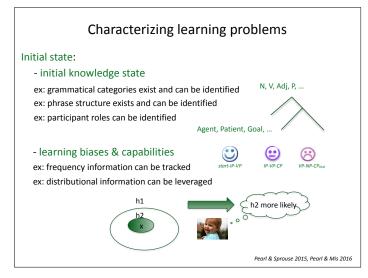


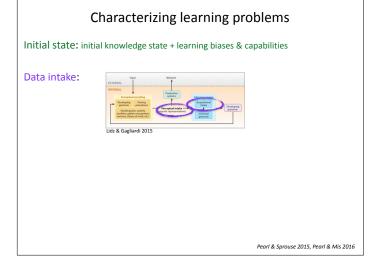


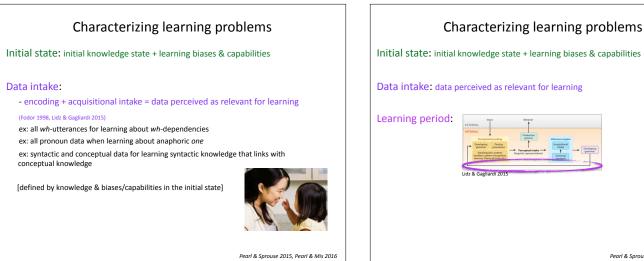




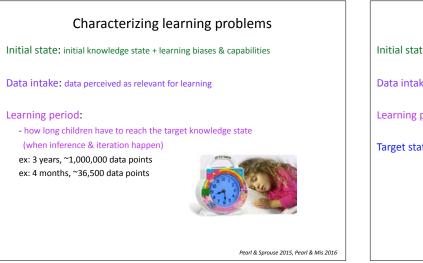


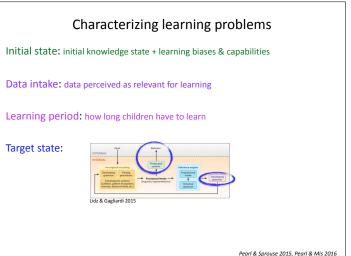


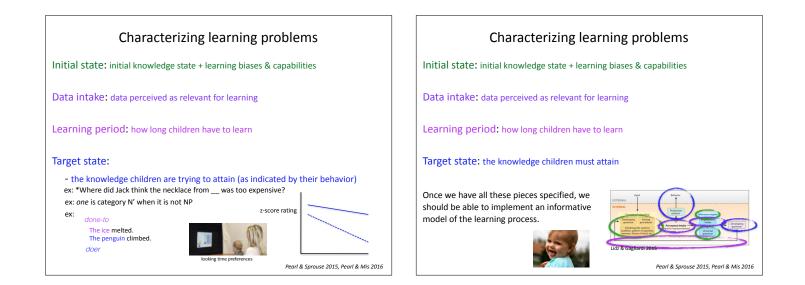


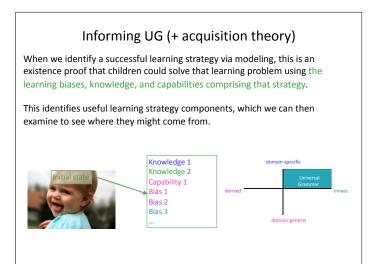


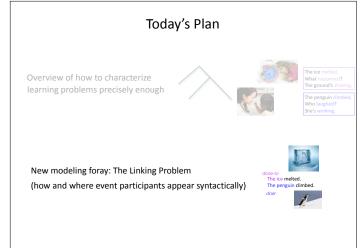
Pearl & Sprouse 2015, Pearl & Mis 2016

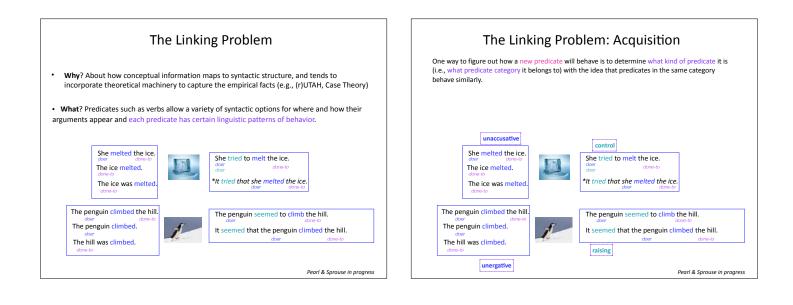


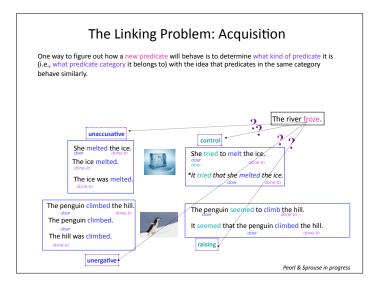


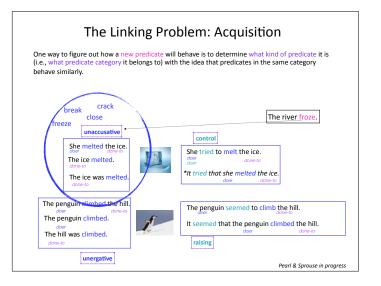


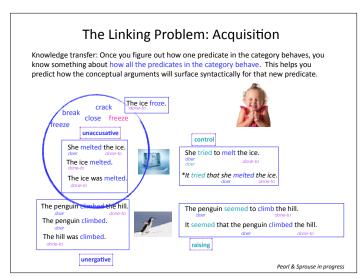


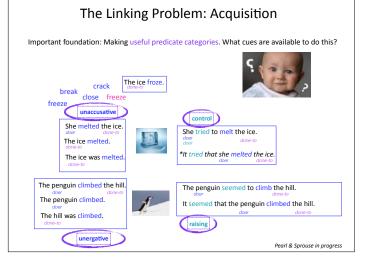










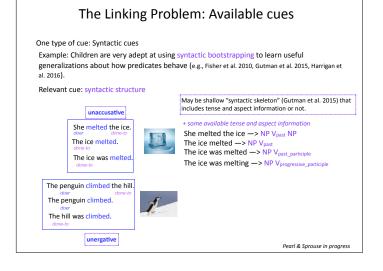


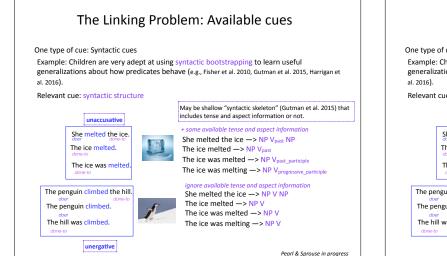
The Linking Problem: Available cues

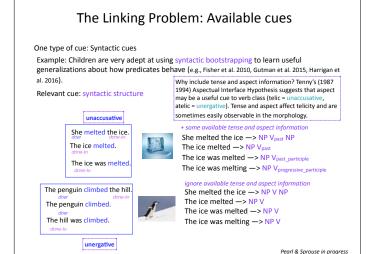
One type of cue: Syntactic cues

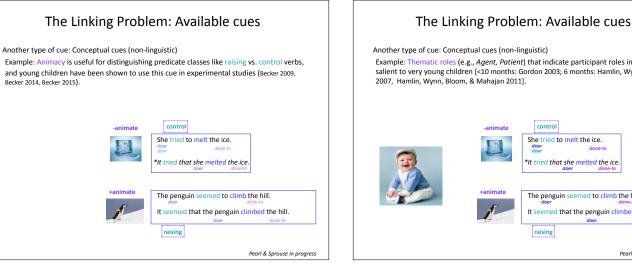
Example: Children are very adept at using syntactic bootstrapping to learn useful generalizations about how predicates behave (e.g., Fisher et al. 2010, Gutman et al. 2015, Harrigan et al. 2016) Relevant cue: syntactic structure

