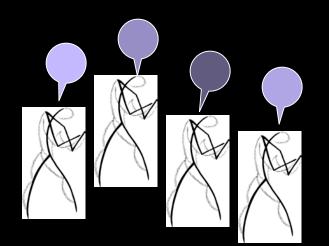
# **Learning-Driven Linguistic Evolution**

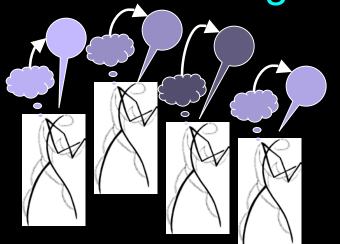
Lisa Pearl Cognitive Sciences, UC Irvine March 16, 2008 Evolution of Psychological Categories Workshop Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences UC Irvine

### Linguistic Evolution, In Brief



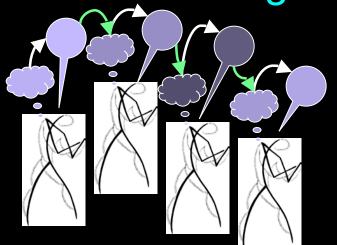
Linguistic knowledge is transmitted in a population via interaction with other speakers in the population.

# Linguistic Evolution, In Brief

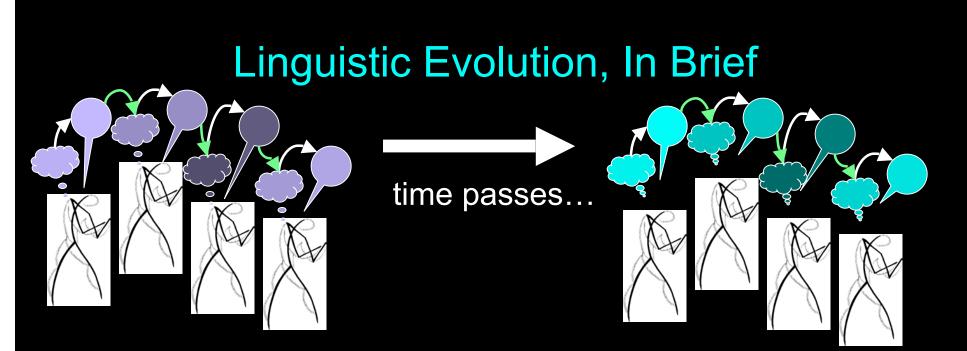


The information speakers transmit (observable data) is based on their own linguistic knowledge.

### Linguistic Evolution, In Brief



Speakers adjust their linguistic knowledge based on the observable (and encountered) data from other population members.



Population-level changes over time depend on what information speakers pass to subsequent generations and how that information is integrated into an individual's linguistic knowledge.

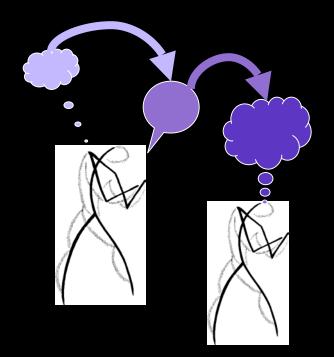
### **Integrating Linguistic Information**

Not all linguistic knowledge is created equal

Some knowledge can be altered throughout an individual's life

(example: vocabulary)



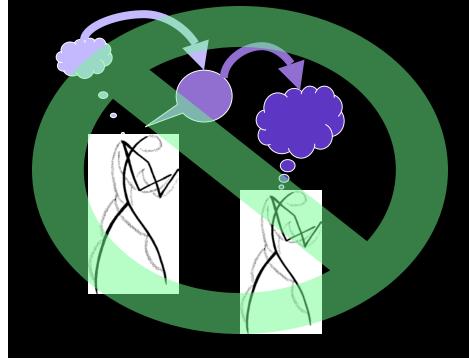


### **Integrating Linguistic Information**

Not all linguistic knowledge is created equal

Some knowledge can be altered only during the early stages of an individual's life

(example: word order rules)





## Change to knowledge that is alterable early

Implication: The way in which young learners integrate linguistic information (along with the data available) determines the linguistic composition of the population and the speed at which the linguistic knowledge evolves within the population.

time passes.

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Implication: The way in which young learners integrate linguistic information (along with the data available) determines the linguistic composition of the population and the speed at which the linguistic knowledge evolves within the population.

time

### Road Map

I. Individual Language Learning The Nature of Linguistic Knowledge Individual Learning Framework

II. Linguistic Evolution: Case Study Old English Word Order Modeling Individuals (Pearl & Weinberg 2007) Modeling Populations Issues in Empirical Grounding Selective Learning Biases

### Road Map

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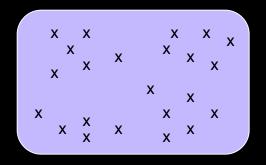
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Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

#### Categorization/Clustering

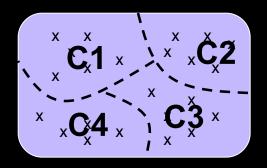
Ex: What are the contrastive sounds of a language?



Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

#### Categorization/Clustering

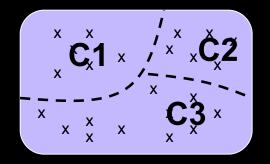
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Ex: What are the contrastive sounds of a language?



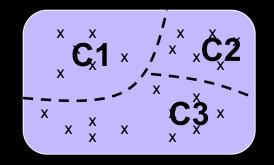
Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

#### Categorization/Clustering

Ex: What are the contrastive sounds of a language?

#### Extraction

Ex: Where are words in fluent speech?



### húwzəfréjdəvðəbĺgbæ'dwə'lf

Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

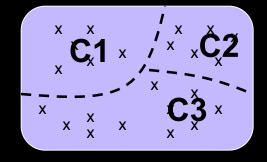
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### húwz əfréjd əv ðə bĺg bæ'd wə'lf who's afraid of the big bad wolf



Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

#### Categorization/Clustering

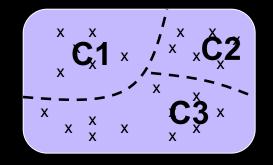
Ex: What are the contrastive sounds of a language?

#### Extraction

Ex: Where are words in fluent speech?

#### Mapping

What are the word affixes that signal meaning (e.g. past tense in English)?



húwz əfréjd əv ðə bĺg bæ'd wə'lf who's afraid of the big bad wolf

blink~blinked confide~confided

drink~drank

Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

#### Categorization/Clustering

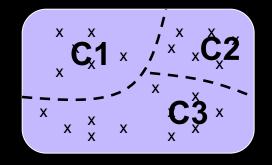
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blink~blinked confide~confided blink blinkt kənfajd kənfajdəd

> drink~drank drink drejnk

Different aspects: more and less transparent from data

**Complex systems**: What is the generative system that creates the observed (structured) data of language (ex: syntax)?

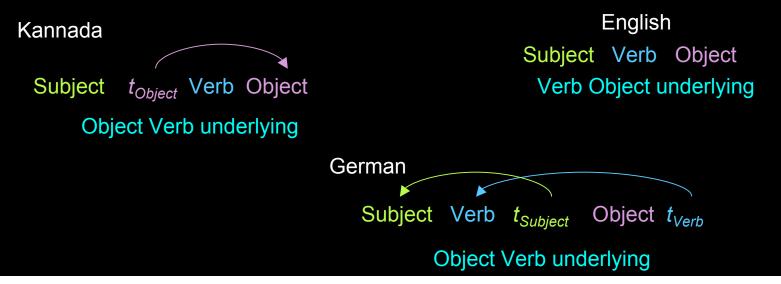
syntax = word order rules Learning problem: many ways to generate observable data

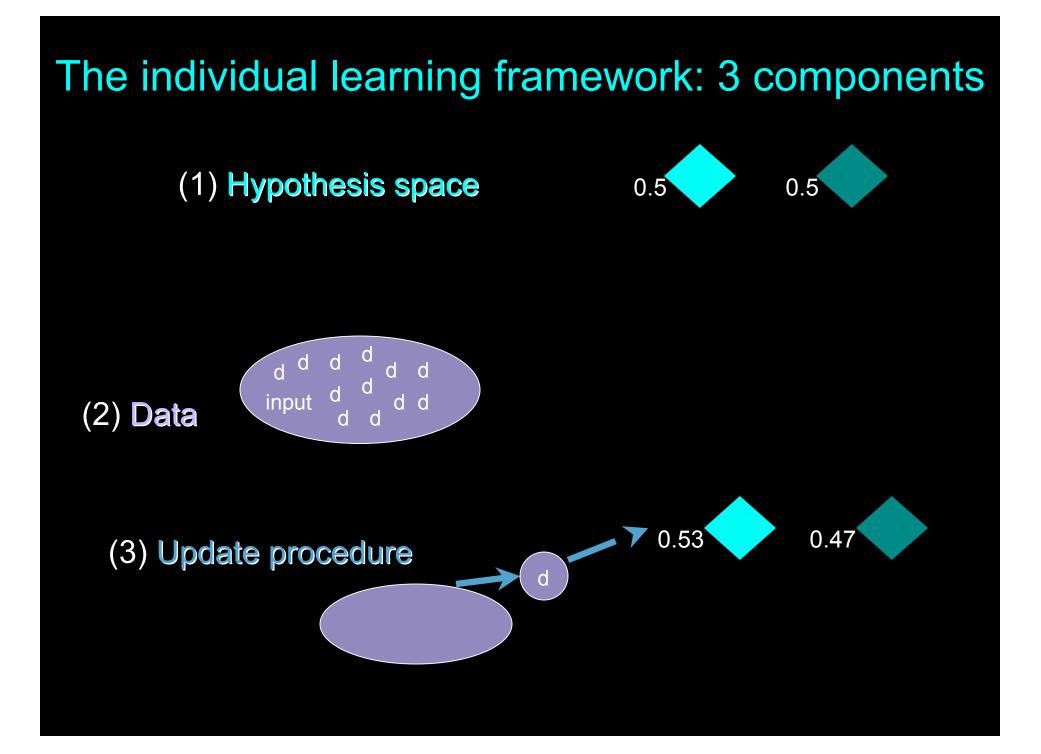
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**Complex systems**: What is the generative system that creates the observed (structured) data of language (ex: syntax)?

