Two mech	nanisms	of
language	learning	ς:

Rules and statistical learning

1

Knowledge of language: two questions

- - What allows a child to learn language More on this in unit 3...
- Productivity:
 - What is it that a child learns (today's question)
 - Obviously, the child learns words
 We won't discuss this further...
 - But what is it that allows the child learns, and allows her to generate *new* forms (productivity)

2

What is it that a child learns about their language?



- Answer (so far): Rules
 - Plural: Noun+S
 - Sentence: NP+VP

Seriously?	
Rules?	

THEY'RE MADE OUT OF MEAT By Terry Bisson

- · "They're made out of meat."
- "Meat?"
- "Meat. They're made out of meat."
- "Meat?"
- "There's no doubt about it. We picked up several from different parts of the planet, took them aboard our recon vessels, and probed them all the way through. They're completely meat."
- "That's impossible. What about the radio signals? The messages to the stars?"
- "They use the radio waves to talk, but the signals don't come from them. The signals come from machines."

 "So who made the machines? That's who we want to contact."

- They made the machines. That's what I'm trying to tell you. Meat made the machines."
 That's ridiculous. How can meat make a machine? You're asking me to believe in sentient meat."
- "I'm not asking you, I'm telling you. These creatures are the only sentient race in that sector and they're made out of meat."

5

Rules elicit a mind-body problem



Mind

Noun+S NP+VP

How can meat encode NP?

Today	720	nl	an
Toua	y o	μı	an

- Connectionism as an alternative to rules (part 1)
- Productivity has *two* potential sources (part 2):
 - statistical learning
- What does it all mean (part 3)

Connectionism as an alternative to rules

8

The traditional account of inflection

- Regular forms: generated by a rule
 - Rats, Cats, Dogs Liked, cooked..
- Irregular forms: must be stored in the lexicon
 - Mice, feet, oxen
 - Went, ate...
- "regulars" and "irregulars" require different mechanisms

 - Rule lexicon

The connectionist alternative

- A single mechanisms forms regulars and irregulars
- No distinction between
 - Categories: verbs, noun
 - Instances: like, dog
- No rules!

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Connectionists networks

- · Capture knowledge as connections between inputs (given) and outputs (outcome)
- Can learn and generalize from training
 - Trained: rat-rats
 - Generalize to: lat-lats



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Rumelhart & McClelland (1986) Past tense model

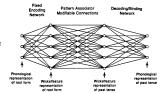
- What is given during training?
 Input: Phonological representation of base (e.g., sit, like)
 Output: Phonological representation of past tense (e.g., sat, liked)
 Feedback: right/wrong
- What's learned?
 - Can form correct plurals for existing words
 Generalize to new forms (e.g., blix)
- How?

 - Compare output to target
 Adjust weights on connections between input and output



Rumelhart & McClelland (1986) Past tense model

- Handle both regulars and irregulars on the same network
- Mimic some aspects of language acquisition
- · Generalize to new forms
- "brain-inspired"



13

A connectionist alternative

Plurals

learn Cat cats generalize dat dats

How do these models generalize?

- Answer: by similarity
- · Simplified account:
- I ram:
 Dog
 Cat
 Generalize: Dat

 How: rely on the overlap (similarity) between training and test items
- Notice: Brain-inspiration is rather indirect:
 - These models aren't about neurons and synapses what they encode is information (cognition) not the brain hardware

14

How does this differ from rules?

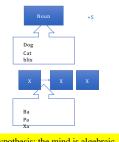
Some	exami	nles	αf	rul	60
DOME	CAam	DICS	OΙ	I U	LOS

- Noun_{stem}+S \rightarrow _{Nounplural}
- x→xx

Some characteristics of rules

- Operate on entire classes, not specific instances
 - Classes: (e.g., noun, syllable)
 - Instance: (e.g., dog, ba)
- Rules do not discriminate:
 - · Apply to all members of the class alike, regardless of
 - Familiarity
 Properties: their sound, meaning....