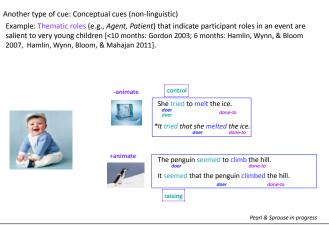


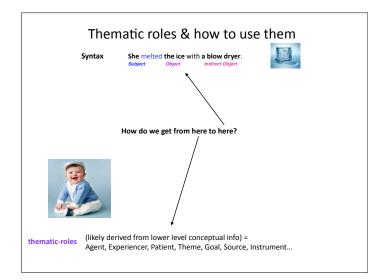


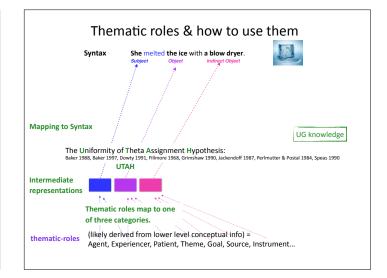


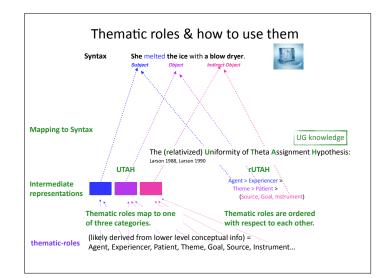


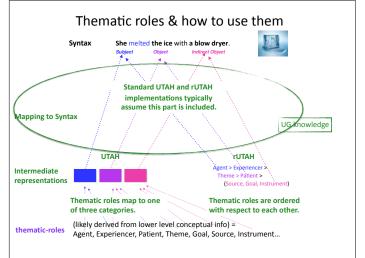


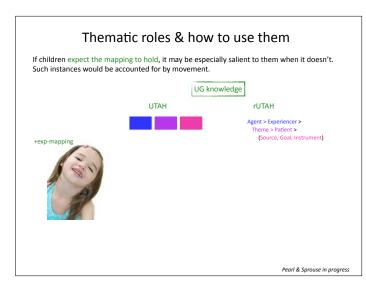


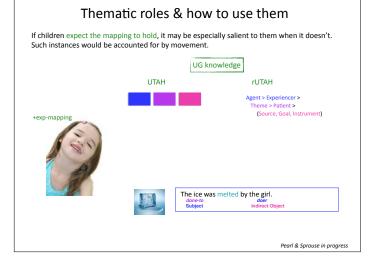


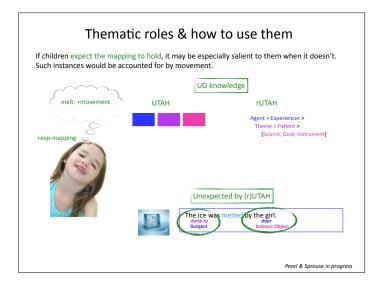


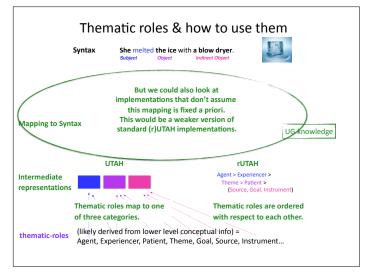


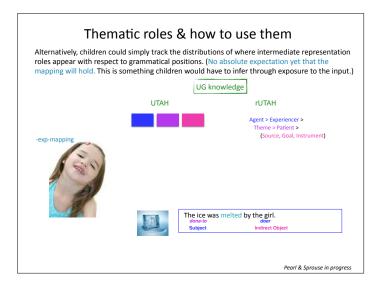


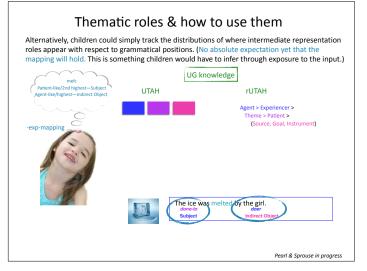


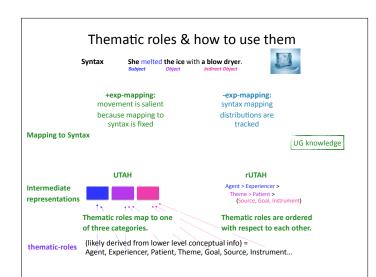


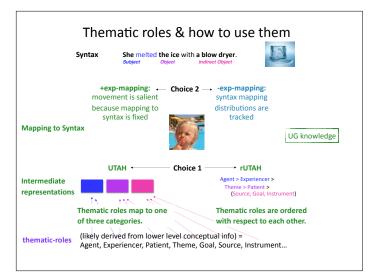


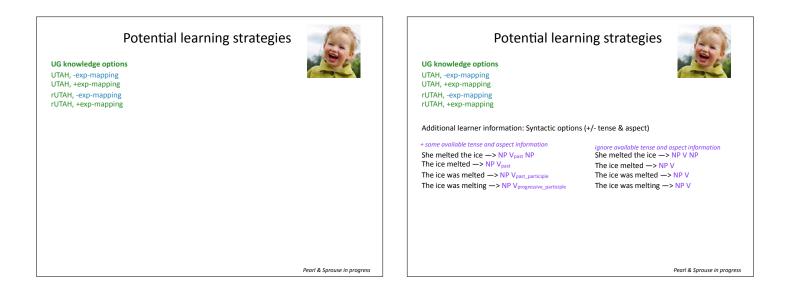




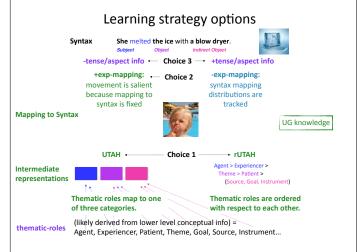


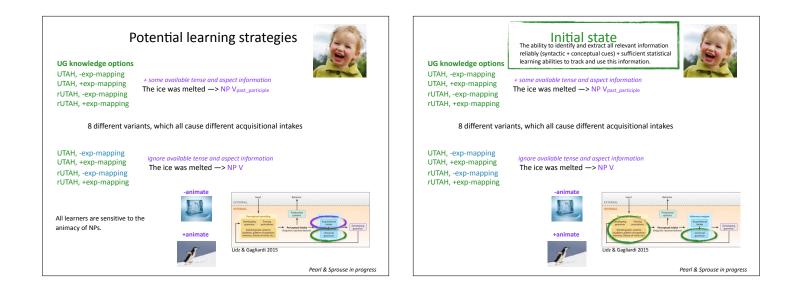


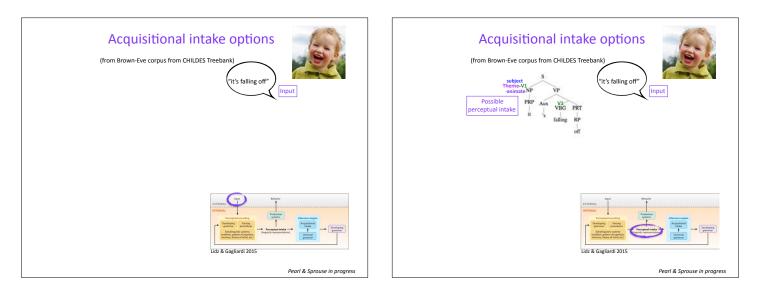


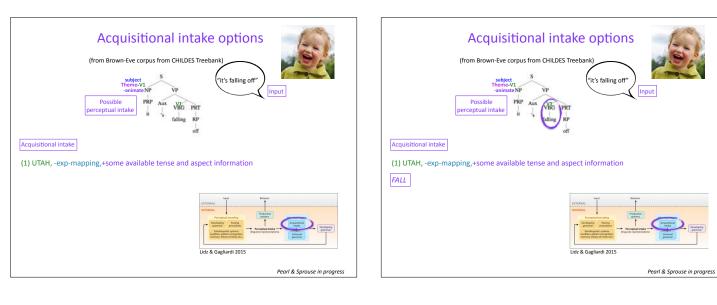


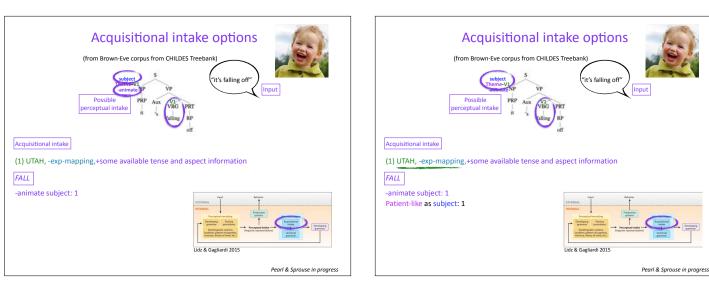
Potential learning strategies UG knowledge options UTAH, -exp-mapping + some available tense and aspect information UTAH, +exp-mapping The ice was melted -> NP V_{past_participle} rUTAH, -exp-mapping rUTAH, +exp-mapping 8 different variants, which all cause different acquisitional intakes UTAH, -exp-mapping re available tense and aspect information UTAH, +exp-mapping The ice was melted —> NP V rUTAH, -exp-mapping rUTAH, +exp-mapping Lidz & Gagliardi 2015 Pearl & Sprouse in progress

