# Fragment Grammars: Productivity and Reuse in Language 

Timothy J. O'Donnell

## -ness

## -ness

- circuitousness, grandness, orderliness, pretentiousness, cheapness, coolness, warmness, ...


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- circuitousness, grandness, orderliness, pretentiousness, cheapness, coolness, warmness, ...
- $\operatorname{Adj}>\mathrm{N}$


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- grand + -ness
- pine-scentedness


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- verticality, tractability, severity, seniority, inanity, electricity, ...


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## - But ...

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- -ile/-al/-able/-ic/-(i)an


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- Coolity is not trying (from Huffington Post)


## -th

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- warmth, width, truth, depth, ...


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Many enjoy the warmth,Vikings prefer the coolth

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- How are such differences in productivity represented by the adult language user?
- How are such differences learned by the child?


## Outline

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2. Five Models of Productivity and Reuse.

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## The Proposal

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## Starting Computational System

| W | $\longrightarrow$ | N |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| W | $\longrightarrow$ | V |  |
| W | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj |  |
| W | $\longrightarrow$ | Adv |  |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | - ness |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | - ity |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | electro- | N |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | magnet |  |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | dog |  |
| $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | N | $-i f y$ |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | - ize |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | re- | V |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | agree |  |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | count |  |
| $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | dis- | Adj |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | V | - able |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | N | $-i c$ |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | N | $-a l$ |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | tall |  |
| $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| Adv | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | $-l y$ |
| Adv | $\longrightarrow$ | today |  |


agree
$\longrightarrow \quad$ Adj
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## Bayesian Rational Analysis (Andeson, 192)

- Find subcomputations which provide best explanation for the data.
- What evidence is available to the learner?
- Which patterns give rise to productivity, which patterns imply reuse?


## Subcomputations as Predictions



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## Subcomputations as Predictions



Prediction of future reusability of combination

## Subcomputations as Predictions

Prediction of
future novelty/ variability

agree

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## The Formal Model: <br> Fragment Grammars

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## The Formal Model: Fragment Grammars

- Generalization of Adaptor Grammars (Johnson et al., 2007).
- Bayesian non-parametric distributions (Pitman-Yor).
- Notion of compiling subcomputations via tools from probabilistic programming (Church language; Goodman et al., 2008).
- Stochastic memoization Jobnson eata, 2007) of stochastically lazy/ eager programs.


## Languages for probability

- Purposes of a language:
- Makes writing down models easier.
- Makes reasoning about models clearer.
- Supports efficient inference.
- Gives ideas about mental representation.


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\frac{(\sin x)}{(+x y)}
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((repeat double) 3) $=>12$
(define 2nd-derivative (repeat derivative))


## $\psi \lambda$-calculus

- How can we use these ideas to describe probabilities?
- $\Psi \lambda$-calculus: a stochastic variant.
- We introduce a random primitive flip, such that ( flip ) reduces to a random sample $t / f$.
- The usual evaluation rules now result in sampled values. This induces distributions.
- This calculus, plus primitive operators and data types, gives the probabilistic programming language Church.


## Church

## Random primitives:

```
(define a (flip 0.3))
(define b (flip 0.3))
(define c (flip 0.3))
(+ a b c)
```

Goodman, Mansinghka, Roy, Bonawitz, Tenenabum (2008)

## Church

## Random primitives:

(define a (flip 0.3)) => 1
(define b (flip 0.3))
(define c (flip 0.3))
( +a b c)

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## Church

## Random primitives:

| $($ define a (flip 0.3)) | $\Rightarrow 1$ |
| ---: | :--- |
| $($ define b (flip 0.3)) | $\Rightarrow 0$ |
| $($ define c (flip 0.3)) | $=1$ |
| $(+$ a b c) | $=2$ |

Goodman, Mansinghka, Roy, Bonawitz, Tenenabum (2008)

## Church

## Random primitives:

$\left.\begin{array}{l}(\text { define a (flip 0.3)) }\end{array}\right)=>100$

Goodman, Mansinghka, Roy, Bonawitz, Tenenabum (2008)

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## Church

Random primitives:



Theorem: Any computable distribution can be represented by a Church expression.

Goodman, Mansinghka, Roy, Bonawitz,Tenenabum (2008)

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Random primitives:


Conditioning (inference):
(query
(define a (flip 0.3))
(define b (flip 0.3))
(define c (flip 0.3))
(+ a b c)
(= (+ a b) 1))
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## Inference

- Universal inference: an algorithm that does inference for any Church query. (And hopefully is efficient for a wide class.)
- As a modeler, save implementation time: rapid prototyping.
- For cognitive science, shows that the mind could be a universal inference engine.


## Example: Bayes Net



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(define flu (flip 0.2))
(define TB (flip 0.01))
(define cough
(if (or flu TB)
(flip 0.8) (flip 0.1)))

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"Infer the inãice oif fiu, given observed cough."

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        (Fiip 0.S) (Flip O.lj))
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- Alternative to more standard mathematical formalization (see, O'Donnell, 201I).
- Highlights relationship between formalisms (PCFGs, Adaptor Grammars, Fragment Grammars).
- Cross fertilization of ideas from the theory of programming languages.
- Caveat: Church inference algorithms do not work well for these models.


