

# Strong learning and semantics

## Computational Learning of Syntax

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# Topics for today

- Syntactic structure
- Semantic bootstrapping
- Strong learning
- Learning from sound/meaning pairs
- Discussion

## Standard view: Semantic Bootstrapping

[Pinker, 1995]

Many models of language acquisition assume that the input to the child consists of a sentence and a representation of the meaning of that sentence, inferred from context and from the child's knowledge of the meanings of the words (e.g. Anderson, 1977; Berwick, 1986; Pinker, 1982, 1984; Wexler & Culicover, 1980). Of course, this can't literally be true – children don't hear every word of every sentence, and surely don't, to begin with, perceive the entire meaning of a sentence from context.

# Evolution of language

[Kirby, 2002]

So, an example utterance by an individual in the simulation that happened to know something like English might be the pair:

⟨tigereatsjohn, **eats(tiger, john)**⟩

Obviously the biggest component of the simulation will be the part that takes sets of pairs such as these and is able to learn from them in some useful way.

## [Crain and Pietroski, 2001]

PLD	→ LAD →	$G_L$
$\langle \text{string}_1, \text{meaning}_1 \rangle$		$\langle \text{string}_1, \text{meaning}_1 \rangle$
$\langle \text{string}_2, \text{meaning}_2 \rangle$		$\langle \text{string}_2, (\text{meaning}_{2a}, \text{meaning}_{2b}) \rangle$
$\langle \text{string}_3, \text{meaning}_3 \rangle$		$\langle \text{string}_3, \text{meaning}_3 \rangle$
...		...
$\langle \text{string}_n, \text{meaning}_n \rangle$		$\langle \text{string}_n, \text{meaning}_n \rangle$
		$\langle \text{string}_{n+1}, \text{meaning}_{n+1} \rangle$
		$\langle \text{string}_{n+2}, (\text{meaning}_{n+2a}, \text{meaning}_{n+2b}) \rangle$
		...

## Arguments against this view

1. Impossible for children actually to do this.
2. Assumes precisely the ability which needs to be explained.
3. Language would be unnecessary.
4. Language dependence of the semantic representation.
5. Language acquisition starts before children have a theory of mind. (FALSE)
6. Blind and high-functioning autistic children acquire language with only minor delay.

## Why is this view held?

[Steedman, 1996]

As soon as it is recognized that the very earliest stages in acquiring syntax require some language-independent source of information about grammatical categories and grammatical relations, the only plausible source that has ever been identified is the semantic interpretation that underlies the utterance.

... sooner or later, the child needs access to semantic interpretations in order to acquire syntactic competence.

## [Chomsky, 1966]

For example, it might be maintained, not without plausibility, that semantic information of some sort is essential even if the formalized grammar that is the output of the device does not contain statements of direct semantic nature. Here care is necessary. It may well be that a child given only the inputs of (2) as nonsense elements would not come to learn the principles of sentence formation. This is not necessarily a relevant observation, however, even if true. It may indicate only that meaningfulness and semantic function provide the motivation for language learning, while playing no necessary part in its mechanism, which is what concerns us here.



# Running example

## Propositional logic

### Alphabet

rain, snow, hot, cold, danger	$A_1, A_2, \dots$
and, or, implies, iff	$\wedge, \vee, \rightarrow, \leftrightarrow$
not	$\neg$
open, close	$(, )$

# Running example

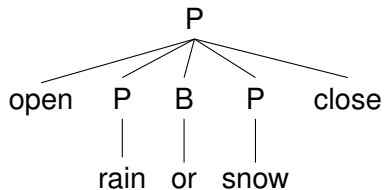
## Propositional logic

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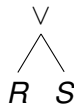
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- rain
- open snow implies cold close
- open snow implies open not hot close close

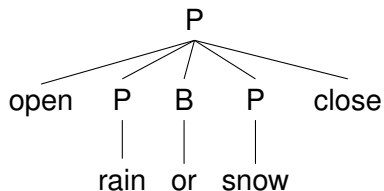
# Classic model



open rain or snow close



# Classic model



open rain or snow close

Q	R	S	
T	T	T	T
T	T	F	T
T	F	T	T
...	...	...	
F	F	F	F

# Models

## Two reasonable models

	Inputs	Outputs
Weak	strings	strings
Weak semantic	strings + meanings	strings + meanings

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Weak	strings	strings
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## An unreasonable model [Wexler and Culicover, 1980]

	Inputs	Outputs
Strong	strings	strings + trees

# Structural descriptions as derivation trees of CFGs

## Target class of grammars

$\mathcal{G}$  is some set of context-free grammars.

Pick some grammar  $G_* \in \mathcal{G}$

## Weak learning

We receive examples  $w_1, \dots, w_n, \dots$

We produce a series of hypotheses  $G_1, \dots, G_n, \dots$

We want  $G_n$  to converge to some grammar  $\hat{G}$  such that  
 $L(\hat{G}) = L(G_*)$

# Structural descriptions as derivation trees of CFGs

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 $\hat{G} \equiv G_*$



# Equivalence

**Equality**  $\hat{G} = G_*$

**Isomorphism**  $\hat{G} \equiv G_*$ : a bijection between the nonterminals so that the two grammars have the same productions.

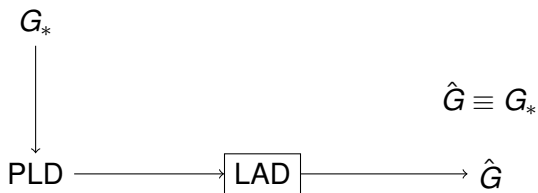
**Strong equivalence** Isomorphic trees

**Structural equivalence** Same unlabelled parse trees  
[Paull and Unger, 1968]

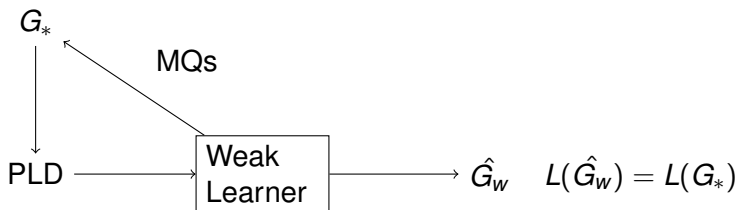
**Power-series equivalence** Same number of derivations  
[Chomsky and Schützenberger, 1959]

