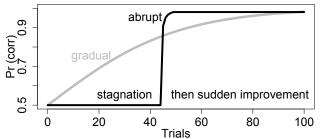
# Conditions on abruptness in a gradient-ascent Max Ent learner

SCiL, 2017.01.04

Elliott Moreton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Salt Lake Citv

Q: When does an incremental learning algorithm yield abrupt learning performance?



A: A gradient-ascent Max Ent learner needs nonzero initial weights for abrupt improvement in this twoalternative forced-choice experiment — i.e., **abruptness** is a transfer effect.

## 1. The learning scenario

A. Grammatical model: Basic Max Ent [6]:

Constraints  $\{c_1,\ldots,c_m\}$ Weights  $(w_1,\ldots,w_m)=\mathbf{w}$  $\{x_1,\ldots,x_n\}$ Candidates  $h_{\mathbf{w}}(x_j) = \sum_{i=1}^m w_i c_i(x_j)$ Harmonies  $\Pr(x_j \mid \mathbf{w}) = p_j = \frac{\exp(h_{\mathbf{w}}(x_j))}{\sum_{i=1}^n \exp(h_{\mathbf{w}}(x_j))}$ Probabilities

**B.** Training: Positive (= legal) stimuli from empirical distribution  $\mathbf{p}^+$ . Gradual update using the Delta Rule:

$$\Delta w_i = \eta(E_{\mathbf{p}^+}[c_i] - E_{\mathbf{w}}[c_i]) \tag{1}$$

i.e., batch-mode gradient ascent on log-likelihood [6]. C. Testing: Two-alternative forced-choice (2AFC) test using the Luce choice rule [9]:

$$\Pr(x_i^+ | (x_i^+, x_j^-)) = \frac{p_i}{p_i + p_j}$$

with the positive and negative test items (candidates) sampled from complementary flat distributions  $\mathbf{r}^+$  and  $\mathbf{r}^-$ :

$$\mathbf{r}^{+} = (\frac{1}{k}, \dots, \frac{1}{k}, 0, \dots, 0)^{T} = \mathbf{p}^{+}$$
  
$$\mathbf{r}^{-} = (0, \dots, 0, \frac{1}{n-k}, \dots, \frac{1}{n-k})^{T}$$

2. Log-likelihood improves non-abruptly...

Let C be a matrix such that  $C_{i,j} = c_i(x_j)$ , the score that Constraint i gives Simulus j.

**Proposition 1.** Let  $L(t) = \sum_{j=1}^{n} p_j^+ \log p_j(t)$  be the **B. Generalization**: In weight space, learners that start model's expectation of the log-likelihood of the empirical distribution at time t [2]. Then L(t) is always increasing but never accelerating; i.e., for any t > 0, dL/dt > 0 and  $d^2L/dt^2 < 0.$ 

Furthermore,  $dL/dt = ||C(\mathbf{p}^+ - \mathbf{p})||^2$ .

These claims follow straightforwardly from the Replicator representation of the Max Ent learner [11].

#### ... but log-likelihood isn't 2AFC performance 3.

 $\triangleright$  Log-likelihood depends only on the probabilities assigned by the model to the positive stimuli.

 $\triangleright$  2AFC performance depends as well on the probability mass in the negative stimuli.

### Main result: If initial weights are 0, abruptness is 4. impossible

**Proposition 2.** Suppose that at time t = 0,  $\mathbf{p}^+ - \mathbf{p}(0) =$  $\alpha(\mathbf{r}^+ - \mathbf{r}^-)$  for some  $\alpha > 0$ . Let  $\lambda$  be the log-odds of a correct 2AFC response. Then at t > 0,

$$\left| \left| \frac{d}{dt} E_{\mathbf{w}}[\lambda] \right|_{t} \right| \leq \left| \left| \frac{d}{dt} E_{\mathbf{w}}[\lambda] \right|_{0} \right|$$
(4)

*Proof.* (Sketch): We show that  $\frac{d}{dt}E_{\mathbf{w}}[\lambda] = (C(\mathbf{p}^+ - \mathbf{p}))^T C(\mathbf{r}^+ - \mathbf{r}^-)$ . Then by Cauchy-Schwarz,

$$\left| \frac{\mathrm{d}}{\mathrm{d}t} E_{\mathbf{w}}[\lambda] \right| \leq \underbrace{\| C(\mathbf{p}^{+} - \mathbf{p}) \|}_{\text{nonincreasing}} \cdot \underbrace{\| C(\mathbf{r}^{+} - \mathbf{r}^{-}) \|}_{\text{constant}}$$
(5)

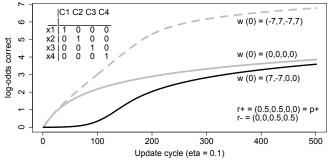
with strict equality if and only if  $C(\mathbf{r}^+ - \mathbf{r}^-)$  is a scalar (3)multiple of  $C(\mathbf{p}^+ - \mathbf{p})$ .

