What kind of grammar do LSTMs learn?

An experiment of recurrent babbling

Ludovica Pannitto, Aurélie Herbelot December 18, 2020 @ BrownBag Meetings

CIMeC - University of Trento

A popular question, relating to **productivity** and **compositionality**¹. We propose that the evaluation of RNN grammars should be widened to include:

- the effect of the type of input data fed to the network
- the **theoretical paradigm** used to analyse its performance

¹"Linguistic generalization and compositionality in modern artificial neural networks" (Baroni 2020)

A popular question, relating to **productivity** and **compositionality**¹. We propose that the evaluation of RNN grammars should be widened to include:

- the effect of the type of input data fed to the network
- the **theoretical paradigm** used to analyse its performance

¹"Linguistic generalization and compositionality in modern artificial neural networks" (Baroni 2020)

A popular question, relating to **productivity** and **compositionality**¹. We propose that the evaluation of RNN grammars should be widened to include:

- the effect of the type of input data fed to the network
- the **theoretical paradigm** used to analyse its performance

¹"Linguistic generalization and compositionality in modern artificial neural networks" (Baroni 2020)

How much language (*L*) can be learnt from a certain level of computational complexity (*C*) with a certain type of data (*I*)?

$$C \times I \xrightarrow{f} L \tag{1}$$

All aspects of the equation are of paramount importance in linguistic discussion:

complexity of the learning mechanism *C* - how much has to be *innate* or *hard-coded* in the function?

- **quality and quantity of the stimuli** *I* how do stimuli differ? What are the most relevant features?
- **language** *L* what is the *grammar* that best explains the language we experience?

How much language (*L*) can be learnt from a certain level of computational complexity (*C*) with a certain type of data (*I*)?

$$C \times I \xrightarrow{f} L \tag{1}$$

All aspects of the equation are of paramount importance in linguistic discussion:

complexity of the learning mechanism *C* - how much has to be *innate* or *hard-coded* in the function?

- **quality and quantity of the stimuli** *I* how do stimuli differ? What are the most relevant features?
- **language** *L* what is the *grammar* that best explains the language we experience?

- 1. Recurrent babbling: setup
- 2. Main questions
- 3. Results
- 4. Where to go next

Recurrent babbling: setup

- vanilla char-LSTM trained on a limited amount of child-directed language
- introduce a methodology to evaluate the distribution of grammatical items, focusing on the network's generated output
 its babbling
- explore the **interaction** between meaning representations and the abstraction abilities of the network

- vanilla char-LSTM trained on a limited amount of child-directed language
- introduce a methodology to evaluate the distribution of grammatical items, focusing on the network's generated output
 its babbling
- explore the **interaction** between meaning representations and the abstraction abilities of the network

- vanilla char-LSTM trained on a limited amount of child-directed language
- introduce a methodology to evaluate the distribution of grammatical items, focusing on the network's generated output
 its babbling
- explore the **interaction** between meaning representations and the abstraction abilities of the network

- vanilla char-LSTM trained on a limited amount of child-directed language
- introduce a methodology to evaluate the distribution of grammatical items, focusing on the network's generated output
 its babbling
- explore the **interaction** between meaning representations and the abstraction abilities of the network

We train a char-LSTM on some input I_i , varying in a specific range, and make the network produce some amount of language λ_i .

$$(\text{LSTM}, I_i) \xrightarrow{a} \lambda_i \tag{2}$$

Nativist theories typically posit the need for a dedicated device for language learning while cognitive theories have argued that **general purpose memory and cognitive mechanisms** can account for the emergence of linguistic abilities.

LSTMs can be seen as domain-general attention and memory mechanisms, without any explicitly hard-coded grammatical knowledge.

ANNs are often trained on an input that is unrealistic in **genre** and **size**.