**Weak equivalence**  $L(\hat{G}) = L(G_*)$

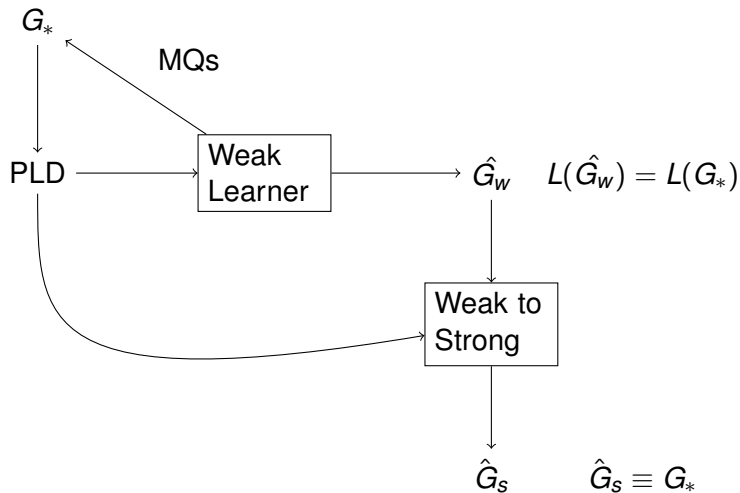
# Classic model



## Weak to Strong learning



## Weak to Strong learning



# Canonical Forms

## Unlearnable classes

Suppose  $\mathcal{G}$  contains  $G_1$  and  $G_2$  such that

$$L(G_1) = L(G_2)$$

$$G_1 \not\equiv G_2$$

Then we cannot strongly learn  $\mathcal{G}$ .

# Canonical Forms

## Any learnable class

$\mathcal{G}$  contains at most one structurally distinct grammar for each language:

- A canonical grammar for that language.
- Apart from a change of labels for nonterminals.

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A strong learner will implicitly define a canonical grammar for every language.

## Discussion

Is it possible that we could have another language with the same set of grammatical strings as English, but with different syntactic structure/degree of ambiguity?



## All CFLs

The minimal grammar will have nonterminals that are closed sets of strings.

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## Consequence

- We can work algebraically with the concept lattice.

## A general principle

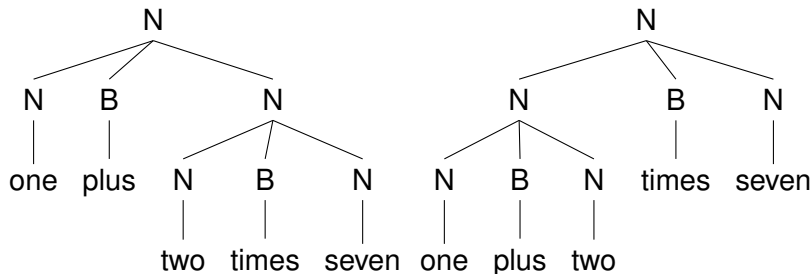
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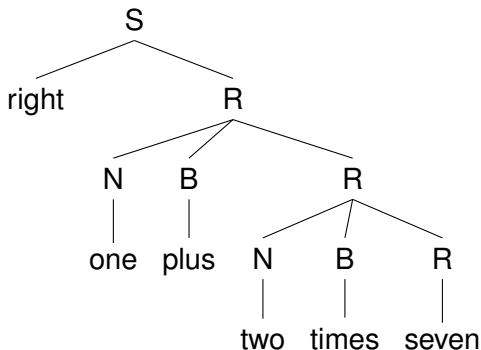
- This result is just talking about a language as a set of strings.
- The minimal grammar for a string-language may not be able to model the string-meaning relation.
- We are therefore making a very strong prediction about the set of allowable languages as sets of string/meaning pairs.

## Possible example



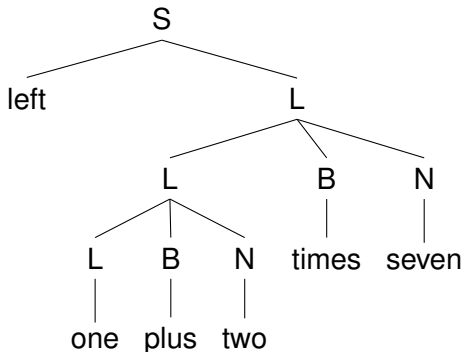
## Impossible example

If it starts with “left” then it branches to the left, and if it starts with “right” it branches to the right.



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# Prediction

## Grammar

$S \rightarrow \text{left } L, S \rightarrow \text{right } R$

$N \rightarrow \text{one}, N \rightarrow \text{two} \dots$

$B \rightarrow \text{plus}, B \rightarrow \text{minus}, \dots$

$L \rightarrow LBN, L \rightarrow N$

$R \rightarrow NBR, R \rightarrow N$

In this grammar  $L, R$  are (weakly) mergeable; as a result this grammar is not structurally possible.



# Prediction

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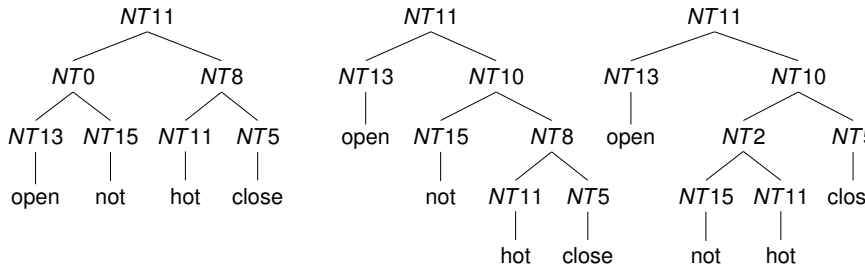
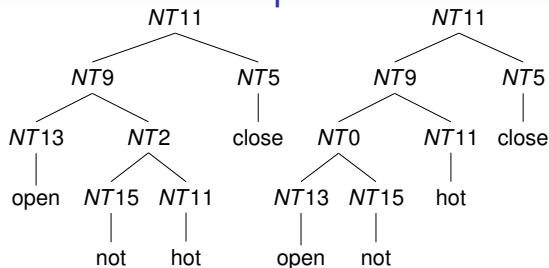
$R \rightarrow NBR, R \rightarrow N$

In this grammar  $L, R$  are (weakly) mergeable; as a result this grammar is not structurally possible.

## Prediction

We predict that all languages use only grammars with minimal nonterminals.