 Form equivalence classes
- ullet Rules operate on variables (e.g., N)
 - Noun plural=Noun singular +S X→XX
 - Blind to instances → generalize across the board Hypothesis: the mind is algebraic



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Rules vs. constraints: important! Two meanings of "rules"

In linguistics

- Rules:
 - Algebraic recipes that transform inputs into outputs
- Rules are distinct from constraints: · Restrictions on outputs
- Note: Constraints are algebraic!

 - Constitution and algebraic relation between them
 Onset/syllable: equivalence classes
 Onset defines an algebraic relation between them

Broadly (as I use it here)

- Here: I use "rule" generically, to refer to all operations over variables, regardless of whether they apply to
 - Input: ("rules" in linguistics"
 - Outputs ("constraints" in linguistics")

Rules and the mind-body problem

Some believe that rules invoke mind-body Dualism

- Rules are "abstract"
- Abstraction is "ethereal", aren't part of the body
- hence: rules are ethereal, cannot be in the brain

The PSSH [physical symbol system hypothesis] makes a Cartesian distinction between thought and action, treating mind as disembodied. That is, according to PSSH, the exact same thoughts occur when a computer is manipulating symbols by using rules and when a person is manipulating the same symbols by using the same rules. The particulars of the body housing the symbol manipulation were thought to be irrelevant.

lenberg AM, Witt JK, Metcalfe J. From the Revolution to Embodiment: 25 Years of Cognitive Psychology. Perspectives On Psychological Science. Journal Of The Association For Psychological Science, 2013;8(5):573-

19

Rules and the mind-body problem

Brain



Mind

Socrates is a man Every man is mortal

Socrates is mortal

How can meat think?

20

20

Alan's Turing revolutionary idea

- Thinking is a physical process
- It is physical laws (not some Cartesian stuff) that makes thinking happen



Turing's revolutionary idea

Symbols: a two-sided "coin"

- Form (physical) • e.g., a square
- Meaning (information) E.g., "noun"



- Thinking as a physical process
 Machines can manipulate form (a physical operation)
- By manipulating the physical form, you can systematically manipulate meaning

 Note: it is the physical structure of symbols that nudes thinking happens—not Dualists at all!
- This can capture thinking
- The catch: you need to structure your symbols correctly....

22

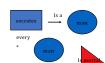
Program and symbols

- 1. find --->
- copy figure to the left of --> to bottom line
- find figure to the right of -->
 make a cutout of that figure and place in a
 buffer
- 3. find figure to the right of * copy that figure to buffer
- 4. compare the contents of the buffer:

 if

 match->continue->move two figures right

 of * and copy that figure to bottom line
 - else: stop



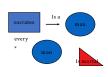
Adapted from Pinker (1994)

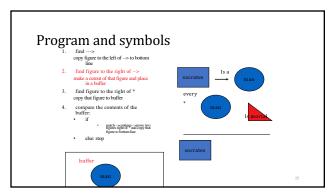
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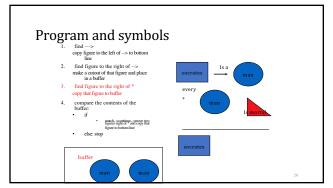
Program and symbols

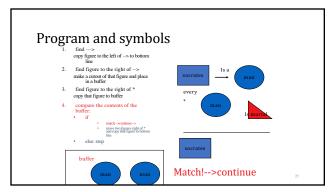
- find ---> copy figure to the left of --> to bottom line
- find figure to the right of -->
 make a cutout of that figure and place in a buffer find figure to the right of * copy that figure to buffer
- compare the contents of the buffer:

 if









Progi. 2. 3. 4.	ram and symbols find →> copy figure to the left of →> to bottom liftle find figure to the right of →> make a cuttory of that figure and place make a cuttory of that figure and place find figure to the right of * copy that figure to buffer output the contents of the buffer: if make-continue.> and copy that figure to the figure to the content of the buffer: etc.	socrates Is a man every man ls mortal	
		socrates Is mortal	28

What makes the program work? The computational theory of mind (Fodor) Operations Representations • Form Socrates dos structured • Structure causes computation to happen • Each step only depends on form · Each step only depends on form • Meaning: Socrates; dog+s (e.g., square), not meaning... · Form and meaning are systematically linked Atomic meaning (dog) gets atomic form Complex meaning (dogs) gest complex

Fodor, J., and Pylyshyn, Z. (1988). Connectionism and cognitive architecture: A critical analysis. Cognition 28, 3-71.

