

# Input & Universal Grammar

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SLRF Formal and Functional Symposium

Pittsburgh 2012

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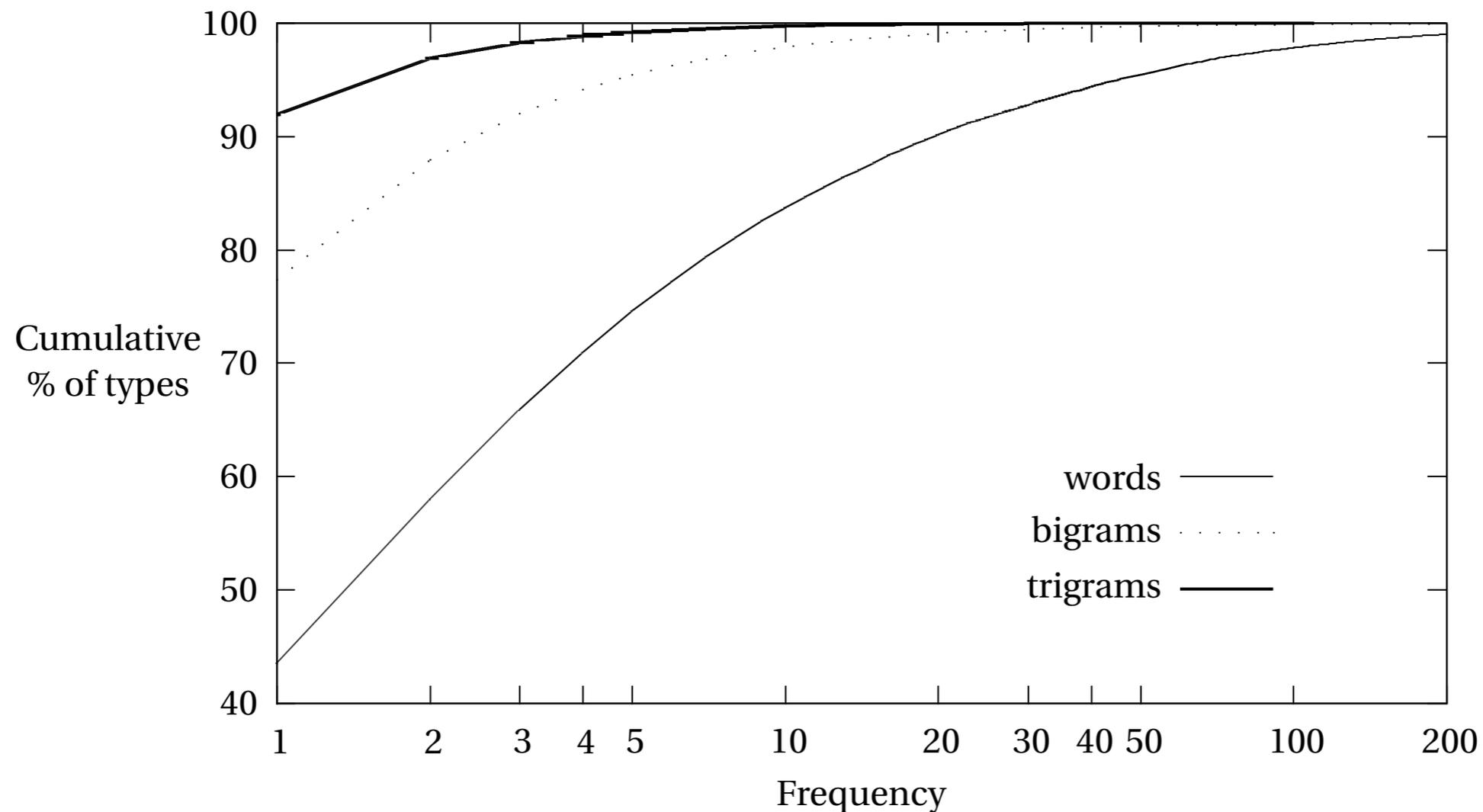
- Input: A statistical look at distributional information
- Output: Quantitative and cross-linguistic patterns of development
- Mechanisms of learning: Why UG can make use of input-driven, probabilistic, and domain general learning processes
- Some speculations on L2 acquisition