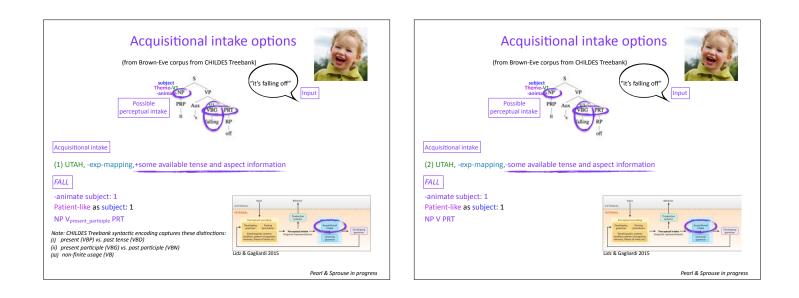


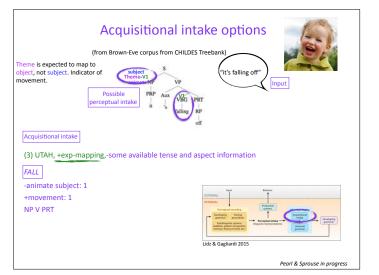


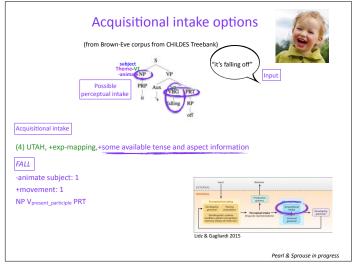


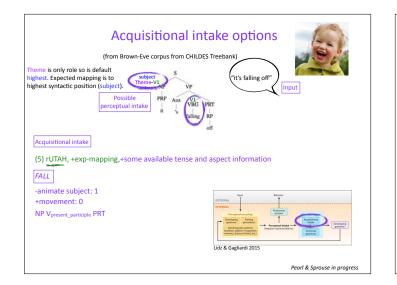


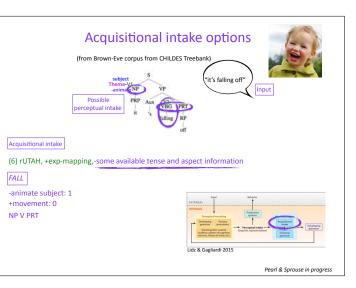


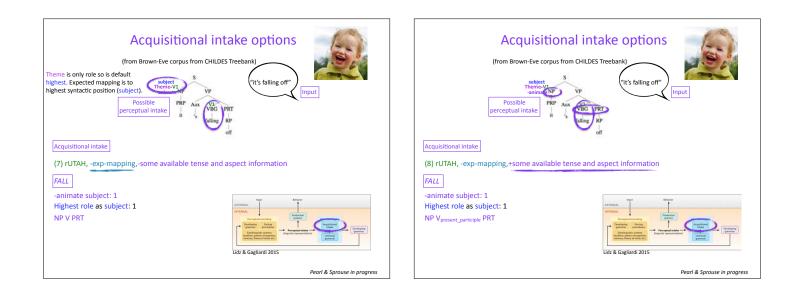


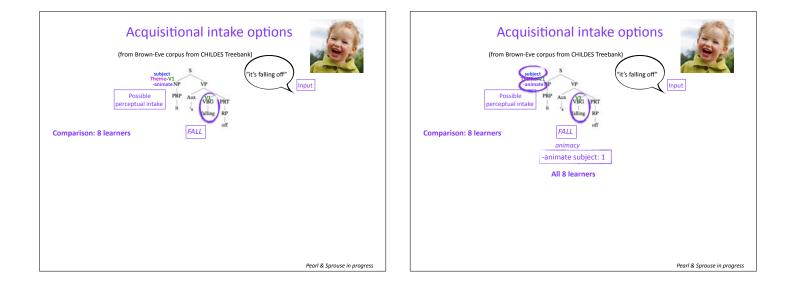


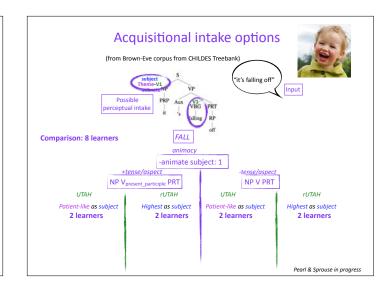


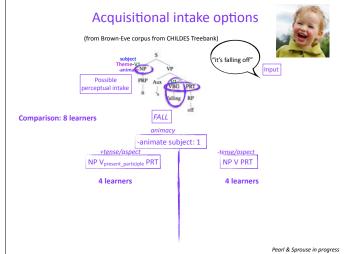


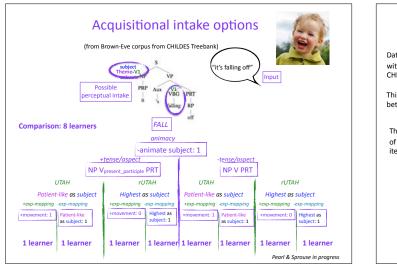


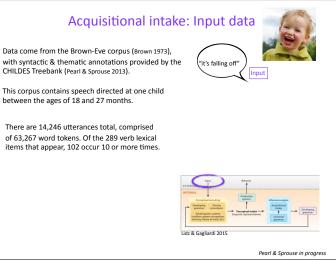


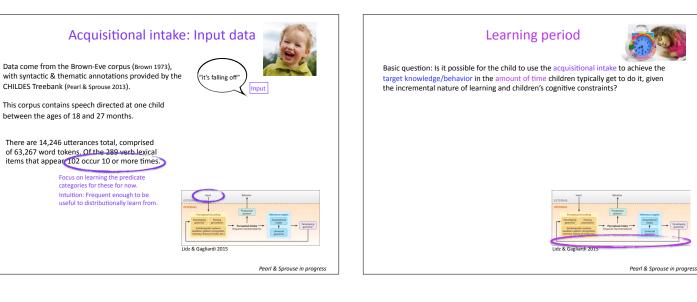


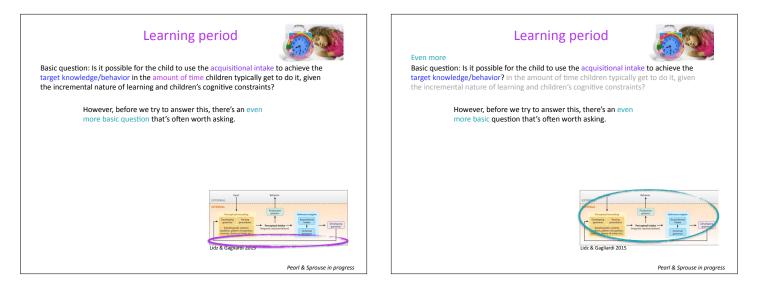












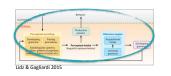
Learning period



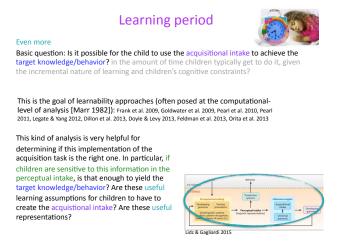
Even more Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior? in the amount of time children typically get to do it, give the incremental nature of learning and children's cognitive constraints?

This is the goal of learnability approaches (often posed at the computational-

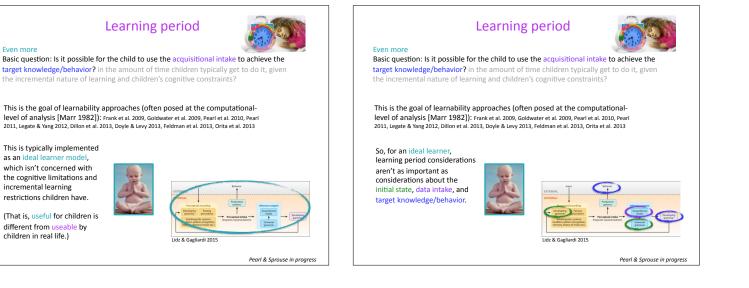
level of analysis [Marr 1982]): Frank et al. 2009, Goldwater et al. 2009, Pearl et al. 2010, Pearl 2011, Legate & Yang 2012, Dillon et al. 2013, Doyle & Levy 2013, Feldman et al. 2013, Orita et al. 2013

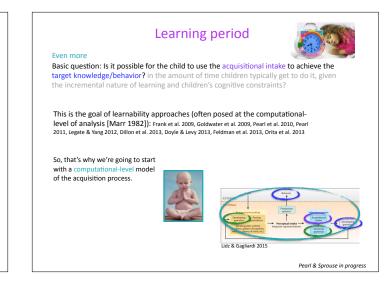


Pearl & Sprouse in progress



Pearl & Sprouse in progres





Learning period



Even more

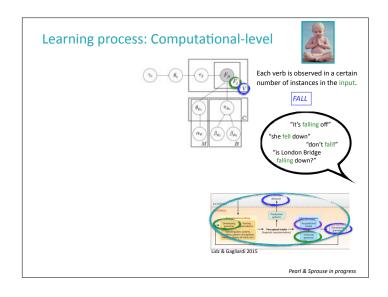
Even more

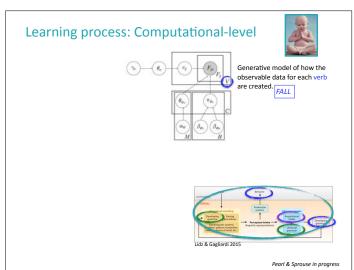
Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior? in the amount of time children typically get to do it, given the incremental nature of learning and children's cognitive constraints?

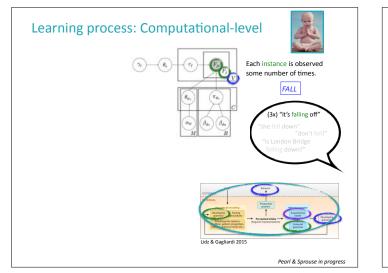
This is the goal of learnability approaches (often posed at the computationallevel of analysis [Marr 1982]): Frank et al. 2009, Goldwater et al. 2009, Pearl et al. 2010, Pearl 2011, Legate & Yang 2012, Dillon et al. 2013, Doyle & Levy 2013, Feldman et al. 2013, Orita et al. 2013

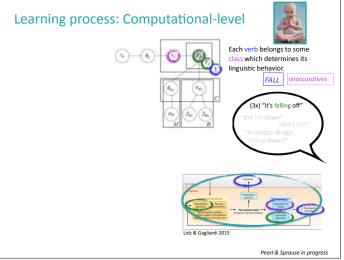
Practical note: Doing a computational analysis is often a really good idea to make sure we've got the right conceptualization of the equisition task (see Pearl 2011 for the trouble you can get into when you don't do this first).

