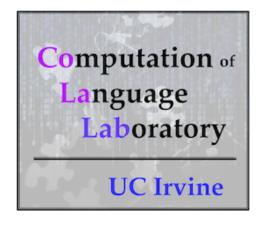
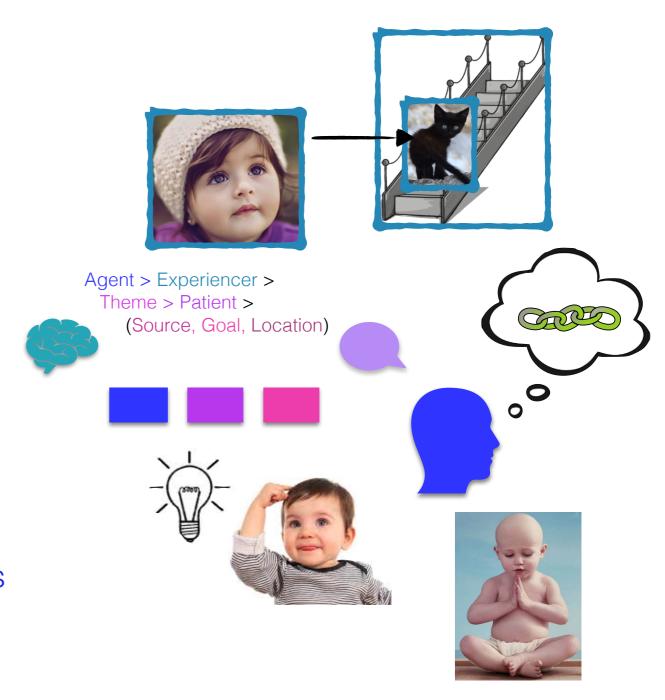
Quantitative approaches to learning linking theories in language

Lisa Pearl
University of California, Irvine



Lisa S. Pearl
Professor
Department of Language Science
Department of Cognitive Sciences
SSPB 2219, SBSG 2314
University of California, Irvine
lpearl@uci.edu

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Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences
University of California, Irvine



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

What is this likely to mean?

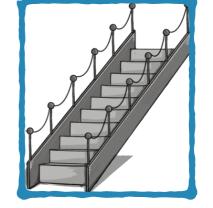
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

What is this likely to mean?

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.







What is this likely to mean?

Syntactic positions

Subject

Object

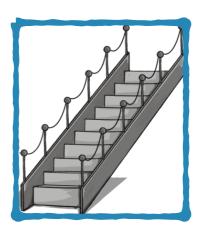
Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

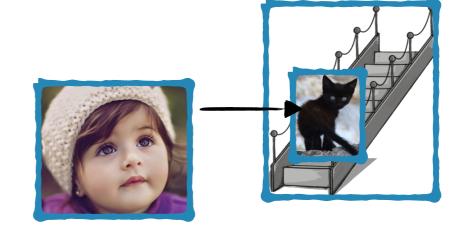








This event is much more likely...



Syntactic positions

Subject

Object

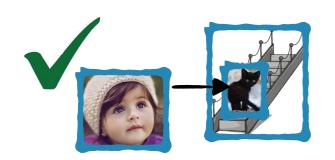
Oblique Object

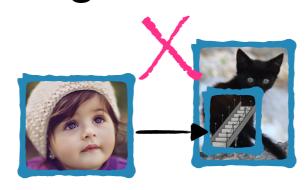
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

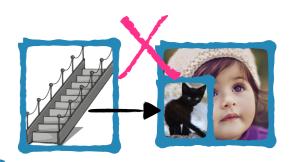




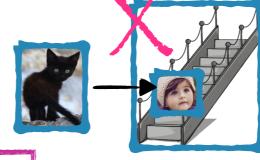








...compared to these.



Syntactic positions

Subject

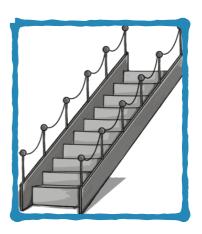
Object

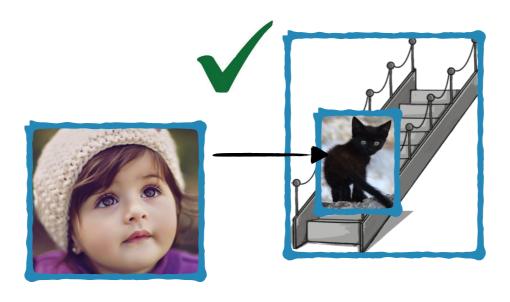
Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.









Syntactic positions

Subject

Object

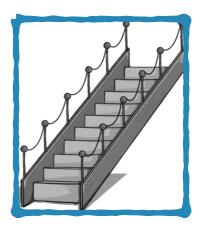
Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



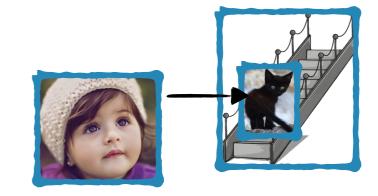
Why?







We as adults have linking theories that help us interpret verbs in combination with their arguments.



Syntactic positions

Subject

Object

Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.







These linking theories are mental representations that we as adults have developed. They let us link event participants and syntactic positions, so we know how to interpret an utterance — even when we don't know what the verb means.

Syntactic positions

Subject

Object

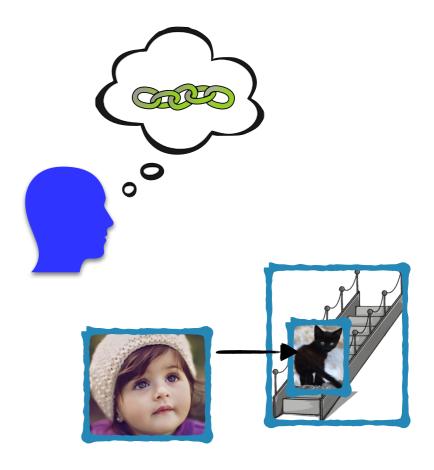
Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.









Subject

Object

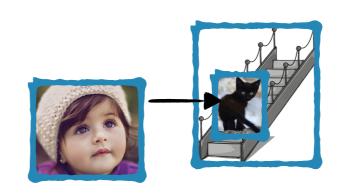
Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





What does a linking theory look like?



Syntax

Subject

Object

Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

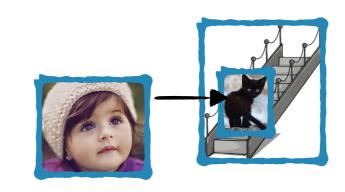


Current proposals involve prior (innate) knowledge

Event participant roles

Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Theme, Goal, Source, Location...

What does a linking theory look like?



Subject

Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

Oblique Object

Syntax

to

Mapping to syntax

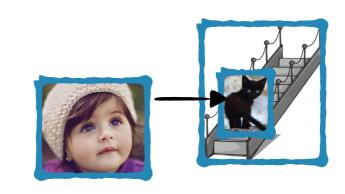


Intermediate representations

Event participant roles

Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Theme, Goal, Source, Location...

What does a linking theory look like?



Syntax

Subject

Object

Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

Mapping to syntax



Intermediate representations

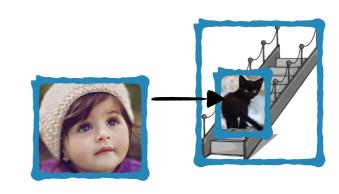
The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis

Baker 1988, Baker 1997, Dowty 1991, Fillmore 1968, Grimshaw 1990, Jackendoff 1987, Perlmutter & Postal 1984, Speas 1990

Event participant roles

Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Theme, Goal, Source, Location...

What does a linking theory look like?



Syntax

Mapping to syntax

Intermediate representations

Subject

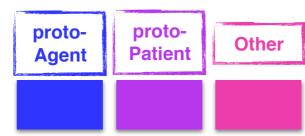
Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

Oblique Object

Thematic roles map to one of three **fixed macro-roles**.

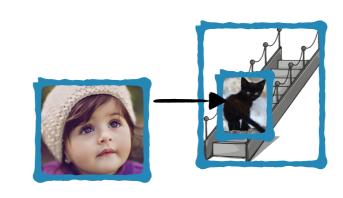
UTAH



Event participant roles

Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Theme, Goal, Source, Location...

What does a linking theory look like?



Subject Object Object

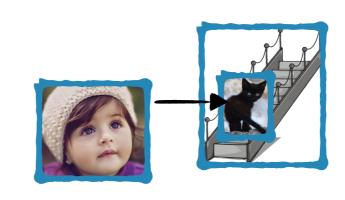
Syntax

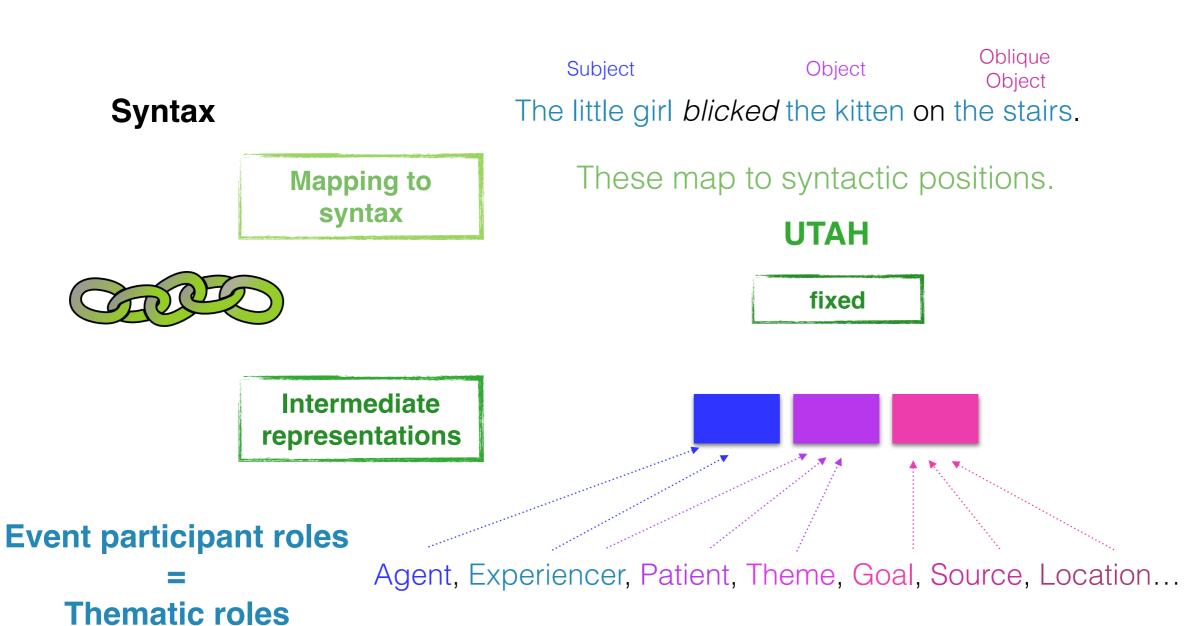
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

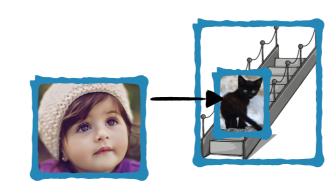


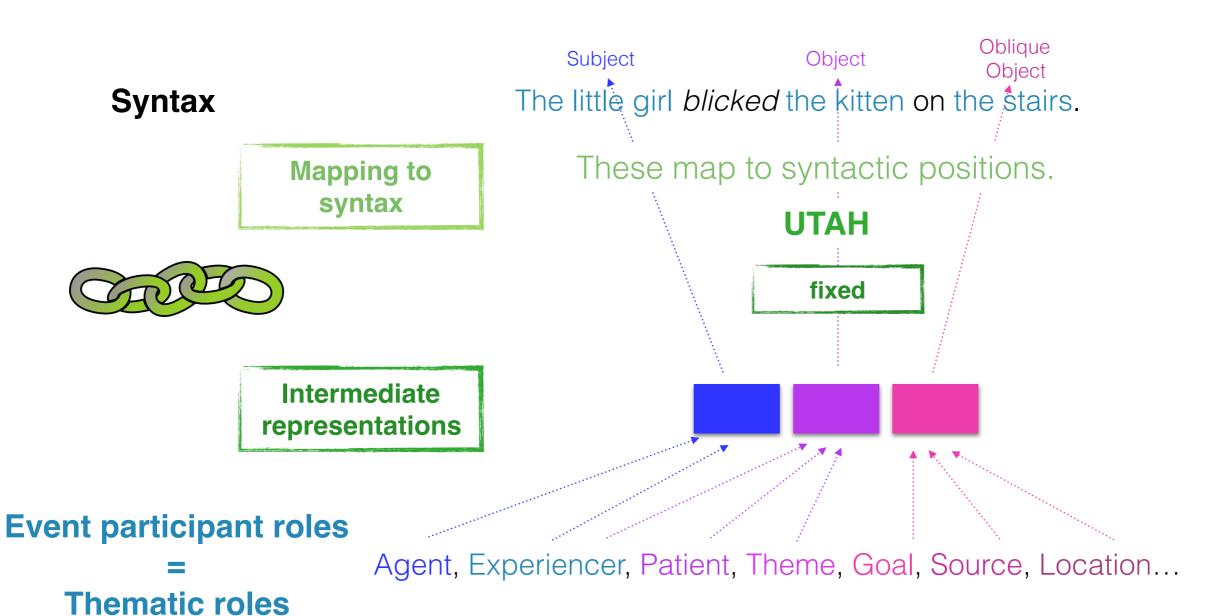
Event participant roles

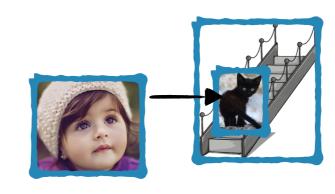
Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Theme, Goal, Source, Location...

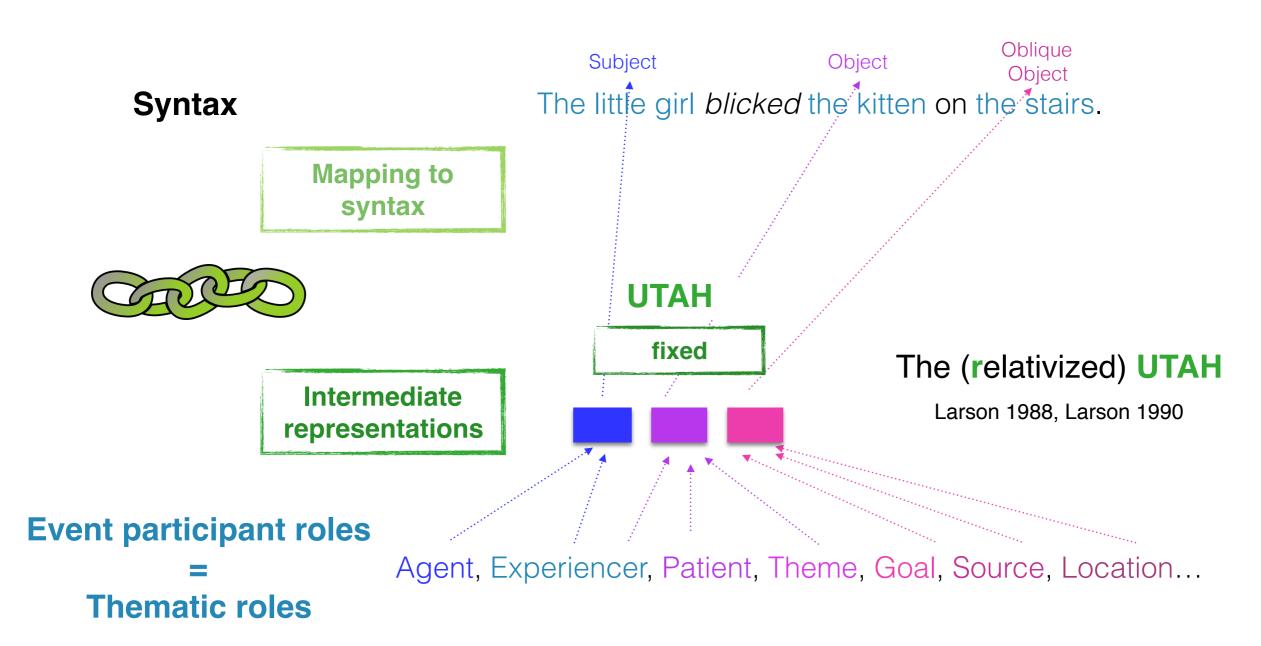


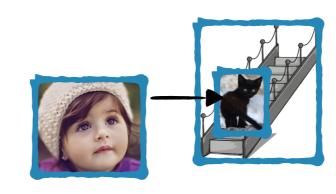


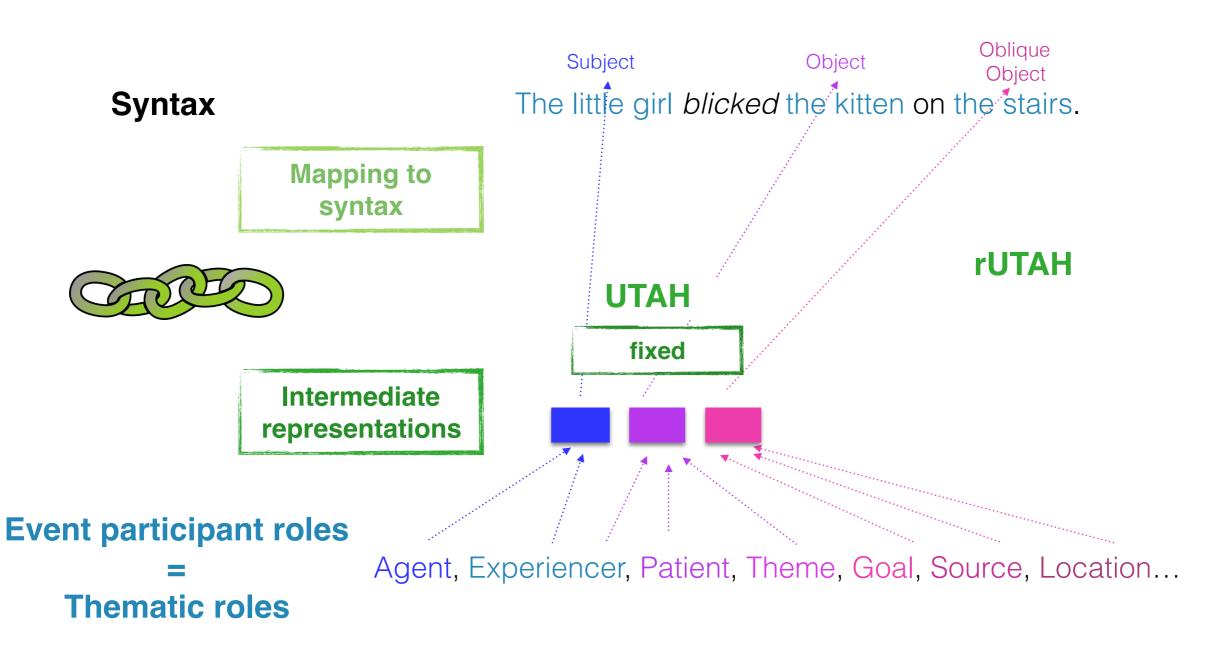


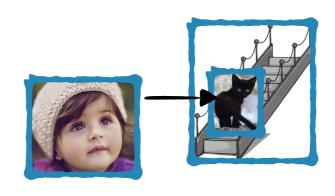


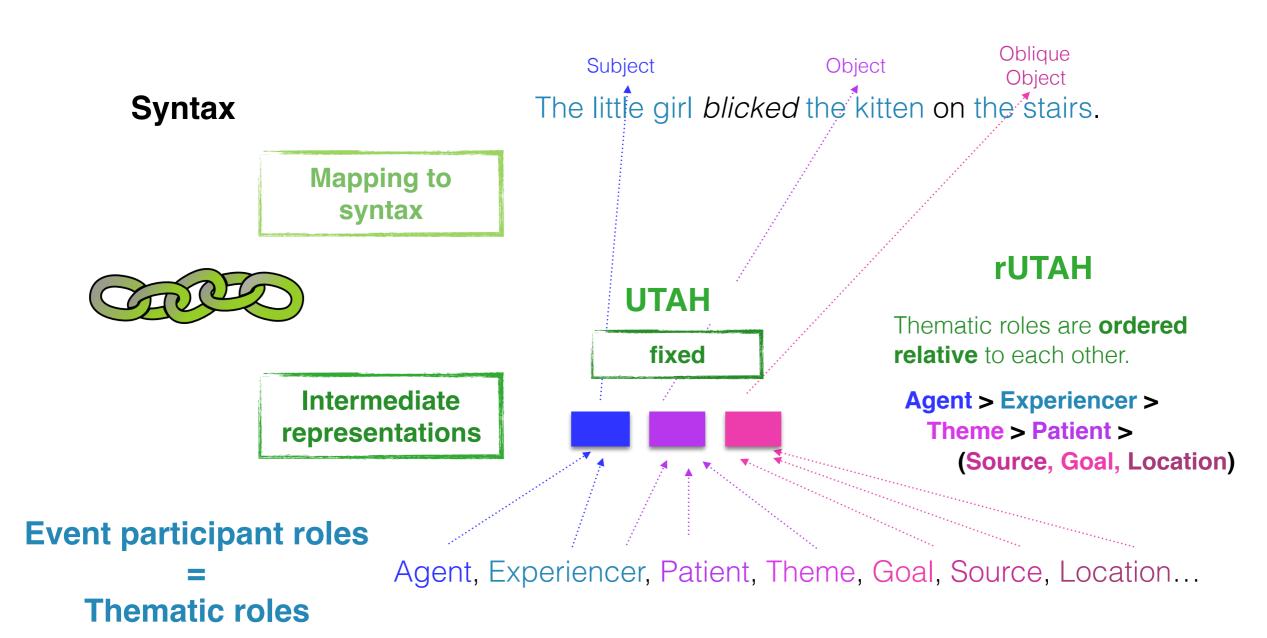


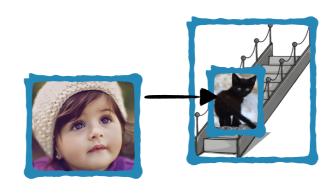


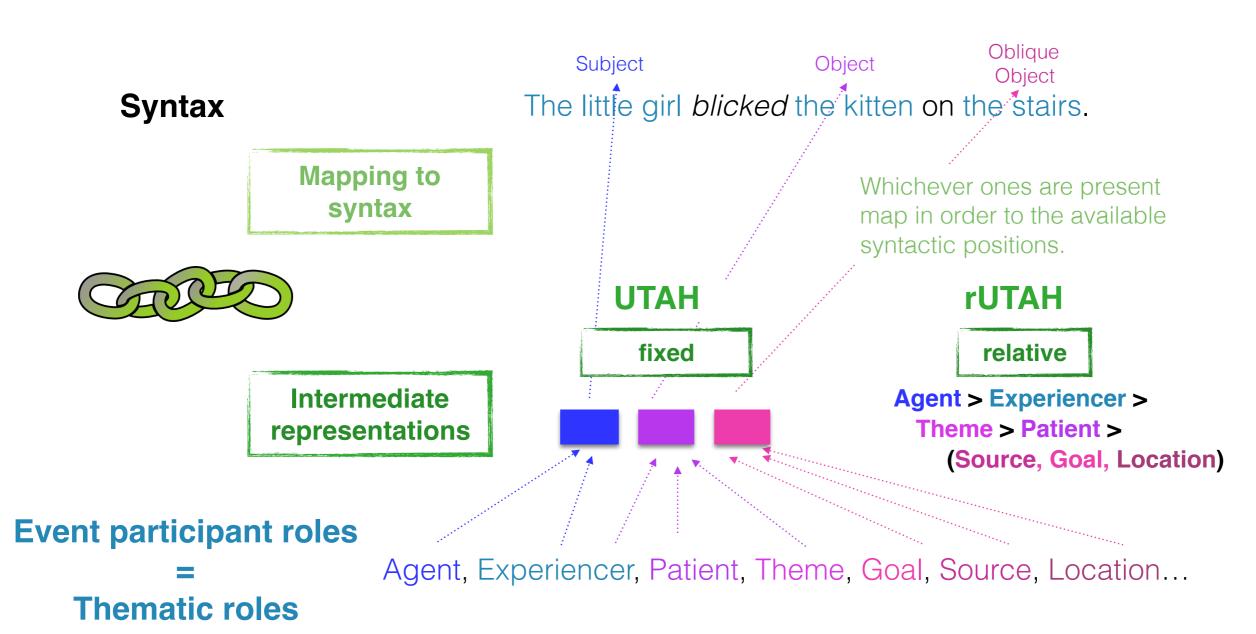


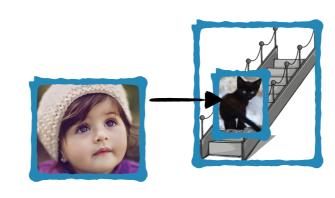


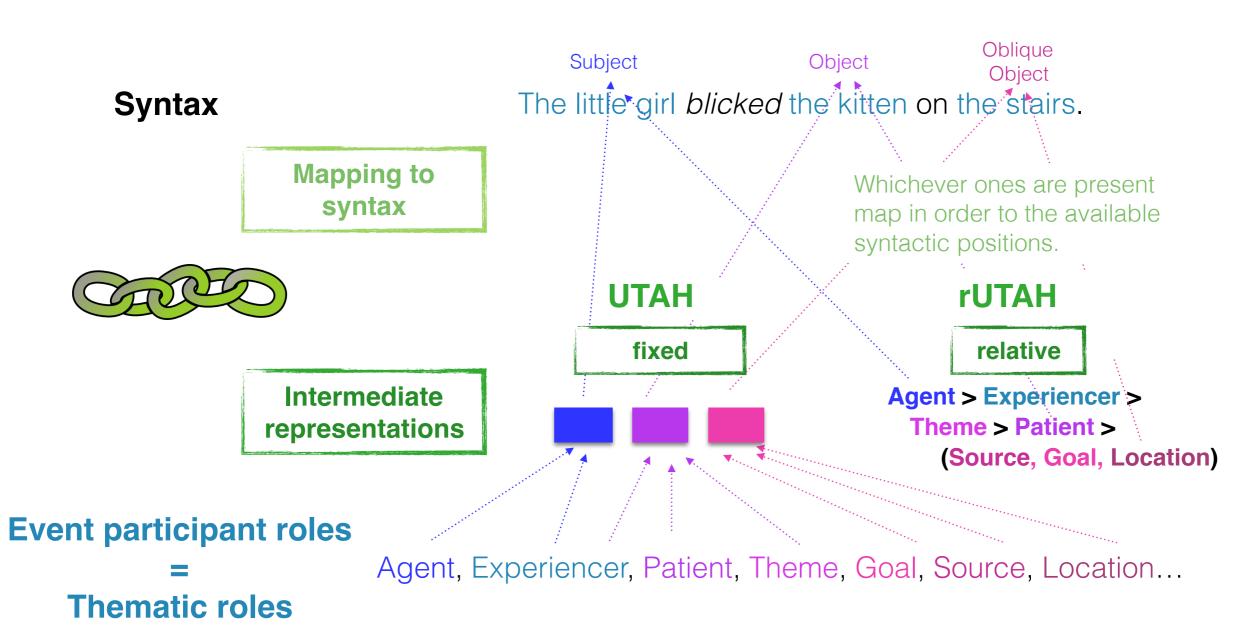




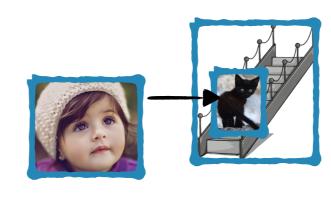


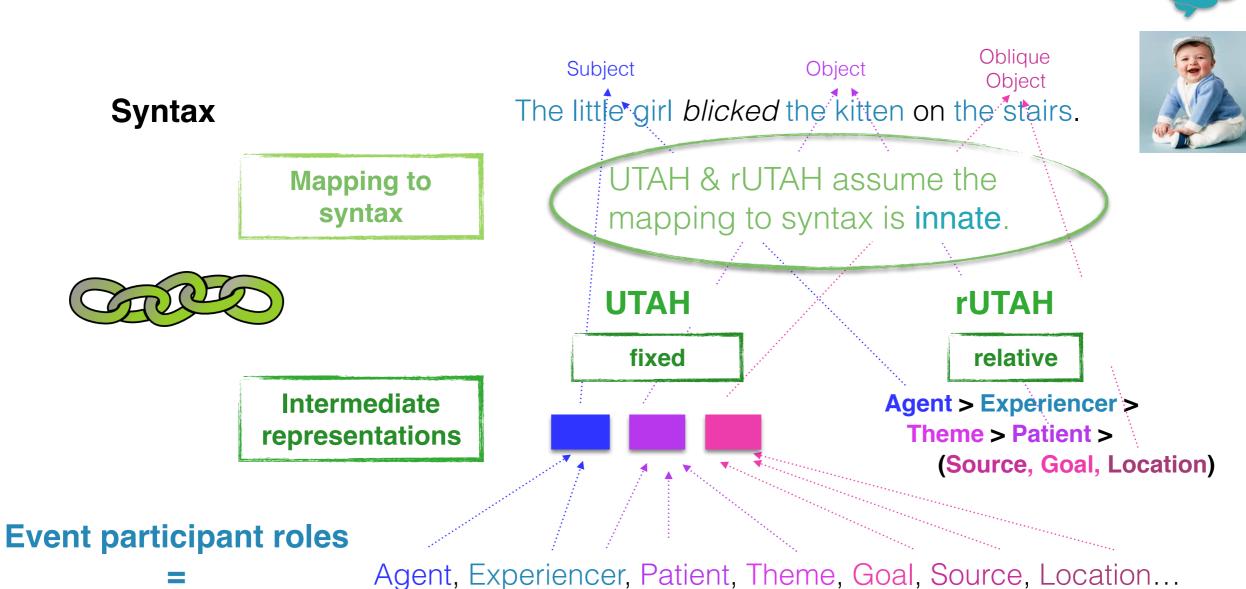




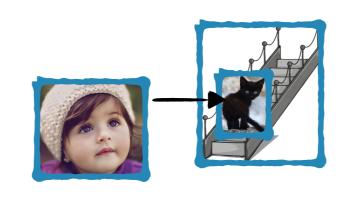


What does a linking theory look like?





What does a linking theory look like?





rUTAH

UTAH

Mapping to syntax

Subject

Object

Oblique Object

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



But it could be that this mapping is derived from language experience.

