When Collisions are a Good Thing: the Acquisition of Morphological Marking

Sarah Brogden Payne

Departments of Linguistics and Computer Science University of Pennsylvania paynesa@sas.upenn.edu • paynesa.github.io

LING300 December 2, 2021 $\bullet\,$ Much work on inflectional morphemes \longleftrightarrow semantic features

< 円

- $\bullet\,$ Much work on inflectional morphemes \longleftrightarrow semantic features
 - English past tense

- $\bullet\,$ Much work on inflectional morphemes \longleftrightarrow semantic features
 - English past tense
 - German noun plurals

- Much work on inflectional morphemes \longleftrightarrow semantic features
 - English past tense
 - German noun plurals
- How do children learn what semantic features are marked?

- Much work on inflectional morphemes \longleftrightarrow semantic features
 - English past tense
 - German noun plurals
- How do children learn what semantic features are marked?
- **Hypothesis**: learning *what* is marked as a prerequisite to learning *how* it is marked



• Child utilizes **collisions**: single word appearing in multiple different inflected forms

< □ > < 同 >

- Child utilizes **collisions**: single word appearing in multiple different inflected forms
 - e.g. the child hearing both *walk* and *walks* may cause them to learn that English marks the third singular

- Child utilizes **collisions**: single word appearing in multiple different inflected forms
 - e.g. the child hearing both *walk* and *walks* may cause them to learn that English marks the third singular
- Combine this with the **Tolerance Principle** (Yang, 2016): children generalize rules when it's more efficient to do so

- Child utilizes **collisions**: single word appearing in multiple different inflected forms
 - e.g. the child hearing both *walk* and *walks* may cause them to learn that English marks the third singular
- Combine this with the **Tolerance Principle** (Yang, 2016): children generalize rules when it's more efficient to do so
 - Single collision insufficient evidence for marking

- Child utilizes **collisions**: single word appearing in multiple different inflected forms
 - e.g. the child hearing both *walk* and *walks* may cause them to learn that English marks the third singular
- Combine this with the **Tolerance Principle** (Yang, 2016): children generalize rules when it's more efficient to do so
 - Single collision insufficient evidence for marking
- Recursively subdivide input to determine which features are marked

- Child utilizes **collisions**: single word appearing in multiple different inflected forms
 - e.g. the child hearing both *walk* and *walks* may cause them to learn that English marks the third singular
- Combine this with the **Tolerance Principle** (Yang, 2016): children generalize rules when it's more efficient to do so
 - Single collision insufficient evidence for marking
- Recursively subdivide input to determine which features are marked
- This approach shows promise on typologically diverse morphologies:
 - English verbs
 - German nouns
 - Spanish verbs
 - Hebrew verbs

Outline

Background

2 Proposed Method



Results

- English Verbs
- German Nouns
- Spanish Verbs
- Hebrew Verbs



Outline

1 Background

2 Proposed Method

3 Results

- English Verbs
- German Nouns
- Spanish Verbs
- Hebrew Verbs

4 Conclusions & Future Directions

• Productivity exists despite exceptions to rules

• e.g. -ed is productive despite went, felt, was

- Productivity exists despite exceptions to rules
 - e.g. -ed is productive despite went, felt, was
- Processes may be productive on subsets of the input
 - e.g. German noun plurals: multiple suffixes productive on phonologically + gender-conditioned subsets

- Productivity exists despite exceptions to rules
 - e.g. -ed is productive despite went, felt, was
- Processes may be productive on subsets of the input
 - e.g. German noun plurals: multiple suffixes productive on phonologically + gender-conditioned subsets
- Frequency \neq productivity
 - e.g. German plural default suffix -s is the **least** frequent

- Productivity exists despite exceptions to rules
 - e.g. -ed is productive despite went, felt, was
- Processes may be productive on subsets of the input
 - e.g. German noun plurals: multiple suffixes productive on phonologically + gender-conditioned subsets
- Frequency \neq productivity
 - e.g. German plural default suffix -s is the **least** frequent
- **Typological diversity**: morphological acquisition across templatic, agglutinative, and fusional languages

• Previous models have tried to account for these patterns

- Previous models have tried to account for these patterns
- **Past Tense Debate** led to a plethora of models of English past tense acquisition

- Previous models have tried to account for these patterns
- **Past Tense Debate** led to a plethora of models of English past tense acquisition
- Tolerance Principle (TP) (Yang, 2016) gives an account of English Past Tense acquisition & other morphological paradigms
 - Payne et al. (2021) apply TP to Spanish and English verbal morphology
 - Belth et al. (2021) apply TP to German nouns and English verbs

As of yet, no single model can account for the acquisition of morphology across a typologically diverse set of languages.

