Subregular Induction of Underlying Representations and a Phonological Grammar

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Goals and Background

- Project goal: the **simultaneous inference** of URs and a grammar from SRs in a morphological paradigm. (Albright, 2002; Tesar, 2014)
- The **Input Strictly Local** (ISL) functions provide a structure that can solve this problem. (Chandlee and Heinz, 2018)

Primary result

- The learner induces UR and phonological grammar from a range of ISL_2 functions (ISL function for $k = 2$), including progressive and regressive assimilation, deletion, epenthesis, and opacity.

Learning Problem

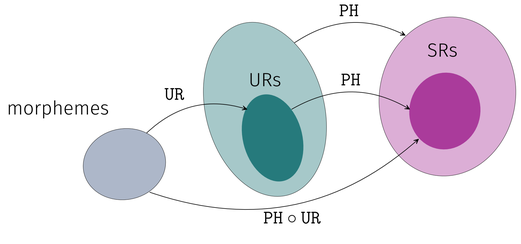
- M: finite set of morphemes $\{\text{CAT}, \text{DOG}, ..., \text{PL}\}$
  Σ: finite set of segments $\{\text{a}, \text{b}, \beta, ..., \text{z}\}$
- UR function: maps one morpheme to one UR;

$$\text{UR} : M^* \to \Sigma^*$$

- PH function: maps URs to SRs;

$$\text{PH} : \Sigma^* \to \Sigma^*$$

$$\begin{array}{llll} \text{UR}(\text{CAT}) & = \text{kæt} & \text{PH}(\text{kæt}) & = \text{kæt} \\ \text{UR}(\text{PL}) & = \text{z} & \text{PH}(\text{dɔgz}) & = \text{dɔgz} \\ \text{UR}(\text{CAT-PL}) & = \text{kætz} & \text{PH}(\text{kætz}) & = \text{kæts} \\ \ldots & \ldots & \text{PH}(\text{bʊkz}) & = \text{bʊks} \\ & & \ldots & \ldots \end{array}$$



- Given a finite sample of PH ∘ UR, how do we identify PH and UR?

$(\text{CAT-PL}, \text{kæts}), (\text{DOG-PL}, \text{dɔgz}), ..., (\text{BOOK-PL}, \text{bʊks})$

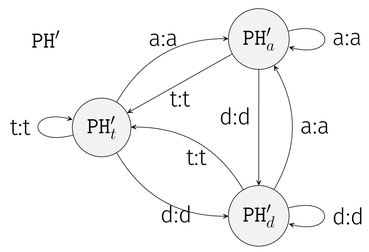
Initialization

- Running example $D \subset \text{PH} \circ \text{UR}(M^*)$

Sample of PH ∘ UR (PROG. ASSIMILATION)					
w	$\text{PH}(\text{UR}(w))$	w	$\text{PH}(\text{UR}(w))$	w	$\text{PH}(\text{UR}(w))$
r_1s_1	tatta	r_2s_1	tadda	r_3s_1	ata
r_1s_2	tatda	r_2s_2	tadda	r_3s_2	ada
r_1s_3	tata	r_2s_3	tada	r_3s_3	aa

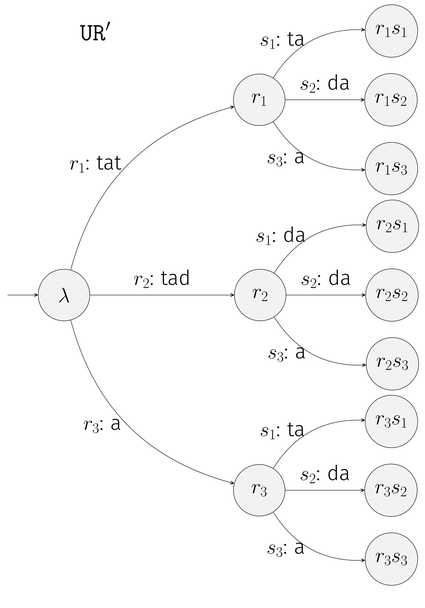
- Initialize PH′ to the identity function

$\text{PH}'(\text{tatta}) = \text{tatta}$, $\text{PH}'(\text{tadta}) = \text{tadta}$, etc.



- Initialize UR′ to a **prefix tree transducer** representing D: segmentation based on **longest common prefix (lcp)**.

$\text{lcp}(\{\underline{tat}ta, \underline{tat}da, \underline{tat}a\}) = tat$
$\text{lcp}(\{\underline{tad}da, \underline{tad}a\}) = tad$



Inconsistency detection

If a morpheme is mapped to multiple SRs, the learner detects this inconsistency.

r_1: tat r_2: tad r_3: a
s_1: ta, da s_2: da s_3: a

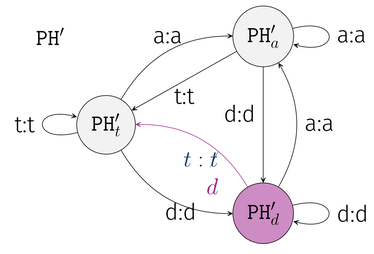
Environment collection

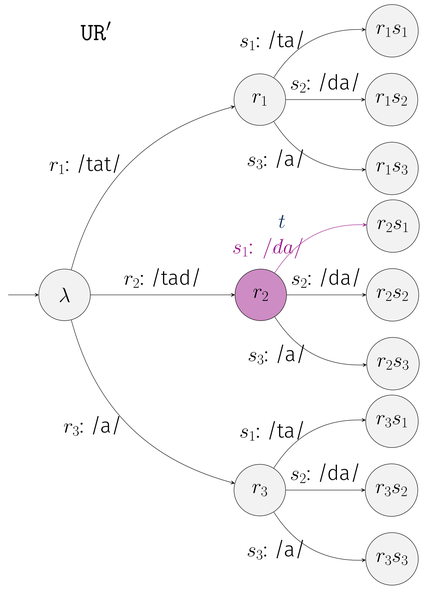
- ISL provides environment information
- t is the most **informative** form → UR.

ws_1	env. s_1
r_1s_1	tat ta
r_3s_1	a ta
r_2s_1	tad da

Modification

Change UR′, making the opposite change in PH′





Take-home message

From an **abstract** and **principled** perspective, learning is possible given the basic principles:

- a restrictive, structured hypothesis space
- complementarily distributed allomorphs
- a surface-driven set of URs
- One morpheme → one UR

Future work

- Long-distance processes can be captured by different classes of subsequential functions with a similar structure;
- One example: output strictly-local class also has a restricted state structure; (Chandlee et al., 2015)
- Abstract URs may be learnable when input alphabet is larger than output alphabet (and thus allows larger categories).

Selected References

Albright, Adam C (2002). *The identification of bases in morphological paradigms*. PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

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Acknowledgements: We thank attendees of the Rutgers MathLing group, NECPhon 2019, and in particular Jeff Heinz, Charles Reiss, Bruce Tesar, Adam McCollum, and Colin Wilson for their insightful comments.

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