

# Linguistic Knowledge in Neural Networks

Chris Dyer



# What is linguistics?

- How do human languages represent meaning?
- How does the mind/brain process and generate language?
- What are the possible/impossible human languages?
- **How do children learn language from a very small sample of data?**

# An important insight

## Sentences are hierarchical

- (1) a. The talk I gave did **not** appeal to **anybody**.

# An important insight

## Sentences are hierarchical

- (1) a. The talk I gave did **not** appeal to **anybody**.
- b. \*The talk I gave appealed to **anybody**.

# An important insight

## Sentences are hierarchical

- (1) a. The talk I gave did **not** appeal to **anybody**.
- b. \*The talk I gave appealed to **anybody**.

NPI

# An important insight

## Sentences are hierarchical

- (1) a. The talk I gave did **not** appeal to **anybody**.
- b. \*The talk I gave appealed to **anybody**.

Generalization hypothesis: **not** must come before **anybody**

# An important insight

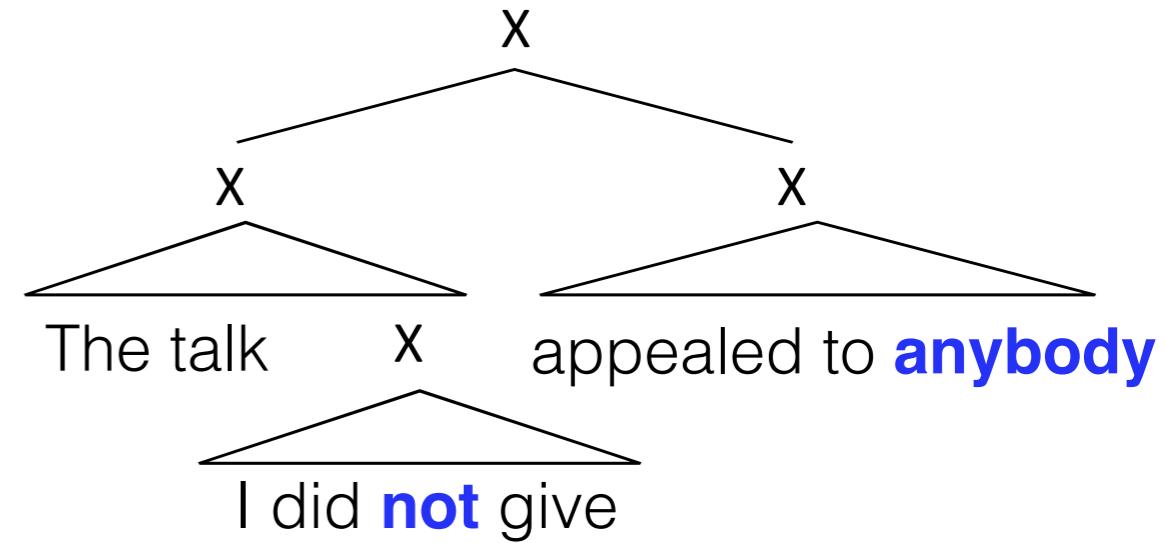
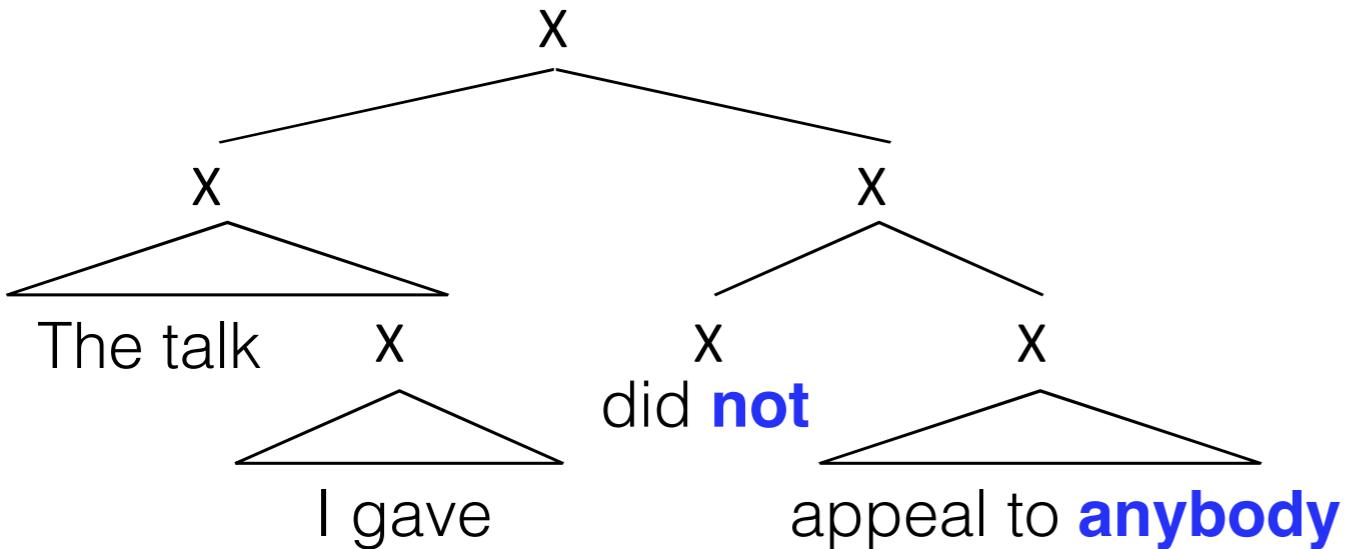
## Sentences are hierarchical

- (1) a. The talk I gave did **not** appeal to **anybody**.
- b. \*The talk I gave appealed to **anybody**.

Generalization hypothesis: **not** must come before **anybody**

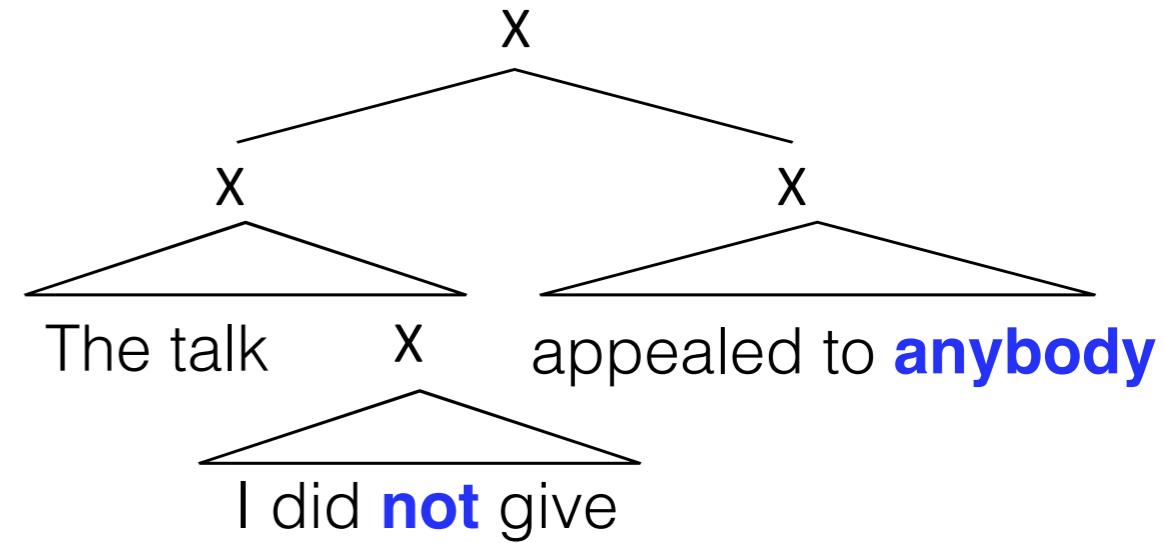
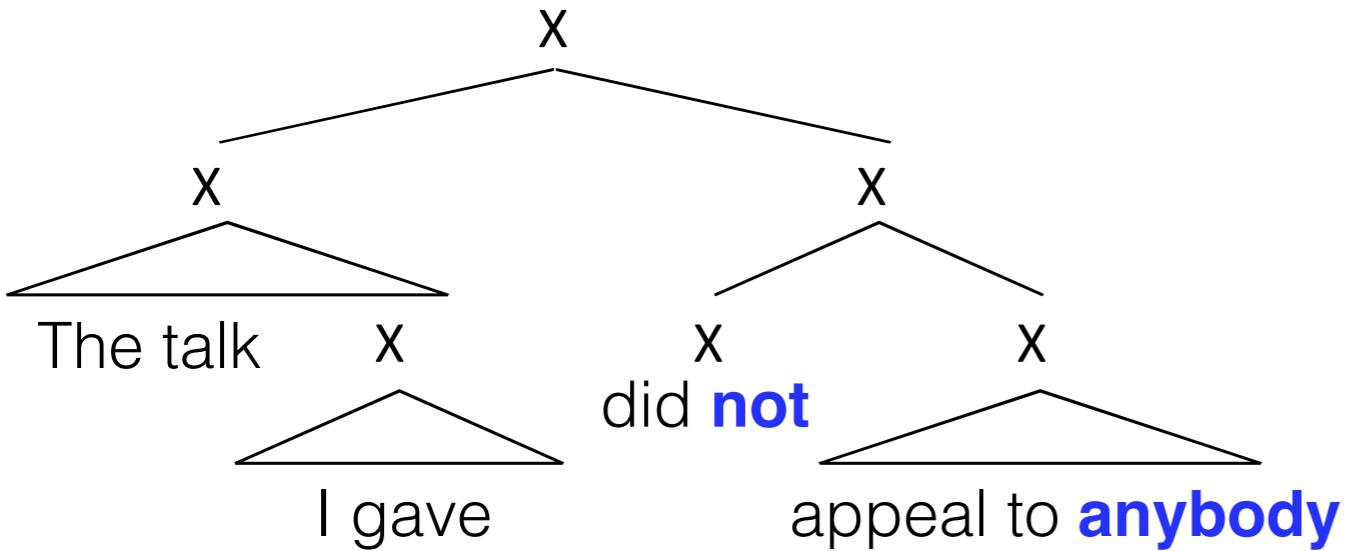
- (2) \*The talk I did **not** give appealed to **anybody**.

# Language is hierarchical



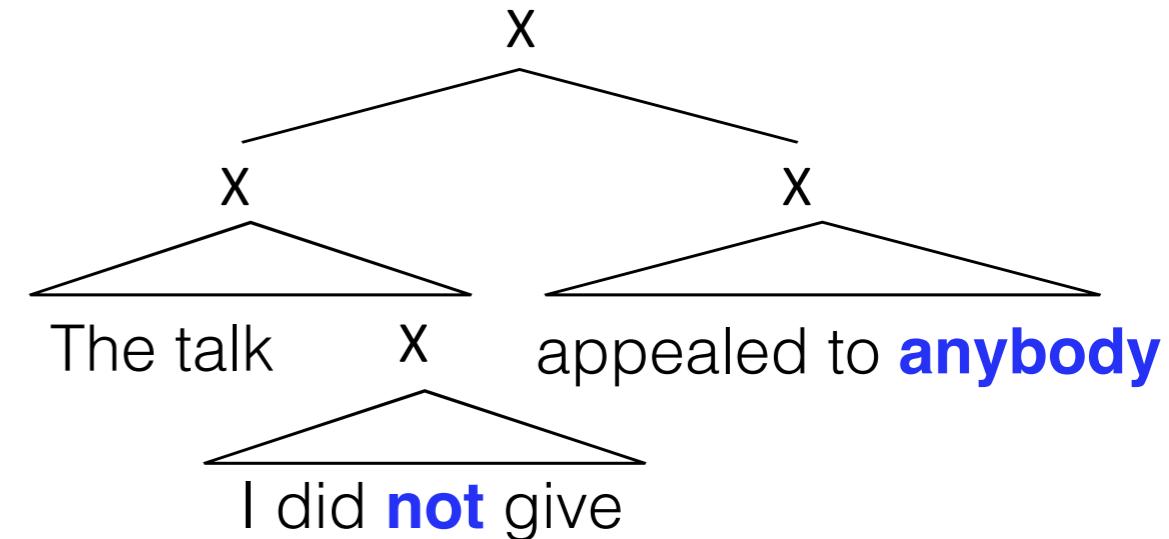
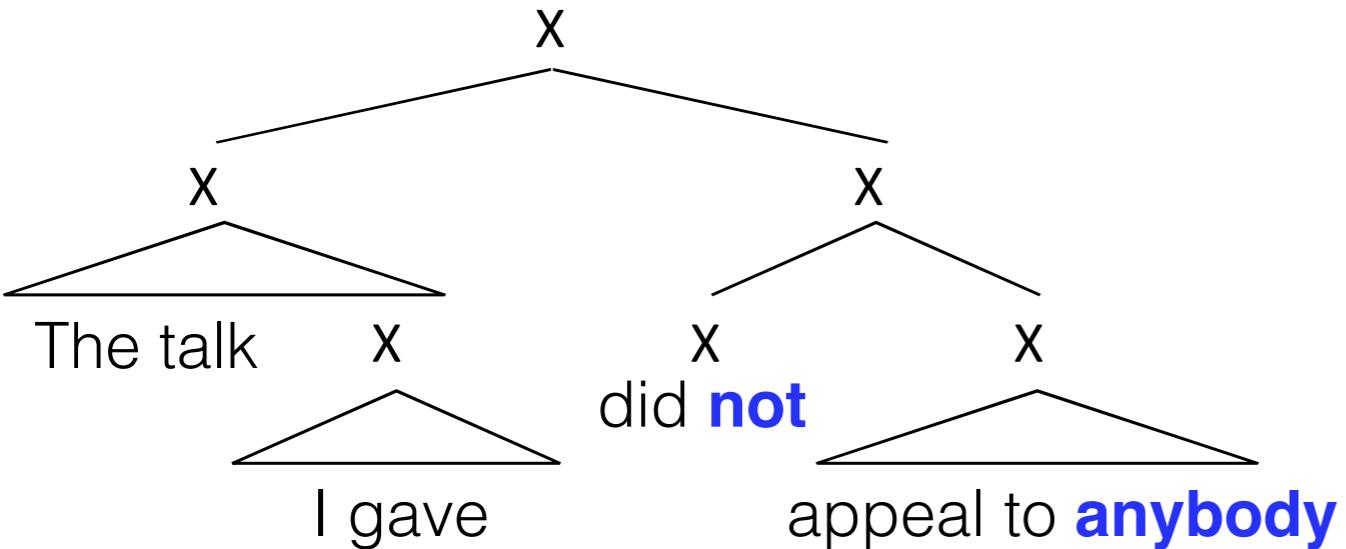
Examples adapted from Everaert et al. (*TICS* 2015)

# Language is hierarchical



Generalization: **not** must “structurally precede” **anybody**

# Language is hierarchical



Generalization: **not** must “structurally precede” **anybody**

- the psychological reality of **structural sensitivity** is **not** empirically controversial
  - many different theories of the *details* of structure
- hypothesis: kids learn language easily because they don't consider many “obvious” structurally insensitive hypotheses

Examples adapted from Everaert et al. (*TICS* 2015)

# Recurrent neural networks

## A good model of language?

- Recurrent neural networks are incredibly powerful models of sequences (e.g., of words)
  - In fact, RNNs are Turing complete!  
(Siegelmann, 1995)

# Recurrent neural networks

## A good model of language?

- Recurrent neural networks are incredibly powerful models of sequences (e.g., of words)
  - In fact, RNNs are Turing complete!  
(Siegelmann, 1995)
- But do they make good generalizations from **finite** samples of data?
  - **What inductive biases do they have?**
  - **What assumptions about representations do models that use them make?**

# Recurrent neural networks

## Inductive bias

- Understanding the biases of neural networks is tricky
  - We have enough trouble understanding the representations they learn in specific cases, much less general cases!

# Recurrent neural networks

## Inductive bias

- Understanding the biases of neural networks is tricky
  - We have enough trouble understanding the representations they learn in specific cases, much less general cases!
- But, there is lots of evidence RNNs prefer **sequential recency**
  - Evidence 1: Gradients become attenuated across time
    - Analysis; experiments with synthetic datasets (yes, LSTMs help but they have limits)
  - Evidence 2: Training regimes like reversing sequences in seq2seq learning
  - Evidence 3: Modeling enhancements to use attention (direct connections back in remote time)

# Recurrent neural networks

## Inductive bias

- Understanding the biases of neural networks is tricky
  - We have enough trouble understanding the representations they learn in specific cases, much less general cases!
- But, there is lots of evidence RNNs prefer **sequential recency**
  - Evidence 1: Gradients become attenuated across time
    - Analysis; experiments with synthetic datasets (yes, LSTMs help but they have limits)
  - Evidence 2: Training regimes like reversing sequences in seq2seq learning
  - Evidence 3: Modeling enhancements to use attention (direct connections back in remote time)
- **Chomsky** (to crudely paraphrase 60 years of work):  
**sequential recency is not the right bias for effective learning of human language.**

# Topics

- Recursive neural networks for sentence representation
- Recurrent neural network grammars and parsing
- Word representations by looking inside words  
(words have structure too!)
- Analysis of neural networks with linguistic concepts

# Topics

- Recursive neural networks for sentence representation
- Recurrent neural network grammars and parsing
- Word representations by looking inside words  
(words have structure too!)
- Analysis of neural networks with linguistic concepts

# Representing a sentence

Input sentence:

**this film is hardly a treat**

Task: Classify this sentence as having either positive or negative sentiment.

# Representing a sentence

Input sentence:

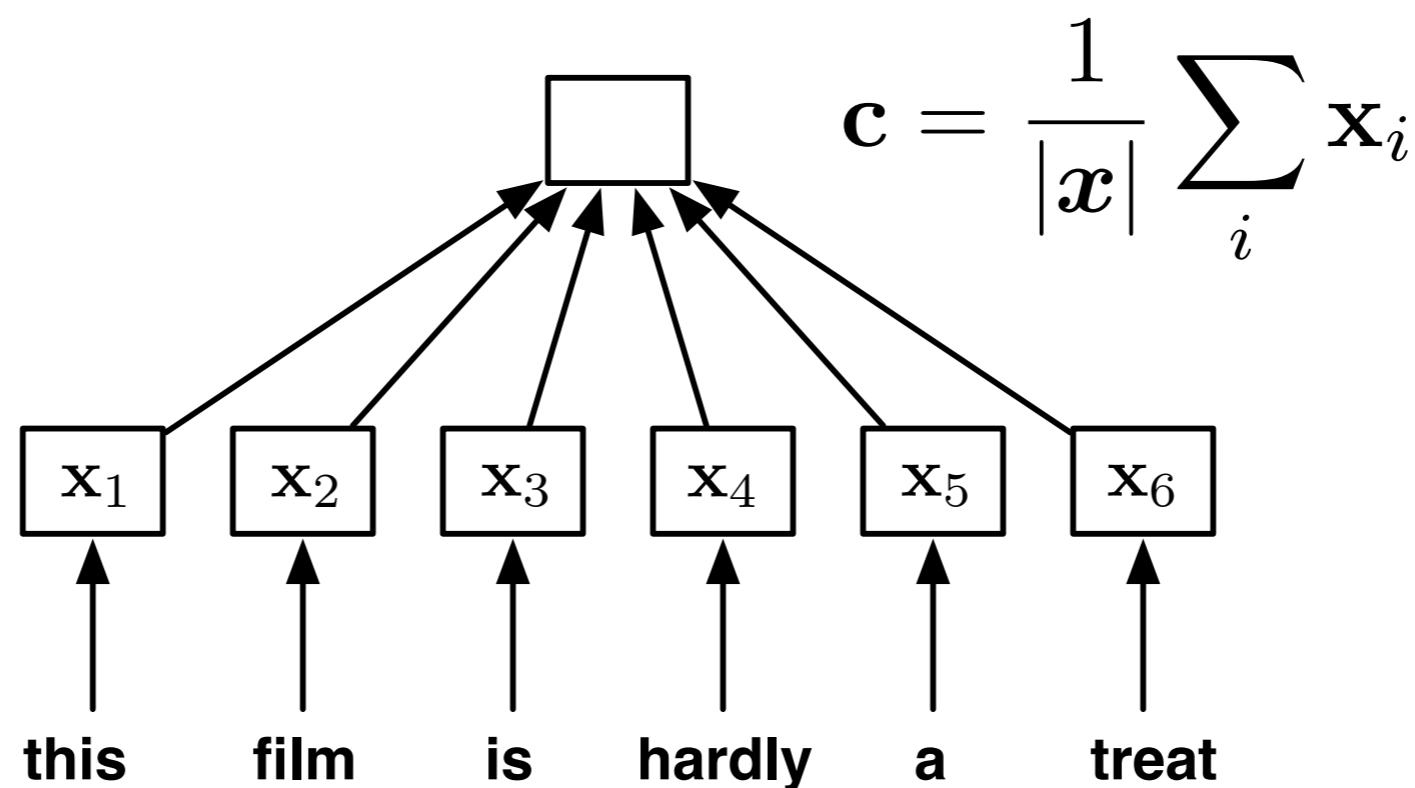
**this film is hardly a treat**

Task: Classify this sentence as having either positive or negative sentiment.

***Why might this sentence pose a problem for interpretation?***

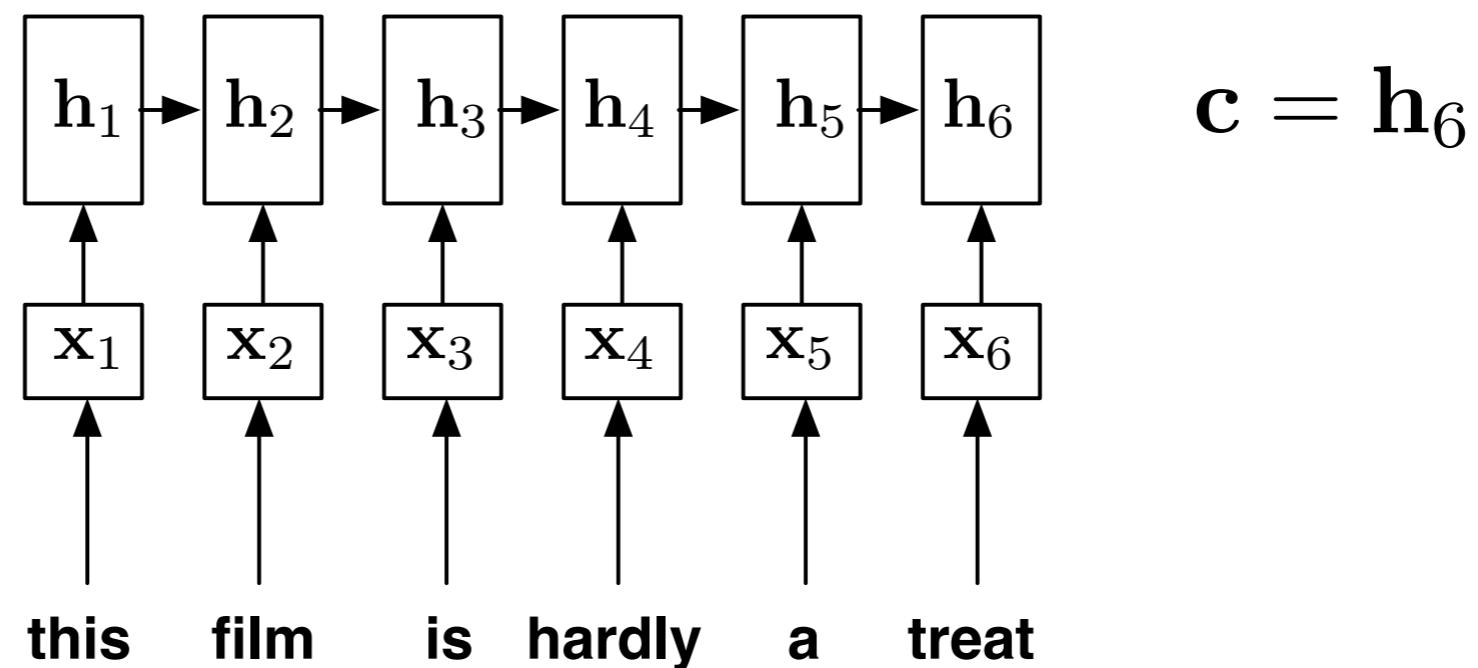
# Representing a sentence

Bag of words:



# Representing a sentence

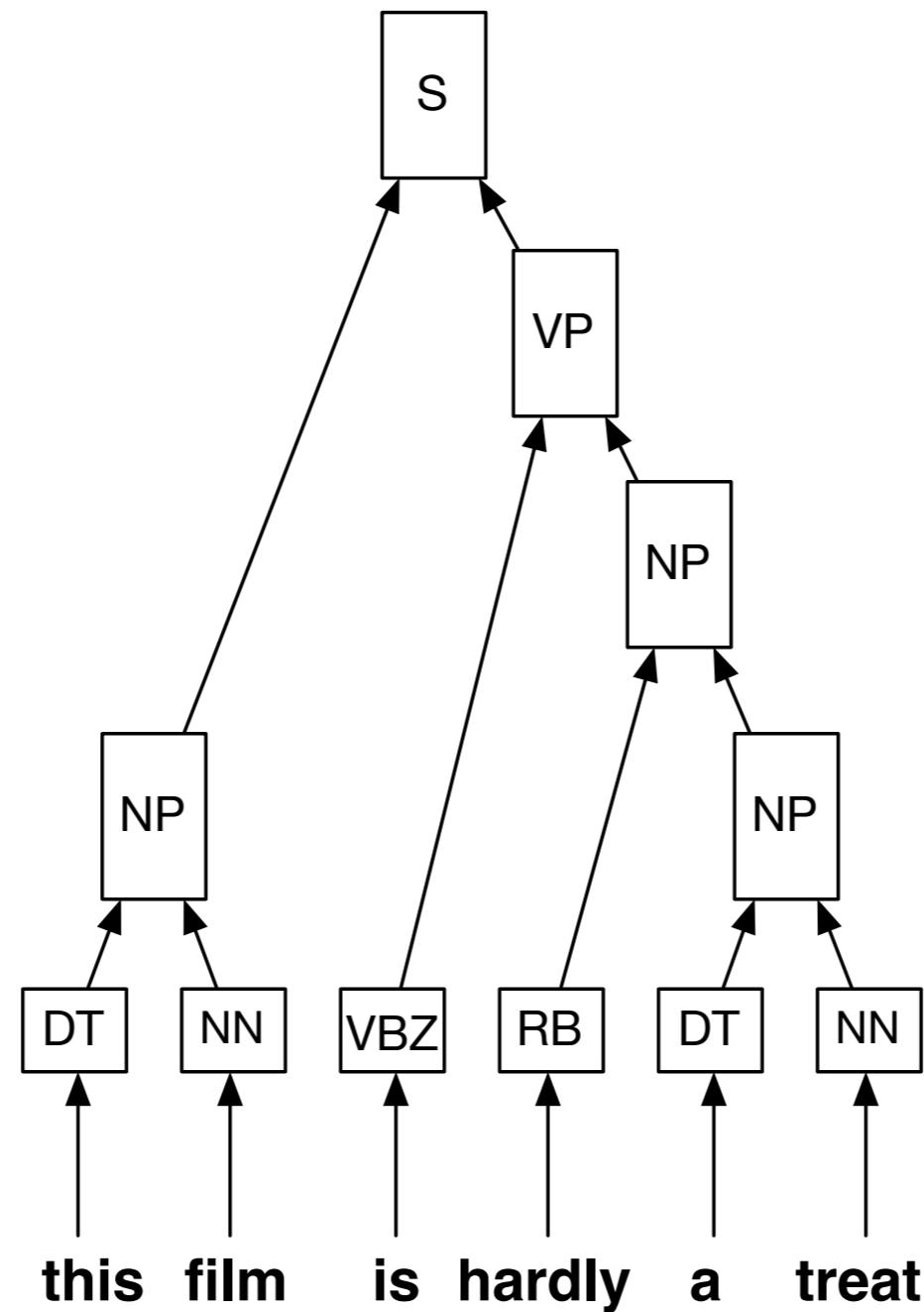
Recurrent neural network



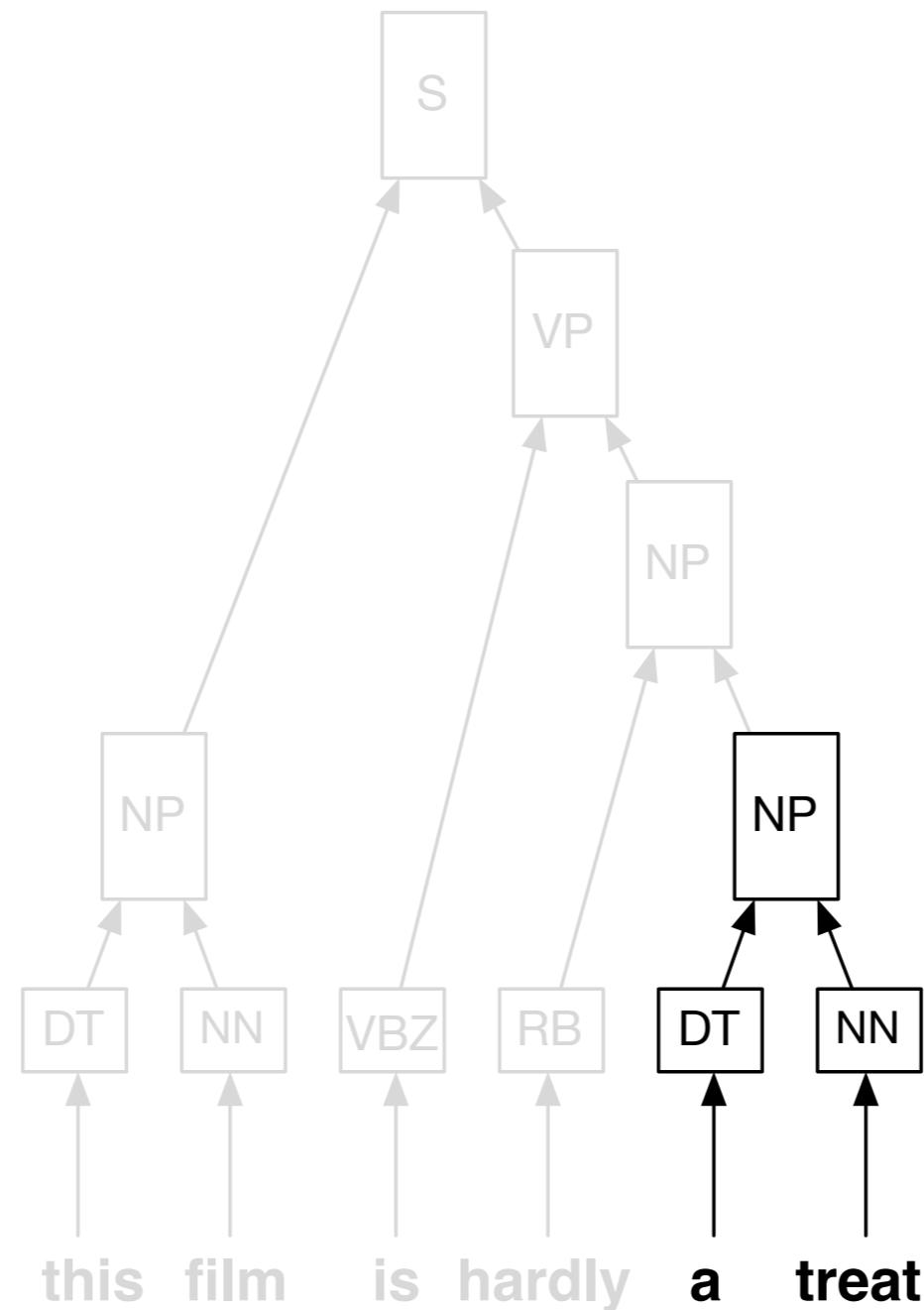
# How do languages express meaning?