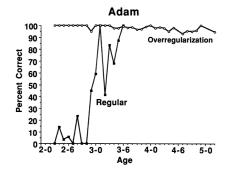
• English Verbs: well-studied concatenative, non-agglutinative case

- English Verbs: well-studied concatenative, non-agglutinative case
- German Nouns: productivity on subsets and most frequent \neq default

- English Verbs: well-studied concatenative, non-agglutinative case
- German Nouns: productivity on subsets and most frequent \neq default
- Spanish Verbs: exhibits agglutinativity and fusionality

- English Verbs: well-studied concatenative, non-agglutinative case
- German Nouns: productivity on subsets and most frequent \neq default
- Spanish Verbs: exhibits agglutinativity and fusionality
- Hebrew Verbs: well-studied templatic morphology

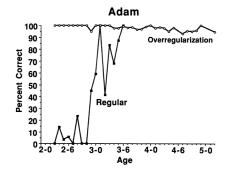
Developmental Regression



Order of acquisition (Brown, 2013; Berko, 1958):

Figure: Adam's Learning of the English Past Tense (Marcus et al., 1992)

Developmental Regression



Order of acquisition (Brown, 2013; Berko, 1958):

Present progressive (-ing) early

Figure: Adam's Learning of the English Past Tense (Marcus et al., 1992)

Developmental Regression

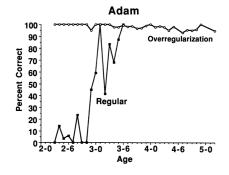


Figure: Adam's Learning of the English Past Tense (Marcus et al., 1992) **Order of acquisition** (Brown, 2013; Berko, 1958):

- Present progressive (-ing) early
- third singular later (usually before past but sometimes after)

Developmental Regression

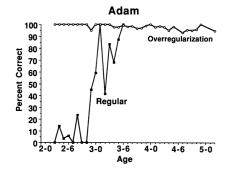


Figure: Adam's Learning of the English Past Tense (Marcus et al., 1992) **Order of acquisition** (Brown, 2013; Berko, 1958):

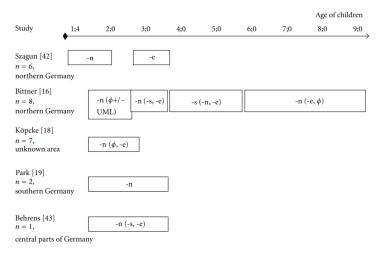
- Present progressive (-ing) early
- third singular later (usually before past but sometimes after)
- exception-laden past last

• Different problem: all suffixes have same semantic value (plural)

Different problem: all suffixes have same semantic value (plural)
Default -s least frequent in input

- Different problem: all suffixes have same semantic value (plural)
- Default -s least frequent in input
- No clear order of acquisition

Background: German Nouns



Review of overgeneralization by Kauschke et al. (2011)

Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn)

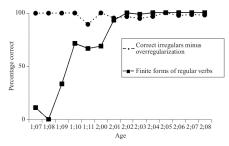
LING300 Dec 2, 2021

12/41

A D N A B N A B N A B N

Developmental Regression

CLAHSEN, AVELEDO & ROCA



Order of acquisition (Clahsen et al., 2002; Montrul, 2004):

Figure: Maria's Finiteness marking in Spanish (Clahsen et al., 2002)

Developmental Regression

CLAHSEN, AVELEDO & ROCA

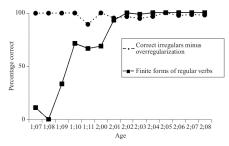


Figure: Maria's Finiteness marking in Spanish (Clahsen et al., 2002)

Order of acquisition (Clahsen et al., 2002; Montrul, 2004):

Finiteness & person marking around 1;7

Developmental Regression



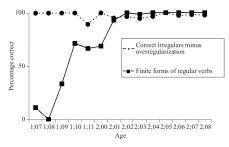


Figure: Maria's Finiteness marking in Spanish (Clahsen et al., 2002)

Order of acquisition (Clahsen et al., 2002; Montrul, 2004):

- Finiteness & person marking around 1;7
- Number marking around 1;7-2;0

Developmental Regression



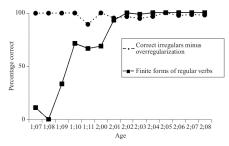


Figure: Maria's Finiteness marking in Spanish (Clahsen et al., 2002)

Order of acquisition (Clahsen et al., 2002; Montrul, 2004):

- Finiteness & person marking around 1;7
- Number marking around 1;7-2;0
- Tense by 2;0-2;2

