

What is Modularity Good For?

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Abstract

We compare three types of dual-route associative architectures for learning the English past tense problem. Identical computational resources are used in (1) a *pre-specified modular* architecture, with a rule mechanism and an exception mechanism; (2) an architecture with two mechanisms that demonstrate *emergent specialization* of function for regular and exception verbs; and (3) a *redundant* system, where both mechanisms attempt to learn all verbs. Networks in which regular and exception verbs were learned in *emergent* or *redundant* systems showed many of the behaviors thought to derive from the operation of a modular system, and were more effective at learning the training set overall. The *pre-specified modular* solution was least efficient, due to a difficulty in resolving the competition between the two modules when they sought to drive the same output in different ways. The results are discussed in the context of modularity theory.

Introduction

The notion of modularity figures early in the history of cognitive science as a design principle for building complex computational systems. Thus Marr (1982, p.325) argued that ‘any large computation should be split up into a collection of small, nearly independent, specialized sub-processes’. Fodor (1983) further developed the principle in the context of cognition, suggesting that modularity is likely to hold sway for low-level sensory and motor systems. For Fodor, modularity represented a probable coalition of processing properties (domain-specificity, informational encapsulation, innate specification, fast operation, hardwired at a neural level, autonomous, not assembled). Modularity saves a low-level system from having to consult all an organism’s knowledge in order to do its job, instead acting over a restricted, propriety *knowledge base* and potentially employing specialized *processes* (see Fodor, 2000, for the distinction between *epistemological* and *psychological* modularity). From a developmental perspective, a restricted domain of operation simplifies the learning problem faced by the given sub-system.

Fodor (1983) additionally argued that modularity would not apply to the central cognitive system, where access to background knowledge is available and computations are subject to global constraints of context. Later he argued that the central system might include the majority of cognition, so that modules would have limited explanatory scope (Fodor, 2000). However, others extended the principle of

modularity to high-level cognition, under what Fodor (2000) refers to as *the massive modularity thesis*. This move was driven both by (1) proposals from evolutionary psychology that humans might inherit domain-specific reasoning systems (e.g., for detecting social cheats, for predicting other people’s belief states), and (2) evidence from cognitive neuropsychology of double dissociations between high-level abilities in acquired brain damage. Debates continue about the necessary and sufficient features that define a module (e.g., for Coltheart, 1999, the main feature is domain specificity; Fodor, 2000, prefers encapsulation).

The aim of this article is to consider the computational advantages and disadvantages in opting for modular architectures in systems required to learn different sorts of cognitive problem. While accepting there are innate constraints on the architecture of the cognitive system, our perspective is essentially developmental: how does development occur given the initial constraints in the system, modular or otherwise? We seek to answer this question by generating and comparing explicit developmental trajectories for systems with different initial constraints.

As an illustration of this approach, Calabretta et al. (2003) argued that the genotype of behaviorally complex organisms is more likely to encode modular neural architectures because this avoids neural interference. They presented simulations in which a connectionist network was presented with letters on an input retina, and was required to output either *Where* on the retina a letter appeared or *What* letter it was. Table 1 shows different 3-layer architectures for systems with common or separate inputs, outputs, and processing resources. Calabretta et al. compared a system with common processing resources (Table 1, panel 5) with a system incorporating modular structure (panel 7). The modular architecture was consistently superior in learning the task.

Table 1: Architectures with different modular commitments

		OUTPUT			
		Common		Separate	
		PROCESSING RESOURCES			
I	Common	1	3	5	7
		2	4	6	8

This result arose because information required to compute *Where* is different from the information required to compute *What*. As a result, there is no advantage in sharing information in a common representational layer. The modular architecture prevents the *What* channel from having to consider irrelevant information from the *Where* channel and vice versa, thereby aiding the learning process.

In this article, we evaluate the utility of modularity in another domain, English past tense. The domain is of interest because it has a dual structure requiring a child to learn (1) a general regularity, that the past tense of most verbs is formed by adding ‘-ed’ to the stem (e.g., *talk*=>*talked*); this regularity is productive for novel verbs (*wug*=>*wugged*); and (2) a restricted set of exceptions to the rule, of various sorts (e.g., *hit*=>*hit*, *sing*=>*sang*, *go*=>*went*).