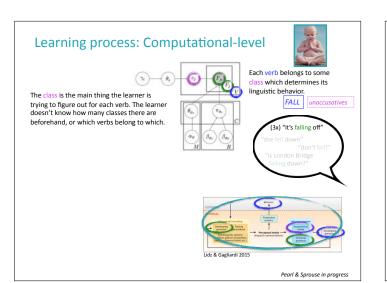


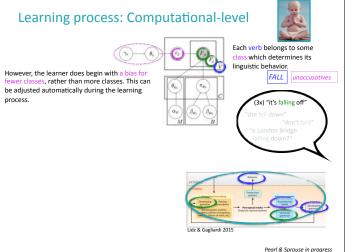


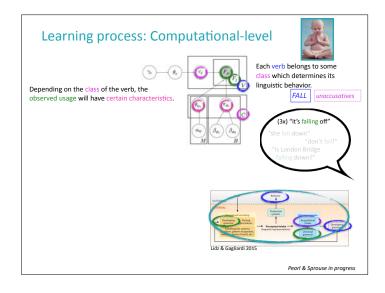


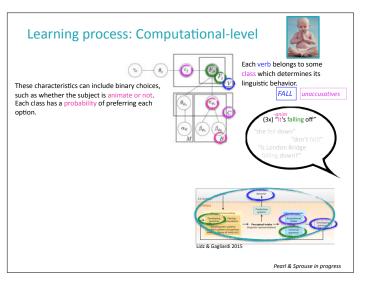


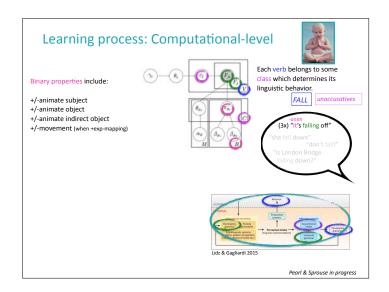


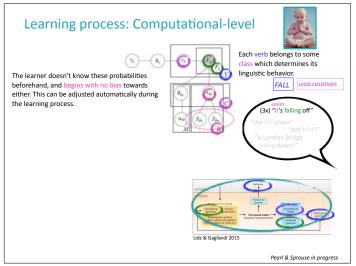


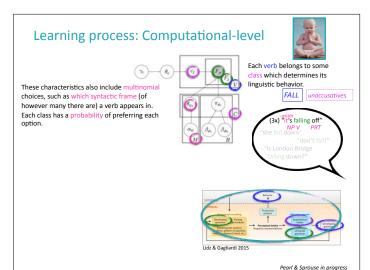










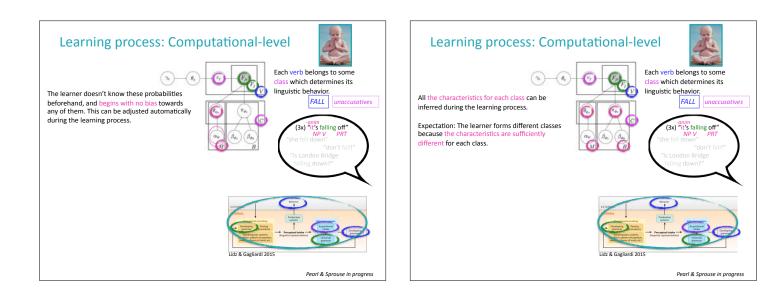


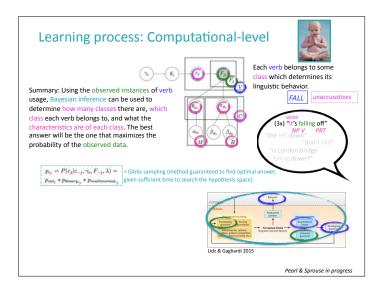
Multinomial properties include: which syntactic frame is used (f-exp-mapping) where the Agent-like/Highest role appears where the Goal-like/third-highest role appears wh

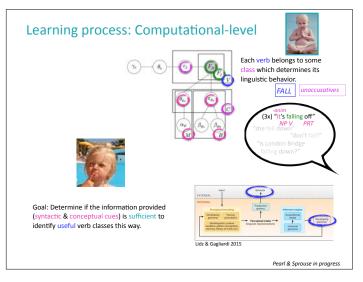
Learning process: Computational-level

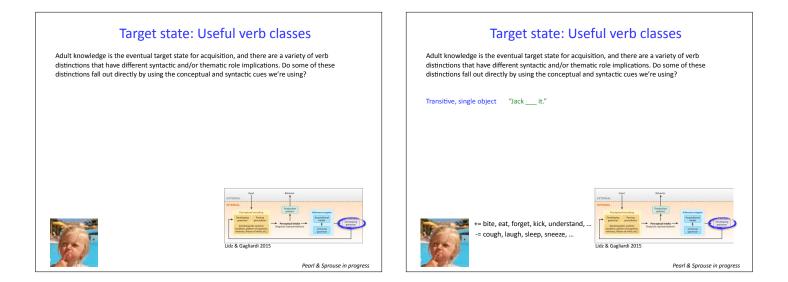
Pearl & Sprouse in progress

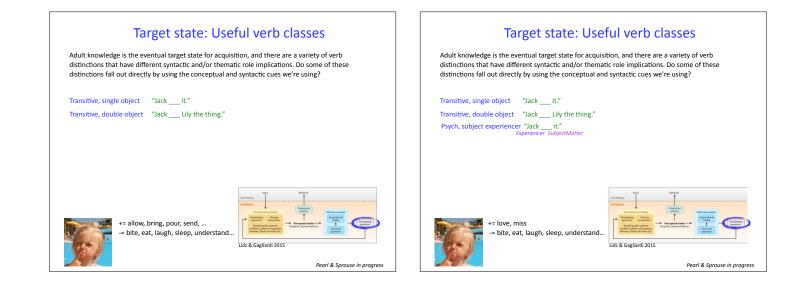
Each verb belongs to some

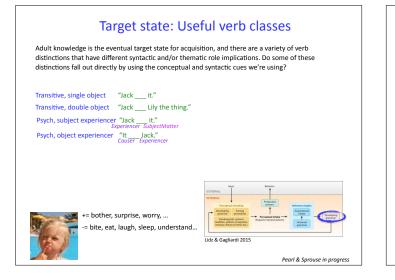


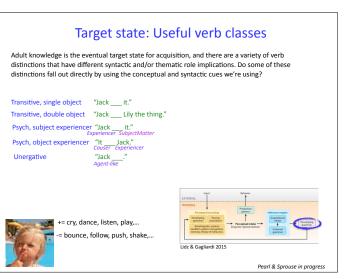




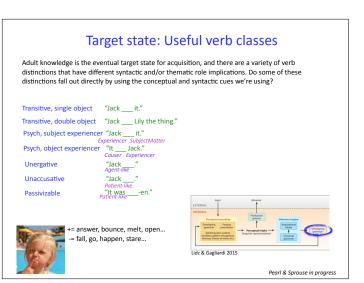


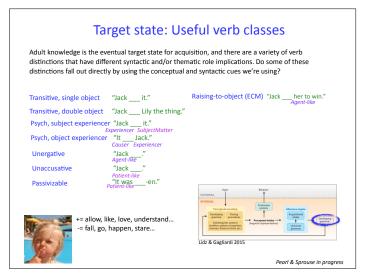




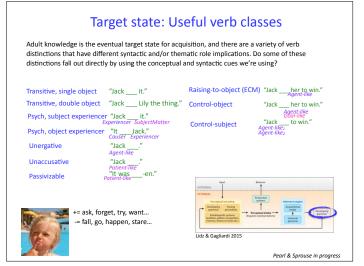


Target state: Us Adult knowledge is the eventual target state for acque distinctions that have different syntactic and/or ther distinctions fall out directly by using the conceptual	natic role implications. Do some of these
Transitive, single object "Jack it."	
Transitive, double object "Jack Lily the thing."	
Psych, subject experiencer "Jackit." Experiencer SubjectMatter	
Psych, object experiencer "It Jack." Causer Experiencer	
Unergative "Jack ." Agent-like	
Unaccusative "Jack" Patient-like	
+= bounce, break, freeze, melt, -= call, find, help, see,	tid: & Gagliard 2015





Target state: Useful verb classes Adult knowledge is the eventual target state for acquisition, and there are a variety of verb distinctions that have different syntactic and/or thematic role implications. Do some of these distinctions fall out directly by using the conceptual and syntactic cues we're using? Raising-to-object (ECM) "Jack _____her to win." Transitive, single object "Jack ____ it." "Jack ____ her to win." Agent-like Goal-like Transitive, double object "Jack ____ Lily the thing." Control-object Psych, subject experiencer "Jack _____it." Psych, object experiencer Jack ____ R. Experiencer SubjectMatter Psych, object experiencer "It ___ Jack." Causer Experiencer Unergative "Jack ___." Agent-like "Jack ____." Patient-like Unaccusative "It was____-en." Passivizable += ask, name, pick, tell... -= fall, go, happen, stare... Lidz & Gagliardi 2015 Pearl & Sprouse in progress



Target state: Useful verb classes Adult knowledge is the eventual target state for acquisition, and there are a variety of verb distinctions that have different syntactic and/or thematic role implications. Do some of these distinctions fall out directly by using the conceptual and syntactic cues we're using? Transitive, single object "Jack _____ it." Transitive, double object "Jack ____ Lily the thing." Control-object "Jack ____ her to win." Agent-like Goal-like Psych, subject experiencer "Jack _____it." Experiencer SubjectMatter "Jack to win." Agent-like1 Agent-like2 Control-subject Psych, object experiencer "It Jack." Causer Experiencer Raising-subject "Jack to win." Unergative "Jack ____." Agent-like

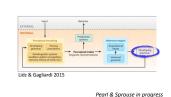
"It was ____-en."