Developmental Regression



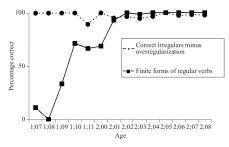


Figure: Maria's Finiteness marking in Spanish (Clahsen et al., 2002)

Order of acquisition (Clahsen et al., 2002; Montrul, 2004):

- Finiteness & person marking around 1;7
- Number marking around 1;7-2;0

- Tense by 2;0-2;2
- Mood between 1;7-2;2

Order of acquisiton (Bat-El, 2014; Lustigman, 2013)

• Person, number and gender emerge before tense

Order of acquisiton (Bat-El, 2014; Lustigman, 2013)

- Person, number and gender emerge before tense
- The order of person vs. number varies

Order of acquisiton (Bat-El, 2014; Lustigman, 2013)

- Person, number and gender emerge before tense
- The order of person vs. number varies
- Gender appears at the same time or before number

Background

2 Proposed Method

B Results

- English Verbs
- German Nouns
- Spanish Verbs
- Hebrew Verbs

4 Conclusions & Future Directions

Intuition:

• If many items do something, then all do it

Intuition:

- If many items do something, then all do it
- If few items do something, memorize the ones that do

Formalize this by computational efficiency: a rule R applicable to N items with e exceptions is productive iff:

$$e \leq \frac{N}{\ln N}$$

• Idea: utilize collisions: a single word appearing in multiple forms.

- Idea: utilize collisions: a single word appearing in multiple forms.
 - e.g. a child hearing *walk* and *walked* may be a cue that their language marks the past tense

- Idea: utilize collisions: a single word appearing in multiple forms.
 - e.g. a child hearing *walk* and *walked* may be a cue that their language marks the past tense
 - A single collision is not sufficient evidence

- Idea: utilize collisions: a single word appearing in multiple forms.
 - e.g. a child hearing *walk* and *walked* may be a cue that their language marks the past tense
 - A single collision is not sufficient evidence
 - Define sufficient with Tolerance Principle

• Input taken in incrementally

- Input taken in incrementally
- When there is a collision between inflected form A and B:

- Input taken in incrementally
- When there is a collision between inflected form A and B:
 - n = number of words appearing in the less-frequent inflected form (say A)

- Input taken in incrementally
- When there is a collision between inflected form A and B:
 - n = number of words appearing in the less-frequent inflected form (say A)
 - *e* = number of those words that do not appear in form B with a **different inflected form**

- Input taken in incrementally
- When there is a collision between inflected form A and B:
 - n = number of words appearing in the less-frequent inflected form (say A)
 - *e* = number of those words that do not appear in form B with a **different inflected form**
- Another way to say this: words that follow the rule = ones that appear in both A and B and the A inflected form \neq the B inflected form

Proposed Method: Collisions & Recursion

 If the collision passes the TP, then we divide the input based on the difference in semantic features between the two inflected forms.

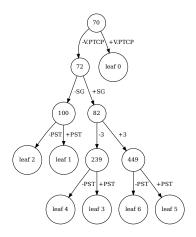


Figure: Example tree from our model

Proposed Method: Collisions & Recursion

- If the collision passes the TP, then we divide the input based on the difference in semantic features between the two inflected forms.
 - e.g. if there is a collision between PST,3,SG and PRS,3,SG, we subdivide based on PST vs. PRS

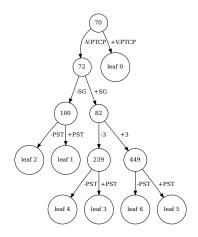


Figure: Example tree from our model

Proposed Method: Collisions & Recursion

- If the collision passes the TP, then we divide the input based on the difference in semantic features between the two inflected forms.
 - e.g. if there is a collision between PST,3,SG and PRS,3,SG, we subdivide based on PST vs. PRS
- We do this recursively and incrementally, creating a tree

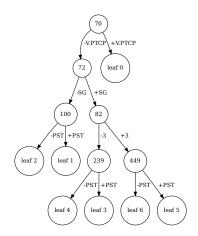


Figure: Example tree from our model

• Extract most frequent forms from CHILDES

• Most frequent forms more likely to be added to vocabulary early

• Extract most frequent forms from CHILDES

- Most frequent forms more likely to be added to vocabulary early
- Intersect these with semantic features from UniMorph (Kirov et al., 2018)

- Extract most frequent forms from CHILDES
 - Most frequent forms more likely to be added to vocabulary early
- Intersect these with semantic features from UniMorph (Kirov et al., 2018)
- \bullet Example input: go, going, $\mathrm{V}; \mathrm{V}.\mathrm{PTCP}; \mathrm{PRS}$