Pinker (1991) proposed that children learn this domain using a modular architecture that comprises a ‘computational component containing specific kinds of rules and representations’ and an ‘associative memory system with certain properties of connectionist models’ (1999, p.531), which learn the past tense rule and the exception verbs, respectively. The rule-component operates as the default. For exceptions, the memory component blocks the rule mechanism and delivers the exception form. Key empirical data indicate that children pass through an extended phase of ‘over-regularization’ where the rule is mistakenly applied to exception verbs (e.g., *think*=>*thinked*), suggestive of interference between two mechanisms. Some researchers claim there is evidence for the involvement of separate brain areas for each mechanism (Tyler, Marslen-Wilson, & Stamatakis, 2005). A debate continues on the status of this theory (see Thomas & Karmiloff-Smith, 2003, for a review), including arguments that a single mechanism is sufficient, or three mechanisms are necessary to accommodate rote memorization of past tense forms in children (MacWhinney, 1978).

Our interest here is not to enter into this debate *per se*, but to use computational simulations to explore whether (and how) modular solutions offer an advantage for acquiring the past tense domain. We begin with two assumptions. Assumption 1: the problem can be defined as one of learning the mapping between phonological representations of the verb stem and past tense form (this assumption may be wrong; see Thomas & Karmiloff-Smith, 2003). Assumption 2: the developmental system has two learning mechanisms available to it, one with computational properties better suited to learning regular mappings and one able to learn potentially arbitrary exceptions to the rule. Our architecture corresponds to Table 1, panel 3.

Given our two mechanisms, there are at least three ways to combine them that make different modular commitments. Diverse computational components do not themselves define a modular architecture. To determine the architecture, one must answer three questions. First, do input patterns get separately channeled to the different mechanisms by some ‘gatekeeper’ that knows about regulars and exceptions? Second, do the mechanisms compete to drive the output or can they collaborate in producing a response? Third, are the

two mechanisms given equal opportunity to learn the problem, or does the improving performance of one mitigate the need for the other to improve its accuracy? We refer to these three dimensions, illustrated in Figure 1, as *input competition*, *output competition*, and *update competition*, respectively (Thomas & Richardson, 2006). Using the same processing resources, decisions about competition then define three architectures: (1) a *pre-specified modular* system exploiting *input* and *output competition*; (2) a system exhibiting *emergent specialization of function* of its components, using *update competition* only; and (3) a *redundant* system, using *output competition* only. In the emergent system, each mechanism only learns sufficient information to produce the output in tandem with the other mechanism. In the redundant system, each mechanism attempts to acquire the whole task on its own. Thomas and Richardson (2006) showed that both modular and emergent solutions produce double dissociations between regular and exception verbs in the endstate, although dissociations are stronger in the modular case; the redundant system only shows single dissociations.

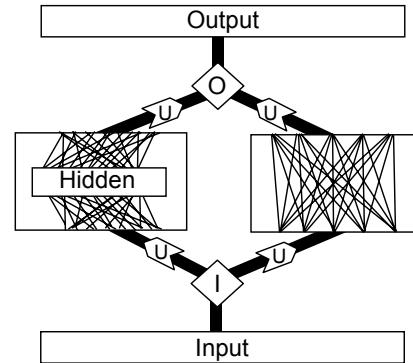


Figure 1: Use of input (I), update (U) and output (O) competition to create a modular, emergent, or redundant system with the same two components

Decisions about modularity are not, therefore, simply about combining components with different domain-specific computational properties. In this example, the same components and properties deliver different modular solutions. Restricting the information flow is also central to modularity, and indeed may deliver pre-specified modularity even if individual components have identical processing properties.

So our research question becomes, of the three ways of using the same resources, is the modular one the best, as implied by Pinker’s (1991) theory?

Pinker’s dual mechanism (DM) model

It is important to clarify that although the issues raised by Pinker’s dual mechanism theory inspired these simulations, we did not implement that theory. Both our learning mechanisms were associative: respectively, a two-layer and a three-layer connectionist network. The two-layer network is better for learning regular mappings (faster, better generalization), while the three-layer network is better able to learn potentially arbitrary associations. By contrast, Pinker’s theory specifies a rule-learning mechanism that acquires a

symbolic rule operating over the variable *verb stem*. To date, the developmental operation of this mechanism has not been sufficiently clear to permit implementation (other than it appears to invoke some combination of inductive and deductive inferential processes; see Marcus et al., 1992). In lieu, we utilized a readily available associative network optimized to learn regular mappings.

