Fragment Grammars: Productivity and Reuse in Language

Timothy J. O'Donnell

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

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- Adj>N
- grand + -ness
- pine-scentedness

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

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- Stress change (e.g., normalness v. normality), vowel laxing (e.g., inane v. inanity)
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- *pine-scentedity



• But ...

• -ile/-al/-able/-ic/-(i)an

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

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 - Coolity is not trying (from Huffington Post)

• warmth, width, truth, depth, ...

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heal/health, dead/death, young/youth, vile/filth, slow/sloth

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- roomth, greenth

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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?

I. The Proposal.

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- 2. Five Models of Productivity and Reuse.

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- 4. Conclusion

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The Proposal
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Starting Computational System









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Bayesian Rational Analysis (Anderson, 1992)

- 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?











Tradeoff between productivity and reuse

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- Bayesian non-parametric distributions (Pitman-Yor).
- Notion of compiling subcomputations via tools from probabilistic programming (Church language; Goodman et al., 2008).
 - Stochastic memoization (Johnson et al., 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.

- Notation:
 - Function have parentheses on the wrong side:
 - Operators always go at the beginning:



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(define **double** (λ (x) (+ x x)))

(sin x)

(+ x y)

(define repeat (λ (f) (λ (x) (f (f x))))



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$$(define double(\lambda (x) (+ x x))) \qquad (double 3) => 6$$

(define repeat (λ (f) (λ (x) (f (f x))))

((repeat double) 3) => 12

(sin x)

xy)

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 $\begin{array}{c} (\text{define double} \\ (\lambda (x) (+ x x)) \end{array} & (\text{double 3}) \end{array} => 6 \end{array}$

(define repeat (λ (f) (λ (x) (f (f x))))

((repeat double) 3) => 12

(sin x)

(+ x y)

(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)

Goodman, Mansinghka, Roy, Bonawitz, Tenenabum (2008)
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Random primitives:

(define a	(flip	0.3))	=>	1	0	0
(define b	(flip	0.3))	=>	0	0	0
(define c	(flip	0.3))	=>	1	0	1
(+ a b c)			=>	2	0	1

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(+ a b c)			=>	2	0	1.





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





Conditioning (inference):

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



Conditioning (inference):





Conditioning (inference):







AppliqueApplique010123Goodman, Mansinghka, Roy,
Bonawitz, Tenenabum (2008)

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.





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

"Infer the charace of fiu, given observed cough."



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(define flu (flip 0.2))
(define TB (flip 0.01))
(define cough
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flu
(and cough TB))

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• Alternative to more standard mathematical formalization (see, O'Donnell, 2011).

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- 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.