- child-directed language is characterized by **specific features** (e.g., *repetitiousness*) that are not present in the most widely used corpora
- it has been estimated that, by the age of 3, welfare children have heard about 10 millions words while the average working-class child has heard around 30 millions, and the variation depends on **many factors**

We evaluate three different language sources: CHILDES, OpenSubtitles (movie and TV series subtitles) and Simple English Wikipedia. ANNs are often trained on an input that is unrealistic in **genre** and **size**.

- child-directed language is characterized by **specific features** (e.g., *repetitiousness*) that are not present in the most widely used corpora
- it has been estimated that, by the age of 3, welfare children have heard about 10 millions words while the average working-class child has heard around 30 millions, and the variation depends on **many factors**

We evaluate three different language sources: CHILDES, OpenSubtitles (movie and TV series subtitles) and Simple English Wikipedia. ANNs are often trained on an input that is unrealistic in **genre** and **size**.

- child-directed language is characterized by **specific features** (e.g., *repetitiousness*) that are not present in the most widely used corpora
- it has been estimated that, by the age of 3, welfare children have heard about 10 millions words while the average working-class child has heard around 30 millions, and the variation depends on **many factors**

We evaluate three different language sources: CHILDES, OpenSubtitles (movie and TV series subtitles) and Simple English Wikipedia. **Catenae**², are characterized as fundamental **meaning-bearing units**, in line with the theoretical tenets of constructionist theories³, thus being ideal candidates for populating our lexicon (or *Constructicon*).



Figure 1: Image showing cases of ellipses, from *Constructions are catenae*: *Construction grammar meets dependency grammar* (Osborne and Groß 2012)

²"Catenae: Introducing a novel unit of syntactic analysis" (Osborne, Putnam, and Groß 2012)

³Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language (Goldberg 2006)

Catenae², are characterized as fundamental **meaning-bearing units**, in line with the theoretical tenets of constructionist theories³, thus being ideal candidates for populating our lexicon (or *Constructicon*).



Figure 1: Image showing cases of ellipses, from *Constructions are catenae*: *Construction grammar meets dependency grammar* (Osborne and Groß 2012)

²"Catenae: Introducing a novel unit of syntactic analysis" (Osborne, Putnam, and Groß 2012)

³Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language (Goldberg 2006)

Catenae

Definition of Catena:

"a word, or a combination of words which is continuous with respect to dominance"



Figure 2: Dependency representation for the sentence: Mary had a little lamb

- Mary had lamb
- had a lamb
- little lamb
- Mary had NOUN
- nsubj VERB dobj

The number and composition of *catenae* depends on **how elements are arranged** in the structure of the dependency tree.

Catenae

Definition of Catena:

"a word, or a combination of words which is continuous with respect to dominance"



Figure 2: Dependency representation for the sentence: *Mary had a little lamb*

- Mary had lamb
- had a lamb
- little lamb
- Mary had NOUN
- nsubj VERB dobj

The number and composition of *catenae* depends on **how elements are arranged** in the structure of the dependency tree.

Catenae

Definition of Catena:

"a word, or a combination of words which is continuous with respect to dominance"



Figure 2: Dependency representation for the sentence: *Mary had a little lamb*

- Mary had lamb
- had a lamb
- little lamb
- Mary had NOUN
- nsubj VERB dobj

The number and composition of *catenae* depends on **how elements are arranged** in the structure of the dependency tree.

Main questions

Q1: To what extent is the network able to generate **new** language?

• We expect the network to reproduce the **statistical regularities** of the input, we further investigate what kind of regularities are acquired and how do the language models differ.

Q2: On what conditions is the network able to generalize its *grammatical* knowledge?

- We can state that the network has learned some grammar once it is able to use an acquired pattern in a **productive** and **creative** way.
- We expect this generalization ability to evolve during training and the **distributional properties** of patterns to be in relation with the grammatical abilities of the network at various stages of learning.

Q1: To what extent is the network able to generate **new** language?