Two further points are of note. First, Pinker's model included a *blocking* function (or 'principle') to co-ordinate the operation of its two modular components. This function turns out to be important for the behavior of our pre-specified modular architecture, so it is worth summarizing how it is supposed to work. Blocking overrides the operation of the rule *<add -ed>* when an exception past tense form is retrieved from memory for a given verb stem (Marcus et al., 1992, p.8-18). Retrieval failures explain the occasional interference errors between the regular and exception mechanisms. These 'over-regularization errors' (e.g., *thinked*) occur predominantly (but not exclusively) in childhood. The idea of blocking is derived from adult linguistic theory and simply attributed to the child (Marcus et al., 1992, p. 16). Second, in 1999, Pinker revised his model to weaken its modular commitments. In the *revised* version, the rule mechanism acquires the past tense rule while the lexical memory attempts to learn (potentially) all of the past tenses.

Simulations

We first briefly introduce details of the architectures, training and testing sets, and parameters. We then compare developmental trajectories for our *modular*, *emergent*, and *redundant* systems on the past tense problem, considering performance on the training set, interference errors, and generalization to novel verb stems. Where the exception mechanism was required to learn the full training set, its level of resources turned out to be crucial, and so results are presented for exception mechanisms with low and high resources. Among the high resource conditions, we consider a partially redundant architecture similar to the *Revised DM* model, in order to retain contact with Pinker's evolving theory and to assess whether partial redundancy radically alters the behavior of the model. Lastly, we will find that the three varieties of modular system (low resource, high resource, and Revised DM) present difficulties in coordinating the output of their two mechanisms, and so we consider adjustments to these models to optimize their performance.

Simulation details

Architecture: The network had 90 input units and 100 output units. The 'rule' mechanism comprised a 2-layer network directly connecting input and output units. The 'exception' mechanism comprised a 3-layer network, with a layer of hidden units interceding between the input and output layers. Twenty hidden units were used in the low resource condition as this was the minimum value sufficient to learn the exception past tenses on their own; 100 hidden units were used in the high resource condition.

Training set: The training set was based on the simplified rendition of the past tense problem used by Plunkett and Marchman (1991). Verb stems were triphonemic consonant-vowel strings encoded using binary phonetic features. Thirty units encoded each phoneme. The output layer included an additional 10-unit inflection morpheme. There were 410 regular verbs, 20 no-change exceptions, 68 vowel-change exceptions, and 10 arbitrary exceptions. Hereafter, the exceptions are labeled EP1, EP2, and EP3f, respectively. Training items were split into high and low frequency groups. To ensure the acquisition of arbitrary exceptions, these were given a higher token frequency than all other patterns, marked by the 'f'. For EP3f, the high frequency factor was 0.9 and low 0.6, for all other verbs these values were 0.3 and 0.1 (see Thomas & Karmiloff-Smith, 2003).

Generalization set: Novel stems could either share two phonemes with existing verbs (rhymes) or only one phoneme (non-rhymes). There were 410 regular rhymes, 10 EP1 rhymes, 76 EP2 rhymes, 10 EP3f rhymes, and 56 non-rhymes. We report extension of the rule to regular rhymes, referred to as *rule(sim)*; extension of the rule to non-rhymes bearing low similarity to any stem in the training set, referred to as *rule(nosim)*; extension of the rule to EP2 rhymes (e.g., *ling=>linged*); and irregularization of EP2 rhymes (e.g., *ling=>lang*).

Competition mechanisms: *Input* competition was implemented by training the 2-layer network and the 3-layer network separately on regulars and exceptions respectively. It therefore assumes a type of input gatekeeper (see Fodor, 2000, p.71-78, for a discussion of the difficulties with this idea). For *update* competition, each mechanism was back-propagated with error signals from the output generated by both mechanisms combined; for no *update* competition, each mechanism received error signals from its own output response alone. To capture *output* competition, the output of each mechanism was assigned a 'confidence' value reflecting how binary the vector was (since all targets were binary feature sets). Formally, the output vector was thresholded at 0.5 (if $x < 0.5$, $x=0$; if $x > 0.5$, $x=1$) and the Euclidean distance was derived between actual and thresholded versions. A small distance indicates high confidence (see Plaut, 1997). The mechanism with the highest confidence was assigned the winner and drove the final output. For no *output* competition, the output of each mechanism was summed to create the net input to the output layer.