## open not hot close



# Irreducible elements

## Addition

$\{0, 1, 2, 3, \dots\}$

Irreducible elements are 0 and 1

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## Multiplication

$\{0, 1, 2, 3, \dots\}$

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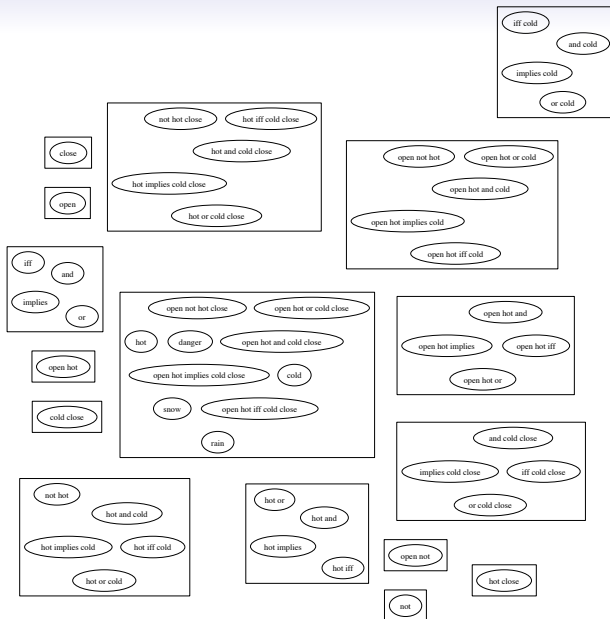
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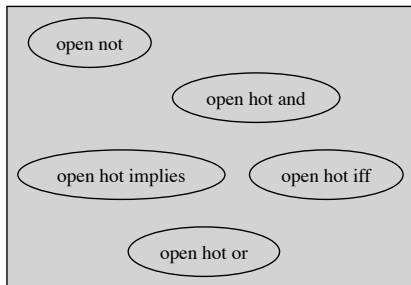
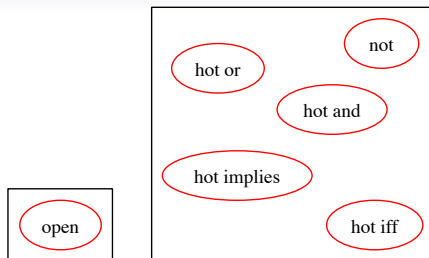
## Multiplication

$\{0, 1, 2, 3, \dots\}$

Irreducible elements are 0, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11 ...

- If the language is not regular, we have an infinite number of possible elements of the lattice, or congruence classes.
- We can select elements that are *irreducible* in a certain sense with respect to the algebraic structure of the lattice.
- To start with we take the irreducible elements with respect to concatenation.







# Definition

## Definition

A congruence class  $X$  is composite if there are two congruence classes  $Y, Z$  such that  $X = YZ$ .

(and neither  $Y$  nor  $Z$  is the class  $[\lambda]$ )

## Definition

A congruence class  $X$  is prime if it is not composite.

The whole is greater than the sum of the parts

## Fundamental theorem of substitutable languages

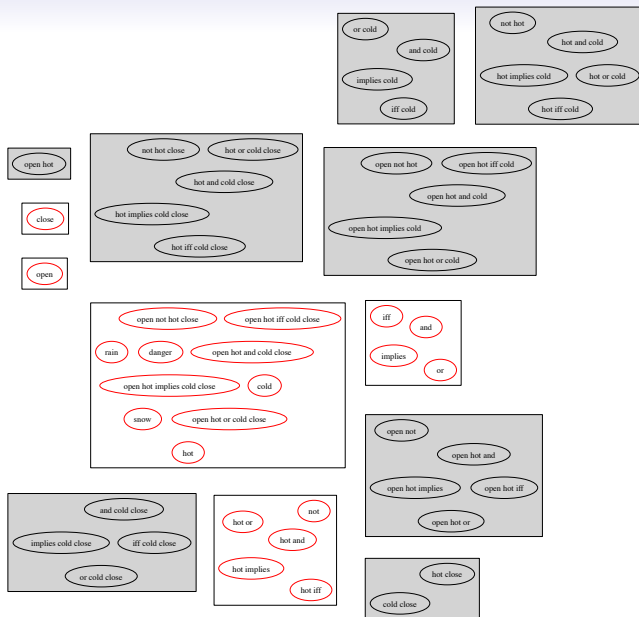
Every congruence class  $Q$  can be uniquely represented as a sequence of primes such that  $Q = P_1 \dots P_n$

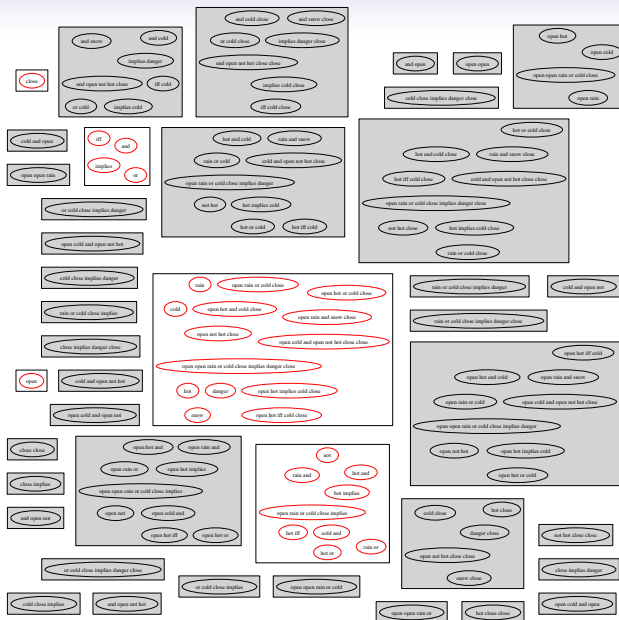
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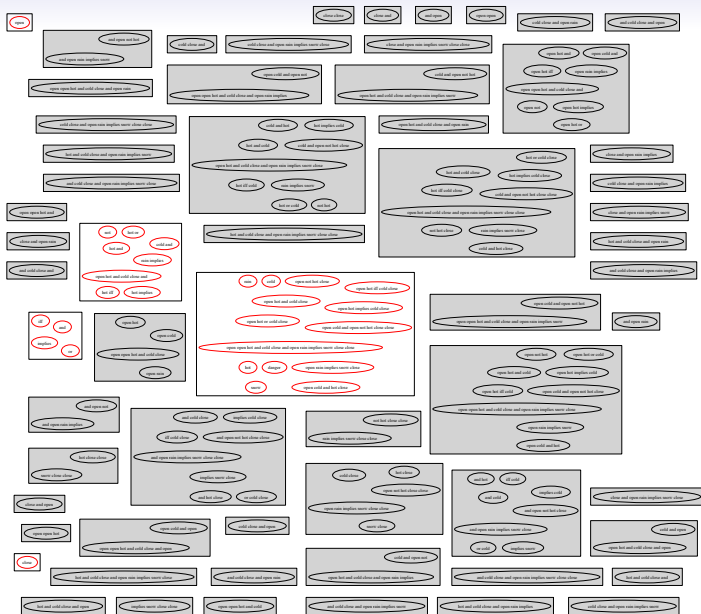
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### Intuition

If  $X = YZ$ , and we have a rule  $P \rightarrow QXR$ , then we can change it to  $P \rightarrow QYZR$