Intermediate

representations

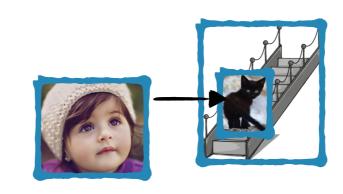
fixed

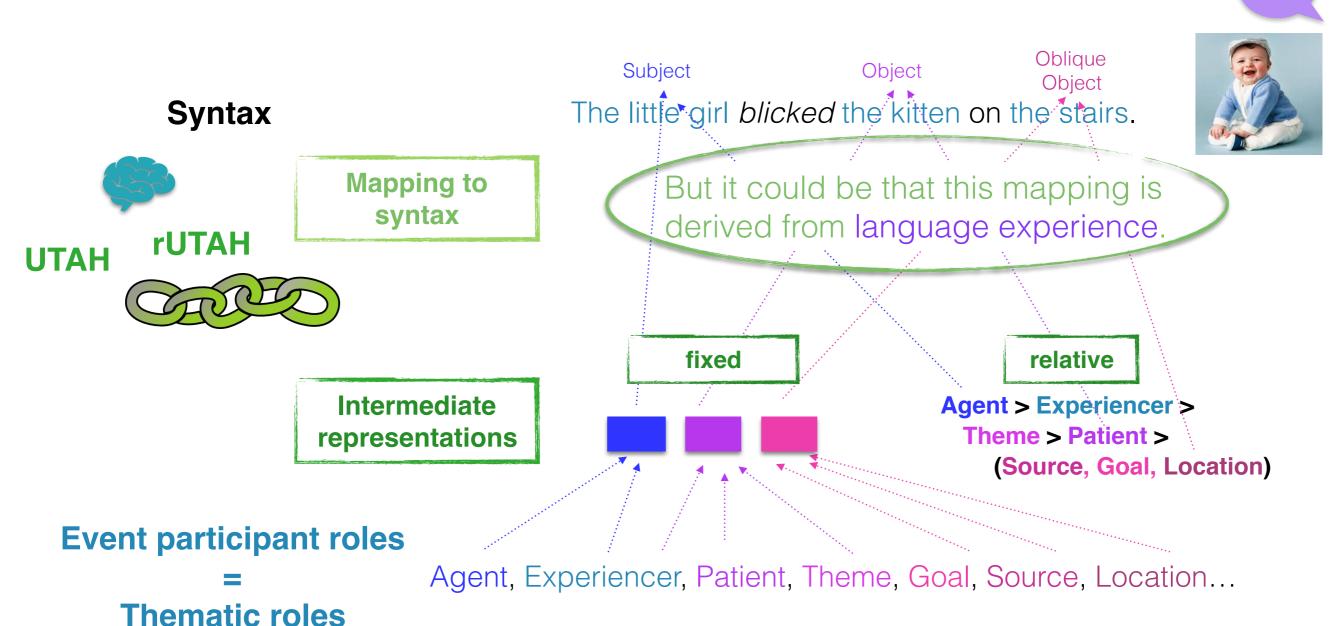
relative

Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)

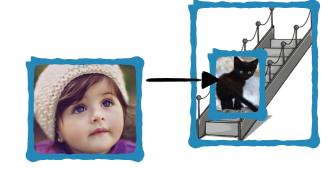
Event participant roles

Agent, Experiencer, Patient, Theme, Goal, Source, Location...



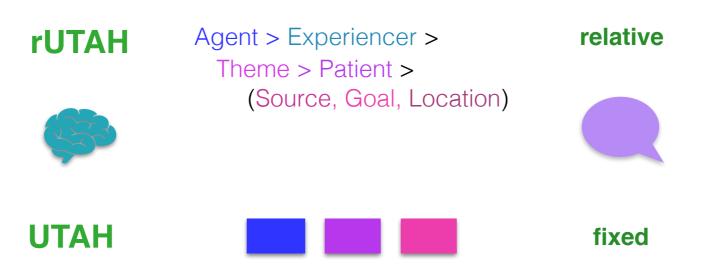


The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

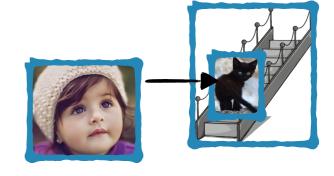


How do we tell which linking theory proposal is likely to be correct?





The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



Argument from acquisition:

Which linking theory proposals are compatible with the observed development of this knowledge in children?

Pearl 2017, Pearl et al. 2017



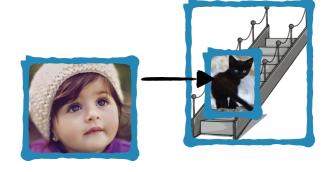


Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)

UTAH

Agent > Experiencer > relative
Theme > Patient > (fixed)

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



Good news: These proposals make developmental predictions.

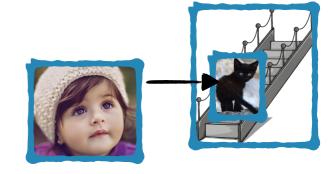








The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





Proposals relying on innate knowledge typically assume early maturation: the knowledge is **present as early as we can test for it**.





rUTAH

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

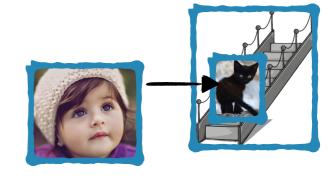








The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





Implication: A learner who has knowledge of the mapping to syntax should always match real children's behavior best.





rUTAH

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)









The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



Proposals relying on derived knowledge typically assume it **takes some time** for children to derive the knowledge from their input.





rUTAH

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

UTAH

fixed

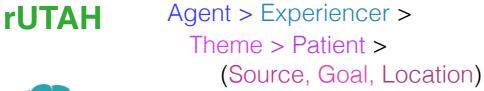
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

Implication: A learner who has knowledge of the mapping to syntax should *not* always match real children's behavior best.

A learner *without* this knowledge should match younger children best.





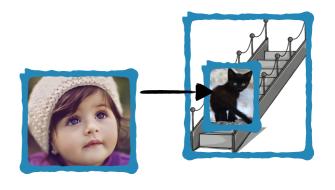






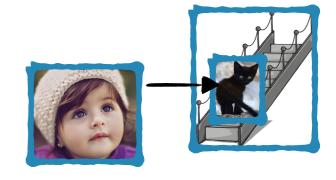








The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



The same evaluation can be done for learners who use a fixed thematic system vs. a relative thematic system. Which ones match real children's behavior best?





rUTAH

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)



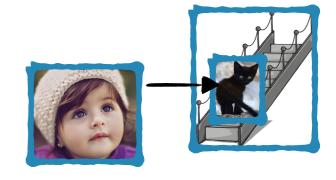




UTAH



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



So what behavior should we look at that would leverage linking theory knowledge?







Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)











The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



One answer: The development of **verb classes** — how children cluster verbs together in order to generalize about verb linguistic behavior.





rUTAH Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)



relative

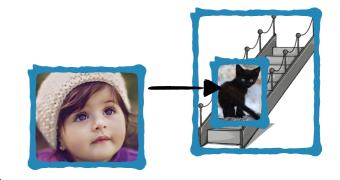








The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

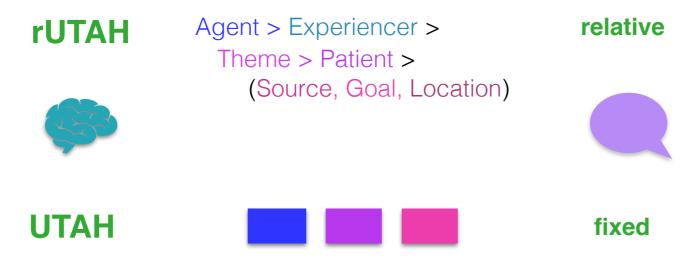


Why **verb classes**? Linking theories are precisely about one key aspect of verb behavior: how verb arguments are interpreted.

So, linking theory knowledge could affect how children cluster verbs together into verb classes.









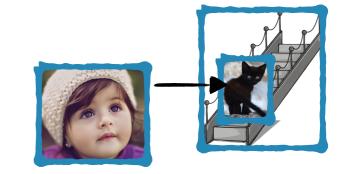


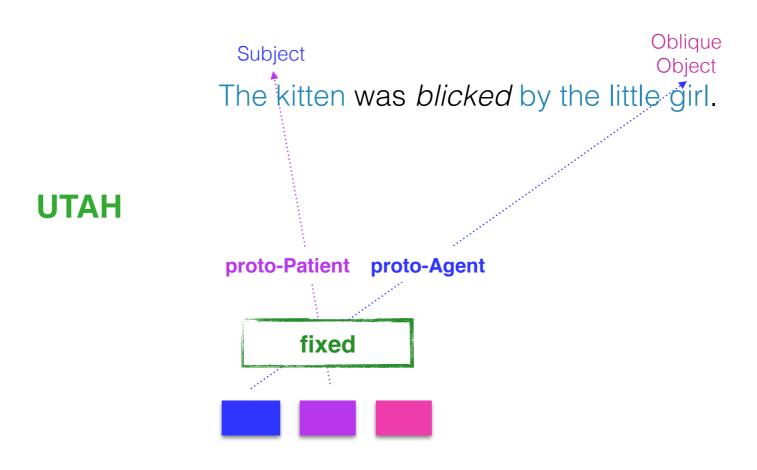


fixed

Linking theories

How does linking knowledge affect verb clustering in children?



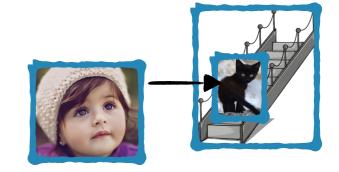






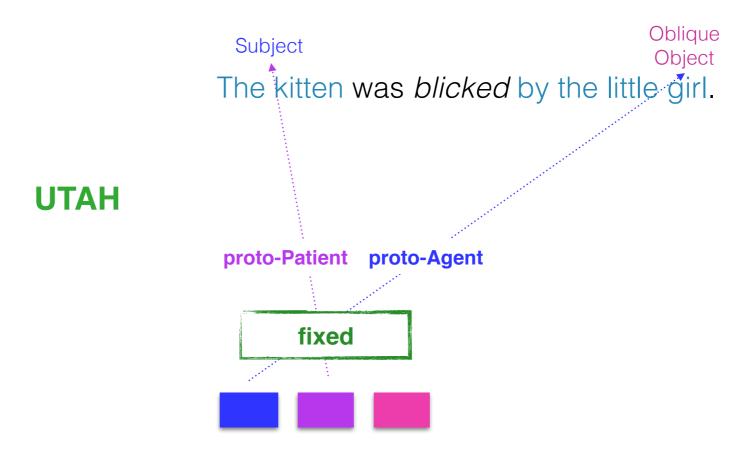


How does linking knowledge affect verb clustering in children?



If children expect a mapping already, it's salient when the mapping doesn't hold.

Interpretation: movement, which is used to cluster verbs.





rUTAH

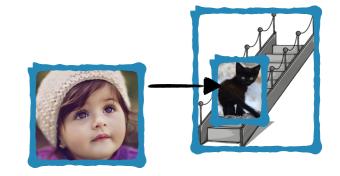
relative





Linking theories

How does linking knowledge affect verb clustering in children?





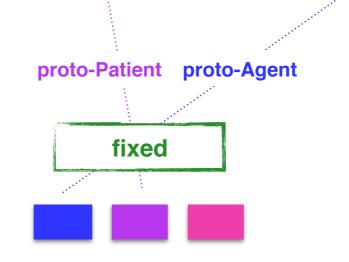
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UTAH



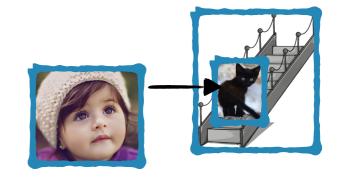






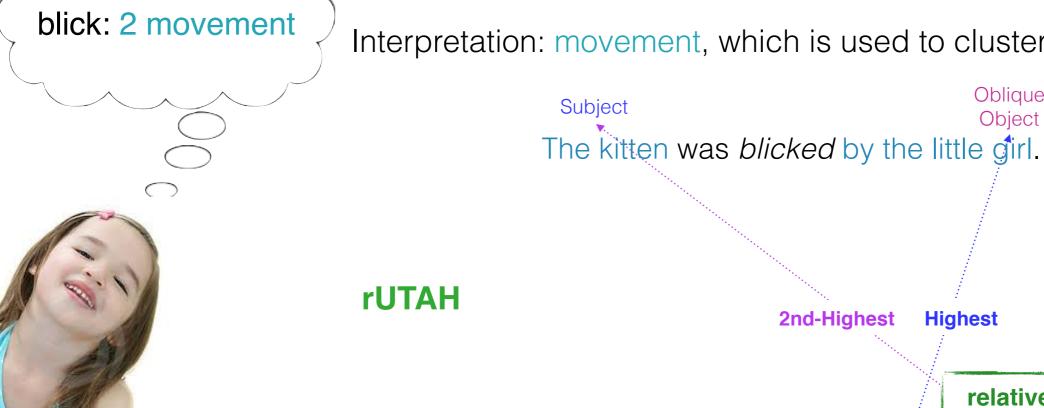


How does linking knowledge affect verb clustering in children?



If children expect a mapping already, it's salient when the mapping doesn't hold.

Interpretation: movement, which is used to cluster verbs.



2nd-Highest Highest relative **Agent > Experiencer >** Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)

Oblique

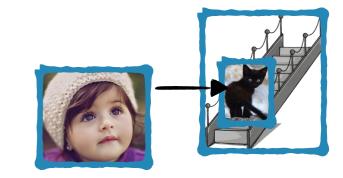
Object







How does linking knowledge affect verb clustering in children?

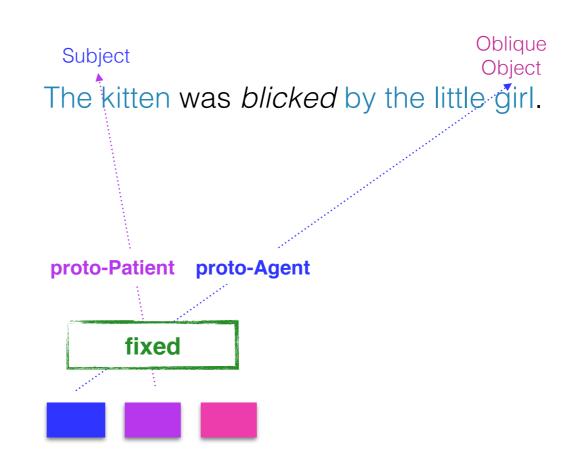




If children don't expect a mapping already, they may track the details of where certain thematic representations appear and use that to cluster verbs.



fixed

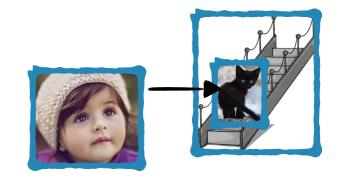


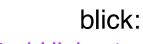






How does linking knowledge affect verb clustering in children?





2nd-Highest = Subject Highest = Oblique If children don't expect a mapping already, they may track the details of where certain thematic representations appear and use that to cluster verbs.



Subject

The kitten was blicked by the little girl.

2nd-Highest

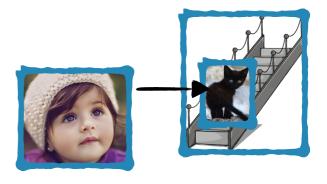
relative

relative

Highest

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

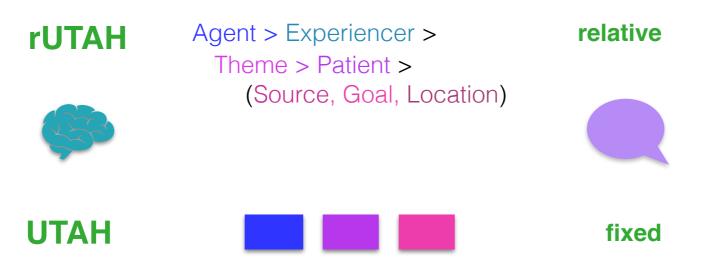
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



Strong empirical foundation:

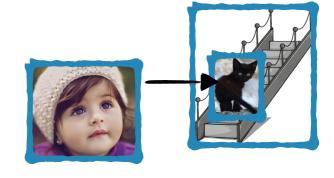
We have a lot of empirical data about the development of **verb classes**: experimental studies of children's behavior (output of learning) and corpus studies of their input.





The Plan

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

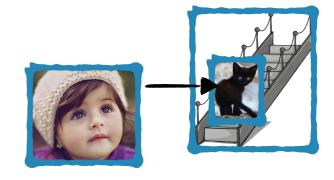


1. Evaluating different linking theory proposals using developmental modeling



The Plan

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



1. Evaluating different linking theory proposals using developmental modeling

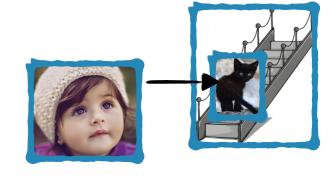


2. Exploring how a linking theory could be derived from children's input

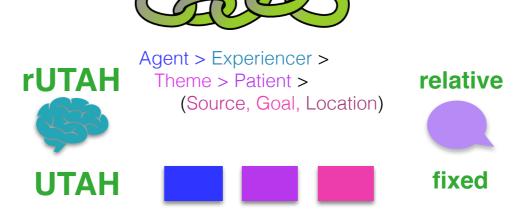


The Plan

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



1. Evaluating different linking theory proposals using developmental modeling



2. Exploring how a linking theory could be derived from children's input





Goal:

Build a modeled learner who learns close enough to how real children learn to tell us something informative about these linking theory proposals



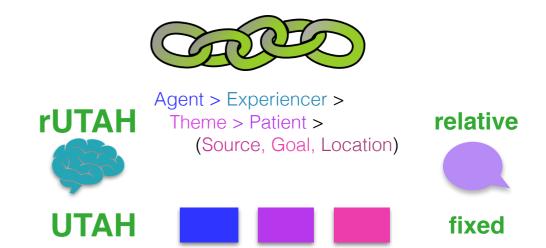


Goal:

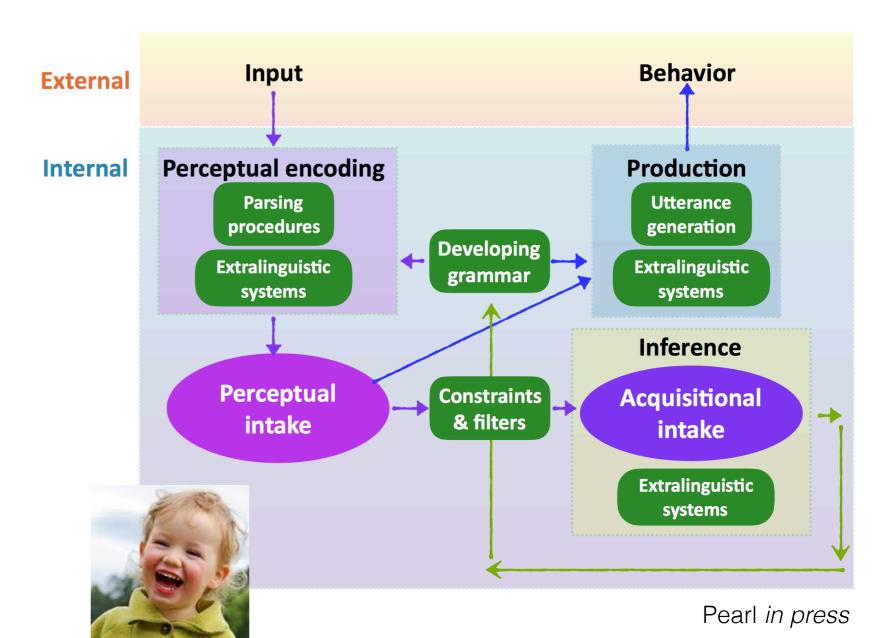
Build a modeled learner who learns close enough to how real children learn to tell us something informative about these linking theory proposals

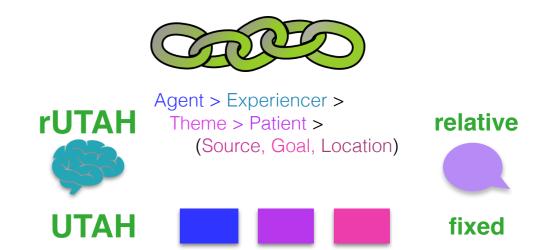


What's close enough?



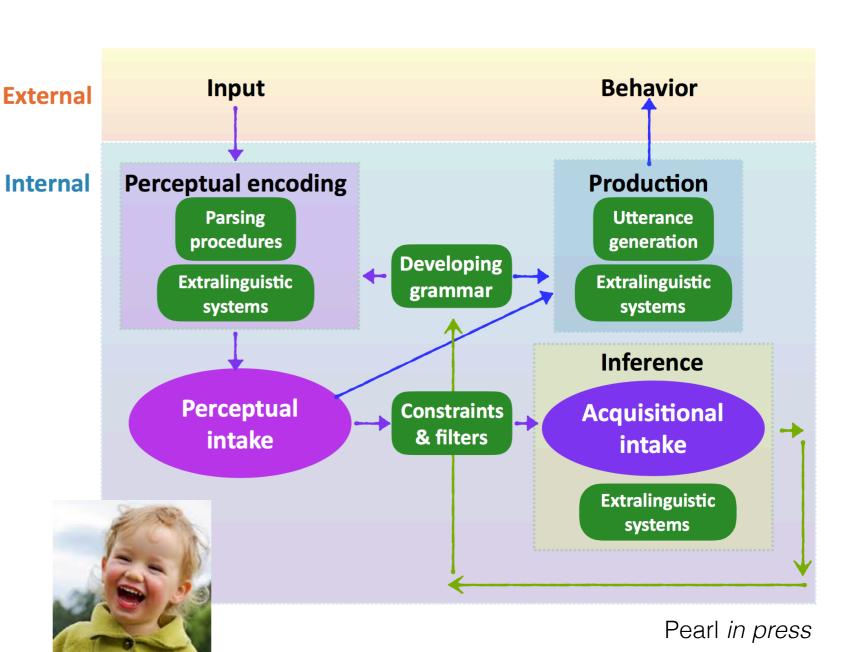
Close enough to this process

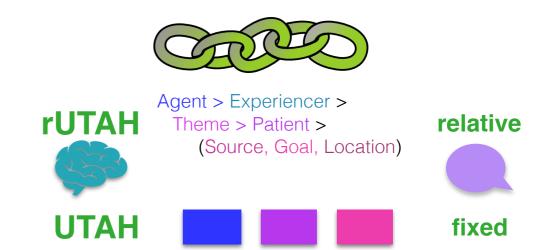




Close enough to this process

...which has a lot going on. It can be helpful when developmental modeling to think about five main parts.





five main parts

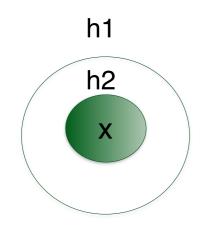
initial state

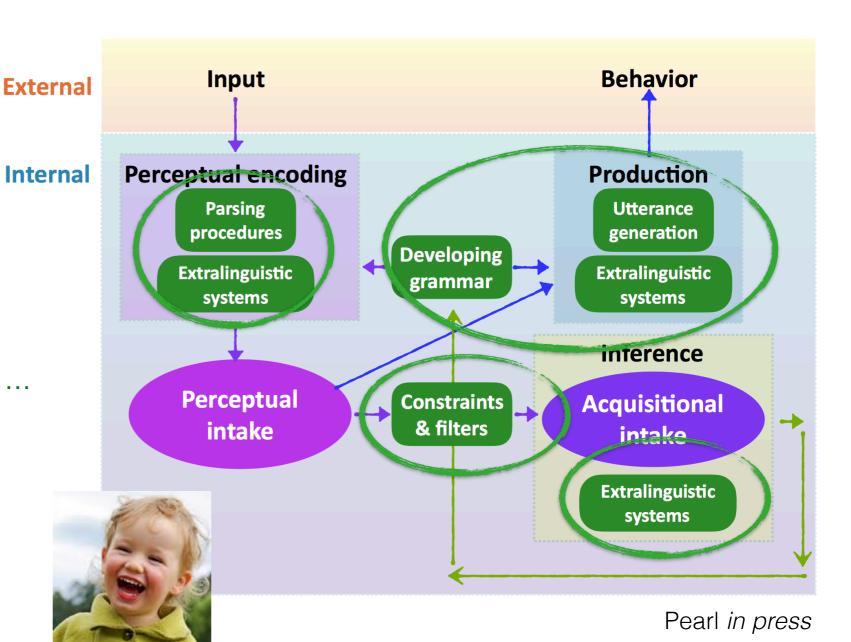
What does the child **start with**? What knowledge, abilities, and learning biases does the child already have?

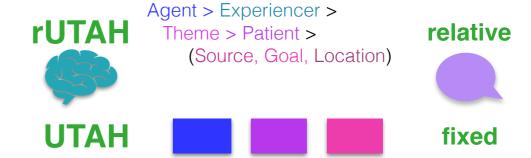


N, V, Adj, P, ...

Agent, Patient, Goal, ...







five main parts

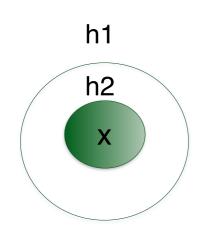
initial state

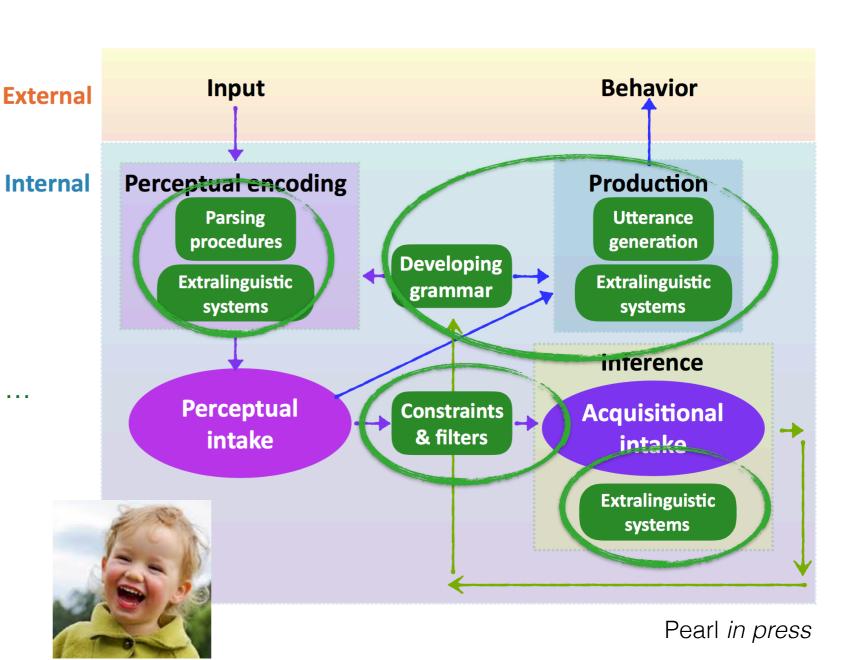
What does the child **start with**? What knowledge, abilities, and learning biases does the child already have?

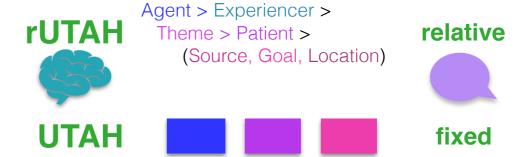


N, V, Adj, P, ...

Agent, Patient, Goal, ...







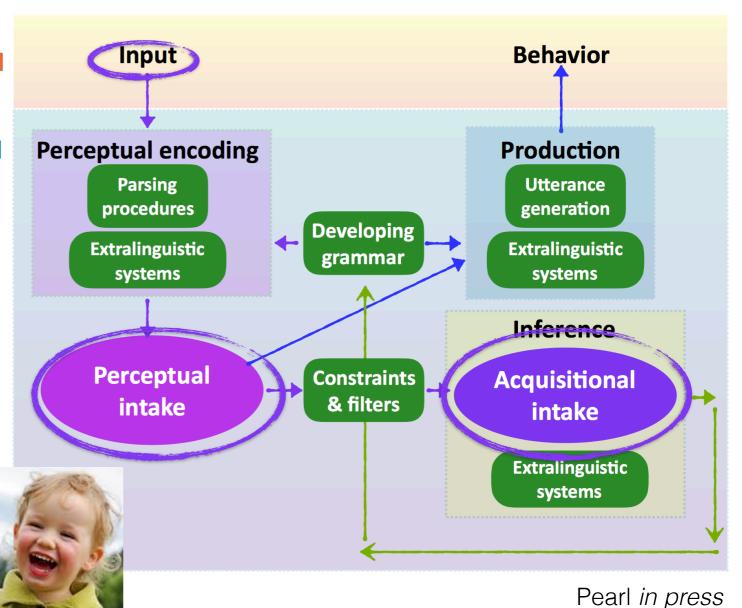
five main parts

initial state

data intake

How does the modeled child perceive the input (= perceptual intake)? What part of the perceived data is used for acquisition (= acquisitional intake)? **External**

Internal





five main parts

initial state

data intake

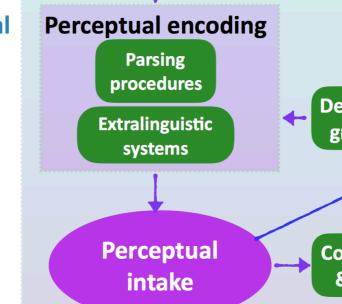
How does the modeled child perceive the input (= perceptual intake)? What part of the perceived data is used for acquisition (= acquisitional intake)?

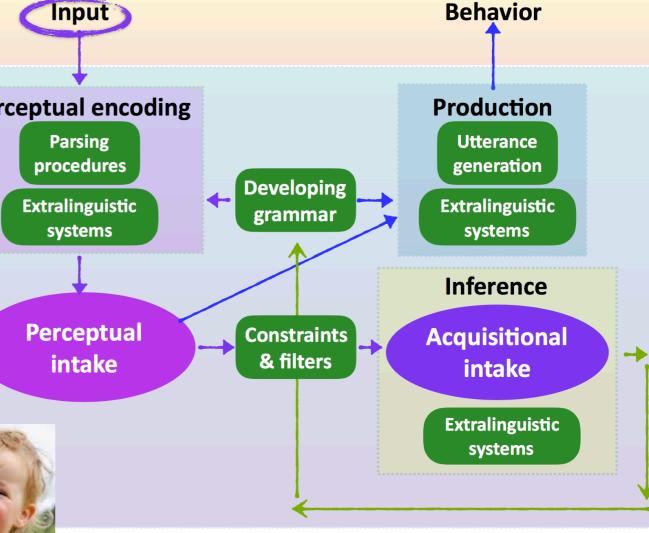


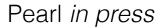
The kitten was blicked by the little girl.

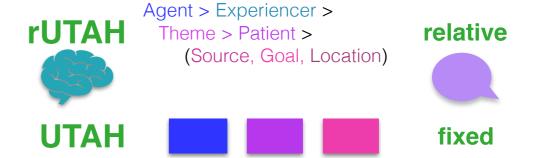
External

Internal









five main parts

initial state

data intake

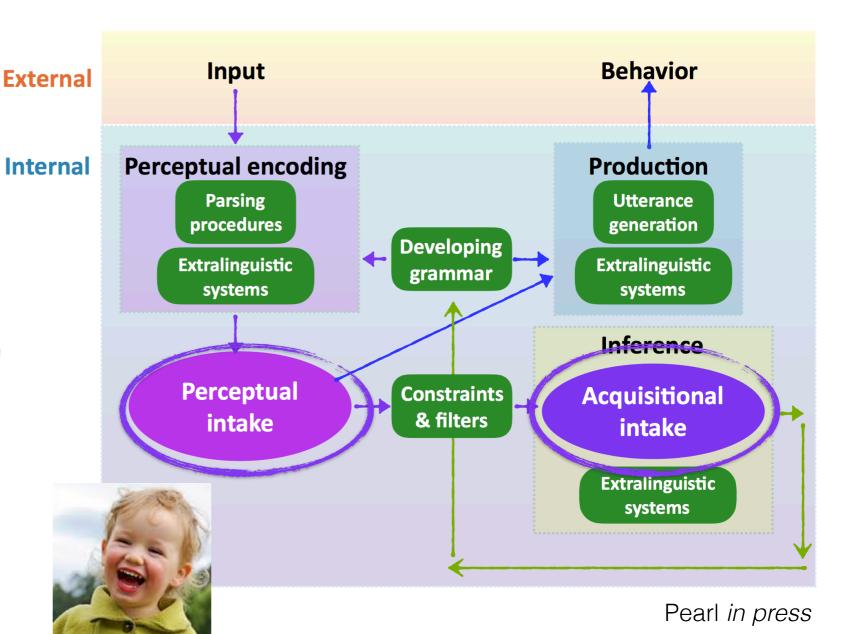
How does the modeled child perceive the input (= perceptual intake)? What part of the perceived data is used for acquisition (= acquisitional intake)?

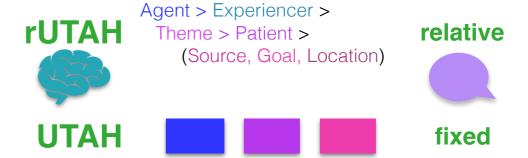


The kitten was *blicked* by the little girl.