+= come, happen, seem, use ...

-= fall, go, kick, stare...

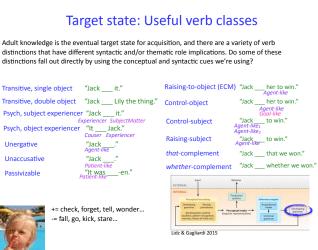
Unaccusative

Passivizable



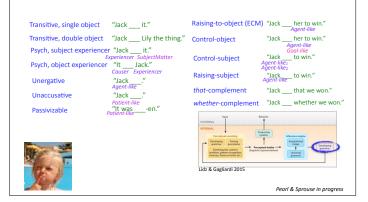
Target state: Useful verb classes Adult knowledge is the eventual target state for acquisition, and there are a variety of verb distinctions that have different syntactic and/or thematic role implications. Do some of these distinctions fall out directly by using the conceptual and syntactic cues we're using? Raising-to-object (ECM) "Jack _____her to win." Transitive, single object "Jack _____ it." Transitive, double object "Jack ___ Lily the thing." Control-object "Jack ____ her to win." Psych, subject experiencer "Jack _____it." "John subject experience "Jack __it." Experience subjectMater Psych, object experiencer "It __ Jack." Couser Experiencer Unergative "Jack __" Jack " Jack " "Jack to win." Control-subject Raising-subject "Jack to win." that-complement "Jack _____ that we won." "Jack ____." Patient-like Unaccusative "It was ____--en." Passivizable = care, hope, insist, wish... -= fall, go, kick, stare... Lidz & Gagliardi 2015

Pearl & Sprouse in progress



Target state: Children's developing representations

Also, it may well be that some of these distinctions are more salient to children than others.



Target state: Children's developing representations

Transitives (with a single object) seem to be recognized as early as 28 months old in English: Yuan & Fisher 2009, Scott & Fisher 2009.

Transitive, single object	"Jack it."	Raising-to-object (ECM	M) "Jackher to win." Agent-like
Transitive, double object	"Jack Lily the thing."	Control-object	"Jack her to win."
Psych, subject experience E Psych, object experiencer	xperiencer SubjectMatter "It Jack."	Control-subject	Agent-like Goal-like "Jack to win." Agent-like ₂
Unergative	Causer Experiencer "Jack"	Raising-subject	"Jack Agent-like to win."
Unaccusative	Agent-like "Jack"	that-complement	"Jack that we won."
Passivizable	Patient-like "It wasen." Patient-like	whether-complement	t "Jack whether we won."
6-		EXTERNAL INTERNAL Perceptual encoding Contention granmar procedures procedures	Arriver and the second
An Inter			Pearl & Sprouse in progress

Target state: Children's developing representations

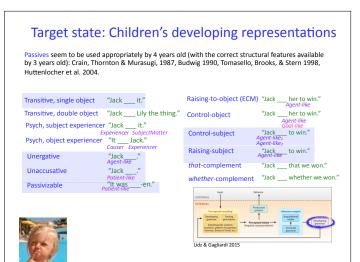
Unaccusatives seem to be distinguished early from unergatives: Hebrew (Friedmann 2007), Italian (Snyder et al. 1995), English (Pierce 1989, Pierce 1992, Deprez 1993, Deprez 1994): children under 2 years old

Transitive, single object Transitive, double object	"Jack it." "Jack Lily the thing."	Raising-to-object (ECN Control-object	"Jack	her to win."
Psych, subject experiencer Ex Psych, object experiencer	"Jackit." periencer SubjectMatter "ItJack." Causer Experiencer	Control-subject	"Jack Agent-like1 Agent-like2	Agent-like Soal-like _ to win."
Unergative	"Jack" Agent-like	Raising-subject that-complement	Agent-like	_ to win." that we won."
Unaccusative	"Jack ." Patient-like "It was -en."	whether-complement		_
Passivizable A	atient fike — -en.	EXTERNAL INTERNAL Perceptual eccoding general percepture percepture		Investinging Argentinging t University

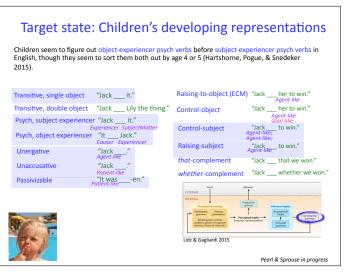
Target state: Children's developing representations

By 3 to 4 years old, English children have figured out that inanimate subjects can distinguish between raising-subject and control-subject verbs (Becker 2014). In particular, raising-subject verbs allow inanimate subjects. So, they've likely figured out these classes.

Transitive, single object "Jack it."	Raising-to-object (ECM) "Jack
Transitive, double object "Jack Lily the thing."	Control-object "Jack her to win." Agent-like
Psych, subject experiencer "Jackit." Experiencer SubjectMatter Psych, object experiencer "ItJack."	Control-subject "Jack to win." Agent-like Agent-like
Causer Experiencer	Raising-subject "Jack Agent-like to win."
Agent-like Unaccusative "Jack" Patient-like	that-complement "Jack that we won." whether-complement "Jack whether we won."
Passivizable <u>"(t was</u> Potient-likeen."	with the second seco



Pearl & Sprouse in progress



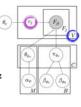
Target state: Children's developing representations

Give these developmental data, we may be particularly interested in these useful verb classes.

Transitive, single object	"Jack it."		Raising-to-object (ECN	V) "Jack her to Agent-li	win." ke
Transitive, double object	"Jack Lil	y the thing."	Control-object	"Jack her to	
Psych, subject experience				Agent-like Goal-like	
Psych, object experiencer	Experiencer SubjectMatter periencer "It Jack." Causer Experiencer		Control-subject	"Jack to win Agent-like1 Agent-like2	l."
Unergative	"Jack	encer	Raising-subject	"Jack Agent-like to win	
Unaccusative	"Jack"		that-complement	"Jack that w	e won."
Passivizable	Patient-like "It was	en."	whether-complement		ier we won
			Perceptual encoding Developing Pening pscedures Pre-	Rebuild Prophetics representational the spectra instance the s	Ovvicorio garmar

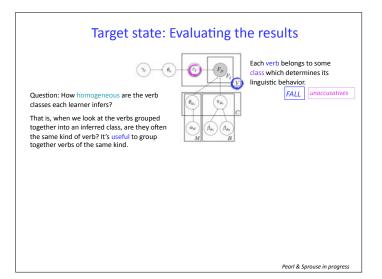
Target state: Evaluating the results

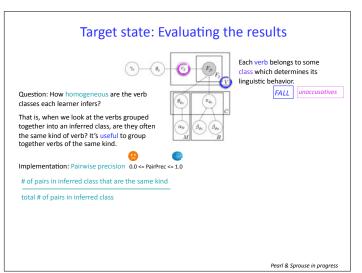
Remember: The class is the main thing the learner is trying to figure out for each verb. The learner doesn't know how many classes there are beforehand, or which verbs belong to which.

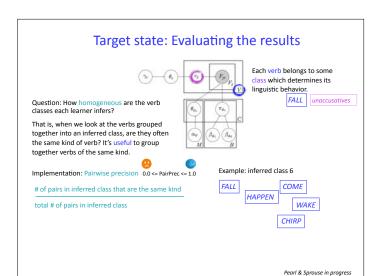


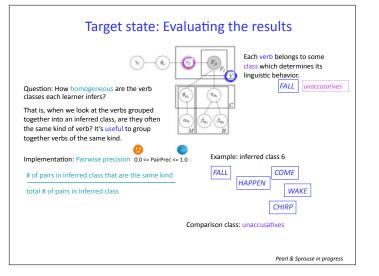
class which determines its linguistic behavior. FALL unaccusatives