**A.** Application:  $w(0) = 0 \Rightarrow p(0) = (1/n, ..., 1/n)^T$ . Then by Eqn. 3,  $C(\mathbf{r}^+ - \mathbf{r}^-) = C(\mathbf{p}^+ - \mathbf{p}) \cdot (n-k)/n$ , so by Prop. 2, 2AFC performance improves fastest at t = 0.

*near* and  $at \mathbf{0}$  converge monotonically. We derive bounds on 2AFC difference as a function of initial weight-space distance.

## 5. Abruptness can happen with non-zero initial weights

For nonzero initial weights, abrupt learning is possible but not inevitable, shown with a very simple constraint set:



## 6. Abruptness = transfer

Abrupt learning happens in acquisition of natural [14, 10, 15, 1, 8, 4, 5] and artificial [12] languages, but when and why? In this case, transfer from UG or previous learning (or noise) is a necessary condition for abruptness.

 $\triangleright$  Is abruptness associated with transfer in humans too? Is apparent initial stagnation really *un*learning of previous grammar?

 $\triangleright$  Not just any non-zero initial weights plus any training and test distribution, leads the model to abrupt learning. Which ones do?

 $\triangleright$  What conditions abruptness in algorithmically related learners [3, 13, 7]?

Thanks to Jen Smith, Joe Pater, Katya Pertsova, and UNC-CH's P-Side caucus. Supported in part by NSF BCS 1651105, "Inside phonological learning", to E. Moreton and K. Pertsova. QR code for paper:



The accompanying paper can be found at http://www.unc.edu/~moreton/Papers/Moreton2018SCiL.pdf. Address for correspondence: moreton@unc.edu.

## References

- [1] BARLOW, J. A., AND DINNSEN, D. A. Asymmetrical cluster development in a disordered system. Language Acquisition 7, 1 (1998), 1–49.
- [2] BERGER, A. L., DELLA PIETRA, S. A., AND DELLA PIETRA, V. J. A maximum entropy approach to natural language processing. Computational Linguistics 22, 1 (1996), 39–71.
- [3] BOERSMA, P., AND PATER, J. Convergence properties of a gradual learning algorithm for Harmonic Grammar. In *Harmonic Grammar and Harmonic Serialism*, J. J. McCarthy and J. Pater, Eds. Equinox, Sheffield, England, 2016, pp. 389–434.
- [4] GERLACH, S. R. The acquisition of consonant feature sequences: harmony, metathesis, and deletion patterns in phonological development. PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2010.
- [5] GUY, G. R. Linking usage and grammar: generative phonology, exemplar theory, and variable rules. Lingua 142 (2014), 57–65.
- [6] JÄGER, G. Maximum Entropy models and Stochastic Optimality Theory. In Architectures, rules, and preferences: a festschrift for Joan Bresnan, J. Grimshaw, J. Maling, C. Manning, J. Simpson, and A. Zaenen, Eds. CSLI Publications, Stanford, California, 2007, pp. 467–479.
- [7] JAROSZ, G. Learning with violable constraints. To appear in: Jeff Lidz, William Snyder, and Joe Pater (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of developmental linguistics*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- [8] LEVELT, C., AND VAN OOSTENDORP, M. Feature co-occurrence constraints in L1 acquisition. Linguistics in the Netherlands 24, 1 (2007), 162–172.
- [9] LUCE, R. D. Individual choice behavior: a theoretical analysis. Dover, New York, 2005 [1959].
- [10] MACKEN, M. A., AND BARTON, D. The acquisition of the voicing contrast in English: a study of voice-onset time in word-initial stop consonants. Report from the Stanford Child Phonology Project, March 1978.
- [11] MORETON, E., PATER, J., AND PERTSOVA, K. Phonological concept learning. Cognitive Science 41, 1 (2017), 4–69.
- [12] MORETON, E., AND PERTSOVA, K. Implicit and explicit processes in phonotactic learning. In *Proceedings of the 40th Boston University Conference on Language Development* (Somerville, Mass., 2016), TBA, Ed., Cascadilla, p. TBA.
- [13] PATER, J. Universal Grammar with weighted constraints. To appear in: John McCarthy and Joe Pater (eds.), Harmonic Grammar and Harmonic Serialism, 2016.
- [14] SMITH, N. The acquisition of phonology: a case study. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1973.
- [15] VIHMAN, M. M., AND VELLEMAN, S. Phonological reorganization: a case study. Language and Speech 32 (1989), 149–170.