Parameters: Models were trained using the backpropagation algorithm with a cross entropy error measure, learning rate of 0.1, momentum of 0, for 500 epochs (random order without replacement). The full training set was used rather than an incrementally increasing set: while these simulations capture acquisition of the overall domain, they do not aim to capture an early high performance on a restricted set of regular and exception verbs. Performance was measured at 1, 2, 5, 10, 25, 50, 100, 200, and 500 epochs of training. Six replications of each network were run using different random seeds. Error bars are omitted from figures for clarity but all reported differences are reliable.

Results

We begin with the developmental trajectories generated by each system. Figure 2 (top panel) compares modular, emergent and redundant systems when the exception mechanism has low resources. The modular condition generated fast learning of regulars and high generalization of the rule, even to novel stems bearing low similarity to anything in the training set (*sim*: 97%, *nosim*: 65%). For Pinker (1991, p.532), *rule(sim)* and *rule(nosim)* generalization should be at the same level, suggesting our proxy rule-learning mechanism is not sufficiently powerful for the DM account. However, the modular system could not learn the exceptions; the rule mechanism was always more confident of its answer than the exception mechanism because it was learning a simpler function. The redundant system learned more evenly but did not reach ceiling on either regulars or exceptions because the rule mechanism didn't have the power, and the exception mechanism didn't have the resources, to learn the whole problem. The emergent system reached ceiling on regulars and exceptions, but with generalization at 84% (*sim*) and 31% (*nosim*).

When the exception mechanism was given higher resources (middle panel), the modular system still failed on exceptions, although there was now some presence of the exceptions in the output, especially for EP3f. Both emergent and redundant systems reached ceiling and showed comparable generalization (*sim*: 87% vs 85%, *nosim*: 32% vs 28%). The modular system retained its much higher generalization (*sim*: 97%, *nosim*: 61%). Performance in the Revised DM condition, with an exception mechanism trained on both regulars and exceptions, was similar to the modular.

Figure 2 (bottom panel) depicts interference errors (over-regularization of exceptions) for each exception type across training, for all systems. All systems exhibited these errors, and all showed the comparatively reduced vulnerability of the higher frequency EP3f patterns. For modular and Revised DM systems, the errors never went away. Interference errors per se, therefore, are not diagnostic of architecture. Of course, their exact timing and proportions may be diagnostic in a detailed comparison to empirical data, but this is outside the scope of the current simulations.

Let's try and fix the modular systems. Exception mappings are more complicated. The rule mechanism is always likely to be more confident of its regular response than the exception mechanism is of its (mostly) unsystematic transformations. One way to fix the problem is to bias the output of the exception mechanism, amplifying its confidence level. Figures 3, 4, and 5 show the change in developmental trajectories that different levels of biasing produced, for the low resource modular, high resource modular, and revised DM respectively. In each case, results are split into training (upper panel) and generalization (lower panel). The bias factor simply multiplied the confidence value of the exception mechanism by a fixed value. We plot trajectories for biases of $x1$ (original), $x2$, $x5$, $x10$, $x50$, $x100$, $x200$, $x250$, and $x1000$. This way of fixing the modular systems may seem post-hoc, but one can imagine how an optimal biasing