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Observable data: word order Subject Verb Object Generative system: syntax





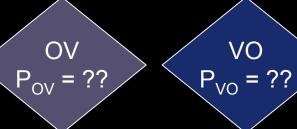
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Changing Basic Word Order Rule in Old English: Object-Verb (OV) vs. Verb-Object (VO) order

Individual Knowledge (underlying probability in speaker's mind): probability distribution between OV and VO orders





Changing Basic Word Order Rule in Old English: Object-Verb (OV) vs. Verb-Object (VO) order



VO

P<sub>VO</sub> = ??

Individual Knowledge (underlying probability in speaker's mind): probability distribution between OV and VO orders

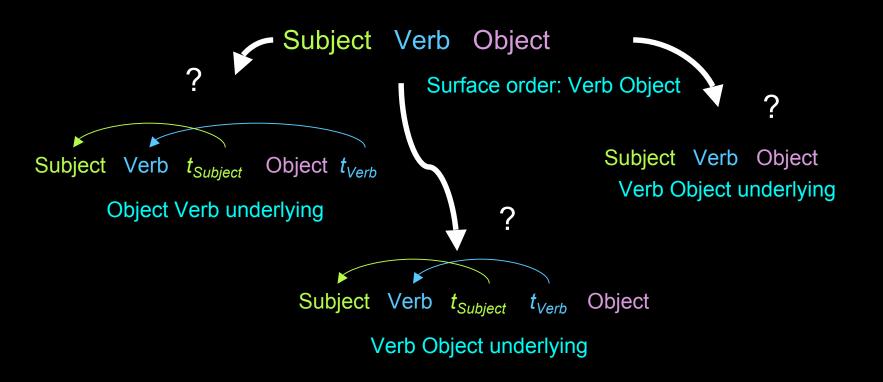
Individual Usage (observable data for learner): probability distribution between OV and VO orders (not necessarily same one as individual knowledge distribution, from learner's perspective)

Why not?

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

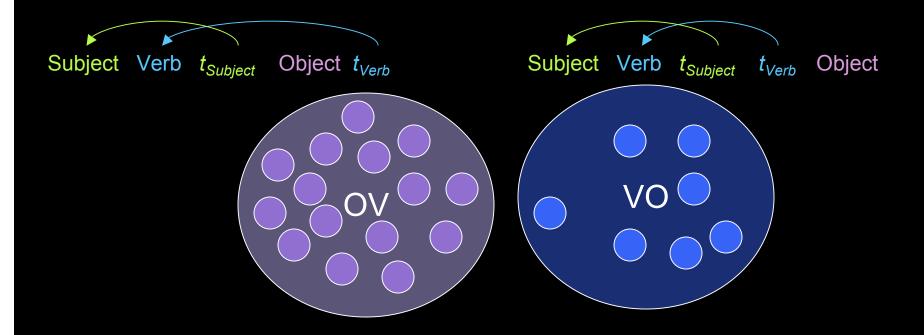
Speaker generates utterance





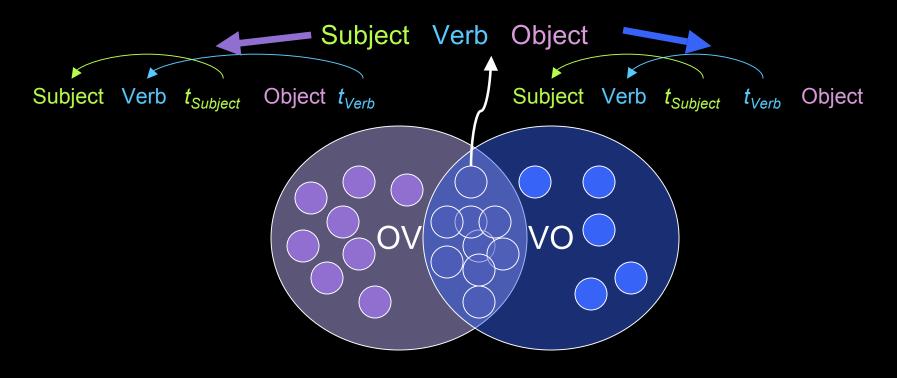
Learner interprets utterance





Every utterance generated by speaker is either OV or VO order in the underlying distribution





The learner encounters data that is ambiguous between the two options. Distribution depends on learner's interpretation of ambiguous data



Changing Basic Word Order Rule in Old English: Object-Verb (OV) vs. Verb-Object (VO) order



VO

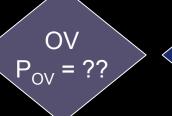
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Changing Basic Word Order Rule in Old English: Object-Verb (OV) vs. Verb-Object (VO) order



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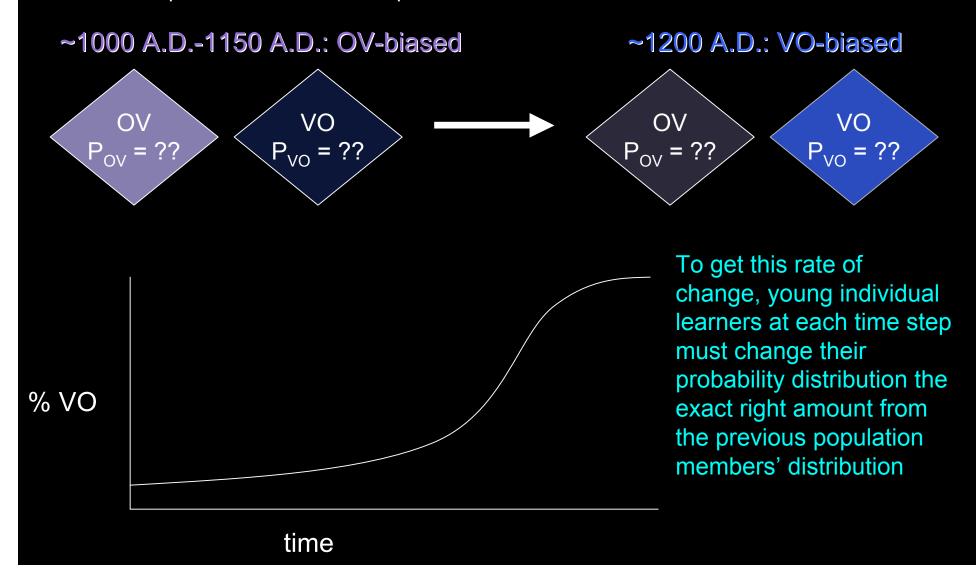
 $P_{VO}$ 

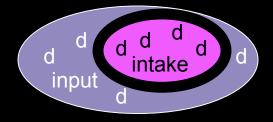
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Due to learner interpretation bias

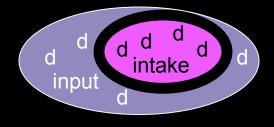
Estimates of average individual usage from historical corpora: YCOE Corpus 2003; PPCME2 Corpus 2000





Interpretation Bias: Use only data perceived as most informative (Fodor 1998, Lightfoot 1999, Dresher 1999).

**Interpretation Bias**: Use only data that is more accessible (perhaps for language processing reasons) (Lightfoot 1991).



Interpretation Bias : Use only data perceived as most informative: unambiguous data (Fodor 1998, Lightfoot 1999, Dresher 1999).

**Interpretation Bias**: Use only data that is more accessible (perhaps for language processing reasons) (Lightfoot 1991).



Learner has heuristics for identifying unambiguous **OV/VO** data, based on partial knowledge of possible adult system rules (Fodor 1998, Lightfoot 1999, Dresher 1999)

Knowledge of tensed verb movement to 2nd phrasal position of sentence

OV unambiguous data:

[...]<sub>XP</sub> ... Object TensedVerb ...

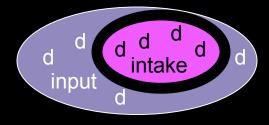
....TensedVerb .... Object Verb-Marker ....

VO unambiguous data:

[...]<sub>XP</sub> [...]<sub>XP</sub> ... TensedVerb Object ...

....TensedVerb .... Verb-Marker Object ....

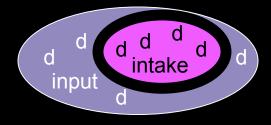




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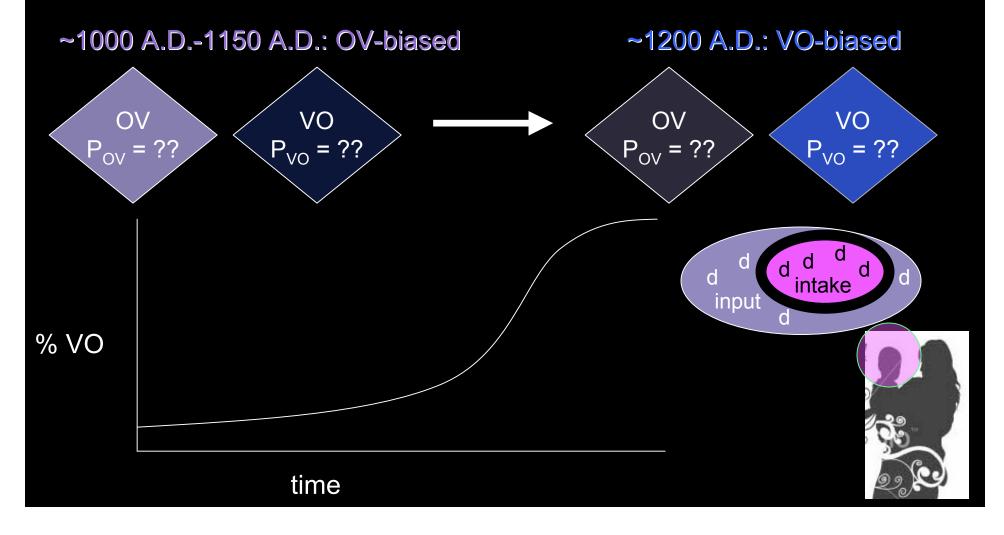
VO unambiguous data: [...]<sub>XP</sub> [...]<sub>XP</sub> ... TensedVerb Object ... ...TensedVerb ... Verb-Marker Object ...