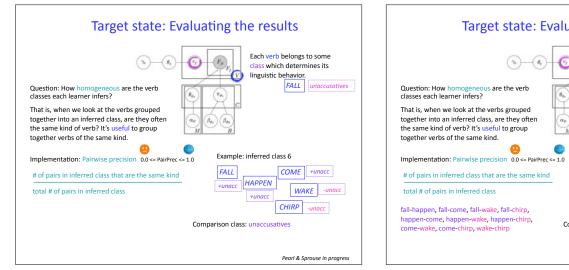
Each verb belongs to some

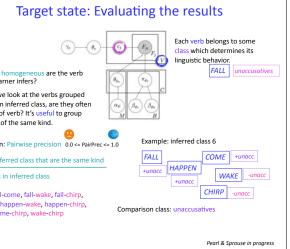


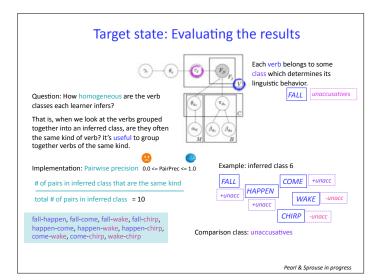


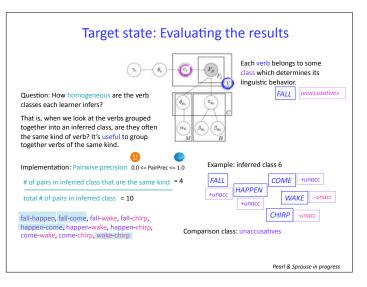


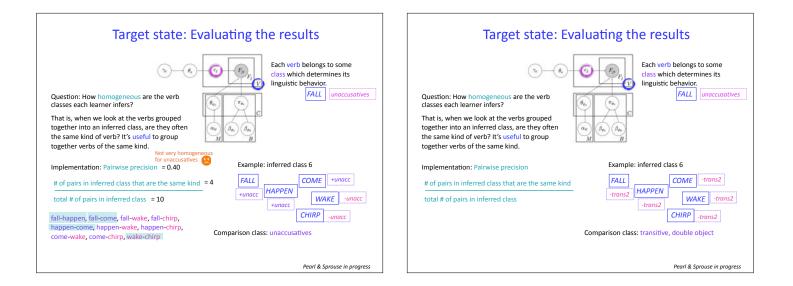


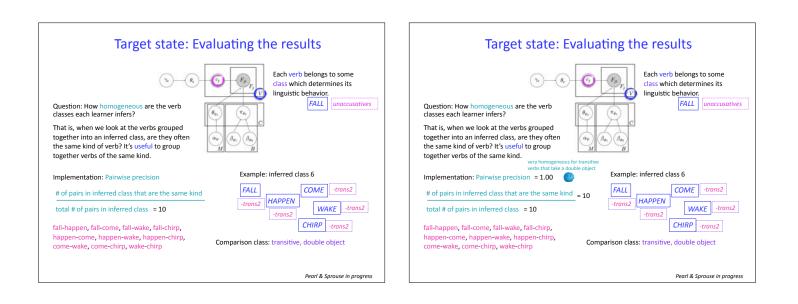


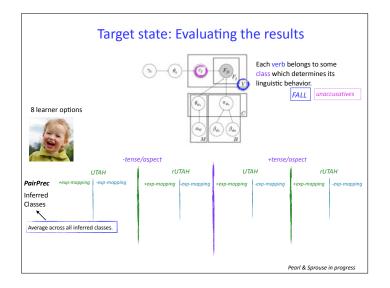


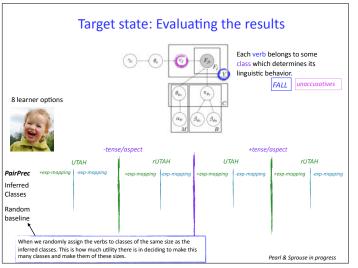


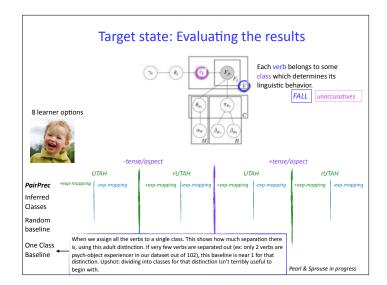


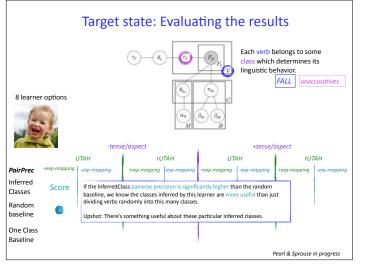


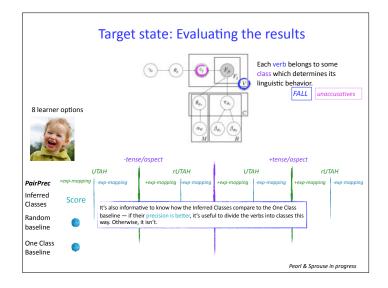


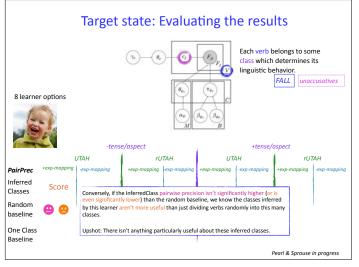


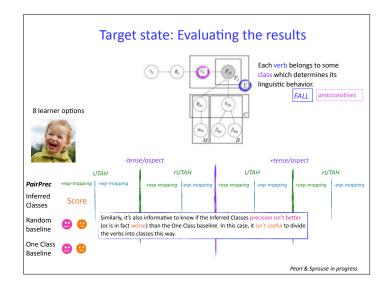


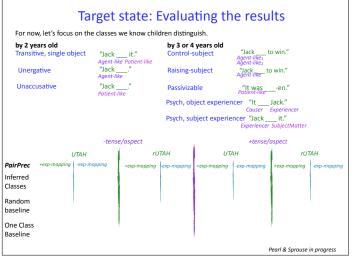


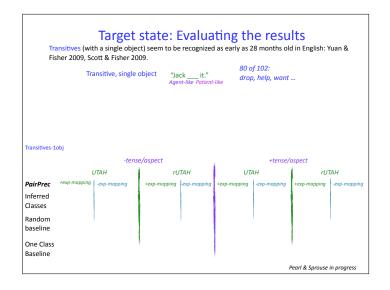


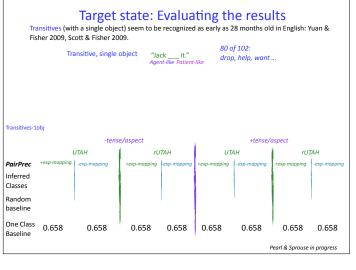


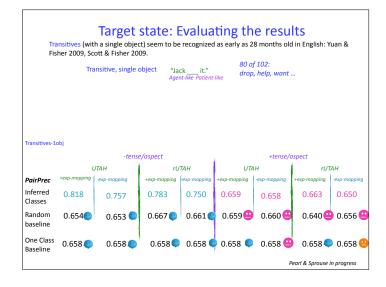


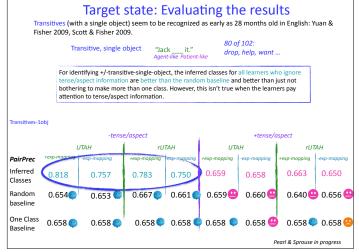


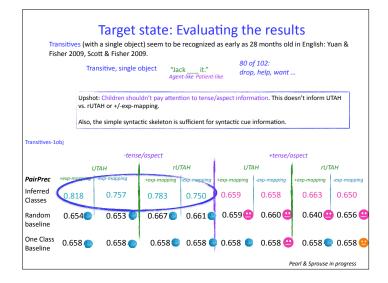


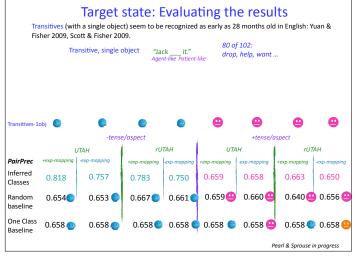


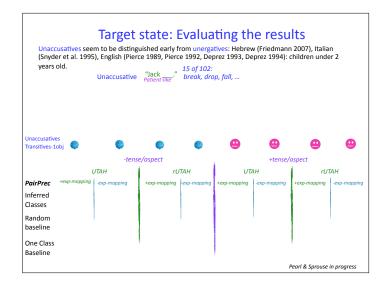


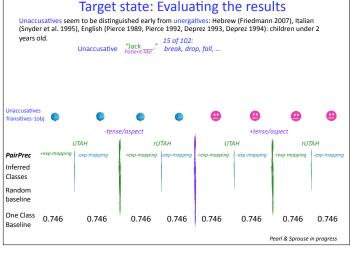


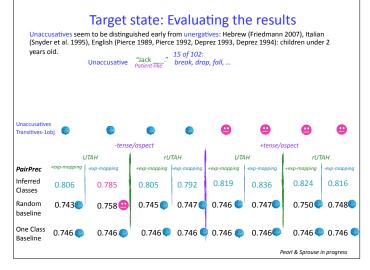


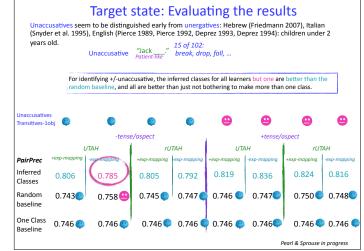


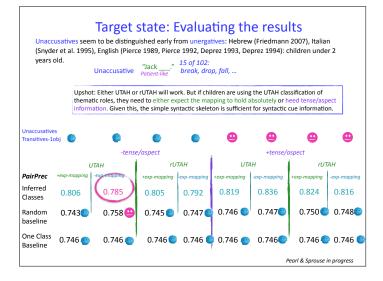


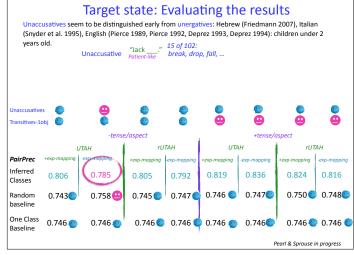


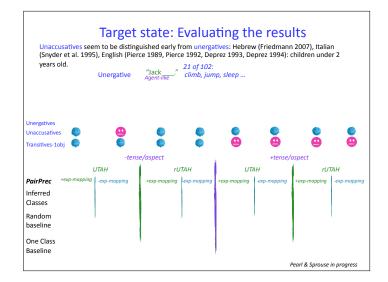


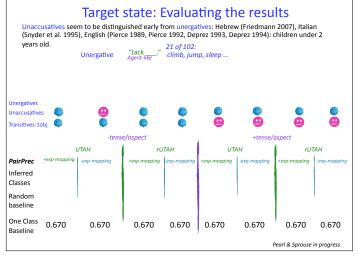


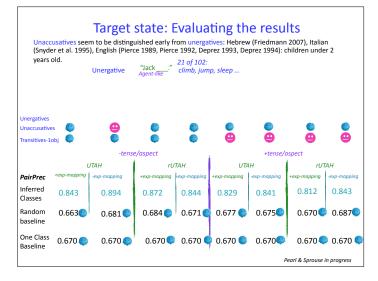


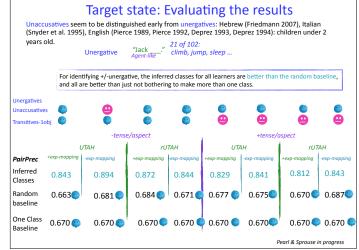


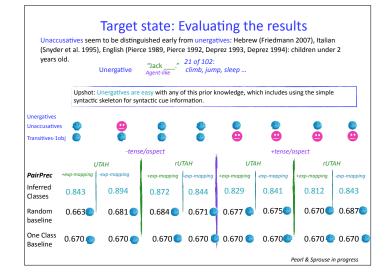


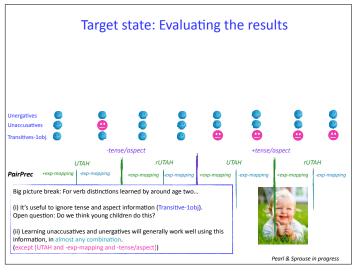


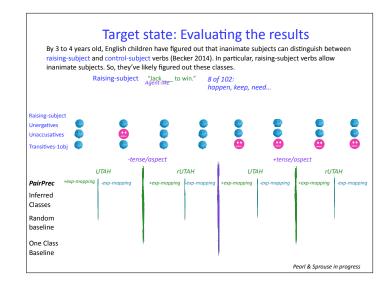


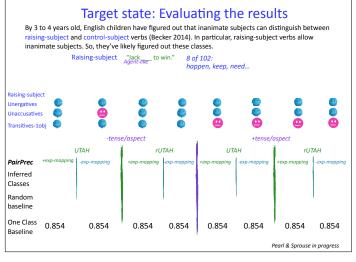


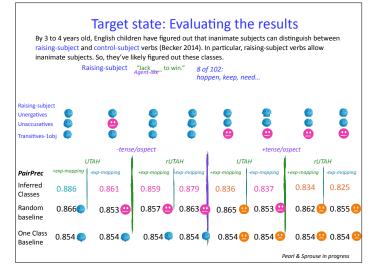


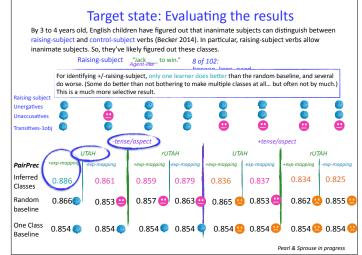


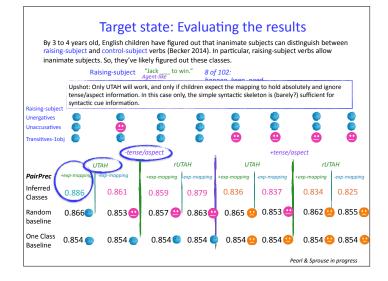


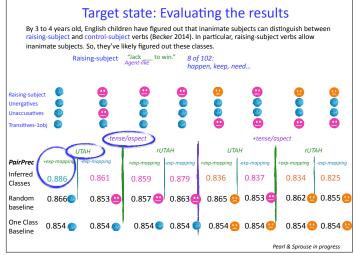


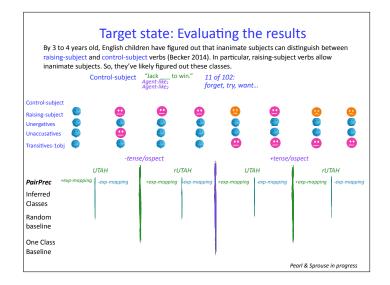


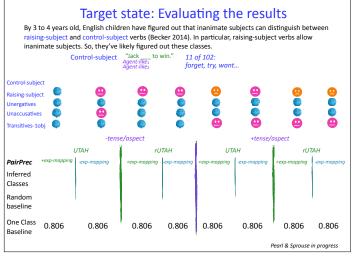


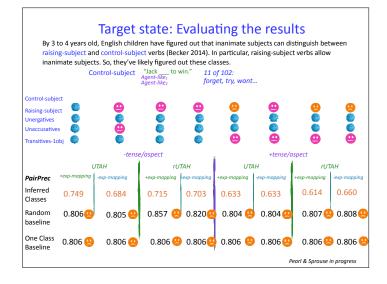


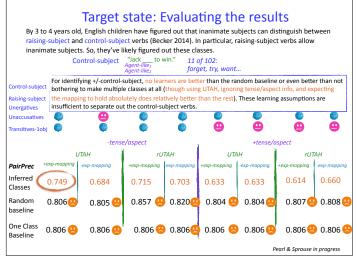


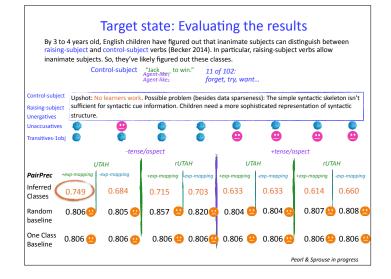


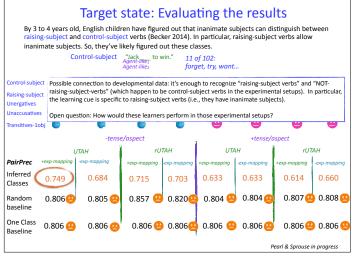


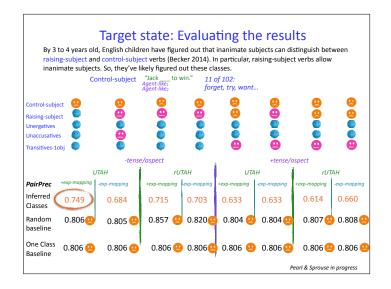


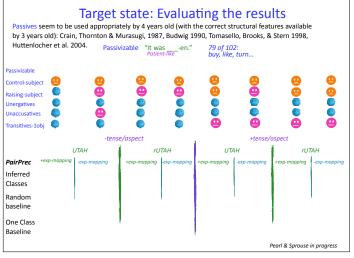