## Goals

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## I. Get across intuitions.

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2. Give flavor of relationships between modeling ideas and programming ideas.
(define unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))
(define adapted-unfold
(PYMem a b
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))))
(define stochastic-lazy-unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map delay-or-unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))
(define delay-or-unfold
(PYMem a b (lambda (symbol)
(if (flip)
(delay (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol))
(stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol)))))

$$
G_{\mathrm{pcfg}}^{\mathrm{a}}(d)= \begin{cases}\sum_{\substack{ \\1 \\ 1}} \theta_{r} \prod_{\mathcal{G}: \operatorname{a\rightarrow oot}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right), \cdots, \operatorname{root}\left(\hat{d}_{k}\right)}^{k} G_{\mathrm{pcfg}}^{\mathrm{root}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right)}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right) & \operatorname{root}(d)=\mathrm{a} \in V_{\mathcal{G}} \\ & \operatorname{root}(d)=\mathrm{a} \in T_{\mathcal{G}}\end{cases}
$$

$$
G_{\mathrm{AG}}^{\mathrm{a}}(d)= \begin{cases}\sum_{r \in R_{\mathcal{G}}: \mathrm{a} \rightarrow \operatorname{root}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right), \cdots, \operatorname{root}\left(\hat{d}_{k}\right)} \theta_{r} \prod_{i=1}^{k} \operatorname{mem}\left\{G_{\mathrm{AG}}^{\mathrm{root}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right)}\right\}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right) & \operatorname{root}(d)=\mathrm{a} \in V_{\mathcal{G}} \\ 1 & \operatorname{root}(d)=\mathrm{a} \in T_{\mathcal{G}}\end{cases}
$$

## $\operatorname{mem}\left\{G_{\mathrm{AG}}^{\mathrm{A}}\right\} \sim \operatorname{PYP}\left(a^{\mathrm{A}}, b^{\mathrm{A}}, G_{\mathrm{AG}}^{\mathrm{A}}\right)$

$$
\begin{gathered}
L^{\mathrm{A}}(d)=\sum_{r \in R_{\mathcal{G}:}: \mathrm{A} \rightarrow \operatorname{root}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right), \cdots, \operatorname{root}\left(\hat{d}_{k}\right)} \theta_{r} \prod_{i=1}^{k}\left[\nu_{\hat{d}_{i}} G_{\mathrm{FG}}^{\mathrm{root}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right)}\left(\hat{d}_{i}\right)+\left(1-\nu_{\hat{d}_{i}}\right) 1\right] \\
G_{\mathrm{FG}}^{\mathrm{a}}(d)= \begin{cases}\sum_{s \in \operatorname{prefix}(d)} \operatorname{mem}\left\{L^{\mathrm{a}}\right\}(s) \prod_{i=1}^{n} G_{\mathrm{FG}}^{\mathrm{root}\left(s_{i}^{\prime}\right)}\left(s_{i}^{\prime}\right) & \operatorname{root}(d)=\mathrm{a} \in V_{\mathcal{G}} \\
1 & \operatorname{root}(d)=\mathrm{a} \in T_{\mathcal{G}}\end{cases} \\
\operatorname{mem}\left\{L^{\mathrm{A}\}} \sim \operatorname{PYP}\left(a^{\mathrm{A}}, b^{\mathrm{A}}, L^{\mathrm{A}}\right)\right.
\end{gathered}
$$

## Fragment Grammars via Probabilistic Programming

I. Stochastic computation via unfold
2. Stochastic reuse via memoization
3. Partial computations via stochastic laziness

## Context Free Grammars

| W | $\longrightarrow$ | N |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| W | $\longrightarrow$ | V |  |
| W | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj |  |
| W | $\longrightarrow$ | Adv |  |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | -ness |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | -ity |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | electro- | N |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | magnet |  |
| N | $\longrightarrow$ | dog |  |
| $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | N | - -ify |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | - -ize |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | re- | V |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | agree |  |
| V | $\longrightarrow$ | count |  |
| $\ldots$ |  | dis- | Adj |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | dis | - able |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | V | $-i c$ |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | N | N |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | N | -al |
| Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | tall |  |
| $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| Adv | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | -ly |
| Adv | $\longrightarrow$ | today |  |

