

Getting the Right Stuff Wrong: Distributional Equivalence in Modeling Language Acquisition

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COMPUTATIONAL SCIENCE

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Introduction: Returning to the Computational Level

Central Mystery: how do children come to be **competent, fluent speakers** of their native language(s) from such **small, sparse** input?

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- **Computational Level:** what are the goals of the computation?
Map from **small, sparse input** to the **learned grammar**
- **Algorithmic Level:** what are the **representations** used for the input and output and what are the **mechanisms** that map between them?
Computational modeling attempts to address this.

(Marr, 1982)

Marr's Levels: An Example

The Past Tense Debate: Computational Level

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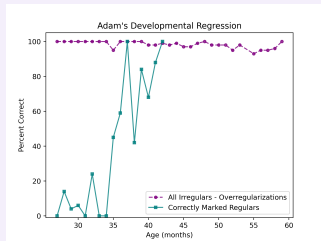
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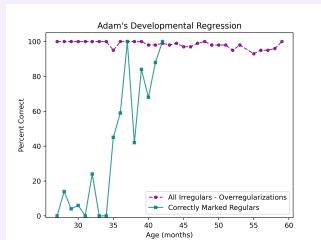


Dale Caldwell, Lt. Gov. Elect!

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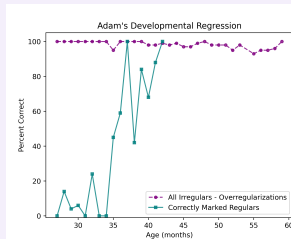
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Regulars and irregulars processed with the **same associative memory mechanism**

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Pinker and Prince (1988)

Symbolic representations

Irregulars processed with **associative memory**, regulars processed with **symbolic rule**

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Rumelhart and McClelland (1986) and Pinker and Prince (1988) agreed on the **computational-level** problem they were trying to solve!

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- **Input:**
 - Rumelhart and McClelland: **420** verbs
 - Kirov and Cotterell (2018): **3,500** verbs *in their complete paradigm*
 - Dankers et al. (2021): **46,000** German noun plurals
 - Warstadt and Bowman (2022): **100 million** tokens ($\approx$ input to 10 y.o.)
 - Hayes and Wilson (2008) remove **marginal forms** from train

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- **Developmental Patterns:**

- Rumelhart and McClelland tried to achieve **developmental regression**
- Kirov and Cotterell claim **micro U-shaped learning** across epochs

(Marcus et al., 1992; Belth et al., 2021; Payne and Kodner, 2025)

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- ① A **computational-level description** of language acquisition

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As computational models of language acquisition proliferate, it seems high time to return to our **formal, computational-level specification** of the problem of acquisition. We wish to develop:

- ① A **computational-level description** of language acquisition
- ② A method for **evaluating algorithmic implementations** to determine whether they're plausible models

① Computational-Level Description

The Input Sampling Function I

The Role of the Lexicon L

Finalizing our Formalization

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② Evaluation

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Formalizing the Acquisition Problem

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Our approach builds on this, with two critical changes.

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$$A :: L(g_t) \rightarrow \langle g_h^1, g_h^2, \dots, g_h^n \rangle$$

Instead, it's some **sequence of input utterances**

$$\langle u^1, u^2, \dots, u^n \rangle$$

sampled from $L(g_t)$ with particular distributional properties.

Brown (1973); MacWhinney (1996); Chan (2008); Lignos and Yang (2016)

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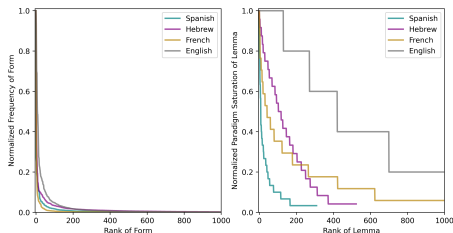
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(Landau et al., 1985; Bedny et al., 2019; Madasu and Lal, 2023)
- Is made up of **positive examples** only
 - **Direct** negative evidence (corrections) are **ignored**
 - **Indirect** negative evidence is a non-starter given **gaps & sparsity**
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(Brown, 1970; Braine et al., 1971; Marcus et al., 1992; Marcus, 1993)
- Follows a **sparse, skewed** frequency distribution

Long-Tailed Distributions in Child-Directed Speech



(Brown, 1973; MacWhinney, 1996; Chan, 2008; Lignos and Yang, 2016)

Change 1: The Input Sampling Function I

We define I to be the function which samples **a sequence of n utterances** from $L(g_t)$ which have these properties:

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Now we have:

$$\begin{aligned} A :: L(g_t) &\rightarrow \langle g_h^1, g_h^2, \dots, g_h^n \rangle \\ \Downarrow \\ A :: \langle u^1, u^2, \dots, u^n \rangle &\rightarrow \langle g_h^1, g_h^2, \dots, g_h^n \rangle \end{aligned}$$

Where the sequence $\langle u^1, u^2, \dots, u^n \rangle$ is sampled by I !