# Input & Usage Effects?

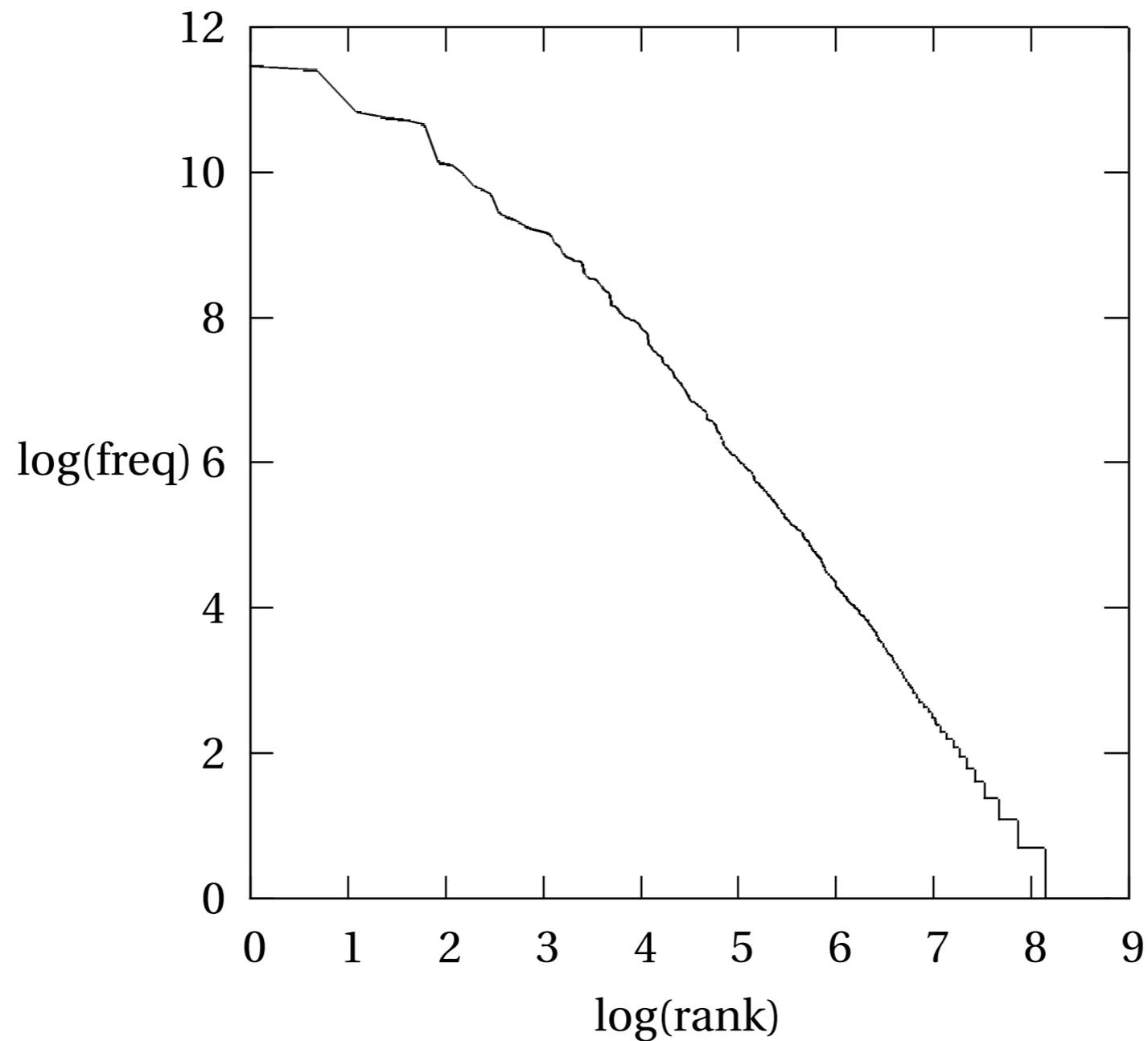
- Frequency effects, limited extent of diversity (“verb islands”), etc.
- “**give me X**”, a highly frequent expression, is often cited as evidence of the child using formulaic expressions
- From the Harvard children (Adam, Eve, Sarah)
  - **give me: 93, give him: 15, give her: 12, or 7.75 : 1.23 : 1**
  - **me: 2870, him: 466, her: 364, or 7.88 : 1.28 : 1**