**Interpretation Bias**: Use only structurally simple (degree-0) data (Lightfoot 1991).

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

[-----Degree-1-----]

The point of interpretation biases: Unambiguous degree-0 data distribution may differ the right amount from population's underlying distribution to change at the right rate.

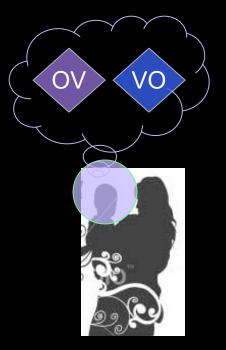


#### Modeling Individuals: Knowledge & Learning

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

Old English: 0.0 <= p<sub>VO</sub> <= 1.0 Ex: 0.3 = **30% VO**, **70% OV** during generation

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



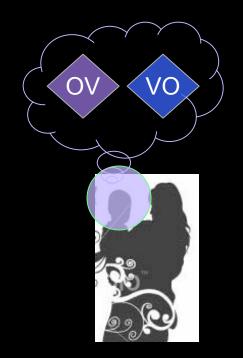
#### Modeling Individuals: Knowledge & Learning

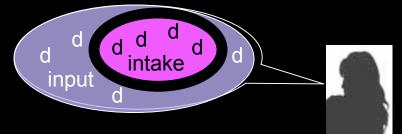
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Data from old members of population, filtered through selective learning biases.





#### Modeling Individuals: Knowledge & Learning

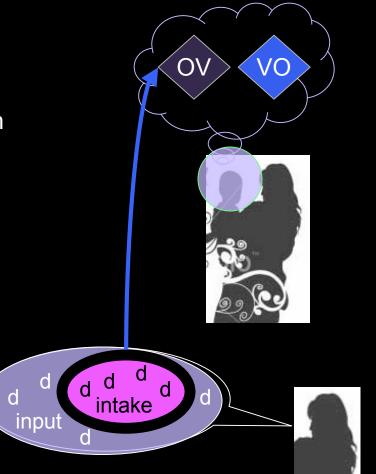
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Individual update: Bayesian updating for binomial distribution (Chew 1971), adapted



### Zoom-In on Updating Procedure

$$Max(Prob(pvo | u)) = Max(\frac{Prob(u | pvo) * Prob(pvo)}{Prob(u)})$$

$$\operatorname{Prob}(\operatorname{pvo} | u) = \frac{\operatorname{pvo}^{*} \binom{n}{r} \operatorname{pvo}^{r} \operatorname{*} (1 - \operatorname{pvo})^{n - r}}{\operatorname{Prob}(u)} \text{ (for each point } r, 0 \quad r \quad n)$$
$$\frac{d}{dpvo} \left(\frac{\operatorname{pvo}^{*} \binom{n}{r} \operatorname{*} \operatorname{pvo}^{r} \operatorname{*} (1 - \operatorname{pvo})^{n - r}}{\operatorname{Prob}(u)}\right) = 0$$
$$\frac{d}{dpvo} \left(\frac{\operatorname{pvo}^{*} \binom{n}{r} \operatorname{*} \operatorname{pvo}^{r} \operatorname{*} (1 - \operatorname{pvo})^{n - r}}{\operatorname{Prob}(u)}\right) = 0 \quad (\operatorname{P}(u) \text{ is constant with respect to pvo})$$

 $p_{VO} = \frac{r+1}{n+1}, r = p_{VOprev} * n$ Replace 1 in numerator and denominator with  $c = p_{VOprev} * m$  if VO,  $c = (1 - p_{VOprev}) * m$  if OV  $3.0 \le m \le 5.0$ 

#### Zoom-In on Updating Procedure

If OV data point  $p_{VO} = (p_{VOprev}*n) / (n+c)$ 

If **VO** data point  $p_{VO} = (p_{VOprev}*n+c) / (n+c)$ 

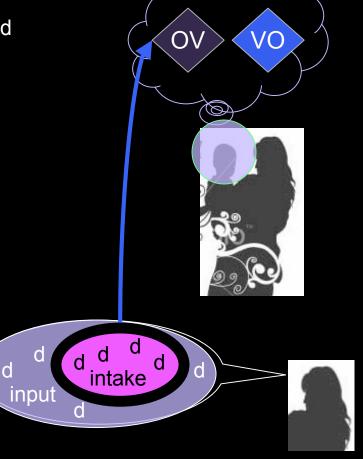
Model parameters:

c represents learner's confidence in data point (calibrated from data)

*n* represents quantity of intake (2000)

Important: Online update procedure (psychological plausibility, given human memory)

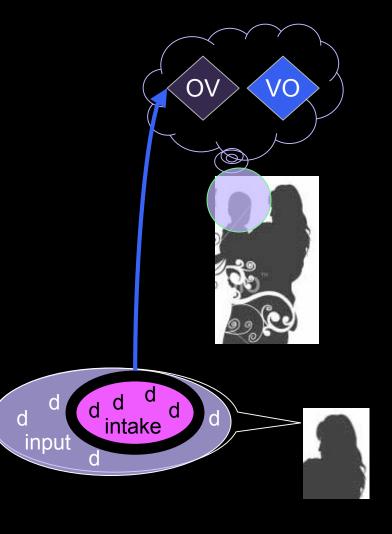
Involves previous probability & expected amount of data in learning period



#### Individual-Level Learning Algorithm

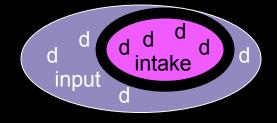
(1) Initial  $p_{VO} = 0.5$ .

- (2) Encounter data point from an average member of the population.
- (3) If the data point is degree-0 and unambiguous, use update functions to shift hypothesis probabilities.
- (4) Repeat (2-3) until the learning period is over, as determined by *n*.



#### Biased Data Intake Distributions in Old English

p<sub>VO</sub> shifts away from 0.5 when there is more of one data type in the intake than the other (advantage (Yang 2000) of one data type).



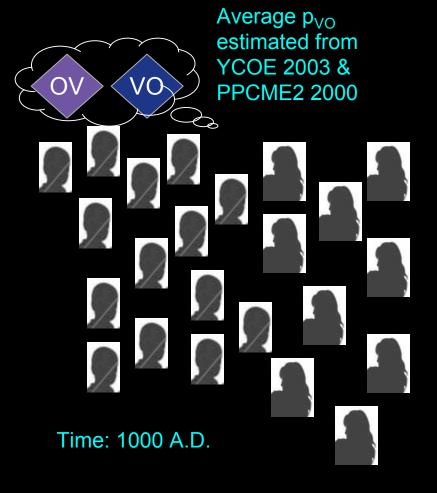
So the bias in the degree-0 unambiguous data distribution controls an individual's final p<sub>VO</sub> in this model.

	OV Advantage in Unamb D0	
1000 A.D.	19.5%	OV-biased
1000-1150 A.D.	2.8%	
1200 A.D.	-2.7%	VO-biased

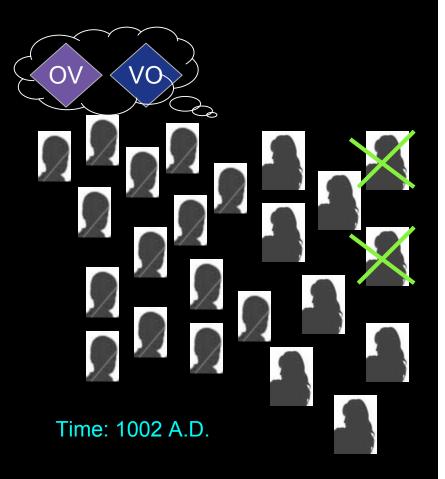
VO-biased % VO **OV-biased** time

 Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members. Population size estimated from population statistics of the time period (Koenigsberger & Briggs 1987)

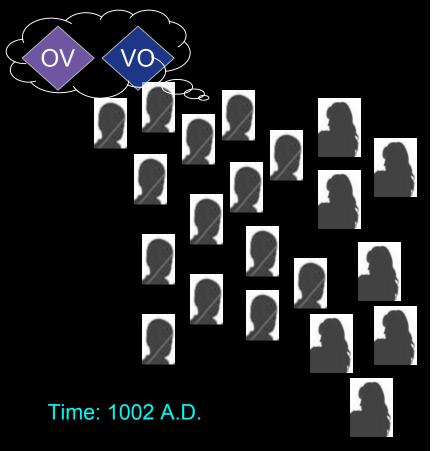
(2) Initialize the members of the population to the average  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D. Set the time to 1000 A.D.



- Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
- (2) Initialize the members of the population to the average  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D. Set the time to 1000 A.D.
- (3) Move forward 2 years.
- (4) Members age 59-60 die off.