N

agree

## Declarative Knowledge of Constituent Structure

| $p_{\mathrm{w}_{1}}$ | W | $\longrightarrow$ | N |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $p_{\nu_{2}}$ | W | $\longrightarrow$ | V |  |
| $p_{W_{3}}$ | W | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj |  |
| $p_{W_{4}}$ | W | $\longrightarrow$ | Adv |  |
| $p_{\mathrm{N}_{1}}$ | N | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | -ness |
| $p_{\mathrm{N}_{2}}$ | N | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | -ity |
| $p_{\mathrm{N}_{3}}$ | N | $\longrightarrow$ | electro- | N |
| $p_{\mathrm{N}_{4}}$ | N | $\longrightarrow$ | magnet |  |
| $p_{\mathrm{N}_{5}}$ | N | $\longrightarrow$ | dog |  |
|  | $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| $p_{\mathrm{V}_{1}}$ | V | $\longrightarrow$ | N | -ify |
| $p_{\mathrm{V}_{2}}$ | V | $\longrightarrow$ | Adj | -ize |
| $p_{\mathrm{V}_{3}}$ | V | $\longrightarrow$ | re- | V |
| $p_{\mathrm{V}_{4}}$ | V | $\longrightarrow$ | agree |  |
| $p_{\mathrm{V}_{5}}$ | V | $\longrightarrow$ | count |  |
|  | $\ldots$ |  |  |  |
| $p_{\text {Adj }_{1}}$ | Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | dis- | Adj |
| $p_{\text {Adj }_{2}}$ | Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | V | -able |
| $p_{\text {Adj }_{3}}$ | Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | N | -ic |
| $p_{\text {Adj }_{4}}$ | Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | N | -al |
| $p_{\text {Adj }_{5}}$ | Adj | $\longrightarrow$ | tall |  |
|  | Adv |  |  | -ly |
| $p_{\text {Adv }_{1}}$ | Adv | $\longrightarrow$ | today | -ly |

# Declarative Knowledge of Constituent Structure 

(define sample-rhs
(lambda (nonterminal)
(case nonterminal
(('W) (multinomial (list (list 'N) (list 'V) (list 'Adj) (list 'Adv) ... )
(list $p_{\mathrm{W}_{1}} p_{\mathrm{W}_{2}} p_{\mathrm{W}_{3}} p_{\mathrm{W}_{4}} \ldots$ )) )
(('N) (multinomial (list (list 'Adj 'ness) (list 'Adj 'ity) (list 'electro 'N) (list 'magnet) (list 'dog) ...) (list $p \mathrm{~N}_{1} p_{\mathrm{N}_{2}} p_{\mathrm{N}_{3}} p_{\mathrm{N}_{4}} p_{\mathrm{N}_{5}} \ldots$ ))
(('V) (multinomial (list (list 'N 'ify) (list 'Adj 'ize) (list 're 'V) (list 'agree) (list 'count) ...)
(list $p \mathrm{v}_{1} p \mathrm{v}_{2} p \mathrm{v}_{3} p \mathrm{v}_{4} p \mathrm{v}_{5} \ldots$ ))
(('Adj) (multinomial (list (list 'dis 'Adj) (list 'V 'able) (list 'N 'ic) (list 'N 'al) (list 'tall) ...)
(list $p_{\text {Adj1 }} p_{\text {Adj2 }} p_{\text {Adj3 }} p_{\operatorname{Adj}_{4}} p_{\text {Adj5 }} \ldots$ ))
(('Adv) (multinomial (list (list 'Adj 'ly) (list 'today) ...)
(list $p_{\mathrm{W}_{1}} p_{\mathrm{W}_{2}} \ldots$ ) ) ) ) )

## Fundamental Recursive Computation: unfold

(define unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol) symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))

## Fundamental Recursive Computation: unfold

(define unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol) symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))) R
Choose a right-hand side for symbol:
$N \rightarrow$ Adj -ty

## Fundamental Recursive Computation: unfold

(define unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol) symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))

## Fundamental Recursive Computation: unfold

(define unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol) symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))

Recursively apply unfold to
each symbol on right-hand side

# Computation Trace 

## (unfold ‘N)

## Computation Trace

## (unfold ‘N)

(define unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))

## Computation Trace

## (unfold ‘N) <br> (define unfold <br> (lambda (symbol) <br> (if (terminal? symbol) <br> symbol <br> (map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))) <br> (sample-rhs 'N)

# Computation Trace 

## (unfold ‘N) <br> (sample-rhs 'N)

## Computation Trace



# Computation Trace 

## (unfold ‘N) <br> (sample-rhs 'N)

## Computation Trace

(unfold 'N)

(unfold ‘Adj)
(unfold ‘ity)

## Computation Trace



## Trace as Tree



## agree

## Reusability for PCFGs



## Fragment Grammars via Probabilistic Programming

I. Stochastic computation via unfold

## 2. Stochastic reuse via memoization

3. Partial computations via stochastic laziness

## Memoization

## Memoization

- Store outputs of earlier computations in a table


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## Memoization

- Store outputs of earlier computations in a table
- When function is called with particular arguments then grab from table if stored
- When function is called with new arguments, then compute and store in table
- Higher-order function: mem


# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(lambda (person)

```
(if (flip 0.5) `blue `brown)))
```


# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(lambda (person)
(if (flip 0.5) ‘blue ‘brown)))
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue

# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(lambda (person)
(if (flip 0.5) ‘blue ‘brown)))
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue (eye-color ‘bob) => ‘brown

# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(lambda (person)
(if (flip 0.5) ‘blue ‘brown)))
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘brown
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue

# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(lambda (person)
(if (flip 0.5) ‘blue ‘brown)))
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color 'bob) => ‘brown
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘brown

# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(lambda (person)
(if (flip 0.5) ‘blue ‘brown)))
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color 'bob) => ‘brown
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘brown

# Reuse through Memoization 

(define eye-color
(mem (lambda (person)
(if (flip 0.5) ‘blue brown))))

## Reuse through Memoization

Anywhere in the program where (eye-color 'bob)
(define eye-color (mem (lambda (pers value. (if (flip 0.5) ، value. orowir) )