# Input: Very boring

- Zipf's law: Much of language is repetitions of a few, while most distinct items occur rarely
- Linguistic combinations produce an even large space of possibilities (e.g., bigrams, trigrams, morphology, rules/constructions)



# Wall Street Journal



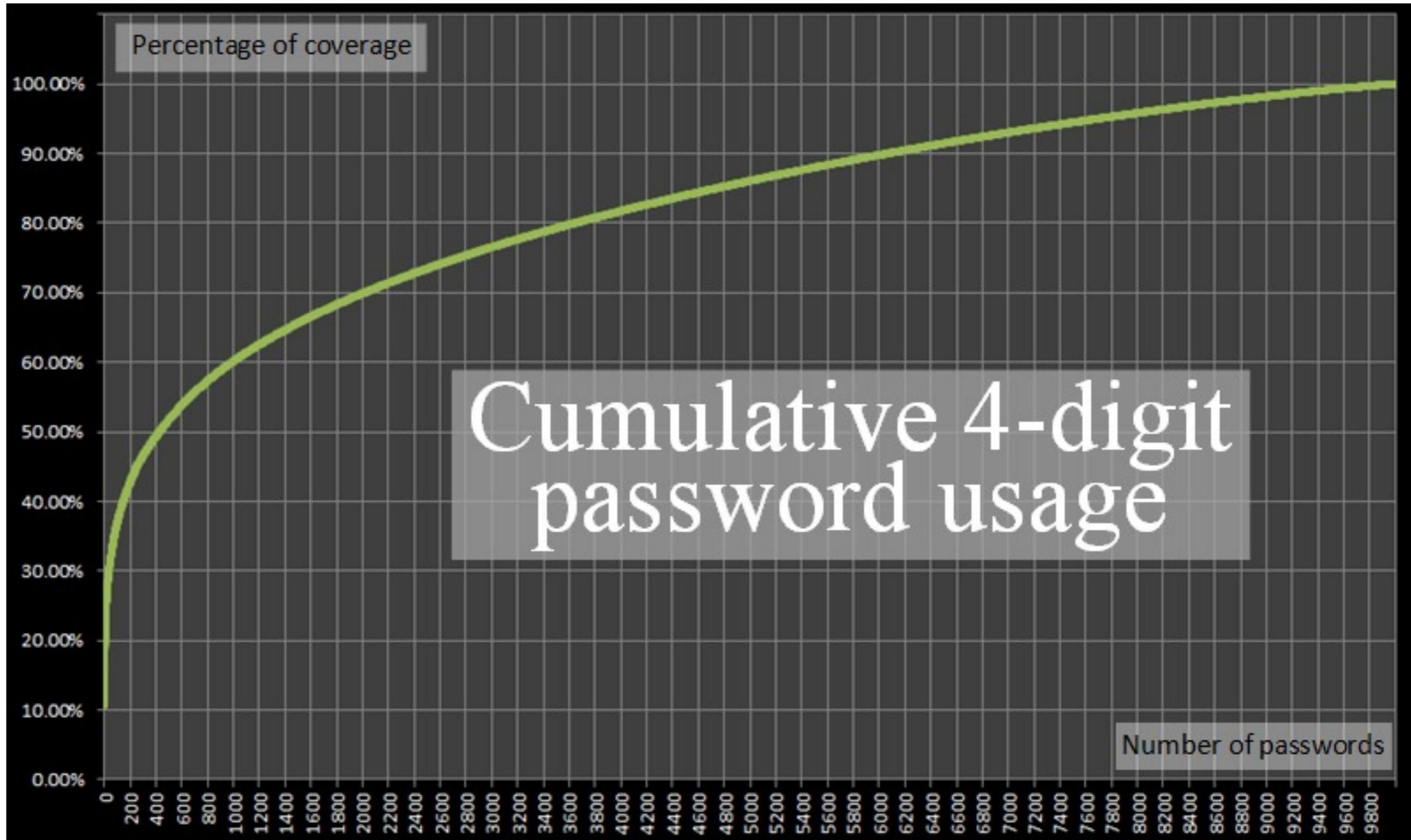
- Rules and their frequencies from the Penn Treebank (log-log scale)