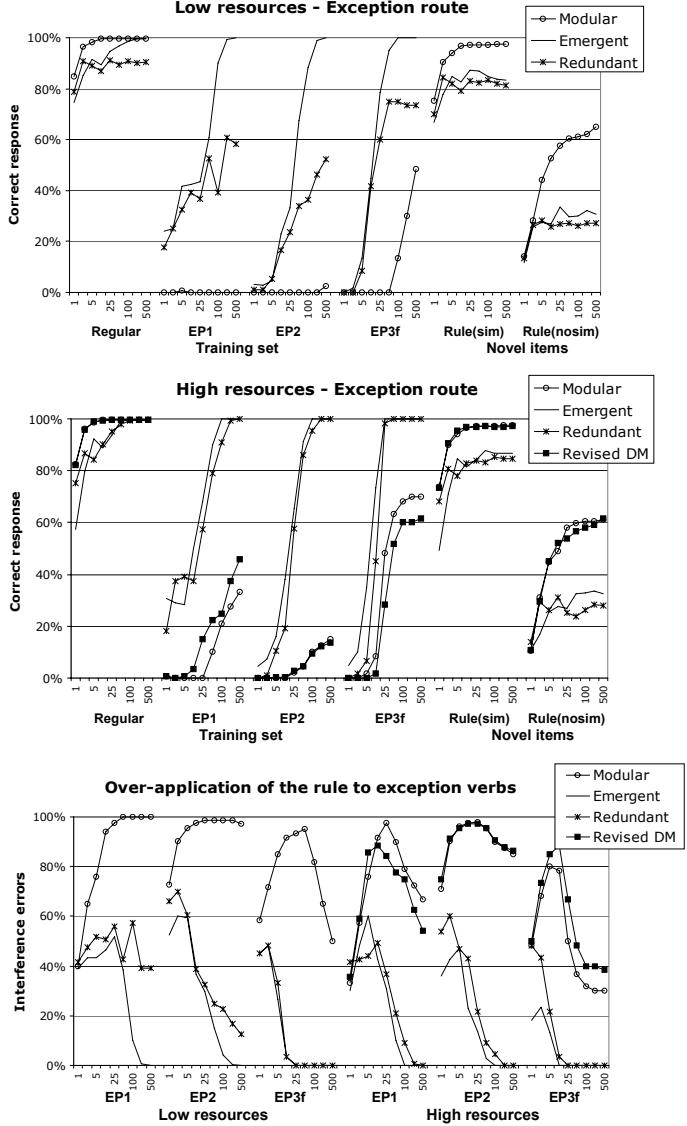


Figure 2: Developmental trajectories and interference errors for the different architectures

value for output competition might be derived during training. The bias starts at 1 and is increased (by some small amount) each time the exception mechanism has the correct output but fails to block the rule mechanism.

In the low resource modular system, none of the bias values considered were sufficient to allow exceptions to be learned (Figure 3, upper panel). Notably, as exception bias values were increased, regular learning slowed, rule generalization decreased (lower panel), and regularization of novel stems (e.g., *ling=>lang*) increased (lower panel). *Nosim* generalization, the key domain of the rule mechanism, collapsed as soon as biasing exceeded $x2$. In the high resource condition, the modular system reached ceiling performance by the end of training when the exception bias was $x200$ (marked by asterisks in Figure 4, upper panel). At this bias level, generalization for *rule(sim)*, shown in the

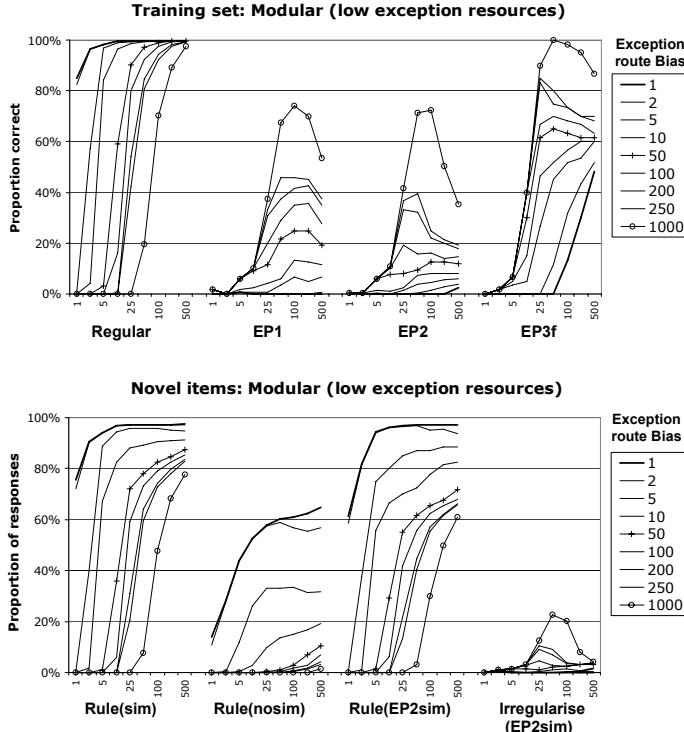


Figure 3: Trajectories for the modular system (low resources). Biasing increases the role of the exception mechanism

lower panel, was 83%. By comparison, for the emergent system it was 87% and for the redundant 85%. For *nosim*, the modular was 4%, the emergent was 32% and the redundant was 28%. Acquisition of regulars was much slower for the biased high resource modular system compared to emergent and redundant solutions, but its acquisition of exceptions was faster.