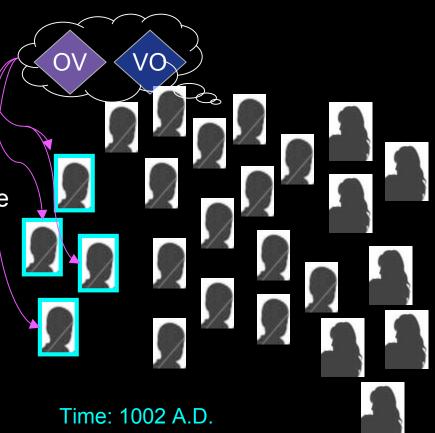


- Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
- (2) Initialize the members of the population to the average  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D. Set the time to 1000 A.D.
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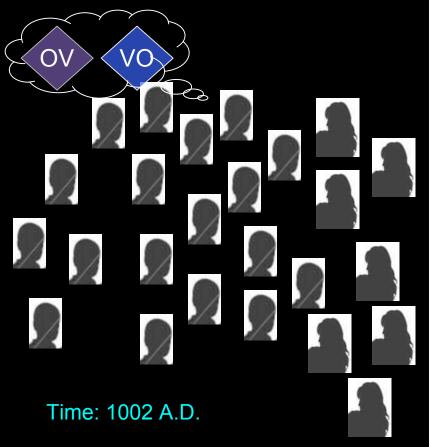


- Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
- (2) Initialize the members of the population to the average  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D. Set the time to 1000 A.D.
- (3) Move forward 2 years.
- (4) Members age 59-60 die off. The rest of the population ages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

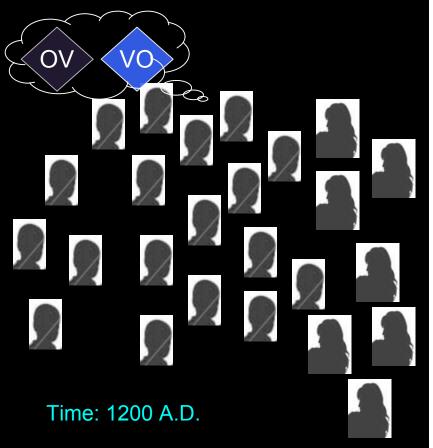
Population growth rate estimated from population statistics of the time period (Koenigsberger & Briggs 1987)



- Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
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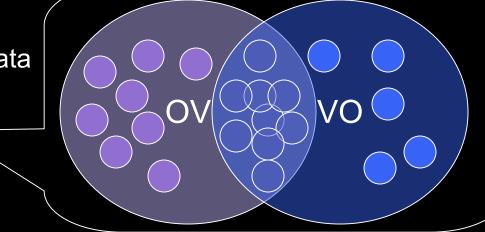


- Set the age range of the population from 0 to 60 years old and create 18,000 population members.
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- (5) New members are born. These new members use the individual acquisition algorithm to set their  $p_{VO}$ .
- (6) Repeat steps (3-5) until the year 1200 A.D.



Historical data used to initialize population's  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D., calibrate population's  $p_{VO}$  between 1000 and 1150 A.D., and check target  $p_{VO}$  at 1200 A.D.

Historical data distributions: some data are ambiguous



Historical data used to initialize population's  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D., calibrate population's  $p_{VO}$  between 1000 and 1150 A.D., and check target  $p_{VO}$  at 1200 A.D.

VC

Historical data distributions: some data are ambiguous

 $p_{VO}$ : underlying distribution is not ambiguous

Historical data used to initialize population's  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D., calibrate population's  $p_{VO}$  between 1000 and 1150 A.D., and check target  $p_{VO}$  at 1200 A.D.

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Historical data distributions: some data are ambiguous

p<sub>VO</sub>: underlying distribution is not ambiguous

Historical data used to initialize population's  $p_{VO}$  at 1000 A.D., calibrate population's  $p_{VO}$  between 1000 and 1150 A.D., and check target  $p_{VO}$  at 1200 A.D.

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Historical data distributions: some data are ambiguous

How do we figure out what the ambiguous data are?

 $\ensuremath{p_{VO}}\xspace$ : underlying distribution is not ambiguous

 $\bigcirc$ 

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Ambiguous Utterances

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

Observations:

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

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage

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

Observations:

- (1) Degree-1 data less ambiguous than degree-0 data.
- (2) Advantage is magnified in degree-1.

Observations:

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

(2) Advantage is magnified in degree-1.

Assumption: Ambiguous data distorts underlying distribution.

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

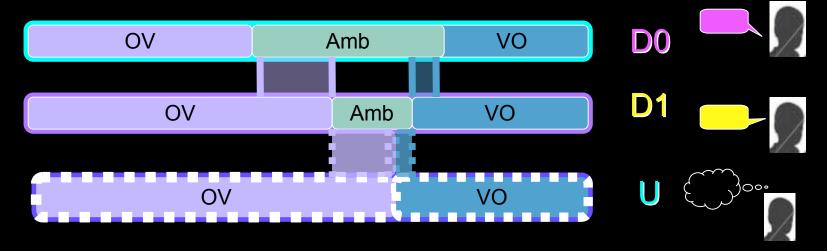
Observations:

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

(2) Advantage is magnified in degree-1.

Assumption: Ambiguous data distorts underlying distribution. Assumption: degree-1 distribution less distorted from underlying distribution.

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



Observations:

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

(2) Advantage is magnified in degree-1.

	γ = underlying pvo known quantities	
ſ	$\mathbf{d}0 = $ total degree - 0 data, $\mathbf{d}1 = $ total degree - 1 data	
$\frac{\gamma * d0 - u1d1'}{\gamma * d0} = Ld1tod0 * \frac{ad1' - (\gamma * d0 - u1d1')}{u2d1' + ad1' - (\gamma * d0 - u1d1')}$	u1d1'= normalized unambiguous OV degree - 1 data	
$\gamma * d0$ u2d1' + ad1' - ( $\gamma * d0$ - u1d1')	$\mathbf{u}$ 2d1' = normalized unambiguous VO degree - 1 data	
	<b>Ld1tod0</b> = loss ratio (OV/VO) from degree - 1 to degree - 0 distribution	
	$\mathbf{a}$ d1' = normalized ambiguous degree - 1 data	
$\gamma = \frac{-(d0)(d0 + u1d1' - Ld1tod0*(ad1' + u1d1'))}{2(Ld1tod0 + 1)(d0^2)}$	derived quantities	
$+/-\frac{\sqrt{((d0)(d0 + u1d1' - Ld1tod0*(ad1' + u1d1')))^2 - 4(Ld1tod0 + 1)(d0^2)((-1)(d0*u1d1'))}}{(d0*u1d1')}$		
$+/-\frac{1}{2(Ld1tod0 + 1)(d0^2)}$		

Observations:

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

(2) Advantage is magnified in degree-1.



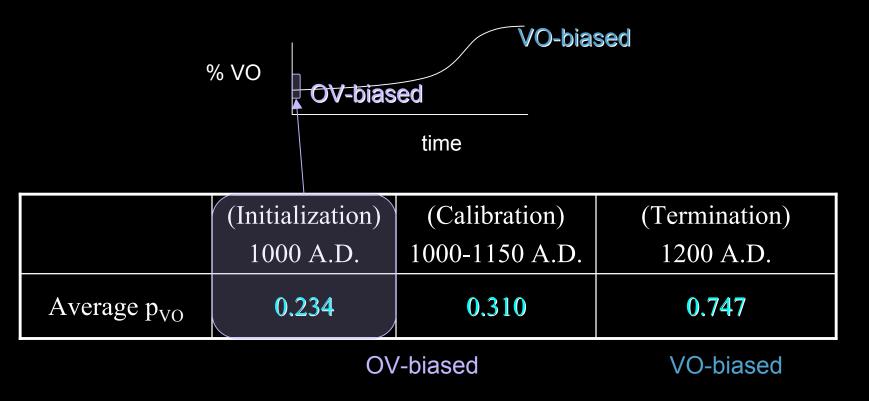
time

	(Initialization)	(Calibration)	(Termination)
	1000 A.D.	1000-1150 A.D.	1200 A.D.
Average p <sub>VO</sub>	0.234	0.310	0.747
OV-biased		VO-biased	

Observations:

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

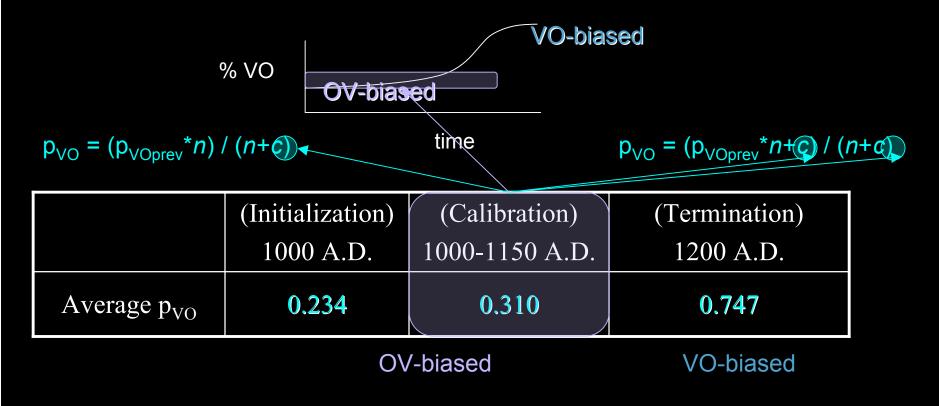
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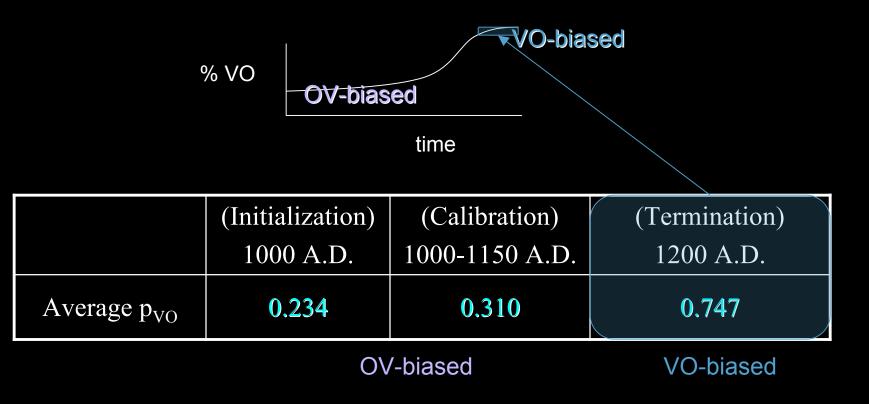
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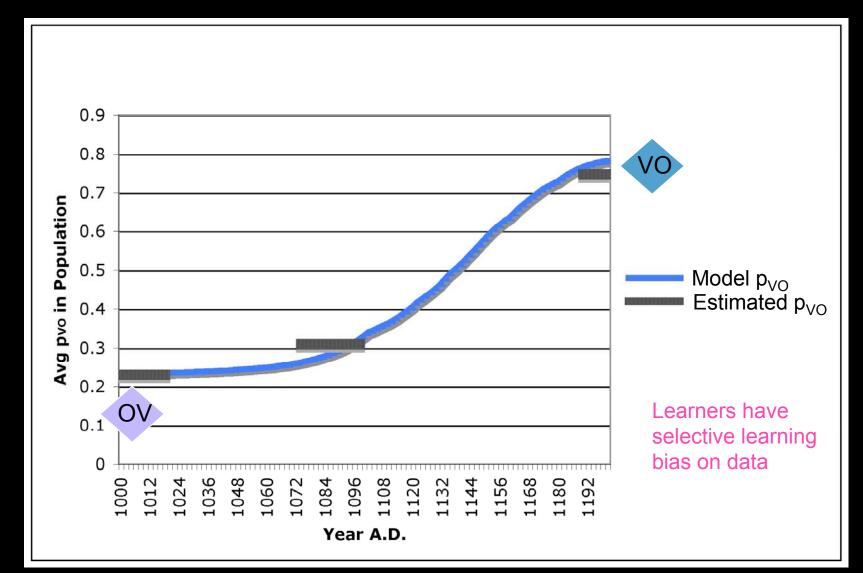
Observations:

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

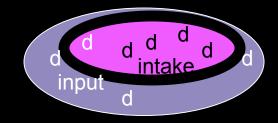
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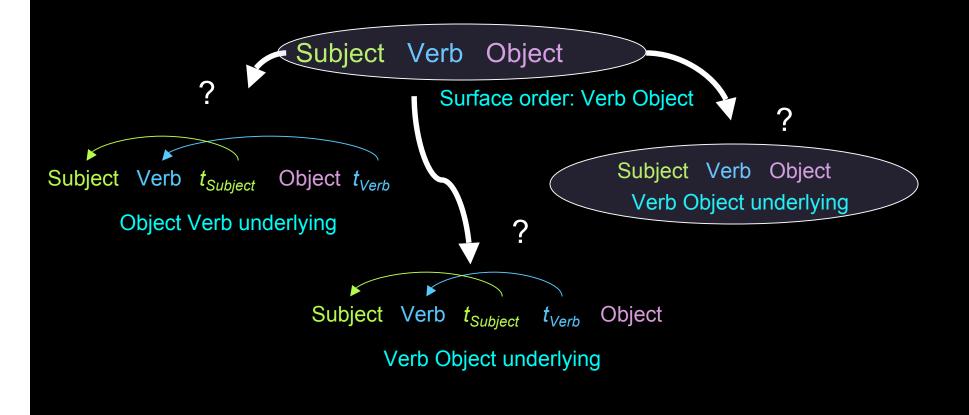


### Linguistic Evolution: Change at the Historically-Attested Rate



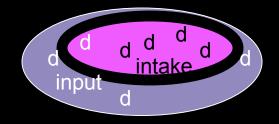
Learner uses ambiguous data. Strategy for learning: assume surface order is actual order. (Fodor 1998)

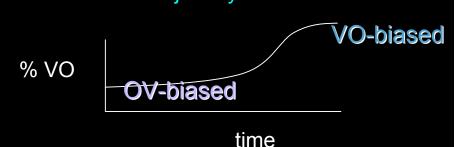




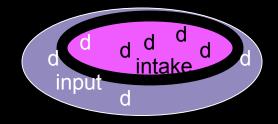
Learner uses ambiguous data. Strategy for learning: assume surface order is actual order. (Fodor 1998)

Advantage in intake determines learner's ending distribution between OV and VO order. Need this trajectory



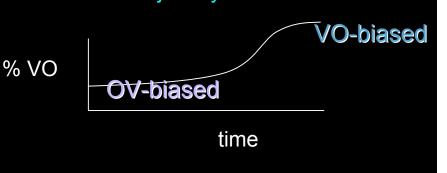


Learner uses ambiguous data. Strategy for learning: assume surface order is actual order. (Fodor 1998)

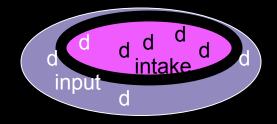


Advantage in intake determines learner's ending distribution between OV and VO order. Need this trajectory

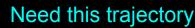
	Degree-0 OV Advantage
1000 A.D.	-21.0%
1000 - 1150 A.D.	-26.9%
1200 A.D.	-21.8%

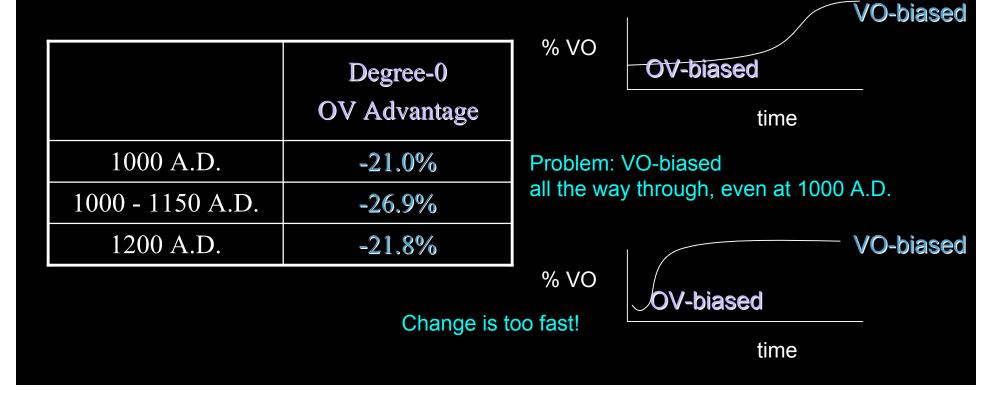


Learner uses ambiguous data. Strategy for learning: assume surface order is actual order. (Fodor 1998)



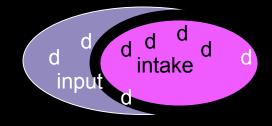
Advantage in intake determines learner's ending distribution between OV and VO order.





Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 unambiguous data.

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage

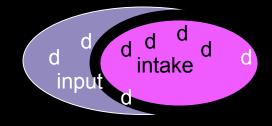


	OV Advantage in Unamb D0	OV Advantage in Unamb D1
1000 A.D.	19.5%	41.7%
1000-1150 A.D.	2.8%	28.7%
1200 A.D.	-2.7%	-45.2%

Very strongly OVbiased before 1150 A.D.

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 unambiguous data.

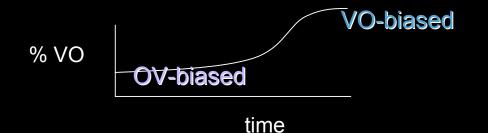
(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage



	OV Advantage in Unamb D0	OV Advantage in Unamb D1
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	Need this trajectory	

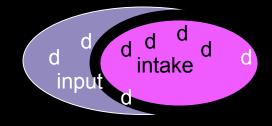
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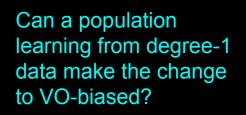
Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 unambiguous data.

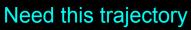
(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage

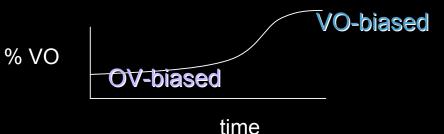


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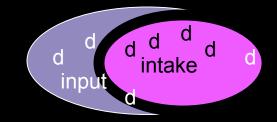
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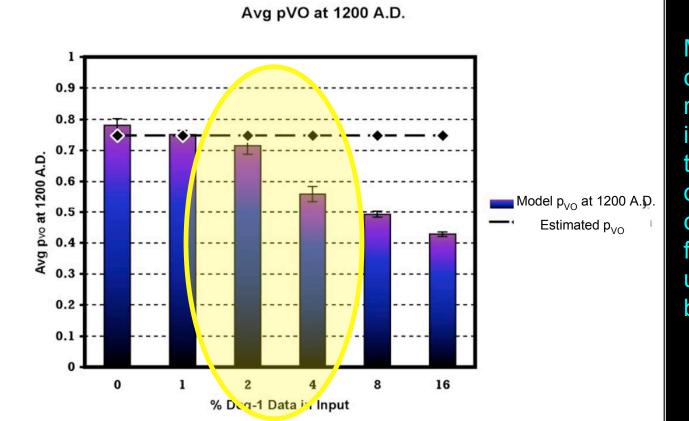






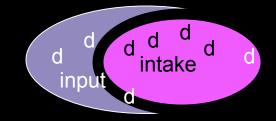
Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 unambiguous data.