Goals

- I. Get across intuitions.
- 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)))))
```

$$G_{\mathtt{pcfg}}^{\mathtt{a}}(d) = \begin{cases} \sum_{\substack{r \in R_{\mathcal{G}}: \mathtt{a} \to \mathtt{root}(\hat{d}_i), \cdots, \mathtt{root}(\hat{d}_k)}} \theta_r \prod_{i=1}^k G_{\mathtt{pcfg}}^{\mathtt{root}(\hat{d}_i)}(\hat{d}_i) & \mathtt{root}(d) = \mathtt{a} \in V_{\mathcal{G}} \\ 1 & \mathtt{root}(d) = \mathtt{a} \in T_{\mathcal{G}} \end{cases}$$
$$G_{\mathrm{AG}}^{\mathrm{a}}(d) = \begin{cases} \sum_{\substack{r \in R_{\mathcal{G}}: \mathrm{a} \to \mathrm{root}(\hat{d}_{i}), \cdots, \mathrm{root}(\hat{d}_{k})}} \theta_{r} \prod_{i=1}^{k} \mathrm{mem}\{G_{\mathrm{AG}}^{\mathrm{root}(\hat{d}_{i})}\}(\hat{d}_{i}) & \mathrm{root}(d) = \mathrm{a} \in V_{\mathcal{G}} \\ 1 & \mathrm{root}(d) = \mathrm{a} \in T_{\mathcal{G}} \end{cases}$$

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

$$L^{\mathbf{A}}(d) = \sum_{r \in R_{\mathcal{G}}: \mathbf{A} \to \operatorname{root}(\hat{d}_{i}), \cdots, \operatorname{root}(\hat{d}_{k})} \theta_{r} \prod_{i=1}^{k} \left[\nu_{\hat{d}_{i}} G^{\operatorname{root}(\hat{d}_{i})}_{\mathrm{FG}}(\hat{d}_{i}) + (1 - \nu_{\hat{d}_{i}}) 1 \right]$$

$$G^{\mathtt{a}}_{\mathtt{FG}}(d) = \begin{cases} \sum_{s \in \mathtt{prefix}(d)} \operatorname{mem}\{L^{\mathtt{a}}\}(s) \prod_{i=1}^{n} G^{\mathtt{root}(s'_{i})}_{\mathtt{FG}}(s'_{i}) & \mathtt{root}(d) = \mathtt{a} \in V_{\mathcal{G}} \\ 1 & \mathtt{root}(d) = \mathtt{a} \in T_{\mathcal{G}} \end{cases}$$

$$\operatorname{mem}\{L^{\mathsf{A}}\} \sim \operatorname{PYP}(a^{\mathsf{A}}, b^{\mathsf{A}}, L^{\mathsf{A}})$$

Fragment Grammars via Probabilistic Programming

I. Stochastic computation via unfold

2. Stochastic reuse via memoization

3. Partial computations via stochastic laziness

Context Free Grammars



Declarative Knowledge of Constituent Structure

$p_{\mathtt{W}_1}$	W	\rightarrow	N	
$p_{\mathtt{W}_2}$	W	\rightarrow	V	
$p_{\mathtt{W}_3}$	W	\rightarrow	Adj	
$p_{\mathtt{W}_4}$	W	\rightarrow	Adv	
$p_{\mathtt{N}_1}$	N	\rightarrow	Adj	-ness
$p_{\mathtt{N}_2}$	N	\rightarrow	Adj	-ity
$p_{\mathtt{N}_3}$	N	\rightarrow	electro-	N
$p_{ m N_4}$	N	\rightarrow	magnet	
$p_{ m N_5}$	N	\rightarrow	dog	
$p_{\mathtt{V}_1}$	V	\rightarrow	N	-ify
$p_{\mathtt{V}_2}$	V	\rightarrow	Adj	-ize
$p_{\mathtt{V}_3}$	V	\rightarrow	re-	V
$p_{\mathtt{V}_4}$	V	\rightarrow	agree	
$p_{\mathtt{V}_5}$	V	\rightarrow	count	
$p_{\mathtt{Adj}_1}$	Adj	\rightarrow	dis-	Adj
p_{Adj_2}	Adj	\rightarrow	V	-able
p_{Adj_3}	Adj	\rightarrow	N	-ic
$p_{\mathtt{Adj}_4}$	Adj	\rightarrow	N	-al
p_{Adj_5}	Adj	\rightarrow	tall	
$p_{\mathtt{Adv}_1}$	Adv	\rightarrow	Adj	-ly
$p_{\mathtt{Adv}_2}$	Adv	\rightarrow	today	

Declarative Knowledge of Constituent Structure

(define sample-rhs

(lambda (nonterminal)

(case nonterminal

(('W) (multinomial (list (list 'N) (list 'V) (list 'Adj) (list 'Adv) ...)

(list $p_{W_1} p_{W_2} p_{W_3} p_{W_4} \dots))$)

(('N) (multinomial (list (list 'Adj 'ness) (list 'Adj 'ity) (list 'electro 'N) (list 'magnet) (list 'dog) ...)

(list $p_{N_1} p_{N_2} p_{N_3} p_{N_4} p_{N_5} \dots$))

(('V) (multinomial (list (list 'N 'ify) (list 'Adj 'ize) (list 're 'V) (list 'agree) (list 'count) ...)

(list $p_{v_1} p_{v_2} p_{v_3} p_{v_4} p_{v_5} \dots)$)

(('Adj) (multinomial (list (list 'dis 'Adj) (list 'V 'able) (list 'N 'ic) (list 'N 'al) (list 'tall) ...)

(list $p_{\text{Adj}_1} p_{\text{Adj}_2} p_{\text{Adj}_3} p_{\text{Adj}_4} p_{\text{Adj}_5} \dots$)))

(('Adv) (multinomial (list (list 'Adj 'ly) (list 'today) ...)

 $(list p_{W_1} p_{W_2} \dots))))))$

(define unfold

(lambda (symbol)

(if (terminal? symbol)

symbol

(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))

(define **unfold**

(lambda (symbol)

(if (terminal? symbol)

symbol

(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))

Choose a right-hand side for
symbol:
$$N \rightarrow Adj$$
-ity

(define unfold

(lambda (symbol)

(if (terminal? symbol)

symbol

(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol))))

(define unfold (lambda (symbol) (if (terminal? symbol) symbol (map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))) Recursively apply unfold to each symbol on right-hand side

(unfold 'N)

(unfold 'N)

(define **unfold**

(lambda (symbol)
 (if (terminal? symbol)

symbol

(map unfold (sample-rhs symbol)))))









Reusability for PCFGs



Fragment Grammars via Probabilistic Programming

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2. Stochastic reuse via memoization

3. Partial computations via stochastic laziness

• Store outputs of earlier computations in a table

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- When function is called with particular arguments then grab from table if stored