- **Principle of compositionality**: the meaning of a complex expression is determined by the meanings of its **constituent expressions** and the **rules that combine** them.
- Syntax and parsing
  - Syntax is the study of how words fit together to form phrases and ultimately sentences
  - We can use **syntactic parsing** to decompose sentences into constituent expressions and rules that were used to construct them out of more primitive expressions (and ultimately individual words)

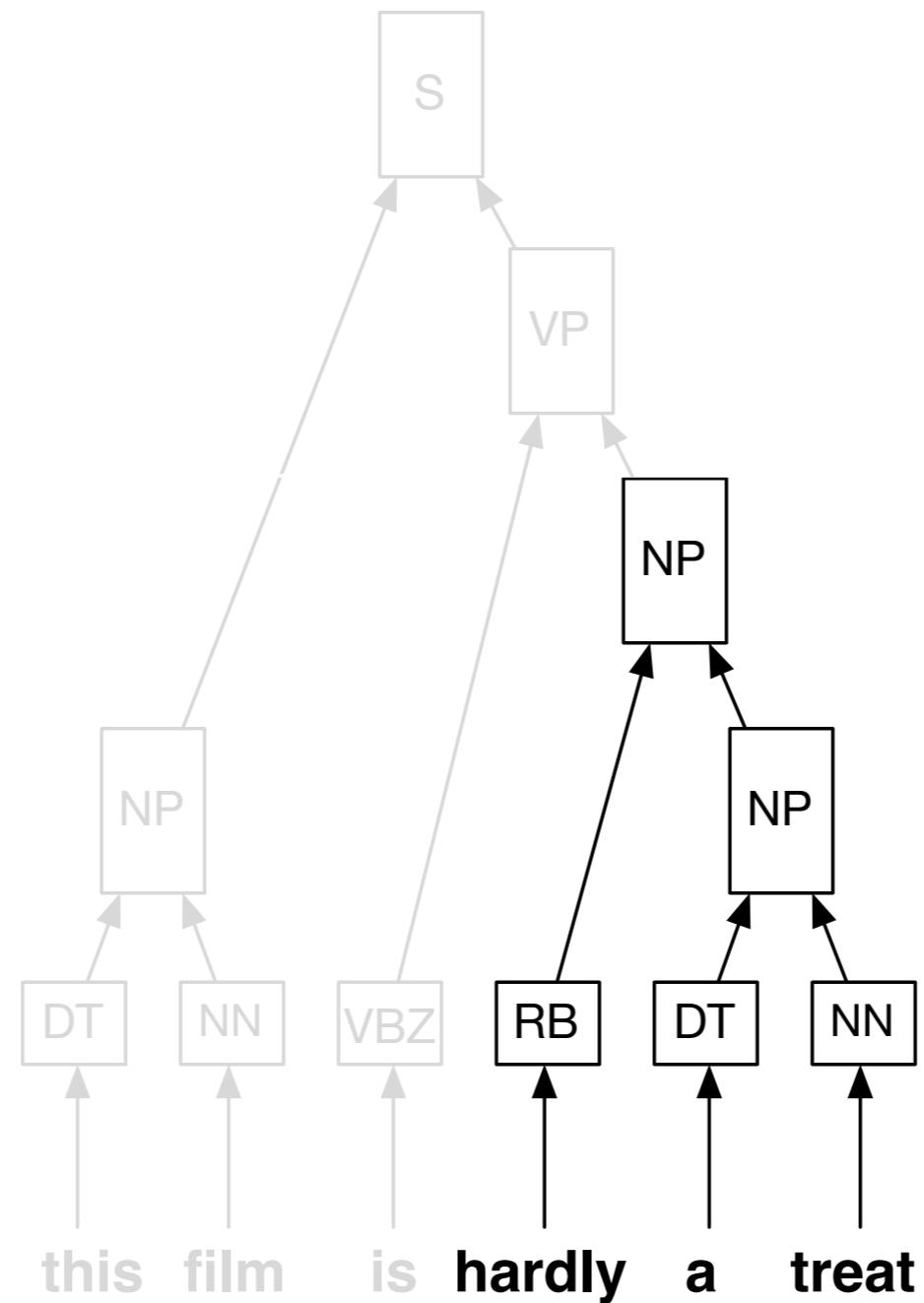
# Syntax as Trees



# Syntax as Trees

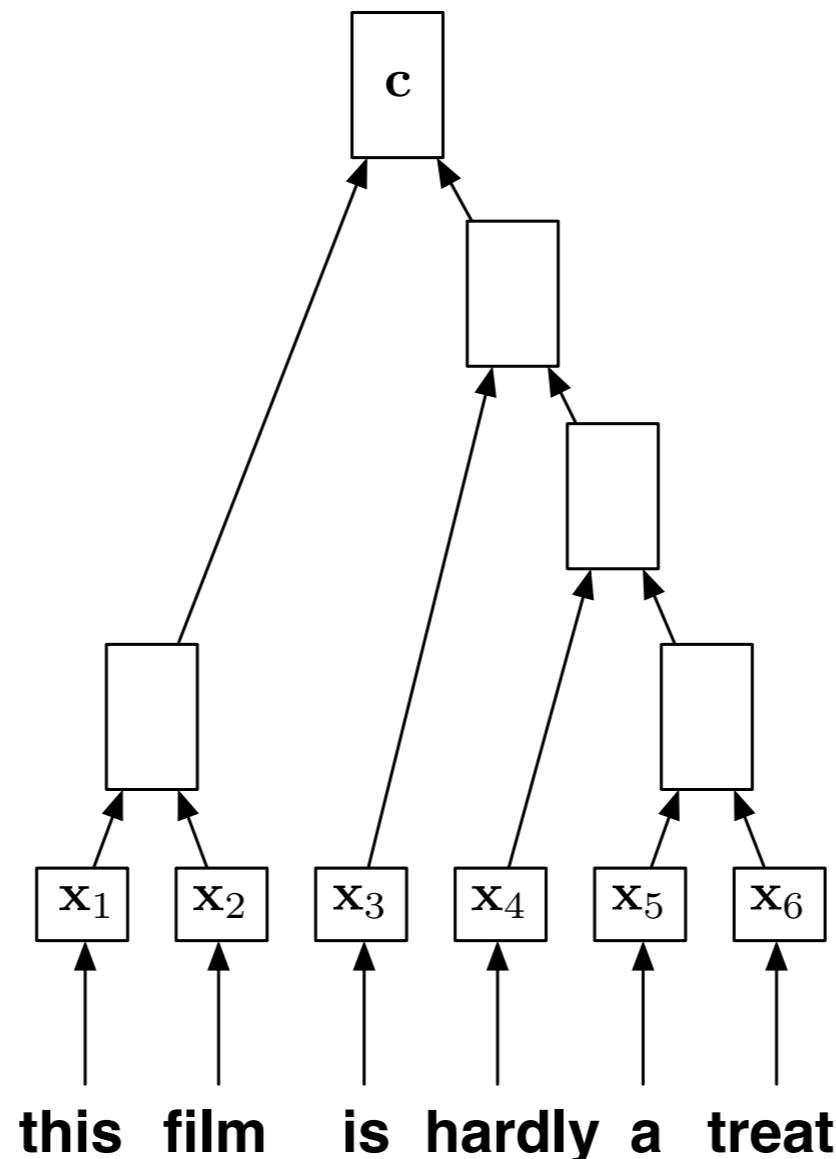


# Syntax as Trees



# Representing a sentence

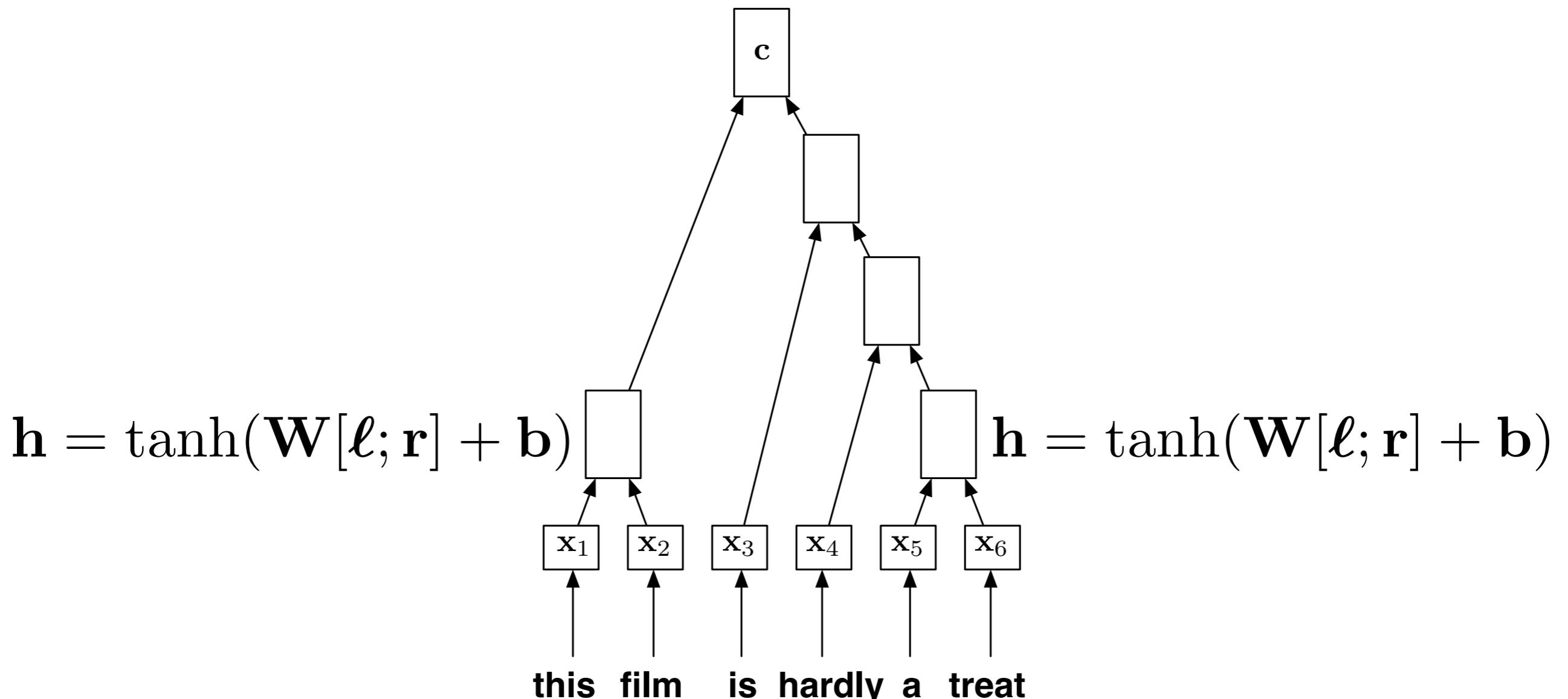
Recursive Neural Network



Socher et al. (ICML 2011), *et passim*

# Representing a sentence

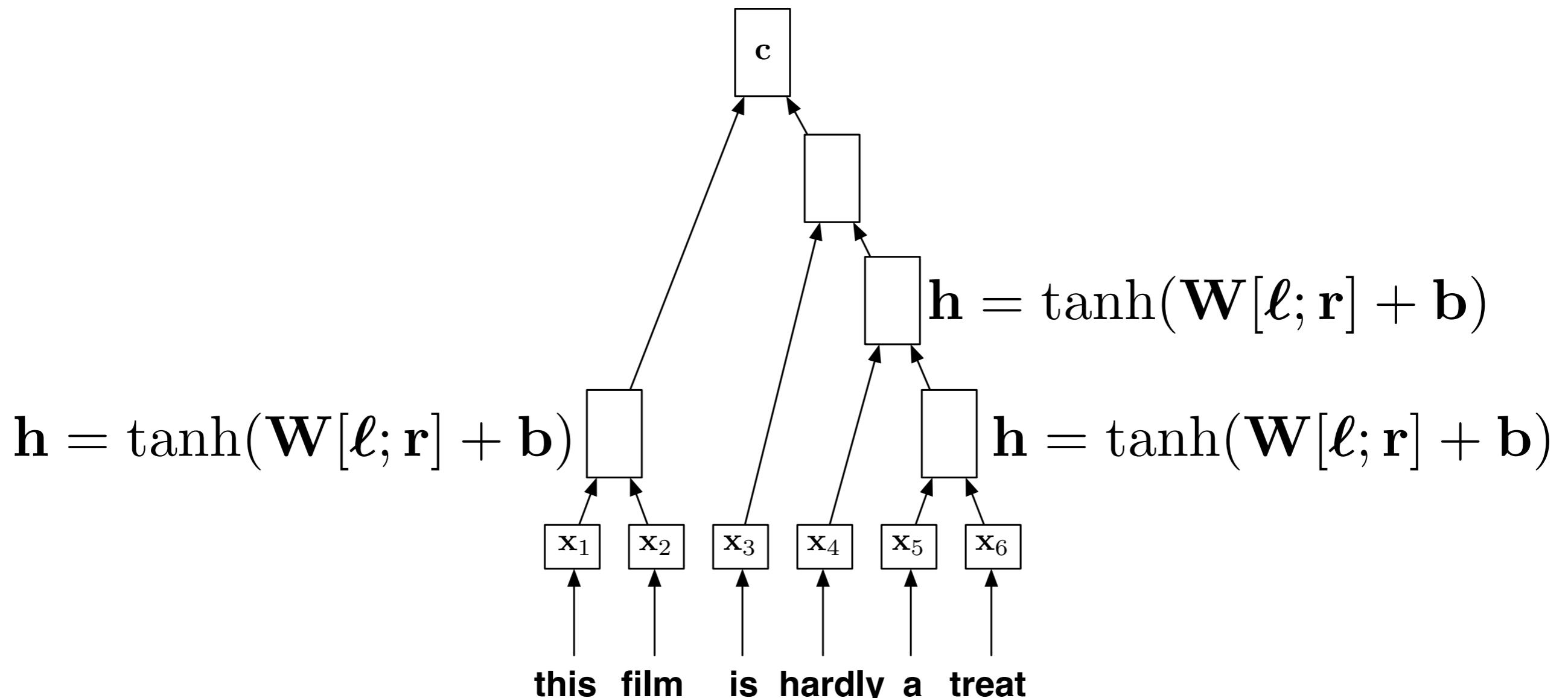
Recursive Neural Network



Socher et al. (ICML 2011), *et passim*

# Representing a sentence

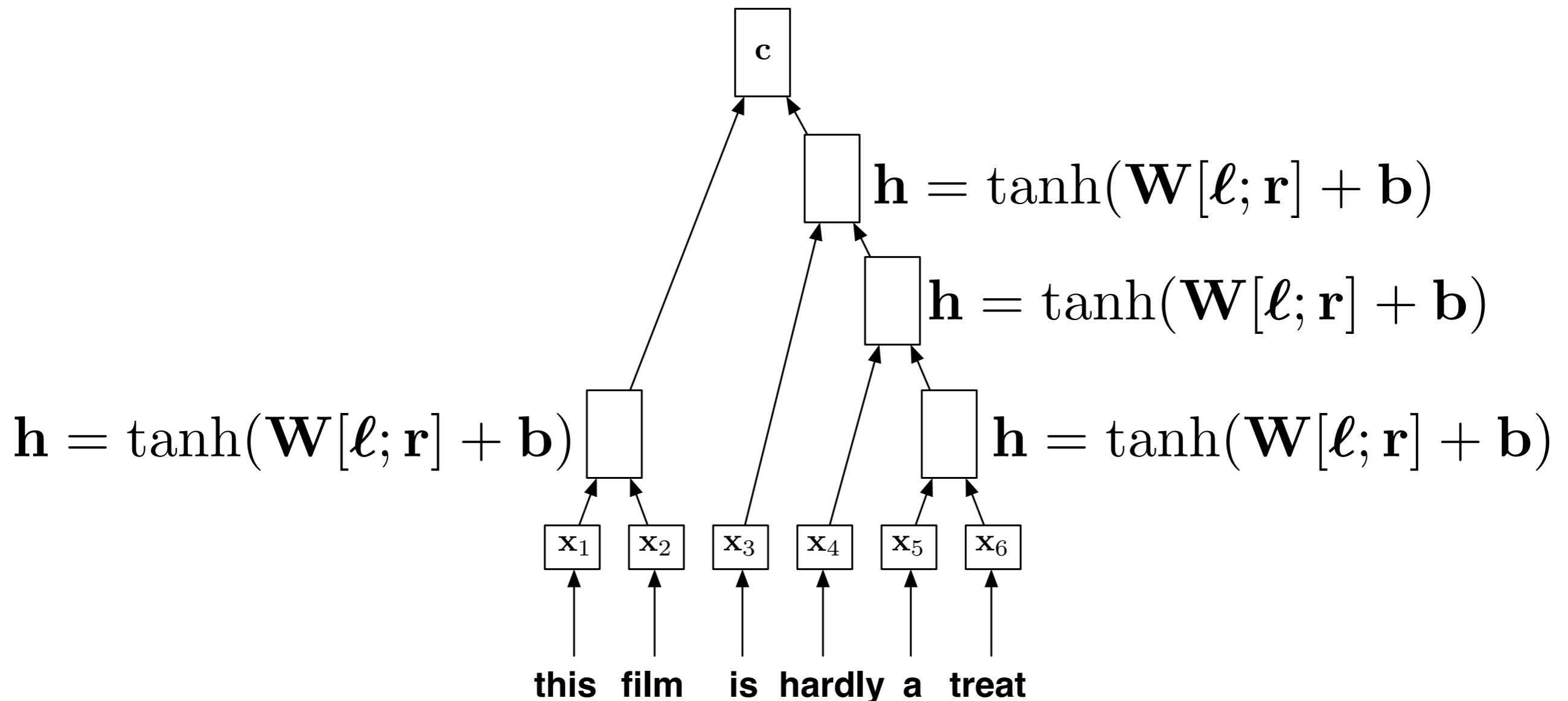
Recursive Neural Network



Socher et al. (ICML 2011), *et passim*

# Representing a sentence

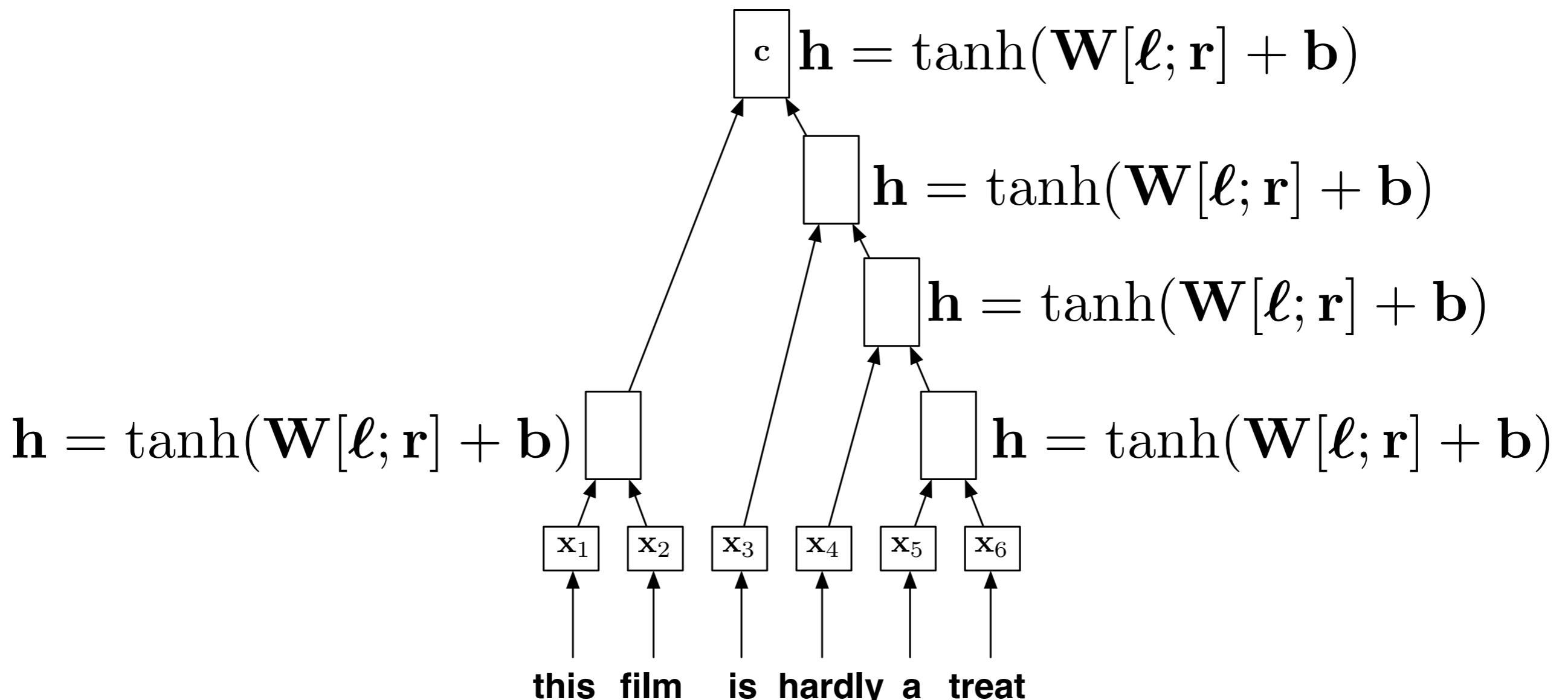
Recursive Neural Network



Socher et al. (ICML 2011), *et passim*

# Representing a sentence

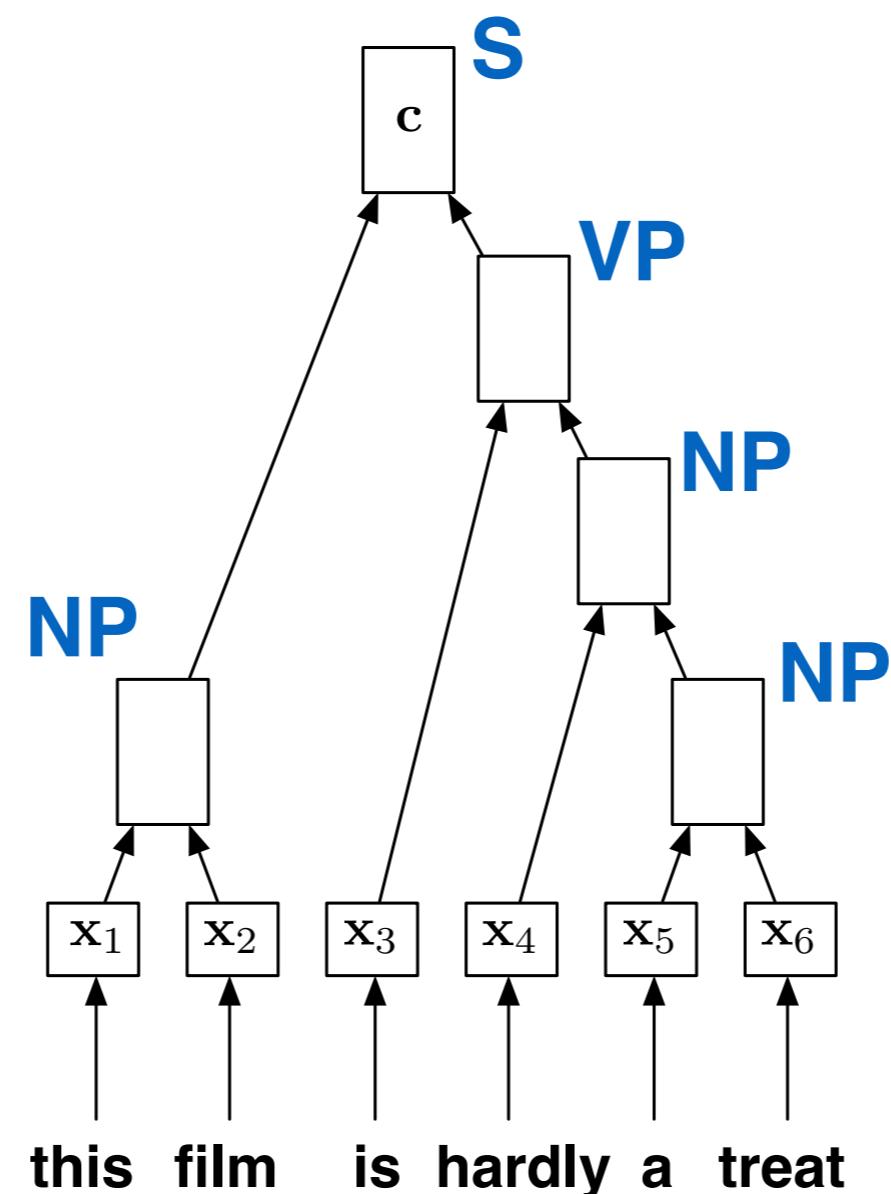
Recursive Neural Network



Socher et al. (ICML 2011), *et passim*

# Representing a sentence

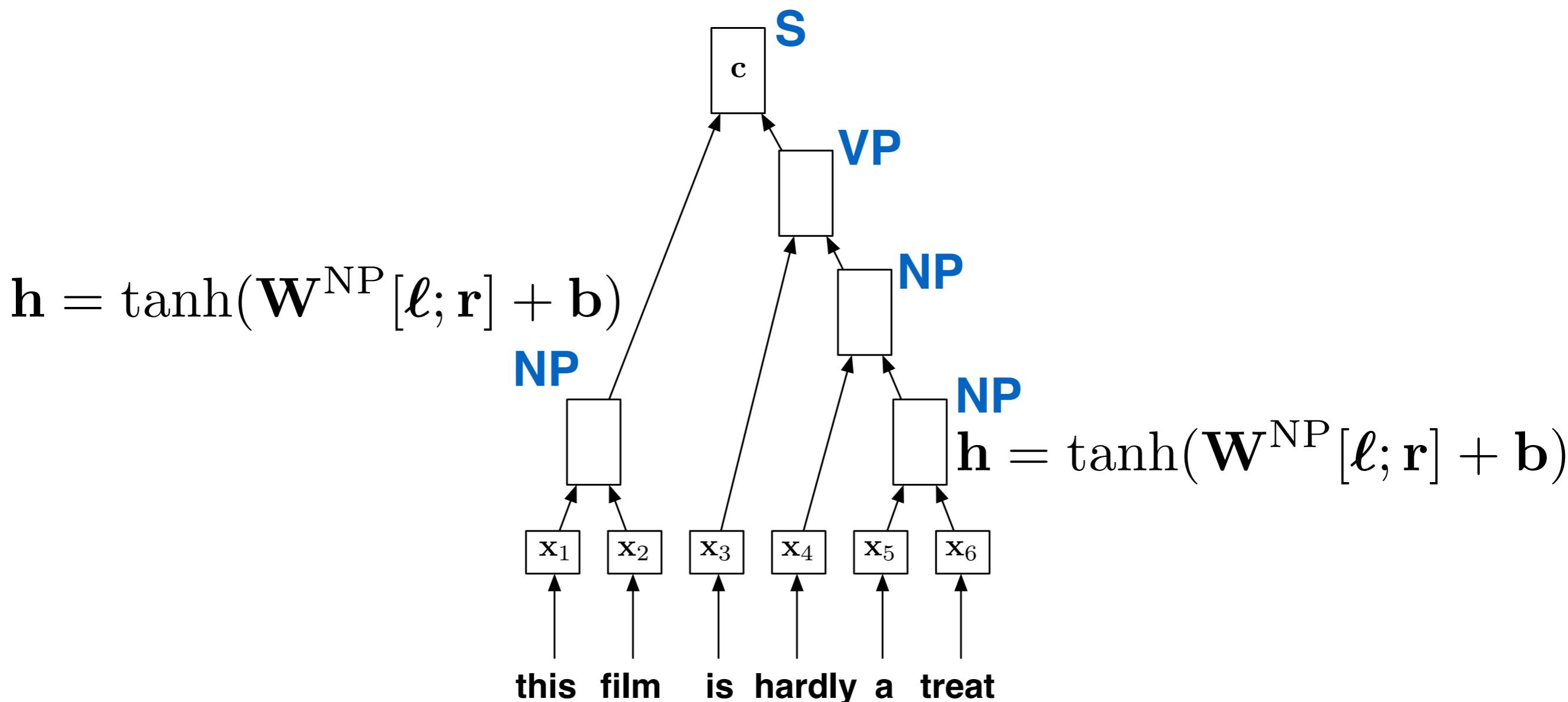
Recursive Neural Network



“Syntactic untying”

# Representing a sentence

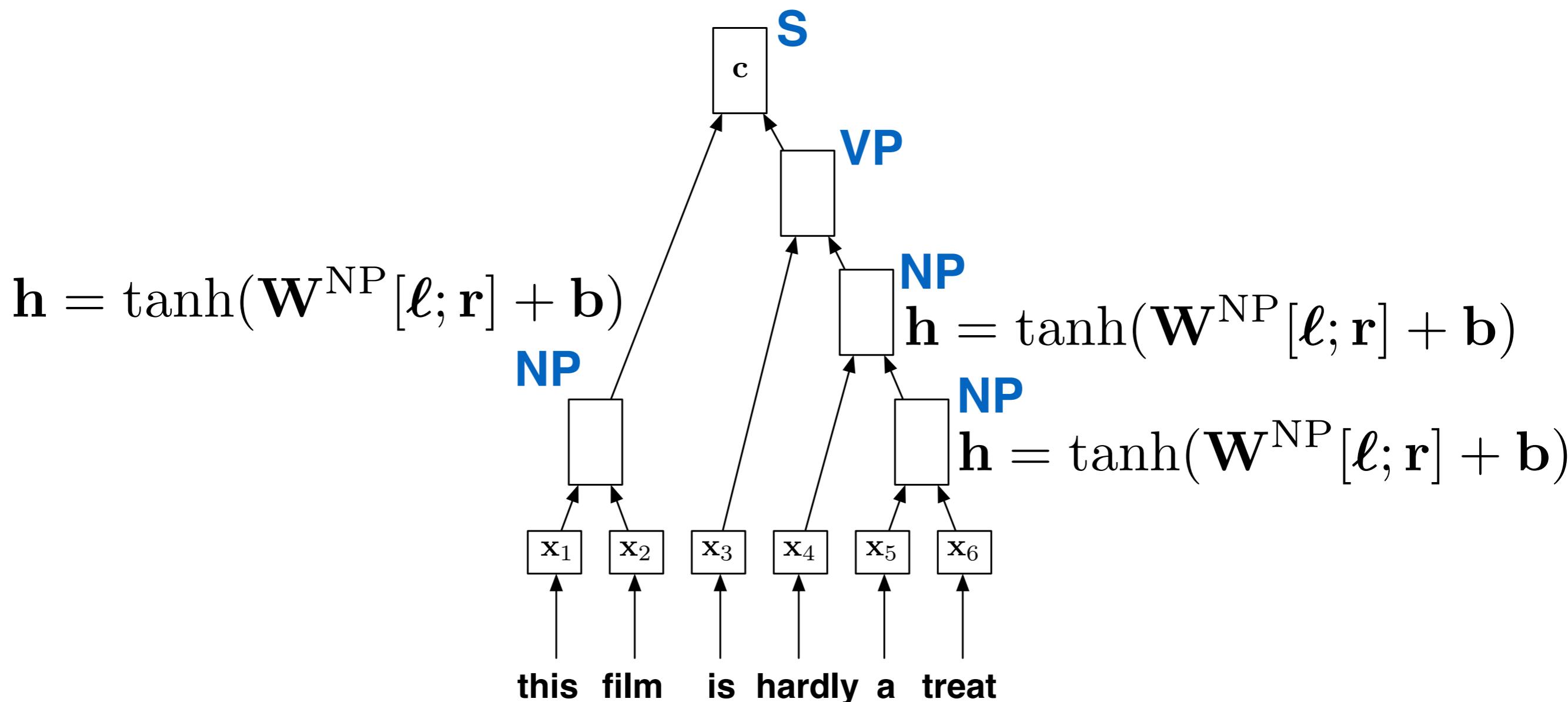
Recursive Neural Network



“Syntactic untying”

# Representing a sentence

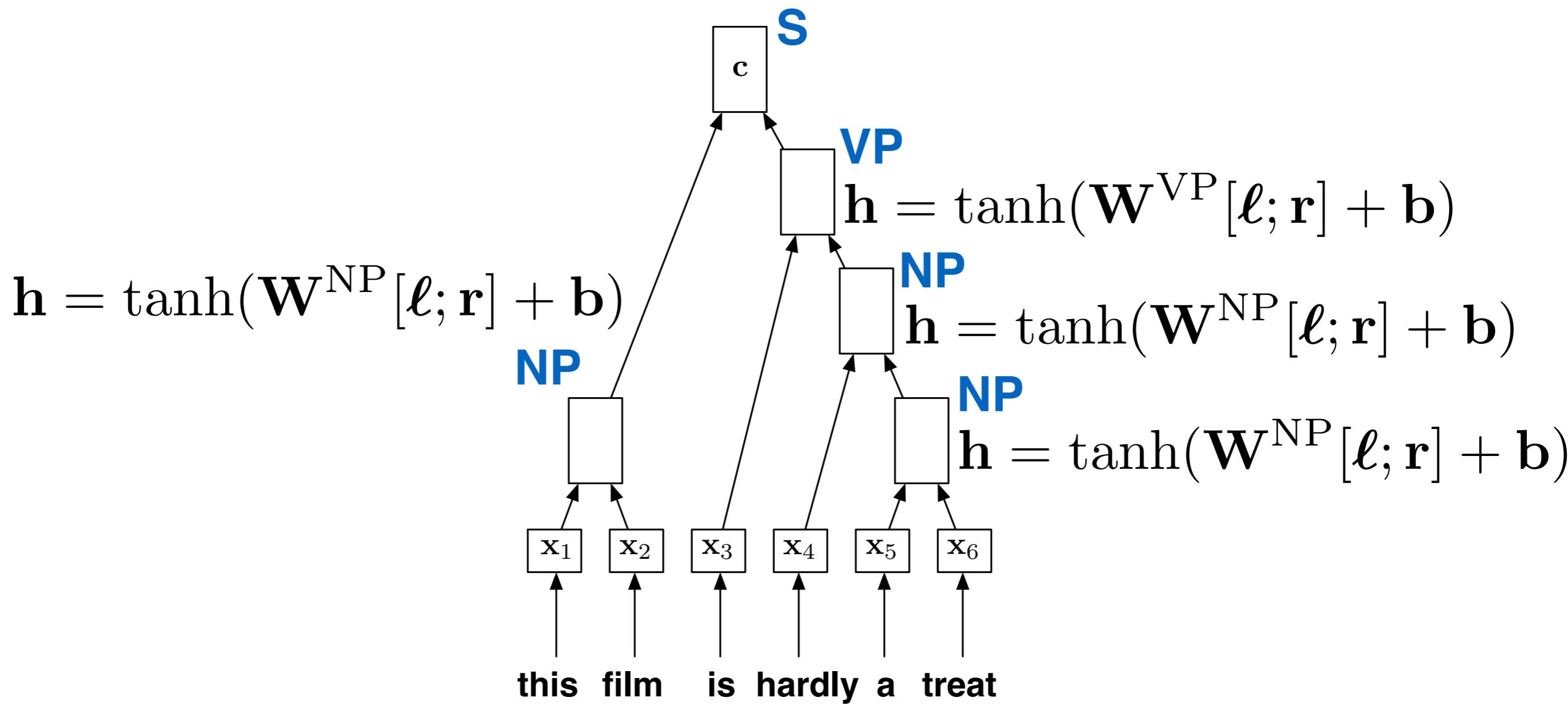
Recursive Neural Network



“Syntactic untying”

# Representing a sentence

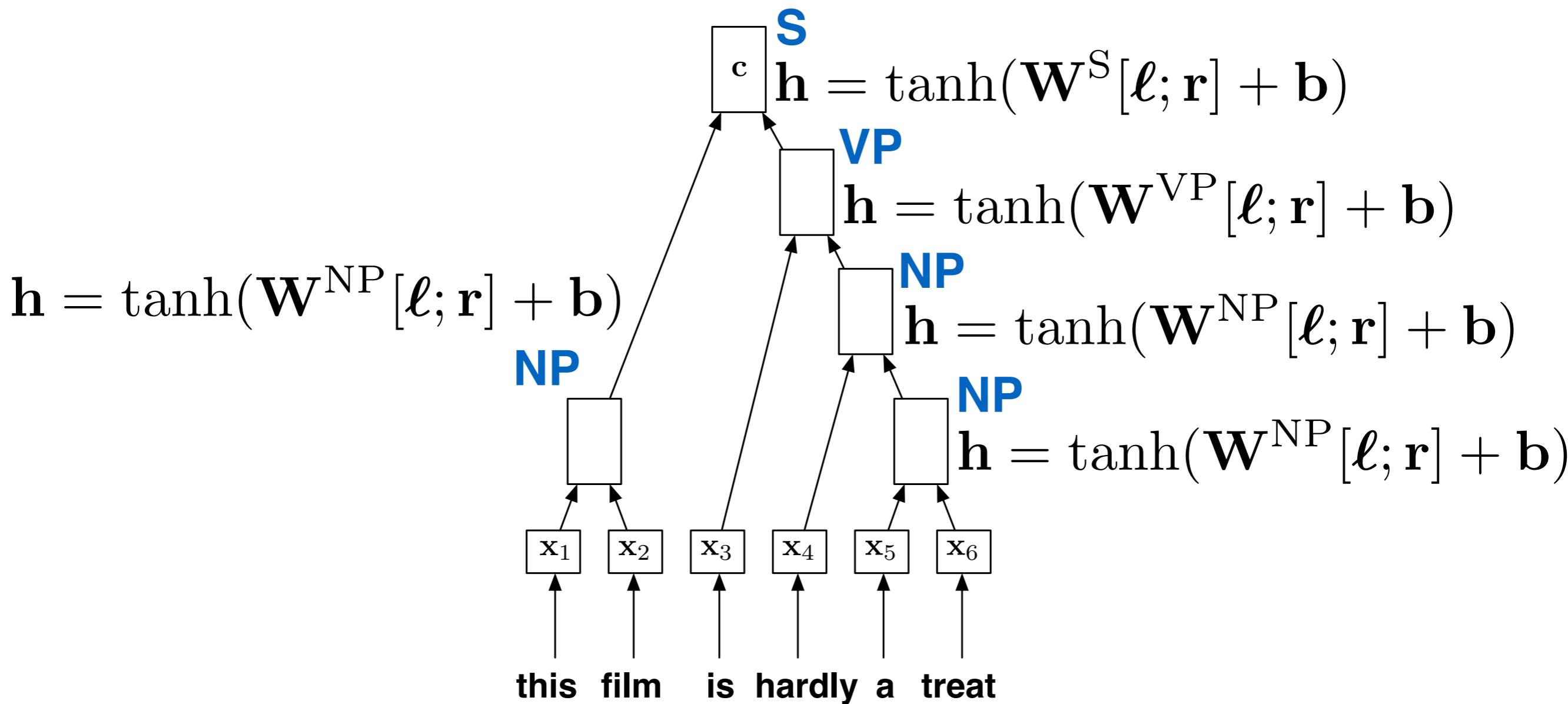
Recursive Neural Network



“Syntactic untying”

# Representing a sentence

Recursive Neural Network

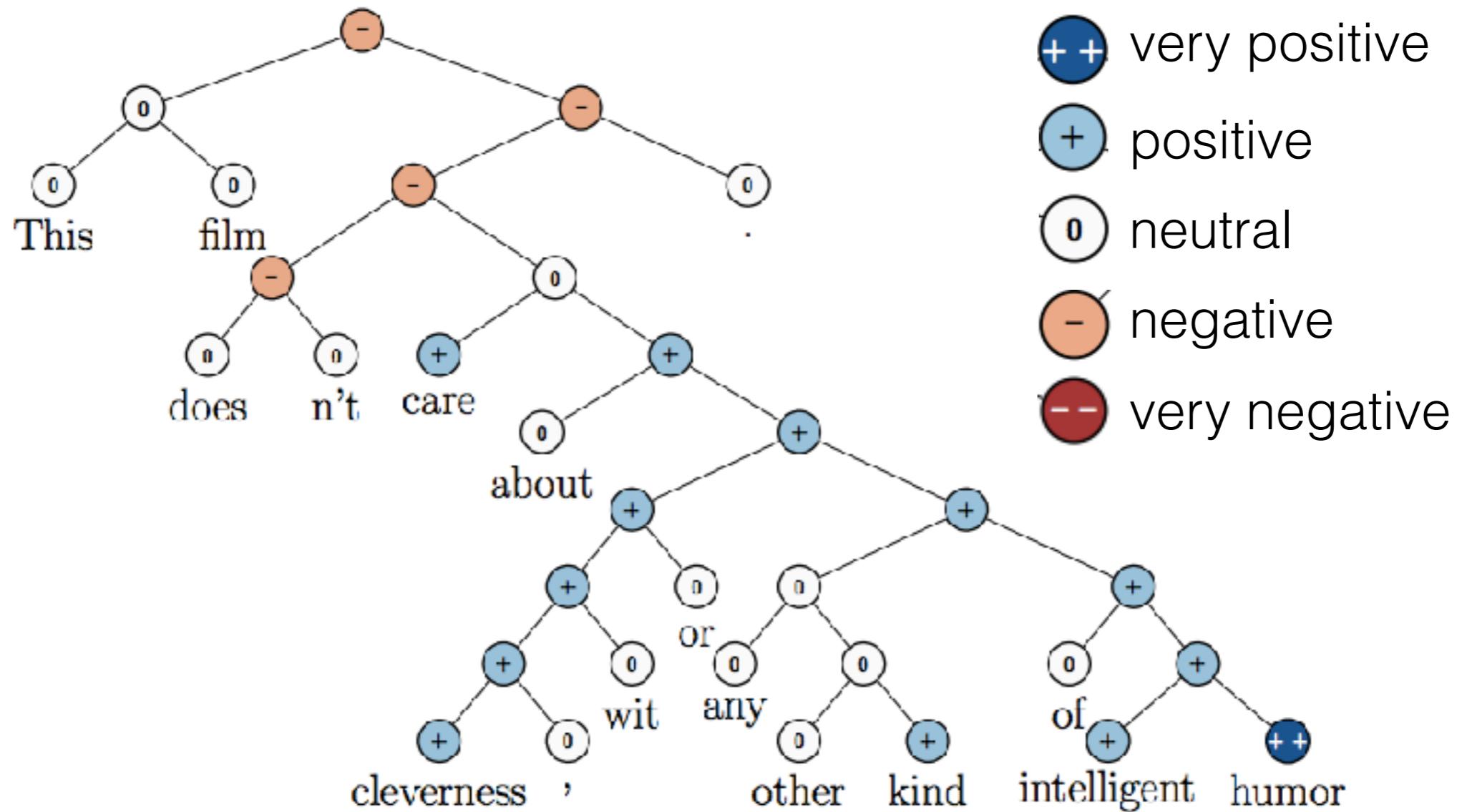


“Syntactic untying”