# Verb Islands in adult language (>1Mil)

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10
put	<b>401</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
tell	<b>245</b>	65	49	49	45	36	22	16	14	13
see	<b>152</b>	100	38	32	28	21	14	14	12	11
want	<b>158</b>	83	36	24	19	15	13	9	5	4
let	<b>238</b>	38	32	23	22	17	8	6	3	3
give	<b>115</b>	92	59	32	31	7	5	5	5	5
take	<b>130</b>	57	30	21	18	15	14	9	8	7
show	<b>100</b>	34	27	21	19	17	12	8	7	7
got	<b>58</b>	37	14	12	11	9	7	7	7	4
ask	<b>45</b>	41	27	24	12	10	8	8	4	2
make	<b>67</b>	20	12	10	9	7	7	4	3	2
eat	<b>67</b>	42	14	8	6	5	5	3	3	3
like	<b>39</b>	13	9	6	4	4	4	4	3	3
bring	<b>43</b>	30	17	15	10	10	3	3	3	3
hear	<b>46</b>	22	13	9	6	4	4	3	3	3
total	<b>1904</b>	<b>838</b>	<b>501</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>75</b>

put: it, your, them, him, my, her, em, you, his, water

# PIN Number Analysis



# *Matches* and *Mismatches*

- Roger Brown (1973, *A First Language*): word order errors are “triflingly few”
  - Children must be able to learn the basic rules of grammar with 2-3 million sentences
- Yet a great deal of surprises remain, especially if we relate them to the distributions of linguistic patterns in the input

# Abundant Input, Late Learning

- Missing subjects in child English (Bloom 1973, Hyam 1986)
  - \_\_\_ want look a man.
- Missing objects as well (Wang et al. 1992)
  - Look at \_\_\_. \_\_\_ go a little higher
- Null subject stage last about 3 years but an overwhelming amount of child directed English input do contain the subject, as English is an obligatory subject language (unlike Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Italian, etc.)

# Lateness is not Universal

	English	Italian	Chinese
<b>Adults</b>			
<b>Subject</b>	~ 0%	70%	50%
<b>Object</b>	0%	0%	20%
<b>Children</b>			
<b>Subject</b>	30%	~70%	~50%
<b>Object</b>	8%	0%	~20%