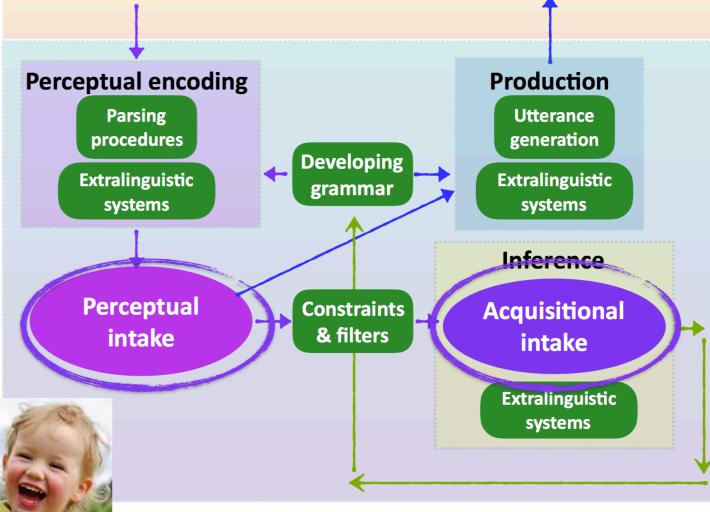
five main parts

by the little girl.

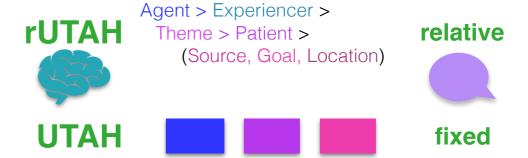
initial state

data intake Input **Behavior External** How does the modeled child perceive the input (= perceptual intake)? What part of the perceived data is used for **Perceptual encoding** Internal acquisition (= acquisitional intake)? **Parsing** procedures **Developing Extralinguistic** grammar systems The kitten was blicked blick:

proto-Patient = Subject proto-Agent = Oblique

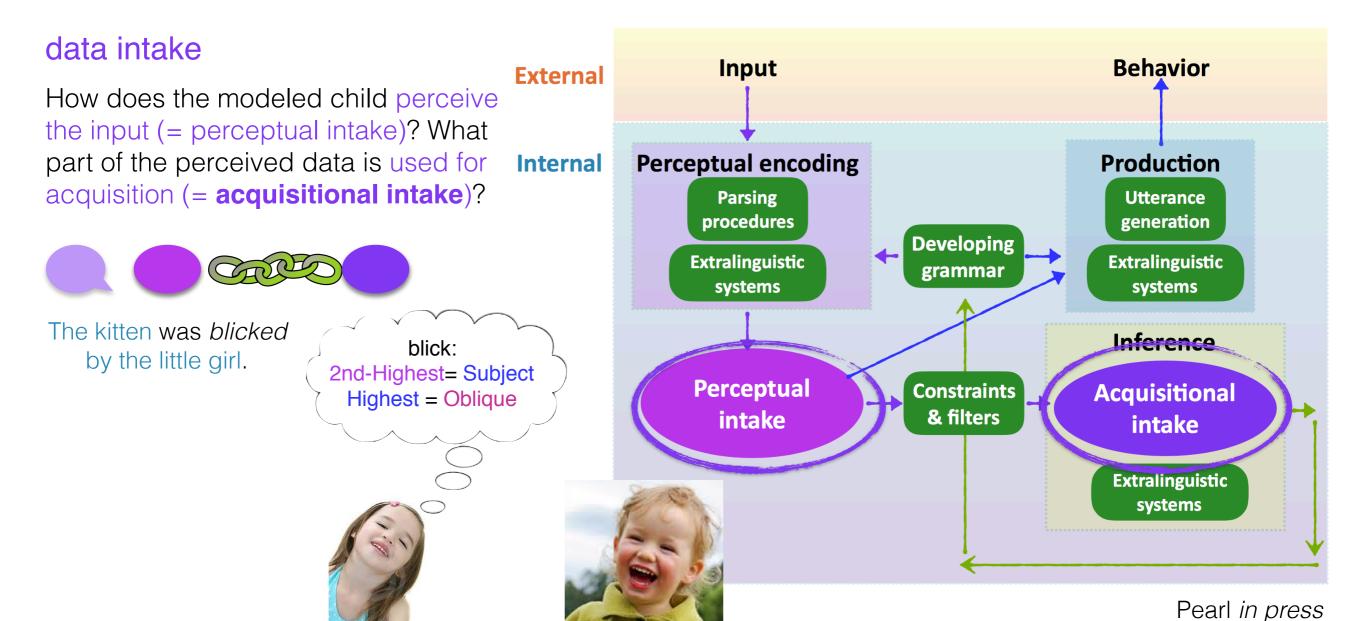


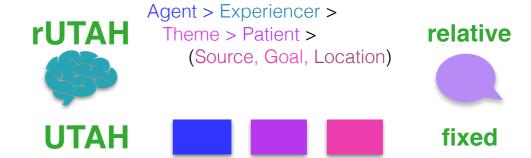
Pearl in press



five main parts

initial state





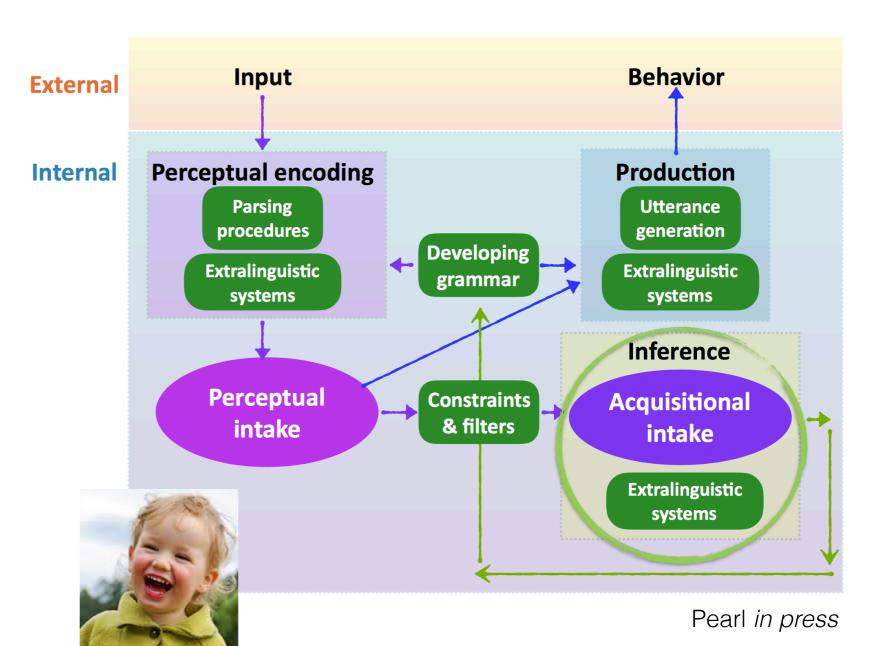
five main parts

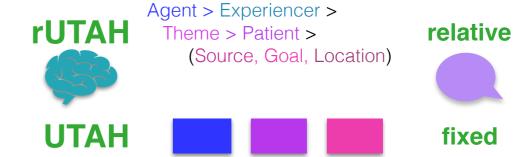


inference

How are updates made to the modeled child's internal representations?







five main parts



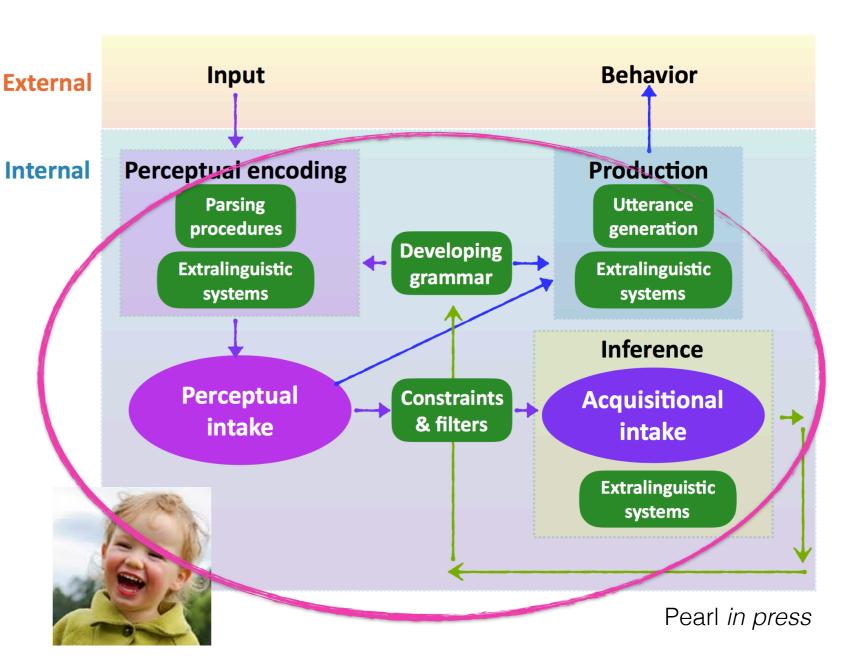
learning period

How long does the child have to learn?



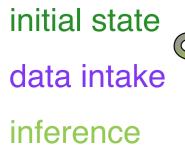
ex: 3 years, ~1,000,000 data points

ex: 4 months, ~36,500 data points





five main parts







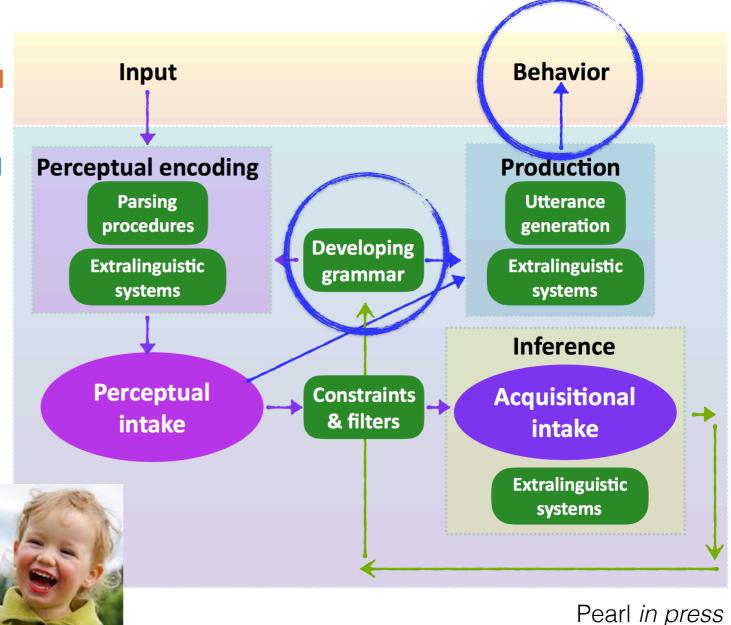
External

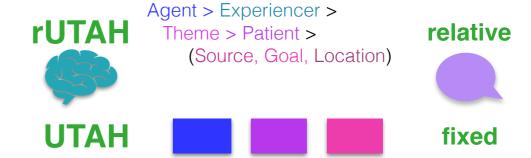
Internal

target state

learning period

What does successful acquisition look like? What knowledge is the child trying to attain (often assessed in terms of observable behavior)?





five main parts

initial state

data intake

inference



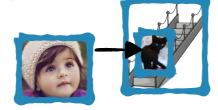


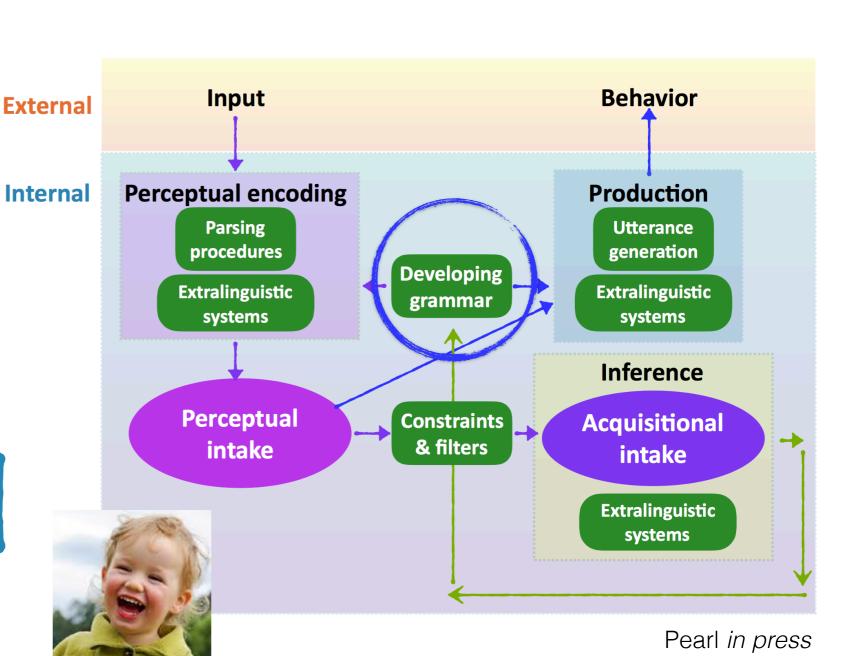


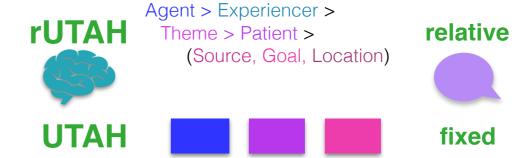
target state

What does successful acquisition look like? What **knowledge** is the child trying to attain (often assessed in terms of observable behavior)?

The little girl *blicked* the kitten on the stairs.







five main parts

initial state

data intake

inference





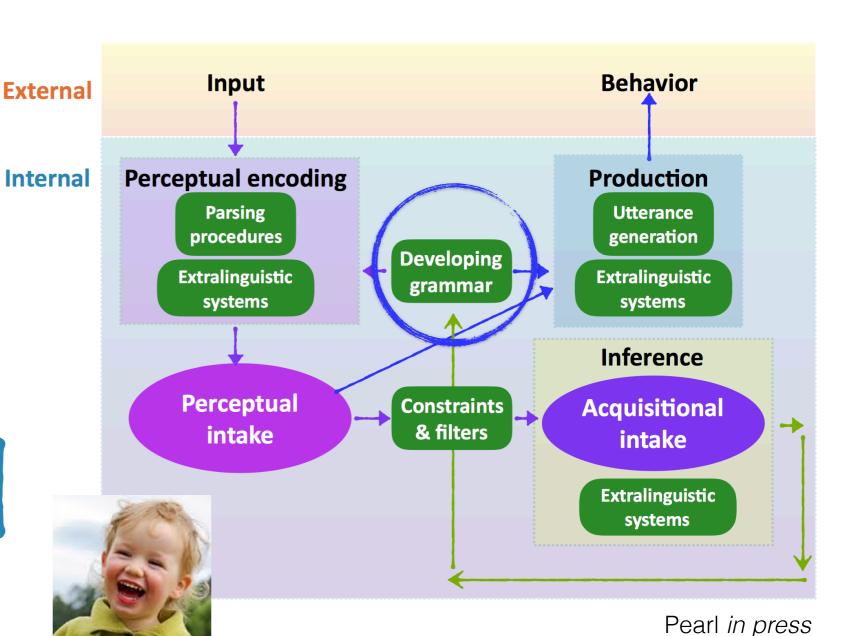


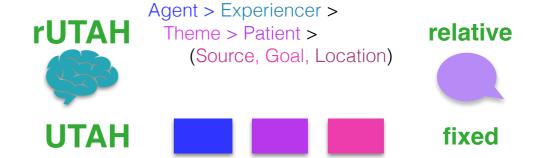
target state

What does successful acquisition look like? What **knowledge** is the child trying to attain (often assessed in terms of observable behavior)?

blick pet kiss touch hug







five main parts

initial state

data intake

inference



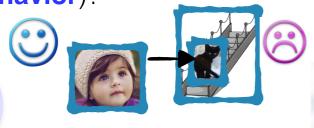
learning period



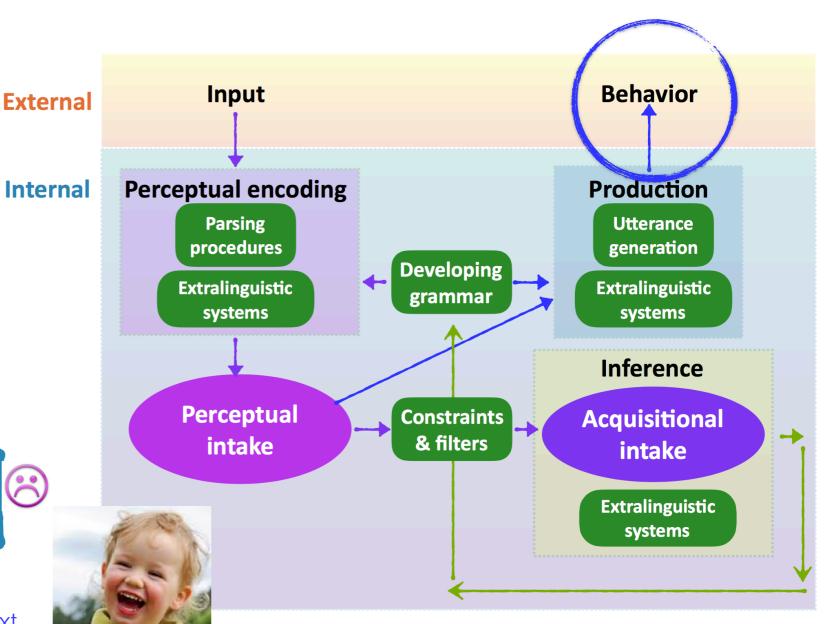
target state

What does successful acquisition look like? What knowledge is the child trying to attain (often assessed in terms of observable behavior)?

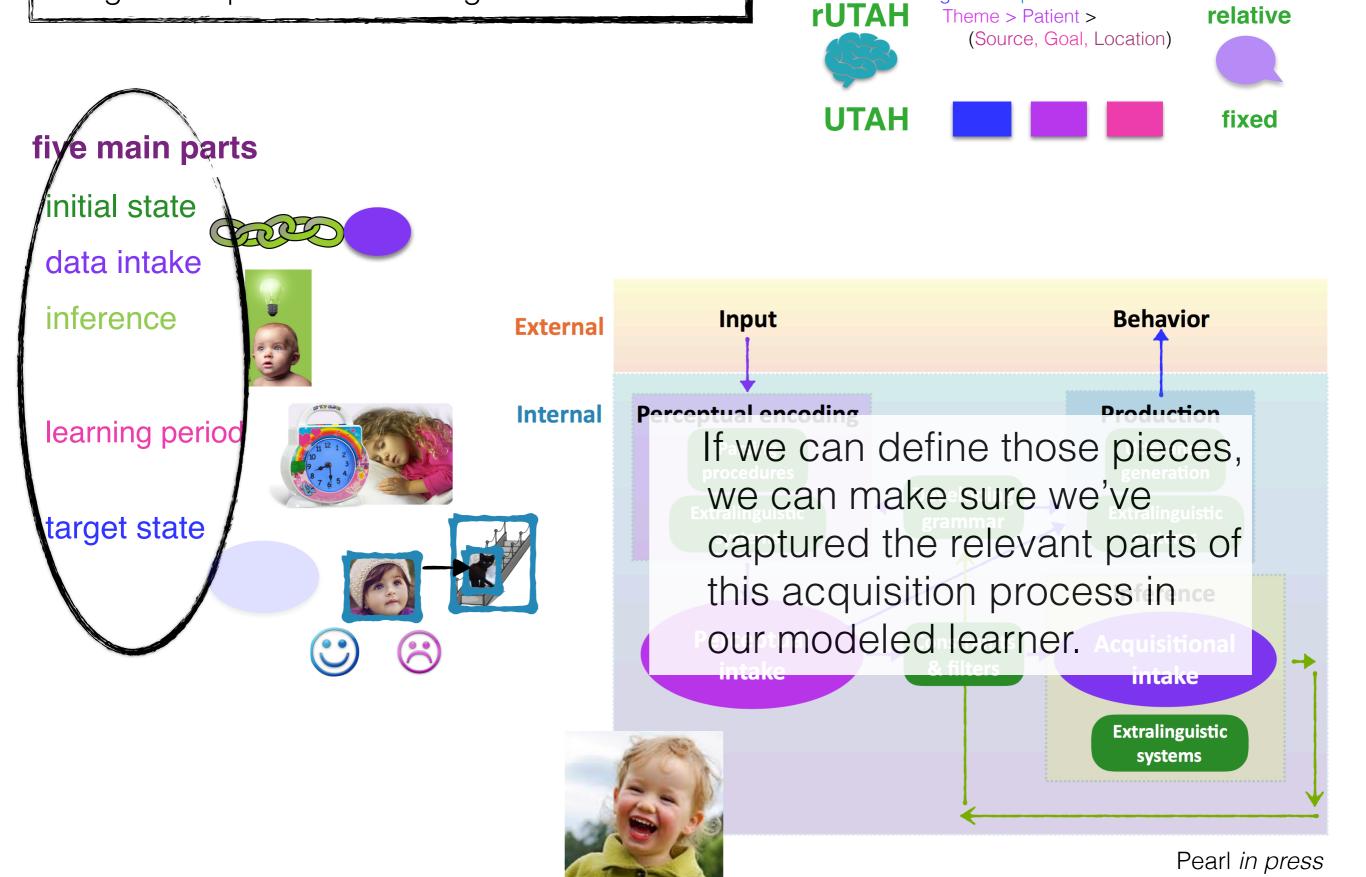
blick pet touch kiss hug



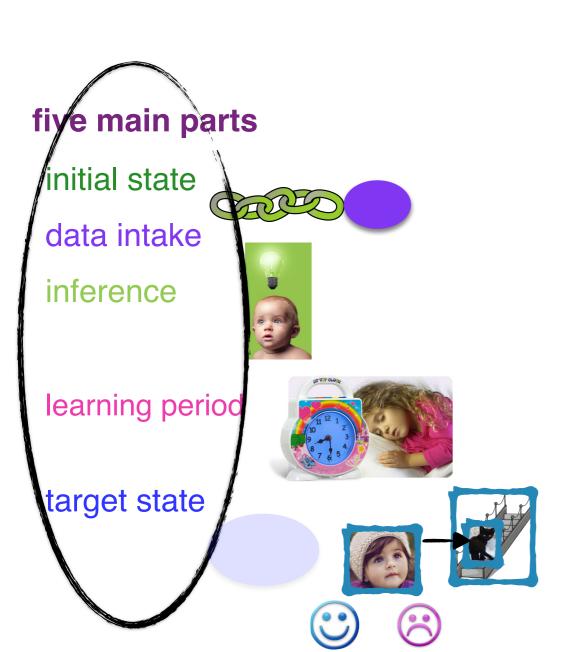
interpretations or productions in context

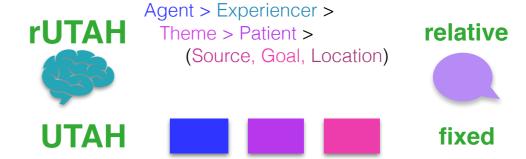


Pearl in press



Agent > Experiencer >





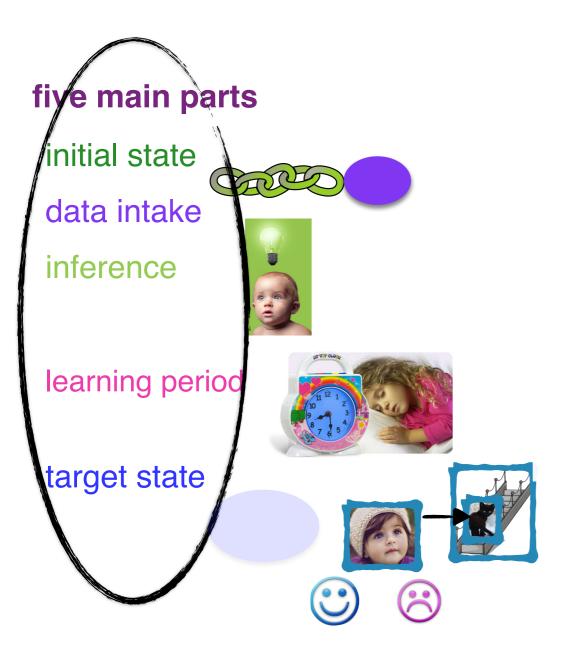
So let's do this for modeled learners who implement different linking theory proposals.











Goal: Model the developmental trajectory of verb class knowledge from 3 to 4 to 5 years old in English







data intake inference target state

learning period

initial state





Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)





fixed











data intake

inference learning period

target state

initial state



Cognitive plausibility check?



Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)











data intake

inference learning period

target state

initial state





Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)







Cognitive plausibility check?



Thematic roles that indicate event participant roles are salient to very young children. (<10 months: Gordon 2003; 6 months: Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom 2007, Hamlin, Wynn, Bloom, & Mahajan 2011)



data intake

inference learning period target state

initial state



rUTAH

UTAH

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)





fixed

Children are also sensitive to the animacy of verb arguments.

Becker 2009, Kirby 2009, Kirby 2010, Becker 2014, Becker 2015, Hartshorne et al. 2015, among others

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.







+animate



-animate



data intake

inference learning period target state

initial state





UTAH

Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)





fixed

Agent > Experiencer >









+animate



-animate

Children pay attention to the linguistic context of a verb (its syntactic frame) to figure out how it behaves (e.g., Fisher et al. 2010, Gutman et al. 2015, Harrigan et al. 2016).

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



data intake

inference learning period target state

initial state





Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient > (Source, Goal, Location)





fixed



UTAH















+animate



-animate

Children pay attention to the linguistic context of a verb (its syntactic frame) to figure out how it behaves (e.g., Fisher et al. 2010, Gutman et al. 2015, Harrigan et al. 2016).

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

NP



NP

PP



data intake

inference learning period

target state

initial state





Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)





UTAH







fixed



+animate



-animate



initial state

inference learning period target state

input that yields data intake







The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

Samples of child-directed speech

CHILDES Treebank

Pearl & Sprouse 2013



<3yrs

18 and 32 months ~40,000 utterances 239 verbs



<4yrs

18 and 48 months ~51,000 utterances 267 verbs



<5yrs

18 and 58 months ~56,500 utterances 284 verbs

initial state inference target state learning period

data intake

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

NP ___ NP PP

NP ___ NP PP -surface morphology

NP _____+past NP PP +surface morphology

Children may either ignore verb surface morphology (like the past tense marker -ed) or pay attention to it when encoding the syntactic frame information.



initial state inference target state learning period

data intake







+animate

+animate

-animate

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

NP _____+past NP PP +surface morphology



initial state inference target state learning period

data intake













fixed

+animate

+animate

-animate

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

NP ___ NP PP -surface morphology

NP ____+past NP PP +surface morphology



+expect-mapping

initial state inference tai

learning period

target state

data intake













+animate

+animate

-animate

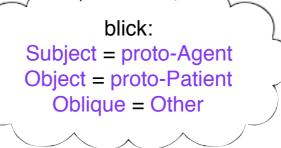
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

NP ___ NP PP

PP -surface morphology

NP ____+past NP PP

+surface morphology



-expect-mapping



initial state

inference learning period

target state

data intake















fixed

+animate

+animate

-animate

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

NP ___ NP PP

-surface morphology

NP ____+past NP PP

+surface morphology

blick:

Subject = Highest

Object = 2nd-Highest

Oblique = 3rd-Highest

-expect-mapping



initial state data intake target state

inference learning period

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?



initial state data intake target state

inference

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

learning period

Ideal learner model: not concerned with the cognitive limitations and incremental learning restrictions children have.

Concerned with what assumptions are useful for children to have.





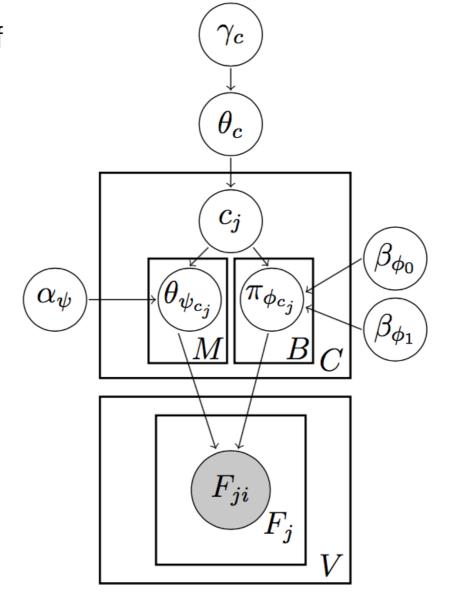
initial state data intake target state



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Learners use a **generative model** of how the observable data for each verb are created.





initial state data intake target state

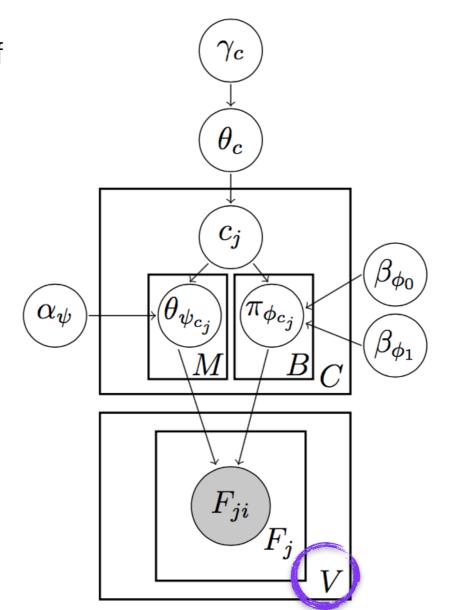


Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Learners use a **generative model** of how the observable data for each verb are created.

FALL





initial state data intake target state



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Learners use a **generative model** of how the observable data for each verb are created.

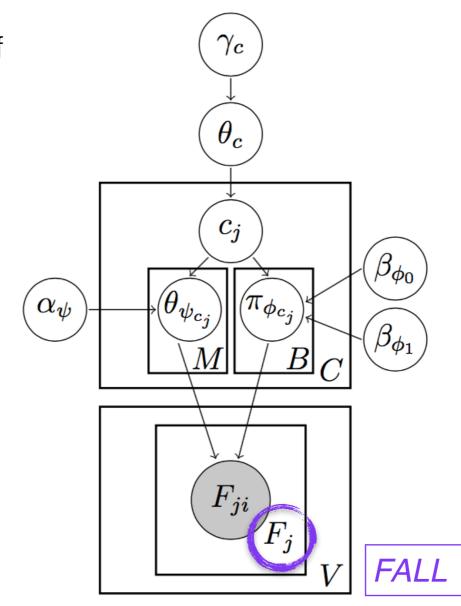
Each verb appears in a certain number of instances in the input.

"it's falling off"

"she fell down"

"don't fall!"

"is London Bridge
falling down?"





initial state data intake target state



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Learners use a **generative model** of how the observable data for each verb are created.

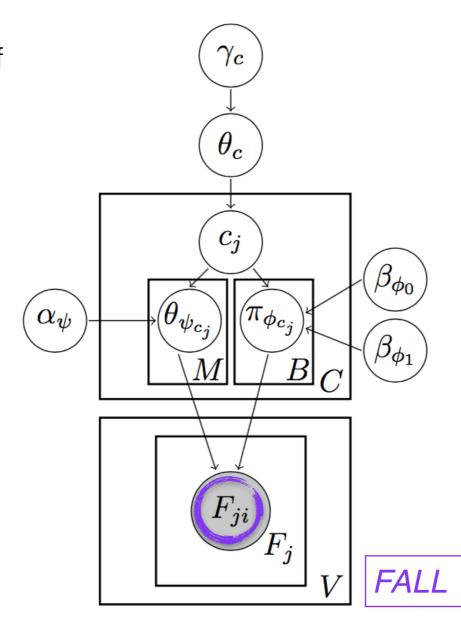
Each instance is observed some number of times.