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- 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

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

(eye-color 'bob) => 'blue

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

(eye-color 'bob) => 'blue
(eye-color 'bob) => 'brown

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- (**eye-color** 'bob) => 'blue
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(eye-color 'bob) => 'blue (eye-color 'bob) => 'blue (eye-color 'bob) => 'blue (eye-color 'bob) => 'blue

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(eye-color 'bob) => 'blue (eye-color 'bob) => 'blue (eye-color 'bob) => 'blue (eye-color 'bob) => 'blue

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

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

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

(location 'bob) => 'UCLA

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

(location 'bob) => 'UCLA
(location 'bob) => 'Antarctica

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

(location 'bob) => 'UCLA (location 'bob) => 'Antarctica (location 'bob) => 'London

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

(location 'bob) => 'UCLA
(location 'bob) => 'Antarctica

- (location 'bob) => 'London
- (location 'bob) => 'Thailand

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

(location 'bob) => 'UCLA (location 'bob) => 'Antarctica (location 'bob) => 'London (location 'bob) => 'Thailand

• • •

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

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

(location 'bob) => 'home

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

(location 'bob) => 'home
(location 'bob) => 'office

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

(location 'bob) => 'home (location 'bob) => 'office (location 'bob) => 'home

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

(location 'bob) => 'home (location 'bob) => 'office (location 'bob) => 'home (location 'bob) => 'home

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

(location 'bob) => 'home (location 'bob) => 'office (location 'bob) => 'home (location 'bob) => 'home

• • •

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

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 Adaptor Grammars: Anything that can be computed can be stored and reused probabilistically.

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- Adaptor Grammars: Anything that can be computed can be stored and reused probabilistically.
- Memoization distribution: Pitman-Yor Processes (Pitman & Yor, 1995).

(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.

 Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process

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- Two parameters:

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- Two parameters:
 - $a \in [0, I]$

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

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Probability of Reuse $y_i - a$

N+b

- Generalization of the Chinese Restaurant Process
- Two parameters:
 - a ∈ [0,1]

y_i: Total number of observations of value *i*

• b > -a

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

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

- *y_i*: Total number of observations of value *i*
- N: Total number of observations

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

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

- *y_i*: Total number of observations of value *i*
- N: Total number of observations

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

Probability of Novelty $a \cdot K + b$ N + b

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

- *y_i*: Total number of observations of value *i*
- N: Total number of observations
- K: Total number of values

Probability of Reuse $\frac{y_i - a}{N + b}$ Probability of Novelty $\frac{a \cdot K + b}{N + b}$

(func argl ... argN)

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$$v_{4}$$
 (func arg1 ...)





Samples: v_4



$$\frac{y_i - a}{N + b}$$

$$\underset{K=I}{\overset{N=I}{\underset{l+b}{\overset{\vee}{}}}} \underbrace{\overset{\vee}{\underset{l+b}{\overset{\vee}{}}} \underbrace{\overset{\vee}{\underset{l+b}{\overset{\vee}{}}} \cdots}_{i+b}}$$

Samples: v_4













 $v_1 \sim (func arg1 \dots)$





Samples: v_{4} , v_{1}











Samples: v_4 , v_1 , v_4



Samples: v_4 , v_1 , v_4

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

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- Prefers fewer customers/tables/tables-percustomer.

- 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))))))
```