Children age: <3;0

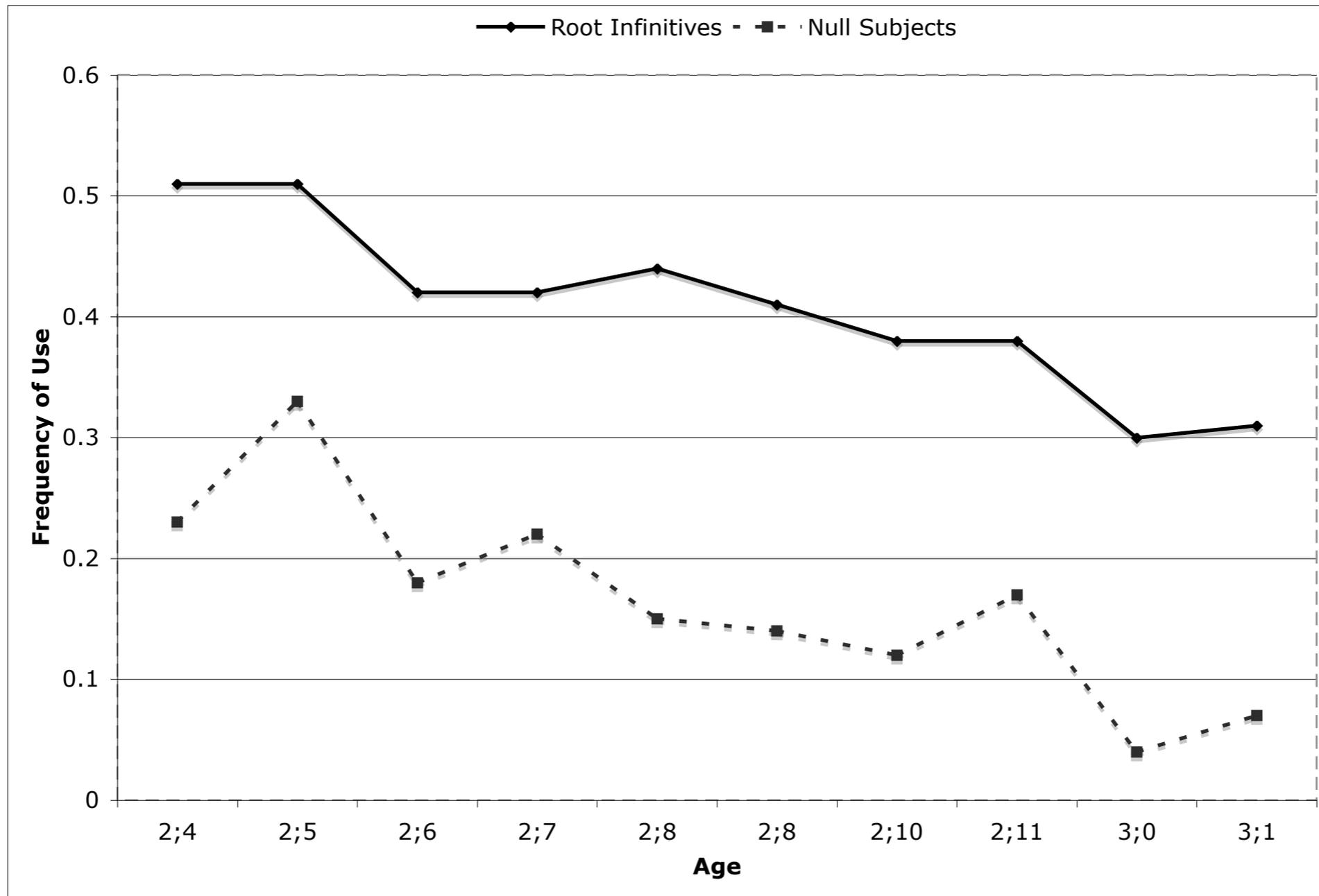
Data from Wang et al. (1992), Valian (1991), Bates (1978)

**“Luke, look at the input ...”**

# Abundant Input, Late Learning

- Extensive use of Root Infinitives that should be tensed
  - English: Papa **have** it.
  - Dutch: thee **drinken** (tea drink-INF)
  - French: **Dormir** petit bébé (sleep-INF little baby)
  - German: mein Kako **hinstellen** (my chocolate milk put-INF)
  - Hebrew: Malon **lauf** (balloon fly-INF)