(3x) "it's falling off"

"she fell down"

"don't fall!"

"is London Bridge
falling down?"





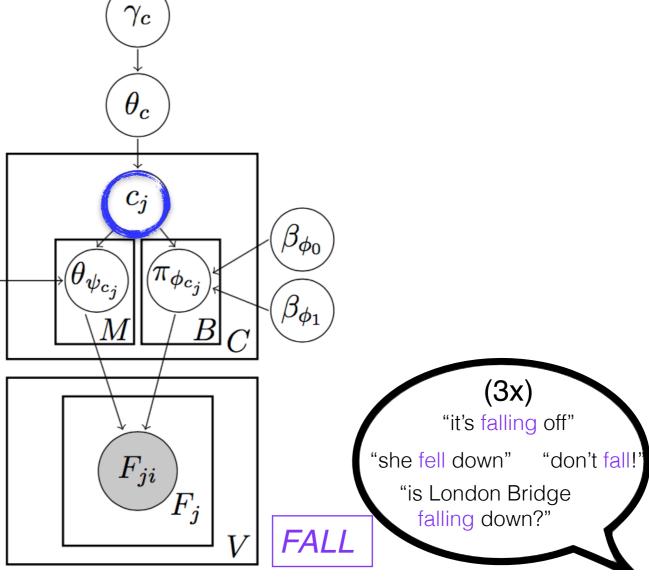
initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Each verb belongs to some class which determines its linguistic behavior. class7

 $lpha_{\psi}$



initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

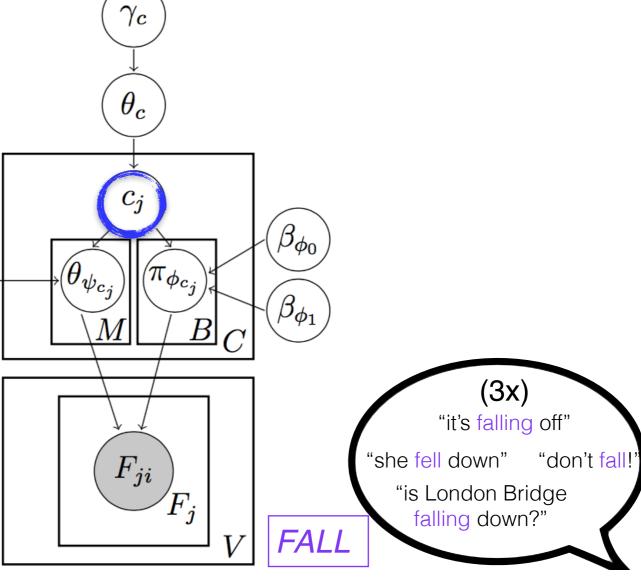


 $lpha_{\psi}$

inference

Each verb belongs to some class which determines its linguistic behavior. *class*7

Objective: Infer verb class



initial state data intake target state

Basic question child to use the achieve the tar

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

The learner doesn't know beforehand how

many classes there are or which verbs

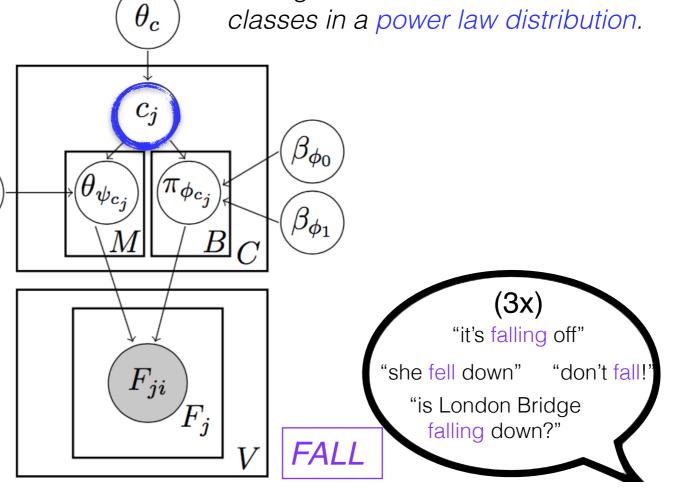
belong to which. There's a bias for



Each verb belongs to some class which determines its linguistic behavior. class7

 $lpha_{\psi}$

Objective: Infer verb class



Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

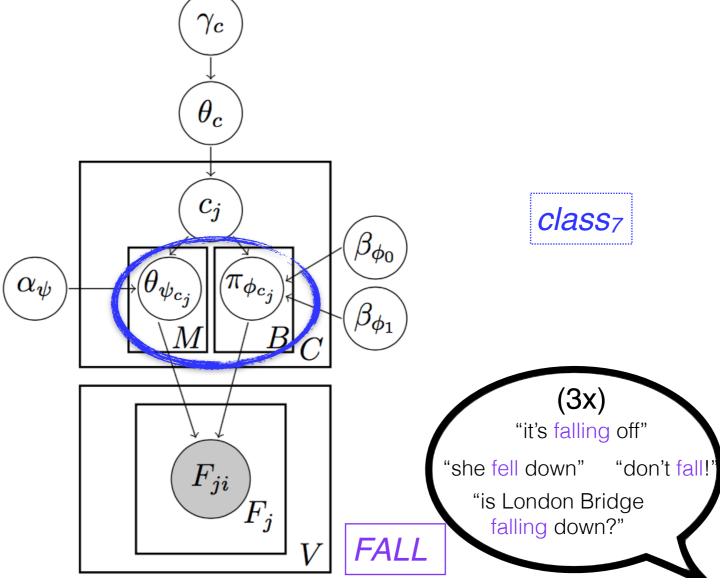
initial state data intake target state



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Depending on the verb class, the observed usage will have certain characteristics.



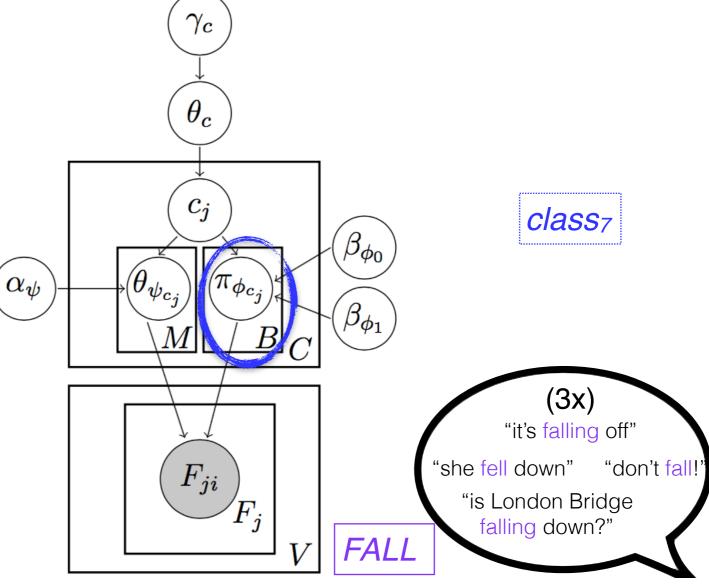
Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

These characteristics include binary choices such as whether the subject is animate or not.



initial state data intake target state

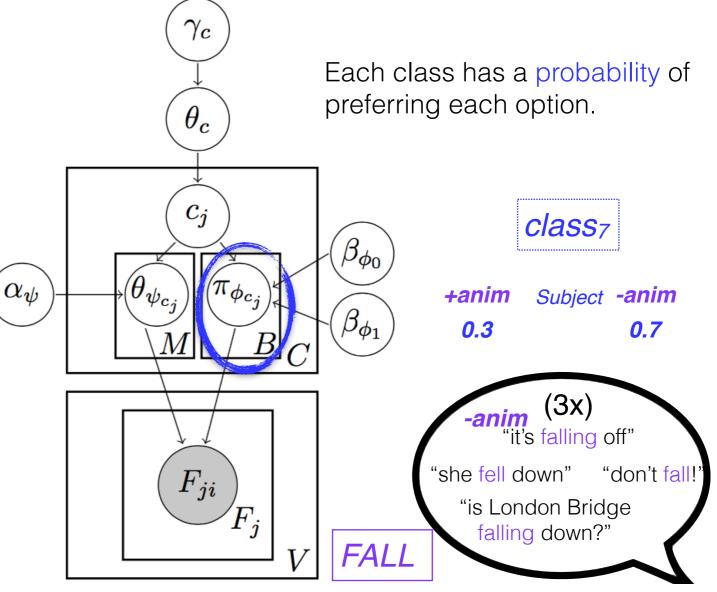
tate



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

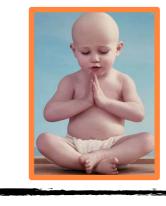
These characteristics include binary choices such as whether the subject is animate or not.



Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

initial state data intake target state

inference



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?



 γ_c

 θ_c

Each class has a probability of preferring each option.

 eta_{ϕ_1}

Binary choices:

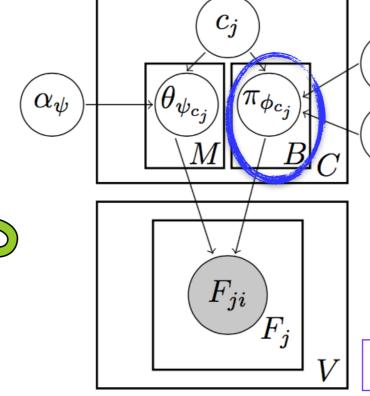
- +/-animate subject
- +/-animate object
- +/-animate oblique object
- +/-movement (when +exp-mapping)



+animate

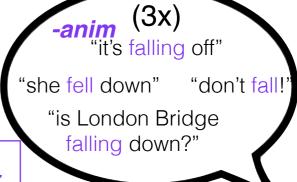


-animate



class₇

+anim Subject -anim 0.3 0.7

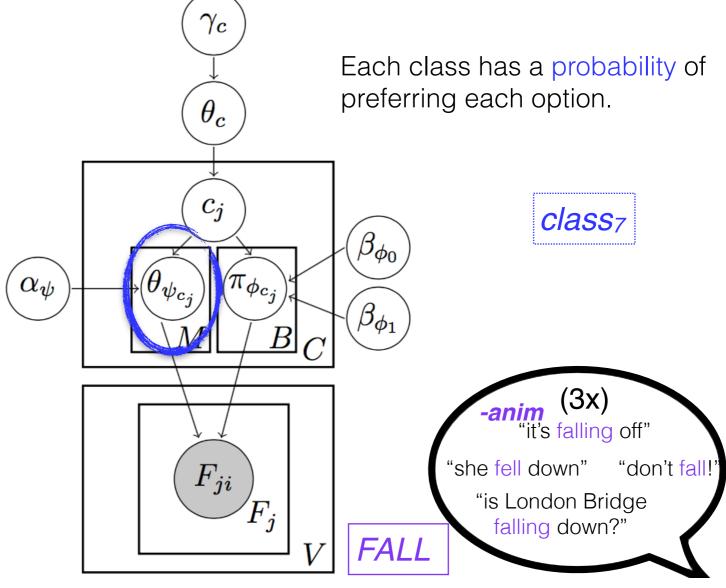


initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

These characteristics include multinomial choices such as which syntactic frame a verb appears in.



Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

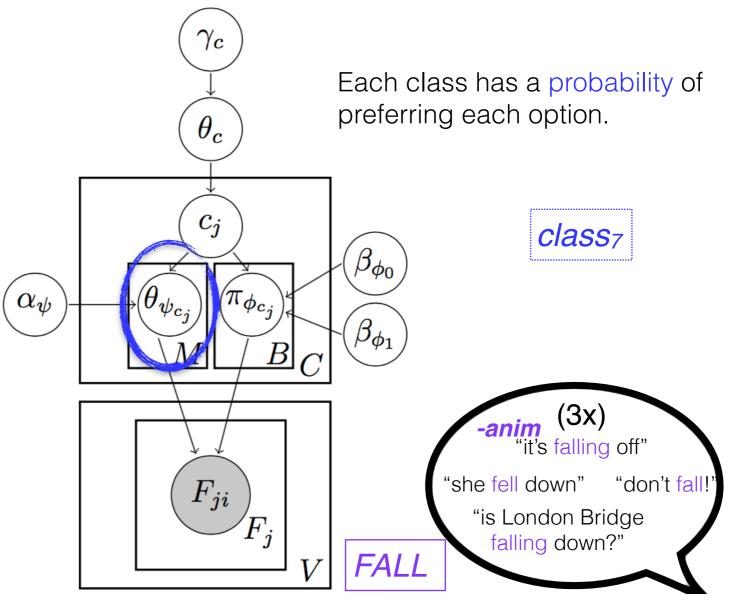
These characteristics include multinomial choices such as which syntactic frame a verb appears in.

NP V PRT

NP V

...

NP V S



initial state data intake target state



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

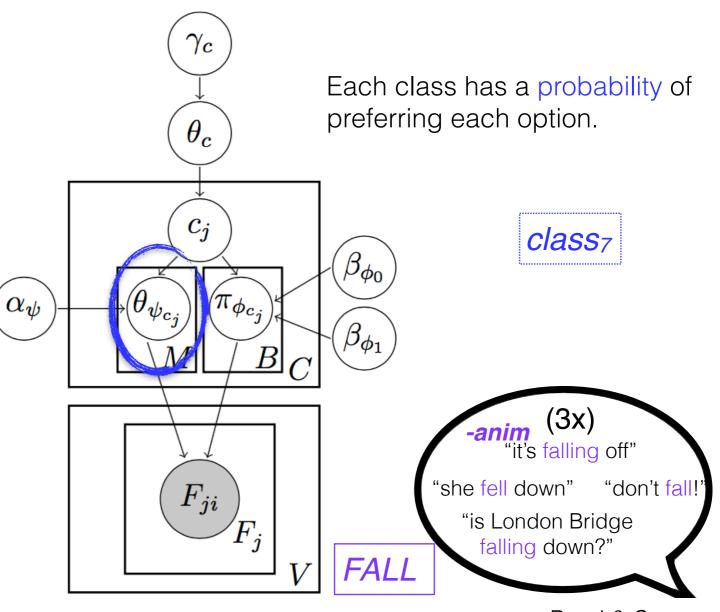
Each class has a probability of preferring each option.

NP V PRT 0.3

NP V **0.25**

. . .

NP VS 0



Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?



Multinomial choices: syntactic frame *NP V PRT*

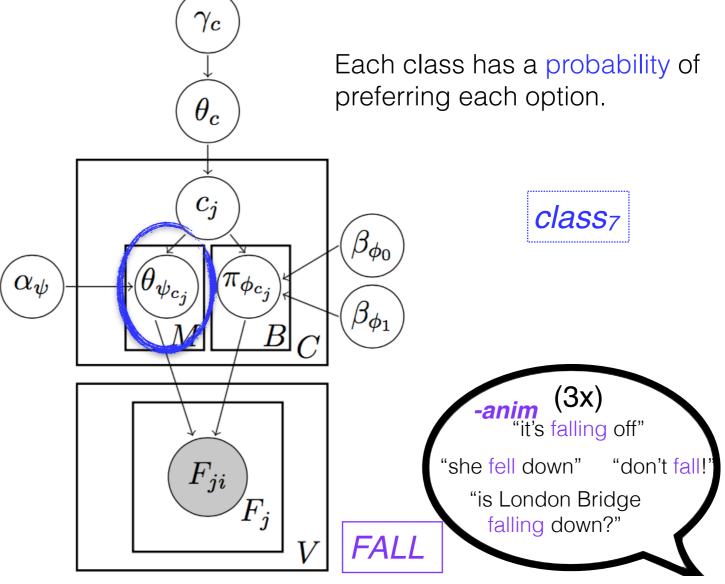
(when -exp-mapping)
position of proto-Agent/Highest
position of proto-Patient/2nd-Highest
position of Other/3rd-Highest



Subject

Object

Oblique Object

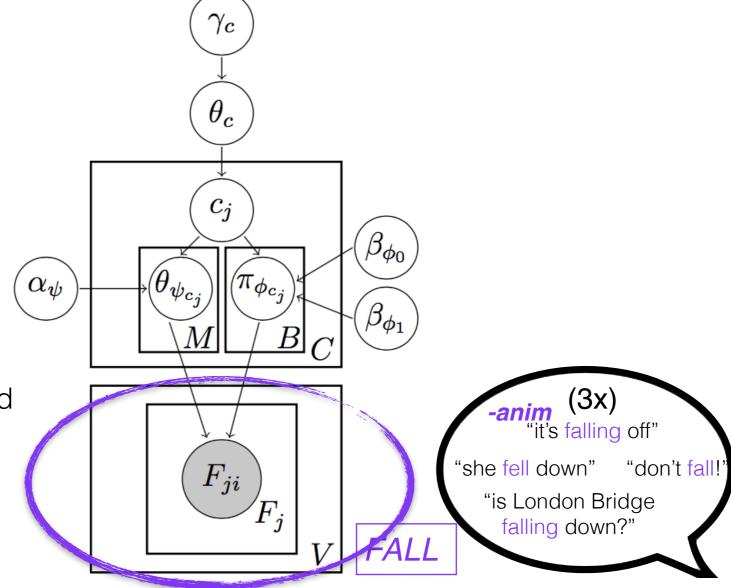


initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Using the observed instances of verb usage, Bayesian inference can be used to determine ...



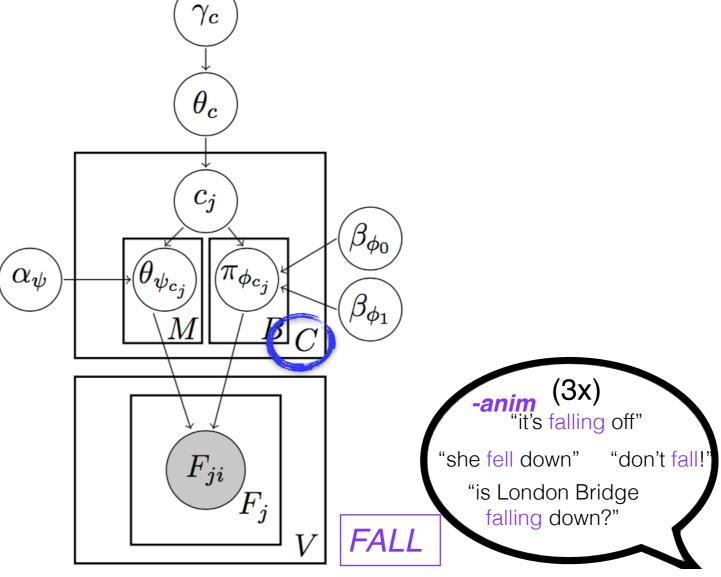
initial state data intake target state

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

inference

Using the observed instances of verb usage, Bayesian inference can be used to determine

how many classes there are



initial state data intake target state

inference

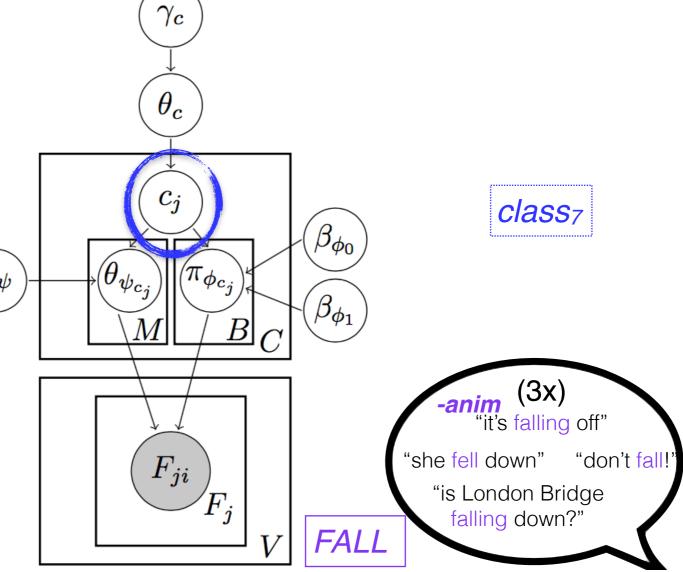
 (α_{ψ})

Using the observed instances of verb usage, Bayesian inference can be used to determine

- how many classes there are
- which class each verb belongs to



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?



target state initial state data intake

inference

 $lpha_{\psi}$

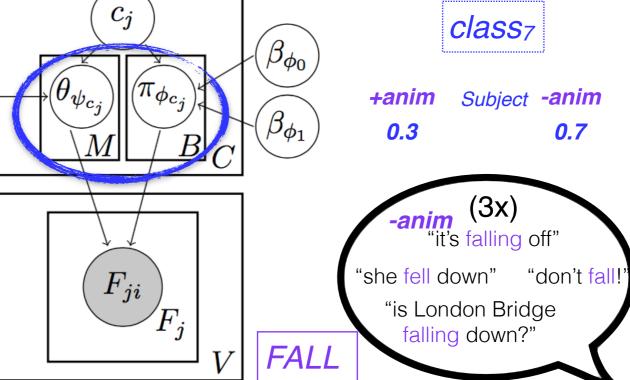
Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

 γ_c NP V PRT 0.3 NP V θ_c NP V S

0.25

Using the observed instances of verb usage, Bayesian inference can be used to determine

- how many classes there are
- which class each verb belongs to
- what the characteristics are of each class



initial state data intake target state

Basic question child to use the achieve the tar

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

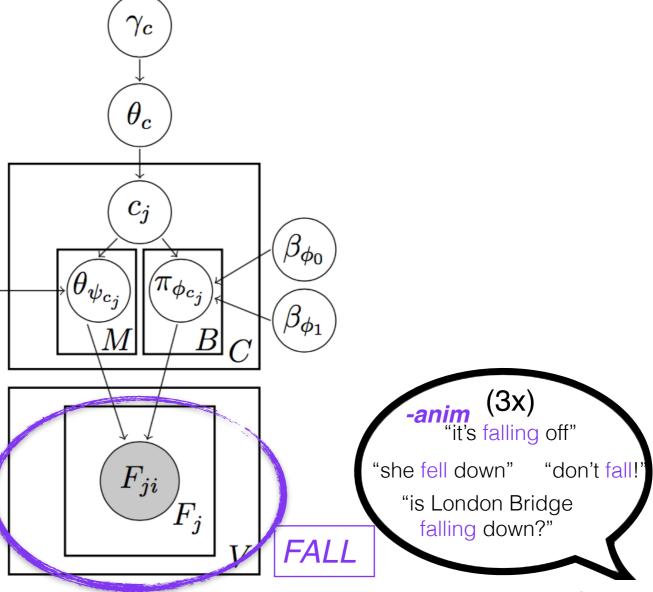


Best answer: maximizes the probability of the observed data.

Using the observed instances of verb usage, Bayesian inference can be used to determine

 $lpha_{\psi}$

- how many classes there are
- which class each verb belongs to
- what the characteristics are of each class



Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

initial state data intake target state



Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?



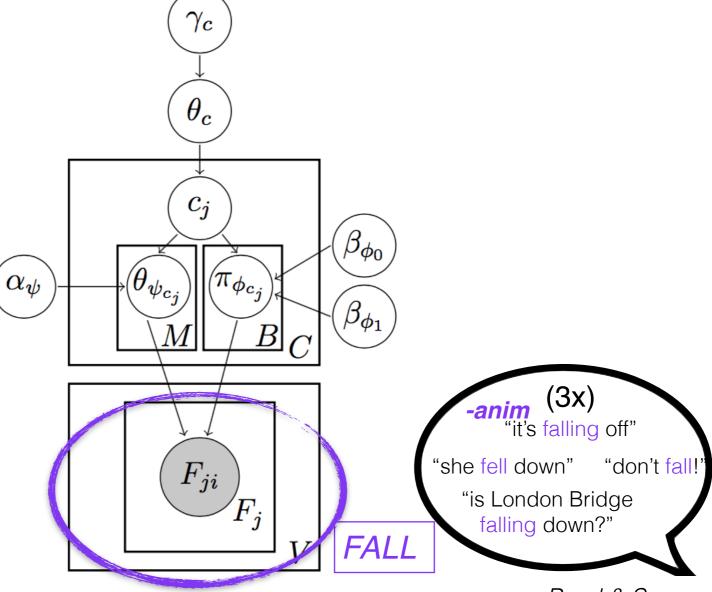
$$p_{c_j} = P(c_j | c_{-j}, \gamma_c, F_{-j}, \lambda) =$$

$$p_{cat_j} * p_{binary_{c_j}} * p_{multinomial_{c_j}}$$

+ Gibbs sampling

Using the observed instances of verb (usage, Bayesian inference can be used to determine

- how many classes there are
- which class each verb belongs to
- what the characteristics are of each class



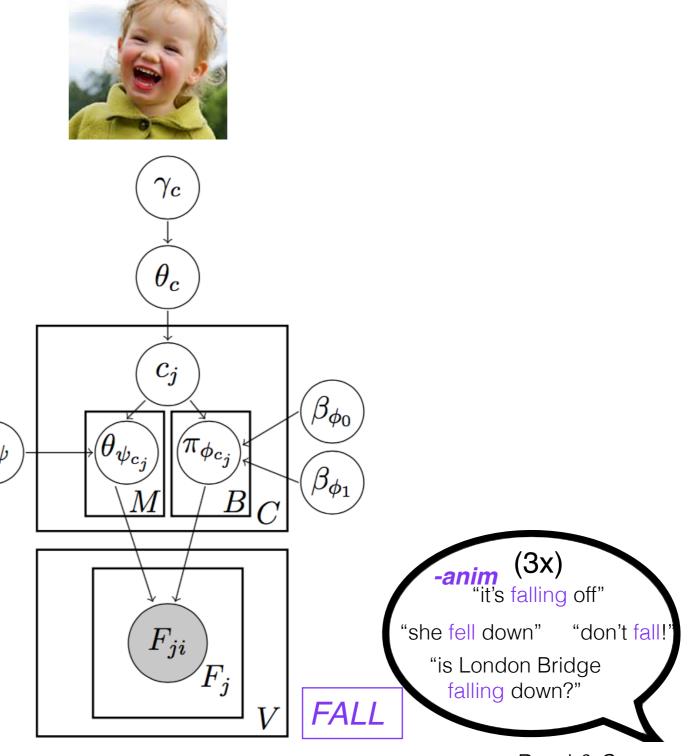
initial state data intake target state

inference

Basic question: Is it possible for the child to use the acquisitional intake to achieve the target knowledge/behavior?

Goal: Determine if the information provided in the modeled learner's acquisitional intake is sufficient to identify verb classes the way children do.





Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

initial state data intake inference

target state



So what does the target knowledge/behavior look like?

initial state data intake inference

target state

Goal: Model the developmental trajectory of verb class knowledge from 3 to 4 to 5 years old in English







initial state data intake inference

target state







verb class knowledge

Survey of 38 experimental studies on children's production and comprehension of specific verbs



initial state data intake inference

target state







verb class knowledge

Survey of 38 experimental studies on children's production and comprehension of specific verbs

... yields 12 verb behaviors

+/-passive +unaccusative

+ditransitive +control-object

+raising-object

+raising-subject +control-subject

+that-comp

+whether/if-comp +subject-experiencer

+non-finite to-comp

+object-experiencer

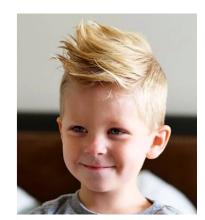


initial state data intake inference

target state







These verb behaviors yield a number of verb classes at each age



initial state data intake inference





target state

These verb behaviors yield a number of verb classes at each age

Example classes

[+passive]: carry, chase, crash, drop, eat, hit, hold, hurt, jump, kick, kiss, knock, lick, punch, push, scratch, shake, turn, wash, watch

[-passive]: believe, remember

[+non-finite to]: ask, have, need, start, suppose, teach, try, use, want

[+that-comp]: bet, hope, think, wish

[+passive, +non-finite to]: like

[+passive, +that-comp]: see

<3yrs



initial state data intake inference





target state

These verb behaviors yield a number of verb classes at each age

Example classes

[+passive]: bite, bump, carry, chase, crash, drop, find, hit, hold, hurt, jump, kick, kill, kiss, knock, lick, pull, punch, push, ride, scratch, shake, shoot, turn, wash, watch

[-passive]: believe, remember

[+that-comp]: bet, hope, think, wish

[+non-finite to, +raising-obj]: need

[+non-finite to, +raising-obj, +control-subj]: want

[+passive, +non-finite to, +psych-subj]: like

[+passive, +that-comp]: see

<4yrs



initial state data intake inference





target state

These verb behaviors yield a number of verb classes at each age

Example classes

[+passive]: bite, bump, carry, chase, crash, drop, find, hit, hold, hurt, jump, kick, kill, kiss, knock, lick pull, push, ride, scratch, shake, shoot, turn, wash, watch [-passive]: believe, remember

[+that-comp]: bet, dream, guess, hope, lie, pretend, think, wish

[+non-finite to, +raising-obj]: need

[+non-finite to, +raising-obj, +control-subj]: want

[+passive, +non-finite to, +psych-subj]: like

[+passive, +that-comp, +whether/if-comp]: see

<5yrs



initial state data intake inference

target state

These verb behaviors yield a number of verb classes at each age

<3yrs



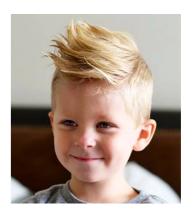
15 classes of 60 verbs total

<4yrs



23 classes of 76 verbs total

<5yrs



25 classes of 84 verbs total



<3yrs



15 classes

<4yrs



23 classes





25 classes

Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?





<3yrs



15 classes

23 classes

<4yrs

<5yrs



25 classes

Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?

Implementation:





Rand Index



<3yrs



15 classes

23 classes

<4yrs

<5yrs



25 classes

Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?

Implementation:





Rand Index

0.0 <= RI <= 1.0

Intuition: Get credit for putting things together that belong together and keeping things apart that should be apart.



Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?





15 classes

<4yrs



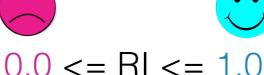
23 classes

<5yrs



25 classes





Rand Index

For each pair of verbs verbi verbi in the inferred classes:

Inferred Class

Same class Different class

Child Class

Same class Different class

Intuition: Get credit for putting things together that belong together and keeping things apart that should be apart.



Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?





15 classes

<4yrs



23 classes

<5yrs



25 classes





0.0 <= RI <= 1.0 Rand Index

For each pair of verbs in the inferred classes:

verb_i verb_j

Inferred Class

Same class

Different class

Child Class

Same class
Different class

True Positive

True Negative

Intuition: Get credit for putting things together that belong together and keeping things apart that should be apart.



Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?





15 classes

<4yrs



23 classes

<5yrs



25 classes





0.0 <= RI <= 1.0 Rand Index

For each pair of verbs in the inferred classes:

verb_i verb_i

Inferred Class

Child Class

Same class
Different class

Same class

True Positive

False Positive

Different class

False Negative

True Negative

Intuition: Get credit for putting things together that belong together and keeping things apart that should be apart.



Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?

Same class

<3yrs



15 classes

<4yrs



23 classes

<5yrs



25 classes

True Positives + True Negatives

True Positives + True Negatives + False Positives + False Negatives

Rand Index

For each pair of verbs in the inferred classes: verb_i verb_j

Inferred Class

Same class

Different class

True Positive

False Negative

Different class False Positive

True Negative

Intuition: Get credit for putting things together that belong together and keeping things apart that should be apart.

Child Class



Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?

<3yrs



15 classes

<4yrs



23 classes

<5yrs



25 classes

True Positives + True Negatives

True Positives + True Negatives + False Positives + False Negatives

Rand Index

But how do we know we're doing better than chance?





Evaluation:

How well did the modeled learner do at finding these verb classes?