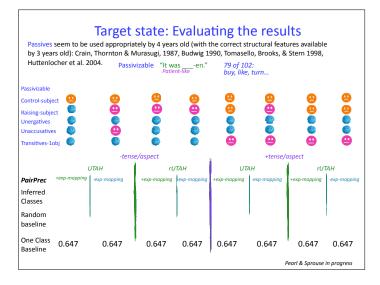


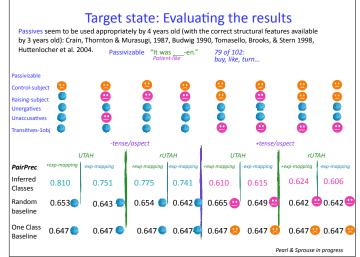


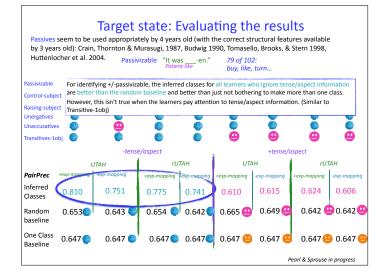


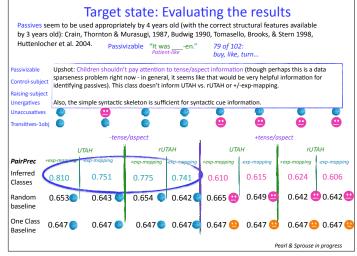


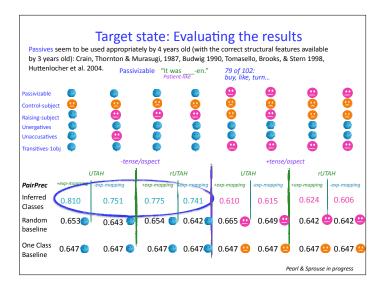


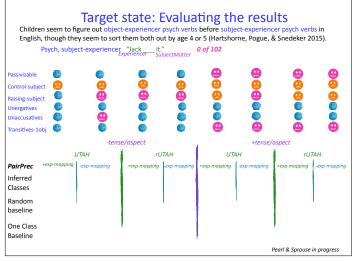


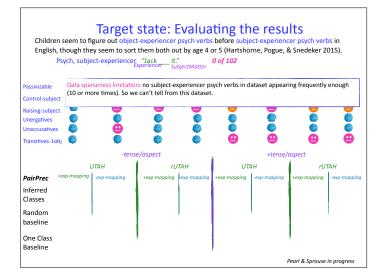


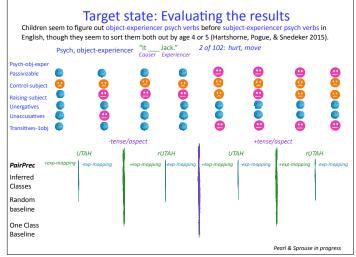


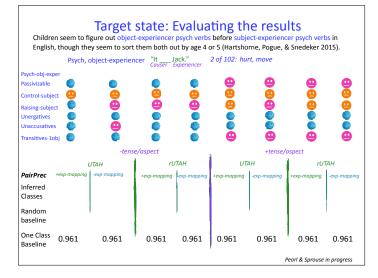


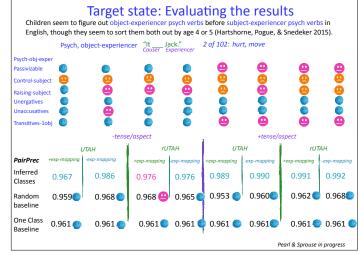


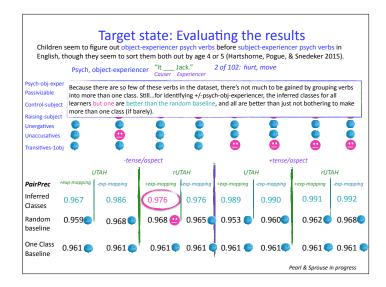


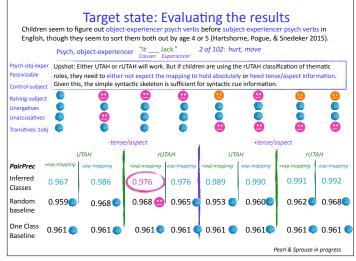


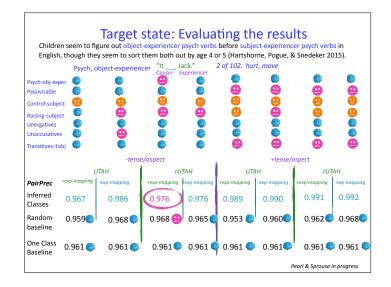


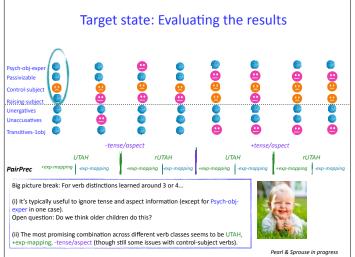


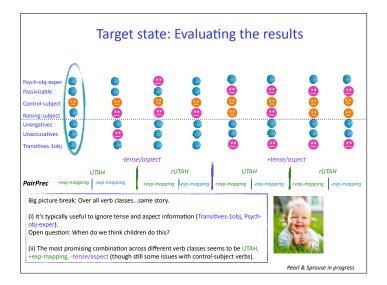


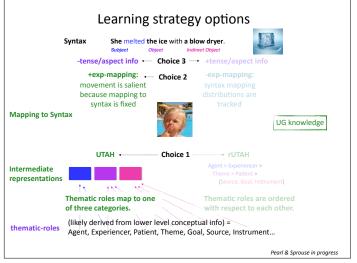


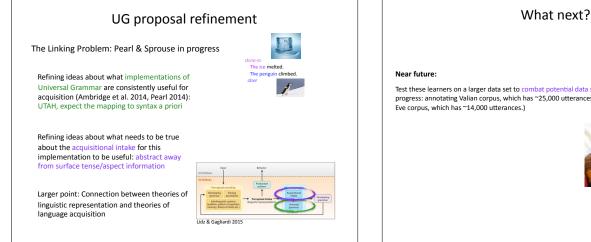














Test these learners on a larger data set to combat potential data sparseness issues. (In progress: annotating Valian corpus, which has ~25,000 utterances. Current studies with Brown-



What next?

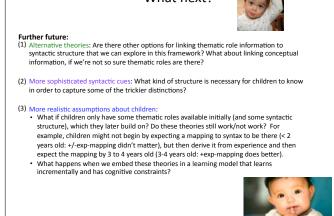
Near future: Other ways to evaluate the output of the modeled learners.

- Additional quantitative analysis: Other clustering metrics for assessing quality of inferred verb classes (ARI, VM, etc.)
- (2) Qualitative analysis: Which verbs of each class is a learner consistently getting right? Are these more important/more useful in some respect? What do the errors look like, and do they look like the kind of thing children do?

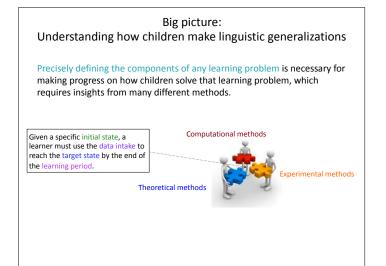


- (3) Comparison with behavioral data: Does a learner, using the verb classes it's inferred, perform the same way children do in experimental setups?
- (4) Utility of inferred classes: Can we identify a specific acquisition task that depends on verb classes, and see if the inferred classes are useful for that task (Phillips & Pearl 2015, Bar-Sever & Pearl 2016)? This can tell us if they're good classes, even if they don't match adult verb classes.

Pearl & Sprouse in progress



Pearl & Sprouse in progress