- Extract most frequent forms from CHILDES
 - Most frequent forms more likely to be added to vocabulary early
- Intersect these with semantic features from UniMorph (Kirov et al., 2018)
- \bullet Example input: go, going, $\mathrm{V};\!\mathrm{V}.\mathrm{PTCP};\!\mathrm{PRS}$
- Challenging for Hebrew

Background

2 Proposed Method



Results

- English Verbs
- German Nouns
- Spanish Verbs
- Hebrew Verbs

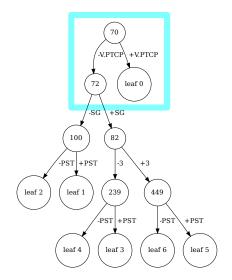
4 Conclusions & Future Directions

• Numbers in nodes = vocabulary size at time of subdivision

- Numbers in nodes = vocabulary size at time of subdivision
- +/- features = split features used

- Numbers in nodes = vocabulary size at time of subdivision
- +/- features = split features used
- "Leaf" label = no more possible subdivisions found

Results: English Verbs

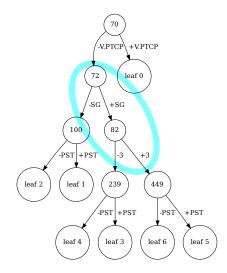


Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn) The Acquisition of Morphological Marking LING300 Dec

2

A D N A B N A B N A B N

Results: English Verbs

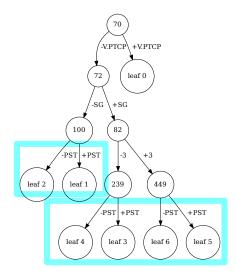


Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn) The Acquisition of Morphological Marking LING300 Dec

æ

・ロト ・四ト ・ヨト ・ヨト

Results: English Verbs



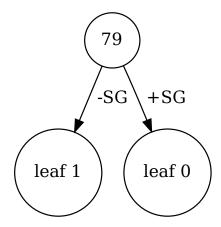
Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn) The Acquisition of Morphological Marking

4 □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ ▷ < □ □ < □ □ < □ □

021 26 / 41

æ

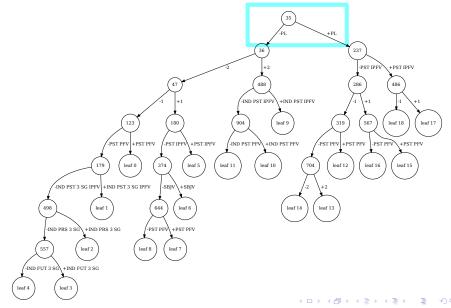
Results: German Nouns



3. 3

27 / 41

Results: Spanish Verbs

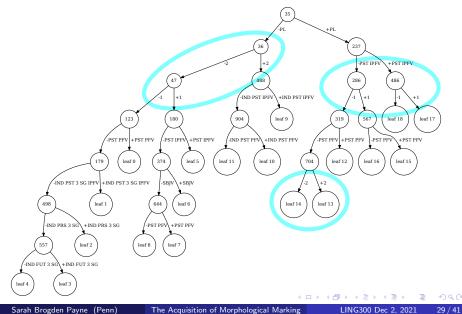


Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn)

The Acquisition of Morphological Marking

LING300 Dec 2, 2021

Results: Spanish Verbs

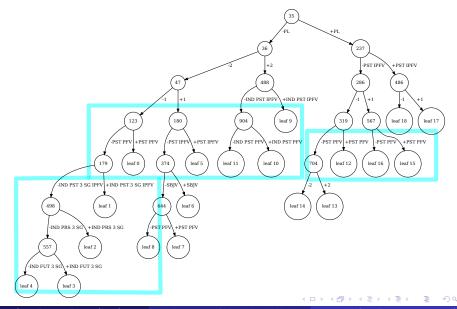


Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn)

The Acquisition of Morphological Marking

LING300 Dec 2, 2021

Results: Spanish Verbs



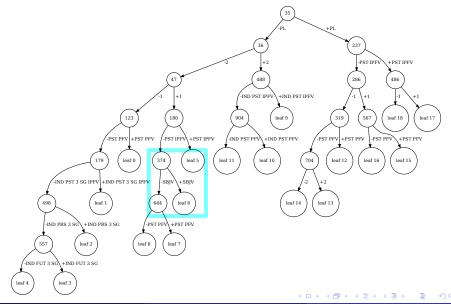
Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn)