# Representing Sentences

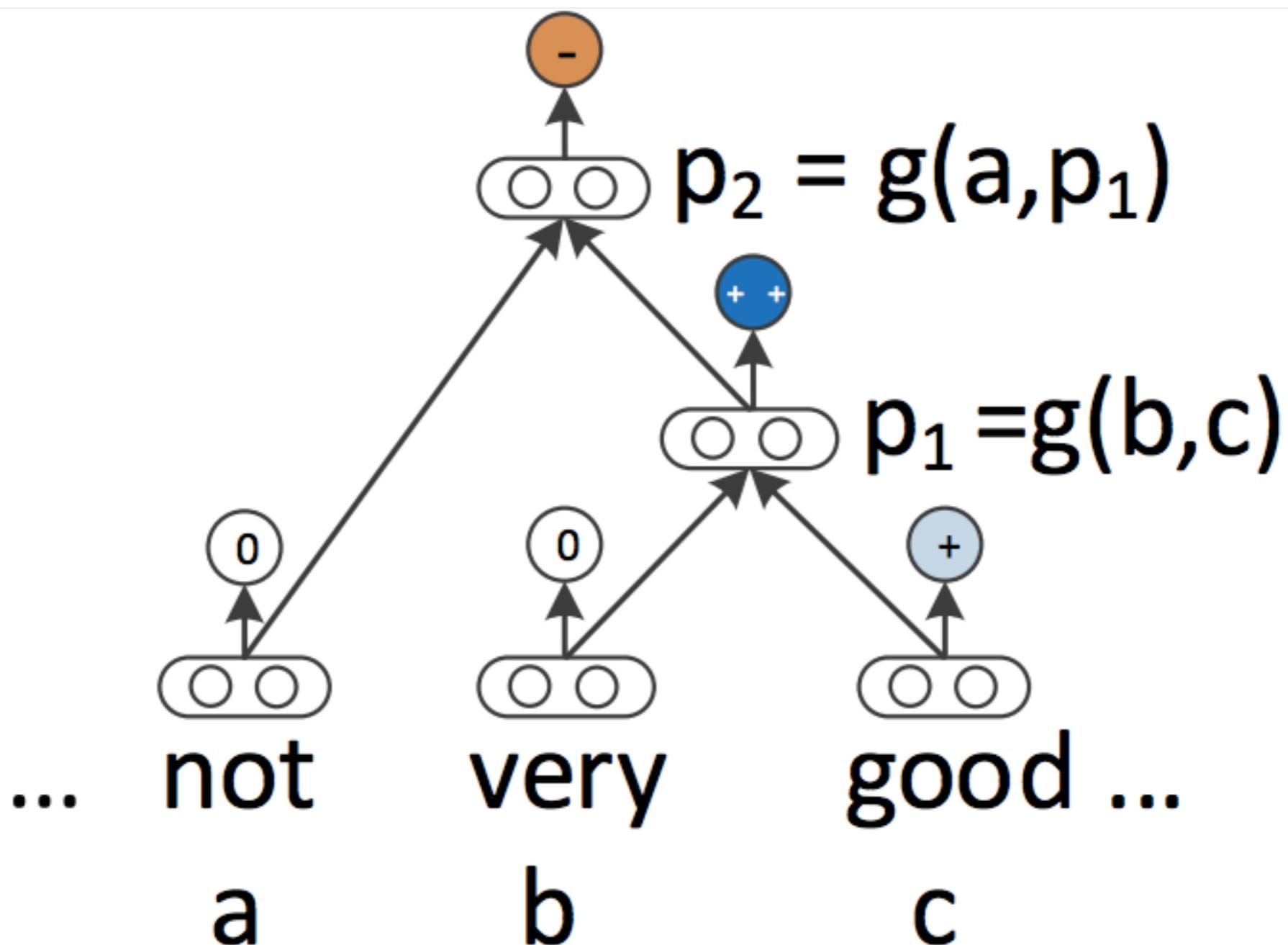
- Bag of words/n-grams
- Convolutional neural network
- Recurrent neural network
- Recursive neural network
- **In all of these, we can train by backpropagating through the “composition function”**

# Stanford Sentiment Treebank



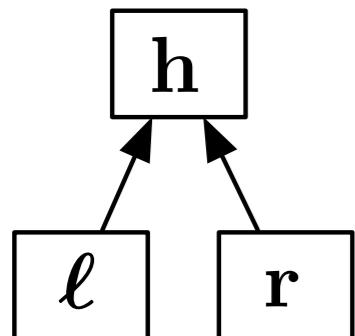
Socher et al. (2013, EMNLP)

# Internal Supervision



# Some Results

all	
Bigram Naive Bayes	83.1
RecNN (RNTN form)	<b>85.4</b>

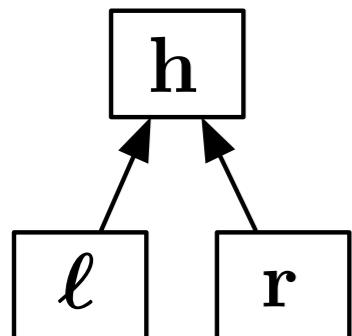


$$\mathbf{h} = \tanh (\mathbf{V} \text{vec}([\ell; \mathbf{r}] \otimes [\ell; \mathbf{r}]) + \mathbf{W}[\ell; \mathbf{r}] + \mathbf{b})$$

↑  
Outer product

# Some Results

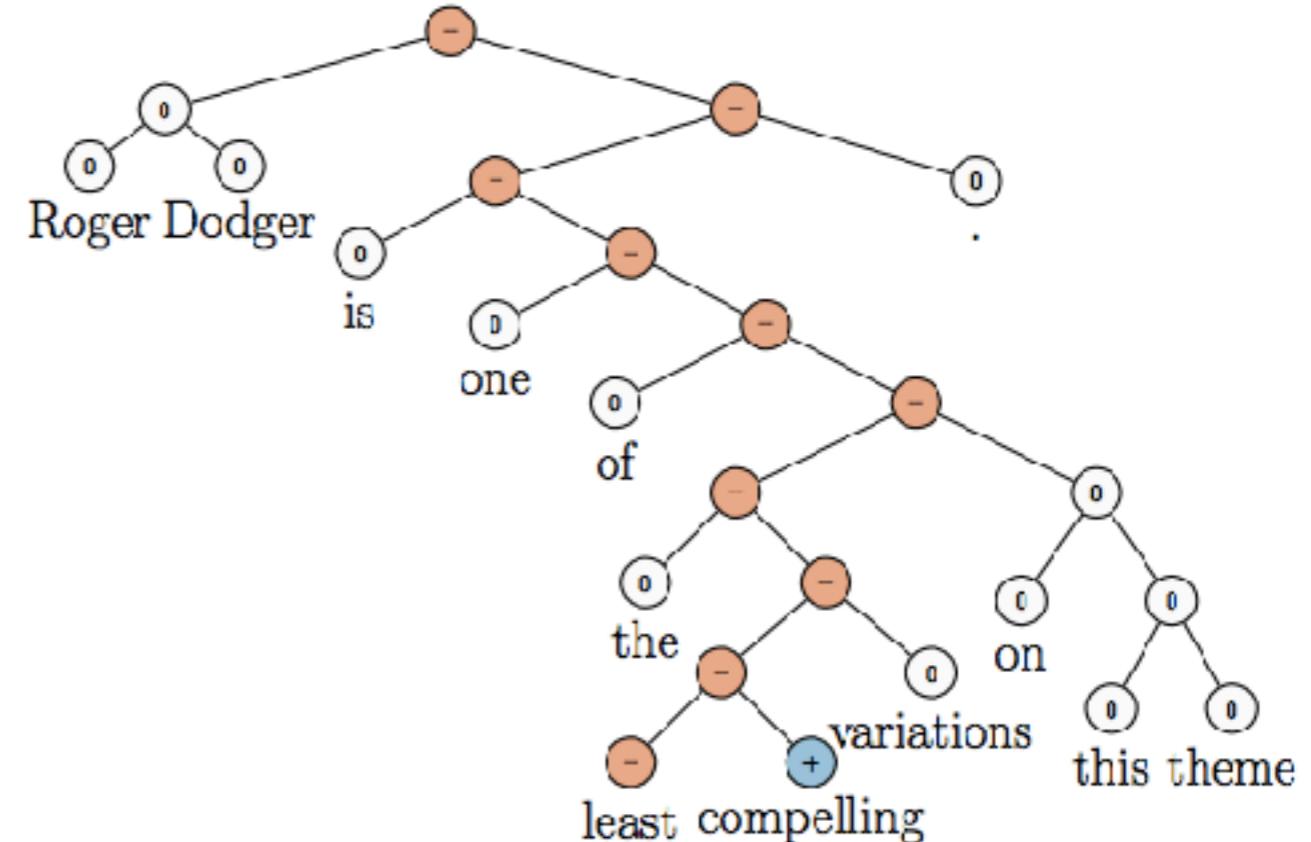
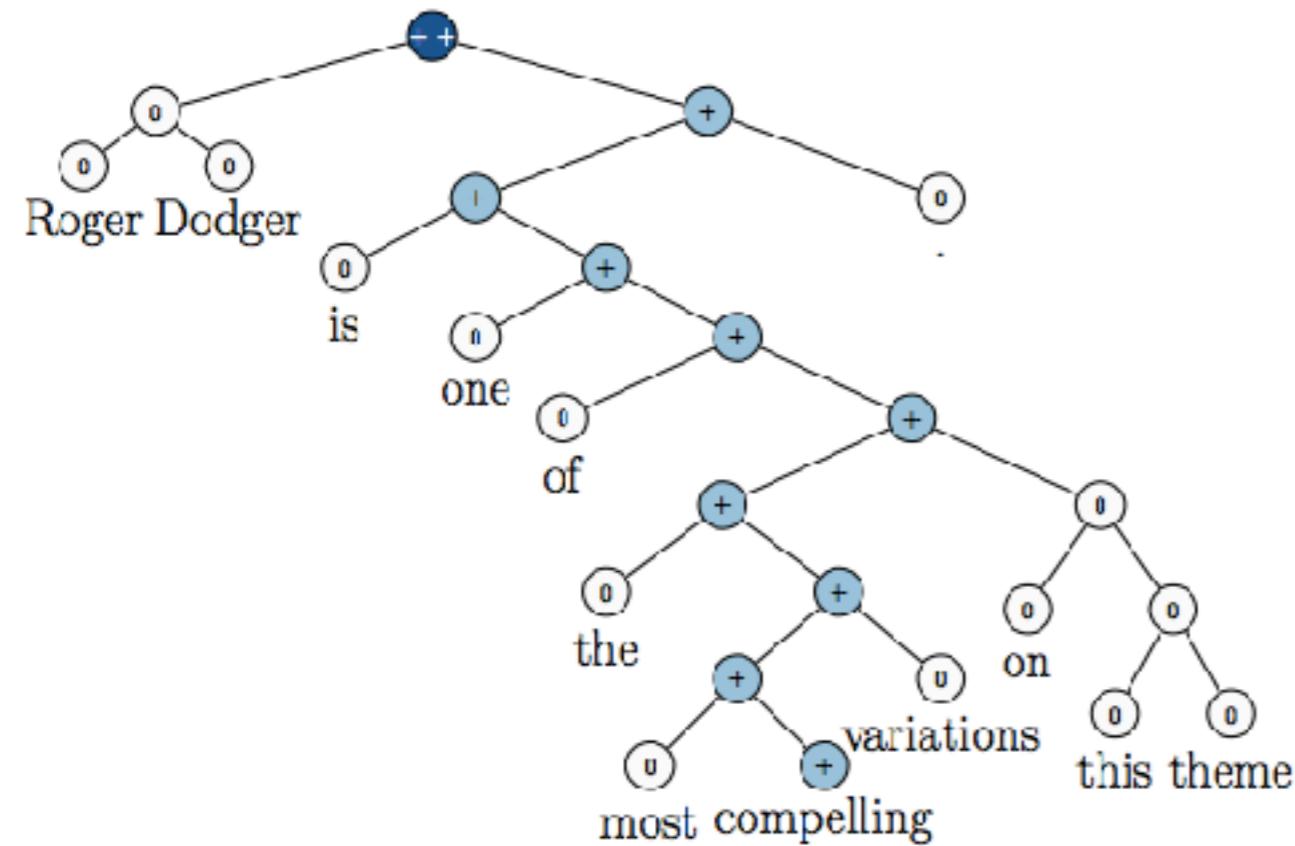
	all	“not good”	“not terrible”
Bigram Naive Bayes	83.1	19.0	27.3
RecNN (RNTN form)	<b>85.4</b>	<b>71.4</b>	<b>81.8</b>



$$h = \tanh (\mathbf{V} \text{vec}([\ell; \mathbf{r}] \otimes [\ell; \mathbf{r}]) + \mathbf{W}[\ell; \mathbf{r}] + \mathbf{b})$$

↑  
Outer product

# Some Predictions



Predictions by RNTN variant of RecNN.

# Many Extensions

- Various cell definitions, e.g., (matrix, vector) pairs, higher order tensors
- Improved gradient dynamics using tree cells defined in terms of LSTM updates with gating instead of RNN. **Exercise:** *generalize the definition of a sequential LSTM to the tree case. Check the paper.*
- $n$ -ary children
- “Inside outside” networks provide an analogue to bidirectional RNNs (lecture from a few weeks ago)
- Dependency syntax rather than “phrase structure” syntax
- Applications to programming languages, visual scene analysis—anywhere you can get trees, you can apply RecNNs

# Recursive vs. Recurrent

- **Advantages**

- Meaning decomposes roughly according to the syntax of a sentence (and we have good tools for obtaining syntax trees for sentences) — **better inductive bias**
- Shorter gradient paths on average ( $\log_2(n)$  in the best case)
- Internal supervision of the node representations (“auxiliary objectives”) is sometimes available

- **Disadvantages**

- We need parse trees
- Trees tend to be right-branching—gradients still have a long way to go!
- More difficult to batch than RNNs

# Topics

- Recursive neural networks for sentence representation
- Recurrent neural network grammars and parsing
- Word representations by looking inside words  
(words have structure too!)
- Analysis of neural networks with linguistic concepts

# Where do trees come from?



An alternative to RNN LMs

# Recurrent Neural Net **Grammars**

- Generate **symbols** sequentially using an **RNN**

# An alternative to RNN LMs

## Recurrent Neural Net **Grammars**

- Generate **symbols** sequentially using an **RNN**
- Add some **control symbols** to rewrite the history occasionally
  - Occasionally **compress** a sequence into a **constituent**
  - RNN predicts next terminal/control symbol based on the history of compressed elements and non-compressed terminals

# An alternative to RNN LMs

## Recurrent Neural Net Grammars

- Generate **symbols** sequentially using an **RNN**
- Add some **control symbols** to rewrite the history occasionally
  - Occasionally **compress** a sequence into a **constituent**
  - RNN predicts next terminal/control symbol based on the history of compressed elements and non-compressed terminals
- This is a **top-down, left-to-right generation** of a tree+sequence

# Example derivation



*The hungry cat meows loudly*

**stack****action****probability**

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$

stack	action	probability
(S	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(S) \mid \text{TOP})$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat )		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat )		
(S (NP The hungry cat)		

Compress “The hungry cat”  
into a single composite symbol

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat)		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat)	<b>NT(VP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{VP}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP } \text{The hungry cat}))$

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat)	<b>NT(VP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{VP}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP } \text{The hungry cat}))$
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP		

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat)	<b>NT(VP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{VP}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP } \text{The hungry cat}))$
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP	<b>GEN(meows)</b>	

stack	action	probability
	<b>NT(S)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{S}) \mid \text{TOP})$
(S	<b>NT(NP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{NP}) \mid (\text{S}))$
(S (NP	<b>GEN(The)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{The}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}))$
(S (NP The	<b>GEN(hungry)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{hungry}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP}, \text{The}))$
(S (NP The hungry	<b>GEN(cat)</b>	$p(\text{GEN}(\text{cat}) \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat	<b>REDUCE</b>	$p(\text{REDUCE} \mid \dots)$
(S (NP The hungry cat)	<b>NT(VP)</b>	$p(\text{NT}(\text{VP}) \mid (\text{S}, (\text{NP } \text{The hungry cat}))$
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP	<b>GEN(meows)</b>	
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP meows	<b>REDUCE</b>	
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP meows)	<b>GEN(.)</b>	
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP meows) .	<b>REDUCE</b>	
(S (NP The hungry cat) (VP meows) .)		

# Some things you can (easily) prove

- Valid (tree, string) pairs are in bijection to valid sequences of actions (specifically, the DFS, left-to-right traversal of the trees)
- Every stack configuration perfectly encodes the complete history of actions.
- Therefore, the probability decomposition is justified by the chain rule, i.e.

$$p(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y}) = p(actions(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})) \quad (\text{prop 1})$$

$$p(actions(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})) = \prod_i p(a_i \mid \mathbf{a}_{<i}) \quad (\text{chain rule})$$

$$= \prod_i p(a_i \mid stack(\mathbf{a}_{<i})) \quad (\text{prop 2})$$

# Modeling the next action

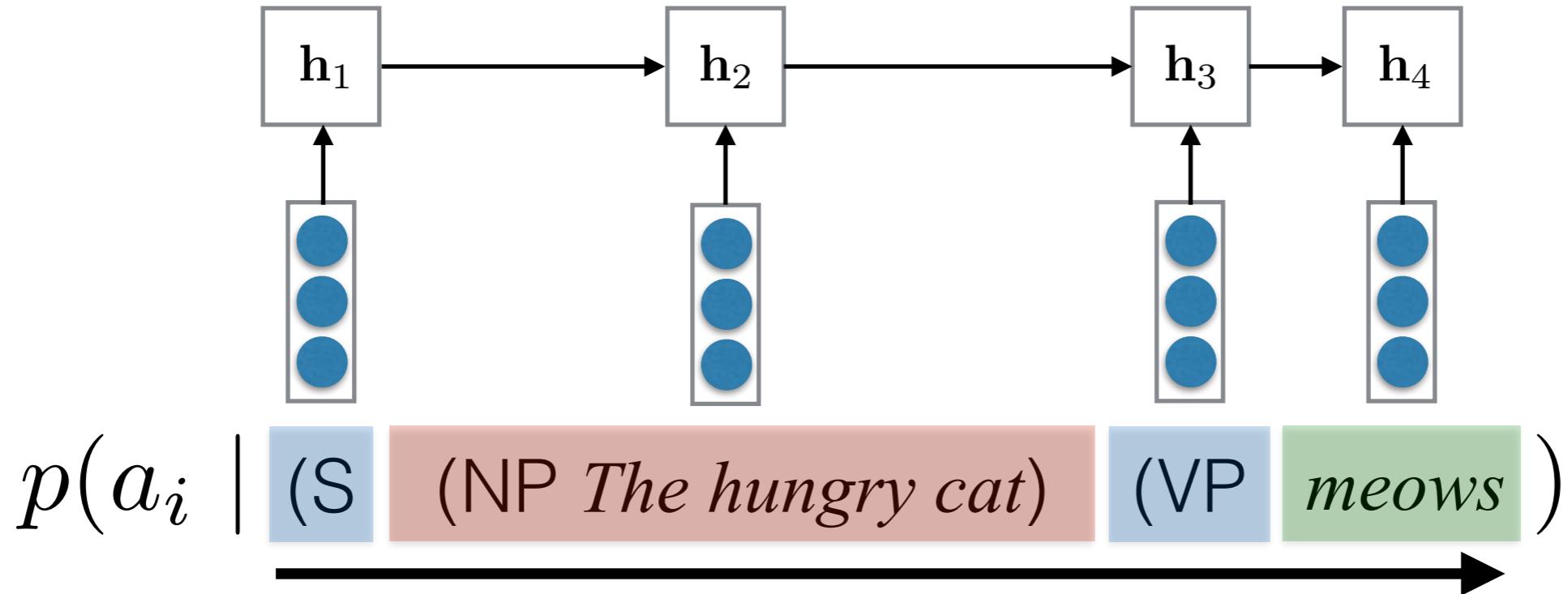
$$p(a_i \mid (\text{S} \quad (\text{NP } \textit{The hungry cat}) \quad (\text{VP } \textit{meows} \quad ))$$

# Modeling the next action

$$p(a_i \mid (\text{S} \quad (\text{NP } \textit{The hungry cat}) \quad (\text{VP } \textit{meows} \quad ))$$


**1. unbounded depth**

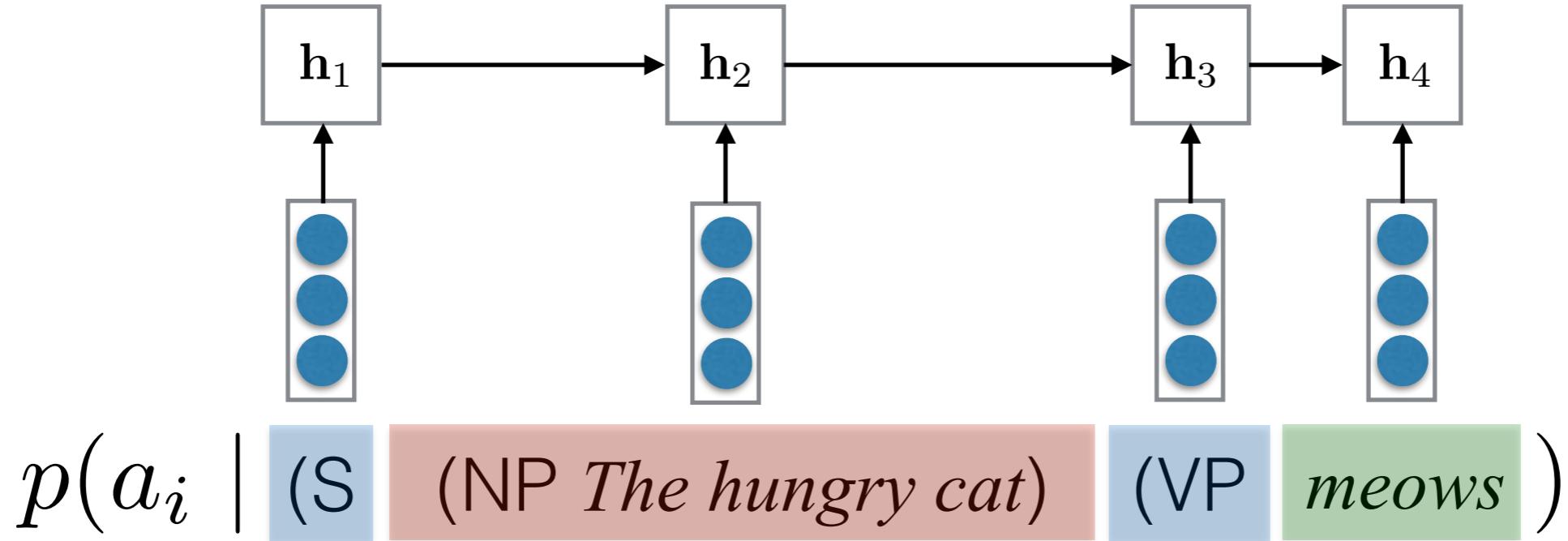
# Modeling the next action



## 1. unbounded depth

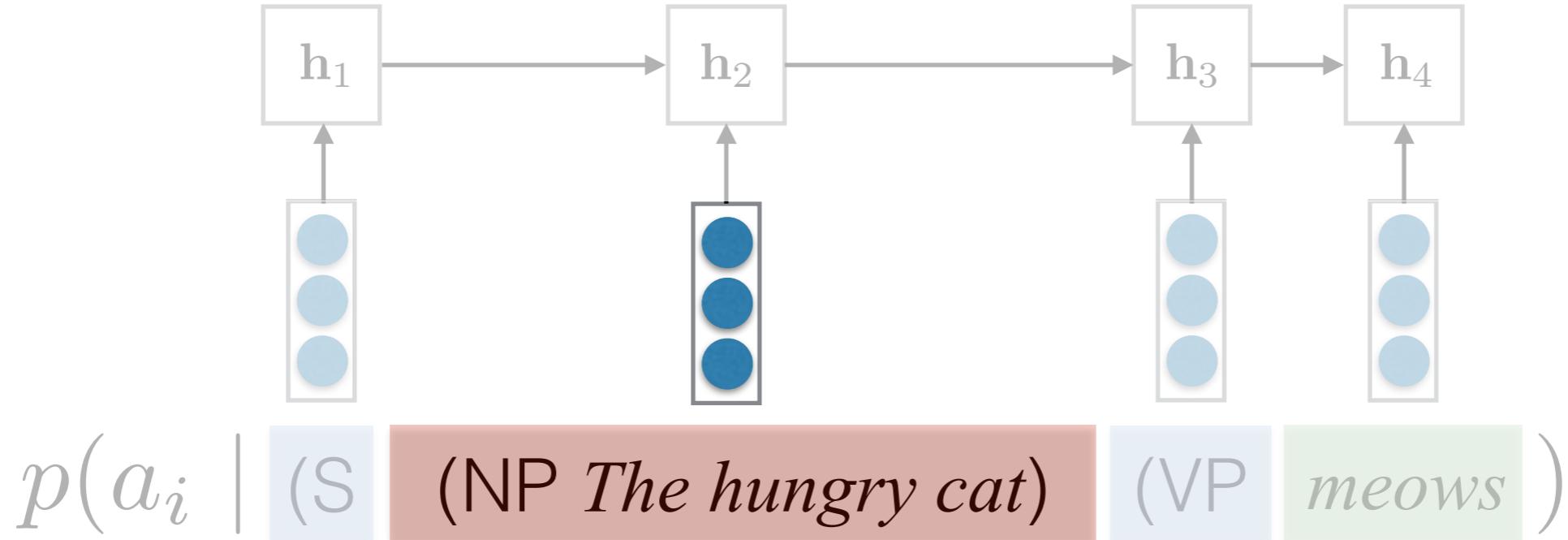
1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets

# Modeling the next action



1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets

# Modeling the next action



## 2. arbitrarily complex trees

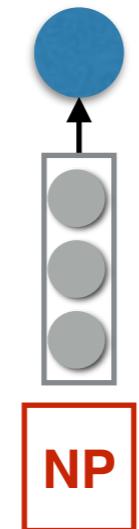
1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets
2. Arbitrarily complex trees → recursive neural nets

# Syntactic composition

Need representation for: (NP *The hungry cat*)

# Syntactic composition

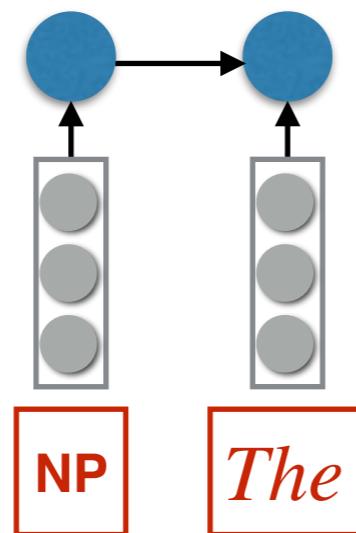
Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



What head type? ↗

# Syntactic composition

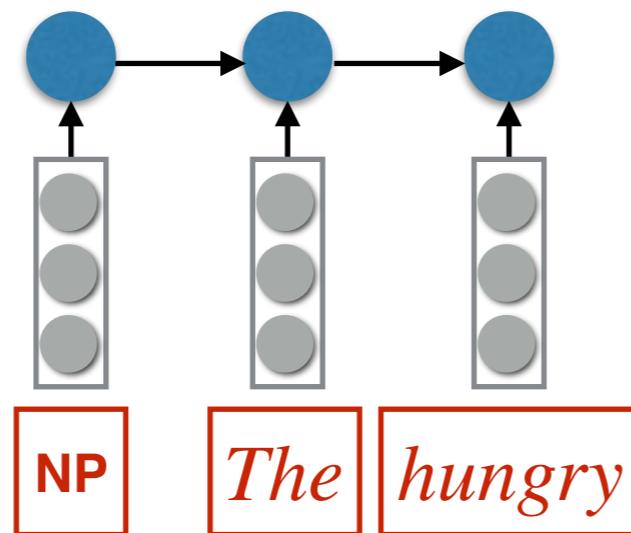
Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



What head type? ↗

# Syntactic composition

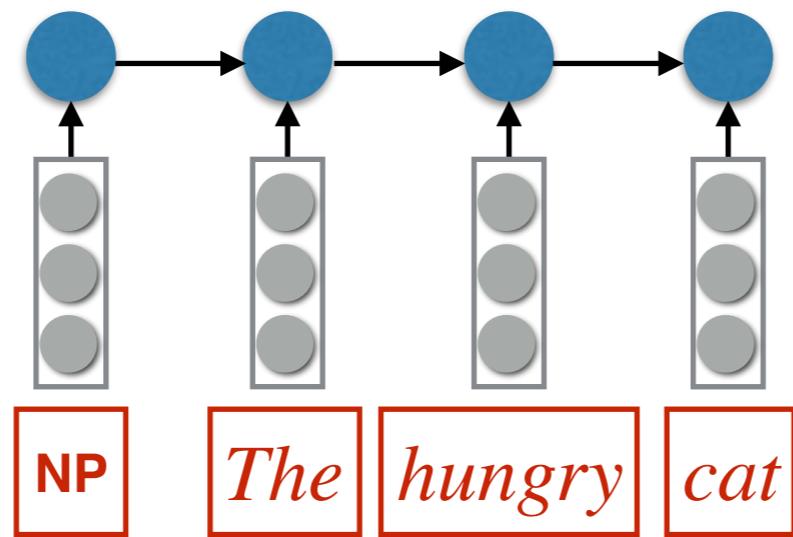
Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



What head type? ↗

# Syntactic composition

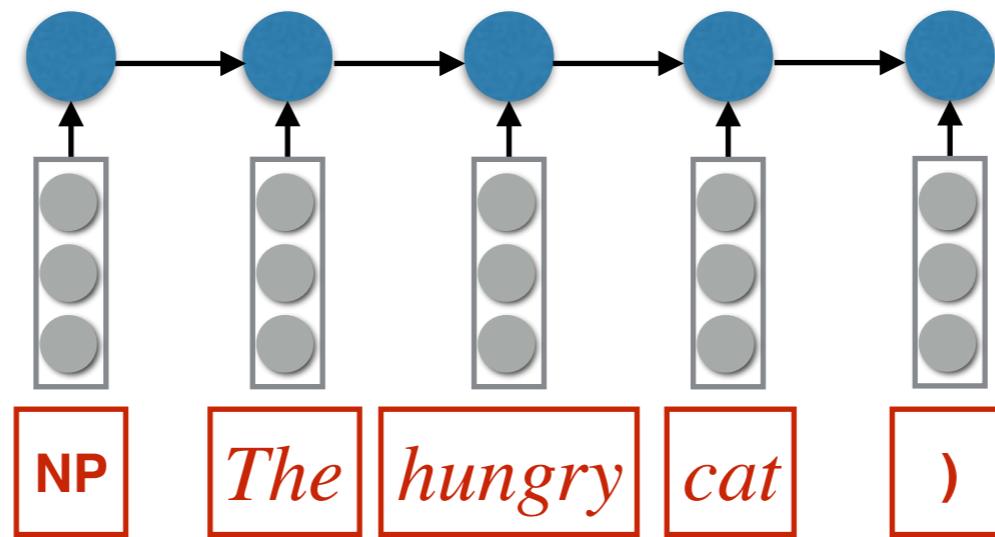
Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



What head type? ↗

# Syntactic composition

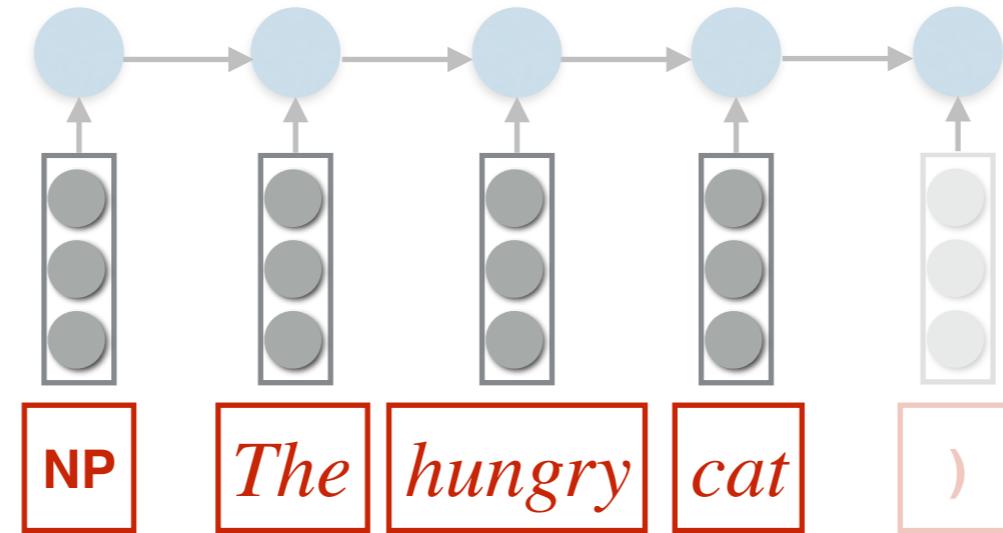
Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