<3yrs



15 classes

<4yrs



23 classes

<5yrs



25 classes

True Positives + True Negatives

True Positives + True Negatives + False Positives + False Negatives

Rand Index

Bootstrapped confidence intervals for RI, with randomly generated classes of random size and random verb assignment





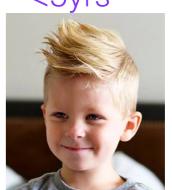
<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs



Thematic systems

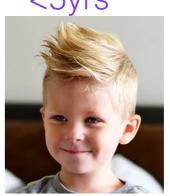
<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs



Thematic systems

relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

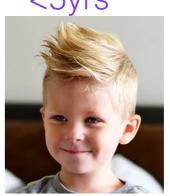
<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs



Thematic systems

relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

fixed







<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs



Thematic systems

relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

fixed







Expected mapping

yes

no



Subject

Object



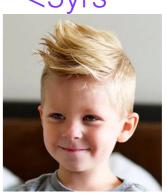
<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs



Thematic systems

relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

fixed







Expected mapping

yes

no



Subject Object

Oblique Object Surface morphology

yes NP V_{past} PRT

no NP V PRT

<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs



Thematic systems

relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

fixed







Expected mapping

yes

no



Subject

Object

Oblique Object Surface morphology

yes

NP V_{past} PRT

no

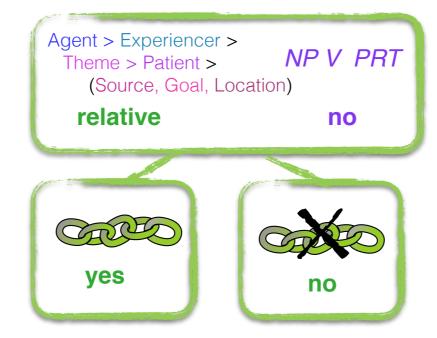
NP V PRT

A modeled learner implements one of each (thematic system, expected mapping, and surface morphology)



RI > 99% = better than chance









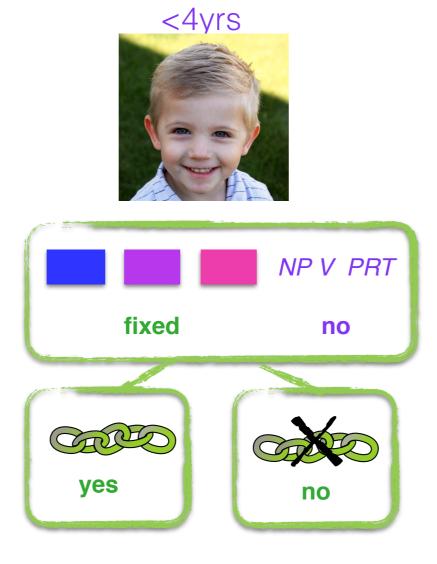
<5yrs

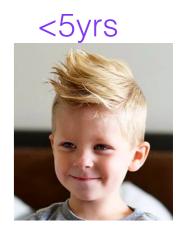


Pearl & Sprouse 2018a



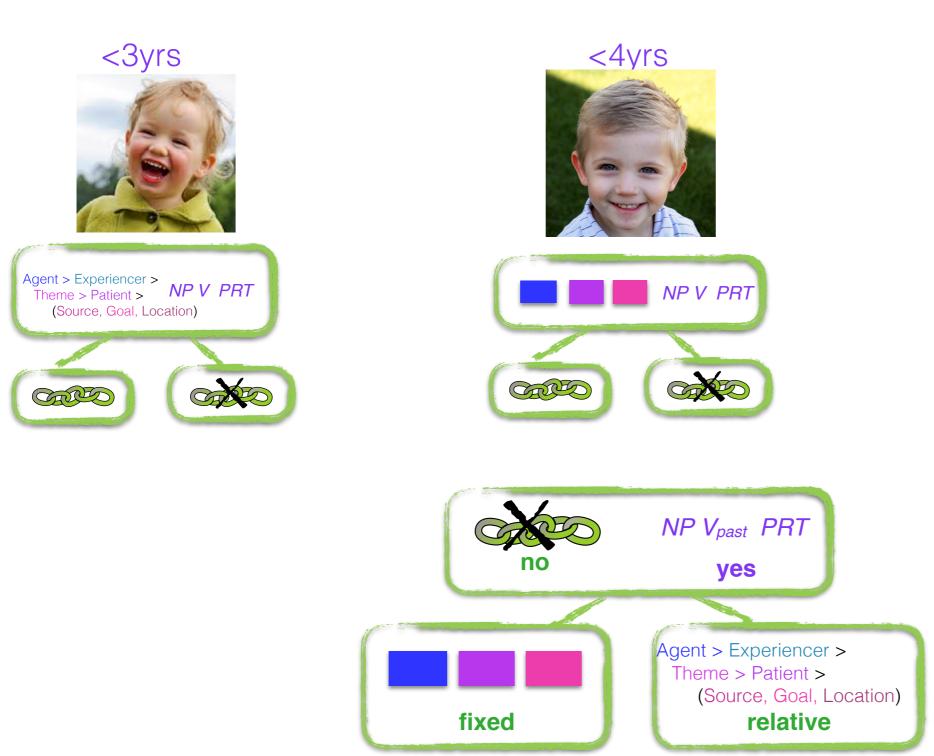






Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

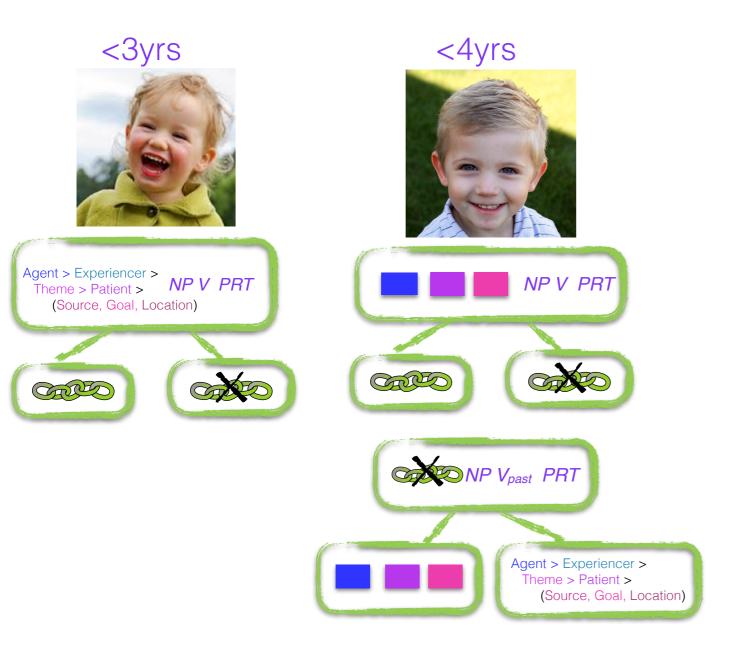


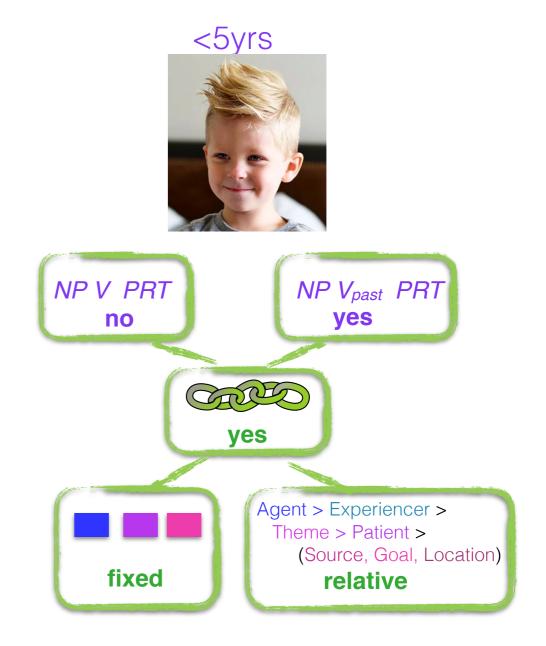




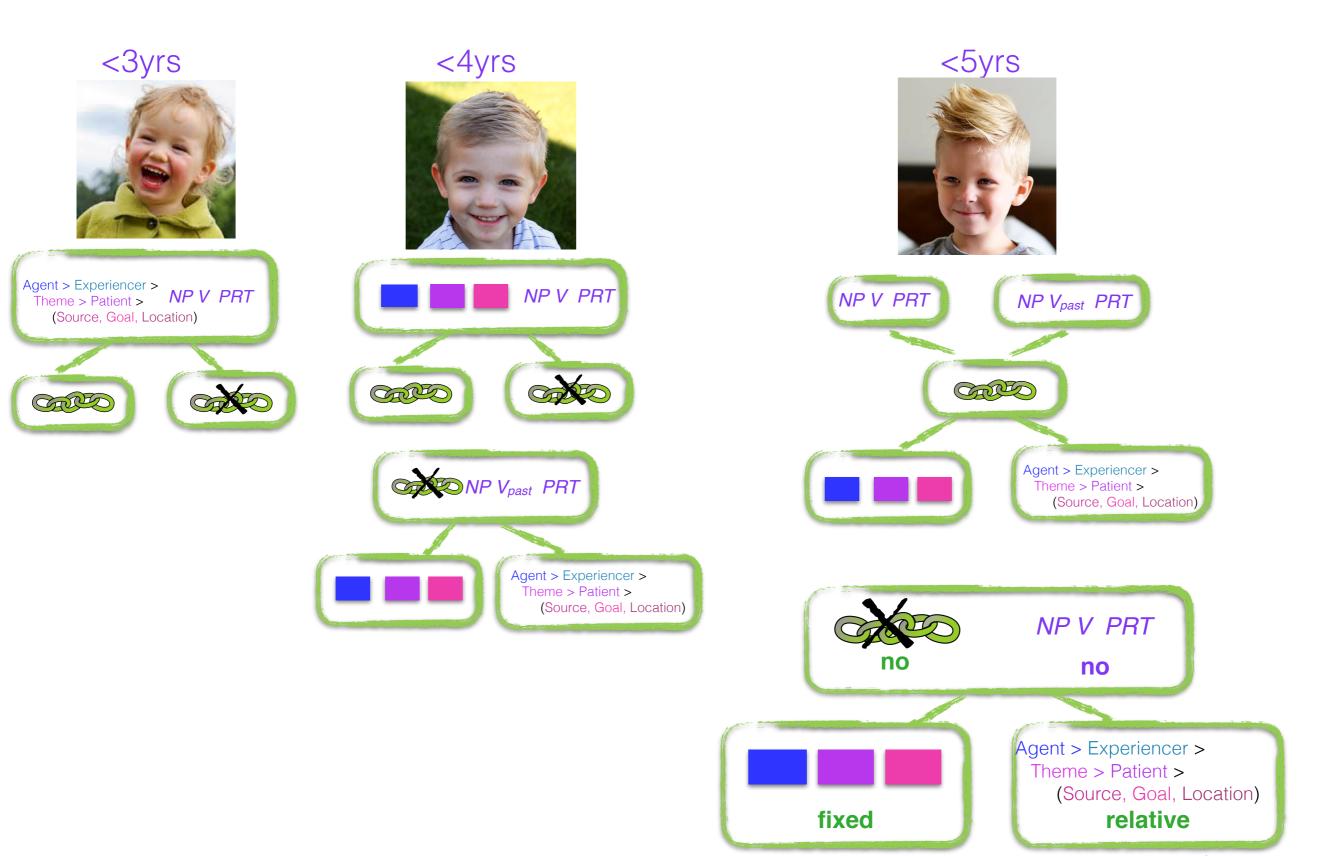
Pearl & Sprouse 2018a



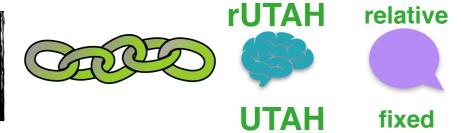


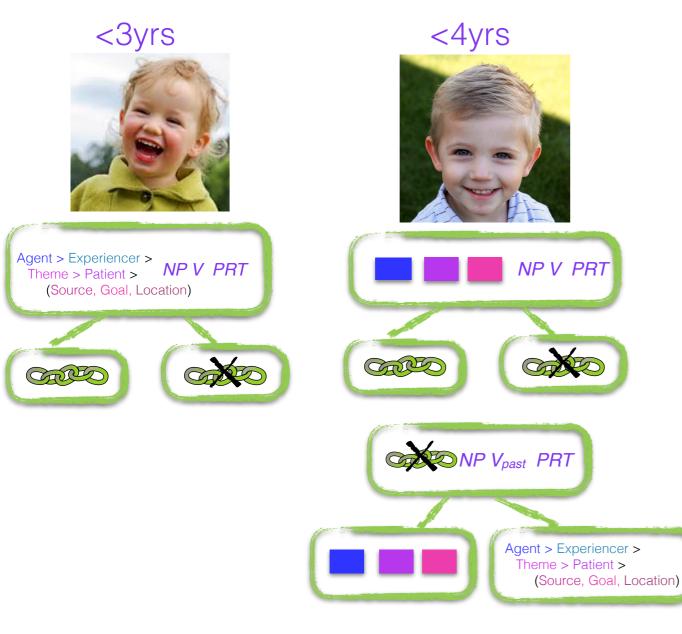


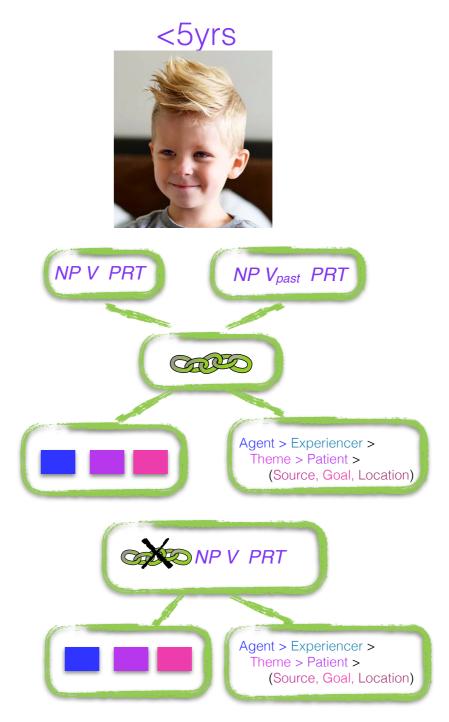




Pearl & Sprouse 2018a





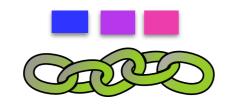






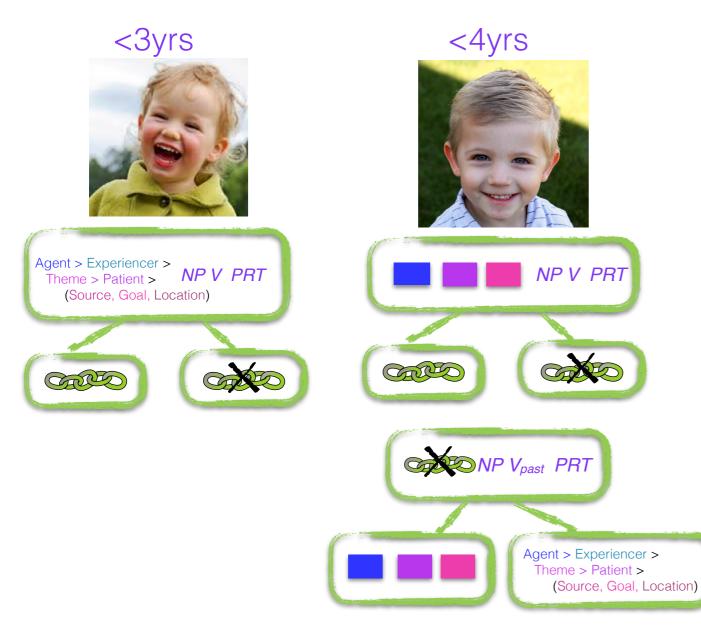


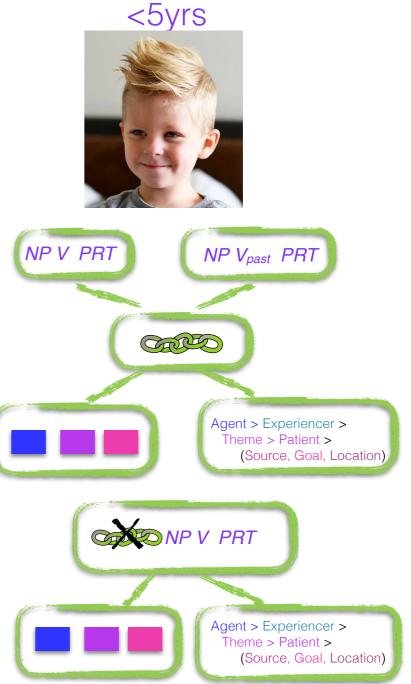




These are innately specified. Early maturation would assume they're present at all ages.

rUTAH



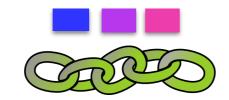






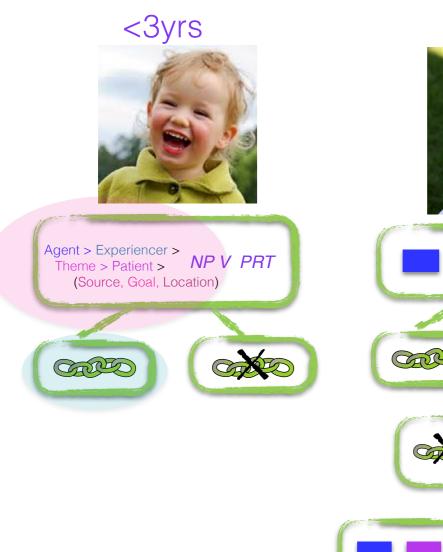


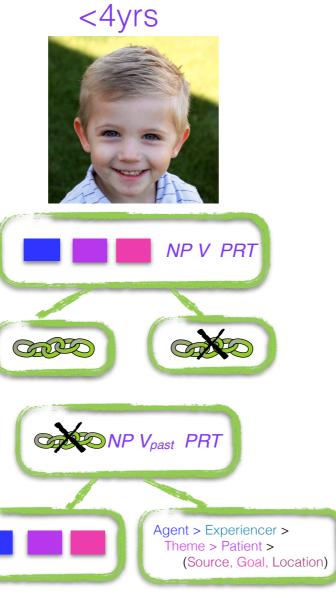


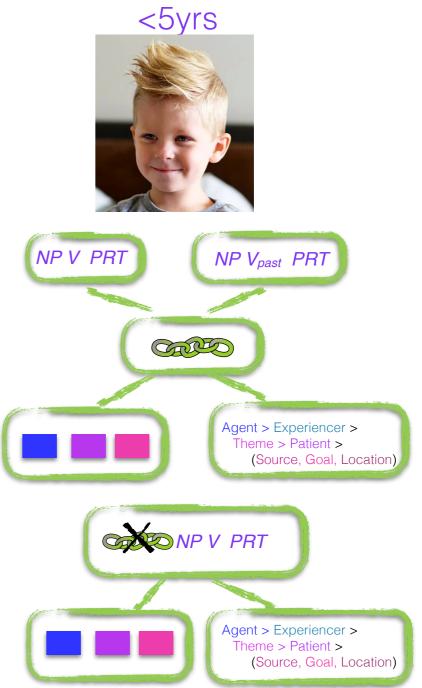


But the thematic representation isn't present at three, even though the link could be.

rUTAH







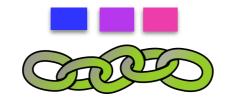
Pearl & Sprouse 2018a









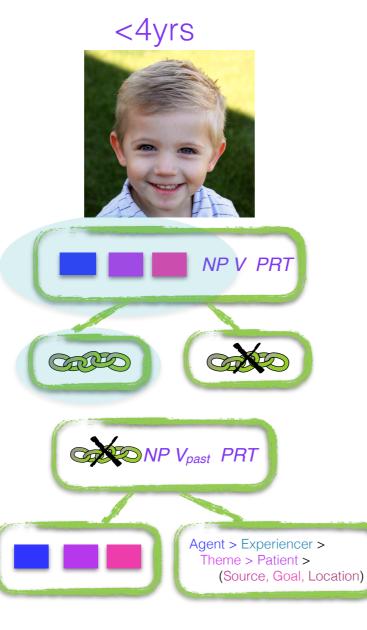


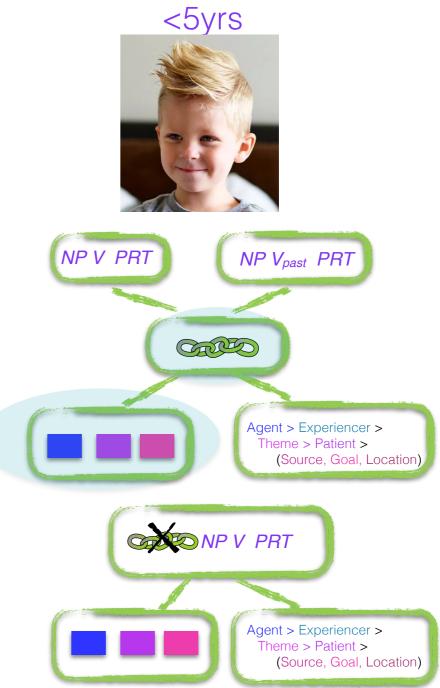
Both are present at four and five, though.

rUTAH



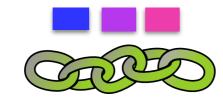




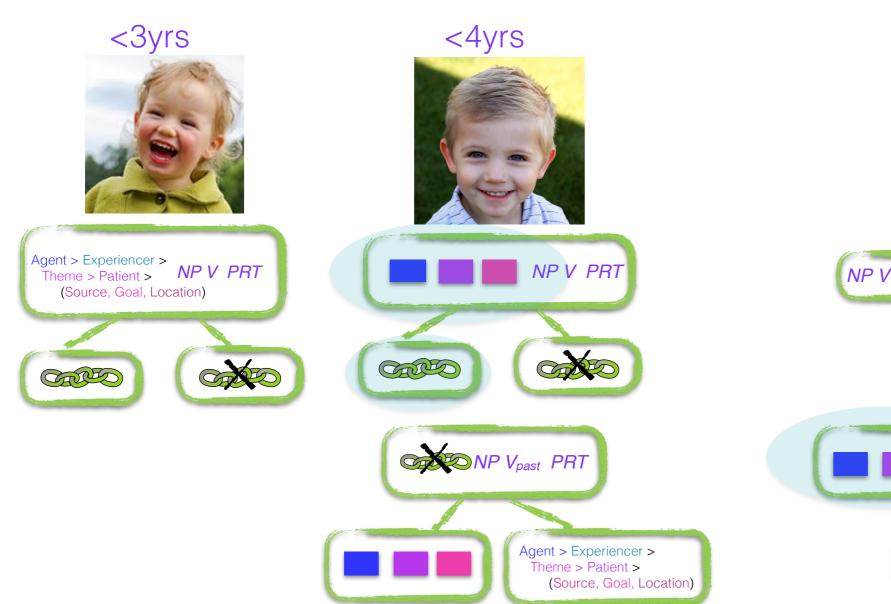


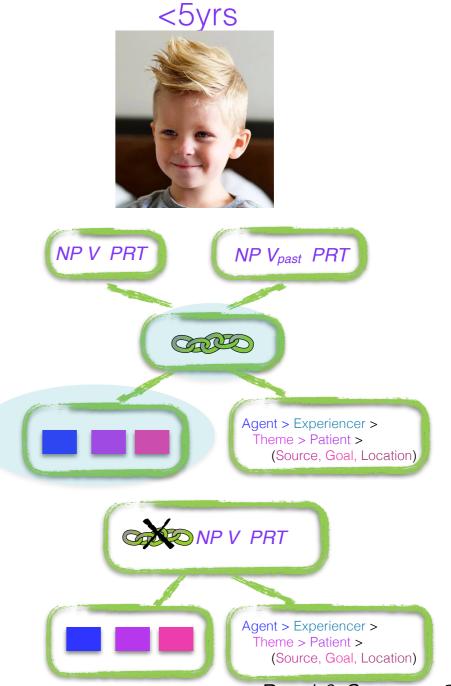






So UTAH is compatible with late maturation (at four or later).





Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

rUTAH





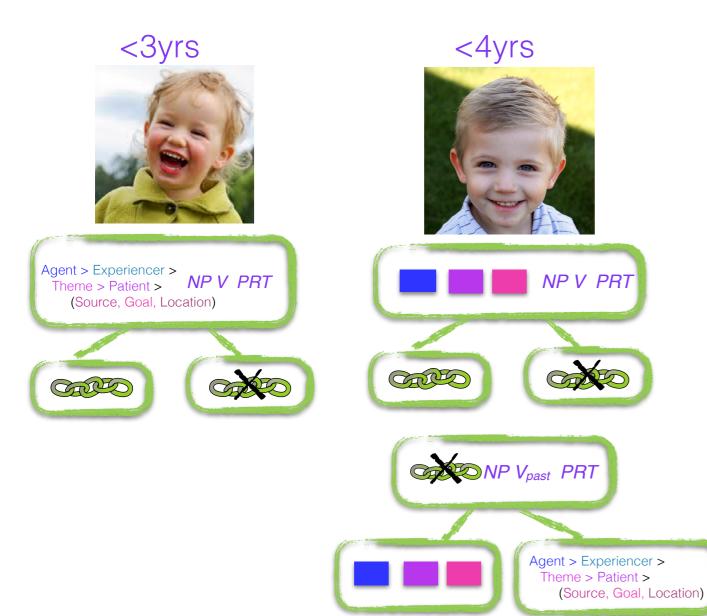


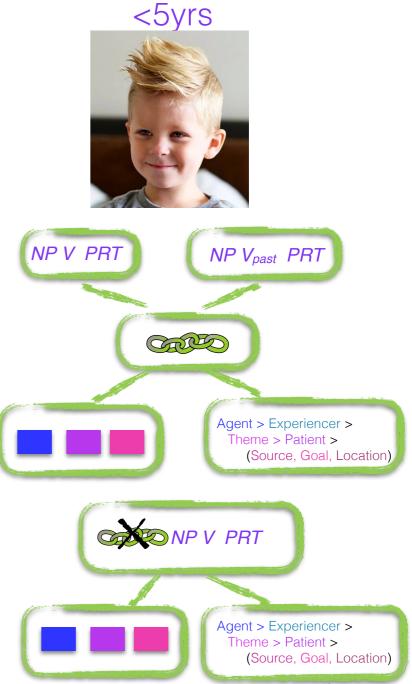
Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)





These are innately specified. Early maturation would assume they're present at all ages.





rUTAH



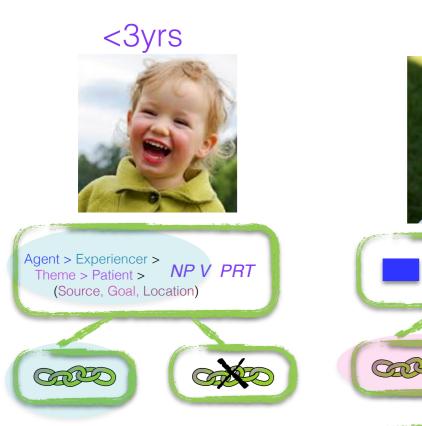


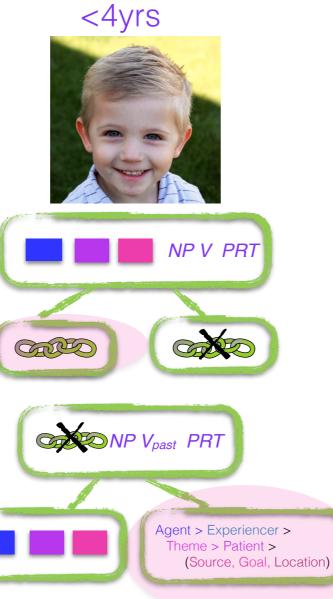


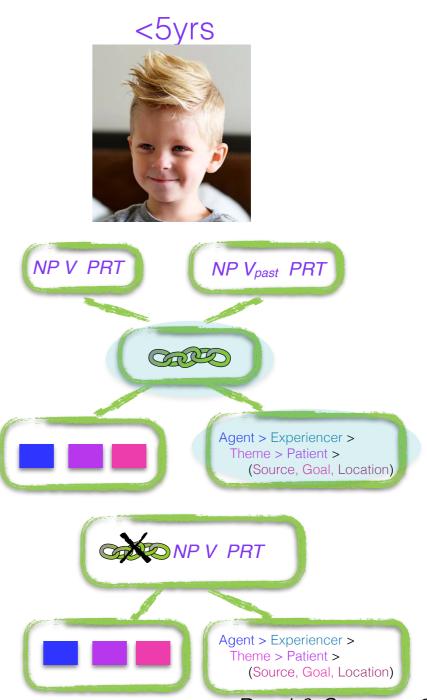
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rUTAH

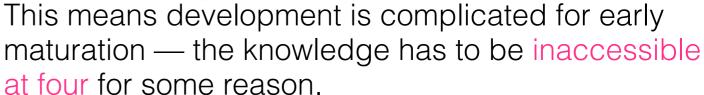


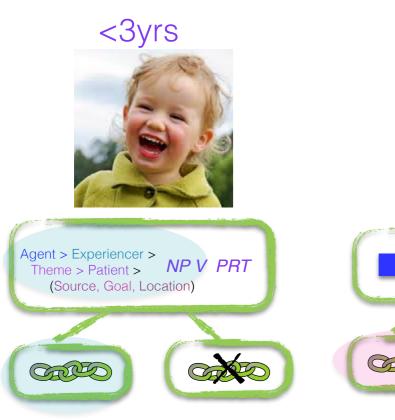


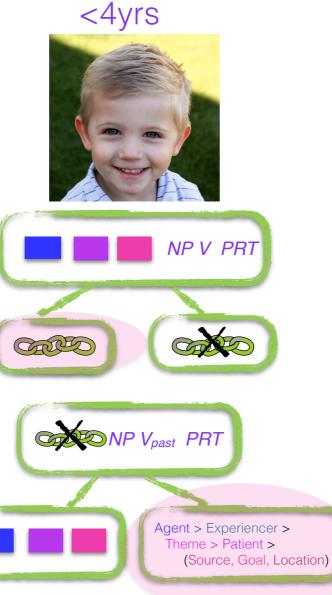


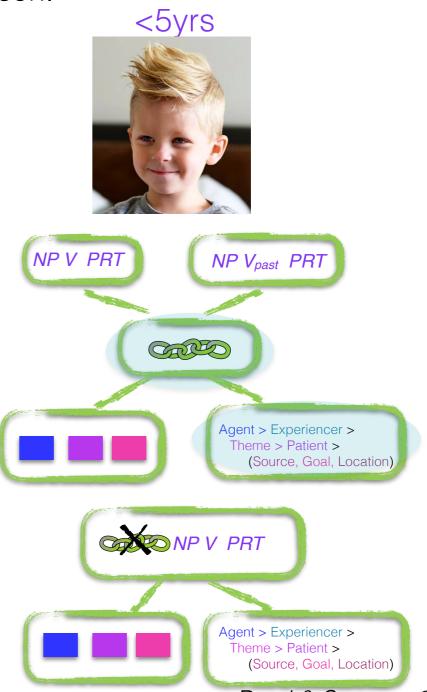
Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient >











rUTAH



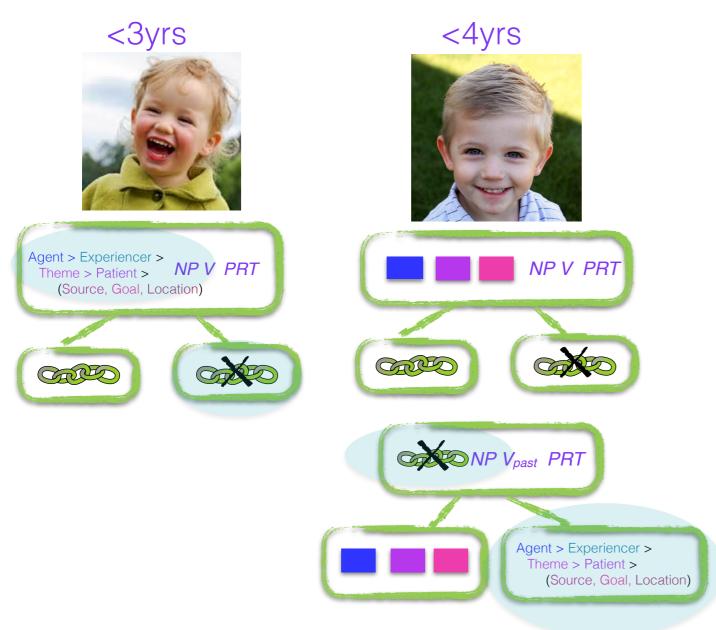


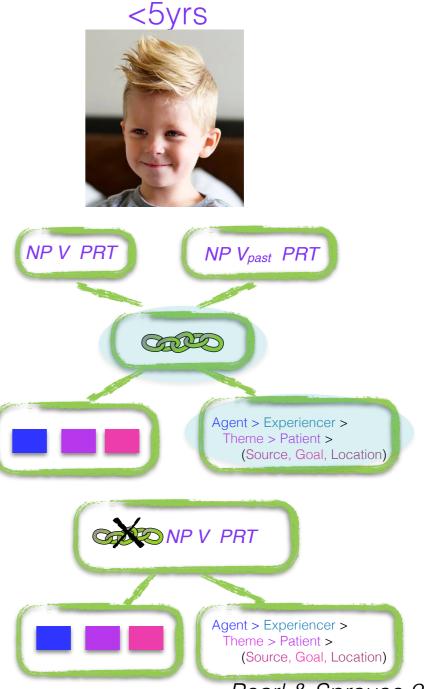


Agent > Experiencer >











relative



The derived-mapping variant using the fixed system would look for this knowledge to be present after the child has had sufficient language experience.