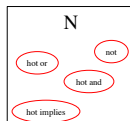
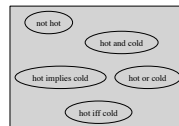
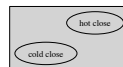
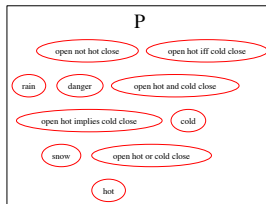
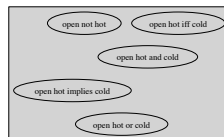
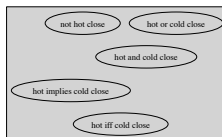
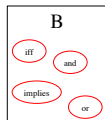
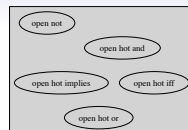
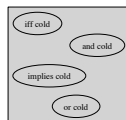




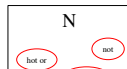
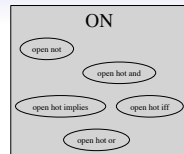
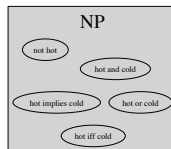
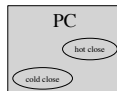
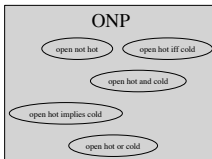
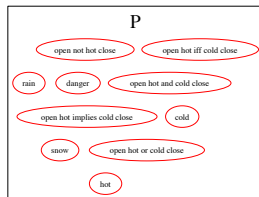
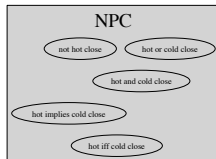
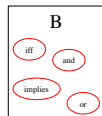
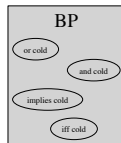
# Restriction

- We only consider substitutable languages which have a finite number of primes.
- We define nonterminals only for these primes.

Label	Examples
P	rain, cold, open rain and cold close
O	open
C	close
B	and, or, ...
N	not, hot or, cold and ...







# Productions

We need non-binary rules.

Correct productions

$$P_0 \rightarrow P_1 \dots P_k$$

where  $P_0 \supsetneq P_1 \dots P_k$

- $N \rightarrow PB$
- $P \rightarrow ONSC$
- Not  $P \rightarrow OPBPC$  – correct but too long.
- Not  $S \rightarrow ONONSCC$

If there are  $n$  primes then there are at most  $n^2$  valid productions.

# A Strong Learning Result

## Class of grammars

$\mathcal{G}_{sc}$  is the class of canonical grammars for all substitutable languages with a finite number of primes.

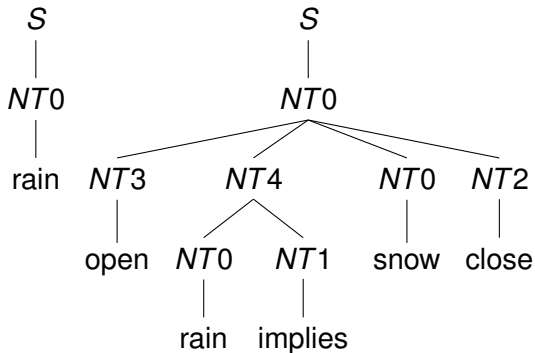
## Theorem

There is an algorithm which learns  $\mathcal{G}_{sc}$

- From positive examples
- Identification in the limit convergence
- Strongly
- Using polynomial time and data

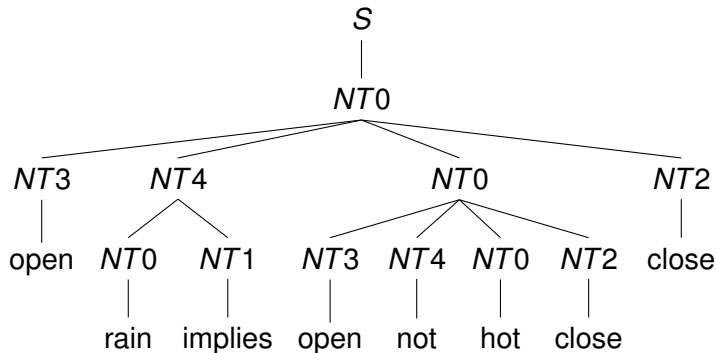
# Running example

(verbatim output from implementation)



# Running example

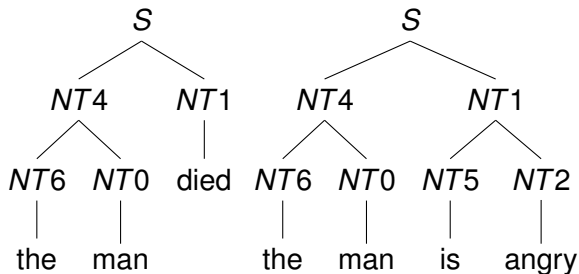
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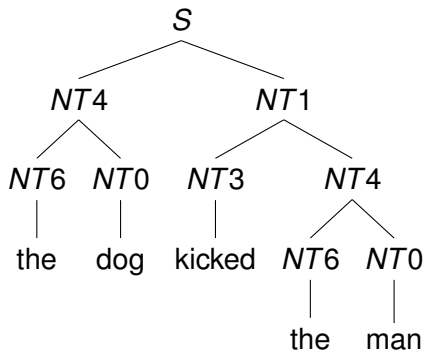
## Example 1

1. the man died
2. the dog died
3. the man is angry
4. it died
5. he died
6. the man kicked the dog

## Example 1



## Example 1

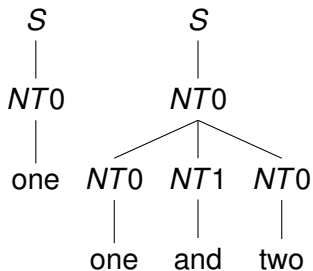




## Example 2

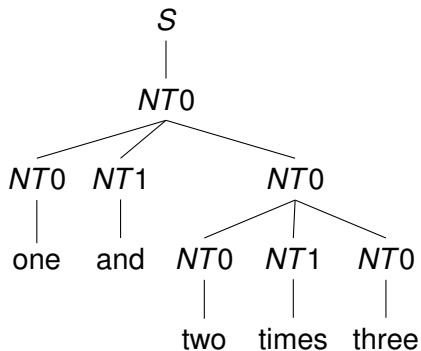
1. one
2. two
3. three
4. one and two
5. two times three
6. one and two times three

## Example 2



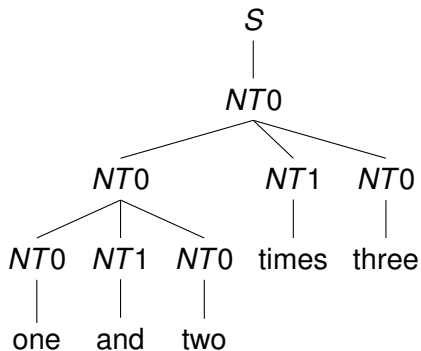
## Example 2

Three trees for this string



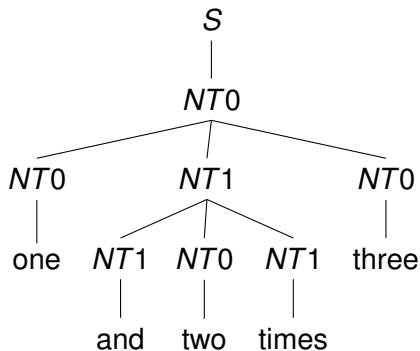
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# Primes

## definition

- A closed set of strings,  $X$ , is composite if there are closed sets of strings  $Y, Z$  such that  $X = Y \cdot Z$ , (and  $X \neq Y$  and  $X \neq Z$ )
- It is prime if it is not composite.