- We expect the network to reproduce the **statistical regularities** of the input, we further investigate what kind of regularities are acquired and how do the language models differ.
- **Q2:** On what conditions is the network able to generalize its *grammatical* knowledge?
 - We can state that the network has learned some grammar once it is able to use an acquired pattern in a **productive** and **creative** way.
 - We expect this generalization ability to evolve during training and the **distributional properties** of patterns to be in relation with the grammatical abilities of the network at various stages of learning.

Q1: To what extent is the network able to generate **new** language?

- We expect the network to reproduce the **statistical regularities** of the input, we further investigate what kind of regularities are acquired and how do the language models differ.
- **Q2:** On what conditions is the network able to generalize its *grammatical* knowledge?
 - We can state that the network has learned some grammar once it is able to use an acquired pattern in a **productive** and **creative** way.
 - We expect this generalization ability to evolve during training and the **distributional properties** of patterns to be in relation with the grammatical abilities of the network at various stages of learning.

Pipeline



Figure 3: A summary of the work pipeline

Catenae extraction

catena	frequency	mi	
largest mi			
@nsubj @root	294.59K	633.93K	
_DET _NOUN	189.97K	552.32K	
_VERB @obj	190.72K	520.82K	
_PRON _VERB	271.44K	503.17K	
@nsubj _AUX @root	129.60K	478.86K	
smallest mi			
_PRON @nsubj	17.50K	-35.54K	
@root @nsubj	27.61K	-34.89K	
@nsubj _PRON	11.63K	-30.47K	
_VERB @nsubj	12.79K	-26.82K	
_AUX _PRON	15.75K	-26.67K	

Table 1: Examples of catenae extracted from CHILDES. Largest and smallest mutual information are reported, in top and bottom tier of the table respectively.

Part of Speech are prefixed by "_" and syntactic relations are prefixed by "@"

Results

We evaluated **Spearman** ρ among the top 10K catenae extracted from the input and from each *babbling* stage produced by the LSTM.

Our analysis shows that the network has acquired statistical **regularities at the level of grammatical patterns**, and is able to use them productively to generate **novel** language fragments that **adhere to the same distribution as the input**.

Catenae extracted from babblings almost perfectly correlate with those extracted from the same input, but correlation values are quite **loose for out-of-domain pairs**.

We evaluated **Spearman** ρ among the top 10K catenae extracted from the input and from each *babbling* stage produced by the LSTM.

Our analysis shows that the network has acquired statistical **regularities at the level of grammatical patterns**, and is able to use them productively to generate **novel** language fragments that **adhere to the same distribution as the input**.

Catenae extracted from babblings almost perfectly correlate with those extracted from the same input, but correlation values are quite **loose for out-of-domain pairs**.

We evaluated **Spearman** ρ among the top 10K catenae extracted from the input and from each *babbling* stage produced by the LSTM.

Our analysis shows that the network has acquired statistical **regularities at the level of grammatical patterns**, and is able to use them productively to generate **novel** language fragments that **adhere to the same distribution as the input**.

Catenae extracted from babblings almost perfectly correlate with those extracted from the same input, but correlation values are quite **loose for out-of-domain pairs**.

Q1: What do ANNs approximate?



Figure 4: The thickness of the connections is **inversely** proportional to correlation. OpenSubtitles is shown in green on the left of the plot, CHILDES in red in the top right and Simple Wikipedia in yellow at the bottom.

Q2: Meaning and abstraction

The case of [SBJ V OBJ OBJ2] ⁴

The meaning of the ditransitive pattern emerges from its strong association with *give* in child-directed speech: part of the meaning of *give* remains attached to the construction.



Figure 5: The network is supposed to capture stereotypical instances at early stages of learning and the productivity of the pattern will increase during training

⁴Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language (Goldberg 2006)

Q2: Meaning and abstraction

The case of [SBJ V OBJ OBJ2] ⁴

The meaning of the ditransitive pattern emerges from its strong association with *give* in child-directed speech: part of the meaning of *give* remains attached to the construction.