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Consequence

- Systematicity
 - If you know something about John and Bill

 - John and Bill are nice
 then you know something about Bill
 - Bill is nice
 - Note: systematicity is not merely possible; it's inevitable...
- Productivity: generalization across the board
 - Even when a new item is utterly dissimilar to test items...

Eliminative connectionism rejects these assumptions

Connectionist representations: associations



- Mental processes depend on association, not constituent structure
- Note: this is not necessarily the case for all forms of connectionism, but it is likely the case in the popular networks that are on the market....
 - More soon...

CTM: Structure sensitive operations

 Mental processes are caused by structure



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What's at stake

- Connectionism has challenged Chomsky's research program
 - No such thing as rule
 - No universal grammar either...

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The rejection of rules

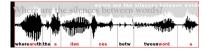
Characterization of performance as 'rule-governed' are viewed as approximate descriptions of patterns of language use; no actual rules operate in the processing of language.

McClelland JL & Patterson K (2002) Rules or connections in past-tense inflections: what does the evidence rule out? *Trends Cogn Sci 6(11):465-472*

	1
Agenda	
• What do people do?	
Do they represent rules	
Are rules "the only game in town" or do people also track statistical association (like connectionist networks)?	
 Spoiler alert: yes, people use both How to tell which one plays a role in a specific case? 	
34	
	_
Two mechanisms of learning:	
statistical learning and rules	
Part 2	
35	<u> </u>
How many words?	
• Prettybaby?	
Wannahelpme A foreign language: can you tell how many words	

The problem of speech segmentation

- Problem: speech is continuous
 - No boundaries between words
- Challenge: how can infants ever acquire words if they cannot segment them?
 - How do they discover what is a word?
- Answer: by statistical learning!



37

Are you a good statistical learner?

• Listen to the speech stream



38

Have you heard this "word"?

- 1. ?
 9. ?

 2. ?
 10.?

 3. ?
 11.?

 4. ?
 22.?

 5. ?
 13.?

 6. ?
 14.?

 7. ?
 15.?
 - 16.?

Have yo	ou heard	this	"word"	?		
•						
1	bulado	w	10	dobigo	N	
2	ladobi	N	10	dupabu	N	
3	tibata	N	(1)) 12	bigoku	w	
4	dobigo	N	13	bulado	w	
5	bigoku	W	14	ladobi	N	
6	datiba	W	15	datiba	w	
7	dupabu	N	16	tadupa	w	
8	tadupa	W				
9	tibata	N				
						40

What is going on?

41

What's going on? Phase 1: familiarization • Four repeated "words" • bigoku • bulado • datiba • Tadupa • Random permutations: bigokutadupadatibabadupadatibabulado tadupadatibabigokutadupabuladobigoku bigokubuladodatiba Phase 2: test • compare • Words: bigoku • Nonwords: • ladobi • Finding: words stand out. Why? • Answer: people track statistical information

How statistical information helps?

• Transitional probability: the statistical probability that a certain event (Y) can occur given the probability of another event (X)

Y|X=frequency of XY/Frequency of X

- Example: Prettybaby
 High probability within word: Pre-tty
 Low probability across words: Ty-bay
- Statistical probability can tell us whether certain sound combinations form a word!