What head type? ↗

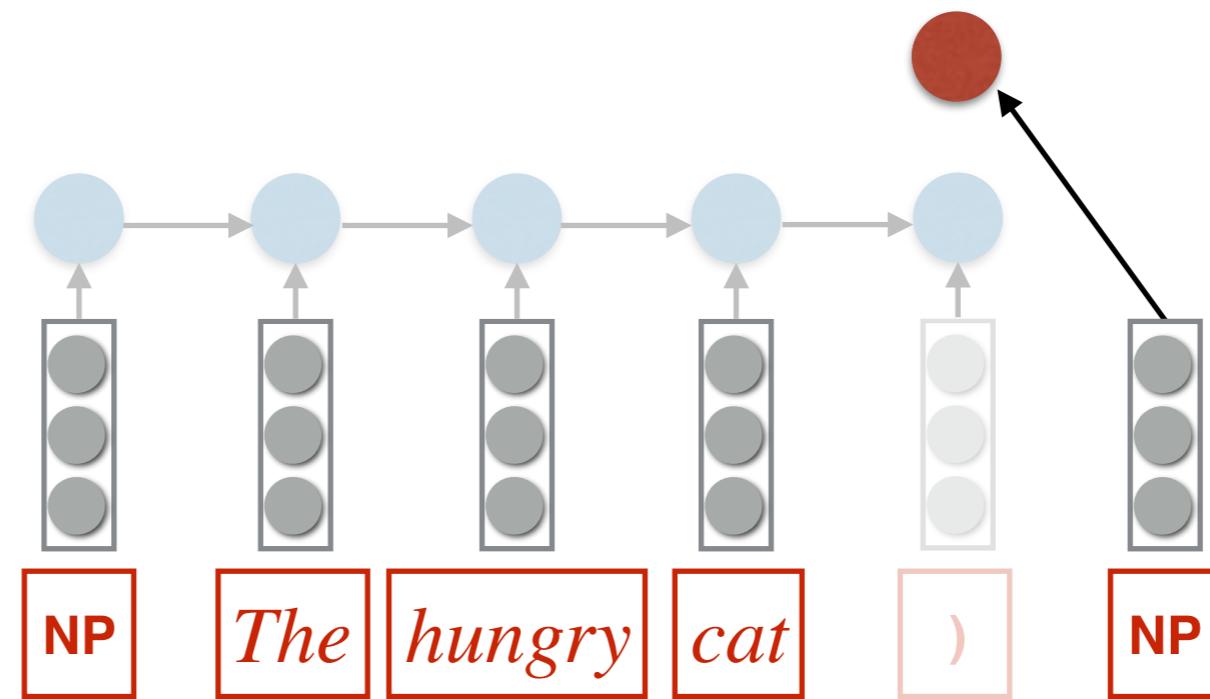
# Syntactic composition

Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



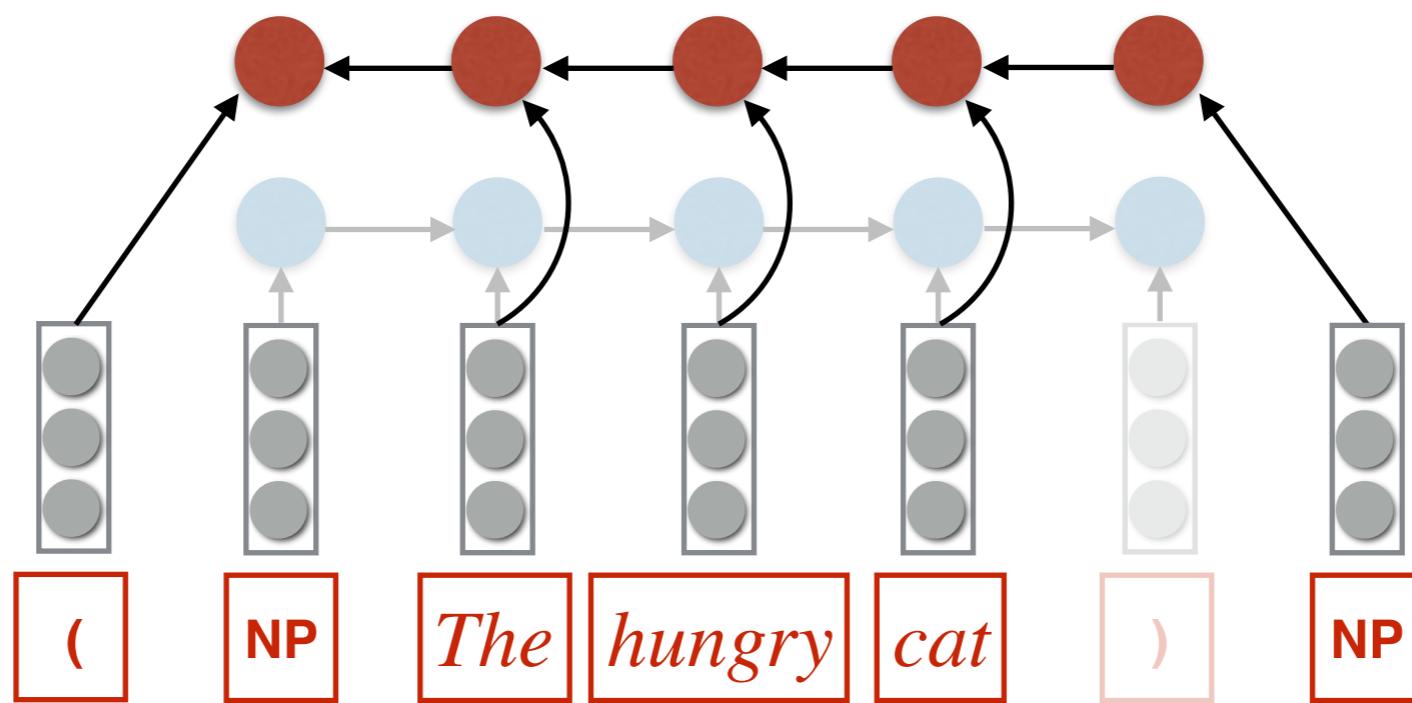
# Syntactic composition

Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



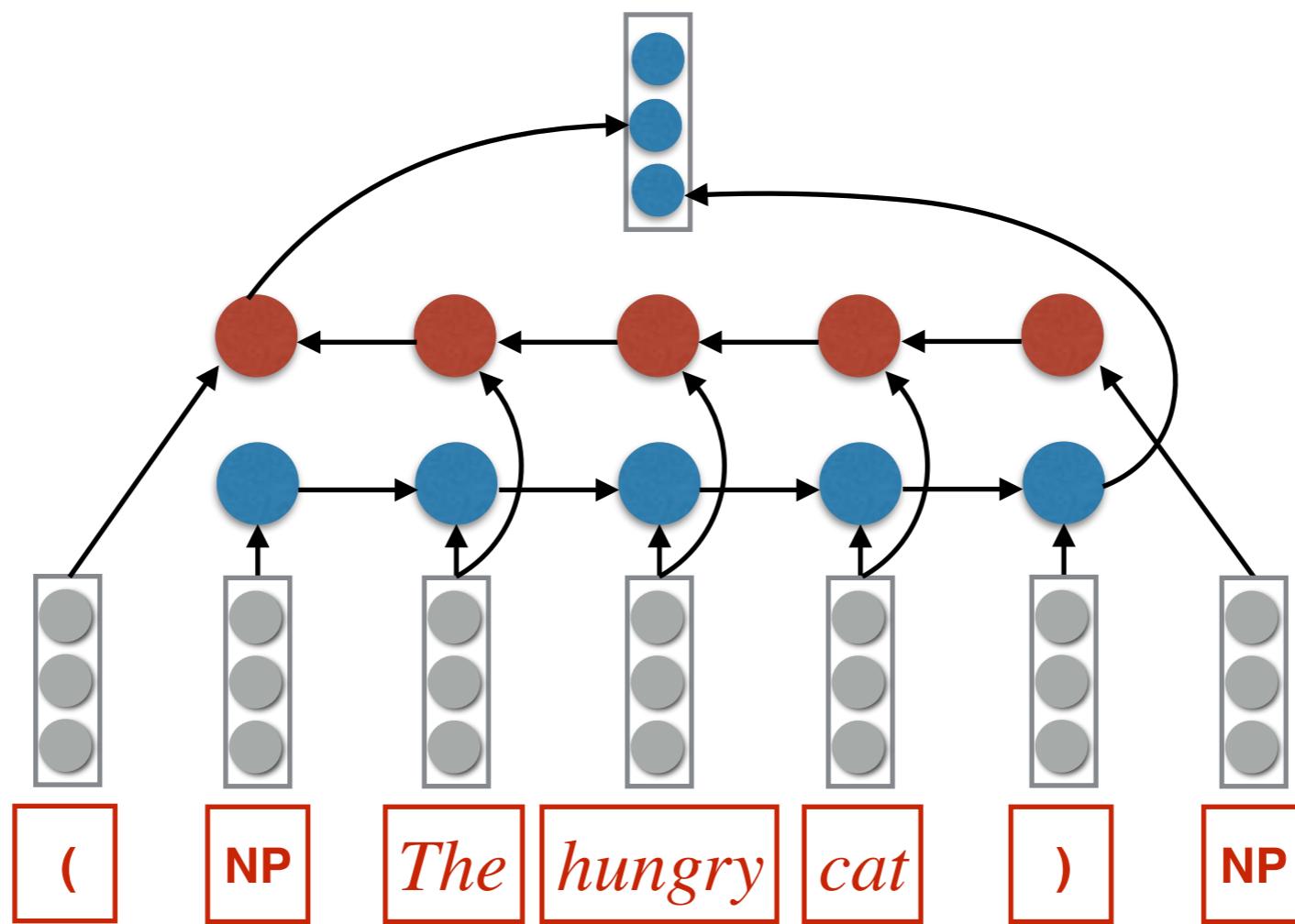
# Syntactic composition

Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**



# Syntactic composition

Need representation for: **(NP *The hungry cat*)**

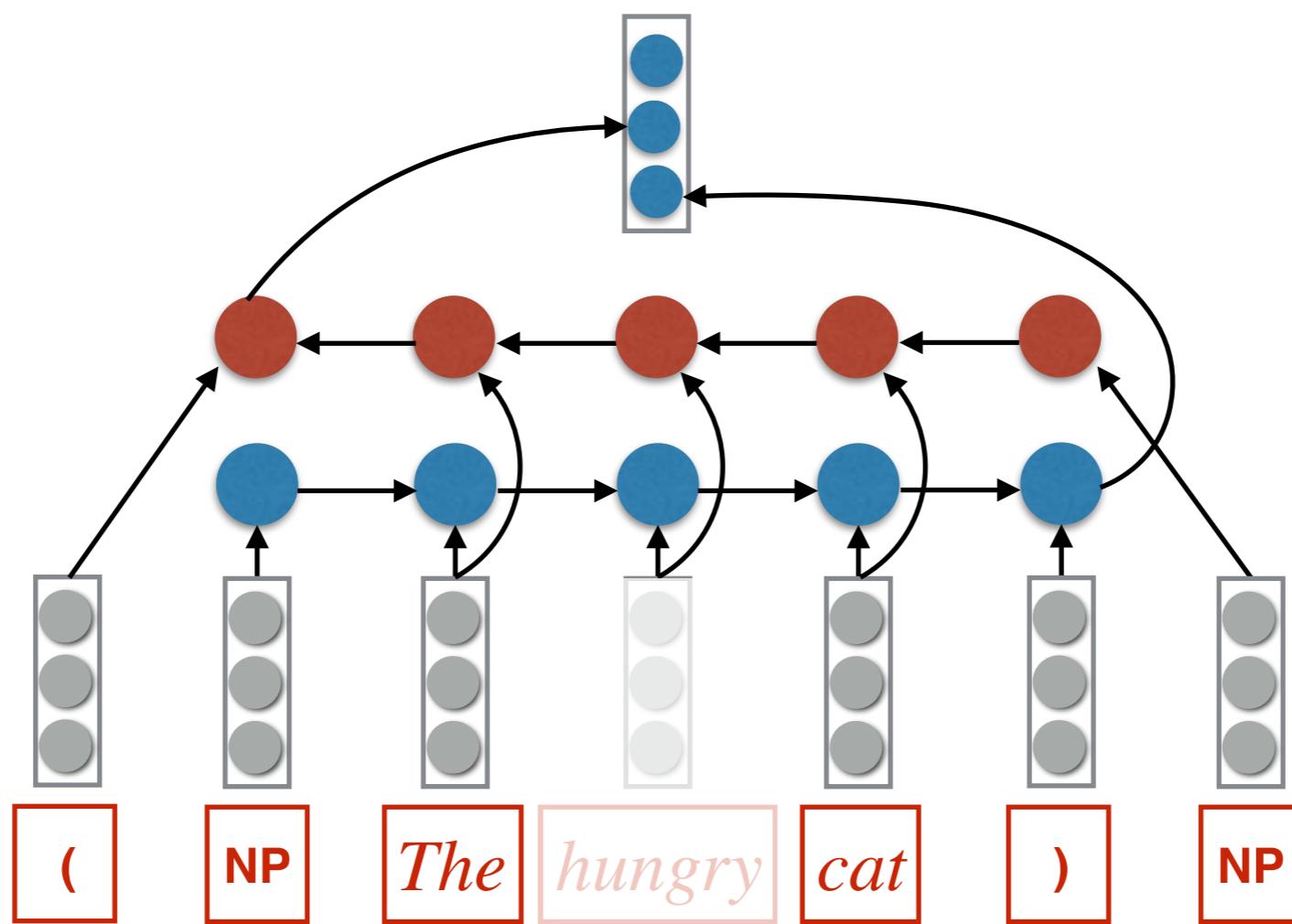


# Syntactic composition Recursion

Need representation for:

(NP *The hungry cat*)

(NP *The (ADJP very hungry) cat*)

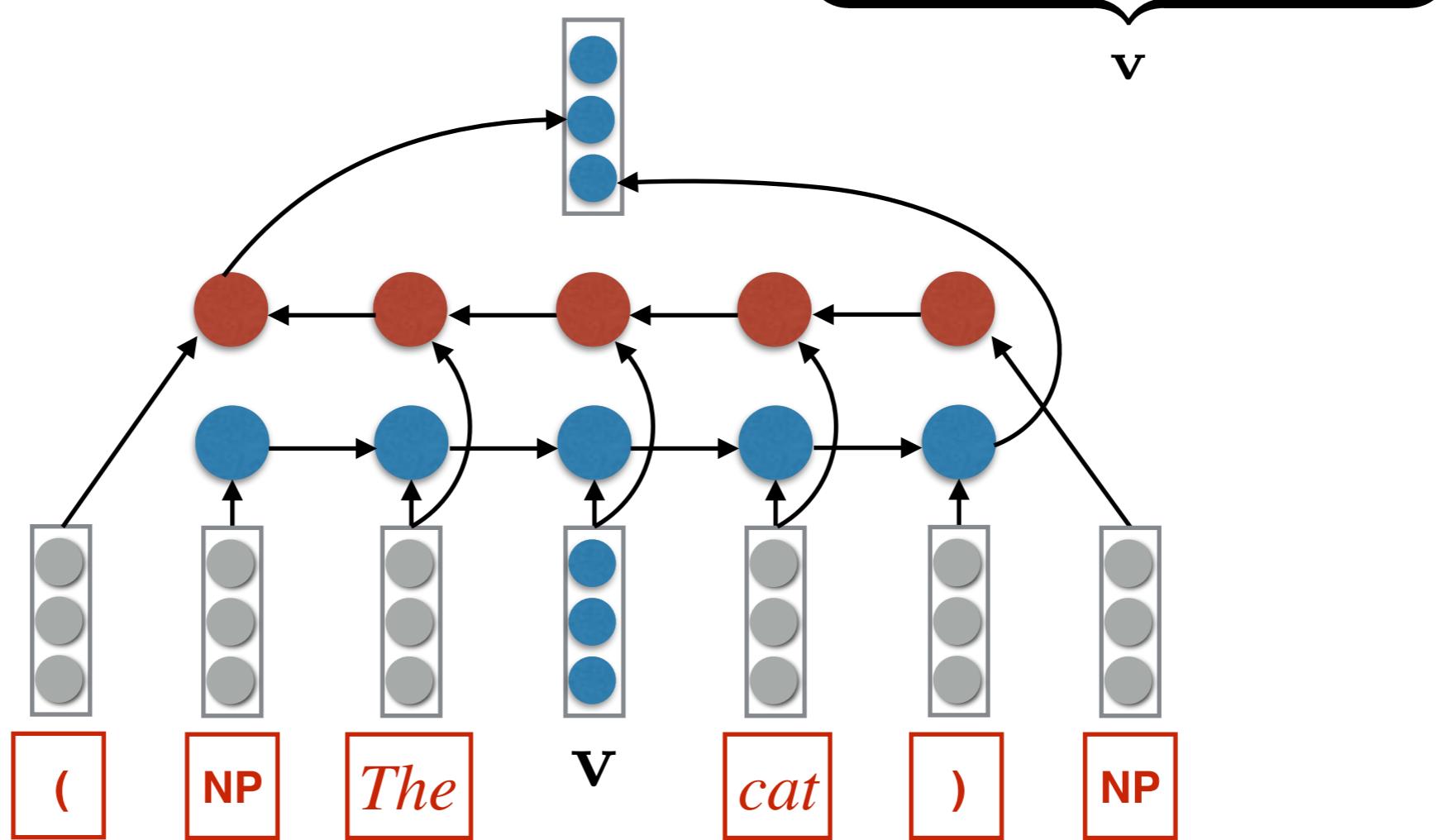


# Syntactic composition Recursion

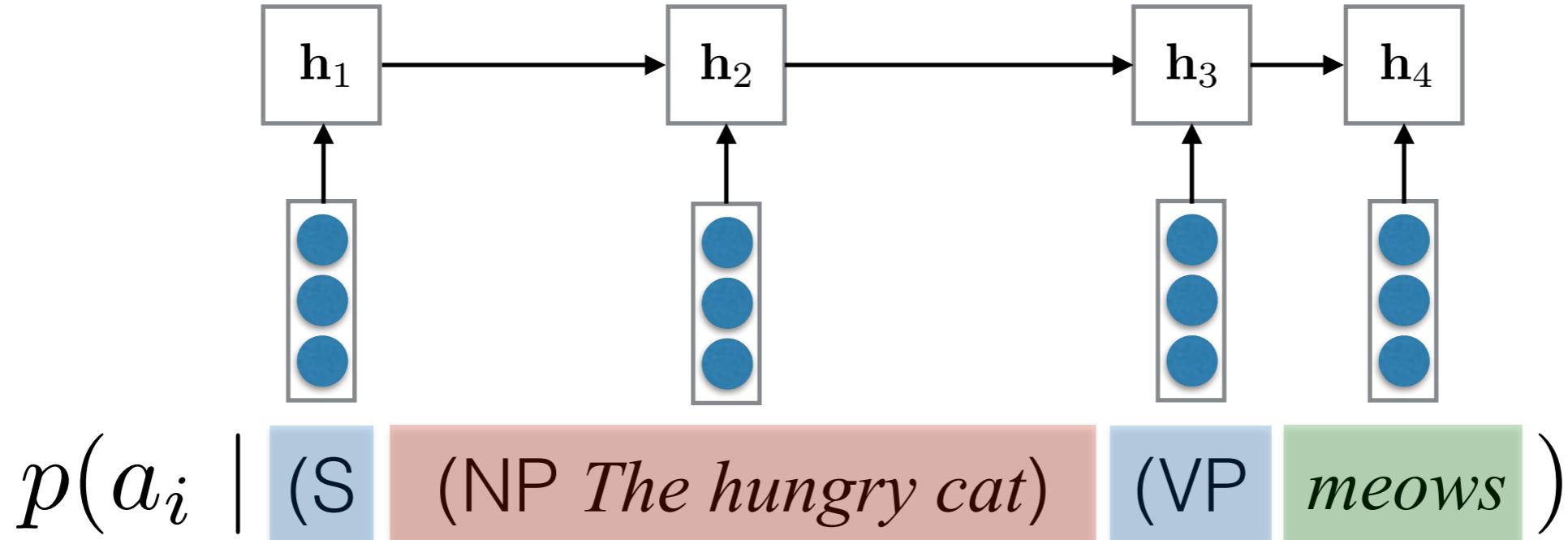
Need representation for:

(NP *The hungry cat*)

(NP *The* (ADJP *very hungry*) *cat*)

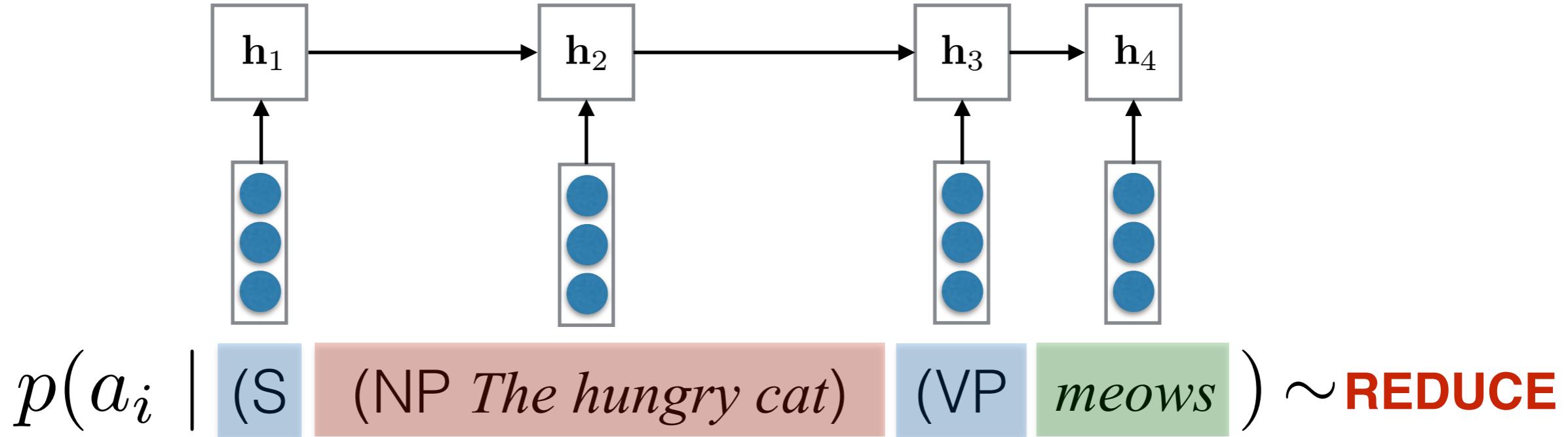


# Modeling the next action



1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets
2. Arbitrarily complex trees → recursive neural nets

# Modeling the next action



1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets
2. Arbitrarily complex trees → recursive neural nets

# Modeling the next action

$$p(a_i \mid (\text{S} \quad (\text{NP } \textit{The hungry cat}) \quad (\text{VP } \textit{meows} \quad ) \sim \textbf{REDUCE}$$
$$p(a_{i+1} \mid (\text{S} \quad (\text{NP } \textit{The hungry cat}) \quad (\text{VP } \textit{meows} \quad ))$$

1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets
2. Arbitrarily complex trees → recursive neural nets

# Modeling the next action

$$p(a_i \mid (\text{S} \quad (\text{NP } \textit{The hungry cat}) \quad (\text{VP } \textit{meows}))) \sim \text{REDUCE}$$
$$p(a_{i+1} \mid (\text{S} \quad (\text{NP } \textit{The hungry cat}) \quad (\text{VP } \textit{meows})))$$

## 3. limited updates

1. Unbounded depth → recurrent neural nets
2. Arbitrarily complex trees → recursive neural nets
3. Limited updates to state → stack RNNs

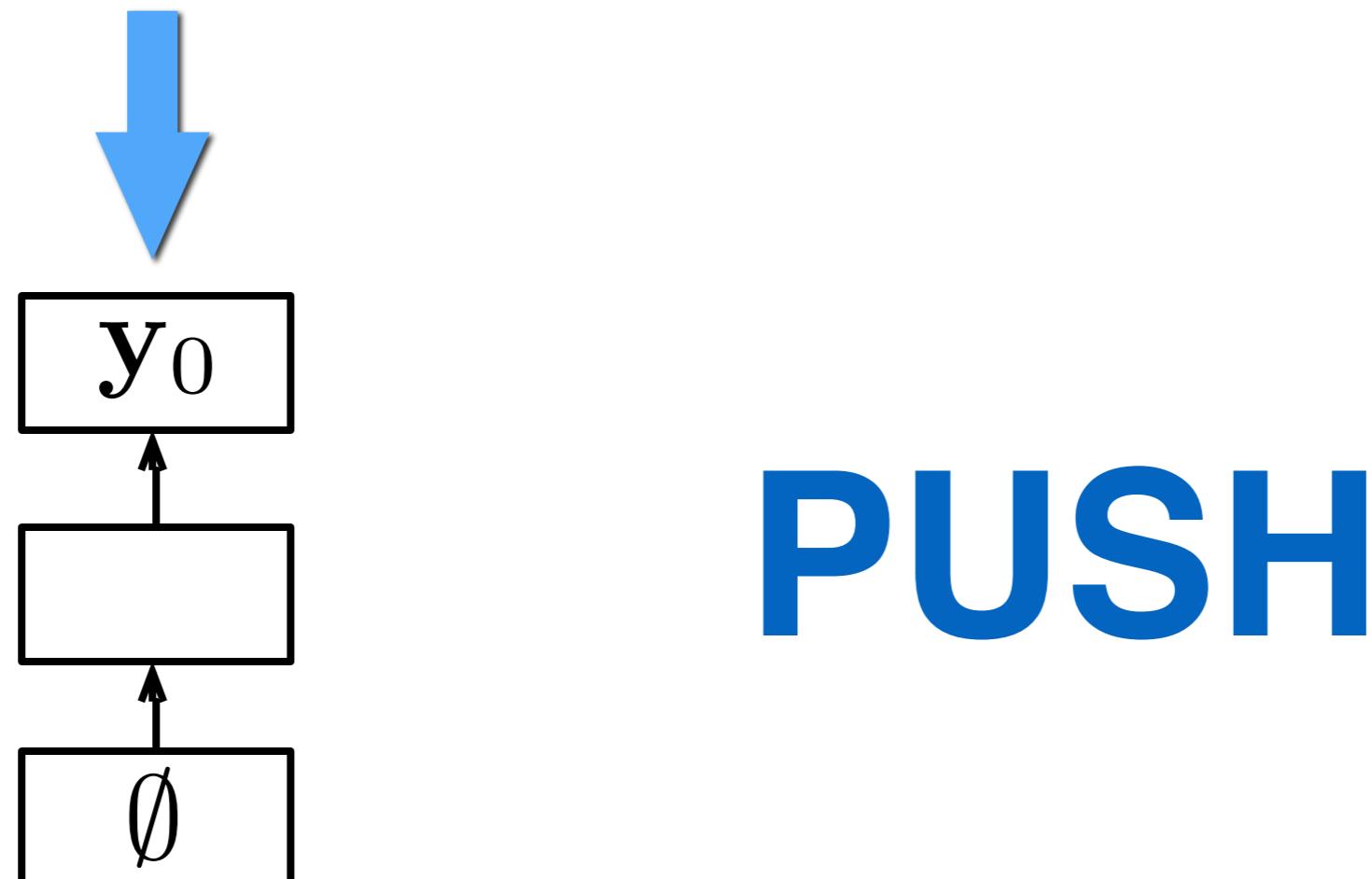
# Stack RNNs

## Operation

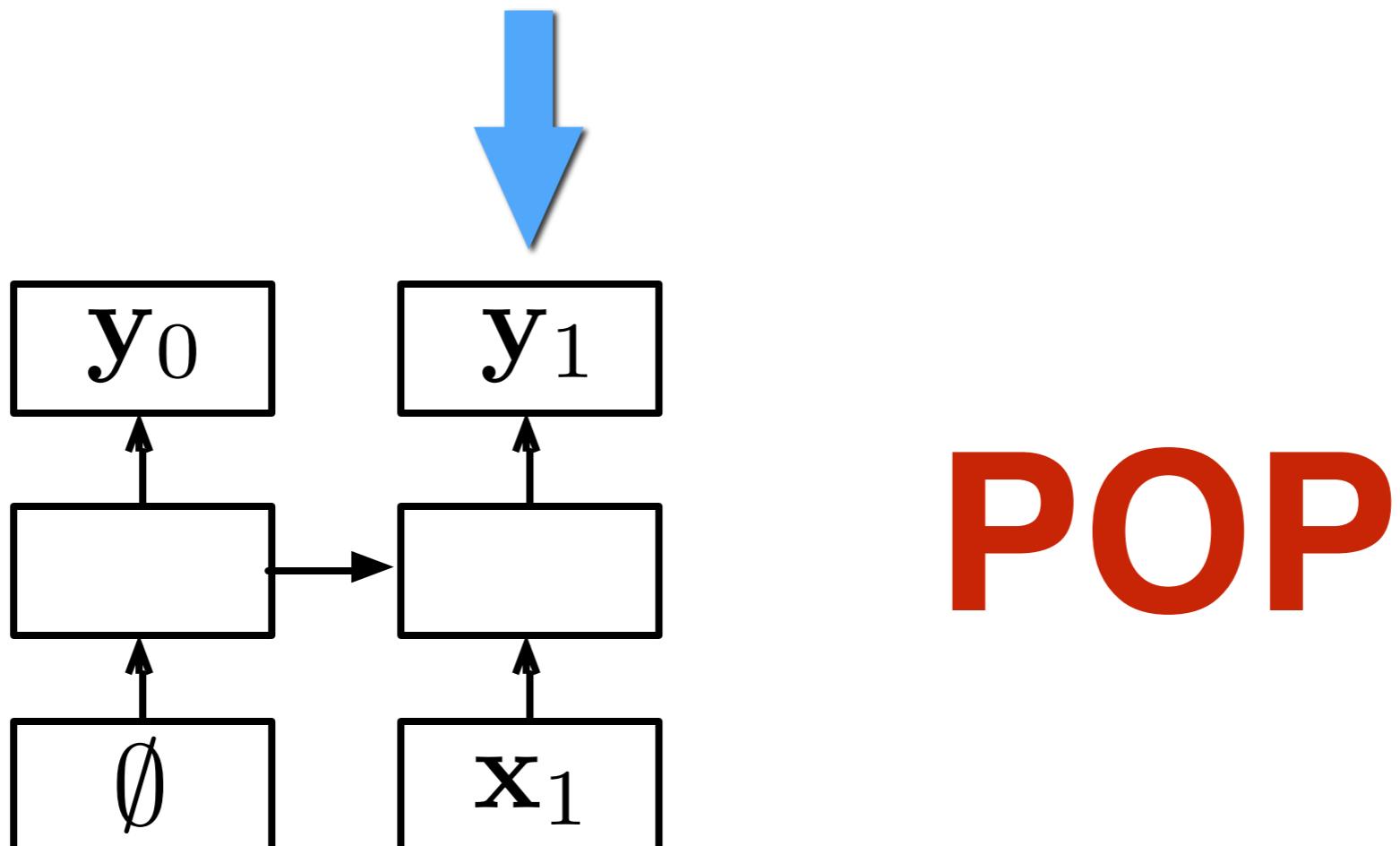
- Augment RNN with a **stack pointer**
- Two constant-time operations
  - **Push** - read input, add to top of stack
  - **Pop** - move stack pointer back
- A **summary** of stack contents is obtained by accessing the output of the RNN at location of the stack pointer