• Reuse previous computations (subtrees).

- Reuse previous computations (subtrees).
- Can compute novel items productively using base system.

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Reusability for Adaptor Grammars



Reusability for Adaptor Grammars

I. Always possible to use base grammar.



Reusability for Adaptor Grammars

Always possible to use base grammar.
 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


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)))

(add3 (+ 1 2 3) (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(add3 (+ 1 2 3) (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(add3 6 (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(add3 6 (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(add3 6 8 (- 3 1))

(add3 6 8 (- 3 1))

(add3 6 8 2)



(define add3



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(add3 (+ 1 2 3) (* 2 4) (- 3 1))



(define add3

Ζ

(lambda (x y z)

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

У

Х

(define add3

(lambda (x y z)

(+ x y z)))





(+ (+ 1 2 3) (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(+ 16 (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(+ 16 (* 2 4) (- 3 1))

(+ 16 8 (- 3 1))

(+ 16 8 (- 3 1))



(+ 16 8 2)

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

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- 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 λ-calculus.
- Does matter for $\Psi\lambda$ -calculus!

(define same?
(lambda (x)
 (equal? x x)))

(define same?
(lambda (x)
 (equal? x x)))

(define same?
(lambda (x)
 (equal? x x)))

(same? (flip))




Tradeoff

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

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

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- Ultimately allow **learning** of which computations should be performed in advance and which should be delayed.

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- 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).

```
(define stochastic-lazy-unfold
 (lambda (symbol)
   (if (terminal? symbol)
     symbol
     (map delay-or-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 (lambda (symbol) (if (flip) (delay (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol)) (stochastic-lazy-unfold symbol))))

```
(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

Always possible to use base grammar.
 Fully recursive.



Outline

I. The Proposal.

2. Five Models of Productivity and Reuse.

- 3. English Derivational Morphology
- 4. Conclusion

• 4 approaches to productivity and reuse.

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- 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 (Full-Parsing)

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



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).



DOPI/GDMN

Data-Oriented Parsing (Exemplar-based)

- Store all generalizations consistent with input
- Formalization: Data-Oriented Parsing 1 (DOP1; Bod, 1998), Data-Oriented 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.
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- 3. English Derivational Morphology
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English Derivational Morphology

Productive	+ness (goodness), +ly (quickly)
Semi-productive	+ity (ability), +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), +ly (quickly)
Semi-productive	+ity (ability), +or (operator)
Unproductive	+th (width)

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

English Derivational Morphology

Productive	+ness (goodness), +ly (quickly)
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 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: V > N	regression
ly:Adj $>$ Adv	quickly
ate:BND>V	segregate
ment: V > N	development
er:V>N	talker

(Exemplar)

Example

regression

talker

development

segregate

quickly

DOPI

Suffix

ion: V > N

er: V > N

ment: V > N

ate:BND>V

ly:Adj>Adv

FG	(Inference-based)
----	-------------------

SuffixExamplely:Adj>Advquicklyer:V>Ntalkerness:Adj>Ntallnessy:N>Adjmouseyer:N>Nprisoner

MAG (Full-listing)

Suffix	Example
<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly
ion: V > N	regression
er:V>N	talker
ly:V $>$ Adv	bitingly
$y: \mathtt{N} \! > \! \mathtt{Adj}$	mousey

GDMN	(Exemplar)
Suffix	Example
ion:V>N	regression
ly:Adj $>$ Adv	quickly

<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly
ment: V > N	development
er:V>N	talker
ate:BND>V	segregate

I	26

Top 5 Most Productive Suffixes

MDPCFG (Full-Parsing)

MAG (Full-listing)

Suffix ion:V>N ly:Adj>Adv ate:BND>V ment:V>N	Example regression quickly segregate development	FG (Infere	nce-based)	Suffix $ly:Adj>Adv$ $ion:V>N$ $er:V>N$ $ly:V>Adv$	Example quickly regression talker bitingly
er:V>N	talker	Suffix	Example	$y: \mathtt{N} > \mathtt{Adj}$	mousey
		<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly		
		er:V>N	talker		
DOPI	(Exemplar)	ness:Adj>N	tallness	GDMN	(Exemplar)
Suffix ion: V > N	Example	y:N>Adj er:N>N	mousey prisoner	Suffix ion: V > N	Example
er: V > N	talker			<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly
ment: V > N	development			ment:V>N	development
ate:BND>V	segregate			er:V>N	talker
<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly	107		ate:BND>V	segregate