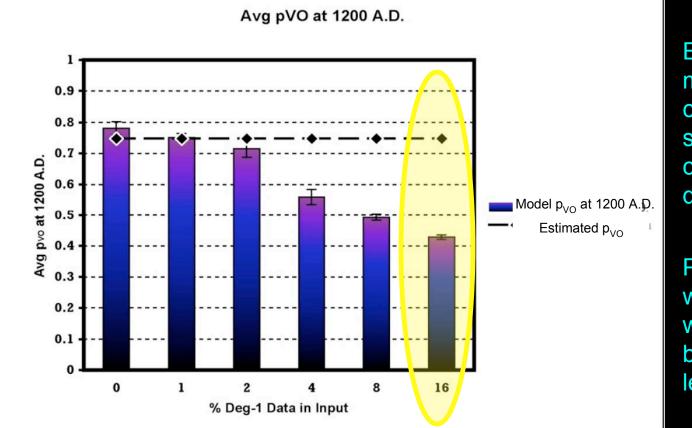




Modeled population can change at the right rate only if input contains less than 4% degree-1 data - otherwise, change is too slow for learners not using a degree-0 bias.

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 unambiguous data.



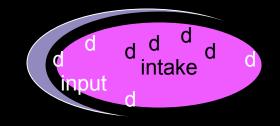


Estimates from modern English child-directed speech: Input consists of ~16% degree-1 data.

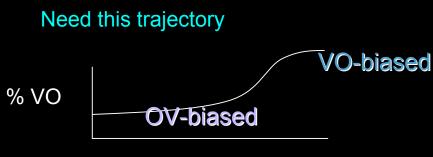
Prognosis: Change would be too slow without a degree-0 bias for individual learners.

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 data, and learns from ambiguous data.

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage



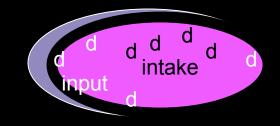
	OV Advantage in D0	OV Advantage in D1
1000 A.D.	-21.0%	28.1%



time

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 data, and learns from ambiguous data.

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage



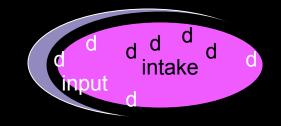
	OV Advantage in D0	OV Advantage in D1
1000 A.D.	-21.0%	28.1%



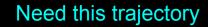
time

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 data, and learns from ambiguous data.

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage



	OV Advantage in D0	OV Advantage in D1
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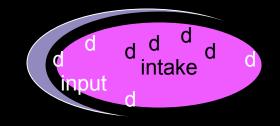


Population must remain OV-biased % VO at 1000 A.D. OV-biased time

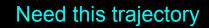
To do this, advantage in intake must be for OV order at 1000 A.D. Otherwise, population changes too quickly to VO-biased distribution.

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 data, and learns from ambiguous data.

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage



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



Population must remain OV-biased % VO at 1000 A.D.

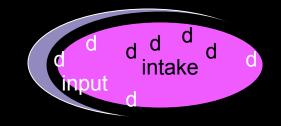
time

VO-biased

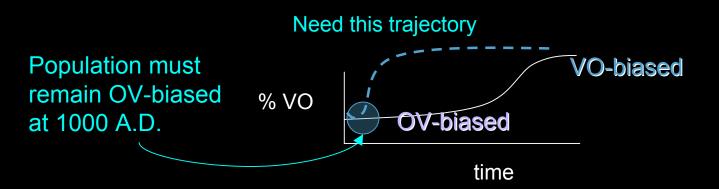
Requirement for OV advantage at 1000 A.D.: 43% of input is degree-1 data

Learner uses degree-0 and degree-1 data, and learns from ambiguous data.

(YCOE and PPCME2 Corpora) % Advantage



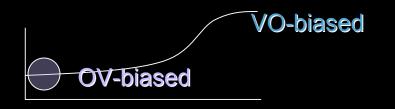
	OV Advantage in D0	OV Advantage in D1
1000 A.D.	-21.0%	28.1%



Requirement for OV advantage at 1000 A.D.: 43% of input is degree-1 data ...but estimates show only ~16% of it is. Change will be too fast.

#### Linguistic Evolution: Summary

Some cases where linguistic evolution is driven by individual-level learning. Suggested example: Old English word order.

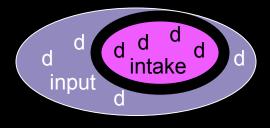




Individual-level learning: can involve selective learning biases, with strong effects on rate of linguistic change within a population.

Individual-Level Selective Learning:

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



Additional point: linguistic evolution can inform us about the nature of individual learning.

#### Linguistic Evolution: Open Questions

(1) If we add complexity to the population model, do we still need these individuallevel selective learning biases?

Weight data points in individual intake using various factors:

- (a) spatial location of speaker with respect to learner
- (b) social status of speaker
- (c) speaker's relation to learner (family, friend, stranger)
- (d) context of data point (social context, linguistic context)
- (2) Are these learning biases necessary if we look at other language changes where individual-level learning is thought to be the main factor driving change at the population-level?

### Learning-Driven Linguistic Evolution: Take-Home Messages

(1) Correct population-level behavior can result from correct individual-level learning behavior in some cases (small discrepancies compounded over time).

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- (1) Correct population-level behavior can result from correct individual-level learning behavior in some cases (small discrepancies compounded over time).
- (2) In the case study examined here, linguistic evolution occurs at the correct rate only when learners employ selective learning biases that cause them to use only a subset of the available data.

### Learning-Driven Linguistic Evolution: Take-Home Messages

- (1) Correct population-level behavior can result from correct individual-level learning behavior in some cases (small discrepancies compounded over time).
- (2) In the case study examined here, linguistic evolution occurs at the correct rate only when learners employ selective learning biases that cause them to use only a subset of the available data.
- Models of linguistic evolution can be empirically grounded and then more easily manipulated to fit the available data (less parameters of variation).
   Individual-level: learning period, data distribution, linguistic representation, probabilistic learning
   Population-level: population size, population growth rate, time period of change, rate of change

# Thank You

Amy Weinberg Colin Phillips Norbert Hornstein Philip Resnik

the Cognitive Neuroscience of Language Lab at the University of Maryland Pennsylvania Linguistics Colloquium The Northwestern Institute on Complex Systems

### Individual Framework Applicability

Benefit: Can combine discrete representations, selective learning biases, and probabilistic learning for many types of linguistic knowledge.



**Discrete Representation:** How much structure is posited for language?



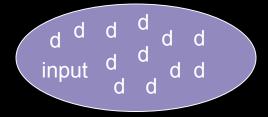
**Discrete Representation** : Is the basic word order Object Verb or Verb Object?

A = Object Verb

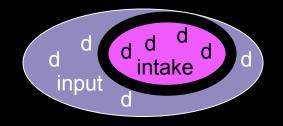
B = Verb Object

#### Framework Applicability

Benefit: Can combine discrete representations, selective learning biases, and probabilistic learning for many different problems.



Learning Bias: Use all available data. (Good for probabilistic learner - no data sparseness problem.)



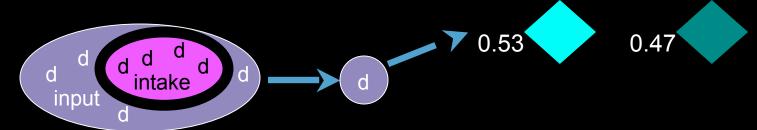
Selective Learning Bias: Use only data perceived as most informative (Fodor 1998, Lightfoot 1999, Dresher 1999).

Selective Learning Bias: Use only data that is more accessible (perhaps for language processing reasons) (Lightfoot 1991).

Selective Learning Bias: Use only data that is perceived as more systematic (Yang 2005).

#### **Framework Applicability**

Benefit: Can combine discrete representations, selective learning biases, and probabilistic learning for many different problems.



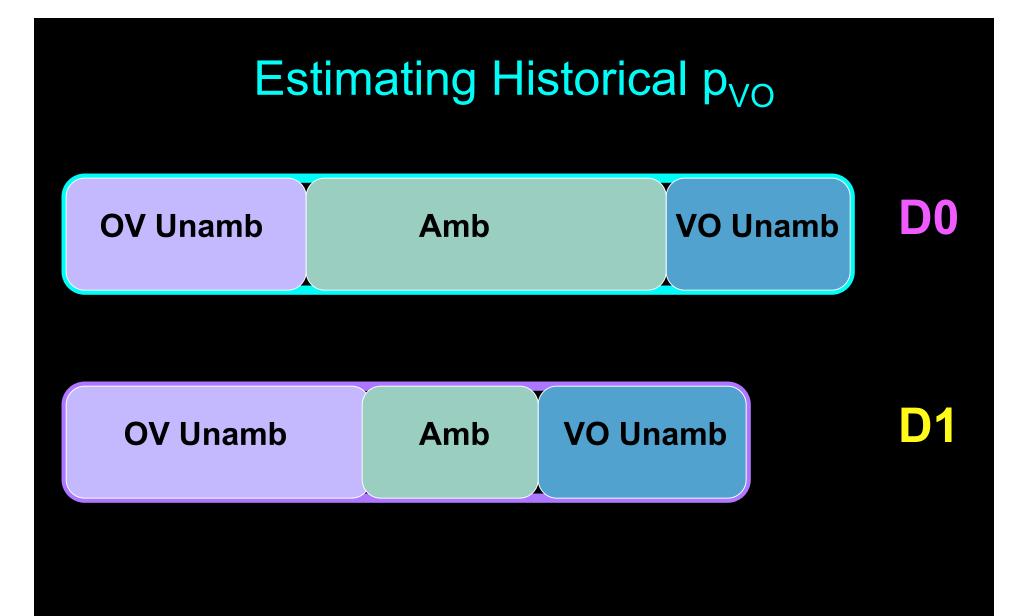
This can be instantiated as Bayesian updating, a Linear reward-penalty scheme, or any other probabilistic learning procedure.