Biggest picture: Computational acquisition modeling

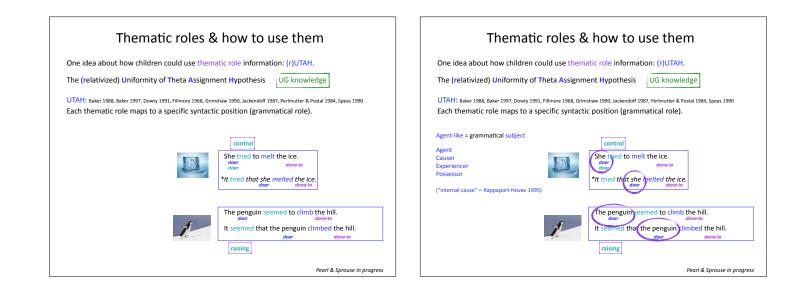
This technique is a useful tool — so let's use it to inform our theories of representation and acquisition!

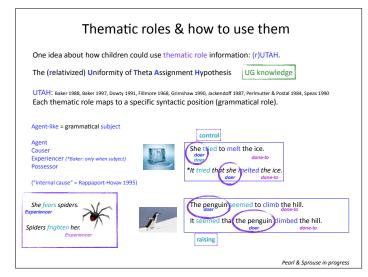


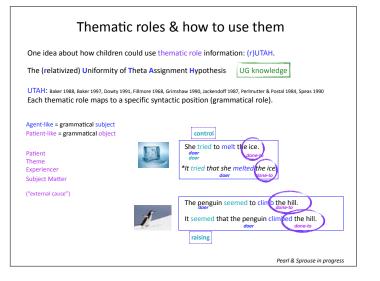




What next?







Thematic roles & how to use them	Thematic roles & how to use them
One idea about how children could use thematic role information: (r)UTAH.	One idea about how children could use thematic role information: (r)UTAH.
The (relativized) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis UG knowledge	The (relativized) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis UG knowledge
UTAH: Baker 1988, Baker 1997, Dowty 1991, Fillmore 1968, Grimshaw 1990, Jackendoff 1987, Perlmutter & Postal 1984, Speas 1990 Each thematic role maps to a specific syntactic position (grammatical role).	UTAH: Baker 1988, Baker 1997, Dowty 1991, Fillmore 1968, Grimshaw 1990, Jackendoff 1987, Perlmutter & Postal 1984, Speas 1990 Each thematic role maps to a specific syntactic position (grammatical role).
Agent-like = grammatical subject Patient-like = grammatical object Patient Theme Experiencer ("Baker: only when not subject) Subject Matter	Agent-like = grammatical subject Patient-like = grammatical object Goal-like = grammatical indirect object Location Source Goal Benefactor Instrument
("external cause") The penguin seemed to cling the hill. doer to con-to the penguin seemed to cling the hill. doer the penguin clim fed the penguin clim fed the hill. doer the penguin clim fed the penguin clim fed the hill. doer the penguin clim fed the penguin clim fed the hill. doer the penguin clim fed the penguin clim fed the hill. doer the penguin clim fed the penguin clim fed the penguin clim fed the hill. doer the penguin clim fed	The penguin seemed to climb the hill. down-to It seemed that the penguin climbed the hill. down-to raising
Pearl & Sprouse in progress	Pearl & Sprouse in progress