# Optional Infinitives and Null Subjects Together



Large dataset from a Dutch learner (data from Haegeman 1996)

# Little Input, Early Learning

- The placement of verbs in French
  - Jean voit **souvent/pas** Claude. (“John sees **often/not** Claude”)
- Only 7% of the sentences in child-directed French show this pattern (Yang 2002), yet children learn this property of French by the time of two word combinations (1;8, Pierce 1992)
  - marches **pas** (“works **not**”)
  - **pas** la poupée **dormir** (“**not** the doll **sleep**”)
- Similar findings in similar languages, and languages like English pattern very differently

# Same Grammar, Differential Learning

- Germanic languages have Verb Second (V2)
  - Dutch: Dit boek **las** ik gisteren. (“this book read I yesterday”)
  - Norwegian: Det **vet** æ ikkje. (“that know I not”)
- But Dutch and German children take over 3 years to use V2 reliably as they produce a lot of verb initial utterances (Clahsen 1986, Haegeman 1996), while Norwegian children learn V2 as early as 2;0 (Westergaard 2009)

# Central Questions

- Can learning primarily consist of memorization and lexically specific rules?
  - For detailed assessment of usage-based learning, see Yang (2011, *Proc. Assoc. Comp. Ling.*)
- What combination of grammar model and learning model will give the best account of child language?

# Industrial Lessons

- Statistical parsing: Learn from pre-parsed tree structures (e.g., Wall Street Journal, Brown Corpus)

- **Start:** a large set of probabilistic CFG rules

$$S \xrightarrow{p} NP VP, S \xrightarrow{1-p} NP VP$$

- **Training:** adjust the probabilities of rule expansions so that they maximize the likelihood of the training data
- **Testing:** run the resulting grammar on new data
- State of art parsers: low 90% (impressive but still a long way to go)

# Why Google hasn't solved everything

(a)  $VP \rightarrow V NP$

(b)  $VP \rightarrow V_{\text{drink}} NP$

(c)  $VP \rightarrow V_{\text{drink}} NP_{\text{water}}$

Rule Type	F-score
a+b+c	~89.0%
a+b	~88.4%
a	~84%

- Multiple forms of rules are present in training, ranging from general to lexical
- One can vary certain types to test their effectiveness in generalization (Gildea 2001 *Proc. ACL*, Bikel 2004, *Comp. Ling.*)
- Storing construction or lexically specific rules offers virtually no payoff in data coverage (Yang 2011, *Proc. ACL*)
- The range of grammar (**output**) is enormous, but the learning data (**input**) is limited and grows far too slowly

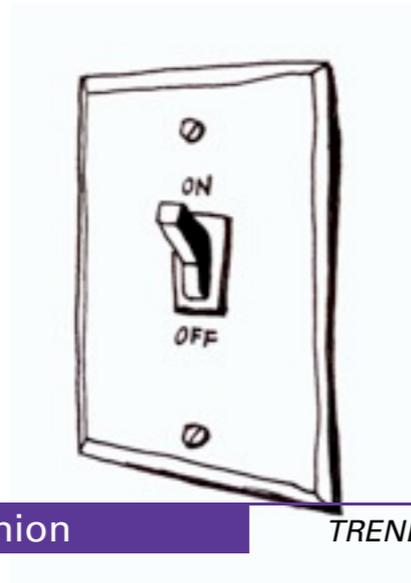
# Are the best rules good enough?

- Formal learnability is one thing; the developmental test from child language is ultimately more important
- $S \rightarrow NP VP$  will be learned quickly: >95% of the English data
- $VP \rightarrow V_{FIN} pas$  will be learned slowly: 7% of the French data
- But French children learn verb placement *early* and English children learn the use of subjects *late*!
- What kind of (grammar, learning) combination would take the input and produce the output like children?