Figure 5: The network is supposed to capture stereotypical instances at early stages of learning and the productivity of the pattern will increase during training

⁴Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language (Goldberg 2006)

cat ₁	cat ₂	input	5	10	 30	35	shift
a minute	a _NOUN	0.28	0.71	0.51	 0.37	0.34	0.37
a minute	a @root	0.13	0.49	0.37	 0.22	0.20	0.30
you _VERB it	_PRON @root @expl	0.10	0.46	0.28	 0.17	0.21	0.25
you _VERB you	you _VERB @iobj	0.28	0.68	0.56	 0.42	0.43	0.25
we can _VERB	_PRON can @root	0.51	0.79	0.74	 0.61	0.57	0.22

Table 2: Pairs of catenae (*cat*₁, *cat*₂), their cosine similarity in the space obtained from CHILDES and in the spaces obtained from intermediate *babbling* stages.

The last column shows the difference between cosine similarity at epoch 5 and cosine similarity at epoch 35.

Hypotheses:

- pairs with very **high input similarity** are unlikely to exhibit abstraction: the *catena* that is part of the *Constructicon* is the least abstract one, and there is **no need** for the more abstract category - i.e., non productive idioms like *talk through your hat* vs. *talk through your N*
- low similarity pairs, on the other hand, may simply contain unrelated catenae - i.e., too generic associations, like the dog vs DET NOUN

Instead, given pairs (*cat*₁, *cat*₂) with *cat*₁ being a less abstract instance of *cat*₂, we expect the highest shifts to happen at **intermediate levels of similarities in the input distributional space**.

Hypotheses:

- pairs with very **high input similarity** are unlikely to exhibit abstraction: the *catena* that is part of the *Constructicon* is the least abstract one, and there is **no need** for the more abstract category - i.e., non productive idioms like *talk through your hat* vs. *talk through your N*
- low similarity pairs, on the other hand, may simply contain unrelated catenae - i.e., too generic associations, like the dog vs DET NOUN

Instead, given pairs (cat_1, cat_2) with cat_1 being a less abstract instance of cat_2 , we expect the highest shifts to happen at **intermediate levels of similarities in the input distributional space**.

Q2: Meaning and abstraction



Figure 6: Distribution of average cosine similarities for the three groups of *cat*₂, showing low, intermediate and high average shifts respectively.

Where to go next

ANNs approximate the **distribution of constructions** at a quite refined level, even when trained over a bare 3M words from the CHILDES corpus.

We can follow paths of abstraction by putting our **grammar formalism** in a vector space.

- no sharp distinction between lexicon and grammar \rightarrow different items can therefore be compared, irrespective of their lexical nature
- no assumption about the **stability** of the construction \rightarrow what is relevant for productivity at the earliest stages of learning might become superfluous later on
- $\cdot\;$ all items are form-meaning pairs \rightarrow i.e., constructions
- distributional semantics is used both as a quantitative tool and as a usage-based cognitive hypothesis⁵
 → in line with the view of constructions as "invitations to form categories"⁶

⁵"Distributional semantics in linguistic and cognitive research" (Lenci 2008) ⁶Explain me this: Creativity, competition, and the partial productivity of constructions (Goldberg 2019)

ANNs approximate the **distribution of constructions** at a quite refined level, even when trained over a bare 3M words from the CHILDES corpus.

We can follow paths of abstraction by putting our **grammar formalism** in a vector space.

- no sharp distinction between lexicon and grammar \rightarrow different items can therefore be compared, irrespective of their lexical nature
- no assumption about the **stability** of the construction \rightarrow what is relevant for productivity at the earliest stages of learning might become superfluous later on
- $\cdot\;$ all items are form-meaning pairs \rightarrow i.e., constructions
- distributional semantics is used both as a quantitative tool and as a usage-based cognitive hypothesis⁵ \rightarrow in line with the view of constructions as "invitations to form categories"⁶

⁵"Distributional semantics in linguistic and cognitive research" (Lenci 2008)
⁶Explain me this: Creativity, competition, and the partial productivity of constructions (Goldberg 2019)

ANNs approximate the **distribution of constructions** at a quite refined level, even when trained over a bare 3M words from the CHILDES corpus.