# Reuse through Memoization 

Anywhere in the program where (eye-color 'bob)
(define eye-color (mem (lambda (pers value. (if (flip 0.5) ، value. orown) )
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue

# Reuse through Memoization 

Anywhere in the program where (eye-color 'bob)
(define eye-color (mem (lambda (pers value. (if (flip 0.5) ، value. orowir) )
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue

# Reuse through Memoization 

Anywhere in the program where (eye-color 'bob)
(define eye-color (mem (lambda (pers value. (if (flip 0.5) ، value. orowir) )
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue

# Reuse through Memoization 

Anywhere in the program where (eye-color 'bob)
(define eye-color (mem (lambda (pers value.
(if (flip 0.5) ، value. orowir) )
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue
(eye-color ‘bob) => ‘blue

# Reuse through Memoization 

Anywhere in the program where (eye-color 'bob)
(define eye-color (mem (lambda (pers value.
(if (flip 0.5) 'value orowir) /)

| (eye-color | ob ) | => |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (eye-color | ' bob) | => |
| (eye-color | ( bob) | => |
| (eye-color | ' bob) | => |

## Stochastic Reusability

- Deterministic memoization always returns same value after first call, but sometimes we want to probabilistically favor reuse.


# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
( lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world)))

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
( lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world)))
(location ‘bob) => ‘UCLA

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
( lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world)))
(location ‘bob) => ‘UCLA
(location ‘bob) => ‘Antarctica

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
( lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world)))
(location ‘bob) => ‘UCLA
(location ‘bob) => ‘Antarctica
(location 'bob) => 'London

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world)))
(location ‘bob) => ‘UCLA
(location ‘bob) $=>$ 'Antarctica
(location 'bob) => 'London
(location ‘bob) => ‘Thailand

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world)))
(location ‘bob) => ‘UCLA
(location 'bob) => ‘Antarctica
(location 'bob) => 'London
(location ‘bob) => ‘Thailand

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(stochastic-mem (lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world))))

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(stochastic-mem (lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world))))
(location 'bob) => 'home

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(stochastic-mem (lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world))))
(location 'bob) => 'home
(location ‘bob) => 'office

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(stochastic-mem (lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world))))
(location 'bob) => 'home
(location 'bob) => 'office
(location ‘bob) => ‘home

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(stochastic-mem (lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world))))
(location 'bob) => 'home
(location 'bob) => 'office
(location ‘bob) => ‘home
(location 'bob) => 'home

# Stochastic Reusability 

(define location
(stochastic-mem (lambda (person)
(sample-location-in-world))))
(location 'bob) => 'home
(location 'bob) => 'office
(location ‘bob) => ‘home
(location 'bob) => 'home

## Stochastic Memoization

(Goodman et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2007)

# Stochastic Memoization 

 (Goodman et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2007)- Adaptor Grammars:Anything that can be computed can be stored and reused probabilistically.


# Stochastic Memoization 

 (Goodman et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2007)- Adaptor Grammars:Anything that can be computed can be stored and reused probabilistically.
- Memoization distribution: Pitman-Yor Processes (Pitman \& Yor, 1995).


## Stochastic Memoization

 (Goodman et al., 2008; Johnson et al., 2007)- Adaptor Grammars:Anything that can be computed can be stored and reused probabilistically.
- Memoization distribution: Pitman-Yor Processes (Pitman \& Yor, 1995).
- Stochastic memoization + PCFGs $=$ Adaptor Grammars.


## Pitman-Yor Process

## Pitman-Yor Process

- Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process


## Pitman-Yor Process

- Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process
- Two parameters:


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- $a \in[0, I]$


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- $a \in[0, I]$
- $b>-a$


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- Two parameters:
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Probability of Reuse

$$
\frac{y_{i}-a}{N+b}
$$

## Pitman-Yor Process

- Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process
- Two parameters:
- $a \in[0, I]$
$y_{i}$ : Total number of observations of value $i$
- $b>-a$

Probability of Reuse $\frac{y_{i}-a}{N+b}$

## Pitman-Yor Process

- Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process
- Two parameters:
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$y_{i}$ : Total number of observations of value $i$
$N$ : Total number of observations

Probability of Reuse

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## Pitman-Yor Process

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Probability of Reuse

$$
\frac{y_{i}-a}{N+b}
$$

$y_{i}$ : Total number of observations of value $i$
$N$ : Total number of observations

Probability of Novelty

$$
\frac{a \cdot K+b}{N+b}
$$

## Pitman-Yor Process

- Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process
- Two parameters:
- $a \in[0, I]$
- $b>-a$

Probability of Reuse

$$
\frac{y_{i}-a}{N+b}
$$

$y_{i}$ : Total number of observations of value $i$
$N$ : Total number of observations
$K$ : Total number of values
Probability of Novelty

$$
\frac{a \cdot K+b}{N+b}
$$

## (func argl ... argN)

## (PYMem a b func)

$\mathrm{N}=0$
$\mathrm{~K}=0$






## $v_{4} \sim(f u n c$ arg1 ...)




## Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\underset{\frac{\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{I}}{\mathrm{~K}=\mathrm{I}} \uparrow \substack{\mathrm{v}_{4}}}{\substack{1-a \\ \frac{a \cdot 1+b}{1+b}}}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \frac{y_{i}-a}{N+b} \\
& \substack{\mathrm{~N}=1 \\
\mathrm{~K}=1} \\
& \underbrace{\mathrm{v}_{4}}_{\frac{1-a}{1+b}} \frac{a \cdot 1+b}{1+b} \cdots \cdots
\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$


Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& a \cdot K+b \\
& N+b
\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\underset{\frac{\mathrm{N}=\mathrm{I}}{\mathrm{~K}=\mathrm{I}} \uparrow \substack{\mathrm{v}_{4}}}{\substack{1-a \\ \frac{a \cdot 1+b}{1+b}}}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{N}=\mathrm{I} \\
& \mathrm{~K}=\mathrm{I} \\
& \frac{\mathrm{v}_{4}}{1+b} \frac{a \cdot 1+b}{1+b}
\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\underset{\frac{\mathrm{N}}{\mathrm{~N}=2} \mathrm{~K}=1}{\substack{1-a \\ \frac{1}{1+b}}}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{N}=2 \\
& \mathrm{~K}=\mathrm{I}
\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

## $\mathrm{v}_{1} \sim($ func arg1 ...)

$$
\underset{\frac{\mathrm{N}=2}{\mathrm{~K}=1} \downarrow \overbrace{\frac{1-a}{1+b}} \frac{a \cdot 1+b}{1+b}}{\mathrm{v}_{4}}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{N}=2 \\
& \mathrm{~K}=2 \\
& \frac{\mathrm{v}_{4}}{1+b} \frac{a \cdot 1+b}{1+b}
\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathbf{v}_{4}, \mathbf{v}_{1}$


Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}, \mathrm{v}_{1}$


Samples: $\mathbf{v}_{4}, \mathbf{v}_{1}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{N}=2 \\
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\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}, \mathrm{v}_{1}$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{N}=2 \\
& \mathrm{~K}=2
\end{aligned}
$$

Samples: $\mathrm{v}_{4}, \mathrm{v}_{1}$


Samples: $\mathbf{v}_{4}, \mathbf{v}_{1}, \mathbf{v}_{4}$


Samples: $\mathbf{v}_{4}, \mathbf{v}_{1}, \mathbf{v}_{4}$

## Properties of PYPs

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- Rich get richer, concentrates distribution on a few values.


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- Rich get richer, concentrates distribution on a few values.
- Prefers fewer customers/tables/tables-percustomer.


## Properties of PYPs

- Rich get richer, concentrates distribution on a few values.
- Prefers fewer customers/tables/tables-percustomer.
- Prefers to generate novel values proportional to how often novelty has been generated in the past.


## Adaptor Grammars (Johnson et al., 2007)

(define adapted-unfold
(PYMem a b
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))))

## Properties of Adaptor Grammars

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- Reuse previous computations (subtrees).


# Properties of Adaptor Grammars 

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## Reusability for Adaptor Grammars



## Reusability for Adaptor Grammars

I. Always possible to use base grammar.


## Reusability for Adaptor Grammars

I. Always possible to use base grammar.
2. Fully recursive.


# Fragment Grammars via Probabilistic Programming 

I. Stochastic computation via unfold
2. Stochastic reuse via memoization
3. Partial computations via stochastic laziness

# Goal: Represent Partial Computations 



## Goal: Represent Partial Computations

Variables represent "delayed" instructions for later computation

Adj -ity $\widehat{\mathrm{V}}-\mathrm{able}$

## Lazy and Eager Evaluation

## Lazy and Eager Evaluation

- Eager Evaluation: Do as much work as early as possible.


## Lazy and Eager Evaluation

- Eager Evaluation: Do as much work as early as possible.
- Lazy Evaluation: Delay work until it is absolutely necessary to continue computation.


## Example

(define add3
(lambda (x y z)
(+ x y z) )

## Eager Evaluation

(add3 (+ 123 ) (* 24 ) ( -31 )

## Eager Evaluation

(add3 (+ 123 ) (* 24 ) ( -3 1) )

## Eager Evaluation

(add3 6 (* 24 ) (- 3 1))

## Eager Evaluation

## (add3 6 (* 24 ) (- 3 1))

## Eager Evaluation

## (add3 68 (- 3 1))

## Eager Evaluation

(add3 68 (- 3 1))

# Eager Evaluation 

## (add3 68 2)

## Eager Evaluation

(define add3


## Eager Evaluation

(define add3


## Eager Evaluation

16

## Lazy Evaluation

(add3 (+ 123 ) (* 24 ) (- 31 ))

## Lazy Evaluation

## (define add3



## Lazy Evaluation

(define add 3
(lambda (x y z)

$$
(+ \text { x y z))) }
$$



## Lazy Evaluation

(define add3
(lambda (x y z)

$$
(+x \text { y } z)))
$$

$(+\underbrace{\left.\begin{array}{lll}\left.\begin{array}{lll}1 & 2 & 3\end{array}\right) & (\underbrace{\begin{array}{ll}* & 2\end{array}}_{\mathrm{Y}} 4\end{array}\right)}_{\mathrm{x}}(\underbrace{\begin{array}{lll}-3 & 1\end{array}}_{\mathrm{z}})$
Argument expressions are delayed until their values are needed by another computation.