# Stack RNNs

## Operation

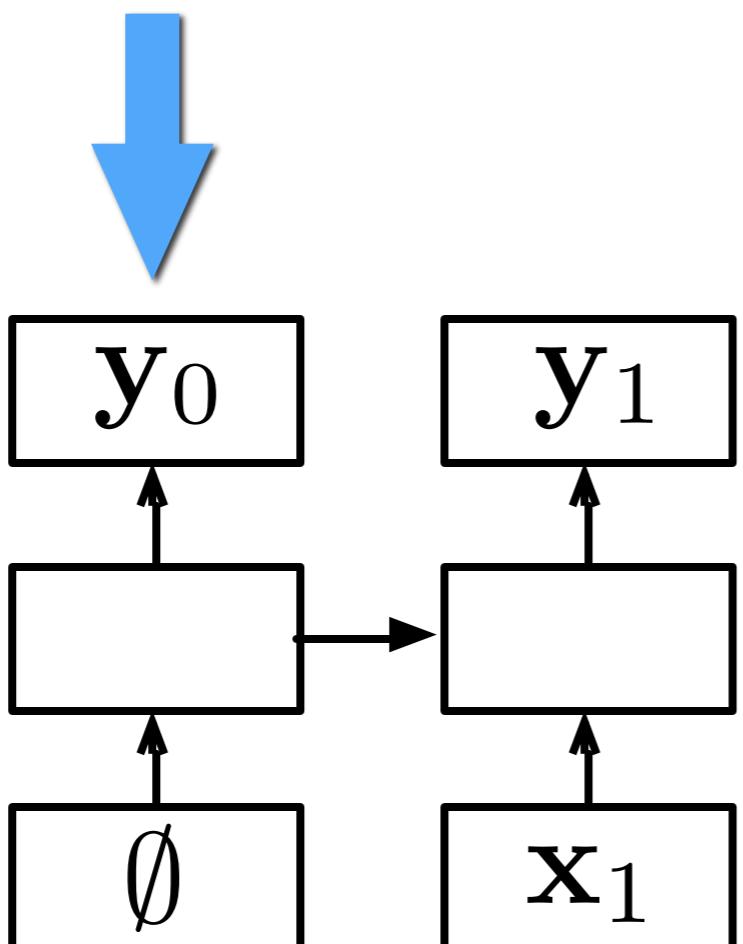


# Stack RNNs Operation



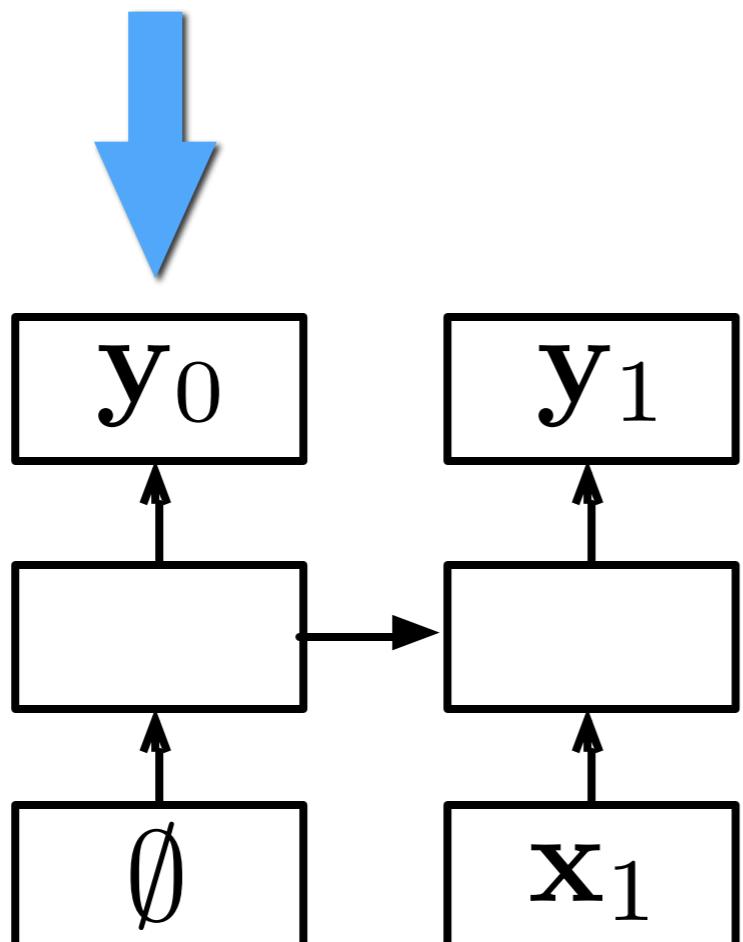
# Stack RNNs

## Operation



# Stack RNNs

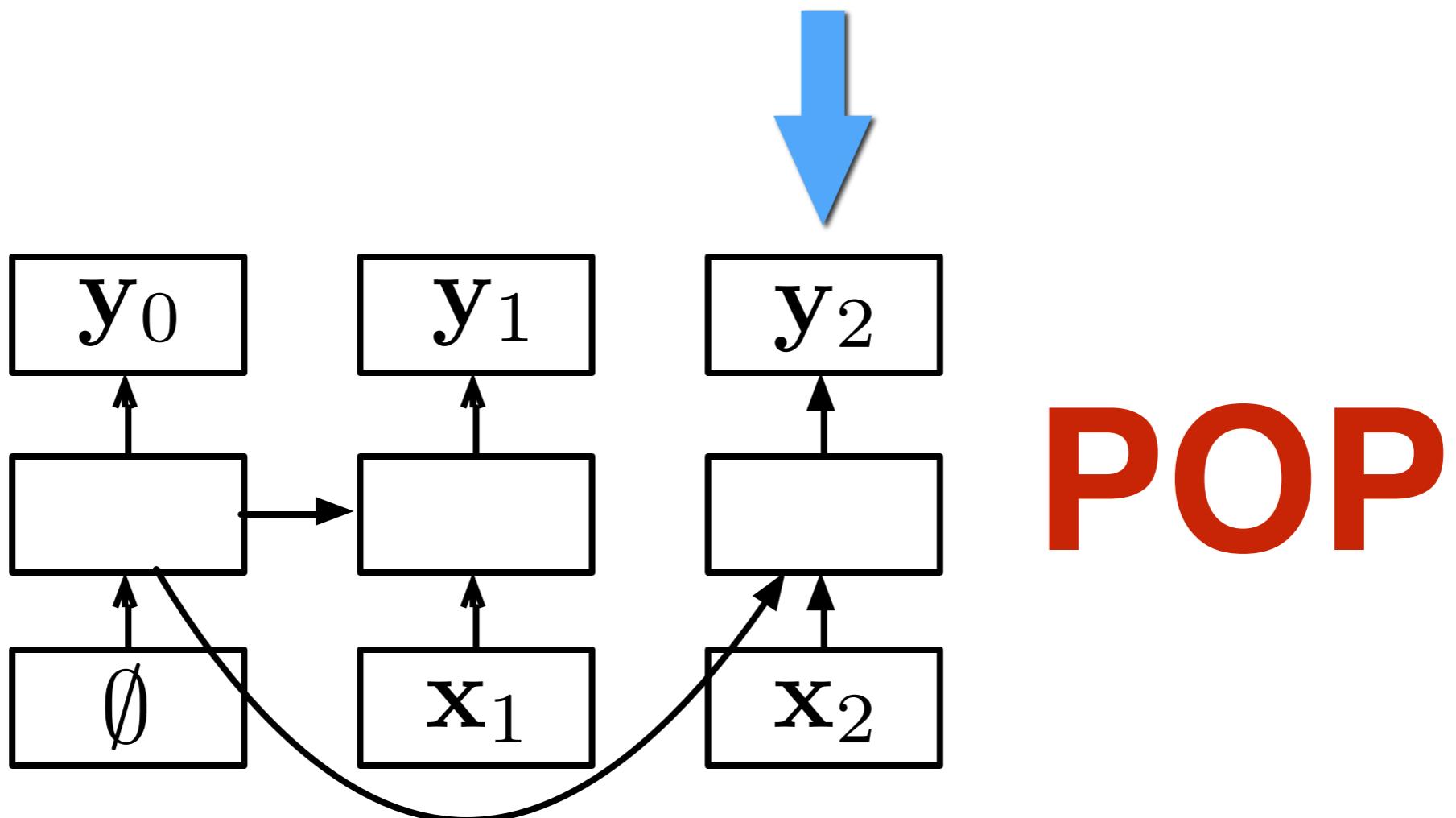
## Operation



**PUSH**

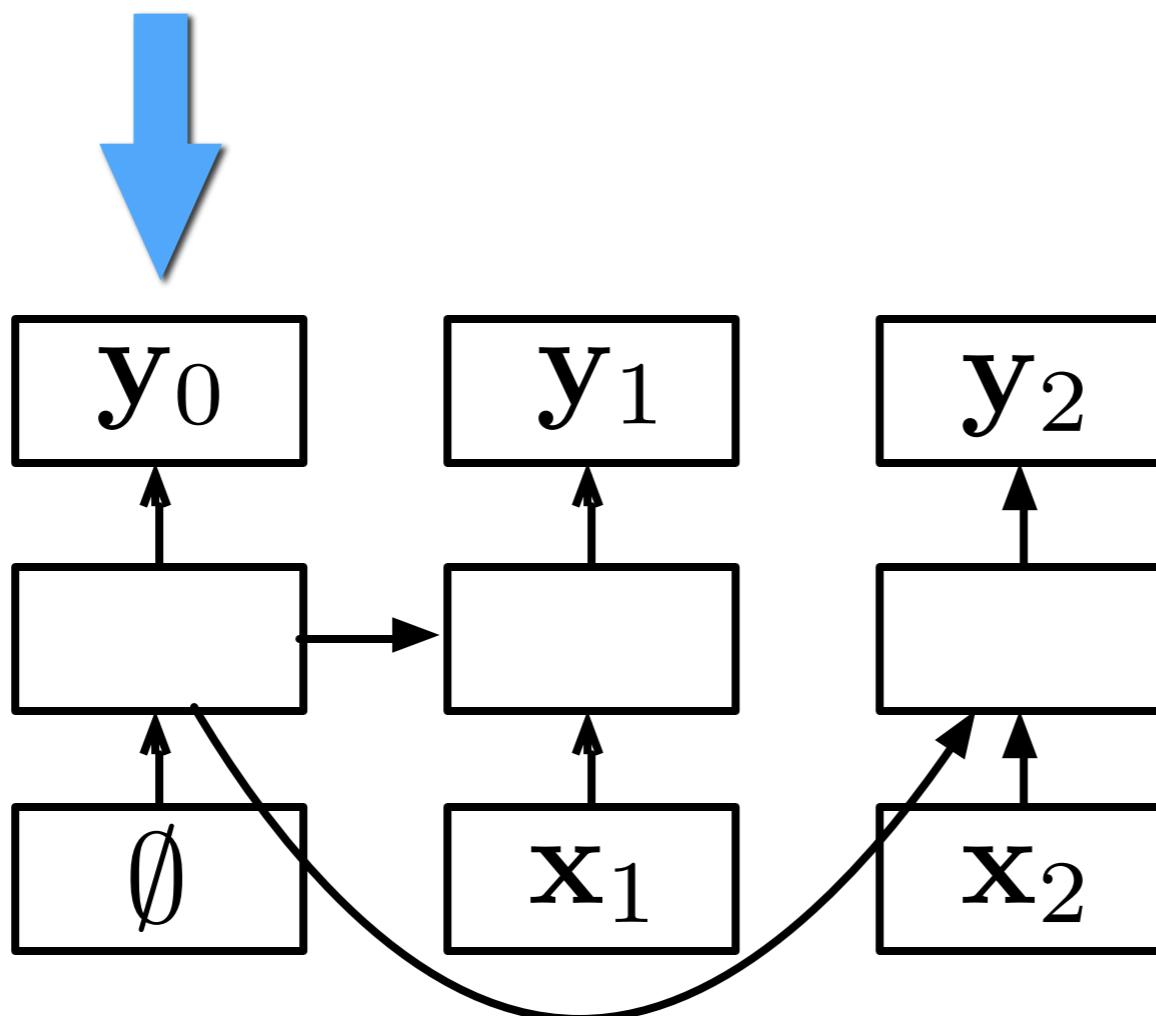
# Stack RNNs

## Operation

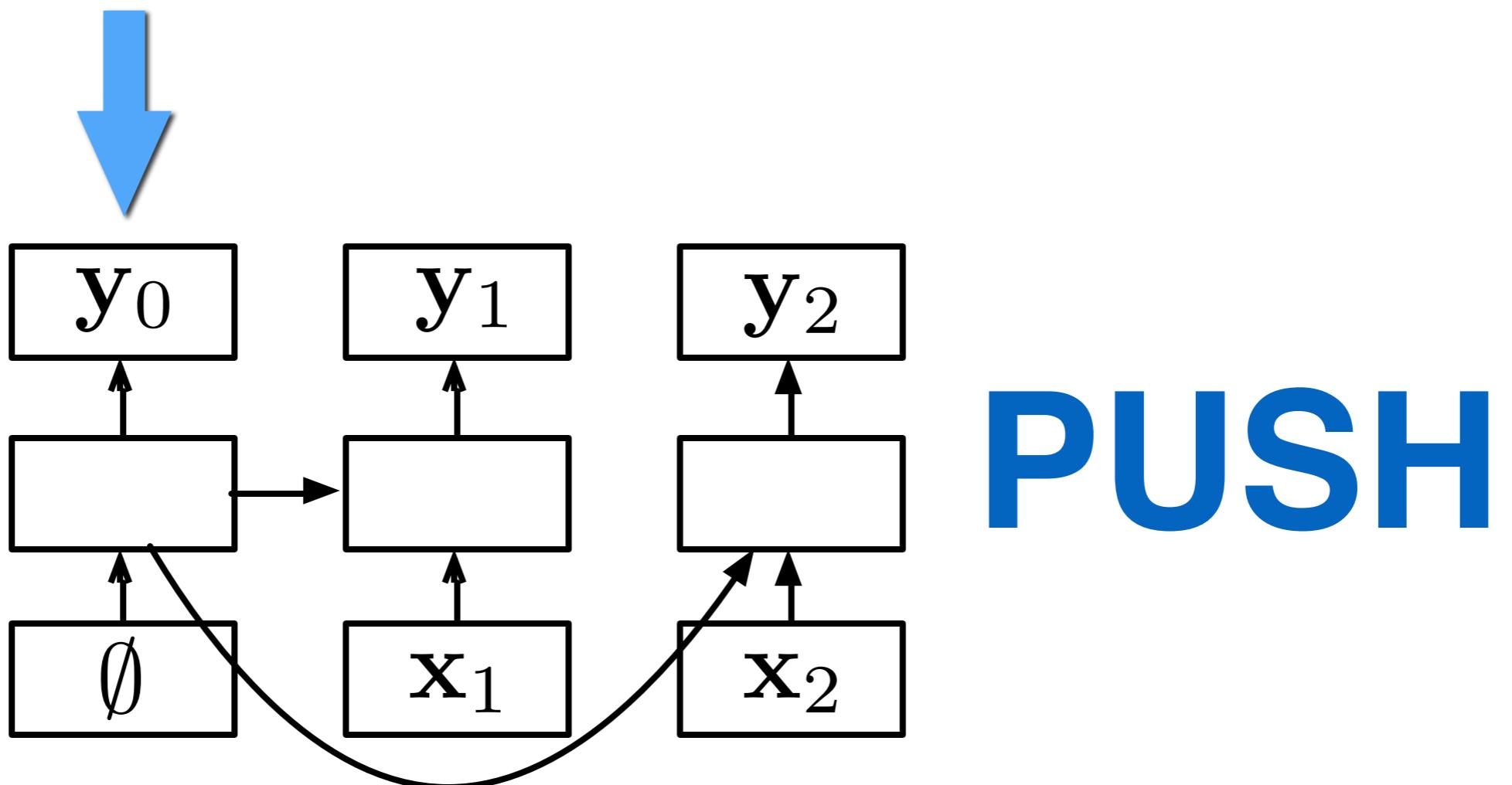


# Stack RNNs

## Operation

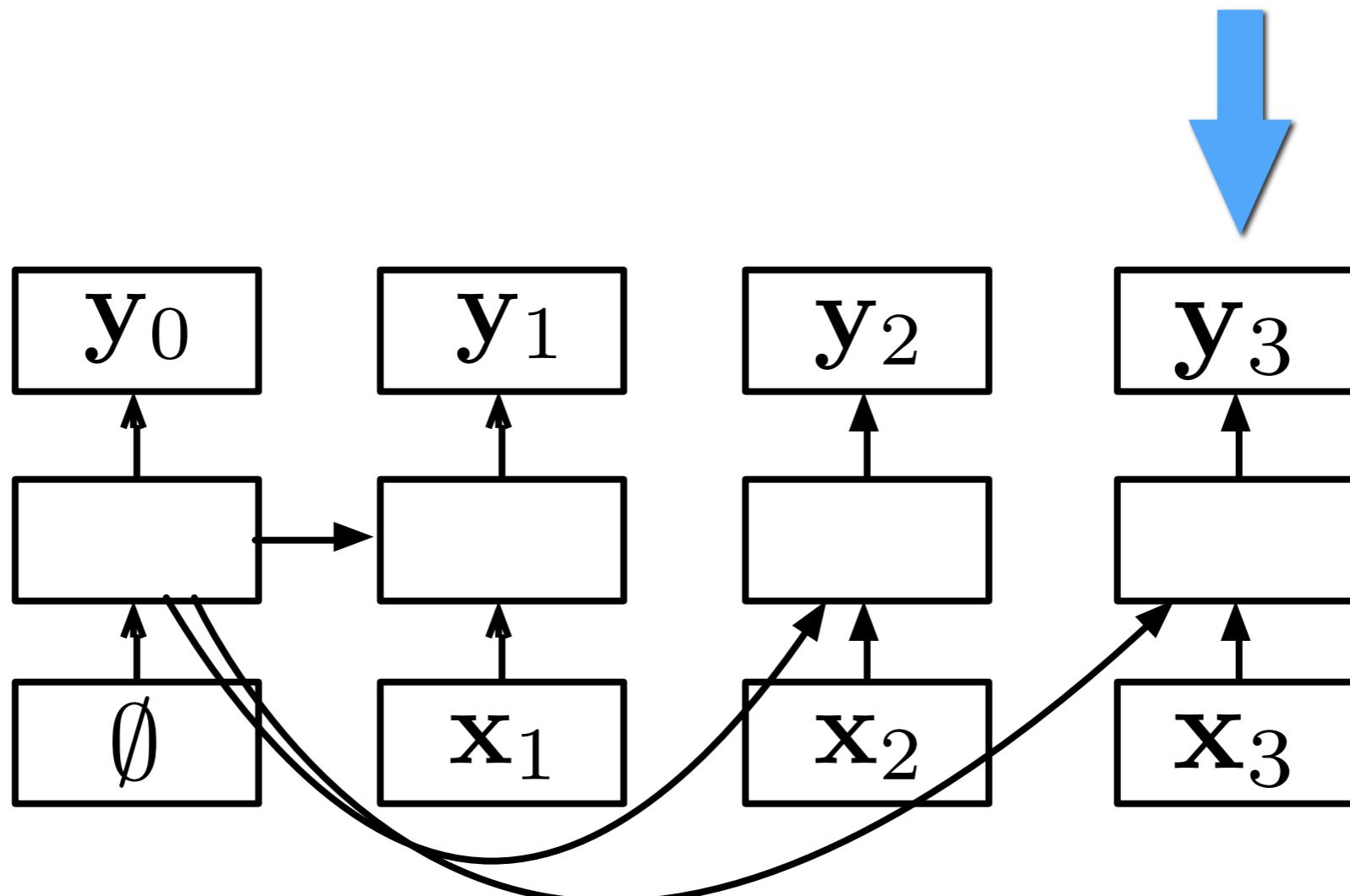


# Stack RNNs Operation



# Stack RNNs

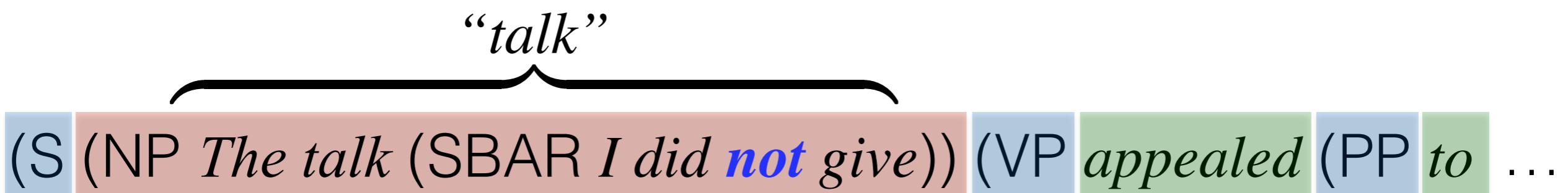
## Operation



# RNNs

## Inductive bias?

- What inductive biases do RNNs exhibit?
- If we accept the following two propositions
  - RNNs have recency biases
  - Syntactic composition learns to represent trees by their heads
- Then we can say that they have a bias for **syntactic recency** rather than **sequential recency**
- Not a perfect model, but maybe a **better** model



# Parameter estimation

- **Generative**
  - Jointly model sentence  $\mathbf{x}$  and its tree  $\mathbf{y}$
  - Trained using gold standard trees (here: from a tree bank) to minimize cross-entropy
  - We call this joint distribution  $p(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})$

To parse (find a tree for  $\mathbf{x}$ ): we need to compute

$$\mathbf{y}^* = \arg \max_{\mathbf{y} \in \mathcal{Y}_x} p(\mathbf{y} \mid \mathbf{x})$$

$$= \arg \max_{\mathbf{y} \in \mathcal{Y}_x} \frac{p(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})}{p(\mathbf{x})} \quad \text{def. conditional prob.}$$

$$= \arg \max_{\mathbf{y} \in \mathcal{Y}_x} p(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y}) \quad \text{denominator is constant}$$

# Parameter estimation

- **Generative**
  - Jointly model sentence  $\mathbf{x}$  and its tree  $\mathbf{y}$
  - Trained using gold standard trees (here: from a tree bank) to minimize cross-entropy
  - We call this joint distribution  $p(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})$
- **Discriminative**
  - Given a sentence  $\mathbf{x}$ , predict the sequence to of actions  $\mathbf{y}$  necessary to build its parse tree - *the full sentence  $\mathbf{x}$  is observable*
  - Instead of **GEN**, use **SHIFT**
  - We call this conditional distribution  $q(\mathbf{y} \mid \mathbf{x})$

To parse: simply use beam search to find the best sequence.

# English PTB (Parsing)

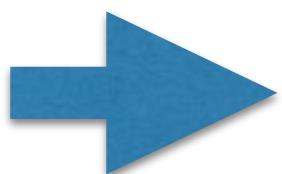
	Type	F1
Petrov and Klein (2007)	Gen	90.1
Shindo et al (2012) Single model	Gen	91.1
Vinyals et al (2015) PTB only	Disc	90.5
Shindo et al (2012) Ensemble	Gen	92.4
Vinyals et al (2015) Semisupervised	Disc+SemiS up	92.8
<i>Discriminative</i> PTB only	Disc	91.7
<i>Generative</i> PTB only	Gen	<b>93.6</b>

# English PTB (Parsing)



	Type	F1
Petrov and Klein (2007)	Gen	90.1
Shindo et al (2012) Single model	Gen	91.1
Vinyals et al (2015) PTB only	Disc	90.5
Shindo et al (2012) Ensemble	Gen	92.4
Vinyals et al (2015) Semisupervised	Disc+SemiS up	92.8
<i>Discriminative</i> PTB only	Disc	91.7
<i>Generative</i> PTB only	Gen	<b>93.6</b>

# English PTB (Parsing)



	Type	F1
Petrov and Klein (2007)	Gen	90.1
Shindo et al (2012) Single model	Gen	91.1
Vinyals et al (2015) PTB only	Disc	90.5
Shindo et al (2012) Ensemble	Gen	92.4
Vinyals et al (2015) Semisupervised	Disc+SemiS up	92.8
<i>Discriminative</i> PTB only	Disc	91.7
<i>Generative</i> PTB only	Gen	<b>93.6</b>

# English Language Modeling

	Perplexity
5-gram IKN	169.3
LSTM + Dropout	113.4
<b>Generative</b> (approx.)	<b>102.4</b>

$$p(\mathbf{x}) = \sum_{\mathbf{y} \in \mathcal{Y}_{\mathbf{x}}} p(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})$$

# Transition-based parsing

- Build trees by pushing words (“**shift**”) onto a stack and combining elements at the top of the stack into a syntactic constituent (“**reduce**”)
- *Given current stack and buffer of unprocessed words, what action should the algorithm take?*
- Widely used
  - Good accuracy
  - $O(n)$  runtime [much faster than other parsing algos]

**Stack****Buffer****Action**

I saw her duck ROOT

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	<b>SHIFT</b>

Stack	Buffer	Action
I	I saw her duck ROOT saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I   saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT

Stack	Buffer	Action
I I saw	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
	her duck ROOT	

Stack	Buffer	Action
I	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L

Stack	Buffer	Action
I	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	

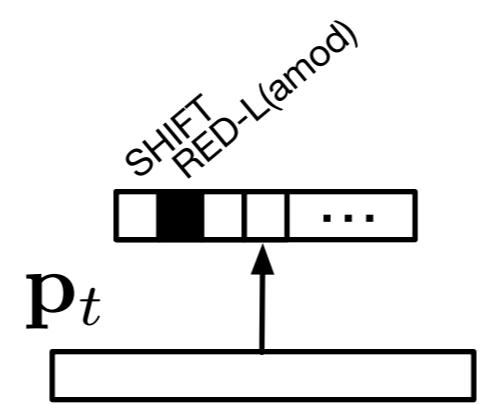
Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-L

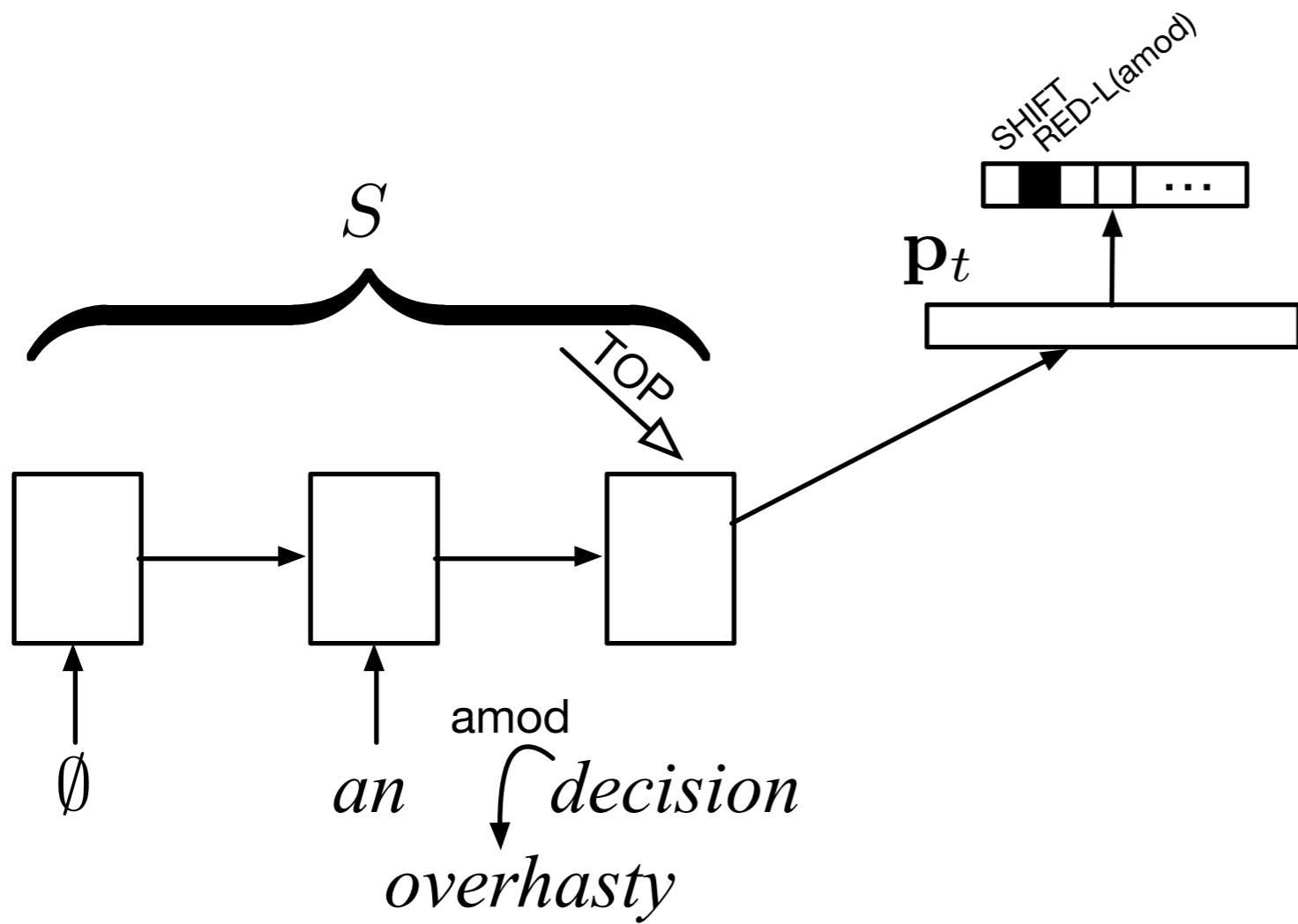
Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw her duck	ROOT	

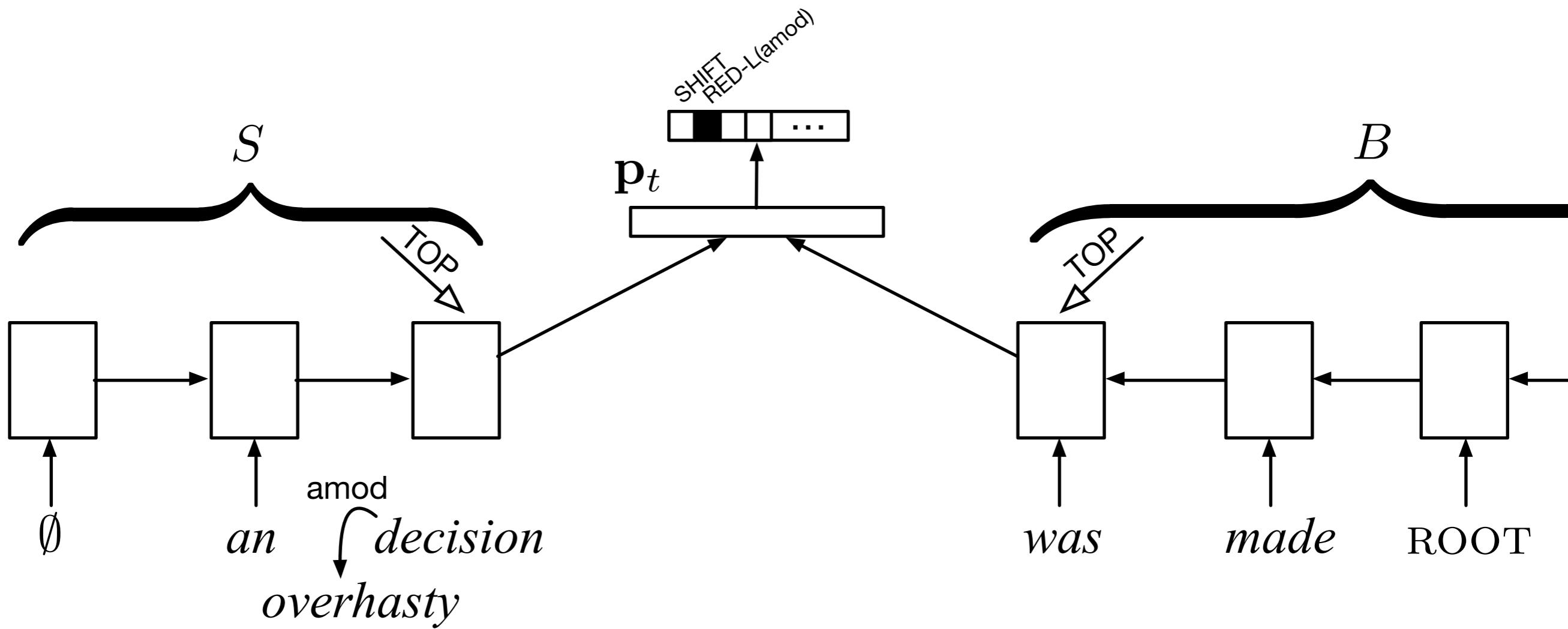
Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-R

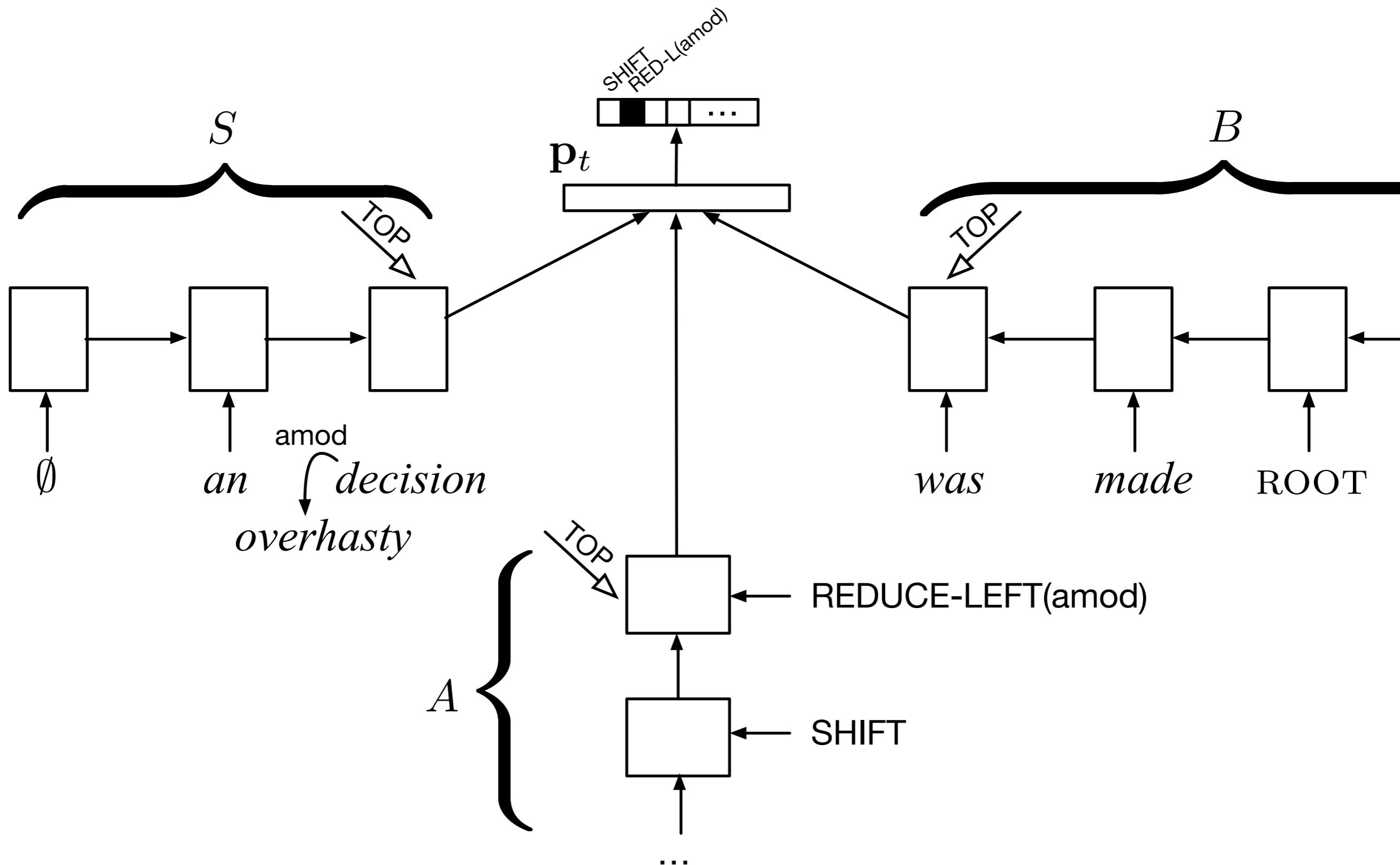
Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-R
I saw her duck		

Stack	Buffer	Action
	I saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I	saw her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw	her duck ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw	her duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her	duck ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-L
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-R
I saw her duck	ROOT	SHIFT
I saw her duck	ROOT	REDUCE-R
I saw her duck ROOT		

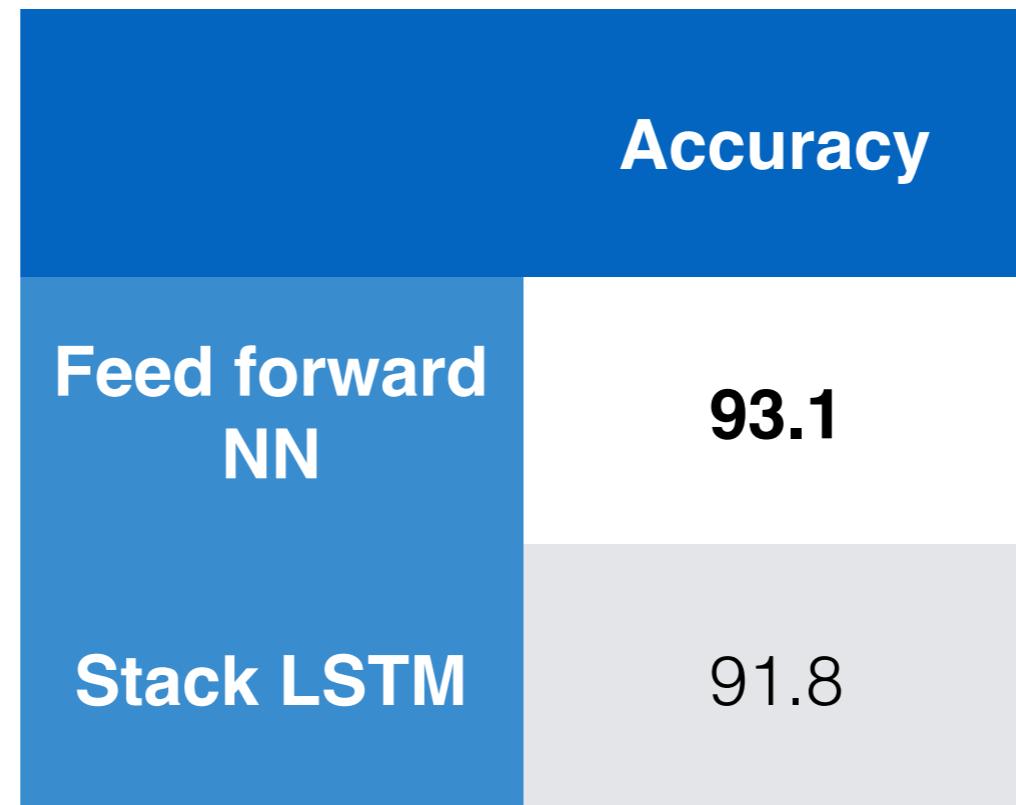








# Some Results



Dyer et al. (2015, ACL)

# Topics

- Recursive neural networks for sentence representation
- Recurrent neural network grammars and parsing
- Word representations by looking inside words  
(words have structure too!)
- Analysis of neural networks with linguistic concepts

# Word representation

**ARBITRARINESS** (de Saussure, 1916)

# Word representation

**ARBITRARINESS** (de Saussure, 1916)

**car - c + b = bar**



# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

**car - c + b = bar**



**cat - c + b = bat**



# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

**car -c +b = bar**



**cat -c +b = bat**



---

**car**



# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

**car - c + b = bar**



**cat - c + b = bat**



---

car



Auto

oko ayokele

voiture

koloi

xe hơi

sakyanan

# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

**car -c +b = bar**



**cat -c +b = bat**



---

car



Auto

oko ayokele

voiture

koloi

xe hơi

sakyanan

Is it reasonable to compose characters into  
“meanings”?

# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

**car - c + b = bar**



**cat - c + b = bat**



---

car



Auto

oko ayokele

voiture

koloi

xe hơi

sakyanan

## OPPORTUNITY

# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

**car - c + b = bar**



**cat - c + b = bat**



---

car



Auto

oko ayokele

voiture

koloi

xe hơi

sakyanan

## OPPORTUNITY

cool | coooooo | cooooooooooo



# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

car - c + b = bar



cat - c + b = bat



car



Auto

oko ayokele

voiture

koloi

xe hơi

sakyanan

## OPPORTUNITY

cool | coooooo | coooooooooooooo A blue square icon with a white bird logo in the center.

cat + s = cats



# Word representation

## ARBITRARINESS (de Saussure, 1916)

car - c + b = bar



cat - c + b = bat



car



Auto

oko ayokele

voiture

koloi

xe hơi

sakyanan

## OPPORTUNITY

cool | coooooo | coooooooooo A blue square icon with a white bird logo in the center.