43

Using statistical troughs in word segmentation • Word boundaries are Prettybaby marked by troughs in transitional probability Statistical information can help segment words 40 Syllable-pair

44

Statistical learning can help discover words

- $\bullet \ Is ee the pretty baby in the room \\$
- $\bullet\ ababy is standing near the pretty girl$
- · motherfedherbaby

	_
Statistical learning can help discover words	
Iseetheprettybabyintheroom ababyisstandingneartheprettygirl	
motherfedherbaby	
46	
46	
	7
Are infants sensitive to	
statistical structure?	
Saffran Aslin, Newport <i>Science</i> , 274 (1996) Also: sections 4.0-4.2 in textbook	
47	
47	
	٦
Approach: artificial language	7
Artificial language: an invented "language", constructed according to some specific regularities Advantages	
Advantages disadvantages	
1	

•	•	-
HV1	periment	
$\perp \Lambda$		

- Familiarize:
- $\hbox{\color{red} \bullet Tupirogolabubidakupadotigolabutupiropadotibidaku}$

tupiro golabu bidaku padoti

• Test: a single item repeated (e.g., tupiro tupiro tupiro), tupiro upiro word (after every tu there is pi) golabu word (after every tv there is a la) dapiku NW (da is never followed by pi) tilado NW (ti is never followed by do)

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Full design

• Familiarize: tupirogolabubidakupadoti (no breaks)

condition A condition B

tupiro dapiku

golabu tilado

bidaku burobi

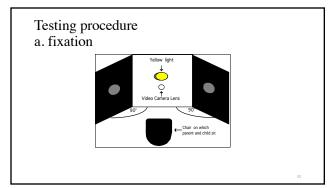
padoti pagotu word NW

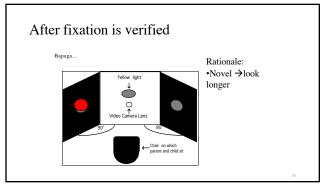
tupiro golabu dapiku tilado NW word word word NW

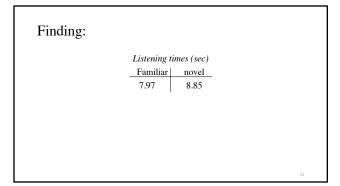
50

Preferential looking time









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HY	periment	٠,٠
L_{Λ}	permient	∠.

- Discriminate words from part-words
- A real word illustration
 - Words: Pretty, baby
 - Part words: tebay
- Saffran et al used artificial words

Experiment 2

- familiarize:
 - ${\tt Tibudopabikudaropigolatupabikutibudo}$
- test: compare
 - Words: pabiku pabiku pabiku

For words: (p=1)
• Part words: combinations of word parts pigola part word (p=.33) tudaro part word (p=.33)

56

Finding:

• longer listening time for nonwords Listening times (sec) Familiar novel 6.77 7.60

Conclusion:	
Infants readily extract statistical information	
Use statistical information to segment words	
39	
58	
In an experiment, people heard the "words" baga, dama, topo in random order. Where would you expect a frequency trough?	
in random order. Where would you expect a <i>frequency trough</i> ? A.balga	
B.Malto C.Tolpo	
D.Dalma	
59	
In an experiment, people heard the "words" haga, dama, tano	
In an experiment, people heard the "words" baga, dama, topo in random order. What result would you expect (looking time)?	
A.Baga>dama B.Mato>baga	
C.Baga>mato	
60	

Why does it matter?	
Helps segment speech	
• Necessary to learn words • An alternative to rules!	
• Also: critical in modern AI	
61	
61	•
	1
How do infants acquire their language?	
• Answer (so far): by relying on rules?	
Answer (so far): by ferrying on fules? Answer (now): statistical learning matters too!	
·	
62	
62	
Questions	
What's the difference between rules and statistical learning	
Do we need both? Is statistical learning sufficient to capture language?	
۵	
_	

	1
Outline	
Beyond rules: the role of statistical associations Page 15 track statistical information	
People track statistical information	
Why rules are also necessary Rules vs. statistical associations: what's the	
difference • Infants also learn rules	
Conclusion: two sources of productivity Rules	
Statistical learning (associations)	
61	
64	
	_
Learning rules	
65	
65	-
	1
Listen to these words in a new language	
manufacture and manufact	

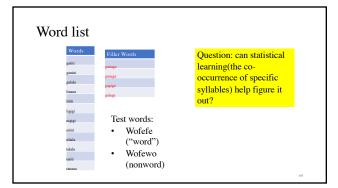
Which of these words is likely to come fr	on
that language?	