# Primes

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- It is prime if it is not composite.

Informally:

- $X \rightarrow AB$  and  $X \rightarrow CD$  then  $X$  will be prime.

# Toy grammar

$S \rightarrow A B$

$S \rightarrow C D$

$A \rightarrow a1$

$A \rightarrow a2$

$B \rightarrow b1$

$B \rightarrow b2$

$C \rightarrow c1$

$C \rightarrow c2$

$D \rightarrow d1$

$D \rightarrow d2$



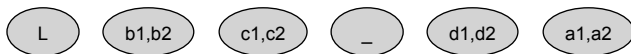
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$$A \rightarrow a2$$
$$B \rightarrow b1$$
$$B \rightarrow b2$$
$$C \rightarrow c1$$
$$C \rightarrow c2$$
$$D \rightarrow d1$$
$$D \rightarrow d2$$

Generates a finite language

$a1\ b2, c2\ d1, \dots$

## Motivating example



## Add some lexical ambiguity

$A \rightarrow ab$

$A \rightarrow ac$

$B \rightarrow ab$

$B \rightarrow bd$

$C \rightarrow ac$

$D \rightarrow bd$

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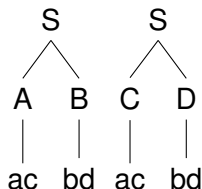
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$D \rightarrow bd$



# English counterexample

Lexical ambiguity

- I can swim
- I may swim
- I want a can of beer

# English counterexample

Lexical ambiguity

- I can swim
- I may swim
- I want a can of beer
- \*I want a may of beer

# English counterexample

Contextual ambiguity

- She is Italian
- She is a philosopher
- She is an Italian philosopher

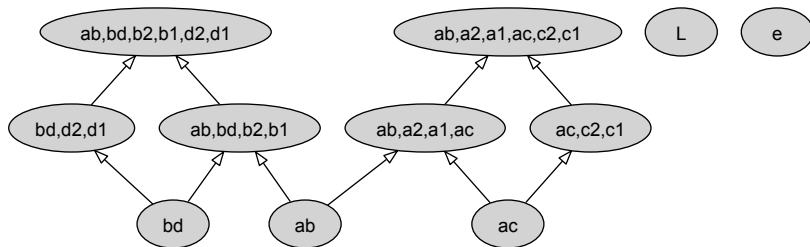
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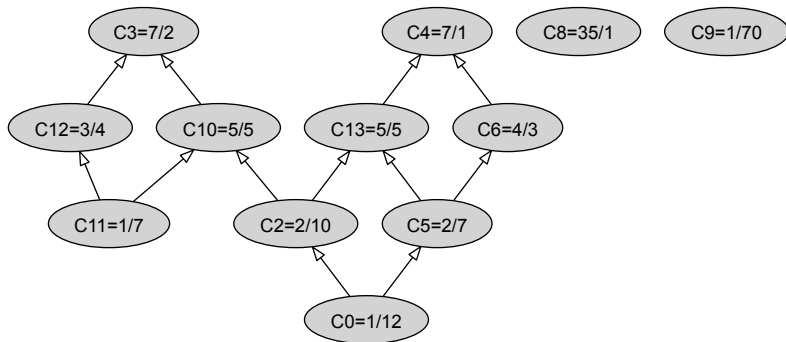
- She is Italian
- She is a philosopher
- She is an Italian philosopher
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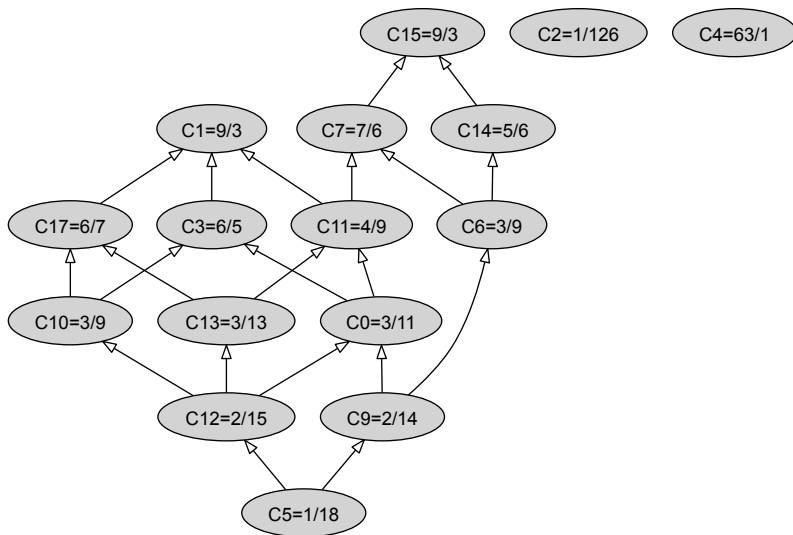
## Motivating example



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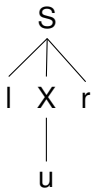
# Motivating example



Suppose you know:

$l(u)r$

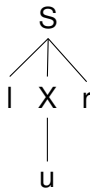
Tree



Suppose you know:

$l(u)r$

Tree



What is the label X?

$$\{l \square r\}^{\triangleleft} \geq X$$

$$X \geq \{u\}^{\triangleright \triangleleft}$$

$\{/\Box r\}^{\triangleleft}$ 

|

**X**

|

 $\{u\}^{\triangleright\triangleleft}$

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \{l\Box r\}^{\triangleleft} \\
 | \\
 X \\
 | \\
 \{u\}^{\triangleright\triangleleft}
 \end{array}$$

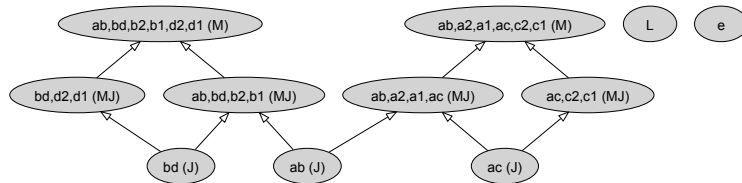
If  $\{l\Box r\}^{\triangleleft} = \{u\}^{\triangleright\triangleleft}$  then  $X$  is fixed.