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
\left(\begin{array}{cc}
+ & 1 \\
\text { Primitive }+ \\
\text { Procedure forces } \\
\text { evaluation of } \\
\text { arguments. }
\end{array}\right.
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
\text { (+ (+ } 123 \text { ) (* } 24 \text { ) (- } 3 \text { 1)) }
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
(+16 \text { (* } 24)(-31))
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
(+16 \text { (* } 24)(-31))
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
(+168(-31))
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
(+168(-31))
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

$$
(+1682)
$$

## Lazy Evaluation

## 16

# $\lambda$-calculus: Order of 

 Evaluation
# $\lambda$-calculus: Order of 

## Evaluation

- Applicative order (eager evaluation): evaluate arguments first, then apply function.


## $\lambda$-calculus: Order of

## Evaluation

- Applicative order (eager evaluation): evaluate arguments first, then apply function.
- Normal order (lazy evaluation): copy arguments into procedure, only evaluate when needed.


## $\lambda$-calculus: Order of

## Evaluation

- Applicative order (eager evaluation): evaluate arguments first, then apply function.
- Normal order (lazy evaluation): copy arguments into procedure, only evaluate when needed.
- Church-Rosser theorem: Order doesn't matter for deterministic $\lambda$-calculus.


## $\lambda$-calculus: Order of

## Evaluation

- Applicative order (eager evaluation): evaluate arguments first, then apply function.
- Normal order (lazy evaluation): copy arguments into procedure, only evaluate when needed.
- Church-Rosser theorem: Order doesn't matter for deterministic $\lambda$-calculus.
- Does matter for $\Psi \lambda$-calculus!


# $\Psi \lambda$-calculus: Order of Evaluation 

 Evaluation}
(define same?
(lambda (x)
(equal? $x$ x)))

# $\Psi \lambda$-calculus: Order of Evaluation 

 Evaluation}
(define same?
(lambda (x)
(equal? $x$ x)))

## $\Psi \lambda$-calculus: Order of

## Evaluation

## (define same?

(lambda (x)
(equal? $x$ x)))
(same? (flip))

## $\Psi \lambda$-calculus: Order of

## Evaluation

## (define same?

(lambda (x)
(equal? $x$ x)))
$\underset{\text { eager }}{ } P($ true $)=1$
(same? (flip))

## $\Psi \lambda$-calculus: Order of

## Evaluation

(define same?
(lambda (x)
(equal? $x$ x)))
(same? (flip))
lazy $P($ true $)=1 / 2$

## Tradeoff

- Laziness allows you to delay computation and, thus, preserve randomness and variability until the last possible moment.
- Eagerness allows you to determine random choices early in computation and, thus, share choices across different parts of a program.


## Random Evaluation Order

# Random Evaluation Order 

- Idea: Stochastically mix lazy and eager evaluation in $\Psi \lambda$-calculus.


## Random Evaluation Order

- Idea: Stochastically mix lazy and eager evaluation in $\Psi \lambda$-calculus.
- Ultimately allow learning of which computations should be performed in advance and which should be delayed.


## Random Evaluation Order

- Idea: Stochastically mix lazy and eager evaluation in $\Psi \lambda$-calculus.
- Ultimately allow learning of which computations should be performed in advance and which should be delayed.
- Assume eager evaluation strategy and add delay primitive.


## Random Evaluation Order

- Idea: Stochastically mix lazy and eager evaluation in $\Psi \lambda$-calculus.
- Ultimately allow learning of which computations should be performed in advance and which should be delayed.
- Assume eager evaluation strategy and add delay primitive.
- Apply to unfold (can be applied fully generally).


# Stochastic Lazy <br> <br> unfold 

 <br> <br> unfold}
(define stochastic-lazy-unfold (lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map delay-or-unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))

# Stochastic Lazy <br> <br> unfold 

 <br> <br> unfold}
(define stochastic-lazy-unfold (lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map delay-or-unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))

# Stochastic Lazy <br> <br> unfold 

 <br> <br> unfold}
(define delay-or-unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (flip)
(delay (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol)) (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol))))

# Stochastic Lazy <br> <br> unfold 

 <br> <br> unfold}
(define stochastic-lazy-unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map delay-or-unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))
(define delay-or-unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (flip)
(delay (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol))
(stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol)) )

## Computation Trace with Delay



## Computation Trace with Delay



# Reusing Delayed Computations 

# Reusing Delayed Computations 

- Need to be able to reuse partial evaluations.


# Reusing Delayed Computations 

- Need to be able to reuse partial evaluations.
- Memoize stochastically lazy unfold.


## Fragment Grammars

(define stochastic-lazy-unfold
(lambda (symbol)
(if (terminal? symbol)
symbol
(map delay-or-unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))
(define delay-or-unfold
(PYMem a b (lambda (symbol)
(if (flip)
(delay (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol))
(stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol)))))

## Fragment Grammar Reusable Computations



## Fragment Grammar Reusable Computations

I. Always possible to use base grammar.


## Fragment Grammar Reusable Computations

I. Always possible to use base grammar.
2. Fully recursive.


## Outline

I. The Proposal.
2. Five Models of Productivity and Reuse.
3. English Derivational Morphology
4. Conclusion

## Five Models

## Five Models

- 4 approaches to productivity and reuse.