# UG + Learning from Input

- Parameters  $\approx$  Principal Component Analysis
- “Child competence is identical to adult competence”
- “Parameters are set very early”
- Magic and More Magic ...
- Use parameters
  - a model of language variation and child learning errors
- Do not use Magic
  - use a model of learning that is gradual and takes input into account

# From Trigger to Dimmer



Opinion

TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences Vol.8 No.10 October 2004

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## Universal Grammar, statistics or both?

- The Variational model (Yang 2002 Oxford UP)
- Parameter values are associated with probabilities ( $p$ : VO,  $1-p$ : OV)
  - try out a value, reward/punish) based on success/failure
  - learning rate: magnitude of change, subject to individual variation
  - More tokens of parameter **signatures**, faster learning

# Signatures & Learning

- Verb raising in French: 7% input, very early acquisition
- Learning the use of subject in English
  - Hearing “I eat pizza” doesn’t do good because it does not disambiguate the types of grammars the learner considers
- Expletive subject sentences
  - “**There** is a cookie on the floor” (1%)
- Signature for Chinese-type topic drop: null objects (12%)
- The most comprehensive study of a realistic parameter domain (Fodor & Sakas 2012 *Language Acquisition*) shows that most if not all parameters have signatures, which make learning feasible

# From Input to Output

**TABLE 1** | Statistical Correlates of Parameters in the Input and Output of Language Acquisition

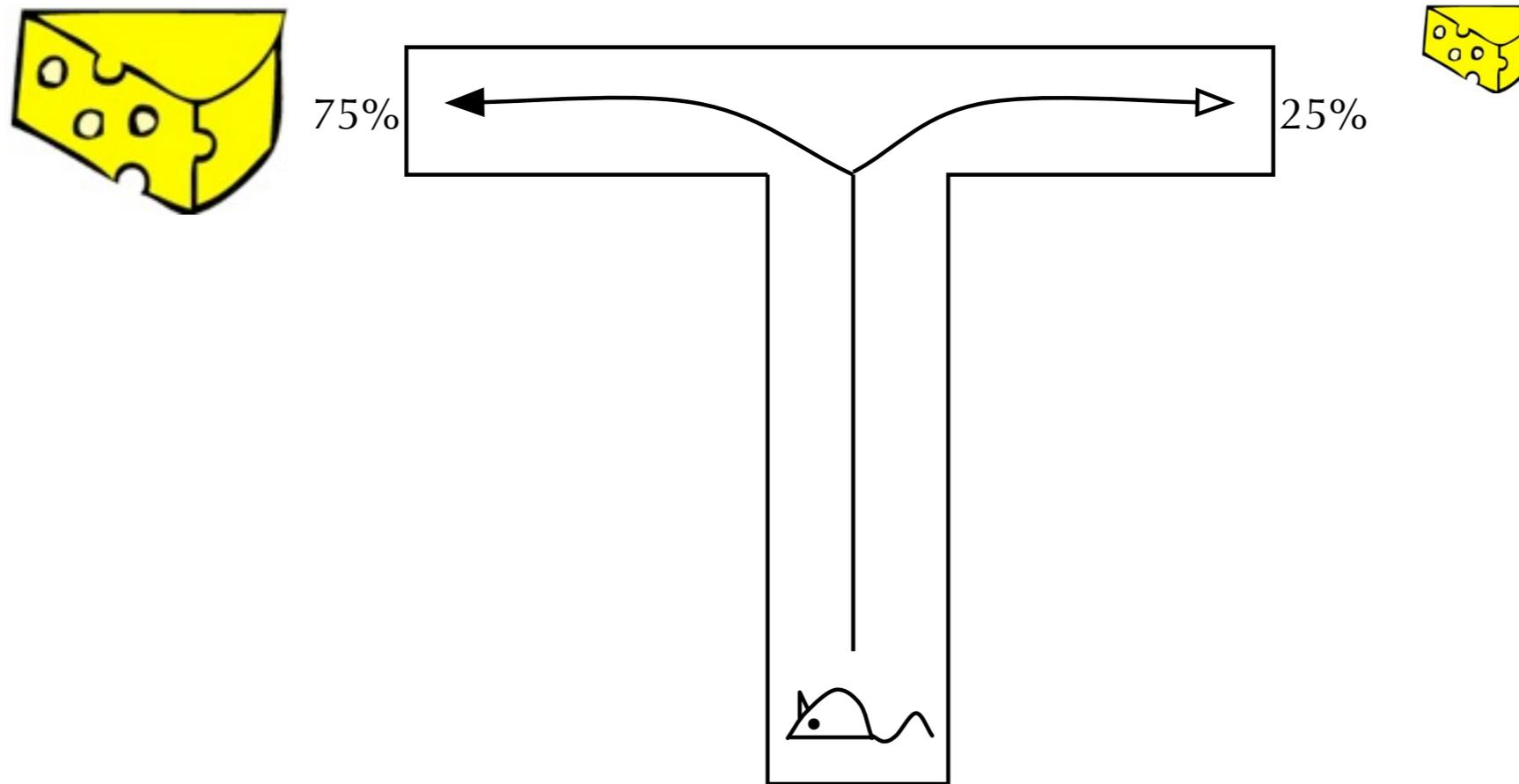
Parameter	Target	Signature	Input Frequency (%)	Acquisition
Wh fronting	English	Wh questions	25	Very early
Topic-drop	Chinese	Null objects	12	Very early
Prodrop	Italian	Null subjects in questions	10	Very early
Verb raising	French	Verb adverb/ <i>pas</i>	7	1.8
Obligatory subject	English	Expletive subjects	1.2	3.0
Verb second	German/Dutch	OVS sentences	1.2	3.0–3.2
Scope marking	English	Long-distance questions	0.2	>4.0