- If there are  $l, r \in \Sigma^*$  such that  $X = \{l \sqcap r\}^\triangleleft$ , then  $X$  is meet semi-irreducible (MSI)
- If there is a  $w$  such that  $X = \{w\}^{\triangleright\triangleleft}$  then  $X$  is join semi-irreducible (JSI)

We are interested in MSI-JSI-primes: these are (semi)-irreducible wrt the three operations  $\circ, \vee, \wedge$ .



# Motivating example



## Conditions

- A finite number of MJ-primes.
- For every  $a \in \Sigma$ , and every context  $l \sqcap r \in a^\triangleright$  there is a MJ-prime  $A$  such that  $\{l \sqcap r\}^\triangleleft \geq A \geq a^{\triangleright\triangleleft}$
- Two technical conditions that guarantees a finite number of productions.

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- Two technical conditions that guarantees a finite number of productions.

Theorem: [Clark, 2015]

This defines:

- A class of languages
- A class of grammars
- And a bijection between them.

# Auxiliary Inversion in Polar Questions

Chomsky (1971), Crain and Nakayama (1987)

1. The student is hungry.
2. Is the student hungry?
3. The student who is in the garden is hungry.

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4. Is the student who is in the garden hungry?
5. \* Is the student who in the garden is hungry?

## Auxiliary Fronting

Simple experiment with substitutable language learning algorithm.

### Training data

the man who is hungry died .

the man ordered dinner .

the man died .

the man is hungry .

is the man hungry ?

the man is ordering dinner .

## Auxiliary Fronting

Simple experiment with substitutable language learning algorithm.

### Training data

the man who is hungry died .

the man ordered dinner .

the man died .

the man is hungry .

is the man hungry ?

the man is ordering dinner .

### Test data

is the man who is hungry ordering dinner ?

\*is the man who hungry is ordering dinner ?

# Counter-example

Berwick, Coen and Niyogi

Some data sets will give the wrong answer:

- Does he think [well] ?
- Does he think [hitting is not fighting] ?



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Some data sets will give the wrong answer:

- Does he think [well] ?
- Does he think [hitting is not fighting] ?
- I know [the man] likes to fight .
- I know [the man John] likes to fight .

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Some data sets will give the wrong answer:

- Does he think [well] ?
- Does he think [hitting is not fighting] ?
- I know [the man] likes to fight .
- I know [the man John] likes to fight .
- Is [the man] [well] ?
- \* Is the man John hitting is not fighting ?

# Critique

[Berwick et al., 2011]

*Put another way, language acquisition is not merely a matter of acquiring a capacity to associate word strings with interpretations. Much less is it a mere process of acquiring a (weak generative) capacity to produce just the valid word strings of a language. Idealizing, one can say that each child acquires a procedure that generates boundlessly many meaningful expressions, and that a single string of words can correspond to more than one expression.*

# Example

[Berwick et al., 2011]

- Eagles that fly eat.
- Can eagles that fly eat?

$S \rightarrow NP VP ., S \rightarrow CAN NP VI ?$

$NP \rightarrow EAGLES (RC), NP \rightarrow THEY$

$RC \rightarrow THAT VP$

$VP \rightarrow (CAN) VI$

$VP \rightarrow DIED$

$VI \rightarrow EAT, VI \rightarrow FLY$

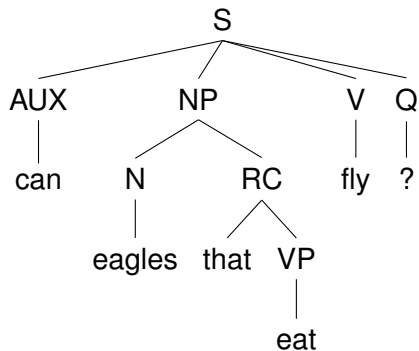
# 43 concepts and 10 primes

[Berwick et al., 2011]

Label	Strings	Context
OAUX	can, $\lambda$	eagles $\square$ eat.
AUX	can	$\square$ eagles eat?
N	eagles	$\square$ that eat fly.
NP	eagles that eat	$\square$ can eat.
RC	that can eat, $\lambda$ , ...	eagles $\square$ can fly.
VI	eat, fly	eagles that eat can $\square$ .
VP	can eat, died	eagles that $\square$ can fly.
C	that	eagles $\square$ can fly fly.
STOP	.	eagles fly $\square$
Q	?	can eagles fly $\square$

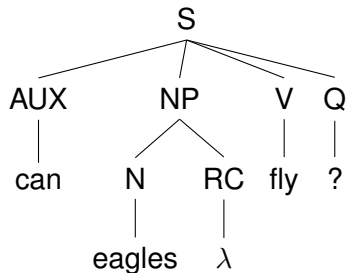
# Example

[Berwick et al., 2011]



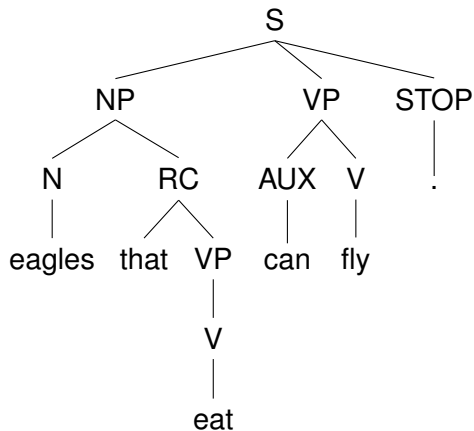
# Example

[Berwick et al., 2011]



# Example

[Berwick et al., 2011]





# Question

Can we extend this to MCFGs?

# Discussion

- The standard view is that the strings are not informative enough to recover the syntactic structures.
- This seems false:
  - The lexical categories can be recovered
  - The structure too (subject to the successful extension of these results)

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  - The structure too (subject to the successful extension of these results)

## Key idea

- There is a Galois connection between derivation contexts and yields for any formalism (in a larger class)
- There is a canonical grammar which is based on the irreducible elements of this structure.

# Learning from string meaning pairs

## Decomposition of strings

- john likes mary
- john
- likes mary

## Decomposition of lambda term

- **(likes(mary))john**
- **(likes(mary))**
- **john**

## Decomposition of strings

- every student hates exams
- every student
- hates exams

## Decomposition of lambda terms

- An expression of type  $t$ :

$$\forall x_e(\mathbf{student}_{e \rightarrow t}(x) \rightarrow (\mathbf{hates(exams)})(x))$$

- An expression of type  $(e \rightarrow t) \rightarrow t$ :

$$\lambda P_{e \rightarrow t}.\forall x_e(\mathbf{student}_{e \rightarrow t}(x) \rightarrow (P)(x))$$

- An expression of type  $e \rightarrow t$ :  $(\mathbf{hates(exams)})$

Some preliminary results using ACGs:  
[Yoshinaka and Kanazawa, 2011]

# Copying is ubiquitous in semantics

## Decomposing strings

- Jennie likes Keiko and Chihiro
- Jennie
- likes Keiko and Chihiro

## Decomposition of lambda terms

- **likes(jennie, keiko)  $\wedge$  likes(jennie, chihiro)**
- **jennie**
- **$\lambda x.(\text{likes}(x, \text{keiko}) \wedge \text{likes}(x, \text{chihiro}))$**

# Framing the problem of language acquisition

## Weak learning

- We want to find a learning algorithm  $A$
- That can learn a class of grammars  $\mathcal{G}$
- Such that  $\mathcal{G}$  can describe all attested natural languages.
- Under a reasonable set of assumptions (!?)