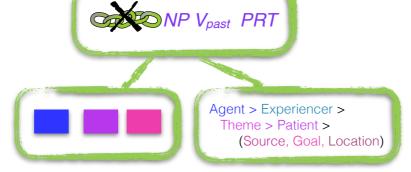




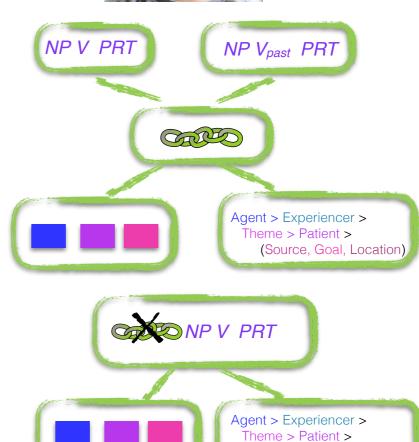




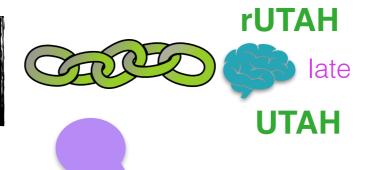








(Source, Goal, Location)



relative





The child would need to derive the fixed system knowledge as well as the linking knowledge, since it's not present at age three.



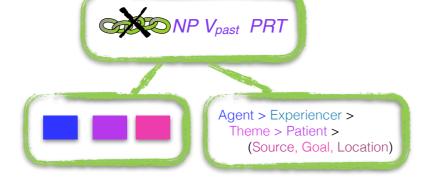


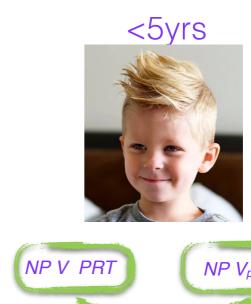


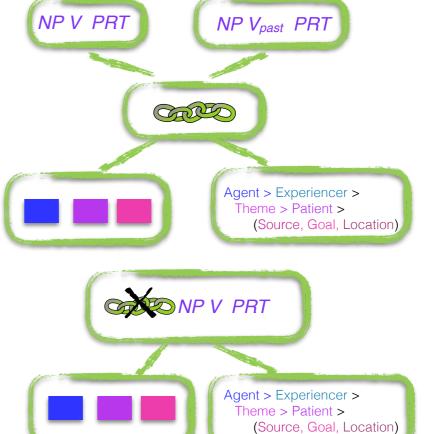




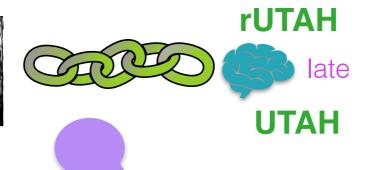








How do we interpret this with respect to our linking theory proposals?



relative

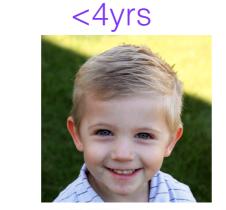


The child would need to derive the fixed system knowledge as well as the linking knowledge, since it's not present at age three.

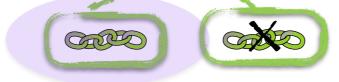






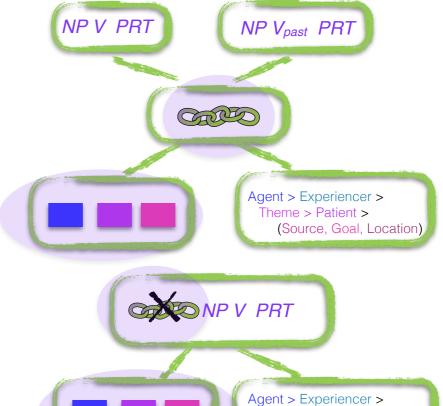












(Source, Goal, Location)

Theme > Patient >

How do we interpret this with respect to our linking theory proposals?



+derive fixed fixed

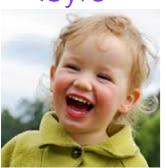


Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)



The derived-mapping variant using the relative system would look for this knowledge to be present after the child has had sufficient language experience.













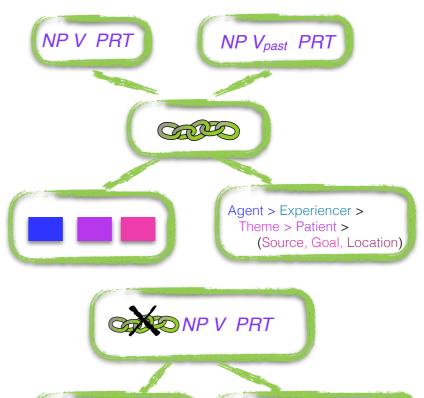










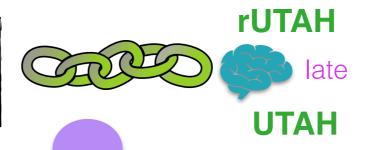


Pearl & Sprouse 2018a

Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Patient >

(Source, Goal, Location)

How do we interpret this with respect to our linking theory proposals?



+derive fixed fixed

relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

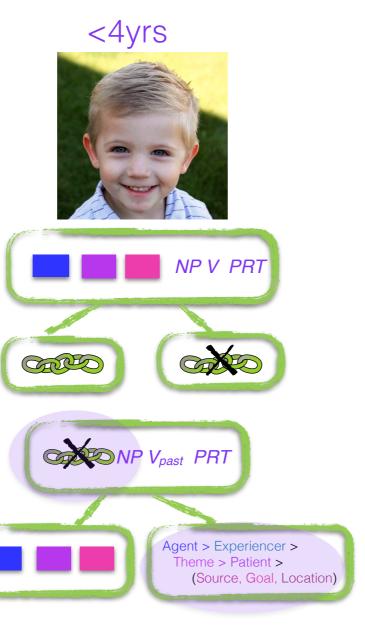


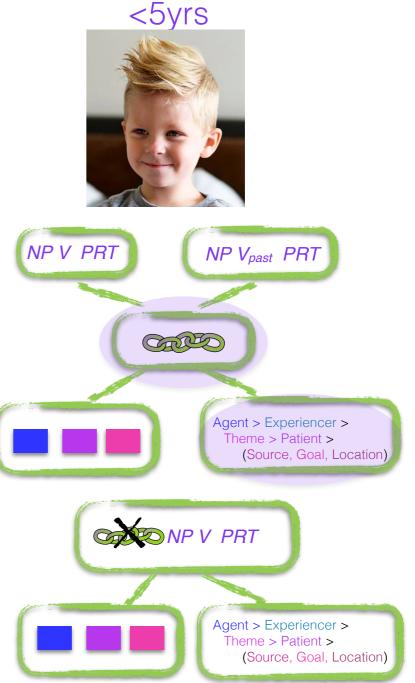
This seems compatible: for example, the linking knowledge could be absent at three and four, but derived by five.



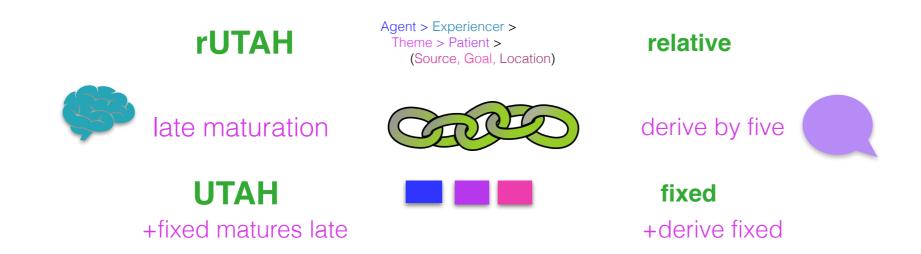










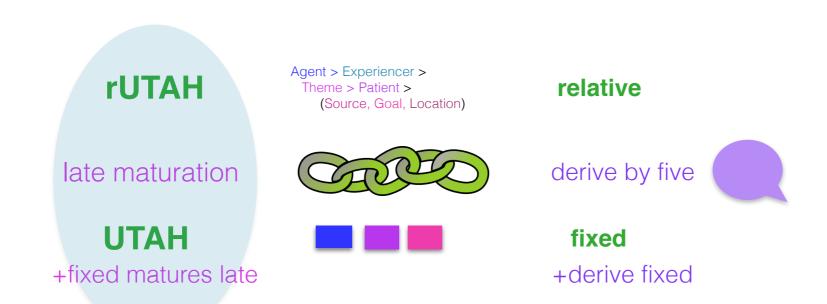








Takeaway 1: Innate-mapping approaches must involve late maturation.



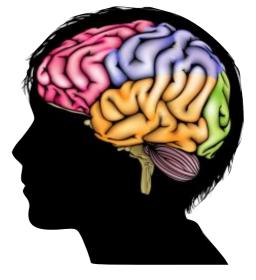




Takeaway 2: Approaches with fixed thematic systems must involve late maturation or derivation from the input.



Question: If knowledge matures late, how does that work? We need evidence from developmental neurobiology.



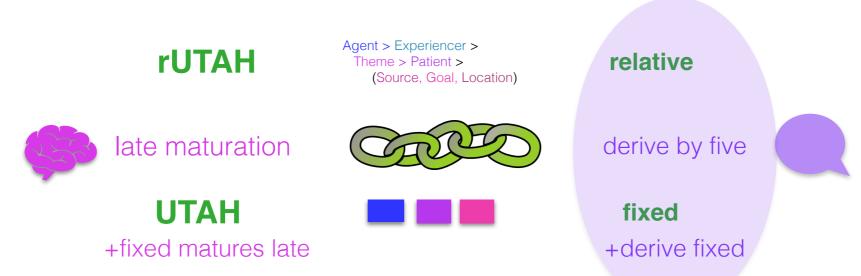


relative

fixed

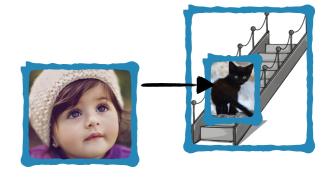
Question: If knowledge is derived from the input, how does that work? We need a concrete proposal for how children could do this.





The Plan

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



1. Evaluating different linking theory proposals using developmental modeling



2. Exploring how a linking theory could be derived from children's input



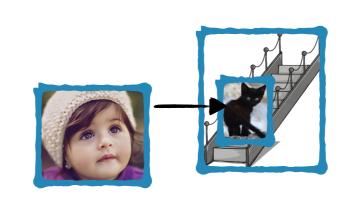
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





Let's remind ourselves what children are learning about links.





Subject

Object

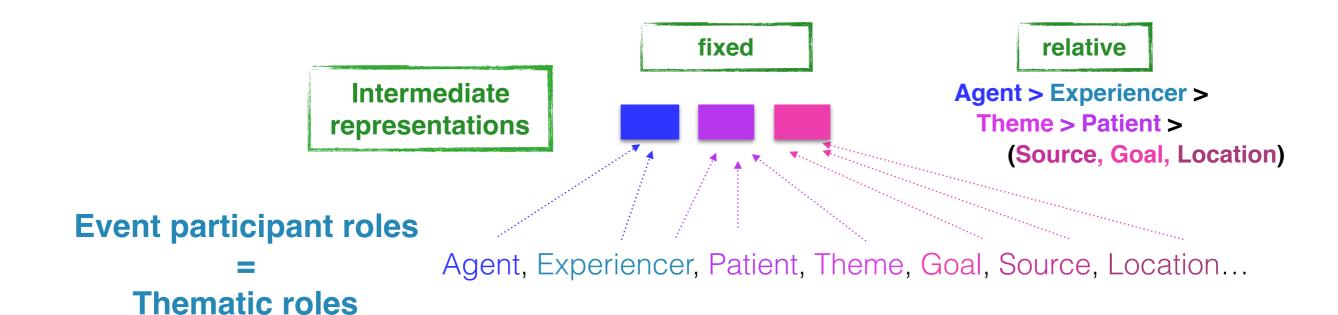
Oblique Object

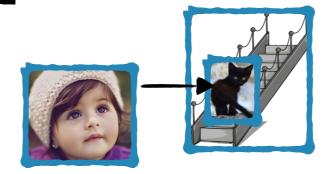
Syntax

The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

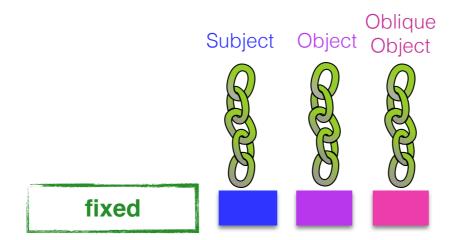


If children have a particular intermediate representation for thematic roles, then they need to link those representations to syntactic positions.



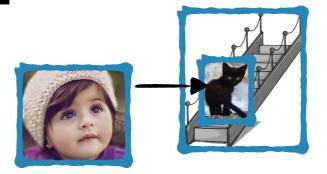


The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

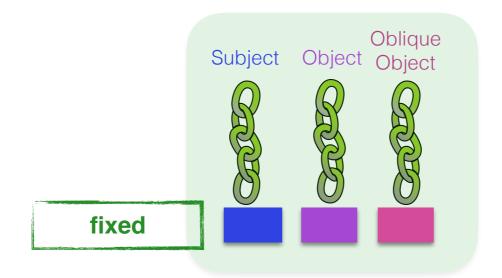


relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

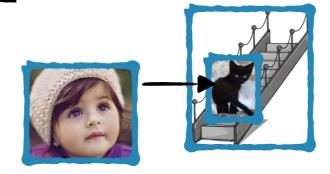


The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



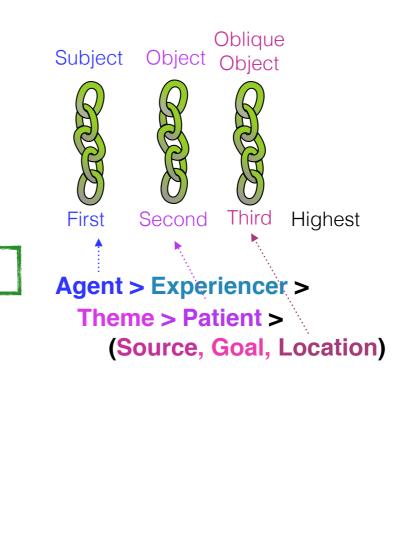
relative

Agent > Experiencer >
Theme > Patient >
(Source, Goal, Location)

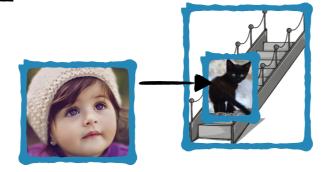


The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

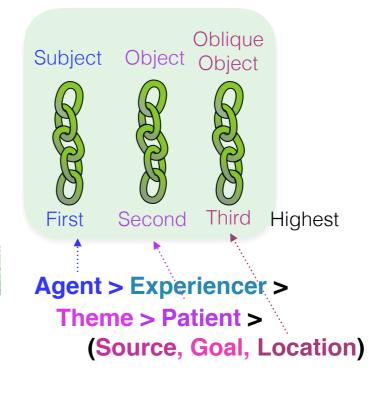
relative



fixed



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



relative

Subject Object Object

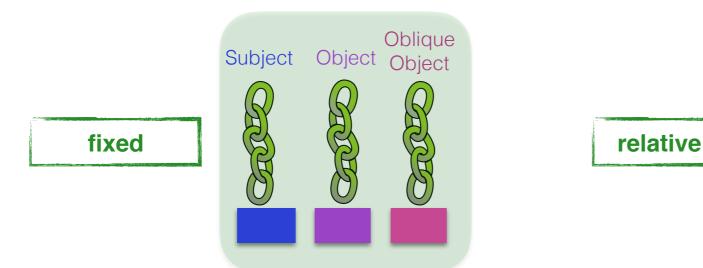
fixed

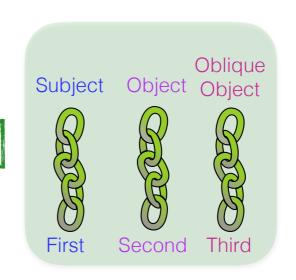
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





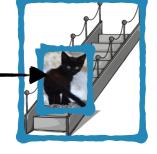
The linking theories we looked at before (UTAH and rUTAH, and their derived-mapping equivalents) treat these as atomic units (3-link theories).





The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



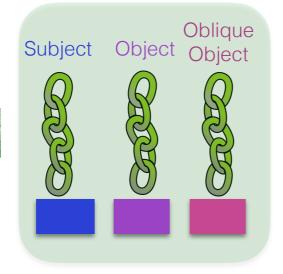


Acquisition task for one 3-link theory:

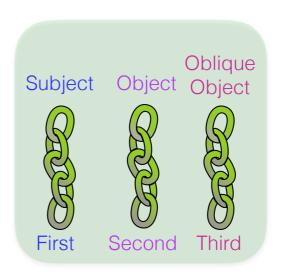
- (1) Derive all three links from the input.
- (2) Derive the 3-link linking theory.



fixed

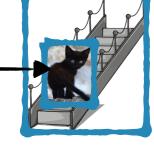


relative



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





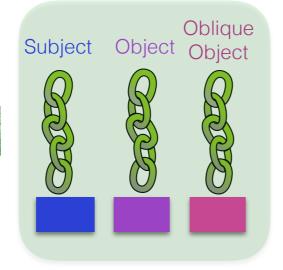
Acquisition task for one 3-link theory:

- (1) Derive all three links from the input.
- (2) Derive the 3-link linking theory.

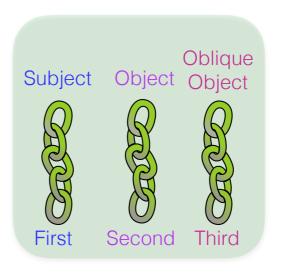




fixed



relative



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

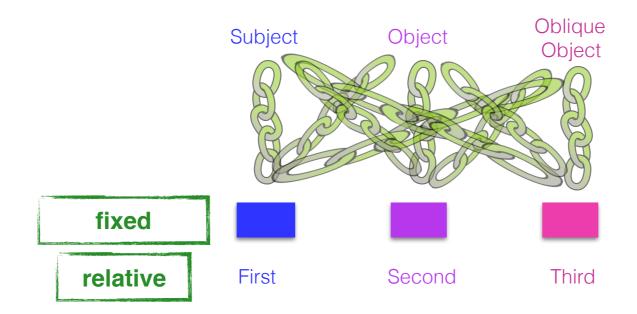




Acquisition task for one 3-link theory:

- (1) Derive all three links from the input.
- (2) Derive the 3-link linking theory.

One way: Consider all possible links and see which ones are reliable enough in the input



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

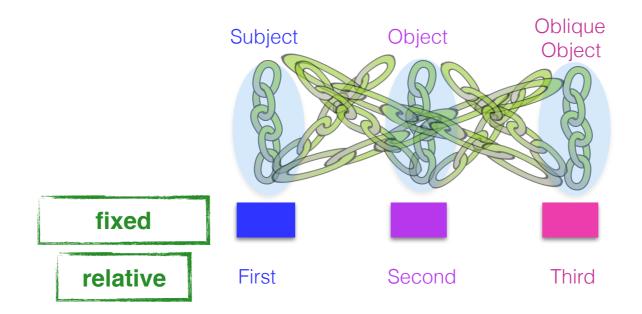




Acquisition task for one 3-link theory:

- (1) Derive all three links from the input.
- (2) Derive the 3-link linking theory.

One way: Consider all possible links and see which ones are reliable enough in the input



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

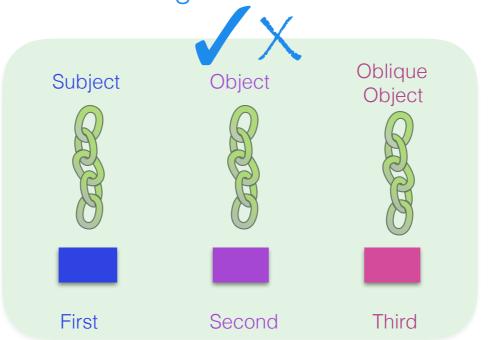




Acquisition task for one 3-link theory:

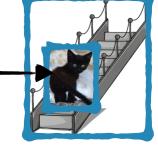
- (1) Derive all three links from the input.
- (2) Derive this 3-link linking theory.

One way: Then construct the multi-link linking theory from the reliable links and see if the 3-link theory is reliable enough as a unit.



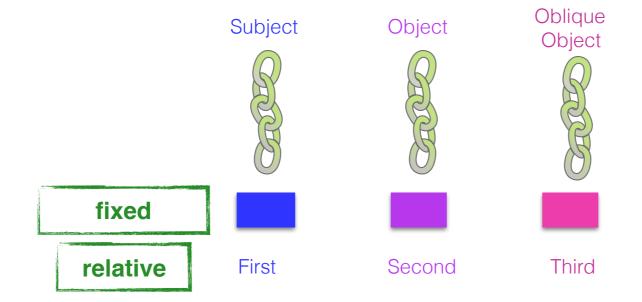
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





An alternative acquisition task for three 1-link theories: Derive all three links from the input (and don't worry about binding them together — just have three 1-link theories)





The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





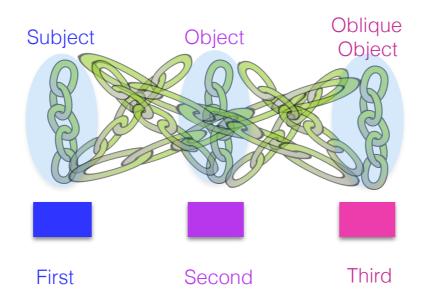
An alternative acquisition task for three 1-link theories:

Derive all three links from the input (and don't worry about binding them together — just have 3 1-link theories)



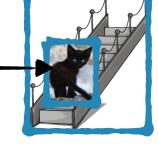
How would this work?

The same way: Consider all possible links and see which ones are reliable enough in the input



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





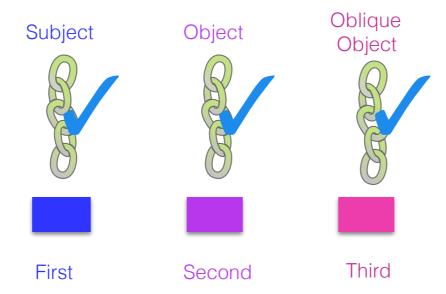
An alternative acquisition task for three 1-link theories:

Derive all three links from the input (and don't worry about binding them together — just have 3 1-link theories)



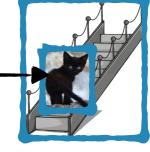
How would this work?

And then you're finished.



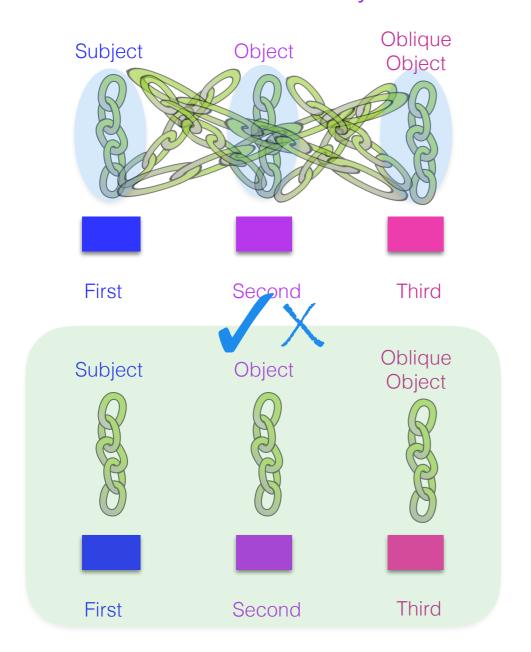
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



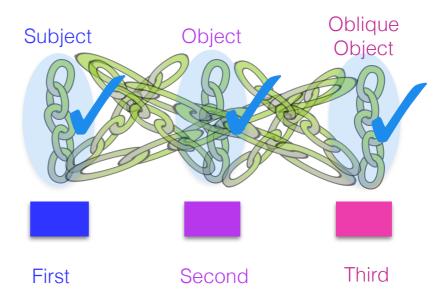




one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories



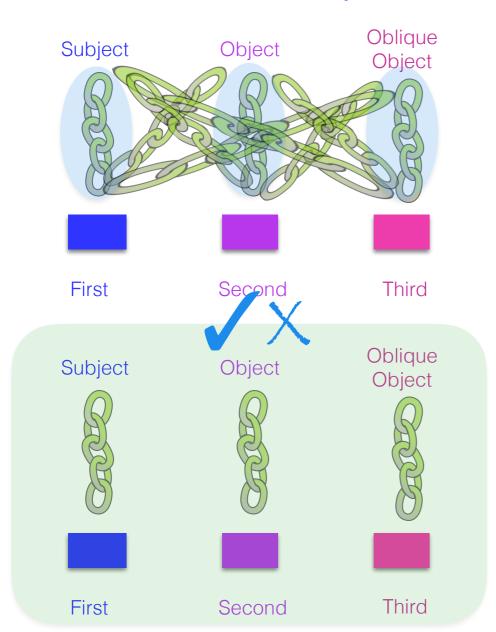
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.





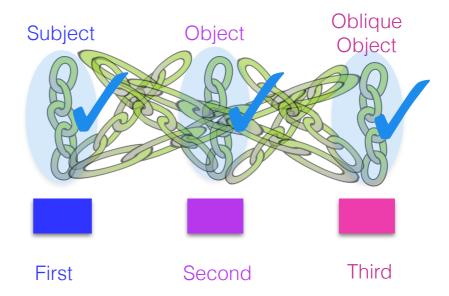


one 3-link theory



Is either of these possible, given the kind of input children get?

three 1-link theories





Second

three 1-link theories









five main parts to defining an acquisition task concretely

Third

initial state

data intake

inference



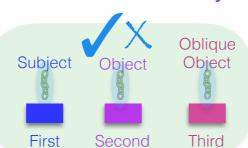
learning period

target state

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories



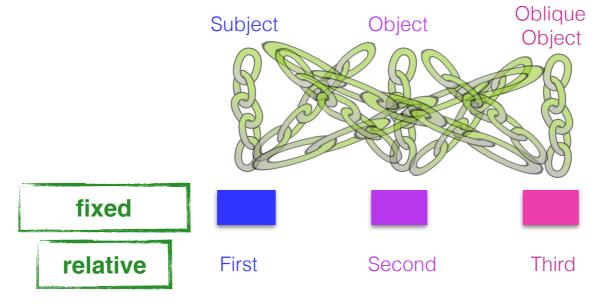






initial state

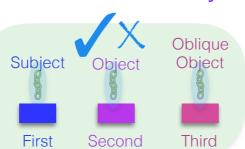




data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories



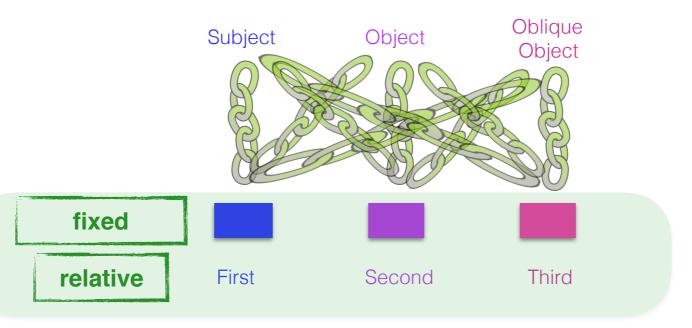






initial state



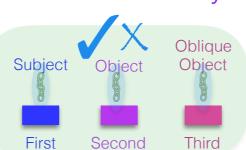


Knowledge of intermediate thematic representation

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories



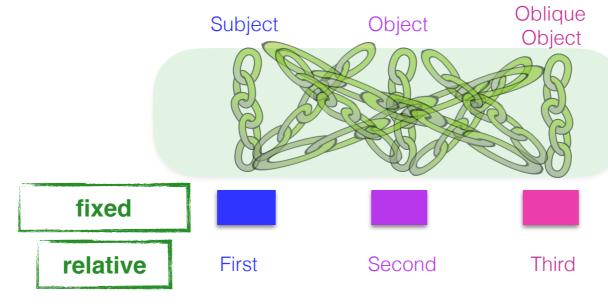






initial state



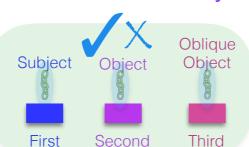


Constraints on possible links

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories



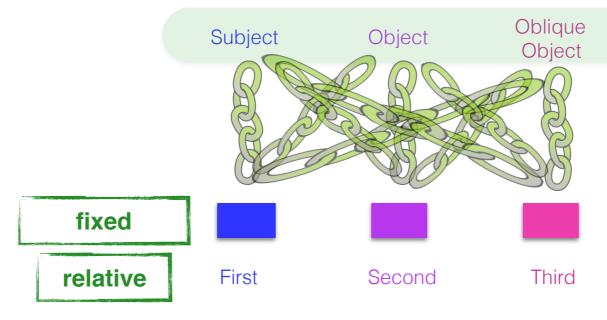






initial state





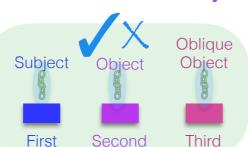
Constraints on possible links:

Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









initial state



Subject

Object

Oblique Object Constraints on possible links:

- Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant
- A link can go from role to position...

fixed

relative



First



Second

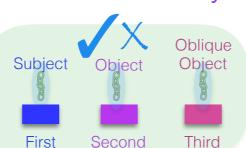


Third

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories





Oblique

Object





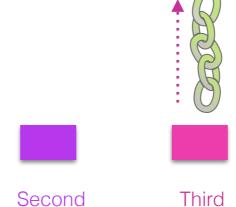
initial state

Object



Subject





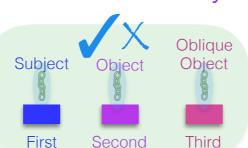
Constraints on possible links:

- Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant
- A link can go from role to position...