$$Max(Prob(pvo|u)) = Max(\frac{Prob(u|pvo) * Prob(pvo)}{Prob(u)})$$

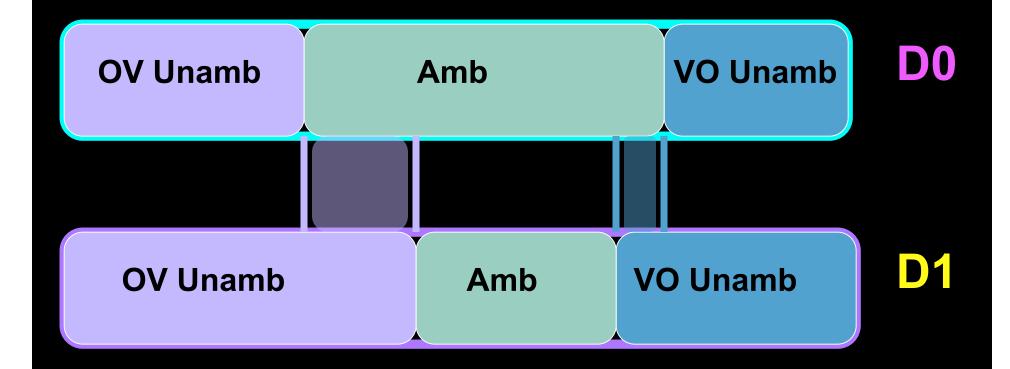
$$pov = pov + \gamma(1-pvo)$$

$$pvo = 1- pov$$

Known quantities: Unambiguous and ambiguous data in d0 and d1

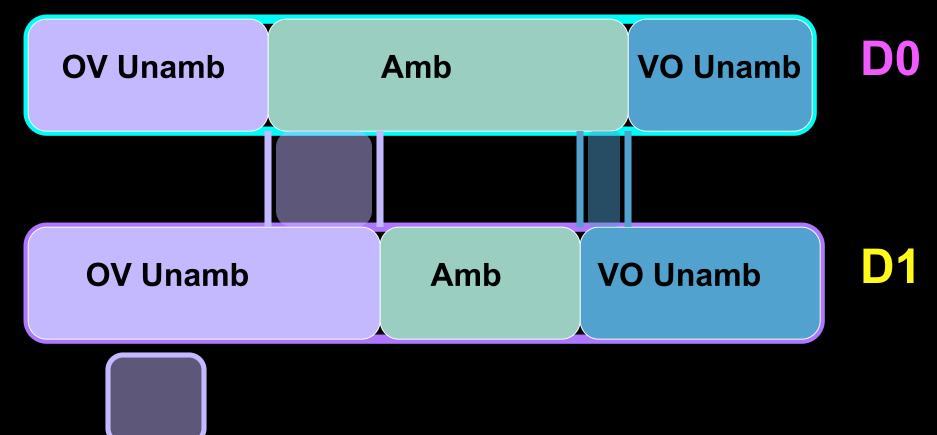


Known quantities: Unambiguous and ambiguous data in d0 and d1 Normalize d1 to d0 distribution: estimate how much d1 unambiguous data was "lost" in d0



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> Calculate OV to VO "loss ratio"

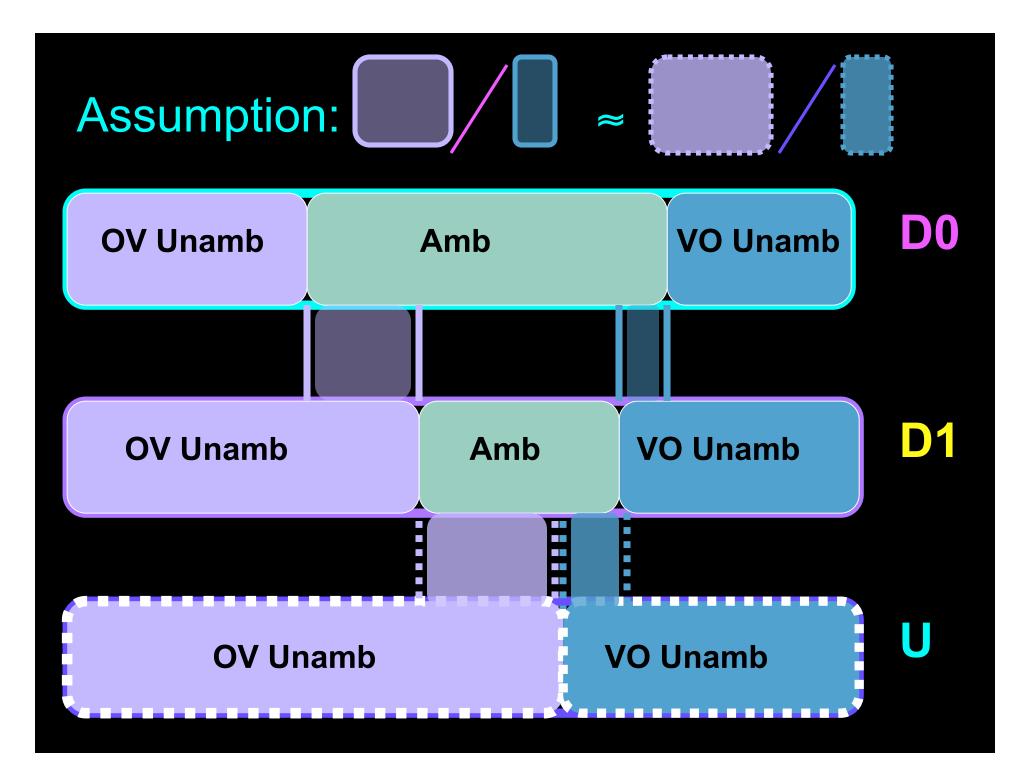


= OV to VO "loss" ratio, D1-to-D0

Known quantities: Unambiguous and ambiguous data in d0 and d1 Normalize d1 to d0 distribution: estimate how much d1 unambiguous data was "lost" in d0

> Calculate OV to VO "loss ratio"

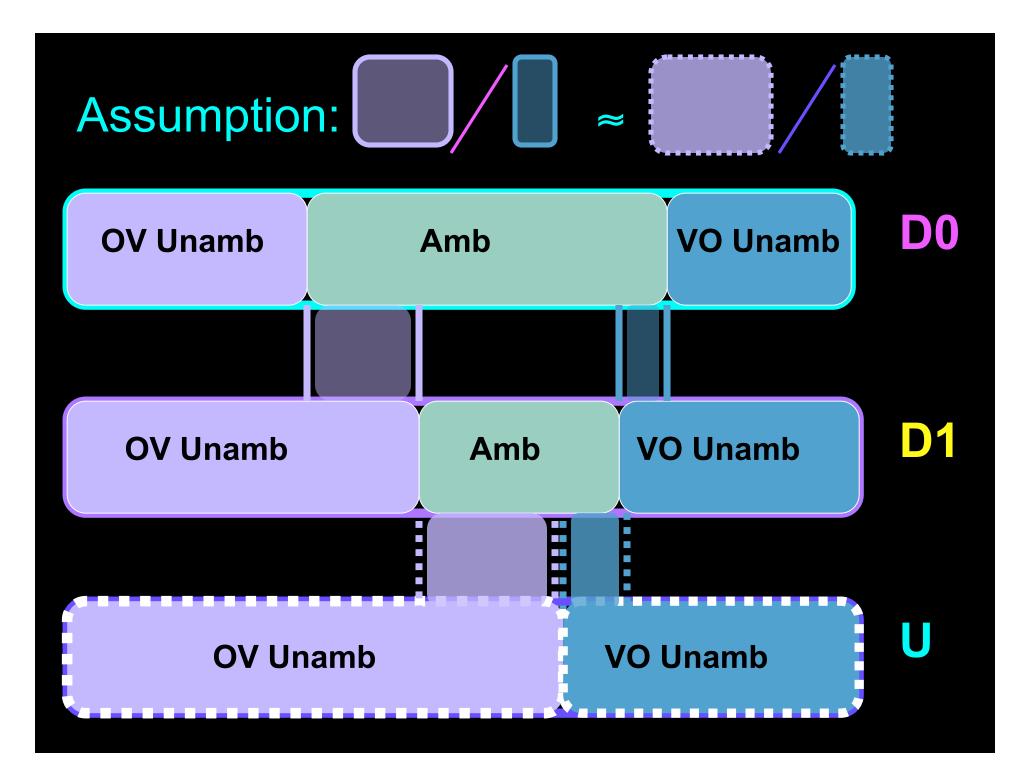
Assume d1-to-d0 "loss ratio" is same as underlying-to-d1 "loss" ratio"

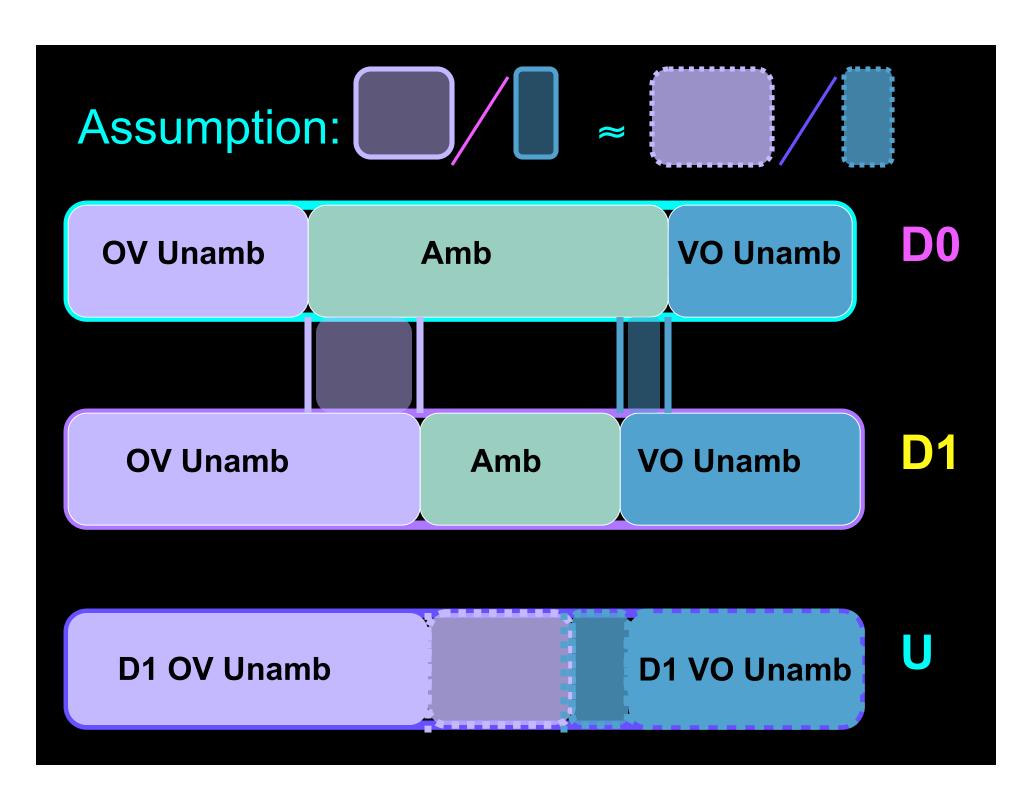


Known quantities: Unambiguous and ambiguous data in d0 and d1 Normalize d1 to d0 distribution: estimate how much d1 unambiguous data was "lost" in d0