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- Capture historical proposals from the literature.


## Five Models

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- State-of-the-art probabilistic models.


## Five Models

- 4 approaches to productivity and reuse.
- Capture historical proposals from the literature.
- State-of-the-art probabilistic models.
- Allow for variability and learning.


## MDPCFG

## Multinomial-Dirichlet Context-Free Grammars <br> (Full-Parsing)

- All generalizations are productive
- Formalization: Multinomial-Dirichlet Probabilistic Context-free Grammar (MDPCFG; Johnson, et al. 2007a)


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## MAG

## MAP Adaptor Grammars

## (Full-entry)

- Store whole form after first use.
- Formalization: Adaptor Grammars (AG; Johnson, et al. 2007).
- Always possible to compute productively with small probability; Fully recursive.
- Formalizes classic lexicalist theories (e.g., Jackendoff, 1975).


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# DOPI/GDMN 

## Data-Oriented Parsing

(Exemplar-based)

- Store all generalizations consistent with input
- Formalization: Data-Oriented Parsing I (DOPI;Bod, I998), DataOriented Parsing: Goodman Estimator (GDMN; Goodman, 2003)
- Recently proposed as models of syntax (e.g., Snider, 2009; Bod, 2009)



## FG

## Fragment Grammars (Inference-based)

- Store best set of subcomputations for explaining the data.
- Formalization: Fragment Grammars (FG; O’Donnell, et al. 2009)
- Generalization of Adaptor Grammars



## Outline

I. The Proposal.
2. Five Models of Productivity and Reuse.
3. English Derivational Morphology
4. Conclusion

# English Derivational Morphology 

| Productive | +ness (goodness), <br> +ly (quickly) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Semi-productive | +ity (ability), <br> +or (operator) |
| Unproductive | +th (width) |

## Simulations

- Words from CELEX.
- Extensive heuristic parsing/hand correction.
- Input format.
- No phonology or semantics.


## Derivational Inputs



## English Derivational Morphology

| Productive | +ness (goodness), <br> + +ly (quickly) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Semi-productive | +ity (ability), <br> +or (operator) |
| Unproductive | +th (width) |

I. Individual suffix productivity differences (-ness/-ity/-th).
2. Suffix sequences.

# English Derivational Morphology 

| Productive | +ness (goodness), <br> +ly (quickly) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Semi-productive | +ity (ability), <br> +or (operator) |
| Unproductive | +th (width) |

I. Individual suffix productivity differences (-ness/-ity/-th).
2. Suffix combinations.

## Productivity

- No gold-standard dataset or measure.
- E.g., Large databases of wug-tests or naturalness judgments.
- Analyses.
I. Examples of highly productive affixes.

2. Convergence with other theoretical measures.

# How is Productivity Represented? 

- Relative probability of fragments with or without variables.



## Productivity Analyses

I. Examples of highly productive suffixes.
2. Convergence with other theoretical measures.

## Top 5 Most Productive Suffixes

MDPCFG (Full-Parsing)

| Suffix | Example |
| :---: | :---: |
| ion $: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | regression |
| ly:Adj $>$ Adv | quickly |
| ate: $\mathrm{BND}>\mathrm{V}$ | segregate |
| ment $: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | development |
| er: $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | talker |

DOP| (Exemplar)

| Suffix | Example |
| :---: | :---: |
| ion $: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | regression |
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| ly:Adj $>$ Adv | quickly |

MAG (Full-listing)

| Suffix | Example |
| :---: | :---: |
| $l y: A d j>A d v$ | quickly |
| ion $: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | regression |
| $e r: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | talker |
| $l y: \mathrm{V}>$ Adv | bitingly |
| $y: \mathrm{N}>$ Adj | mousey |

## GDMN (Exemplar)

| Suffix | Example |
| :---: | :---: |
| ion: $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | regression |
| ly:Adj $>\mathrm{Adv}$ | quickly |
| ment $: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | development |
| er: $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | talker |
| ate: $\mathrm{BND}>\mathrm{V}$ | segregate |

## Top 5 Most Productive Suffixes

MDPCFG (Full-Parsing)

| Suffix | Example |
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DOP

| (Exemplar) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
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| $l y: \mathrm{V}>$ Adv | bitingly |
| $y: \mathrm{N}>$ Adj | mousey |

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## Top 5 Most Productive Suffixes

## MDPCFG (Full-Parsing)

| Suffix | Example |
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| ly $: \mathrm{Adj}>\mathrm{Adv}$ | quickly |
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| ment $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | development |
| er: $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | talker |


|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Suffix } \\ \text { ly:Adj }>\text { Adv } \end{gathered}$ | Example quickly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | ion: $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ | regression |
| FG (Inference-based) |  | $\begin{gathered} e r: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N} \\ l y: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{Adv} \end{gathered}$ | talker <br> bitingly |
| Suffix Example <br> $l y:$ Adj $>$ Adv quickly <br> er: $\mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N}$ talker <br> ness:Adj $>\mathrm{N}$ tallness <br> $y: \mathrm{N}>$ Adj mousey <br> er: $\mathrm{N}>\mathrm{N}$ prisoner |  | $y: N>A d j$ | mousey |
|  |  | GDMN | (Exemplar) |
|  |  | Suffix | Example |
|  |  | ion:V $>\mathrm{N}$ | regression |
|  |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { ly:Adj>Adv } \\ \text { ment: } \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N} \\ e r: \mathrm{V}>\mathrm{N} \\ \text { ate: } \mathrm{BND}>\mathrm{V} \end{gathered}$ | quickly development talker segregate |