Top 5 Most Productive Suffixes

MDPCFG (Full-Parsing)

MAG (Full-listing)

				Suffix	Example
Suffix	Example				Example
ion:V>N	regression		r	<i>iy</i> :Adj>Adv	quickiy
<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly			ion:V>N	regression
ate:BND>V	segregate			er:V>N	talker
ment: V > N	development	FG (Inference-based)		<i>ly</i> :V>Adv	bitingly
er:V>N	talker	Suffix	Example	$y: \mathbb{N} > \mathbb{A}dj$	mousey
		<i>ly</i> :Adj>Adv	quickly		
		er:V>N	talker		
DOPI	(Exemplar)	ness:Adj>N	tallness	GDMN	(Exemplar)
DOPI	(Exemplar)	ness:Adj>N y:N>Adj	tallness mousey	GDMN	(Exemplar)
DOP I Suffix	(Exemplar) Example	ness:Adj>N y:N>Adj er:N>N	tallness mousey prisoner	GDMN Suffix	(Exemplar) Example
DOPI Suffix ion:V>N	(Exemplar) Example regression	ness:Adj>N y:N>Adj er:N>N	tallness mousey prisoner	GDMN Suffix ion:V>N	(Exemplar) Example regression
DOPI Suffix <i>ion</i> :V>N <i>er</i> :V>N	(Exemplar) Example regression talker	ness: Adj > N y: N > Adj er: N > N	tallness mousey prisoner	GDMN Suffix <i>ion:</i> V>N <i>ly:</i> Adj>Adv	(Exemplar) Example regression quickly
DOPI Suffix <i>ion:V>N</i> <i>er:V>N</i> <i>ment:V>N</i>	(Exemplar) Example regression talker development	ness:Adj>N y:N>Adj er:N>N	tallness mousey prisoner	GDMN Suffix <i>ion:</i> V>N <i>ly:</i> Adj>Adv <i>ment:</i> V>N	(Exemplar) Example regression quickly development
DOPI Suffix <i>ion:V>N</i> <i>er:V>N</i> <i>ment:V>N</i> <i>ate:BND>V</i>	(Exemplar) Example regression talker development segregate	ness:Adj>N y:N>Adj er:N>N	tallness mousey prisoner	GDMN Suffix ion:V>N ly:Adj>Adv ment:V>N er:V>N	(Exemplar) Example regression quickly development talker
DOPI Suffix <i>ion:</i> V>N <i>er:</i> V>N <i>ment:</i> V>N <i>ate:</i> BND>V <i>ly:</i> Adj>Adv	(Exemplar) Example regression talker development segregate quickly	ness:Adj>N y:N>Adj er:N>N	tallness mousey prisoner	GDMN Suffix ion:V>N ly:Adj>Adv ment:V>N er:V>N ate:BND>V	(Exemplar) Example regression 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)
 - P: 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 (Inference-based)	MDPCFG (Full-parsing)	MAG (Full-listing)	DOPI (Exemplar-based)	GDMN (Exemplar-based)
\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

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

I. Suffix Ordering.

2. Generalization of Suffix Combinations.



2. Generalization of Suffix Combinations.

Suffix Ordering

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



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

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 - Fabb (1988).

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 - 663 possible pairs.

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 - 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 Baayen, 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



I. Suffix Ordering.

2. Generalization of Suffix Combinations.

Generalizable Combinations



Generalizable Combinations



-ity v. -ness

ness more productive than -ity.

-ity more productive than -ness after: -ile, -able, -(i)an, -ic.

(Anshen & Aronoff, 1981; Aronoff & Schvaneveldt, 1978; Cutler, 1980)

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, 1981).
 - remortibility > remortibleness.







-ivity v. -bility





MDPCFG

(Full-parsing)










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

• View productivity and reuse as an inference.

- View productivity and reuse as an inference.
- Link between theory of programming languages and Bayesian models.

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- Able to capture dominant patterns **without** semantic and phonological structure.

- 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!