- Wofewo
- wofefe

questions

- How did you tell words from nonwords?
- How does this type of learning differ from statistical learning?

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Word list			
Words	Filler Words	٠	No!
gatiti ganini	gatiaga		 Transitional
ganini	ganaga		probability:
limana	gagiga		 Wofefe=0
lititi	galaga		 Wofewo=0
ligigi		•	How do we learn
nigigi	Test words:		these words, then?
nititi	 Wofefe 		
nilala	("word")		
talala	 Wofewo 		
tatiti	(nonword)		
tanama	,		

Finding structure		
 Words follow abstract 	Words	
structure: ABB	gatiti	ABB
 Note: A, B stand for any syllable 	ganini	ABB
 Abstract categories 	galala	ABB
Not specific syllables	linana	ABB
Word/nonword contrast	lititi	ABB
defined by structure alone	ligigi	ABB
 Wofefe = ABB 	nigigi	ABB
 Wofewo=ABA 	nititi	ABB
Structure can define	nilala	ABB
"words" even when	talala	ABB
statistical learning cannot!	tatiti	ABB
		ADD
• Structure can define "words" even when	nitala talala	ABB ABB

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How do we discover the structure here?

- Statistical information
- Rules!

T T 7	1 4	•	_	1	າ. ຄ
w	hat	18	а	ru	le !

- Rules operate on entire classes (e.g., Noun) using variables
 - Noun_{singular} + s \rightarrow Noun_{plural} X \rightarrow XX

• Consequence: generalization across the board to *any* novel instance

Class	instances
verb	like, think, see,
	grop
Noun	dog, cat, blix
	_

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Examples of rules

example		Rule
English Plurals	Bat-bats cat-cats	Noun +S
Reduplication (Ilocano, Philippines):	Pusa puspusa (cat - cats) Kalding kalkalding (goat-goats)	XX

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Rule vs. statistical learning: what's the difference?

• Critical difference: classes vs. instances of a class

Class (variable)	Instances
Noun	Dog, cat, mouse
Verb	Sit, talk, walk
A ("Any syllable")	Ba, ga, la

Rule vs. statistical learning: what's	the
difference?	

What is a rule?

- Rules typically operate on entire classes
 - Nouns, not dog
- Operate on variables
 - Nounsingular + s → Nounplural
 XX→X+X
- Statistical learning
- Tracks the co-occurrence of specific elements
 - Bi-go-ku Ta-li-ru
- Note:
 - · no abstract classes
 - No variables

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Rule vs. statistical learning how they get the job done?

how they get	the job done?	
	Rules	Statistical learning
What the track?	Structure: relation between variables (e.g., Noun+S)	Transitional probability of specific instances (e.g., dog+s)
What is a "word"?	If a form has the right structure → word	If word is familiar (frequency is high) → word
Generalize	By operating on variables	Associating specific instances

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Can infants learn rules?

Marcus et al., Science, (1999)

	1
Experiment 1	
Familiarize : group 1 ABA	
ga ti ga li na li la ta la	
• Test: • Consistent:	
ABA wo fe wo Inconsistent:	
ABB wo fe fe	
79	
79	
Finding:	
Listening times (sec) Familiar novel	
rammai novei	
6.3 9.0	
80	
80	1
	1
what did the babies learn?	
rule ABA/ABBstatistical information: voicing	
 voice: vibration of vocal chords e.b, g=voiced 	
• p, =unvoiced • Statistical correlate of ABA in Exp. 1:	
 voiced-unvoiced-voiced 	
Familiarization: ga-ti-guTest: wo-fe-wo	