We can follow paths of abstraction by putting our **grammar formalism** in a vector space.

- no sharp distinction between lexicon and grammar \to different items can therefore be compared, irrespective of their lexical nature
- no assumption about the **stability** of the construction \rightarrow what is relevant for productivity at the earliest stages of learning might become superfluous later on
- $\cdot\;$ all items are form-meaning pairs \rightarrow i.e., constructions
- distributional semantics is used both as a quantitative tool and as a usage-based cognitive hypothesis⁵ \rightarrow in line with the view of constructions as "invitations to form categories"⁶

 ⁵"Distributional semantics in linguistic and cognitive research" (Lenci 2008)
 ⁶Explain me this: Creativity, competition, and the partial productivity of constructions (Goldberg 2019)

The whole plan

- We have looked at how the network is using language, as a proxy of its grammatical competence
- We want to investigate to what extent is the network reasoning "constructively" rather than "generatively" and vice versa (i.e., to test the assumption: "is it possible to tell apart the shape of the input from the grammar itself?")
 - (a) The smaller they are, the faster they cook, (b) The more you give, the more you get, (c) Cookies were smaller this time and faster to cook is (a) more similar to (b) than to (c)?
 - (a) The boy sneezed the foam off the cappuccino, (b) The dog barked me out of the room, (c) Foam boy the off the cappuccino is (a) more similar to (b) than to (c)?
- We plan to manipulate specific features of the input language

- We have looked at how the network is using language, as a proxy of its grammatical competence
- We want to investigate to what extent is the network reasoning "constructively" rather than "generatively" and vice versa (i.e., to test the assumption: "is it possible to tell apart the shape of the input from the grammar itself?")
 - (a) The smaller they are, the faster they cook, (b) The more you give, the more you get, (c) Cookies were smaller this time and faster to cook is (a) more similar to (b) than to (c)?
 - (a) The boy sneezed the foam off the cappuccino, (b) The dog barked me out of the room, (c) Foam boy the off the cappuccino is (a) more similar to (b) than to (c)?
- We plan to manipulate specific features of the input language

- We have looked at how the network is using language, as a proxy of its grammatical competence
- We want to investigate to what extent is the network reasoning "constructively" rather than "generatively" and vice versa (i.e., to test the assumption: "is it possible to tell apart the shape of the input from the grammar itself?")
 - (a) The smaller they are, the faster they cook, (b) The more you give, the more you get, (c) Cookies were smaller this time and faster to cook is (a) more similar to (b) than to (c)?
 - (a) The boy sneezed the foam off the cappuccino, (b) The dog barked me out of the room, (c) Foam boy the off the cappuccino is (a) more similar to (b) than to (c)?
- \cdot We plan to manipulate specific features of the input language

Thank you!

References

Baroni, Marco (2020). "Linguistic generalization and compositionality in modern artificial neural networks". In: Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B 375.1791, p. 20190307.

- Goldberg, Adele E (2006). Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- (2019). Explain me this: Creativity, competition, and the partial productivity of constructions.
 Princeton University Press.
- Lenci, Alessandro (2008). "Distributional semantics in linguistic and cognitive research". In: Italian journal of linguistics 20.1, pp. 1–31.
- Osborne, Timothy and Thomas Groß (2012). Constructions are catenae: Construction grammar meets dependency grammar.
- Osborne, Timothy, Michael Putnam, and Thomas Groß (2012). "Catenae: Introducing a novel unit of syntactic analysis". In: *Syntax* 15.4, pp. 354–396.