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









initial state



Subject

Object

Oblique Object

P

Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant

Constraints on possible links:

 A link can go from role to position or from position to role

fixed

relative



First





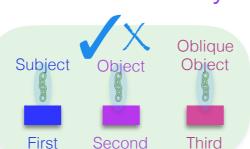
Second

Third

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories





Object

Third





initial state



fixed

relative

Oblique Subject Object First Second

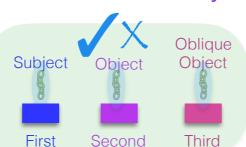
Constraints on possible links:

- Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant
- A link can go from role to position or from position to role

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories



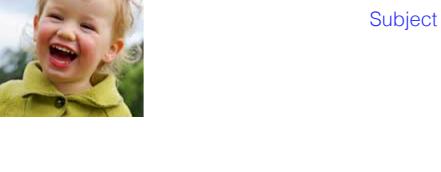




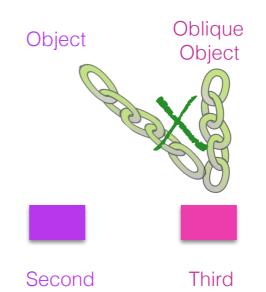


initial state









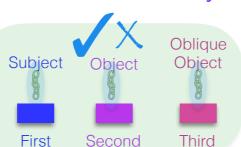
Constraints on possible links:

- Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant
- A link can go from role to position or from position to role
- A thematic role can only participate in one link at a time

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



Subject

three 1-link theories



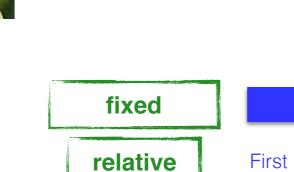


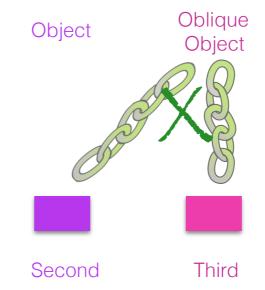




initial state







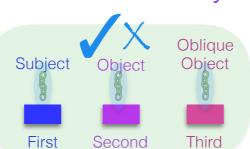
Constraints on possible links:

- Knowing which syntactic positions are relevant
- A link can go from role to position or from position to role
- A thematic role can only participate in one link at a time
- A syntactic position can only participate in one link at a time

data intake inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories





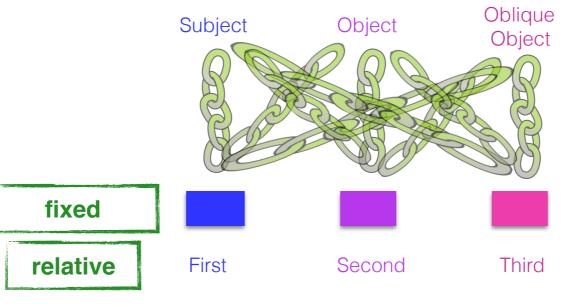






initial state







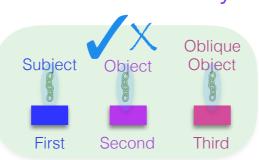
+ whatever abilities are required to do inference

initial state

inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









Samples of child-directed speech

CHILDES Treebank

input that yields data intake







The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



<3yrs

18 and 32 months ~40,000 utterances 239 verbs



<4yrs

18 and 48 months ~51,000 utterances 267 verbs



<5yrs

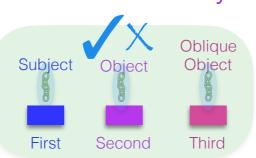
18 and 58 months ~56,500 utterances 284 verbs

initial state

inference

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









input that yields data intake







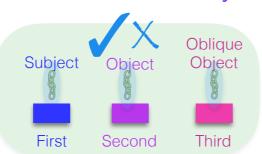
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



initial state data intake

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









inference



Remember that the acquisition process we imagined hinges on a child perceiving individual links and multilink theories as "**reliable enough**", given the input.

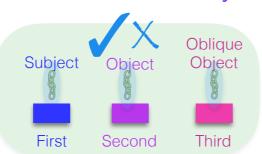




initial state data intake

learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









inference



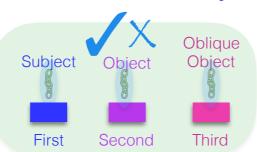
Remember that the acquisition process we imagined hinges on a child perceiving individual links and multilink theories as "**reliable enough**", given the input.





initial state data intakelearning period target state





three 1-link theories









inference



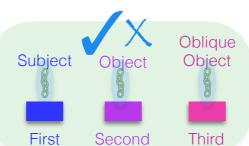
How can "reliable enough" be implemented?





initial state data intake learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









inference



One answer: **The Tolerance Principle** (Yang 2005, 2016)

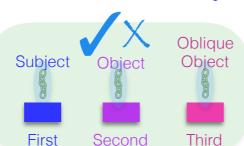
This principle is derived from considerations of knowledge storage and retrieval in real time, incorporating how frequently individual items occur, the absolute ranking of items by frequency, and serial memory access.





initial state data intakelearning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories







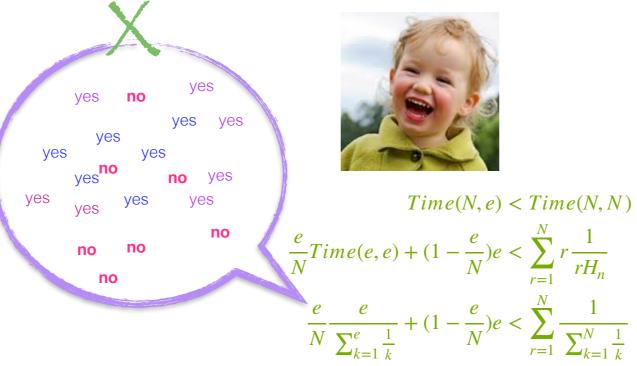


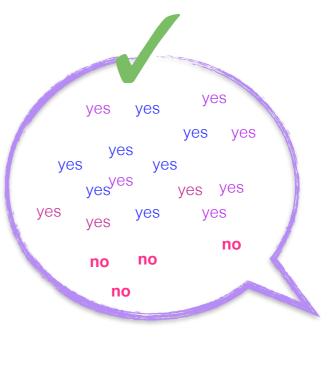
inference



The Tolerance Principle (Yang 2005, 2016)

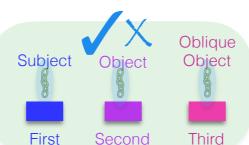
Designed for situations where there are exceptions to a potential rule — provides a **precise threshold** for how many exceptions a potential rule can tolerate before it's no longer worthwhile to have the rule.





initial state data intake learning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories







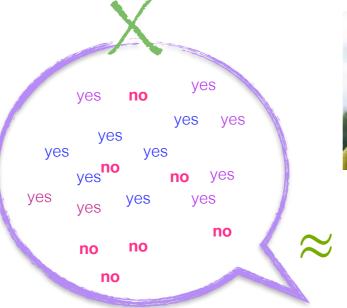


inference

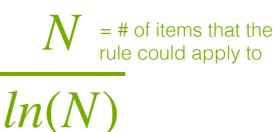


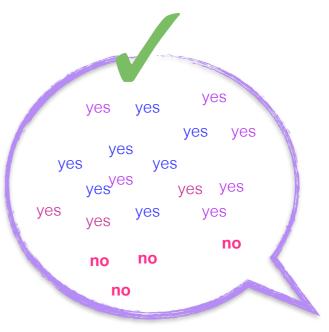
The Tolerance Principle (Yang 2005, 2016)

Designed for situations where there are exceptions to a potential rule — provides a **precise threshold** for how many exceptions a potential rule can tolerate before it's no longer worthwhile to have the rule.



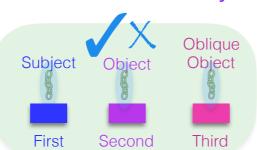






initial state data intakelearning period target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









inference



 $\frac{N}{ln(N)}$



The Tolerance Principle (Yang 2005, 2016)

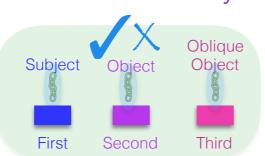
Here we can use it to evaluate both individual links and multi-link theories.

initial state

data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









inference



 $\frac{N}{ln(N)}$



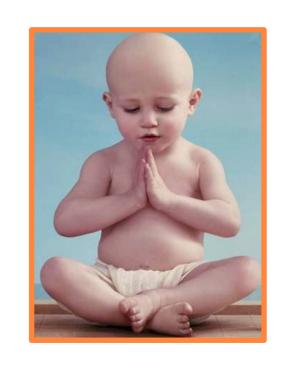
The Tolerance Principle (Yang 2005, 2016)

Here we can use it to evaluate both individual links and multi-link theories.

learning period

As before, we'll be using an ideal learner model, where the learner applies the Tolerance Principle to all the data available, rather than deploying it with the cognitive limitations and incremental learning restrictions real children have.

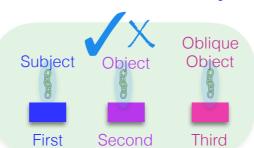
Goal: Is it possible to derive the linking theories from realistic child input?



initial state data intake

target state





three 1-link theories









inference



 $\frac{N}{ln(N)}$



How do we evaluate an individual link?





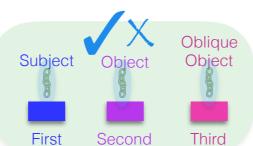




initial state data intake

target state





three 1-link theories









inference



 $\frac{N}{ln(N)}$



How do we evaluate an individual link?







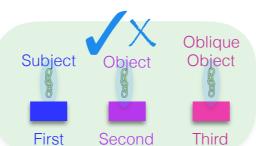


If it goes from role to position, we compare this link to the others that link from this role.

initial state data intake

target state





three 1-link theories









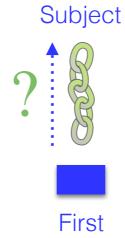
inference



 $\frac{N}{ln(N)}$



How do we evaluate an individual link?

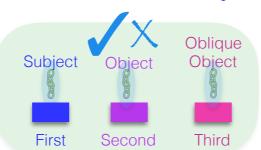


If it goes from role to position, we compare this link to the others that link from this role.

initial state data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories







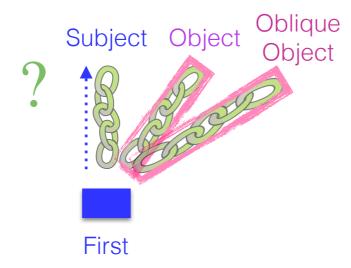


inference

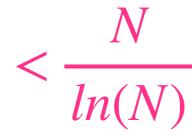




How do we evaluate an individual link?



If it goes from role to position, we compare this link to the others that link from this role (the exceptions to this link).



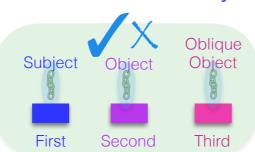
Which has few enough exceptions (if any) according to the child's intake?



initial state data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









inference





How do we evaluate an individual link?

Subject



First

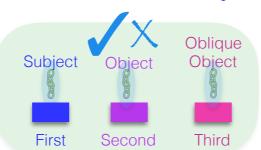
If it goes from position to role, we compare this link to the others that link from this position.



initial state data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories









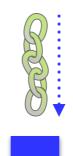
inference





How do we evaluate an individual link?







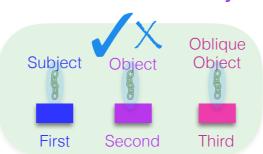
If it goes from position to role, we compare this link to the others that link from this position.



initial state data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories







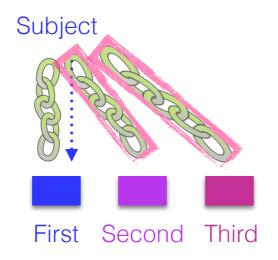


inference

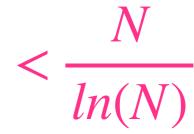




How do we evaluate an individual link?



If it goes from position to role, we compare this link to the others that link from this position (the exceptions to this link).



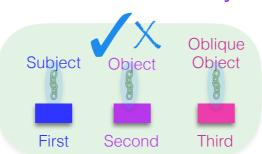
Which has few enough exceptions (if any) according to the child's intake?



initial state data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories







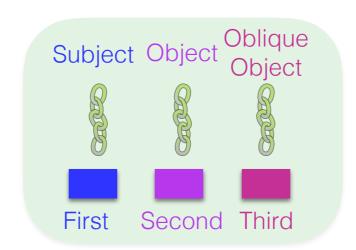


inference





How do we evaluate multi-link theories?

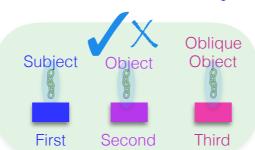




initial state data intake

target state

one 3-link theory



three 1-link theories







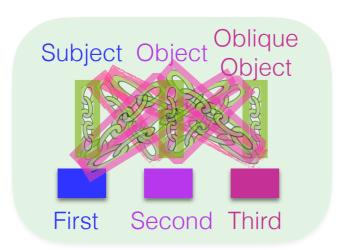


inference

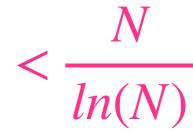




How do we evaluate multi-link theories?



We compare the link instances that follow the multi-link theory against the link instances that don't (the exceptions to this multi-link theory).

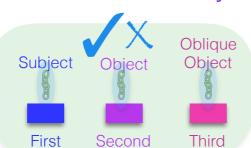


Note: This is a simple binary distinction between links that follow the multi-link theory and links that don't.

Does the 3-link theory have few enough exceptions according to the child's intake?

initial state data intake inference





three 1-link theories









target state



<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs

The rest of the inference process depends on the target knowledge for the modeled learner.

initial state data intake

inference





<3yrs

three 1-link theories







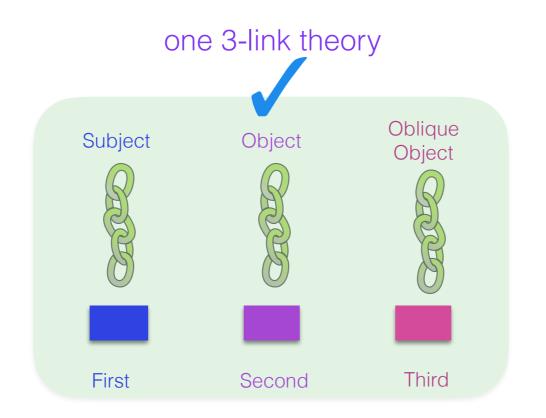








<5yrs



initial state data intake

target state











inference



<3yrs



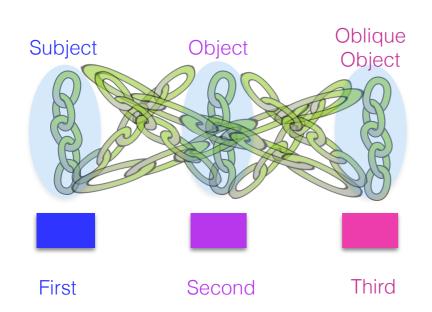
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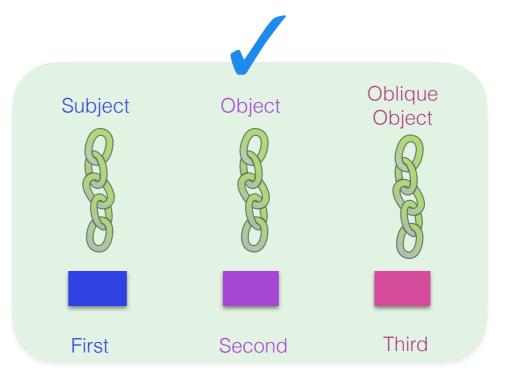


<5yrs

one 3-link theory

...requires a few steps





initial state data intake target state

three 1-link theories









inference



<3yrs



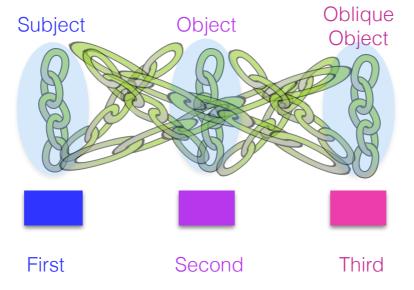
<4yrs



<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 1: Are the individual links reliable enough?



Look at all the instances from all the verbs collectively — which links surface as reliable?

He kicked the ball to his friend.

She fell on the ice. I like penguins.

I love kittens. I think so.

She's hugging the kitten.

I hear you talking.

This belongs to me.

three 1-link theories



First





initial state data intake target state

inference



<3yrs



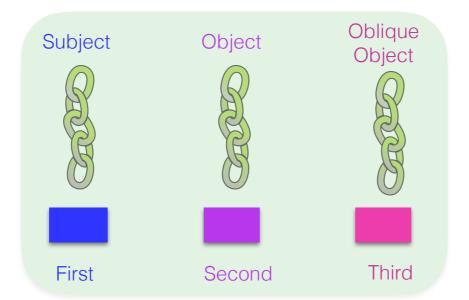
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<5yrs

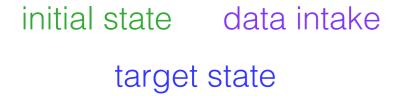
one 3-link theory

Step 2: If the right links are reliable, the child posits this as one 3-link theory.





three 1-link theories









inference



<3yrs



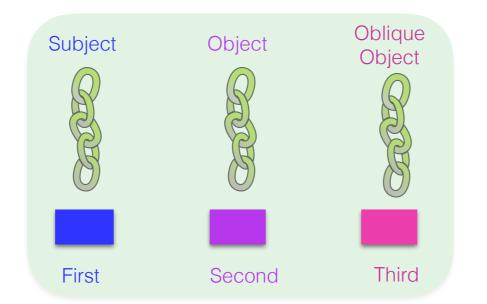
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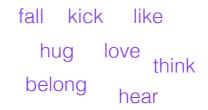


<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.









three 1-link theories

initial state data intake target state







inference



<3yrs



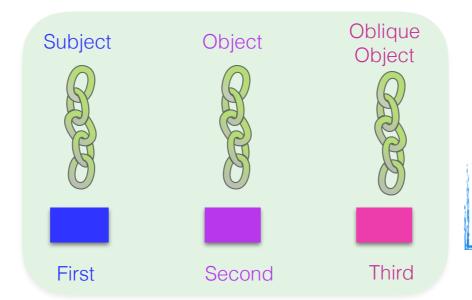
<4yrs



<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.





This means this linking theory should hold for the verb *lexical items* (types).



initial state data intake target state

three 1-link theories







inference



<3yrs



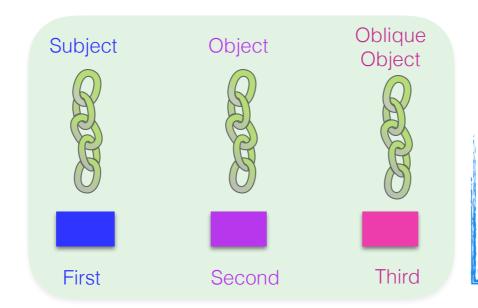
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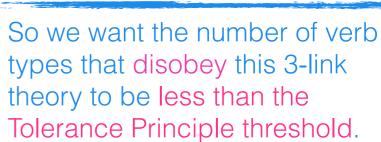
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one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.





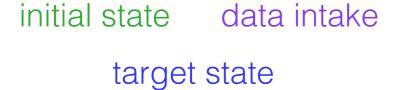








three 1-link theories









inference







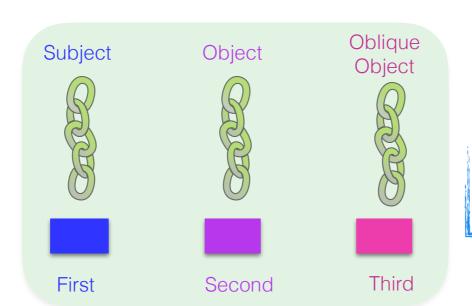
<4yrs



<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.







How do we tell if a verb type obeys the 3-link theory?



N =verb types this theory could apply to ln(N)

initial state data intake target state

three 1-link theories







inference



<3yrs



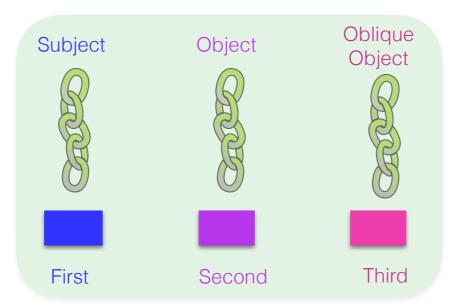
<4yrs



<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.



She's hugging the kitten on the stairs.

I hugged him.

Penguins should be hugged.

Please hug me.

She was hugged.

She'll hug the penguin ligged. Hug the kitten.

We evaluate that verb type's instances according to whether they follow the linking theory or **not**.



N =verb types this theory could apply to

initial state data intake target state

three 1-link theories







inference



<3yrs



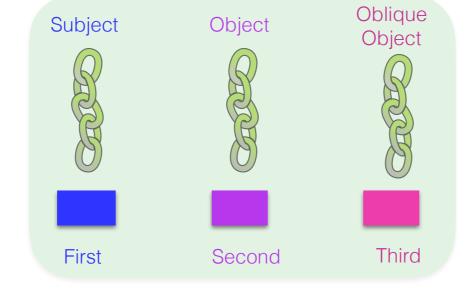
<4yrs



<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.



W.

= verb types this theory could apply to



I hugged him. Penguins should be hugged.

Please hug me.

She was hugged.

She'll hug the penguin Hug the kitten.

We want the number of verb instances that disobey this 3-link theory to be less than the Tolerance Principle threshold.

N

= verb instances this theory could apply to



initial state data intake target state

three 1-link theories







inference



<3yrs



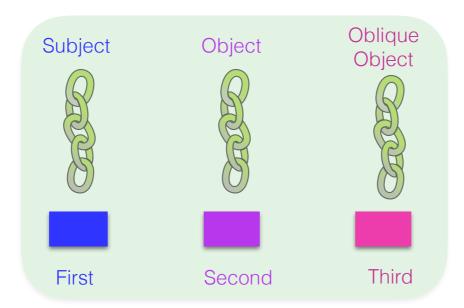
<4yrs



<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.



= **verb types** this theory could apply to

She's hugging the kitten on the stairs.

Penguins should be hugged.

Please hug me.

She was hugged.

She'll hug the penguin.

Hug the kitten.

If it is, then this linking theory is reliable enough for this verb type.







initial state data intake target state

three 1-link theories







inference



<3yrs



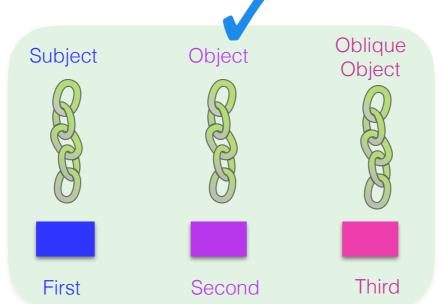
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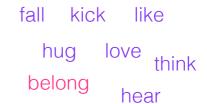


<5yrs

one 3-link theory

Step 3: ...and evaluates it against the verbs of the language.

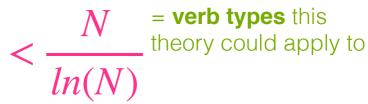






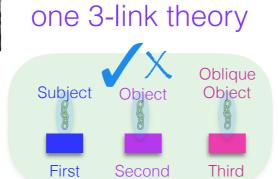
If enough verb types are reliable enough, then this linking theory is reliable enough for the verbs of the language.





initial state data intake

inference



target state





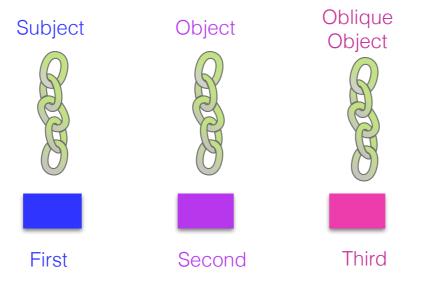


<4yrs



<5yrs

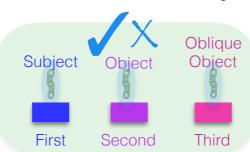
But what if the target state is three 1-link theories?





initial state data intake target state





inference



<3yrs



<4yrs



<5yrs

three 1-link theories

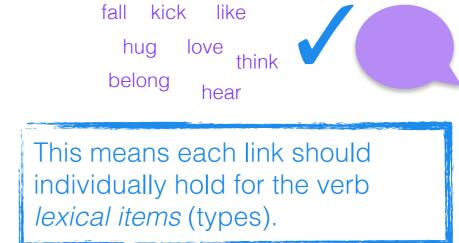
Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?





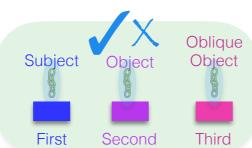






initial state data intake target state





inference



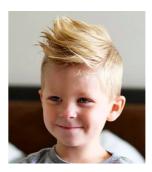
<3yrs



<4yrs

Oblique

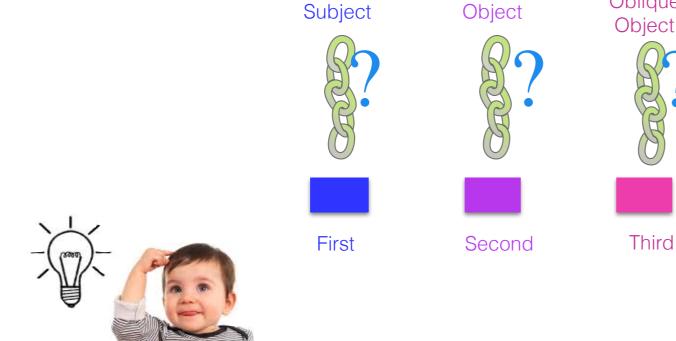
Third

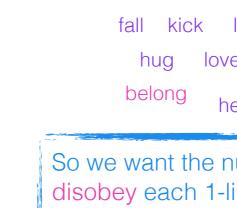


<5yrs

three 1-link theories

Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?





like love think hear

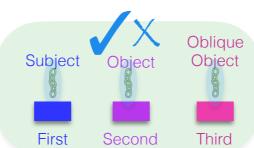
So we want the number of verb types that disobey each 1-link theory to be less than the Tolerance Principle threshold.

N= verb types this theory could apply to



initial state data intake target state

one 3-link theory



inference







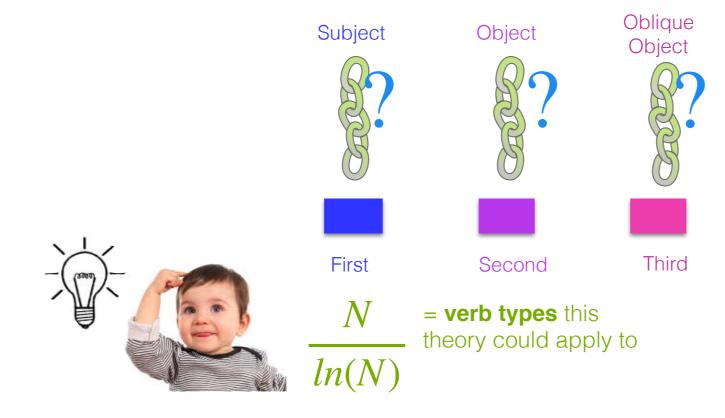
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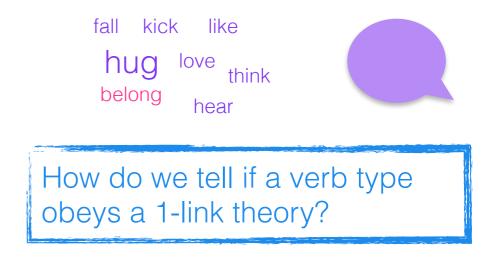


<5yrs

three 1-link theories

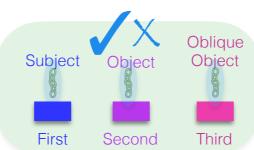
Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?





initial state data intake target state





inference







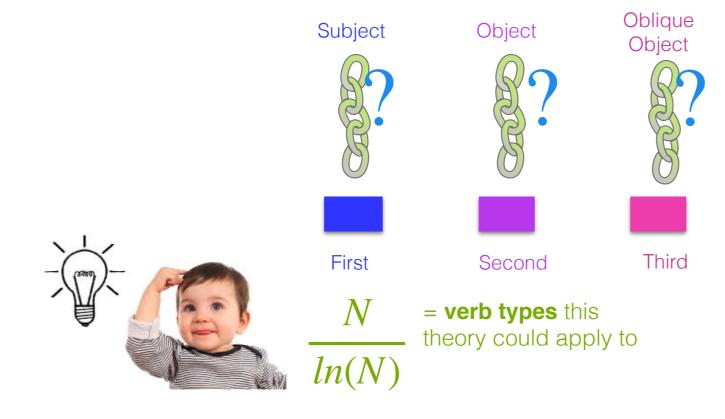
<4yrs



<5yrs

three 1-link theories

Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?



She's hugging the kitten on the stairs.

I hugged him.

Penguins should be hugged.

Please hug me.

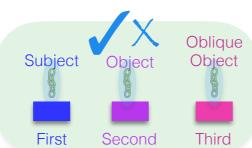
She'll hug the penguin.

Hug the kitten.

We evaluate that verb type's instances according to whether they follow the 1-link theory or not.

initial state data intake target state

one 3-link theory



inference







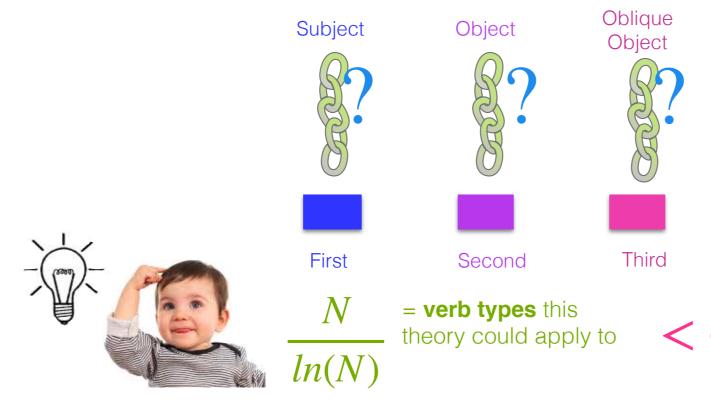
<4yrs



<5yrs

three 1-link theories

Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?



She's hugging the kitten on the stairs.

I hugged him.

Penguins should be hugged.

hugged.

Please hug me.

She'll hug the penguin.

Hug the kitten.

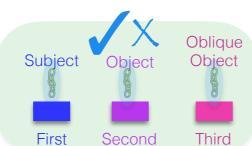
We want the number of verb instances that disobey the 1-link theory to be less than the Tolerance Principle threshold.

N = verb instances this theory could apply to



initial state data intake target state

one 3-link theory



inference







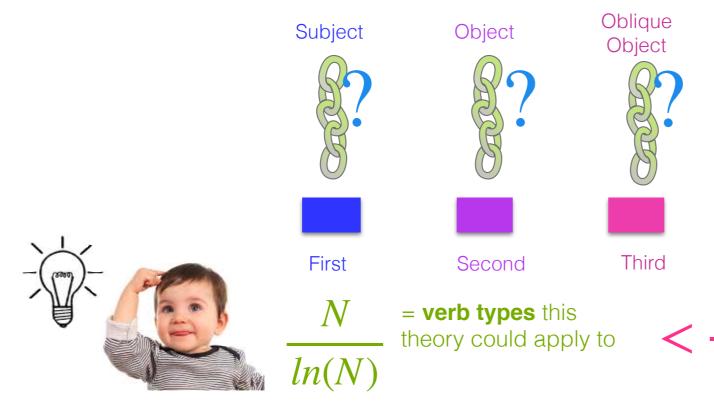
<4yrs



<5yrs

three 1-link theories

Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?



She's hugging the kitten on the stairs.

I hugged him.

Penguins should by hugged.

Please hug me.

She'll hug the penguin.

She was hugged.

Hug the kitten.