Experiment 2	
• familiarize:	
group 1 group 2 ABA ABB	
ledile ledidi lejele lejeje	
• Test:	
Consistent: ABA ABB	
bapoba bapopo	
• Inconsistent: ABB ABA	
bapopo bapoba	
82	
82	
02	
Findings	
1 mangs	
Listening times (sec)	
Familiar novel	
5.6 7.35	
	-
	-
83	
83	•
83	

• Test:

• Consistent:

AAB
babapo
• Inconsistent:

ABB
bapopo

Experiment 3

• familiarize: group 1 AAB leledi

leleje

bapopo

group 2 ABB ledidi

lejeje

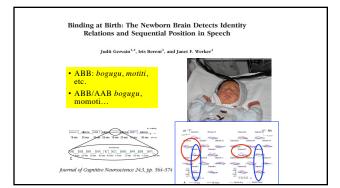
ABB bapopo

AAB bapbao

~		-				
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6.4 8.5

85



86

es vs. statistical learning						
	Statistical learning	Rules				
What people track?	Co-occurrence of instances Go-no-bu Lo-bo-ga	Relation among variables XXY				
What defines a "word"?	frequency	structure				
Generalization possible?	Yes	yes				
How?	based on association e.g., hearing go-no	based on structure				
Does similarity to familiar instances matter?	yes	No				

exercise	
• An infant hears the following stimuli	
• Po-ga	
• Mi-to • Si-no	
• Test: compare looking time for:	
• Po-ga • Ba-za	
Du Zu	
п	
88	
Hear: Po-ga; Mi-to; Si-no	
Test: Po-ga vs. Ba-za Expected looking time results?	
A.Baza>poga	
B.Poga>baza	
C.poga=baza	
89	
William I and a	
What mechanism?	
A. Statistical learning	
B. Rule learning C. Cannot tell	
C. Calinot ten	
90	

Task: hear: gagada, babana	
test: momoko vs. komomo	
Expected result (looking time)?	
A.Momoko=komomo	
B.Momoko>komomo	
C.Momoko <komomo< th=""><th></th></komomo<>	
91	
What mechanism?	
A.Statistical learning B.Rule	
B.Rule	
02	
92	
Hear: bagaga, balala, badada	
test: bamama vs. mamafa	
What mechanism (think carefully)?	
A.rule.	
B. Statistical learning	
C. Cannot tell	
	-
93	

	1
Rule or statistical learning, how to tell?	
 What is the pattern? Specific "words" (e.g., ba pa) co-occur → statistical 	
learning • Abstract structure present (ABA, ABB)→ask:	
 Is there also relevant statistical information (e.g., all familiarization items begin with same sound) 	
 Statistical pattern is found → either rule or statistical information can be responsible: cannot tell which one 	
No statistical information is found →rule is used 94	
94	
J4	
	1
YAT . 111	
What does this all mean?	
Part 3	
95	<u> </u>
	1
But what does it <i>really</i> mean?	
Suppose you find that both rules and statistical learning play a role	
What does it mean about the adequacy of popular connectionist networks?	
 Are they a plausible model of language/cognition? 	
What does it mean about <i>current</i> deep learning techniques?	
I and the second	

The rejection of rules: what do people *really* mean?

Characterization of performance as 'rule-governed' are viewed as approximate descriptions of patterns of language use; no actual rules operate in the processing of language.

McClelland JL & Patterson K (2002) Rules or connections in past-tense inflections: what does the evidence rule out? Trends Cogn Sci 6(11):465-472

This is ambiguous between two contradictory claims

- 1. Rules do not exist in the mind
 - · statistical learning is the only game
 - connectionist networks can do it...
- 2. Rules exist in the mind
 - Although connectionist networks start with no rules, rules can ultimately "emerge"

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Spelling it out

- Suppose you start with a typical connectionist network
 - Only connections between specific instances and their components
 - e.g., between letters
- Will a rule emerge?