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Not everything in the child's **input** is in their **intake** and thus added to their lexicon.
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$$A :: \langle u^1, u^2, \dots, u^n \rangle \rightarrow \langle g_h^1, g_h^2, \dots, g_h^n \rangle$$

$\Downarrow$

$$A :: \langle u^1, u^2, \dots, u^n \rangle \rightarrow \langle (g_h^1, L^1), (g_h^2, L^2), \dots, (g_h^n, L^n) \rangle$$

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- **Constructivist approaches** which view acquisition is viewed as a form of **self-organization**
(Karpf, 1990; De Boer, 2000, 2005; Dressler et al., 2019; Dressler and Payne, to appear)

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This tells us how we go from a **single input instance** and the **current state of the grammar & lexicon** to the **next state of the grammar & lexicon**.

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The Role of Subcomponents

Under most linguistic theories, the grammar is not an **undifferentiated whole**, but divided into **subcomponents**:

- **Structure** vs. **meaning**
- **Phonological, morphological, syntactic, etc.** structure
(de Saussure, 1916; Chomsky, 1957; Jackendoff, 1972; Goldberg, 2006; Sadock, 2012, i.a.)

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For ease of exposition, we will characterize this view as treating each g_h^i as **a set of subcomponent grammars**:

$$g_h^i = \{g_P^i, g_M^i, g_S^i, \dots\}$$

The Acquisition of a Subcomponent

Each subcomponent is learned from **the same sequence of inputs and lexicon** by a **different (albeit related) acquisition function**:

- The phonological subcomponent g_P is learned by A_P , the syntactic subcomponent g_S is learned by A_S , and so on.

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But it would still be easy to adapt this to **include interaction between the subcomponents** while remaining in line with our formalism!

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Two crucial **computational-level properties of A_L** :

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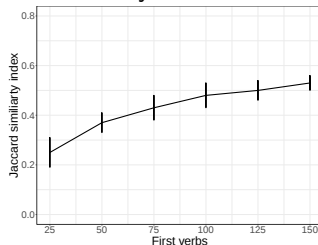
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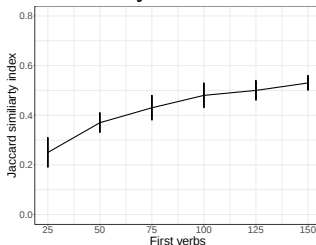


(Demuth et al., 2006; Yang et al., in prep)

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A number of **algorithmic-level implementations** of A_L exist

(Yu and Smith 2007; Goodman et al. 2007; Frank et al. 2009; Fazly et al. 2010; Trueswell et al. 2013; Roembke and McMurray 2016; Stevens et al. 2017; Berens et al. 2018; Roembke et al. 2023; Yue et al. 2023; i.a.)

Putting it all Together

Having defined our **overall acquisition function** A , our **lexical acquisition function** A_L , and our **subcomponent acquisition functions** A_C , we can now define their relationship:

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```
procedure  $A(u^i, (g_h^i, L^i))$   
   $L^{i+1} \leftarrow A_L(L^i, u^i)$   
   $g_h^{i+1} \leftarrow \bigcup_{g_C^i \in g_h^i} A_C(g_C^i, u^i, L^{i+1})$   
  return  $(g_h^{i+1}, L^{i+1})$   
end procedure
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Evaluating our Input Sampling Function I

$$E_I :: I \rightarrow s$$

Scores I based on:

- **Sufficient variation** in input between learners
- **Sparse, skewed** distributions
- Appropriate **input size n**

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Evaluating our Lexical Acquisition Function A_L

$$E_L :: A_L \rightarrow s$$

Scores A_L based on:

- Ability to learn a **plausibly-sized lexicon**
- Ability to exhibit **variation in lexical acquisition trajectories**
- Ability to do all this **from a plausible I !**

The Complete Evaluation Function

Given our implementations of E_I and E_L , let's **expand our original E** :

$$E :: I \rightarrow A_L \rightarrow A_C \rightarrow R_C \rightarrow s$$

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Taking in I allows us to **evaluate A_C on a range of input sequences**

- Crucial for **variation in acquisition trajectories!**

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 - Asymmetry between **over-regularization vs. over-irregularization**
 - Rumelhart and McClelland (1986) and Pinker and Prince (1988) **agreed on this computational-level specification!**

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Strict Extensional Equivalence is also a non-starter

- The language of the child's final grammar **may not be identical** to the language(s) of the grammar(s) of their caretaker(s)
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(e.g., Niyogi et al., 1997; Kodner, 2020, 2022)

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(e.g., Niyogi et al., 1997; Kodner, 2020, 2022)
- For any two learners A and B , **we don't actually expect strict extensional equivalence** between their grammars at time i

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Obviously, neither.

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We'll refer to this notion as **distributional equivalence**.

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But to provide rigorous, quantified evaluations, we must go beyond this!

(Rumelhart and McClelland 1986; Pinker and Prince 1988; Belth et al. 2021; Payne and Kodner 2025; Kodner et al. 2025; Yang et al. in prep; Dressler and Payne to appear)

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What other measures do you suggest?

*Thanks to Caleb Belth for this suggestion!

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- For the measures considered here, **what's the role of variation?**
- How do we apply these metrics **over time series?**

Thank you!

I am grateful to Caleb Belth, Charles Yang, Katie Schuler, Jordan Kodner, Scott Nelson, Jeff Heinz, Logan Swanson, and Dwyer Bradley for discussion.

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