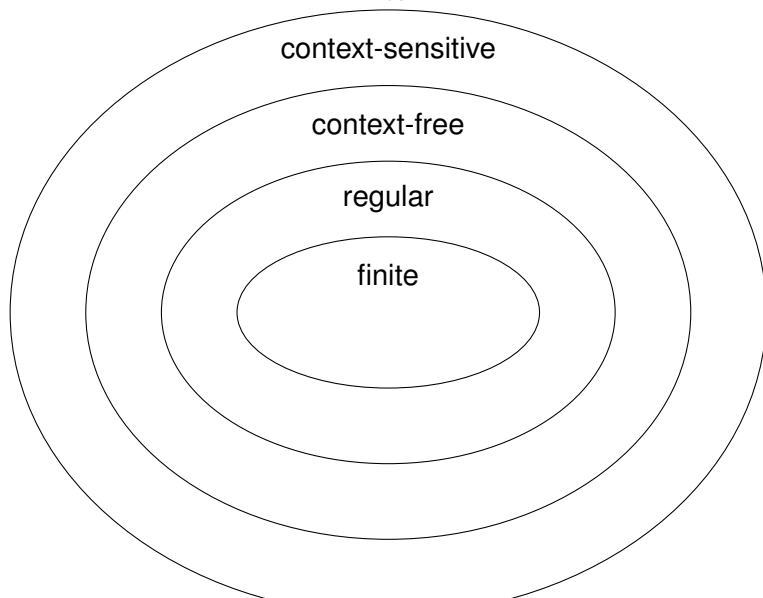
# Tension

## Chomsky, 1986

*To achieve descriptive adequacy it often seems necessary to enrich the system of available devices, whereas to solve our case of Plato's problem we must restrict the system of available devices so that only a few languages or just one are determined by the given data. It is the tension between these two tasks that makes the field an interesting one, in my view.*

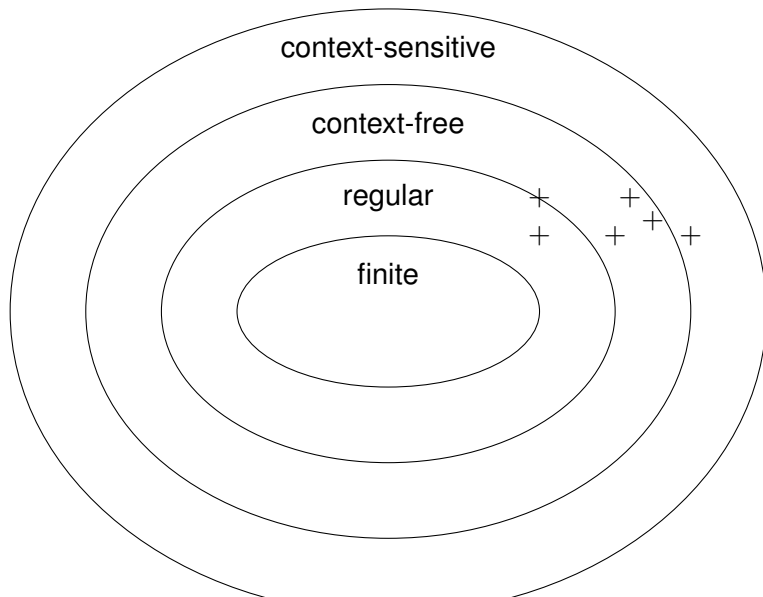
# Standard strategy

Restrict hypothesis class



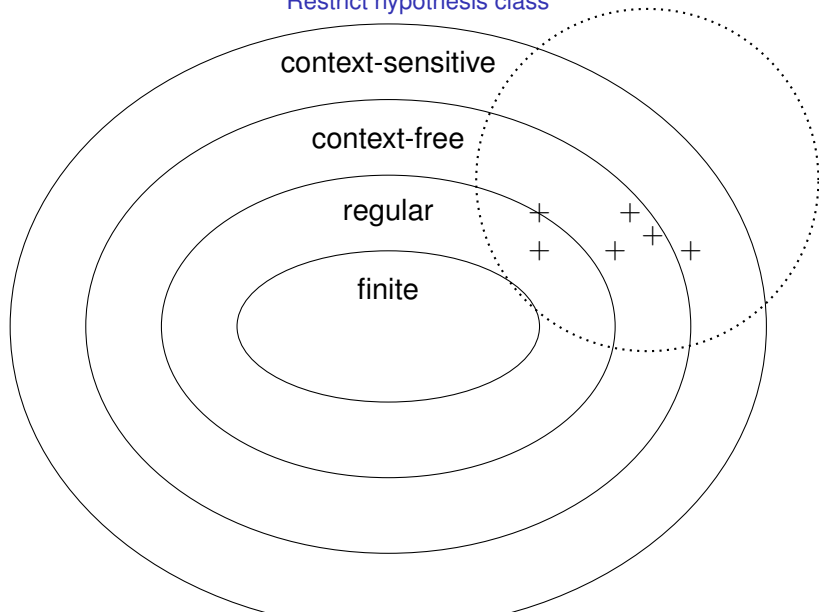
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Restrict hypothesis class