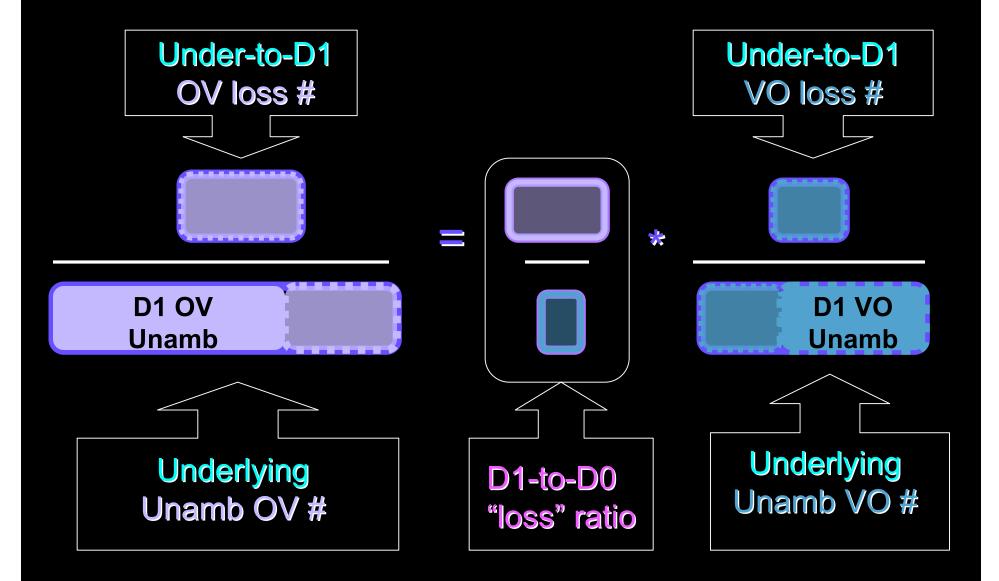
> Calculate OV to VO "loss ratio"

Use "loss ratio" to estimate how much underlying unambiguous data was "lost" in d1 Assume d1-to-d0 "loss ratio" is same as underlying-to-d1 "loss" ratio"





## Estimating Historical pvo



$$\frac{\gamma * \mathbf{d0} - \mathbf{u1d1'}}{\gamma * \mathbf{d0}} = \mathbf{Ld1tod0} * \frac{\mathbf{ad1'} - (\gamma * \mathbf{d0} - \mathbf{u1d1'})}{\mathbf{u2d1'} + \mathbf{ad1'} - (\gamma * \mathbf{d0} - \mathbf{u1d1'})}$$

 $\gamma$  = underlying pvo

d0 = total degree - 0 data, d1 = total degree - 1 data
u1d1'= normalized unambiguous OV degree - 1 data
u2d1' = normalized unambiguous VO degree - 1 data
Ld1tod0 = loss ratio (OV/VO) from degree - 1 to degree - 0 distribution
ad1' = normalized ambiguous degree - 1 data

$$\gamma = \frac{-(d0)(d0 + u1d1' - Ld1tod0^*(ad1' + u1d1'))}{2(Ld1tod0 + 1)(d0^2)}$$
  
+/-  $\frac{\sqrt{((d0)(d0 + u1d1' - Ld1tod0^*(ad1' + u1d1')))^2 - 4(Ld1tod0 + 1)(d0^2)((-1)(d0^*u1d1'))}}{2(Ld1tod0 + 1)(d0^2)}$ 

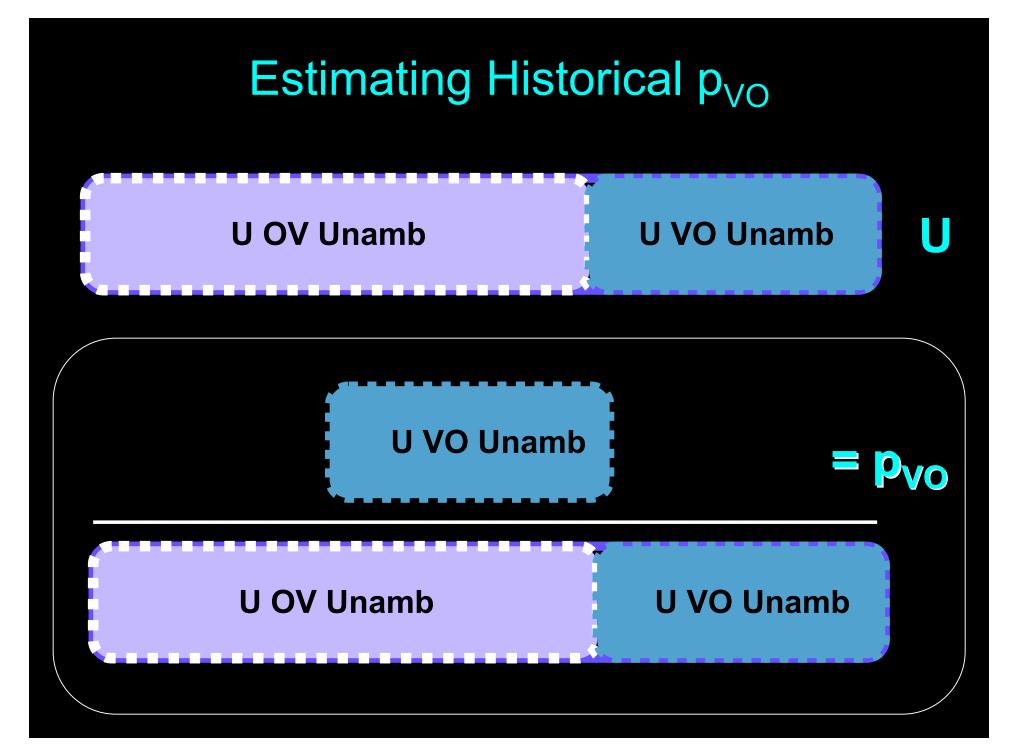
Known quantities: Unambiguous and ambiguous data in d0 and d1 Normalize d1 to d0 distribution: estimate how much d1 unambiguous data was "lost" in d0

> Calculate OV to VO "loss ratio"

Calculate p<sub>vo</sub> from estimated underlying unambiguous data distribution

> Use "loss ratio" to estimate how much underlying unambiguous data was "lost" in d1

Assume d1-to-d0 "loss ratio" is same as underlying-to-d1 "loss" ratio"



### Potential Causes of Language Change

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

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

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

$$Max(Prob(pvo | u)) = Max(\frac{Prob(u | pvo) * Prob(pvo)}{Prob(u)})$$

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

$$Max(Prob(pvo | u)) = Max(\frac{Prob(u | pvo) * Prob(pvo)}{Prob(u)})$$

 $Prob(u | p_{VO}) = probability of seeing unambiguous data point$  $u, given <math>p_{VO}$ 

 $= p_{VO}$ 

Prob( $p_{VO}$ ) = probability of seeing *r* out of *n* data points that are unambiguous for VO, for 0 <= *r* <= *n* 

$$=\binom{n}{r}*pvo^{r}*(1-pvo)^{n-r}$$

$$Max(Prob(pvo | u)) = Max(\frac{pvo * \binom{n}{r}*pvo^{r}*(1-pvo)^{n-r}}{Prob(u)}) \text{ (for each point } r, 0 \le r \le n)$$

$$\frac{d}{dpvo} \left(\frac{\text{pvo}^*\binom{n}{r} * \text{pvo}^r * (1 - \text{pvo})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(u)}\right) = 0$$
$$\frac{d}{dpvo} \left(\frac{\text{pvo}^*\binom{n}{r} * \text{pvo}^r * (1 - \text{pvo})^{n-r}}{\text{Prob}(u)}\right) = 0$$
$$\text{pvo} = \frac{r+1}{n+1}$$

 $(\mathbf{P}(u) \text{ is constant with respect to pvo})$ 

pvo = 
$$\frac{r+1}{n+1}$$
,  $r = pvo_{prev} * n$   
Replace 1 in numerator and denominator with  
 $c = pvo_{prev} * m$  if VO,  $c = (1 - pvo_{prev}) * m$  if OV

OV

 $3.0 \le m \le 5.0$ 

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

## Other Ways to Interpret Ambiguous Data

Strategies for assessing ambiguous data

- (1) assume base-generation
  - attempted and failed
  - system-dependent (syntax)

(2) weight based on level of ambiguity (Pearl & Lidz, in submission)

- unambiguous = highest weight
- moderately ambiguous = lower weight
- fully ambiguous = lowest weight (ignore)

(3) randomly assign to one hypothesis (Yang 2002)