The Acquisition of Morphological Marking

LING300 Dec 2, 2021

30/41

Results: Spanish Verbs



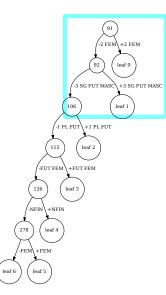
Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn)

The Acquisition of Morphological Marking

LING300 Dec 2, 2021

31/41

Results: Hebrew Verbs

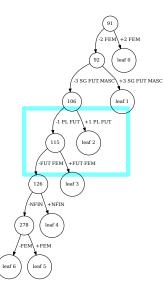


Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn) The Acquisition of Morphological Marking LING300 I

< ロ > < 同 > < 回 > < 回 > < 回 > < 回 > < 回 > < 回 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 > < 0 >

2

Results: Hebrew Verbs

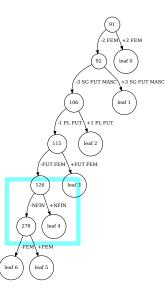


Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn) The Acquisition of Morphological Marking LING300 Dec 2,

3

イロン 不聞 とくほとう ほとう

Results: Hebrew Verbs



Sarah Brogden Payne (Penn) The Acquisition of Morphological Marking LING300 Dec 2

2

イロト イヨト イヨト イヨト

Outline

Background

2 Proposed Method

3 Results

- English Verbs
- German Nouns
- Spanish Verbs
- Hebrew Verbs

4 Conclusions & Future Directions

• We presented a recursive model able to learn *what* features are marked across a typologically diverse set of languages

- We presented a recursive model able to learn *what* features are marked across a typologically diverse set of languages
 - Works across these languages because only considers inequality between inflected forms.

- We presented a recursive model able to learn *what* features are marked across a typologically diverse set of languages
 - Works across these languages because only considers inequality between inflected forms.
- This model matches well with developmental findings and provides interpretable results regarding order of acquisition.

Now that we know what is marked, learn the processes themselves!

• For languages like German & English, we can apply the model of Belth et al. (2021) to map between e.g. singular and plural

Now that we know what is marked, learn the processes themselves!

- For languages like German & English, we can apply the model of Belth et al. (2021) to map between e.g. singular and plural
- For Spanish and Hebrew, open question

I am grateful for the mentorship of Dr. Charles Yang, Dr. Julie Anne Legate, Dr. Jordan Kodner, and Daoxin Li, who provided valuable insight into this work at every stage. I thank the members of Ling-300 for helpful feedback at every stage of this work.

I am also grateful to my friends and family: Anjali Gupta, Emily Hong, and Yara Salim held me accountable during study sessions, and Chris Payne, Nicola Payne, Liz Brogden, Raymond Yang, Ashton Courtney, Marynancy Mwakalindile, Dana Reckard, Alex Yang, and Kay Mayle provided support throughout this project. Bat-El, O. (2014). The Acquisition of Hebrew Phonology and Morphology. Brill.

- Belth, C., Payne, S., Beser, D., Kodner, J., and Yang, C. (2021). The greedy and recursive search for morphological productivity. *Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*.
- Berko, J. (1958). The child's learning of english morphology. *Word*, 14(2-3):150–177.
- Brown, R. (2013). A first language. Harvard University Press.
- Clahsen, H., Aveledo, F., and Roca, I. (2002). The development of regular and irregular verb inflection in spanish child language. *Journal of child language*, 29(3):591–622.
- Kauschke, C., Kurth, A., and Domahs, U. (2011). Acquisition of german noun plurals in typically developing children and children with specific language impairment. *Child Development Research*, 2011.

References II

- Kirov, C., Cotterell, R., Sylak-Glassman, J., Walther, G., Vylomova, E., Xia, P., Faruqui, M., Mielke, S. J., McCarthy, A. D., Kübler, S., et al. (2018). Unimorph 2.0: universal morphology. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1810.11101*.
- Lustigman, L. (2013). Developing structural specification: Productivity in early hebrew verb usage. *First Language*, 33(1):47–67.
- Marcus, G. F., Pinker, S., Ullman, M., Hollander, M., Rosen, T. J., Xu, F., and Clahsen, H. (1992). Overregularization in language acquisition. *Monographs* of the society for research in child development, pages i–178.
- Montrul, S. (2004). The acquisition of Spanish: Morphosyntactic development in monolingual and bilingual L1 acquisition and adult L2 acquisition, volume 37. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Payne, S., Kodner, J., and Yang, C. (2021). Learning morphological productivity as meaning-form mappings. In *SCIL*.
- Yang, C. (2016). The price of linguistic productivity: How children learn to break the rules of language. MIT press.

3

Thank you!!

æ

э.