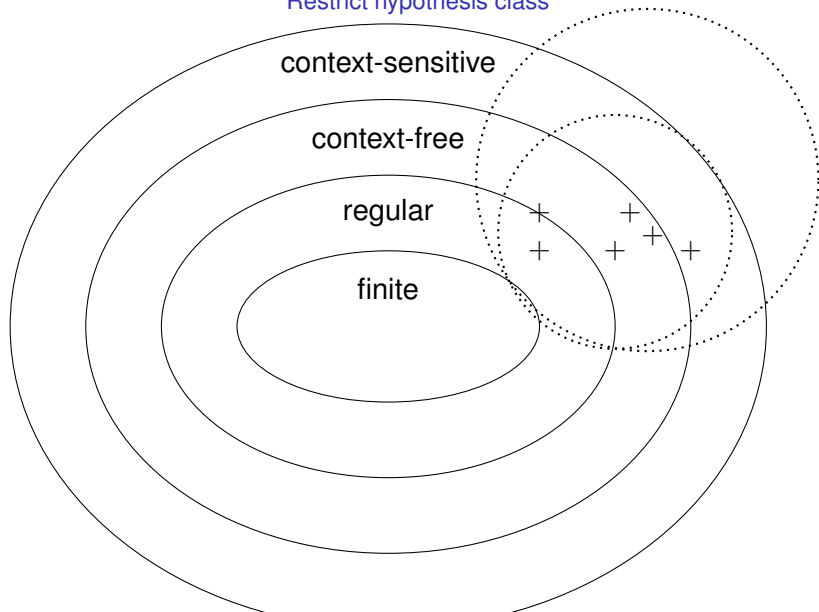
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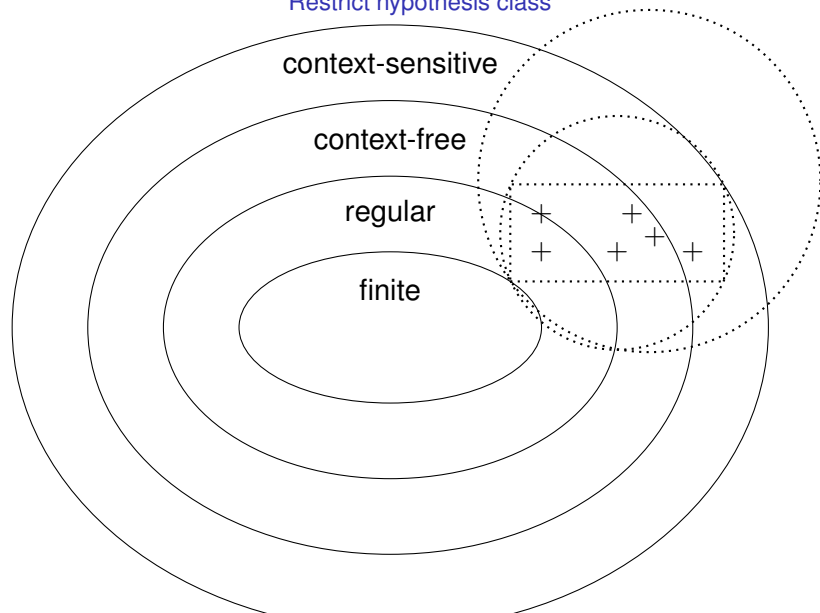
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# Standard strategy

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# Alternative strategy

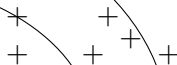
Increase learnable class

context-sensitive

context-free

regular

finite



# Alternative strategy

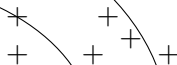
Increase learnable class

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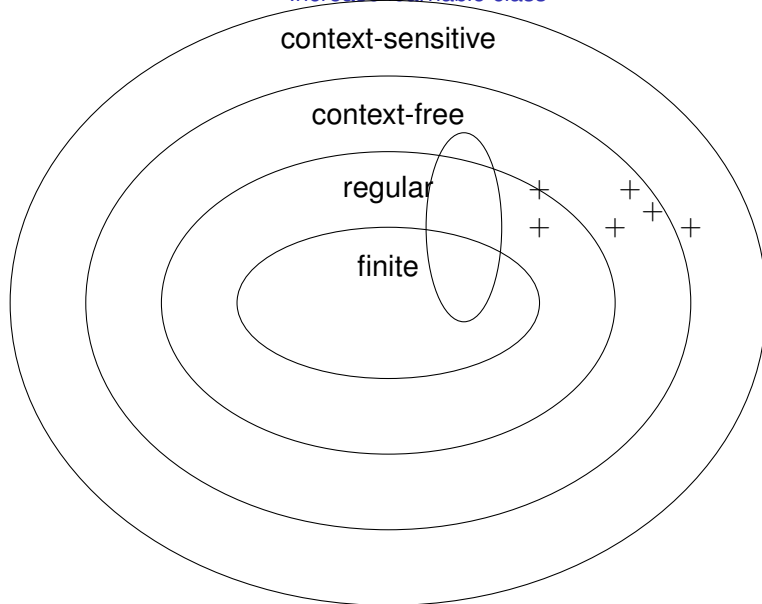
finite





# Alternative strategy

Increase learnable class



# Alternative strategy

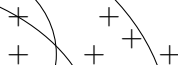
Increase learnable class

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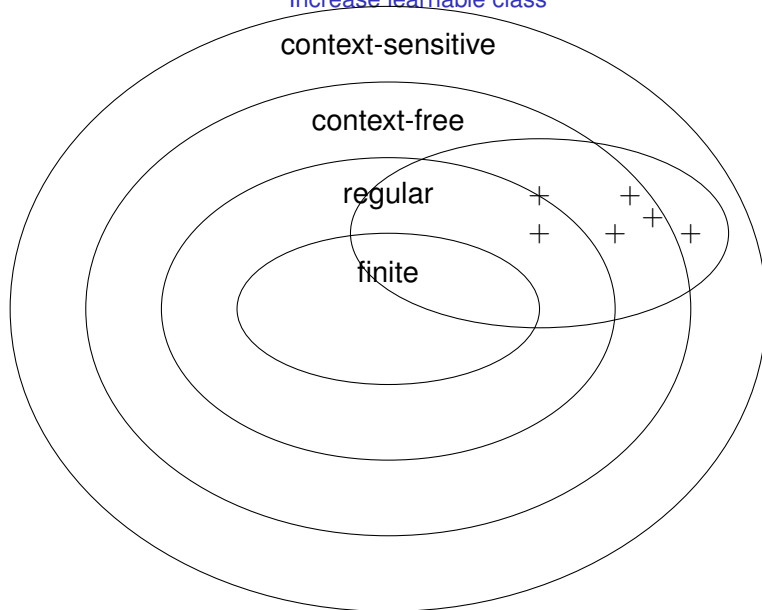
regular

finite



# Alternative strategy

Increase learnable class



## Quote

[Chomsky, 1965]

The only proposals that are explicit enough to support serious study are those that have been developed within taxonomic linguistics. It seems to have been demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that quite apart from any questions of feasibility, methods of the sort that have been studied in taxonomic linguistics are intrinsically incapable of yielding the systems of grammatical knowledge that must be attributed to the speaker of a language.

“intrinsically incapable”?

We now know this is false.

- The systems of grammatical knowledge can be quite limited: (Minimalist Grammars (MGs), Tree Adjoining Grammars, etc.)
- Distributional learning methods can learn large classes of MCFGs which are weakly and strongly equivalent to MGs.

# How does language acquisition take place?

One proposal:

- The learner looks at the relation between contexts and yields for some suitable class of grammars.

## Questions

- Is this the whole story? Or are there additional more language specific processes at work?
- What is the explanation of Greenberg surface universals?
- What about deep universals like subadjacency?
- How are rare phenomena (parasitic gaps etc.) learned?
- What are the alternative explanations at the moment?

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