## Productivity Analyses

I. Examples of highly productive suffixes.
2. Convergence with other theoretical measures.

# Baayen’s Corpus-Based Measures 

- Baayen's $\mathcal{P} / \mathcal{P}^{*}$ (e.g., Baayen, 1992)
- $\mathcal{P}: \operatorname{Prob}($ NOVEL | SUFFIX) i.e. rate of growth of forms with suffix
- $\mathcal{P}^{*}$ : Prob(SUFFIX | NOVEL) i.e. rate of growth of vocabulary due to suffix


## Productivity Correlations

( $\mathcal{P} / \mathcal{P}^{*}$ values from Hay \& Baayen, 2002)

| Model | FG <br> (Inference-based) | MDPCFG <br> (Full-parsing) | MAG (Full-listing) | $\underset{\text { (Evemplarbosed) }}{\text { DOPI }}$ | GDEMND |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathcal{P}$ | 0.907 | -0.0003 | 0.692 | 0.346 | 0.143 |
| $\mathcal{P}^{*}$ | 0.662 | 0.480 | 0.568 | 0.402 | 0.500 |

# English Derivational Morphology 

| Productive | +ness (goodness), <br> + +ly (quickly) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Semi-productive | +ity (ability), <br> +or (operator) |
| Unproductive | +th (width) |

I. Individual suffix productivity differences (-ness/-ity/-th).
2. Suffix combinations.

## Suffix Combinations

I. Suffix Ordering.

## 2. Generalization of Suffix Combinations.

## Suffix Combinations

I. Suffix Ordering.
2. Generalization of Suffix Combinations.

## Suffix Ordering

- Derivational morphology hierarchical and recursive.
- Multiple suffixes can appear in a word.



## Suffix Combinations

## Suffix Combinations

- Many, many combinations of suffixes do not appear in words (even taking into account categories).


## Suffix Combinations

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- Fabb (1988).


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- 663 possible pairs.


## Suffix Combinations

- Many, many combinations of suffixes do not appear in words (even taking into account categories).
- Fabb (1988).
- 43 suffixes.
- 663 possible pairs.
- Only 50 exist.


# Complexity-Based Ordering (Hay, 2002) 

On average, more productive suffixes appear after (outside of) less productive suffixes.

## Measuring Ordering

- Examine attested orderings in corpus.
- Mean rank of each affix (Plag and Bayen, 2009).
- Graph-theoretic statistic.
- Measures degree to which each suffix tends to occur after other suffixes (on average).
- Compute log odds of suffix appearing second versus first for each model.


# Mean Rank Correlations 

| Model | FG <br> (Inference-based) | MDPCFG (Full-parsing) | MAG (Full-listing) | DOPI | $\underset{(E \text { EEemplarbosesed) }}{\text { GDMN }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mean Rank | 0.568 | 0.275 | 0.424 | 0.452 | 0.431 |

## Suffix Combinations

I. Suffix Ordering.
2. Generalization of Suffix Combinations.

## Generalizable Combinations

Frozen Combinations


Generalizable
Combinations


## Generalizable Combinations

Frozen Combinations
Generalizable
Combinations


## -ity v. -ness

- -ness more productive than -ity.
- -ity more productive than -ness after:
-ile, -able, -(i)an, -ic.
(Anshen \& Aronoff, I98I;Aronoff \& Schvaneveldt, I978; Cutler, I980)


## Two Frequent Combinations:

-ivity v. -bility

- -ive + -ity: -ivity (e.g., selectivity).
- Speaker prefer to use -ness with novel words (Aronoff \& Schvaneveldt, 1978).
- depulsiveness $>$ depulsivity.
- -ble + -ity: -bility (e.g., sensibility).
- Speakers prefer to use -ity with novel words (Anshen \& Aronoff, 198I).
- remortibility $>$ remortibleness.
-ivity v. -bility

-ivity v. -bility

-ivity v. -bility


-ivity v. -bility


MDPCFG
Leive

MAG

(Exemplar-based)


152

## GDMN

(Exemplar-based)


153

FG
(Inference-based)


## Discussion

- Inference-based approach able to correctly ignore high token frequency of -ivity because it balances a tradeoff.
- Other models use type or token frequencies.


## Outline

I. The Proposal.
2. Five Models of Productivity and Reuse.
3. Empirical Evaluation

The English Past Tense
English Derivational Morphology
4. Conclusion

## Conclusion

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- View productivity and reuse as an inference.


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## Conclusion

- View productivity and reuse as an inference.
- Link between theory of programming languages and Bayesian models.
- Able to capture dominant patterns without semantic and phonological structure.
- Future work...


## Thanks!