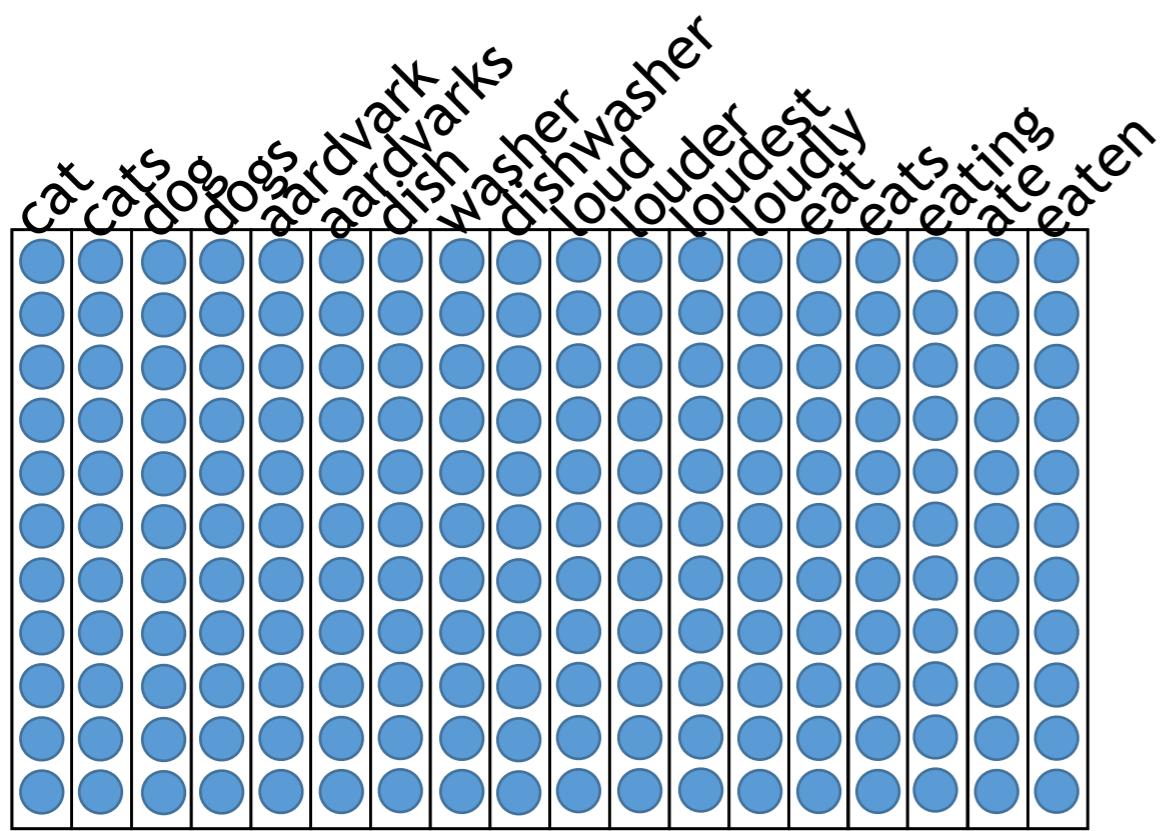
cat + s = cats



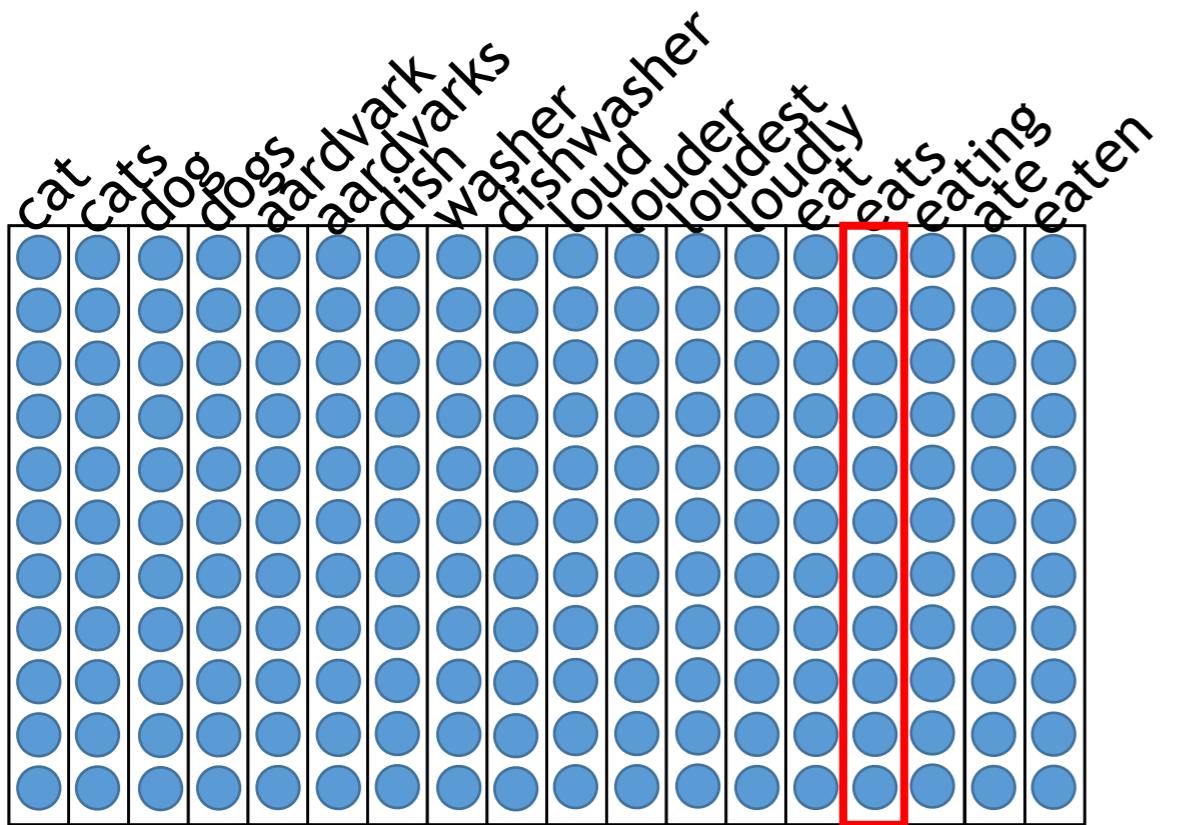
bat + s = bats



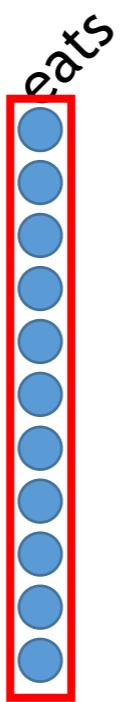
# Words as structured objects



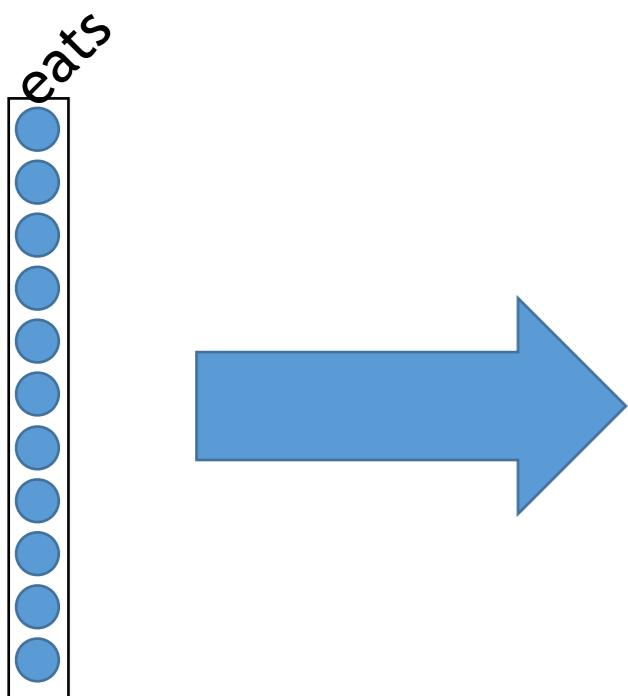
# Words as structured objects



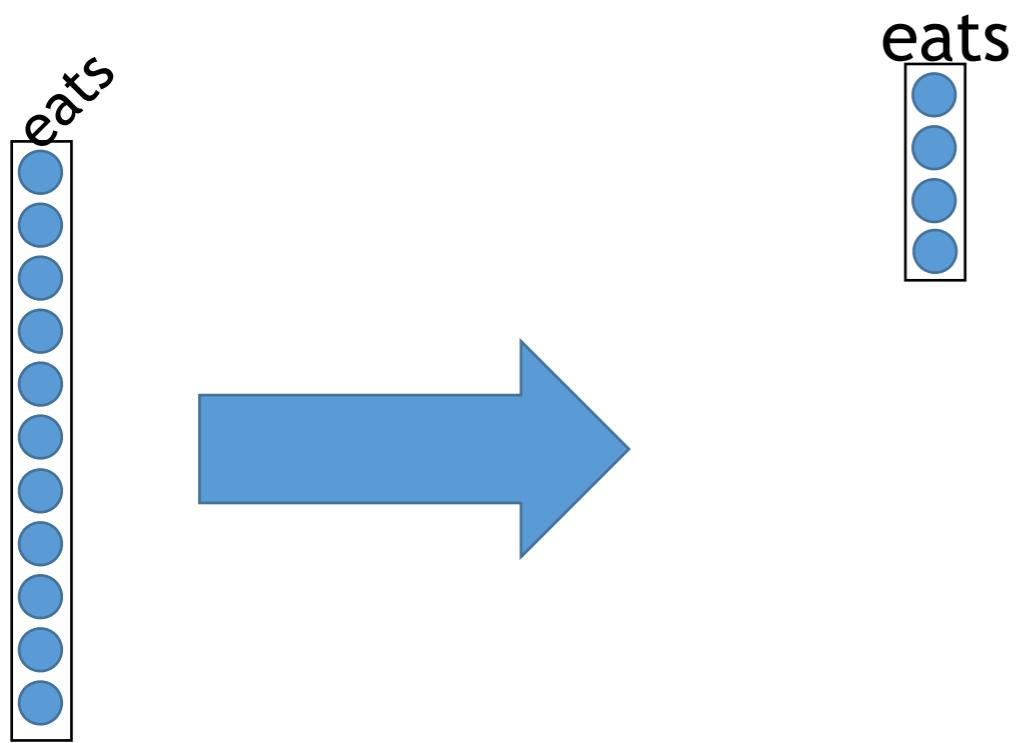
# Words as structured objects



# Words as structured objects

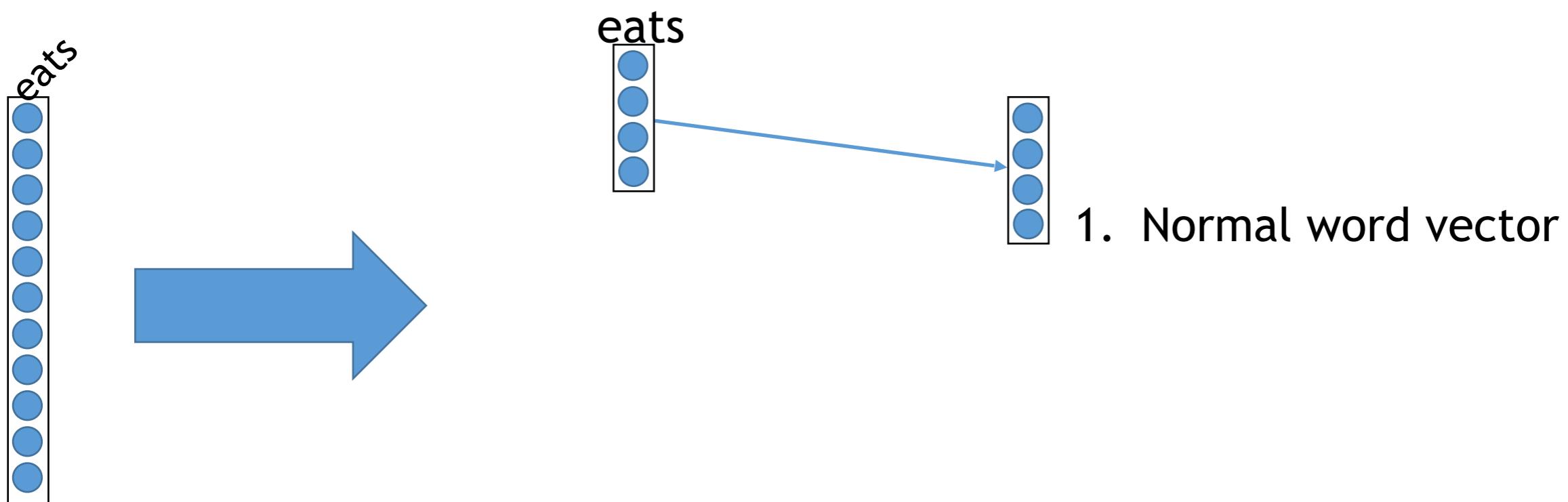


# Words as structured objects

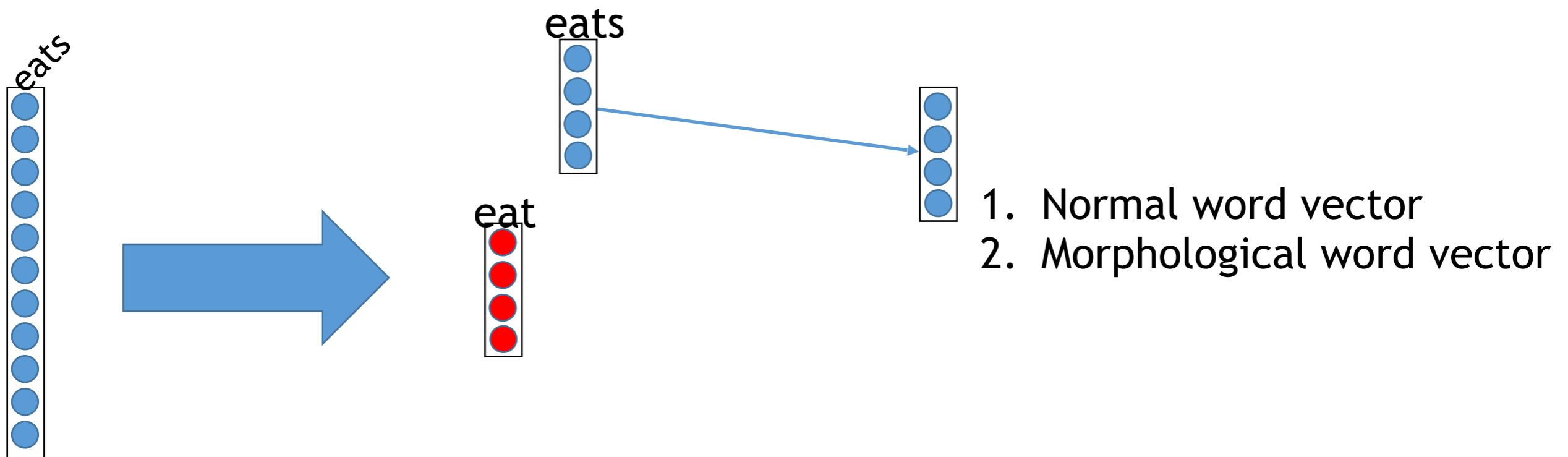


1. Normal word vector

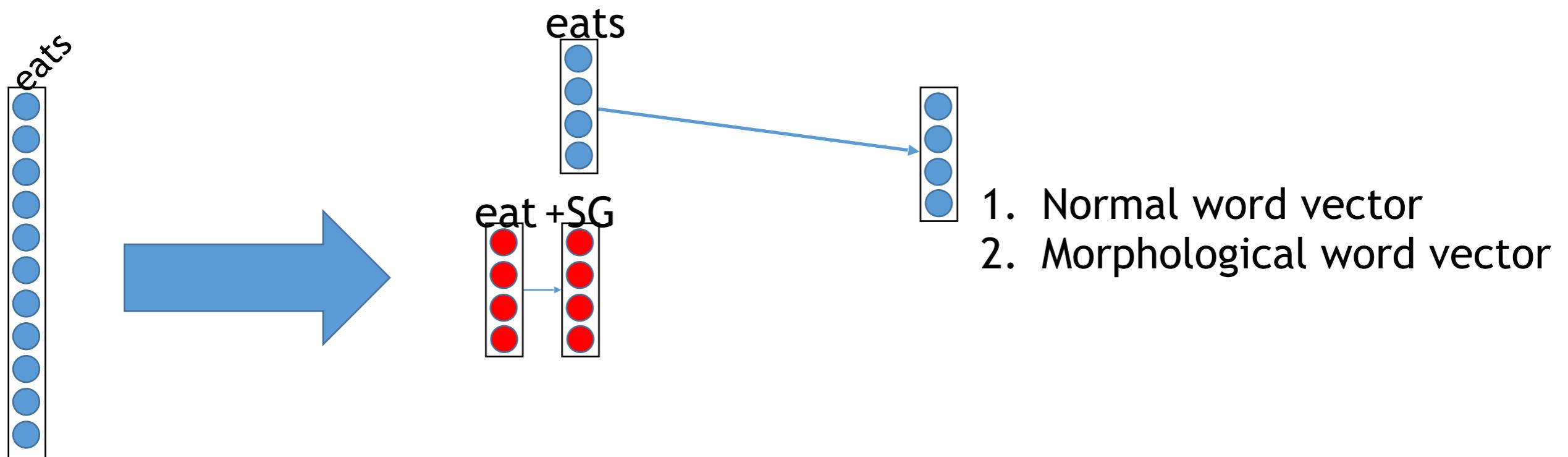
# Words as structured objects



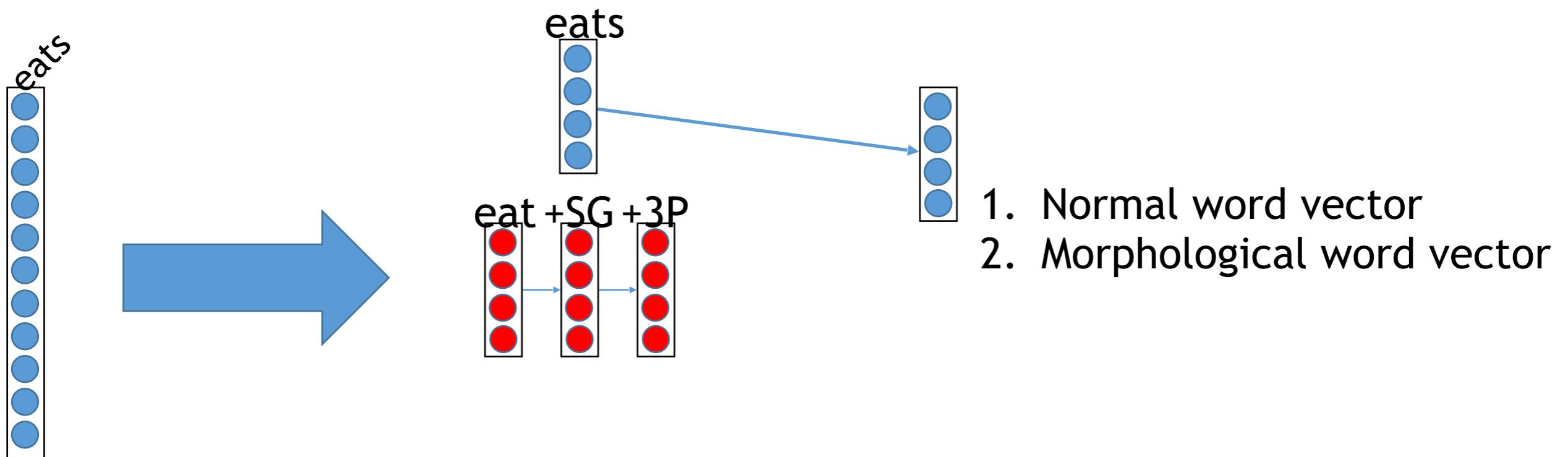
# Words as structured objects



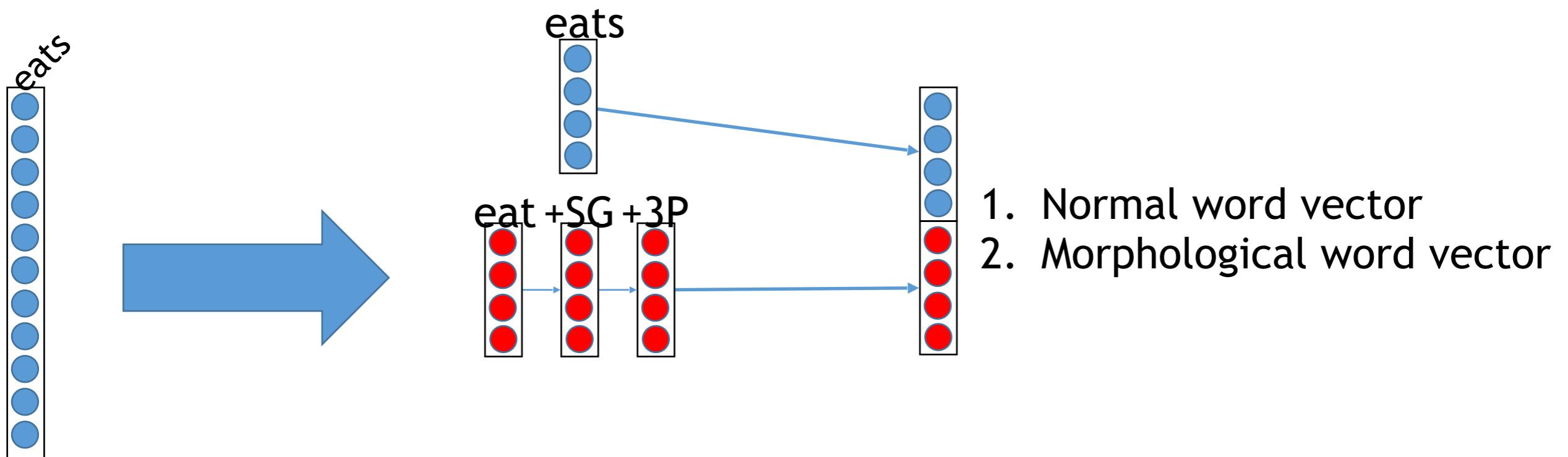
# Words as structured objects



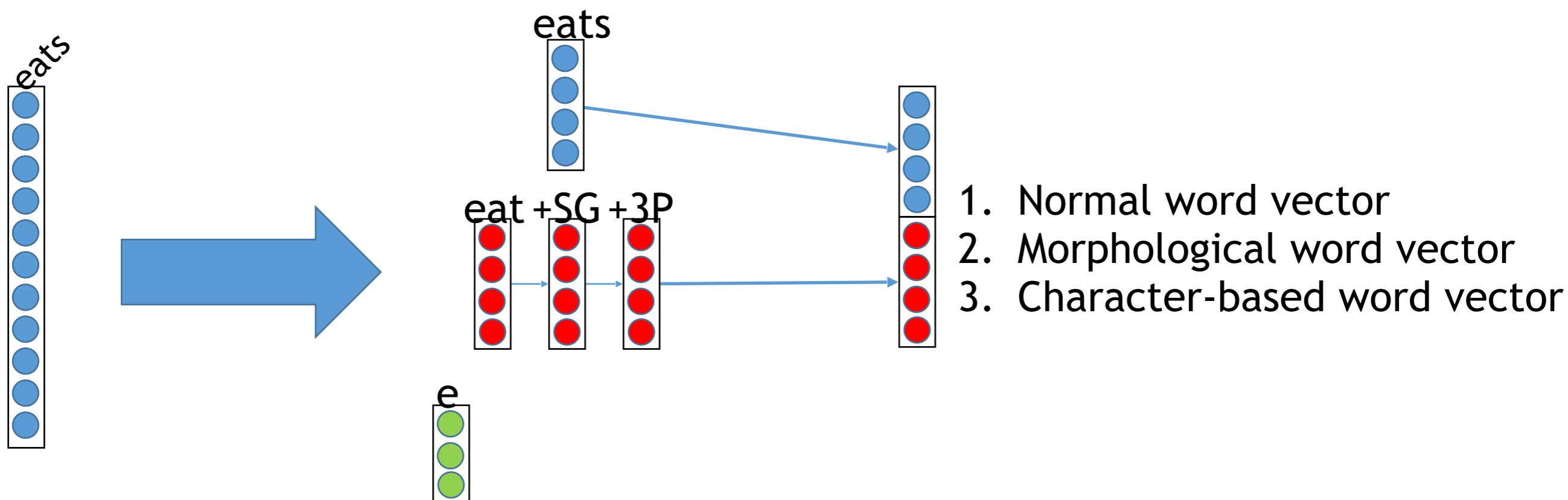
# Words as structured objects



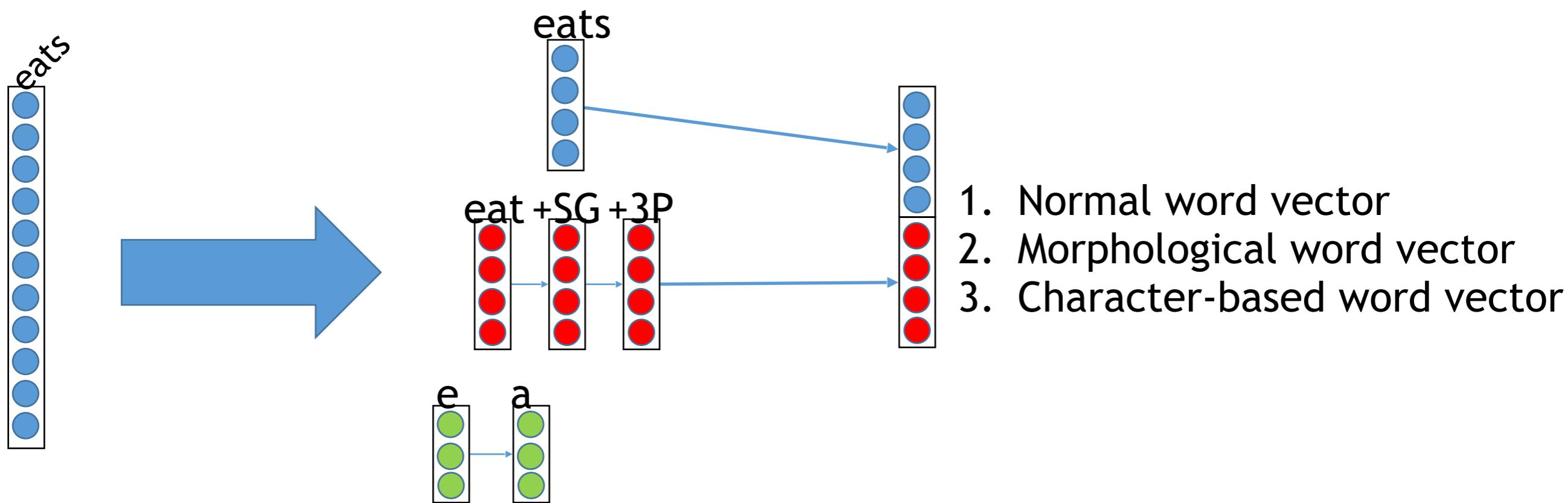
# Words as structured objects



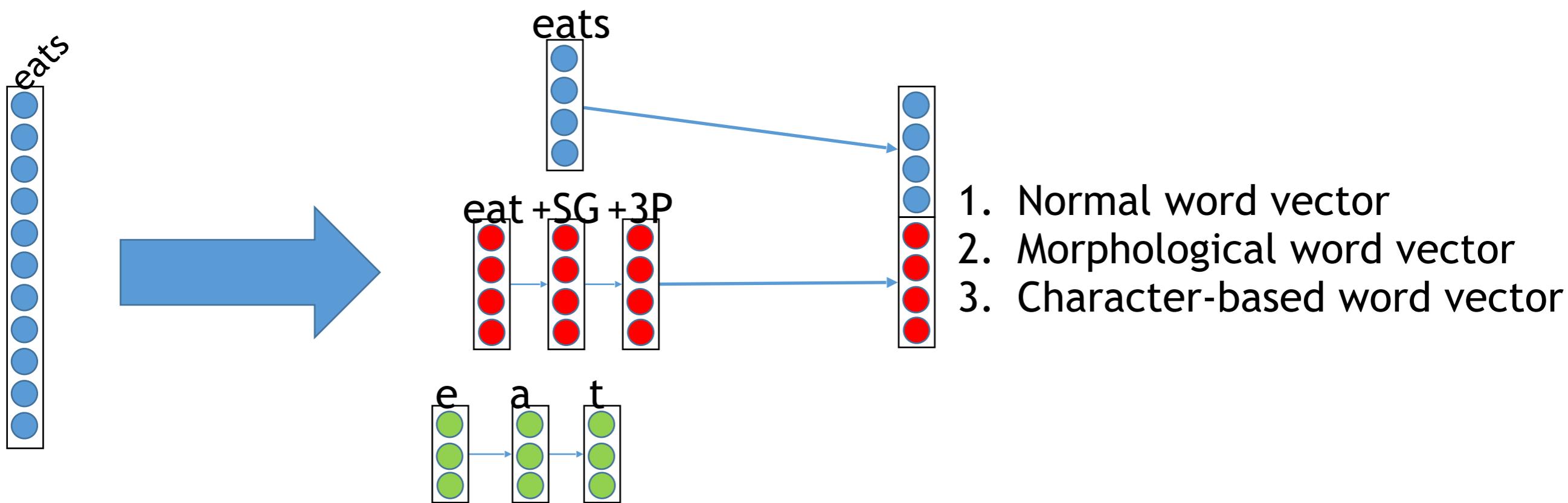
# Words as structured objects



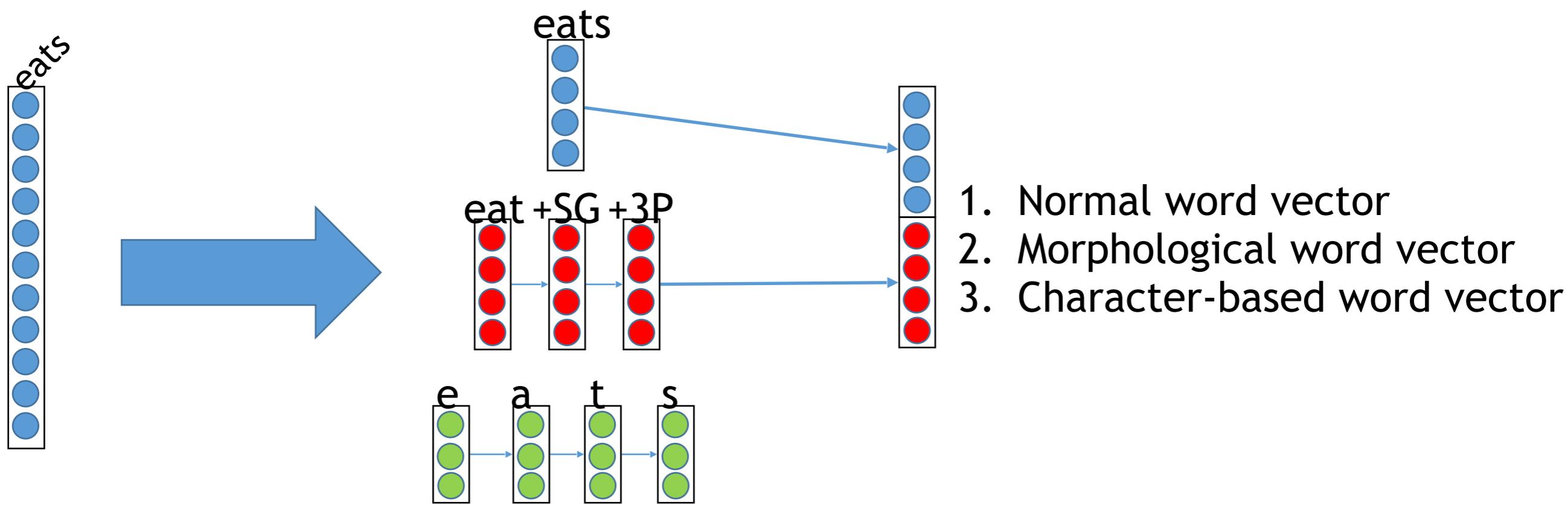
# Words as structured objects



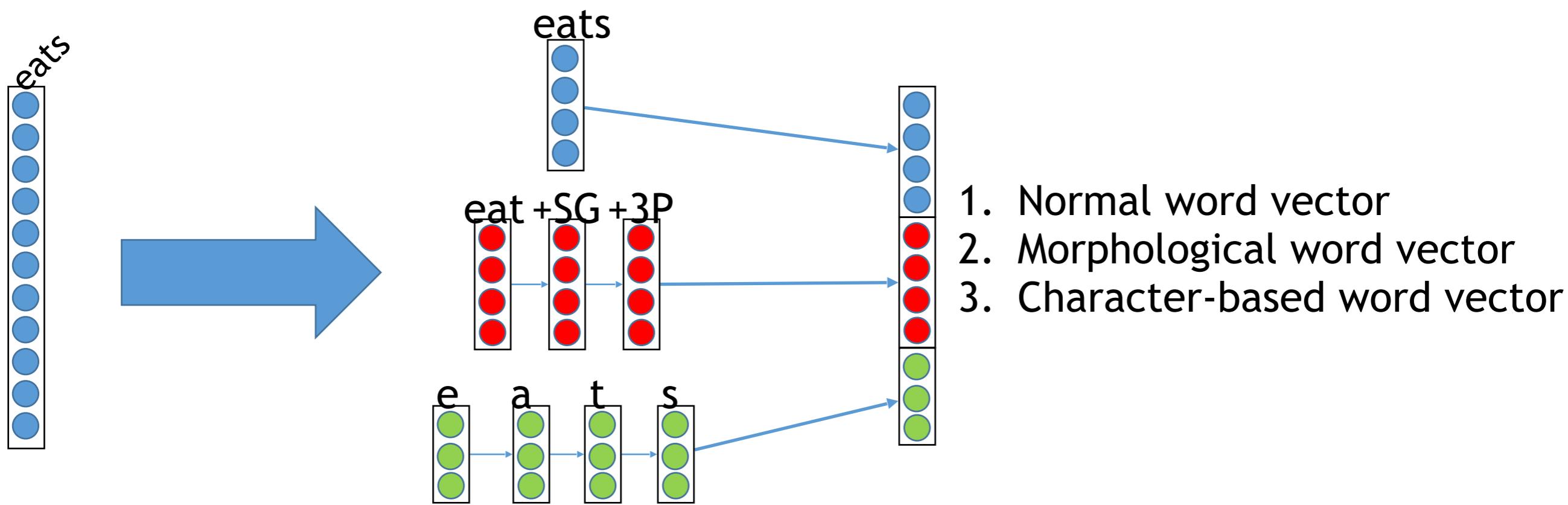
# Words as structured objects



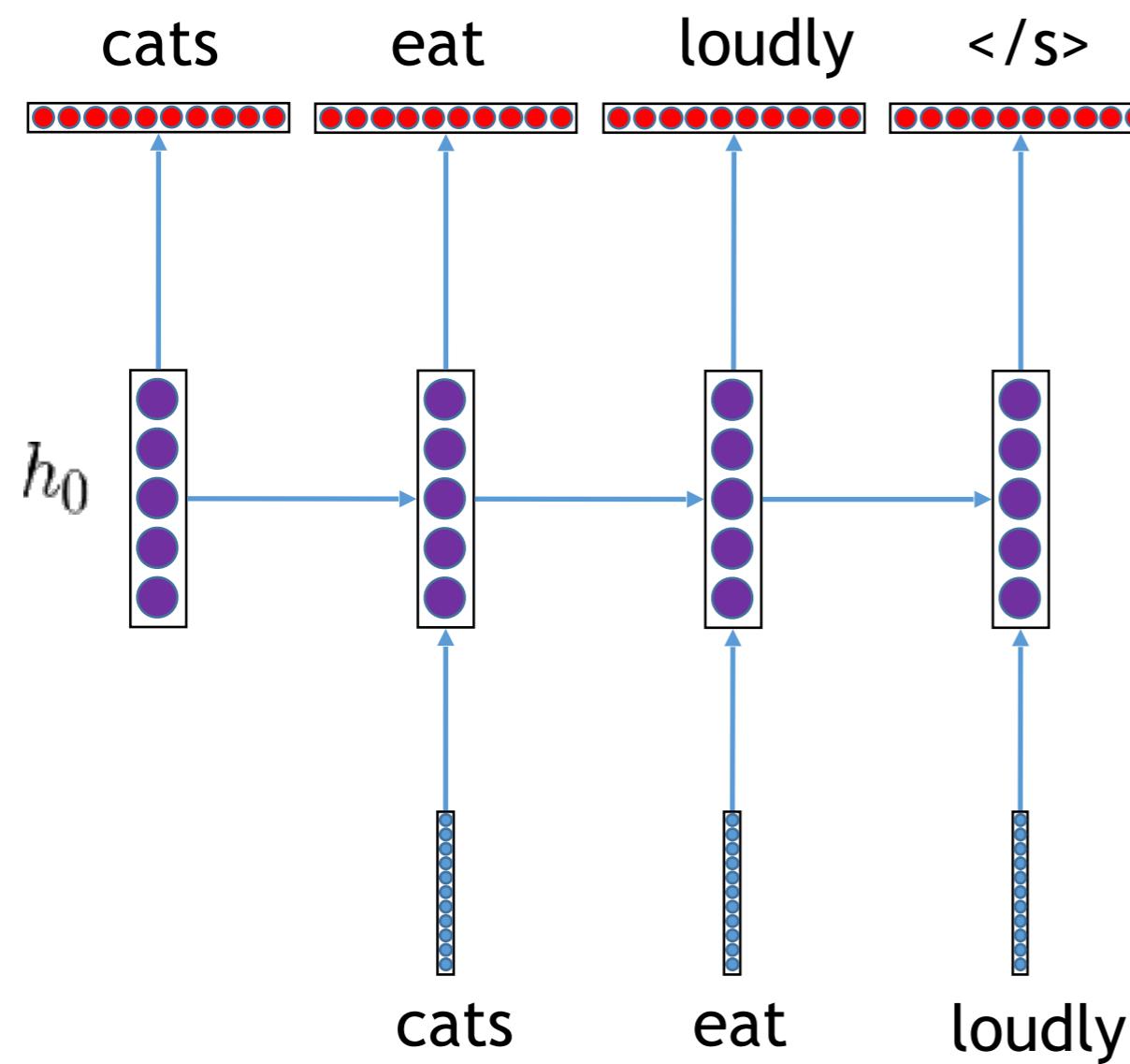
# Words as structured objects



# Words as structured objects

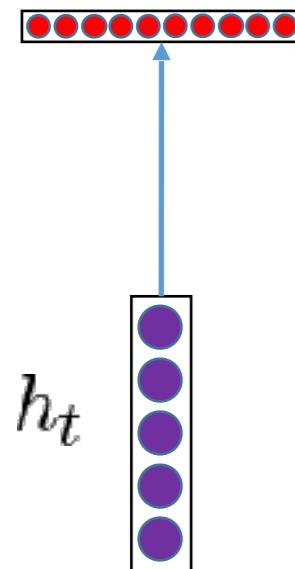


# Generating new word forms



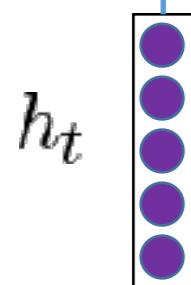
# Generating new word forms

$$p(w_t \mid h_t)$$



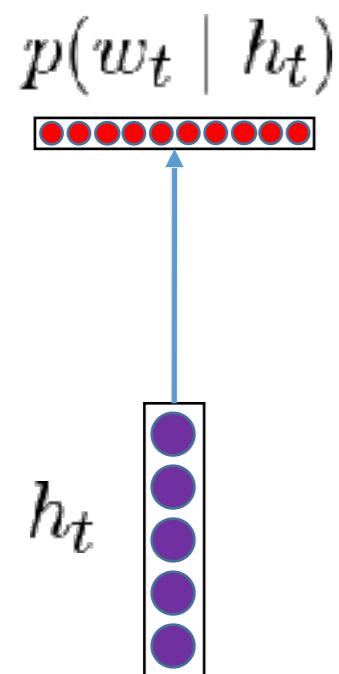
# Generating new word forms

$$p(w_t | h_t)$$



- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.