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How do you tell there is a rule? Two hallmarks of rules

- Systematicity: if you know
 - Big cup Red up
 - You know

 - Big red cup
 connectionist networks don't (Lake & Baroni)!
- Across the board generalizations (Marcus)

1. Lake, B.M., and Baroni, M. (2017). Generalization without systematicity: On the compositional skills of sequence-to-sequence recurrent networks. In Retrieved from arXiv: 1711.00350

Across-the-board generalizations

Rules generalize across the board

- Rules generalize to any novel instance, irrespective of whether its features
 - have been all included in the training items (test items fall within
 - the training space)
 Its features have not been trained on (test item falls *outside* the training space)
- Formally: rules generalize beyond the training space

So do people...

- People generalize the identity function to any novel instance
 - Even when feature values are unattested
 - Kathath vs. thathak
- Even across modalities: from speech to sign....

What about connectionism?

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A simple example

train	d	o	g	D	0	G	s
	с	a	t	С	A	Т	s
Test 1 (within the training space)	d	a	t	D	A	Т	s
Test 2 (outside training space)	В	A	Т	В	A	Т	s

- Connectionist networks generalize within the training space
- Fail to generalize beyond the training space

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Testing generalizations outside the training space

Logic

- Train on a network on the identity function
 X->X
- Hold one feature constant (last=odd)
- Test generalization to untrained feature
- (last=even)
 Note: this dissociates identity from similarity

 Finding: the network generalizes

according				
Marcus,	G., F.	(1998).	Rethinking	eliminativ

	m	out				Output				
	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0
	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0
	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
	In	pu	t				ou	tpı	ıt	
items	1	1 1	1 1	ı			1:	1 1	1	0

The scope of generalization in popular connectionist networks

- Successful generalization within the training space (interpolation)
- Failure to generalize outside the training space (extrapolation)
- Note: whether any particular item falls within/outside the
- training space depends on

 Grain size (e.g., syllable, segment feature)
- Feature inventory



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The role of representation grainsize Representing English features Representing English phonemes By encoding features (rather than segments), we can now fit p (but not x) into the training space Prediction: no generalization

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Conclusions

- Connectionist networks fail to generalize beyond the training space
- What did the system learn?

 - Not rules:
 For any X input, activate X in output
 Irrespective of training history of
 Rather: association

 - Output depends on similarity of input to training items
 Training for each node is independent of others
 Intuitively: "Unit X does what's likely for unit X"
- Conclusion: a system that lacks rules in the first place does not follow rules spontaneously
 • Rules do not "emerge" in models

Deep learning vs. AI

- Deep learning is one form of AI
 Revolutionizes modern technology
 Based on "big data"
- Currently, most models that use deep learning rely on associations *only*—no rules!
- Can they "get" language?



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Not really...



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Some challenges to "deep learning"

Ask Google...

- Ask Siri...
- Where did Harry Potter meet Hermione Granger?
 No answer (does not name the meeting place)
- What were the seven
- Horcruxes in Harry Potter?
 No answer (no book

	discusses them as a single list)
•	Problem: cannot integrate information



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Deep learning isn't that deep. Why?	
Only tracks association No rules	
Unlike people!	
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109	
A hidden innateness problem	
What must be innate in learning mechanism?	
Connectionism: Representation of instances	
Learning algorithm Algebraic approach (the computational theory of mind)	
The capacity to represent variable and operate variables Note: two aspects of innateness	
 Properties of learning mechanisms (our question here) Contents of what is learned (the UG question, not our issue here) 	
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So why is connectionism so popular?	
• The strengths of connectionism	
Many areas do not require generalizations beyond the training space	
Connectionism can get (that) job done! Our weakness of intuitive cognition	
People confuse the notion of abstraction with Dualism Rules imply some "innate" commitments	
Some people find this problematic	

Summary

- People (including infants) can rapidly extract linguistic regularities in linguistic inputs
 Two mechanisms:

- Two mechanisms:
 Statistical learning
 Rule
 These two mechanisms aren't the same!
 Getting both mechanisms might be critical for the future of cognition AI
 Some of the allure of connectionism arises from our intuitive cognitive biases
 To advance AI and get a better grasp of cognition, we better keep our intuitive biases at bay!

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