- Parameters have developmental correlates (Yang 2012, *WIREs Cognitive Science*)
- Same parameter, different languages:
  - V2 in Norwegian: **10%** of OVS in input → **early**
  - V2 in Dutch: **1.2%** of OVS input → **late**

# Input & Individual Variation

- Never been denied (Chomsky 1965, Wexler & Culicover 1980, Berwick 1985, Gibson & Wexler 1994, Yang 2002)
- No need to appeal to unmotivated and unnecessary theoretical machinery to account for the gaps between children and adults
- Optional Infinitives: verbal morphology that mark tense-you are **not** learning Chinese (Legate & Yang 2007 *Lg. Acq.*)
- Individual level correlation between length of OI stage and the amount of tensed morphology in CDS (Hadley *et al.* 2011 *JSLHR*)
  - Suggests that the source of delay in SLI children may be due to (more general) learning: poor morphological learner (Leonard *et al.* 1992, Rice *et al.* 2000) make less effective use of the tense information to unlearn the RI usage

# Learning & Learning Language



- Variational Model uses Reinforcement Learning (Bush & Mosteller 1951), a very general learning mechanism with broad behavioral and neural support
- Strongly demonstrated in human subjects (children and adults)
  - See especially the work in the acquisition of sociolinguistic variables (Labov and co.)

# L2 Acquisition: Re-turning the dimmer?

- The combination of grammar model and learning model
- The Variational Model provides a precise and testable hypothesis for L2 acquisition research
  - Even if the grammar model is **not** parameter based
- If initial state is L1-independent:
  - L2 learners mirror the time course trajectories of L1 learners
- If initial state is L1:
  - L2 learners will eschew the time course of L1 learners
- It's **not** sufficient to study a single parameter: cross-parameter comparison is necessary

# Conclusion

- Input is rich and interesting, but it alone won't do the job
  - Also need to be cautious about drawing conclusions from input effects
- Input and Universal Grammar are perfectly consistent
  - Previous conception of the **learning mechanism** needs to be reconsidered
- Input effects in L2 likewise may be assessed accurately by making the grammar-learning interaction very explicit