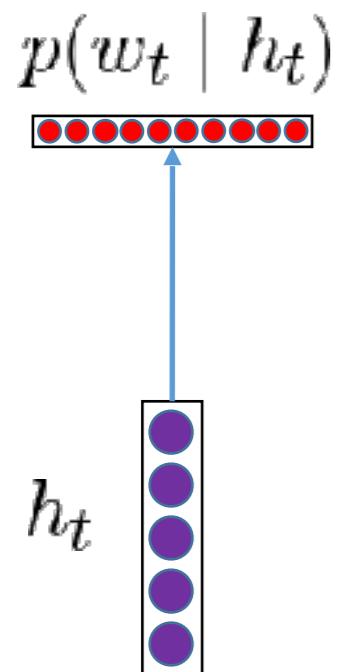
# Generating new word forms



- Normally we model  $p(w_t \mid h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t \mid h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t \mid h_t, m) p(m \mid h_t)$$

# Generating new word forms



- Normally we model  $p(w_t \mid h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t \mid h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t \mid h_t, m) p(m \mid h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters

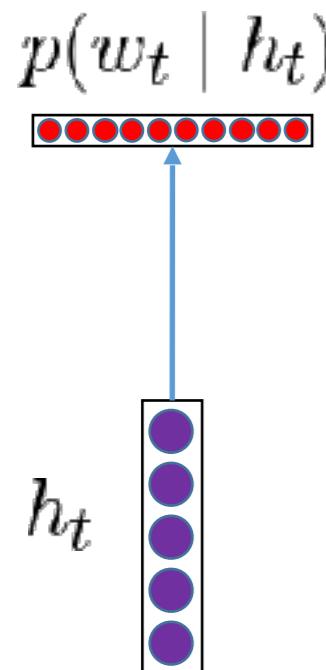
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



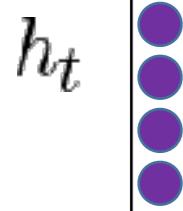
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

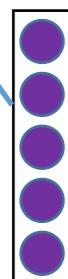
where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters

$p(m | h_t)$

 Mode choice

$h_t$



# Generating new word forms

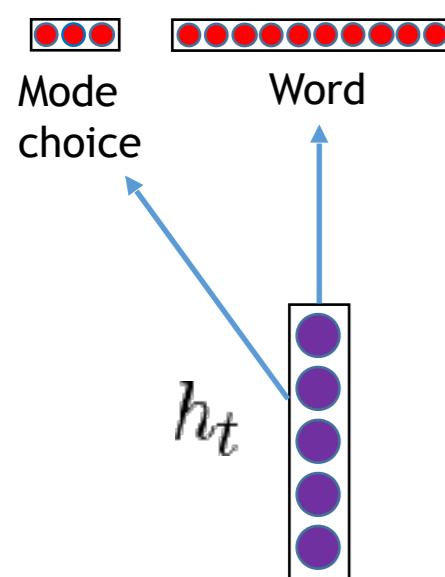
- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters

$p(w_t | h_t, m = \text{word})$



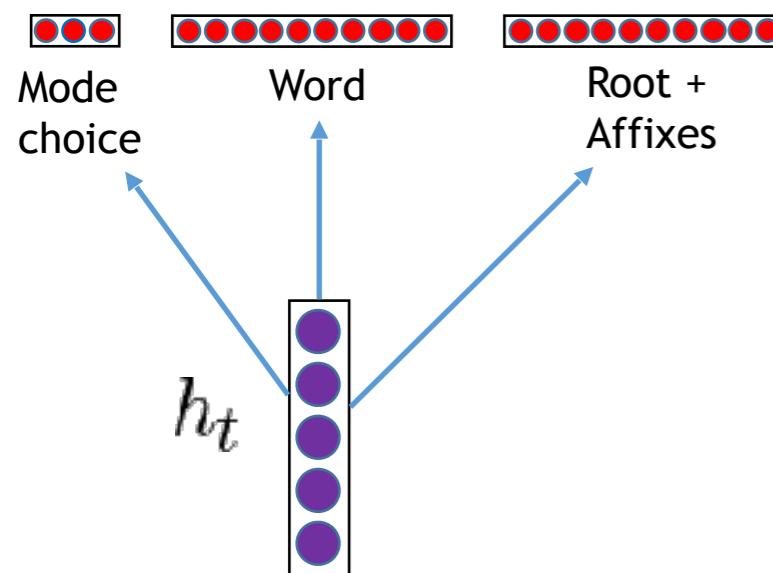
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



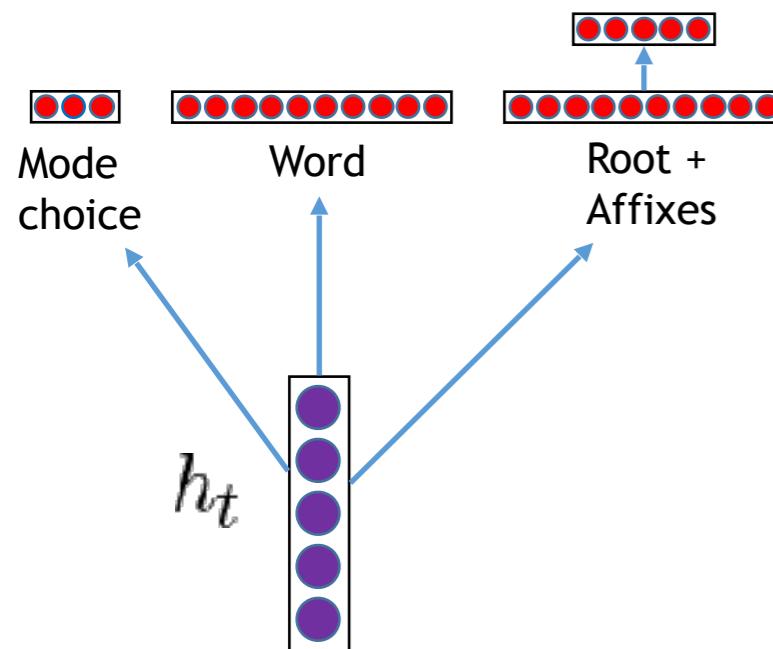
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



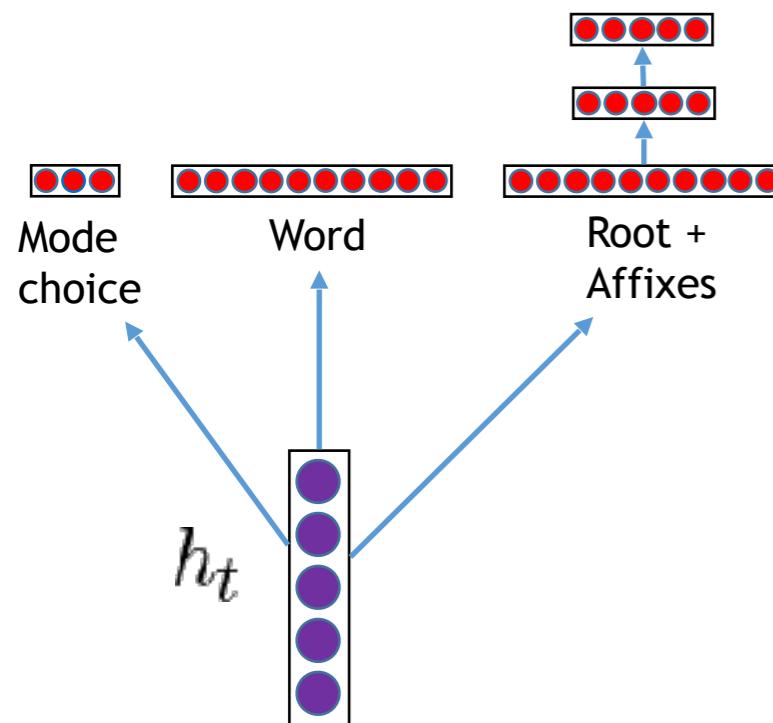
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

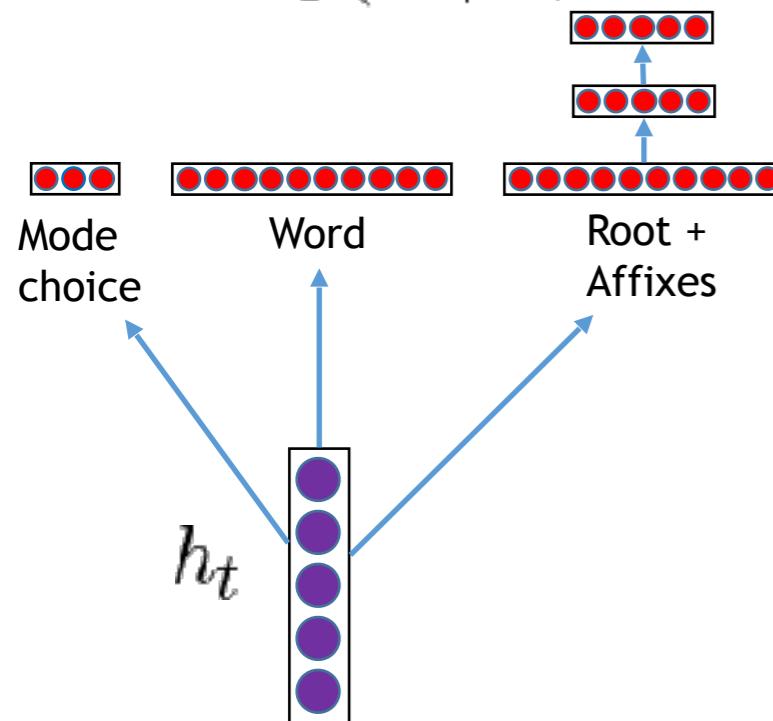
- words
- morphemes
- characters



# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t, m = \text{morph})$$



$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters

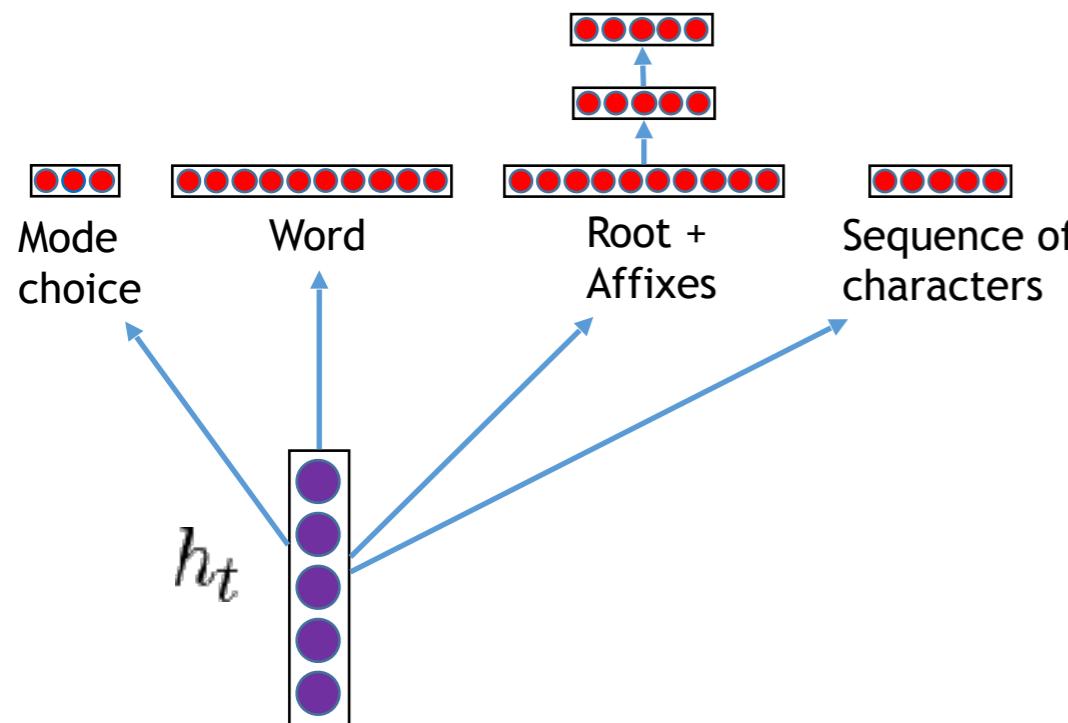
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



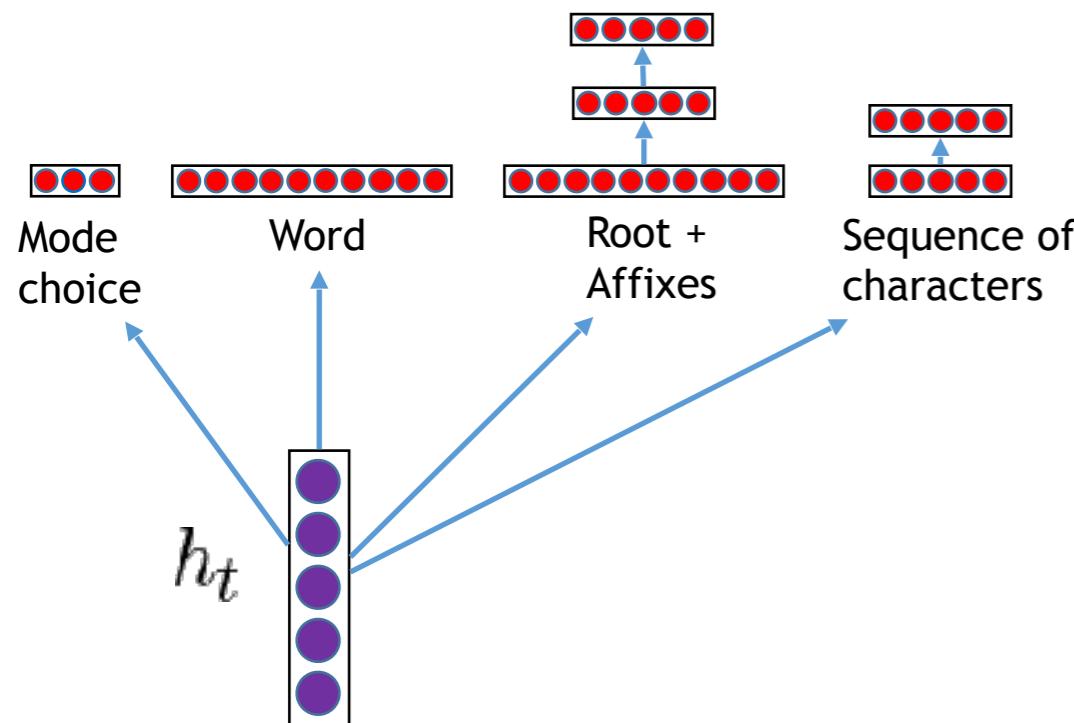
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



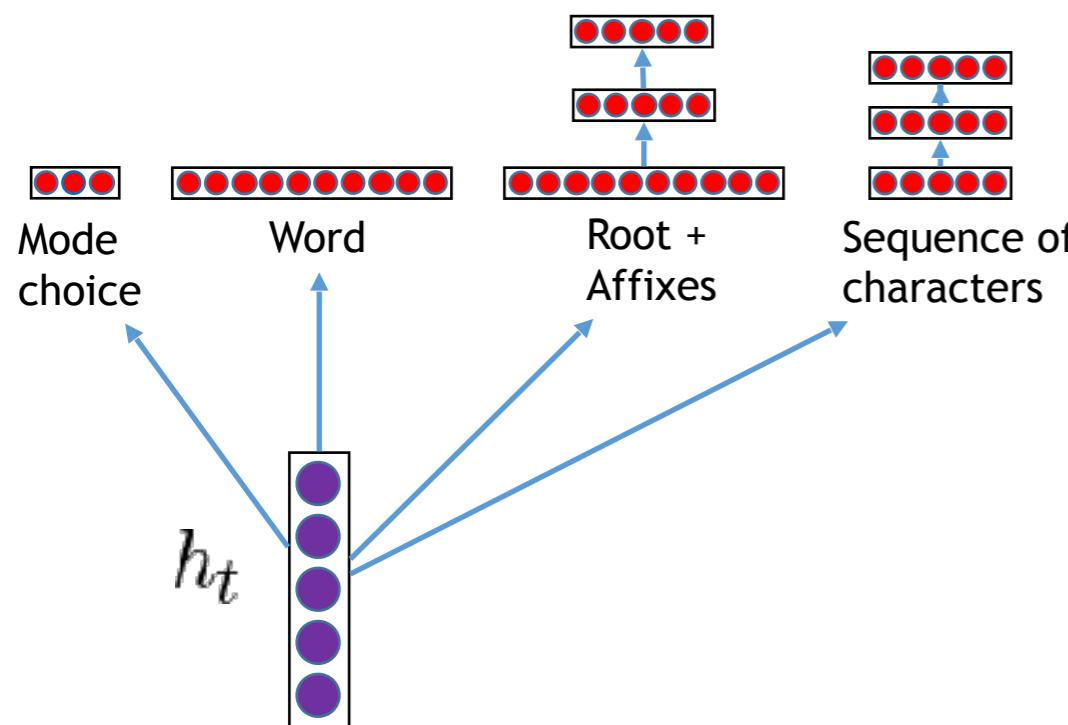
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



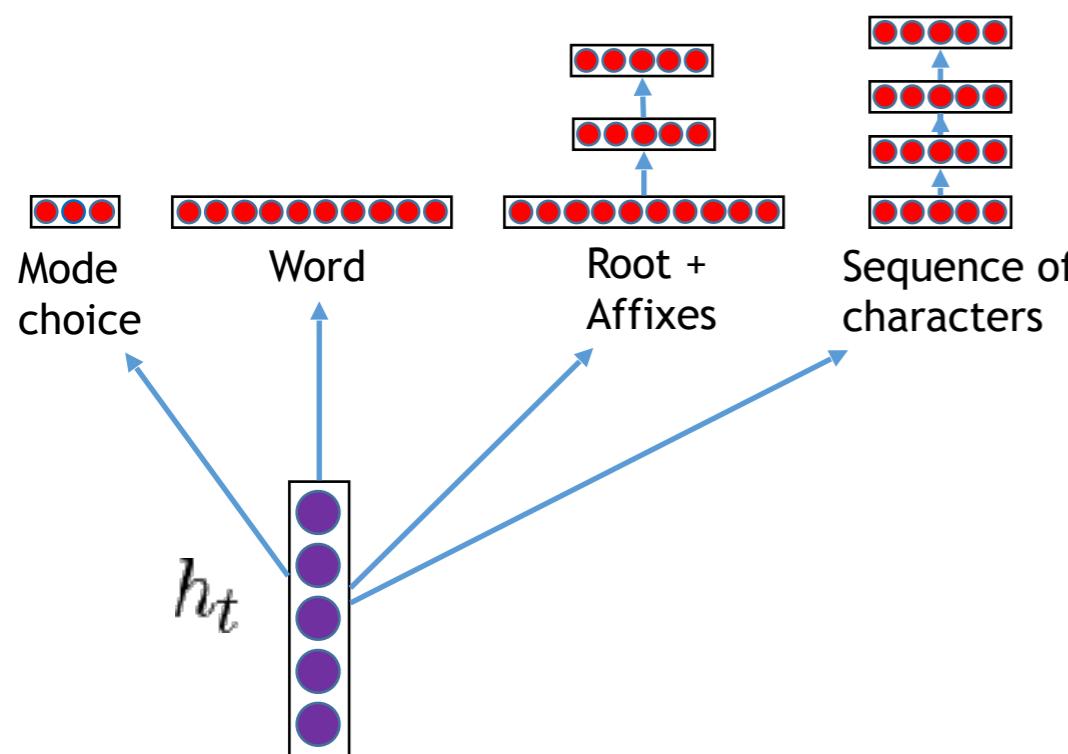
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



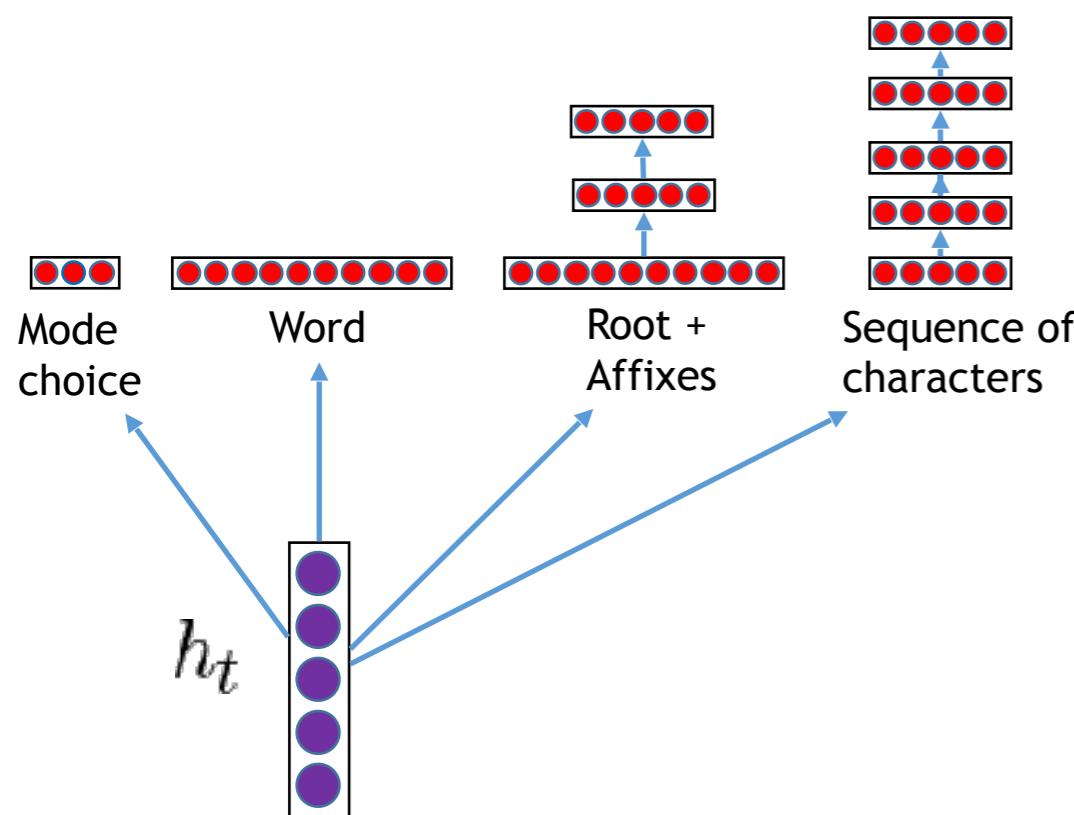
# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

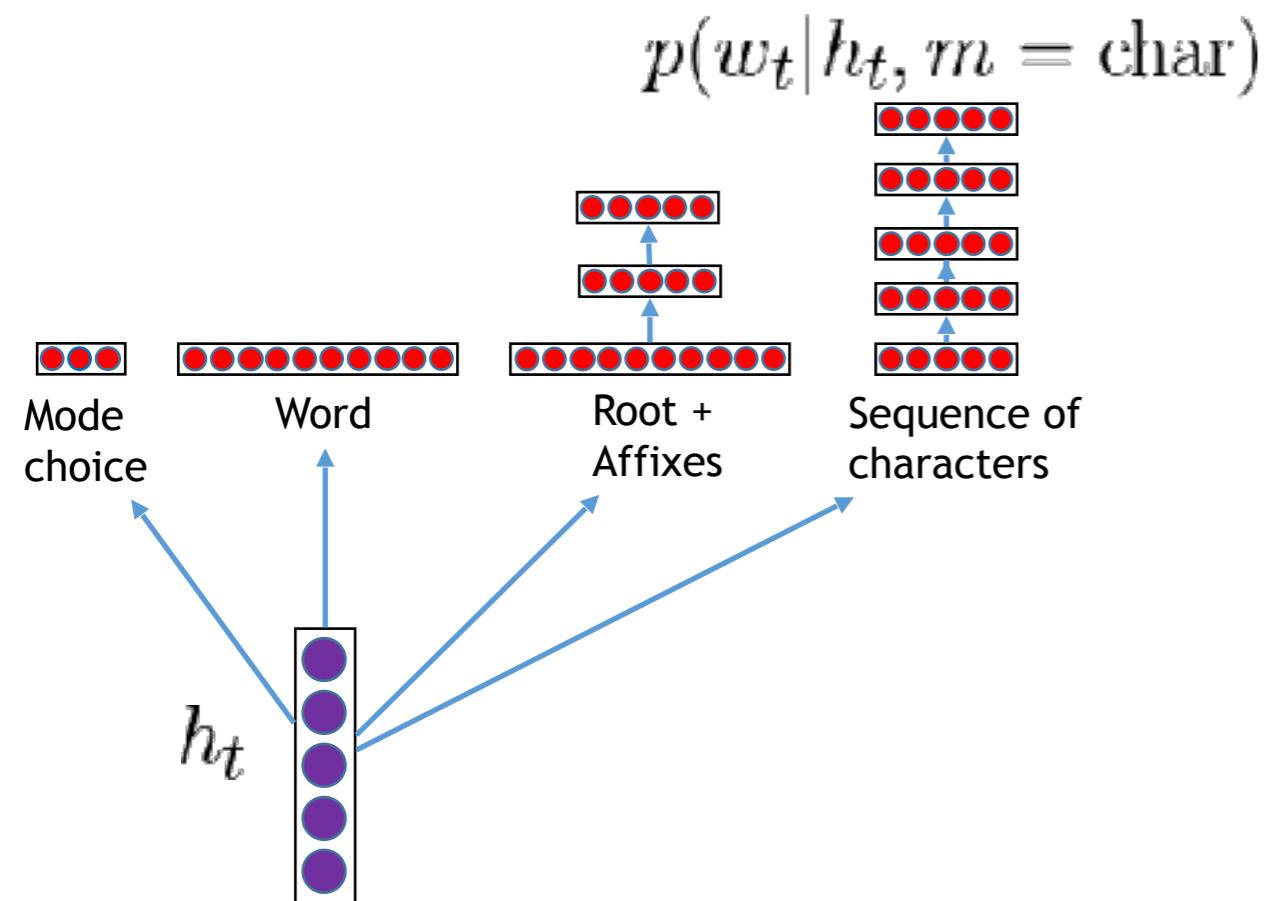
where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters



# Generating new word forms

- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

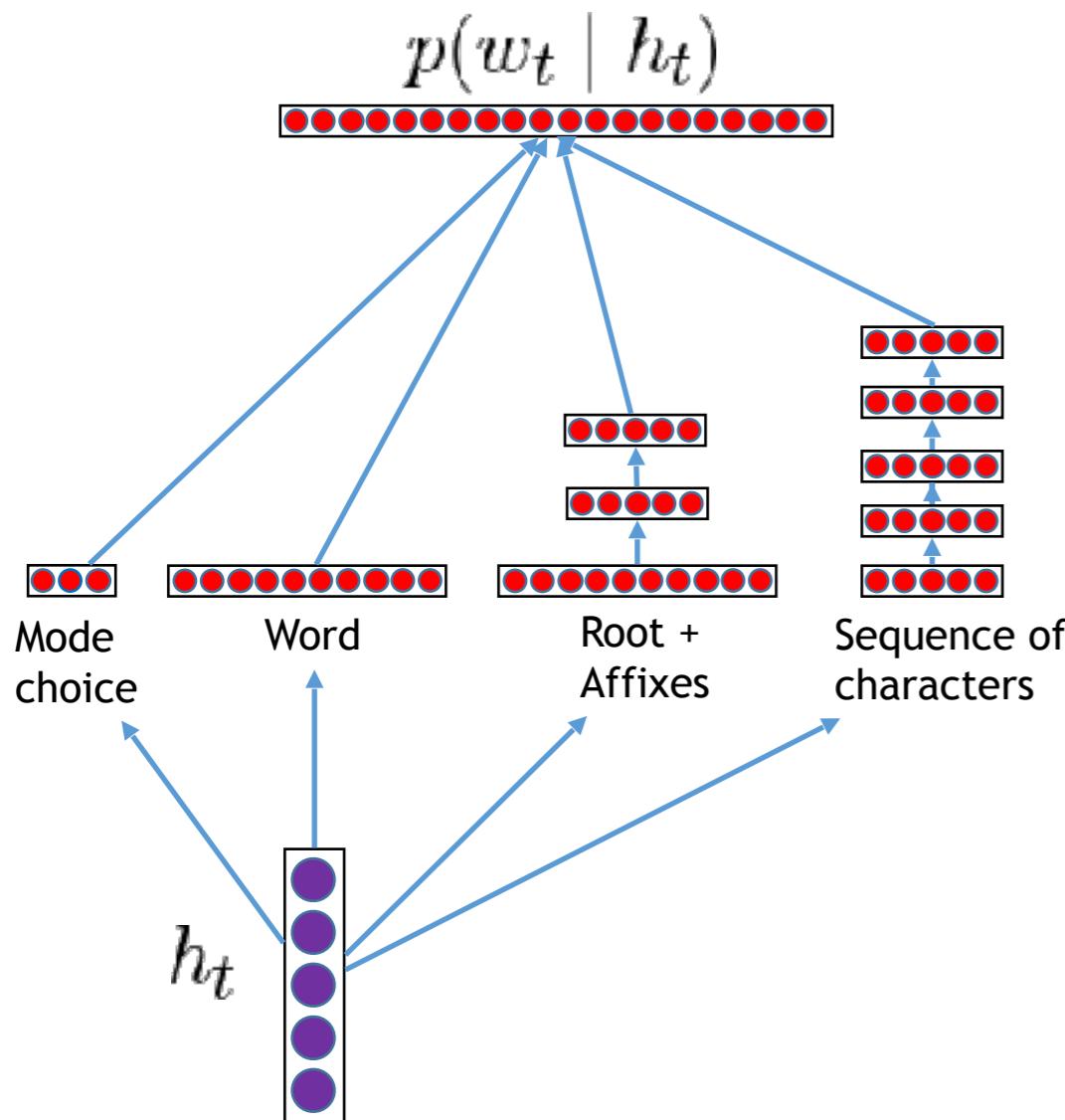


$$p(w_t | h_t, m = \text{char})$$
$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

- words
- morphemes
- characters

# Generating new word forms



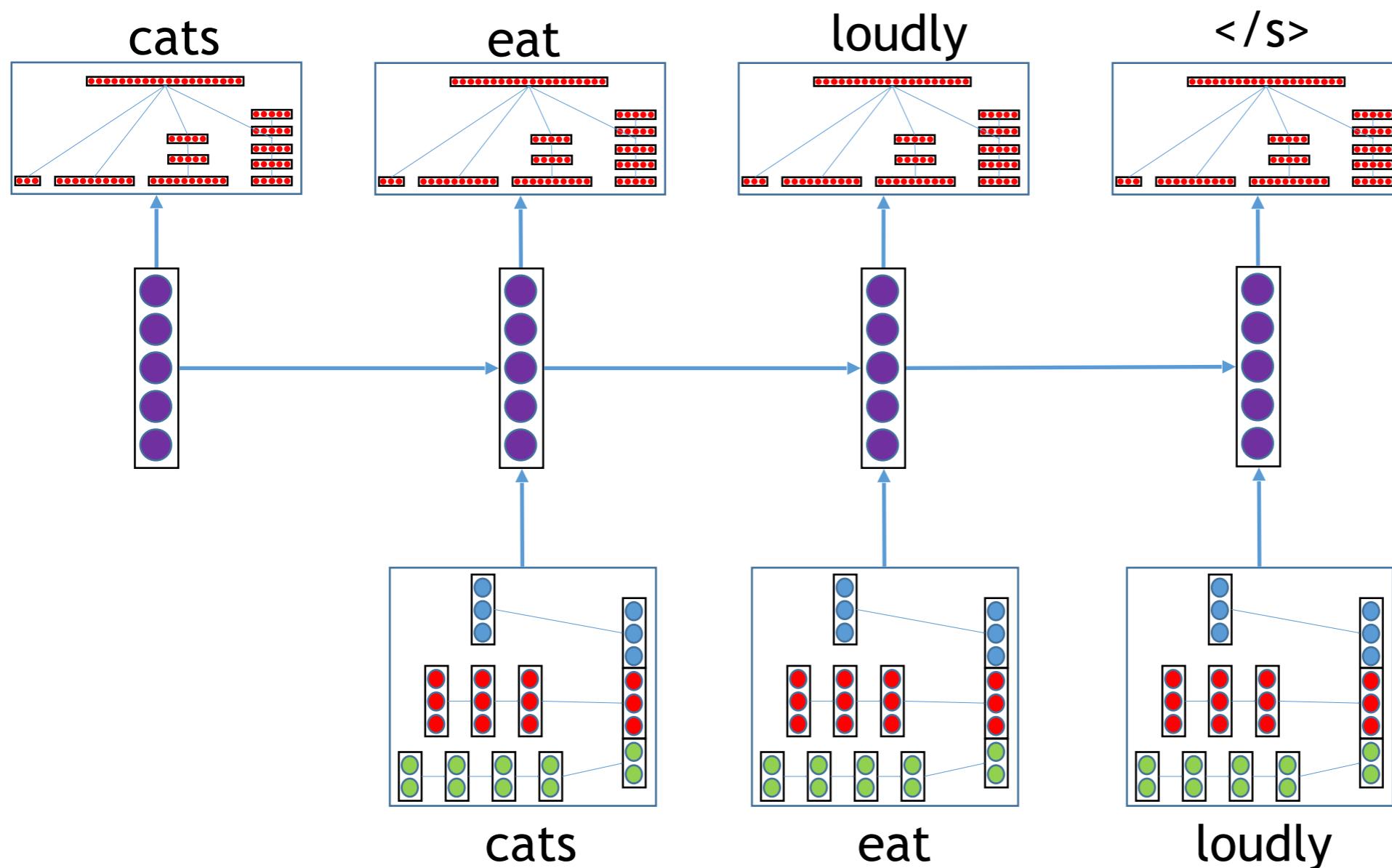
- Normally we model  $p(w_t | h_t)$  directly.
- Instead let's model

$$p(w_t | h_t) = \sum_m p(w_t | h_t, m) p(m | h_t)$$

where  $m$  loops over three  
“generation modes”:

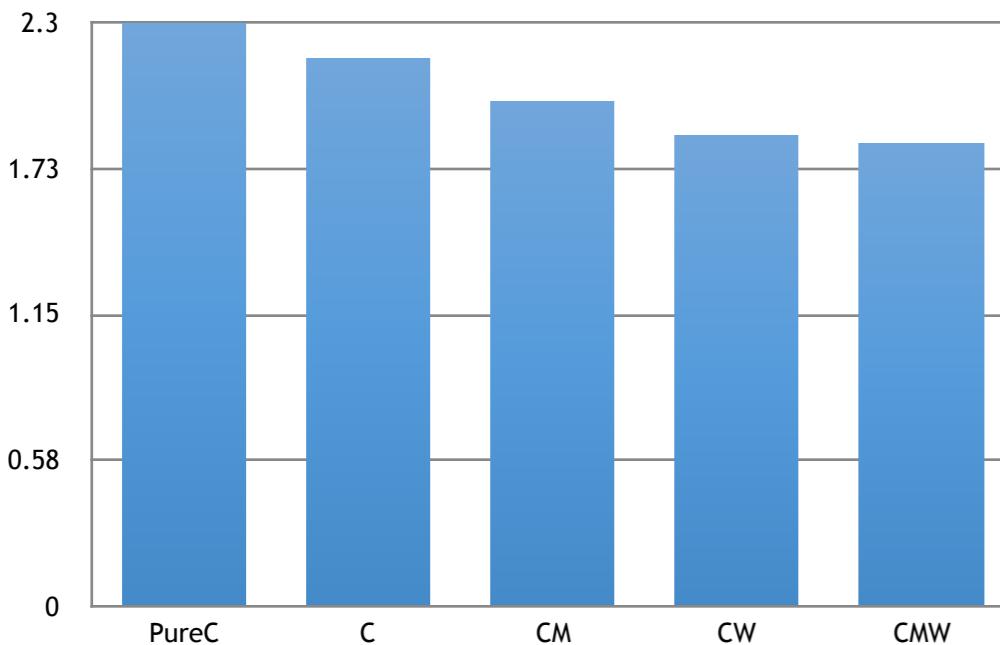
- words
- morphemes
- characters

# Putting it all together

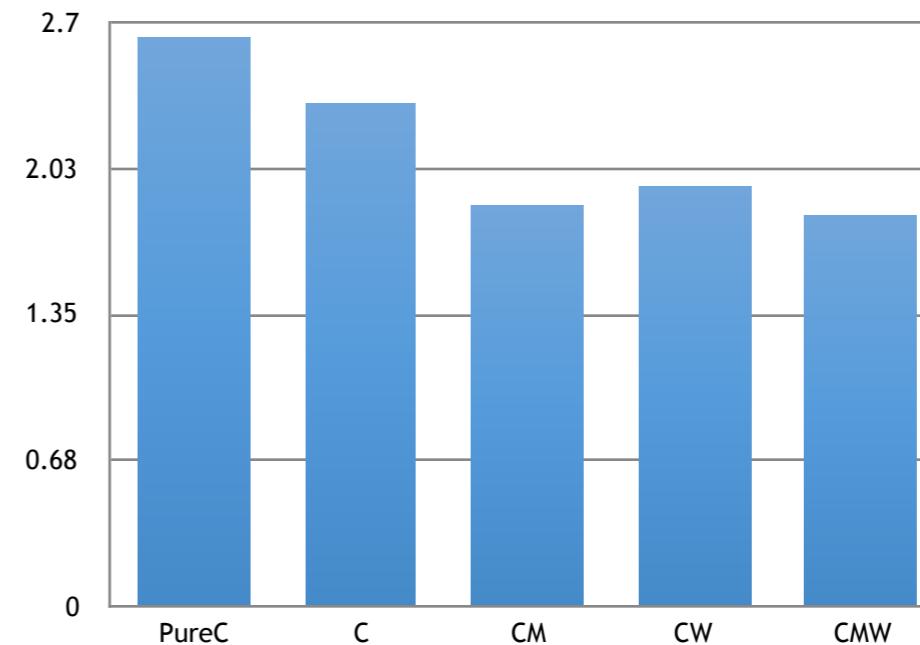


# Language modeling results

Turkish



Finnish



**Lower is better.**

Columns:

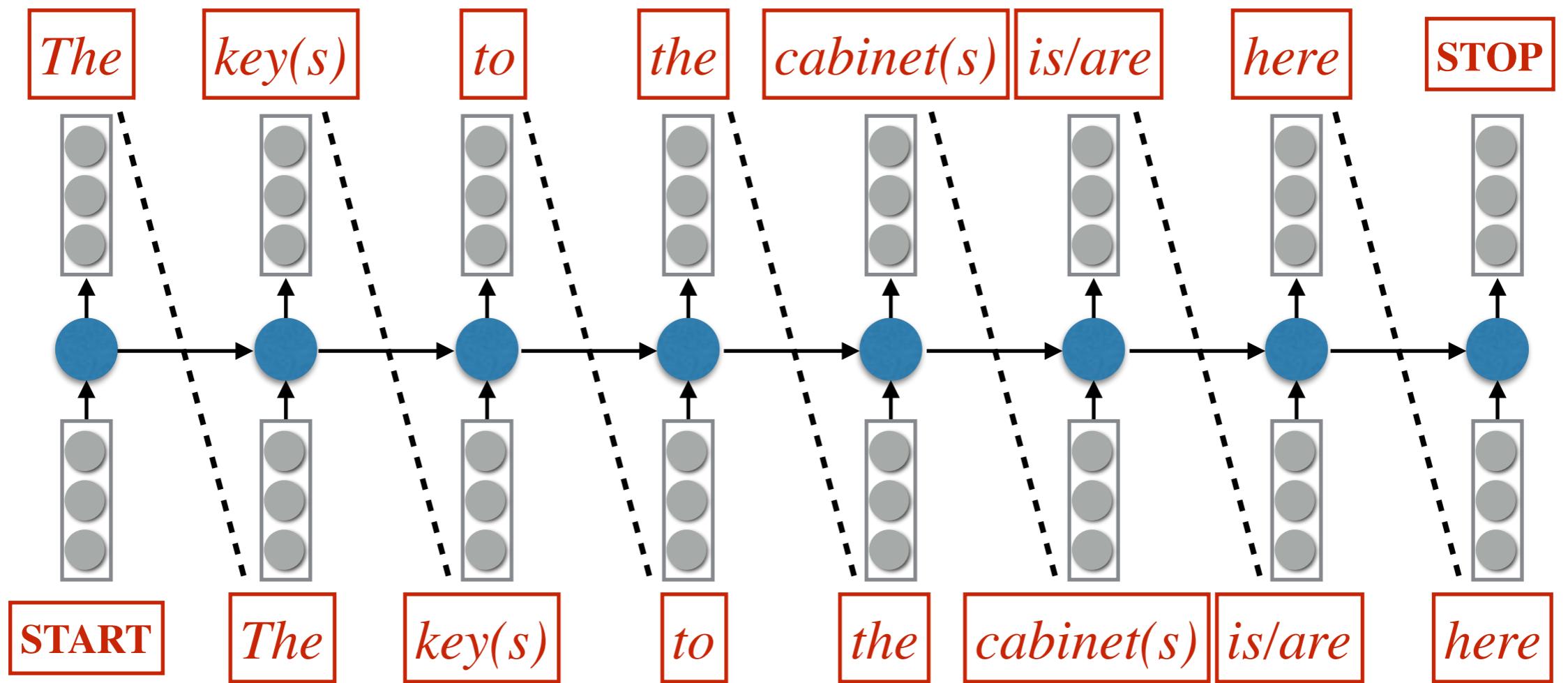
- RNN predicts language as a sequences of characters
- Compositional character model only
- Character+morpheme model
- Character+word embedding model
- Character+morpheme+word embedding model

# Topics

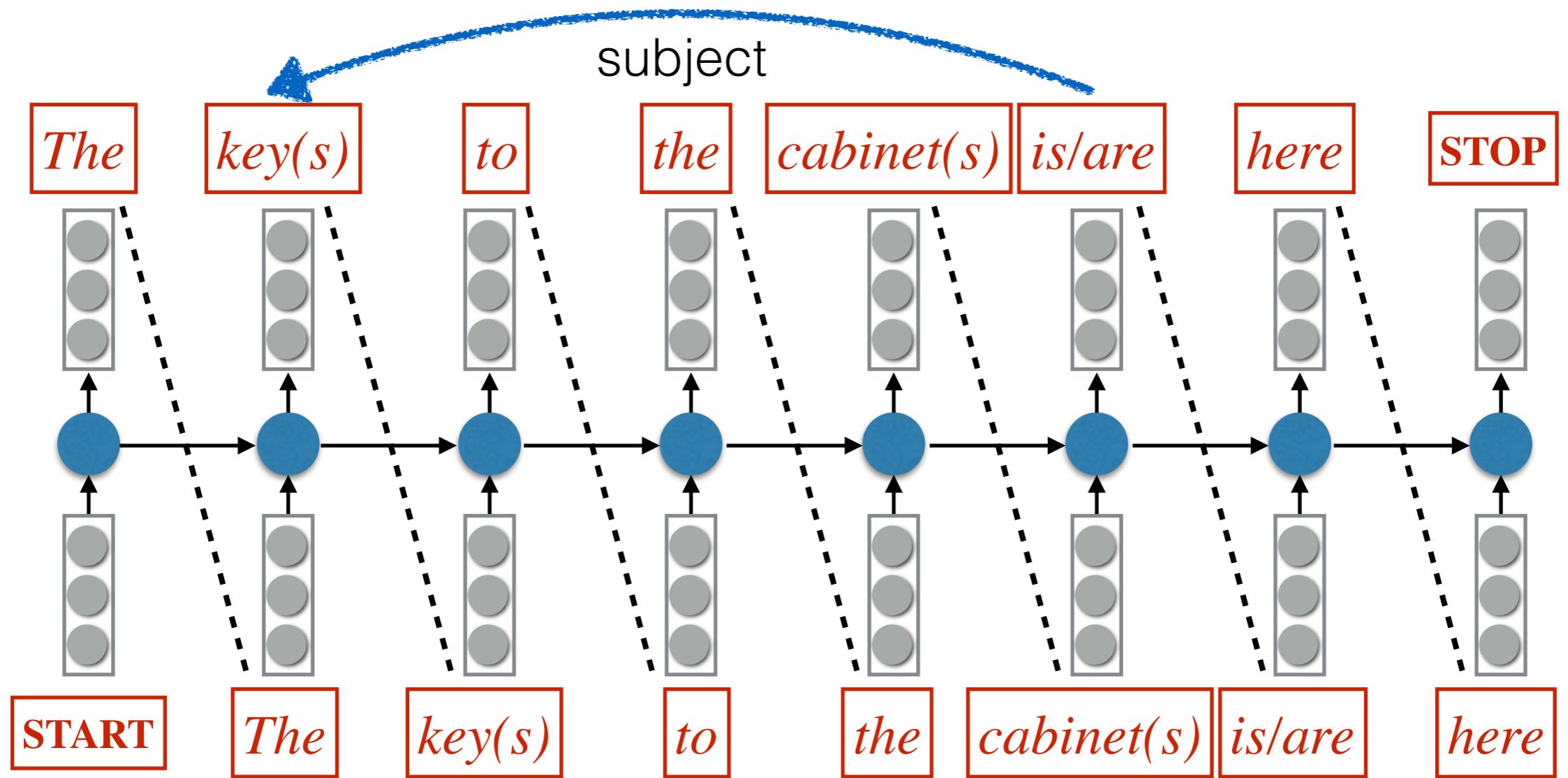
- Recursive neural networks for sentence representation
- Recurrent neural network grammars and parsing
- Word representations by looking inside words  
(words have structure too!)
- Analysis of neural networks with linguistic concepts

# What do Neural Nets Learn about Linguistics?

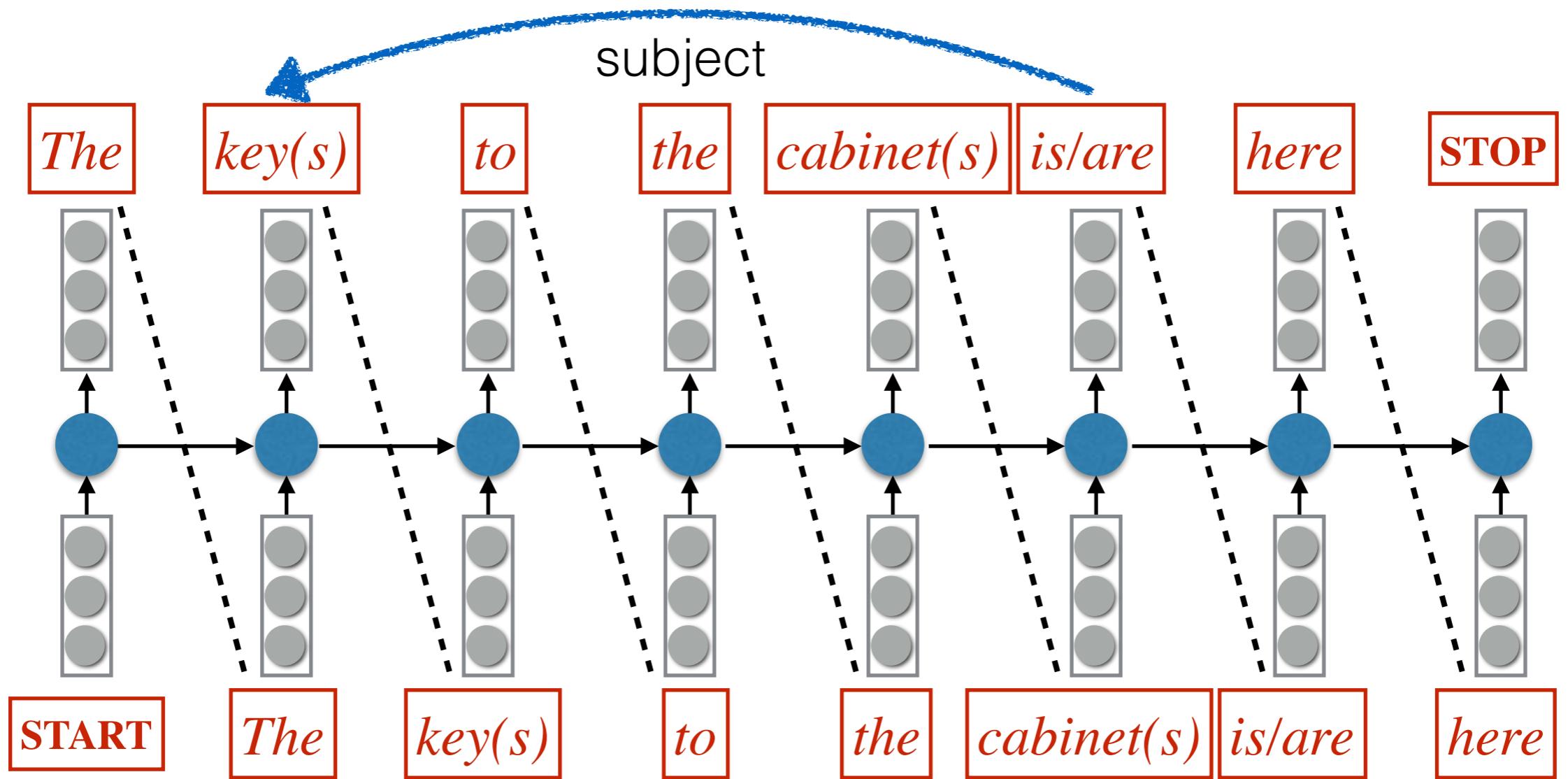
# What do Neural Nets Learn about Linguistics?



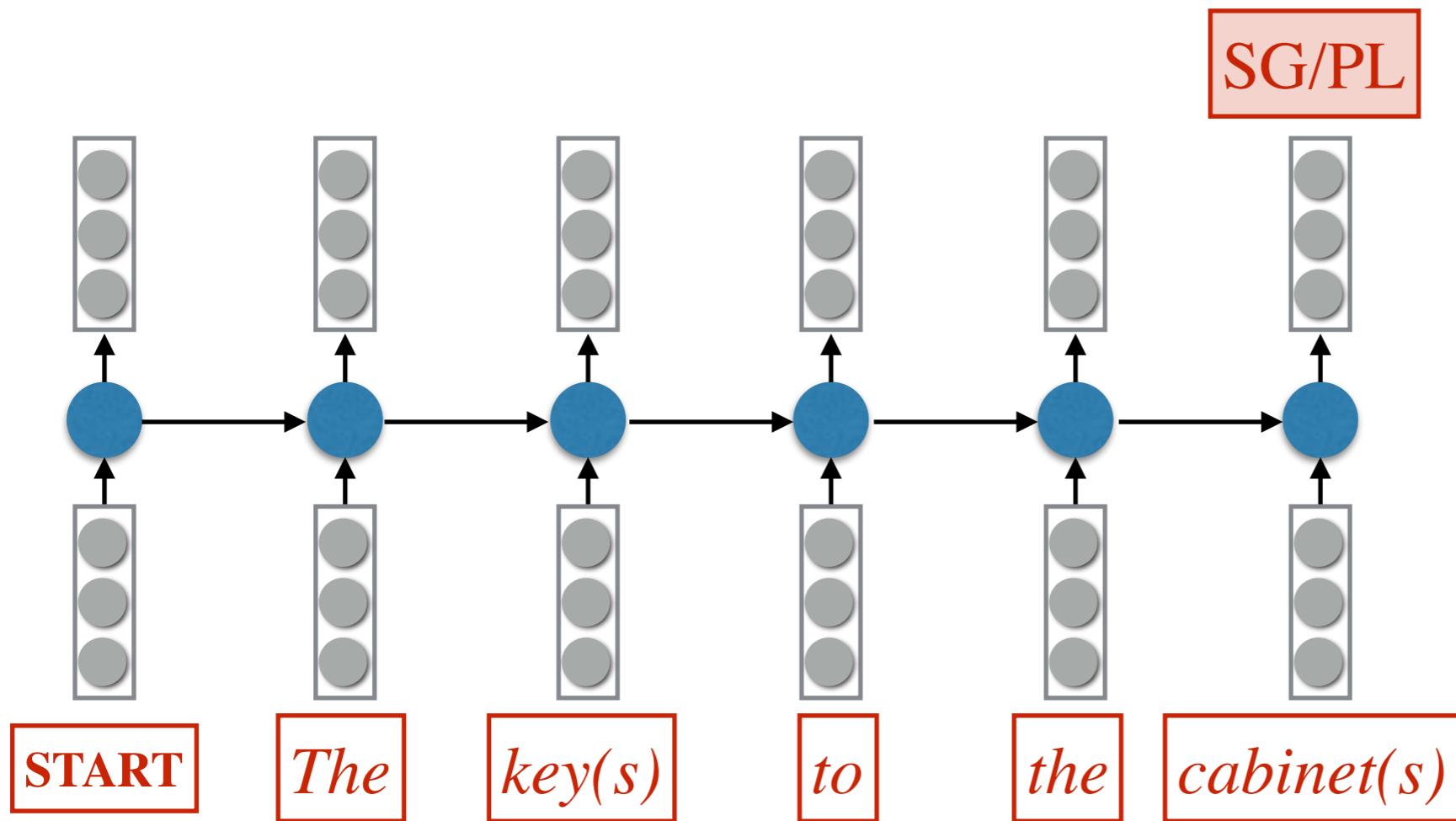
# What do Neural Nets Learn about Linguistics?



# Experiment 1: Can a RNN learn syntax?



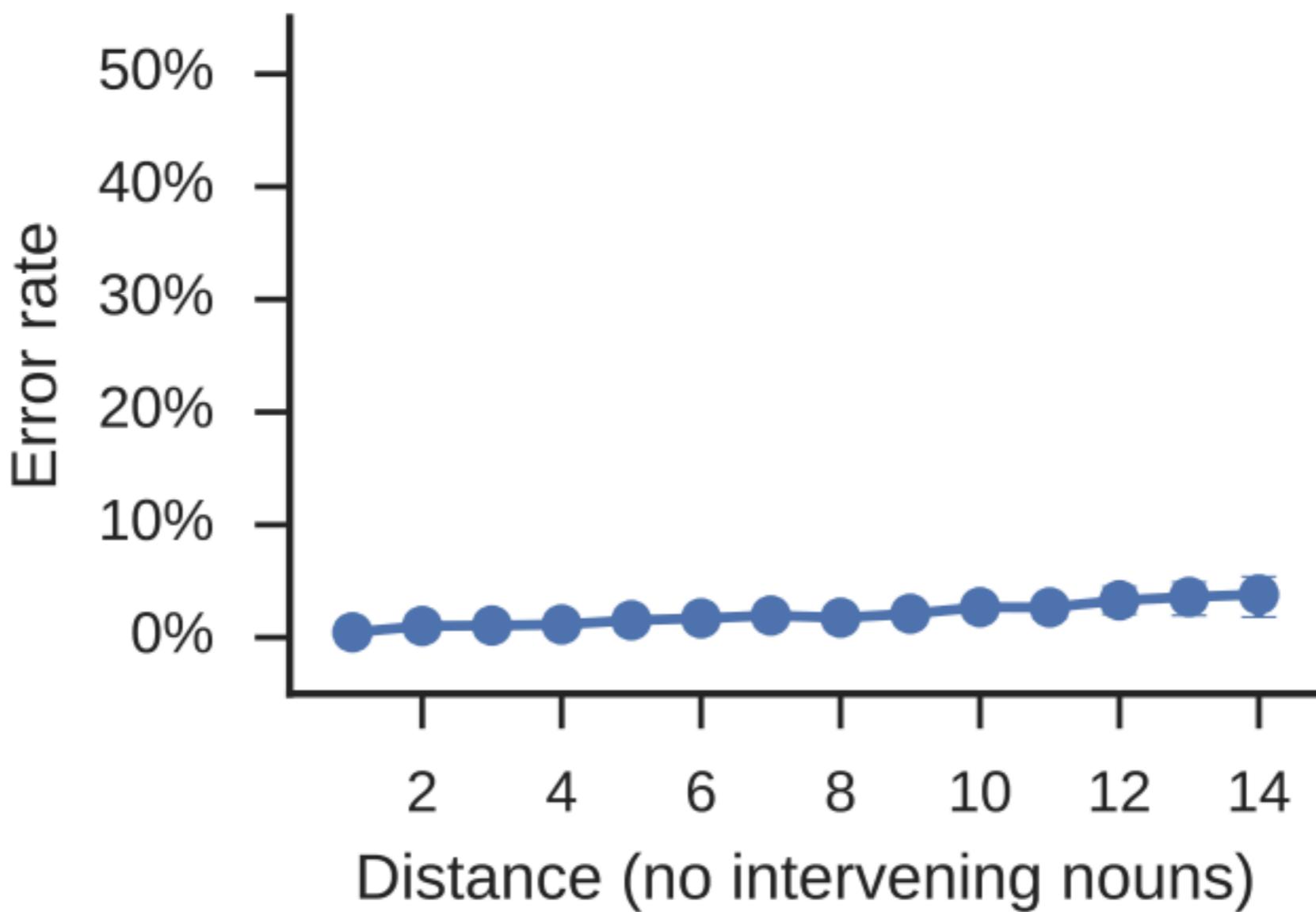
# Experiment 1: Can a RNN learn syntax?



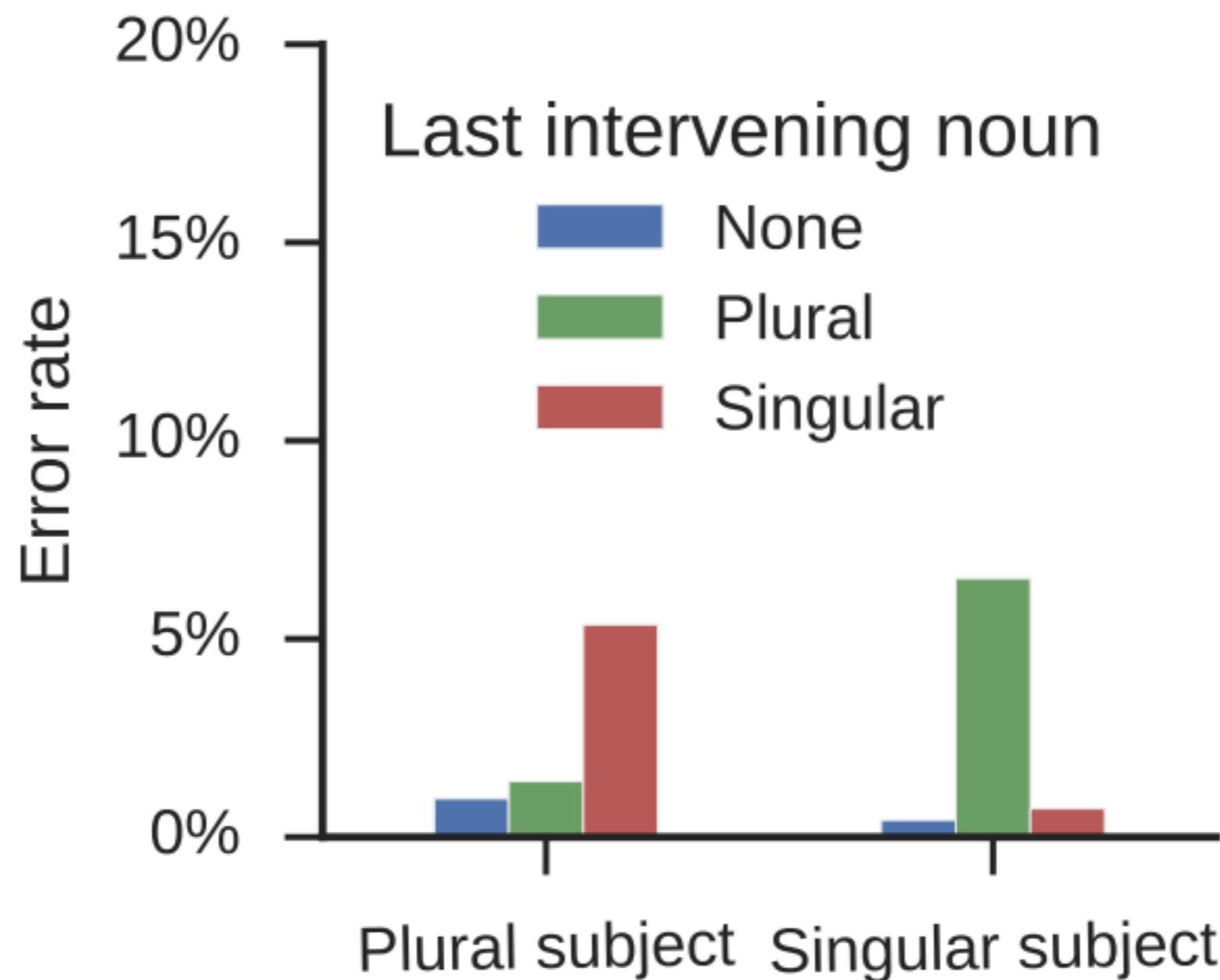
# Experiment 1: Can a RNN learn syntax?

- This is a great set up!
  - To generate training data, we just need to be able to tag present tense verbs in a corpus
  - Authors used ~1.4M sentences from Wikipedia
  - To analyze, we might want a bit more of information about the sentences to know when the model gets it right and when it gets it wrong

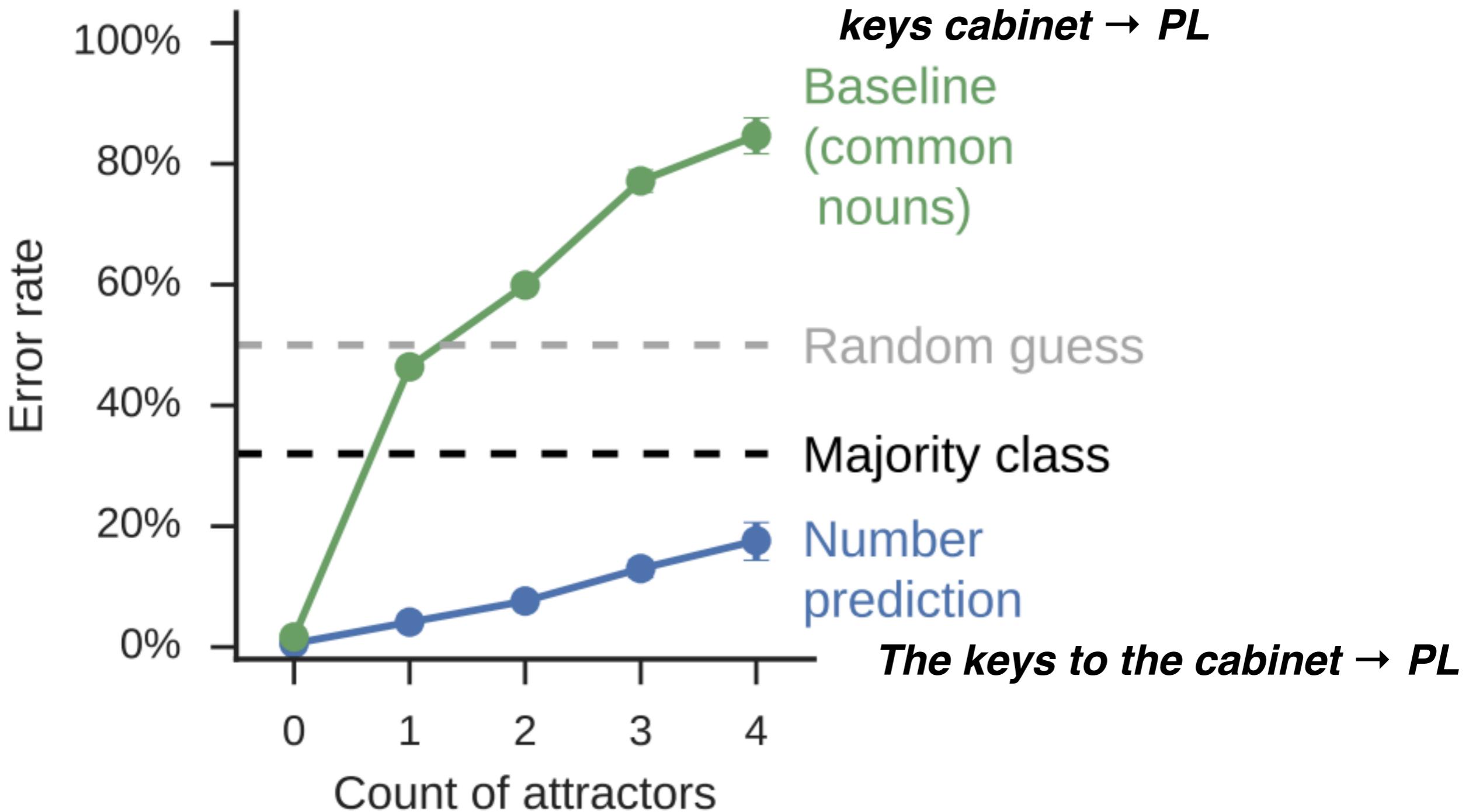
# Experiment 1 Results



# Experiment 1 Results



# Experiment 1 Results



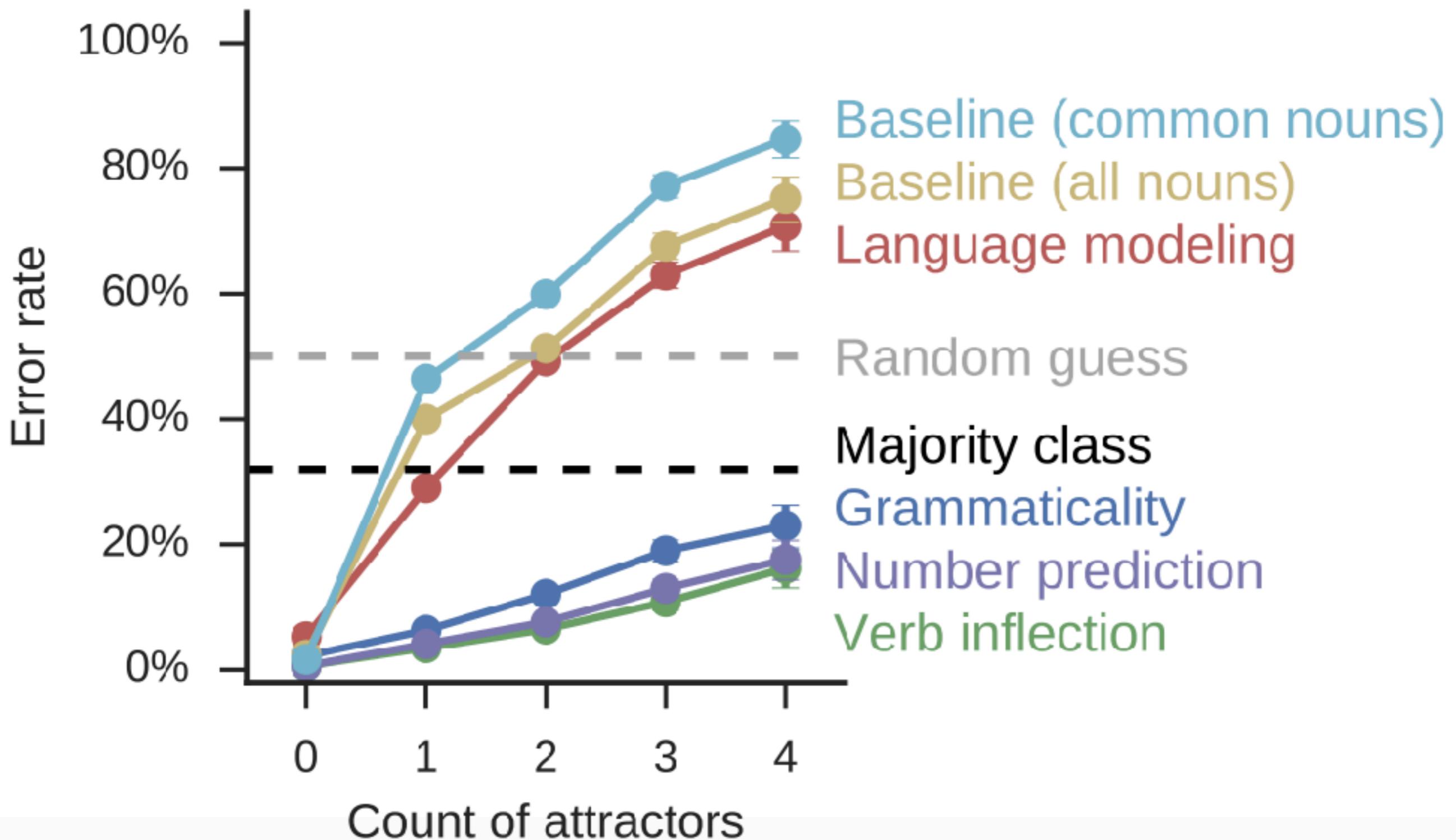
# Experimental Variants

	Training signal	Evaluation Task
The keys to the cabinet	{SINGULAR, <b>PLURAL</b> }	$P(PL) > P(SG)?$
The keys to the cabinet is/are	{SINGULAR, <b>PLURAL</b> }	$P(PL) > P(SG)?$
The keys to the cabinet are here	{ <b>GRAMMATICAL</b> , UNGRAMMATICAL}	$P(GRAMMATICAL) > P(UNGRAMMATICAL)?$
The keys to the cabinet	{ <b>are</b> , is, cat, dog, the, ...}	$P(\text{are}) > P(\text{is})?$

# Experimental Variants

	Training signal	Evaluation Task
The keys to the cabinet	{SINGULAR, <b>PLURAL</b> }	$P(PL) > P(SG)?$
The keys to the cabinet is/are	{SINGULAR, <b>PLURAL</b> }	$P(PL) > P(SG)?$
The keys to the cabinet are here	{ <b>GRAMMATICAL</b> , UNGRAMMATICAL}	$P(GRAMMATICAL) > P(UNGRAMMATICAL)?$
The keys to the cabinet	{ <b>are</b> , is, cat, dog, the, ...}	$P(\text{are}) > P(\text{is})?$

# More Results



# Summary

- RNN Language Models are not learning the correct generalizations about syntax
- Open questions
  - If RNNs are trained jointly to predict “singular/plural” and the next word, would they do better? [**Auxiliary objective**]
  - Would RNNGs do a better job on this task?
- Other experimental variants
  - Is there a “simple” function  $f(\mathbf{h}_t) \rightarrow \{\text{SG, PL}\}$ ?
  - Is there a single dimension corresponding to “number”?

# Linguistics in DL

- Two benefits:
  - Help us design better models based on knowledge about nature
  - Help us interrogate our models to see if they behave like they should
- Any questions?