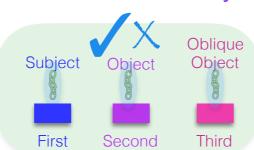
If it is, then this 1-link linking theory is reliable enough for this verb type.

N = verb instances this theory could apply to



initial state data intake target state

one 3-link theory



inference



<3yrs



<4yrs

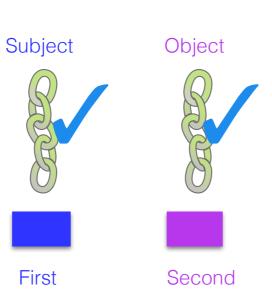


<5yrs

three 1-link theories

Step 1: Are the 1-link theories reliable enough?



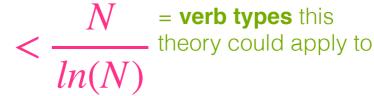






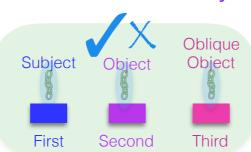
If enough verb types are reliable enough,

then this linking theory is reliable enough for the verbs of the language.



initial state data intake target state

one 3-link theory



inference



<3yrs



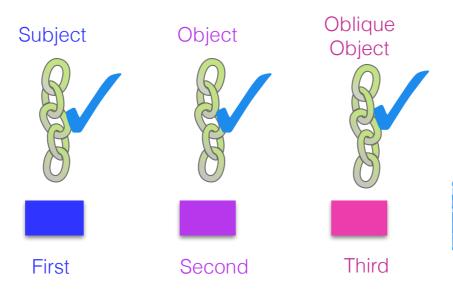
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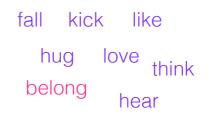


<5yrs

three 1-link theories

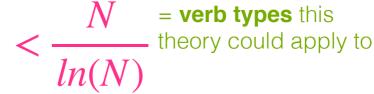
...and that's it.







If enough verb types are reliable enough, then this linking theory is reliable enough for the verbs of the language.





Second

First

Oblique Subject Object Object

one 3-link theory three 1-link theories





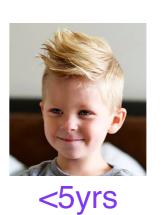








Third



Same results for all three ages.







three 1-link theories



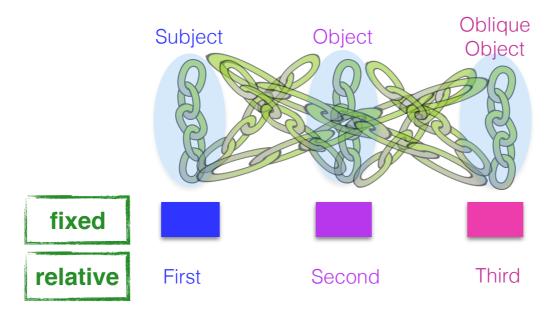






one 3-link theory

Step 1: Are the individual links reliable enough?





<3yrs





<4yrs

<5yrs

three 1-link theories



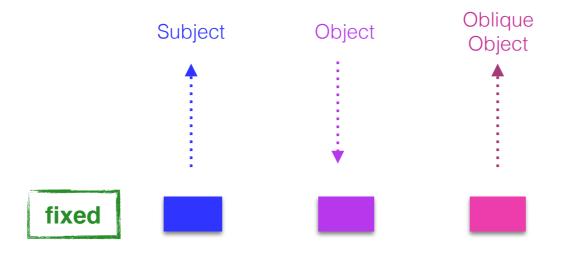






one 3-link theory

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.







Good: At least one in one direction (role to position or position to role) for each of the three posited links.







<4yrs <5yrs

three 1-link theories



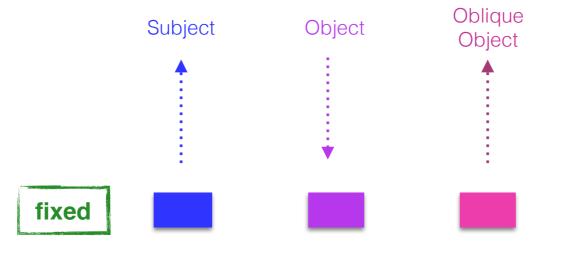






one 3-link theory

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.







Good: At least one in one direction (role to position or position to role) for each of the three posited links.

Good: No extraneous links are reliable enough.



<3vrs







three 1-link theories



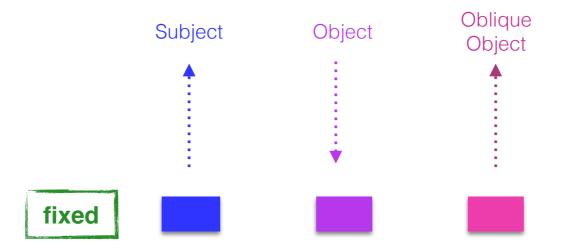






one 3-link theory

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.





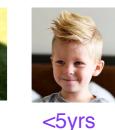


...but none have a reliable link in both directions, and it's not clear if both directions are needed to posit a link for the linking theory.





<4yrs













Subject



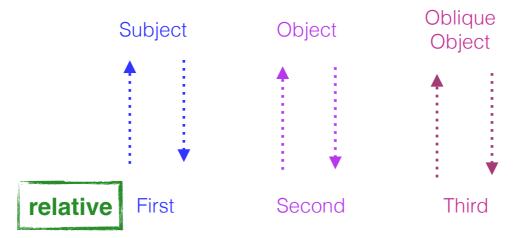






one 3-link theory

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.





This contrasts with the relative thematic system, where links in both directions are reliable enough (and there are also no extraneous links).







<4yrs

<5yrs

three 1-link theories













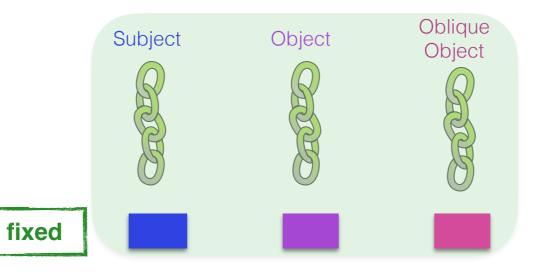




fixed



Step 2 & 3: Compose the links into a 3-link theory & evaluate it.













But let's suppose that one unidirectional link is enough to form a link between thematic representation and syntactic position.





<4yrs





three 1-link theories









Subject



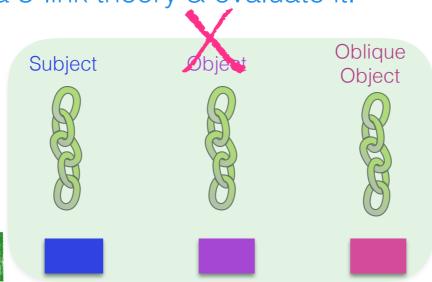
fixed





one 3-link theory

Step 2 & 3: Compose the links into a 3-link theory & evaluate it.















fixed

It turns out that this 3-link theory isn't reliable enough — not enough verb types obey it.



Subject







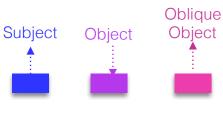
three 1-link theories





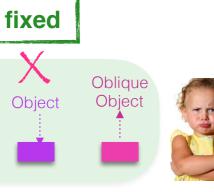








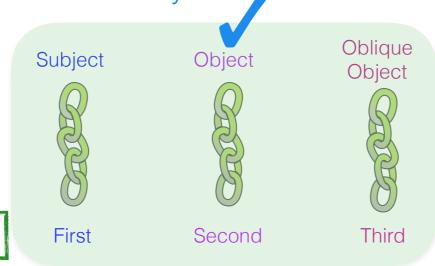






one 3-link theory

Step 2 & 3: Compose the links into a 3-link theory & evaluate it.















Meanwhile, the 3-link theory using the relative thematic representation is easy to form from reliable links and is reliable enough as a unit.





<4yrs



<5yrs

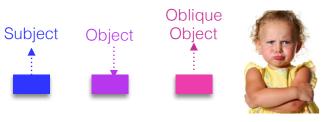
three 1-link theories

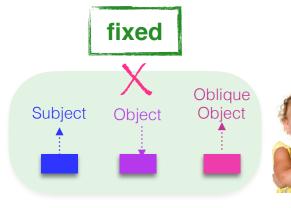














Takeaway: Relying on a relative thematic representation is the only way to derive a 3-link theory of the kind linguists have theorized (UTAH, rUTAH).

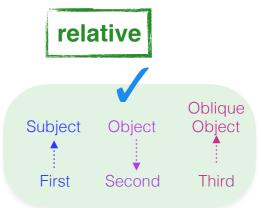
















<4yrs



<5yrs

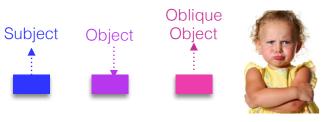
three 1-link theories

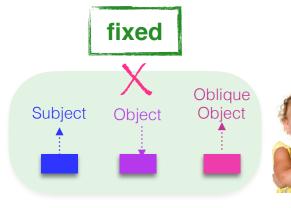














Takeaway: Relying on a relative thematic representation is the only way to derive a 3-link theory of the kind linguists have theorized (UTAH, rUTAH).

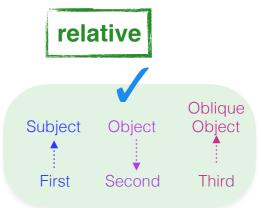














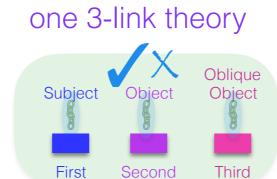
<3yrs







<5yrs

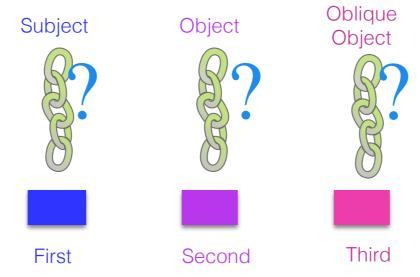








What about if children only have to derive three 1-link theories?



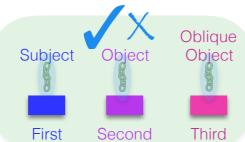








one 3-link theory



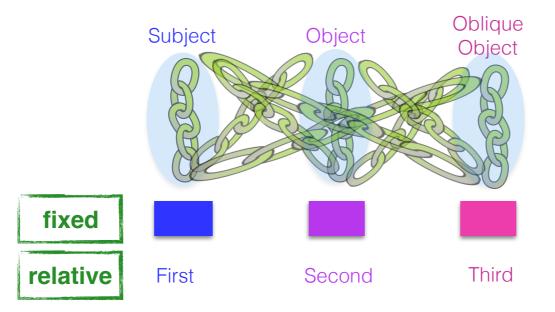






three 1-link theories

Step 1: Are the individual links reliable enough?

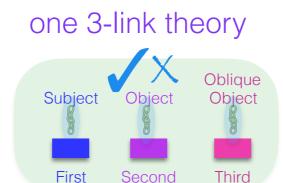






<4yrs





Second



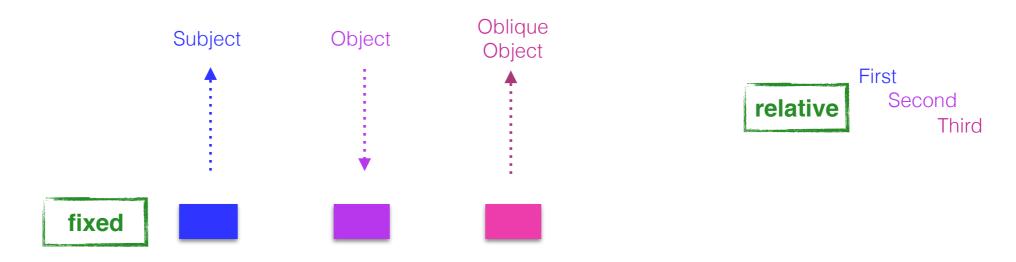




<5yrs

three 1-link theories

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.



The same 3 unidirectional links as before are reliable enough when the learner relies on a fixed thematic representation.



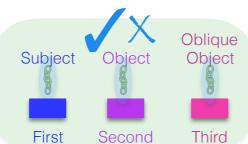


<4yrs





one 3-link theory



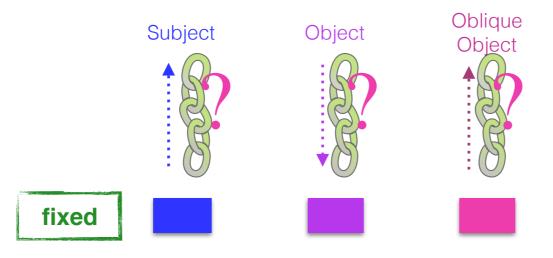






three 1-link theories

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.







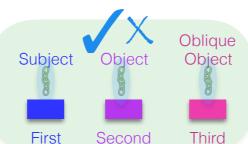
This means it may be harder to form 1-link theories.



















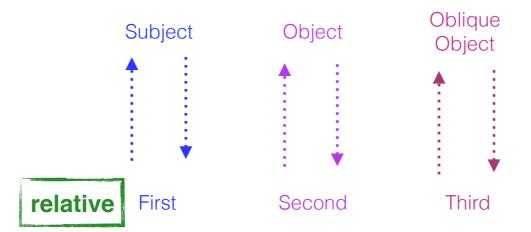






three 1-link theories

Step 1: Here are the ones that are.





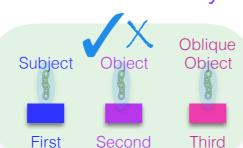
This again contrasts with the relative thematic system, where links in both directions are reliable enough (and there are also no extraneous links).







one 3-link theory Subject Object Object













fixed



















Takeaway: Relying on a relative thematic representation is the only way to easily derive three 1-link theories of the kind compatible with those that linguists have theorized (UTAH, rUTAH).



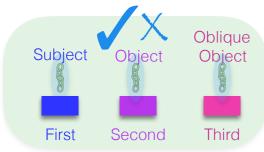




<4yrs <3yrs

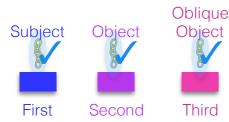
<5yrs

one 3-link theory

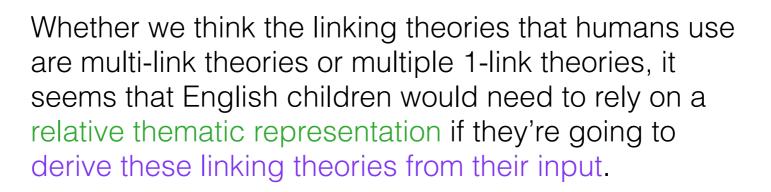




three 1-link theories



Bigger takeaway: Developmental support for rUTAH over UTAH.





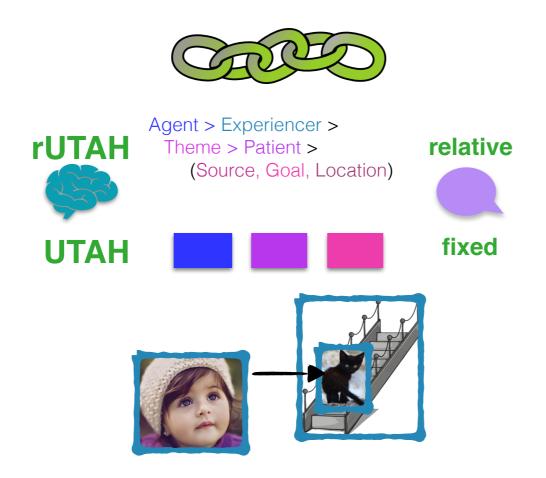








The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



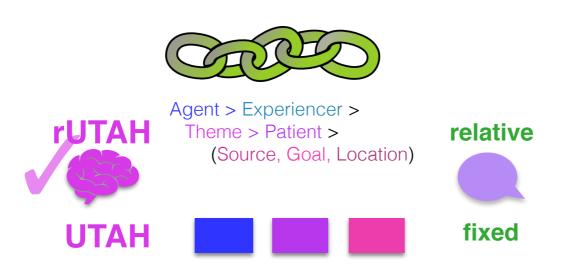
Linking theory proposals relying on innate knowledge require late maturation if they're going to be compatible with what we know about English children's developing verb knowledge.







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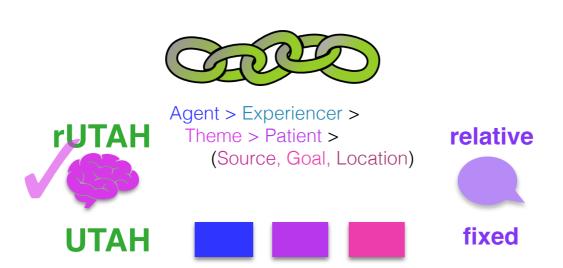
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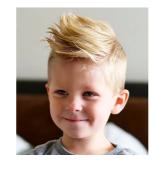
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



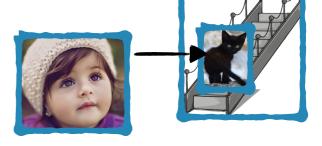
Linking theory proposals relying on derived knowledge are also compatible with what we know about English children's developing verb knowledge.

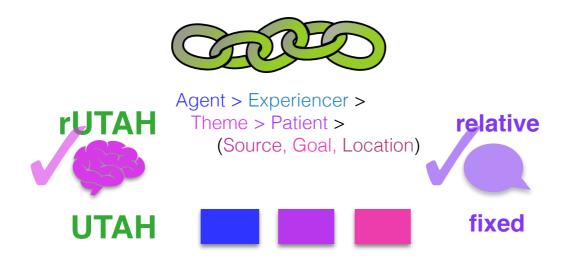






The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.

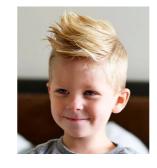




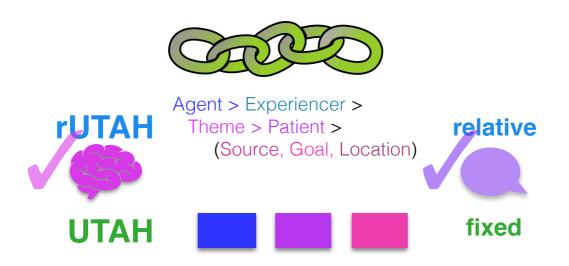
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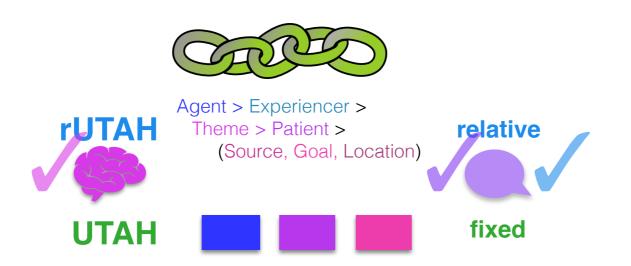
The little girl blicked the kitten on the stairs.



We provided an existence proof for how linking knowledge could be derived from realistic English child input. It only works for learners relying on relative thematic representations.



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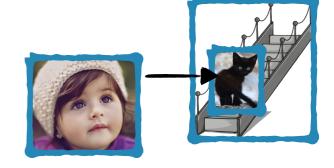


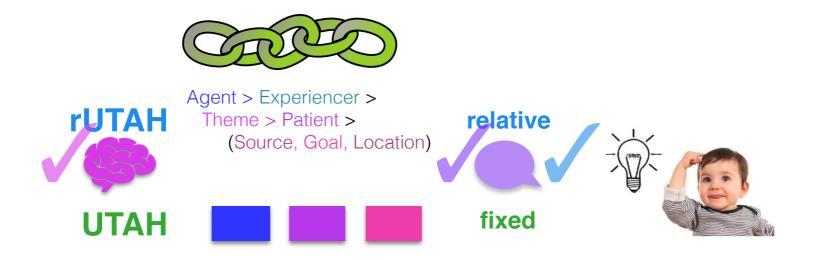
We provided an existence proof for how linking knowledge could be derived from realistic English child input. It only works for learners relying on relative thematic representations.

This can be interpreted as developmental support for theories of relative thematic representations over theories of fixed thematic representations.



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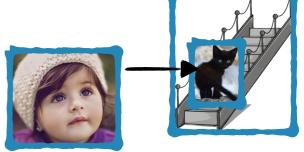


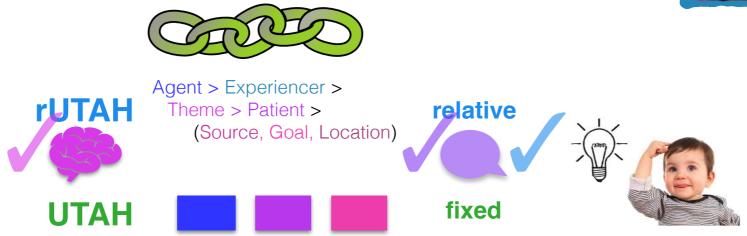


So now what?



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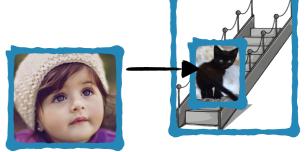


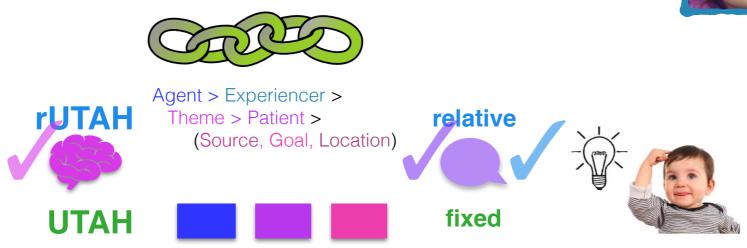
(1) A broader assessment of children's verb class knowledge



This will allow us to further validate our developmental modeling results for these theoretical proposals.

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(1) A broader assessment of children's verb class knowledge

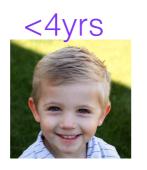
Children's input

Children's known behavior



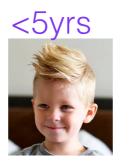
239 verbs

15 classes of 60 verbs



267 verbs

23 classes of 76 verbs



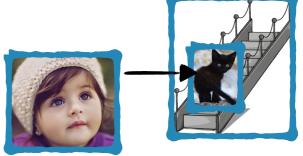
284 verbs

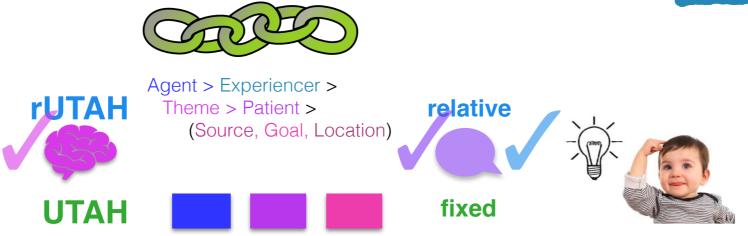
24 classes of 82 verbs

There are nearly 200 verbs in each age that we have developmental model predictions for based on children's input but no behavioral data for.

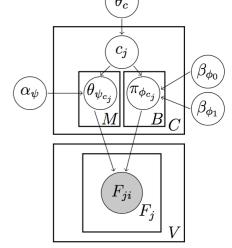
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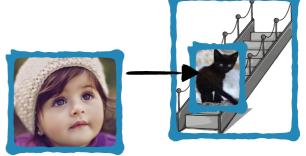


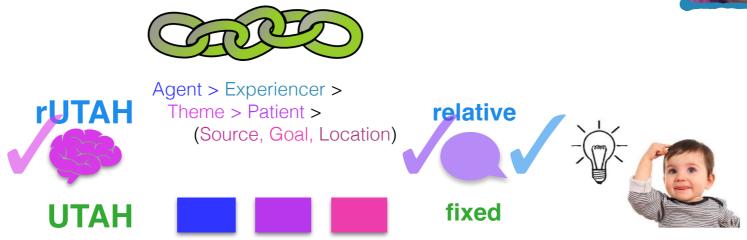
(2) Models incorporating more cognitively plausible assumptions



This will allow us to further validate our developmental modeling results for these theoretical proposals.

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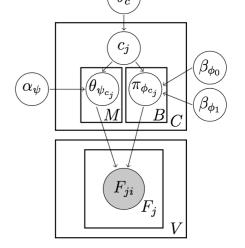
(2) Models incorporating more cognitively plausible assumptions

about intake & inference:

+memory & processing

limitations

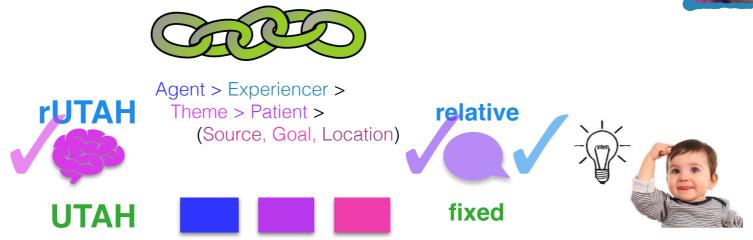




This will allow us to further validate our developmental modeling results for these theoretical proposals.

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(2) Models incorporating more cognitively plausible assumptions

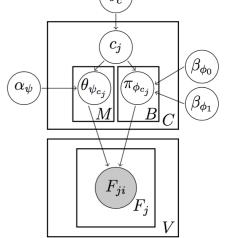


about developing grammar: +incorporating additional age-appropriate information



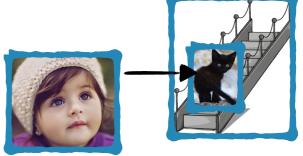


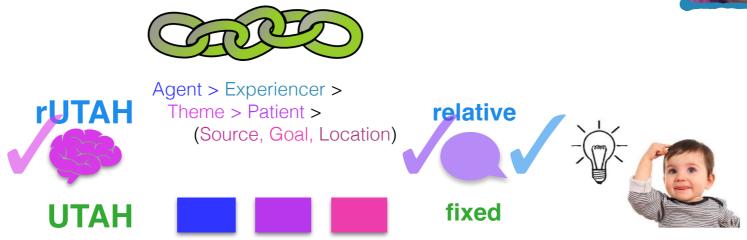




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(2) Models incorporating more cognitively plausible assumptions

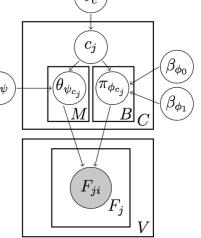








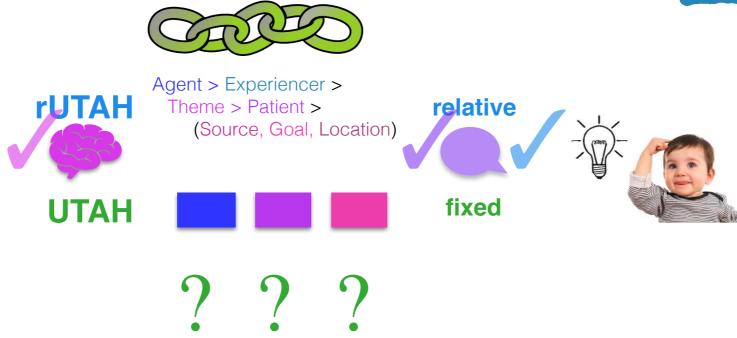
about target state:
+predicting behavioral data
available from experiments



This will allow us to further validate our developmental modeling results for these theoretical proposals.

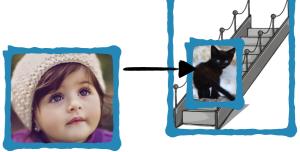
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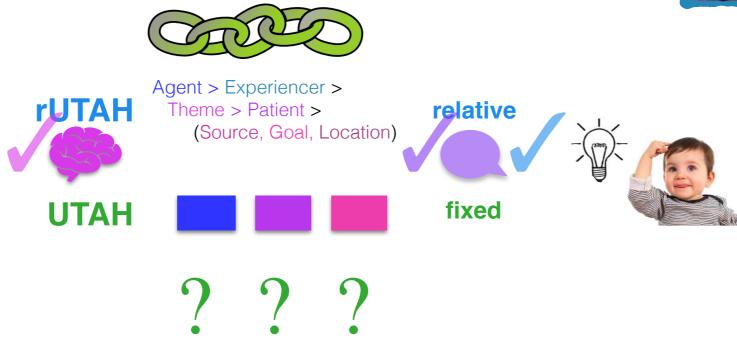




(3) Are there other theoretical options for linking thematic role information to syntactic structure that are compatible with what we know about development?

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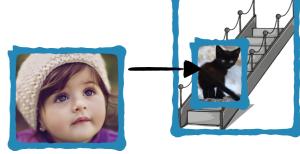


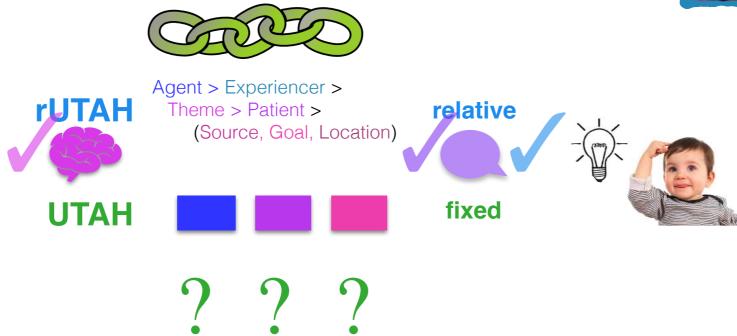
(3) Are there other theoretical options for linking thematic role information to syntactic structure that are compatible with what we know about development?

We can use these quantitative approaches to investigate them.



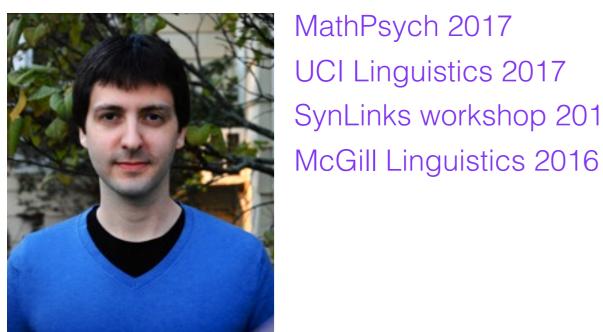
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These quantitative approaches allow us to connect theories of linguistic representation with theories of language development and so understand more about both.

Jon Sprouse

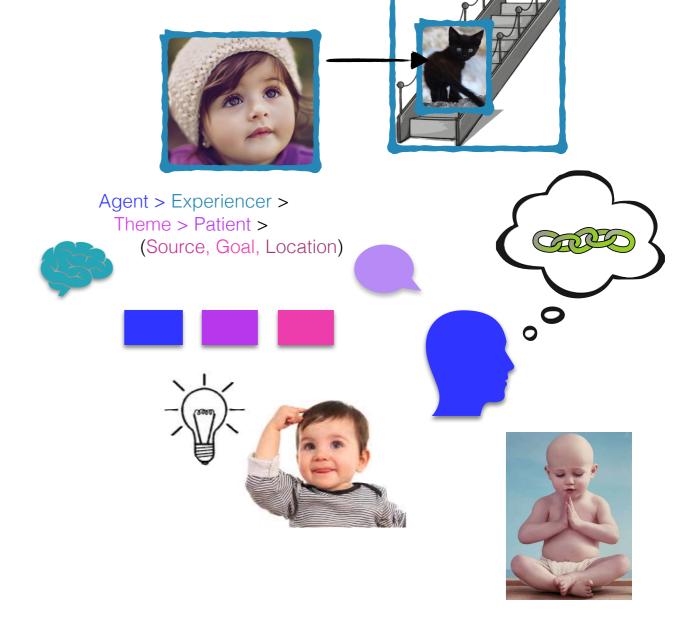


MathPsych 2017 UCI Linguistics 2017 SynLinks workshop 2016

Thank you!













Special thanks to Abbie Thornton, Alandi Bates, Emily Yang, and BreAnna Silva for CHILDES Treebank corpus annotation.