Finally, the partially redundant Revised DM condition (Figure 5) revealed superior performance on regulars compared to the high resource modular system. However, since the exception mechanism was now required to learn the whole training set, its confidence needed greater amplification. Performance was just under ceiling with a bias of $\times 1000$. The main difference between Revised DM and high resource modular was that the former did not experience the marked slowing in regular verb acquisition, or reduction in generalization. Final *sim* generalization of the rule was 90%, slightly higher than emergent and (fully) redundant. This marginal increase in generalization was the sole benefit of the rule-dedicated mechanism. (*Nosim* was at a level of 28%, comparable to emergent and modular systems). The generalization advantage stemmed from the fact that, while the influence of the rule mechanism was initially reduced this function was taken up early in training by the exception mechanism, which was itself able to generalize the rule. Figure 5 (bottom panel) demonstrates how the relative contribution of the two mechanisms to driving regular verb and rule generalization alters across development.

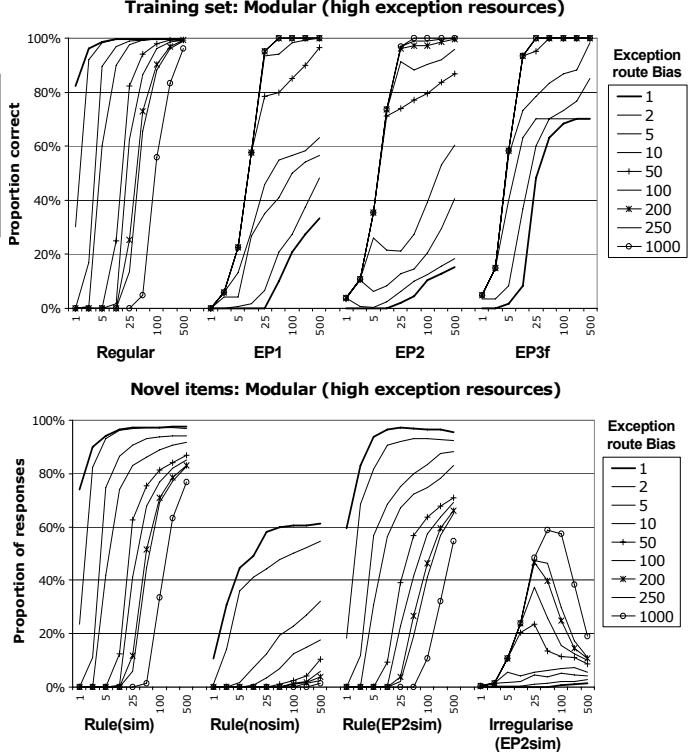


Figure 4: Trajectories for the modular system (high resources). Biasing increases the role of the exception mechanism

Discussion

The main findings were that (a) *emergent* and *redundant* architectures were more effective than the *modular* system at learning regular and exception verbs; and (b) *emergent* and *redundant* architectures exhibited behaviors thought to derive from the operation of a modular system.

Modular solutions to the past tense were problematic because the component mechanisms generated different outputs for the same input. The competition between the mechanisms then had to be resolved. While redundant architectures also required the settling of this competition, the mechanisms were more often than not offering similar outputs. What the modular system gained by including a dedicated rule mechanism it then lost in mediating the competition between its two mechanisms. For the exception mechanism to speak loud enough to block the rule mechanism, it had to eat into the generalization offered by the rule mechanism. Both emergent and redundant architectures were more successful developmental solutions. The emergent was most efficient in terms of resources because *update* competition maximized cooperation between its two components. Interference errors in children (*thinded*) have been seen as diagnostic of a modular solution and faulty blocking, but these errors also appeared in emergent and redundant acquisition.

Our results are consistent with other simulation results reported. When Calabretta et al. (2000) trained a robot to learn a sensorimotor task, duplication of partially adapted modules greatly facilitated evolution of functional specialization. But there was no evidence that functionally specialized modular systems had inherently better performance or were

more trainable than non-specialized modular systems. In the language domain, our results are reminiscent of those of Hahn and Nakisa (2000) in a model learning the German plural. Addition of an explicit rule for the default plural did not aid generalization (although in that model, the rule mechanism was not an integrated developmental element). One may question whether the disadvantage of the modular architecture stems from the way we have implemented it, using a strictly competitive method for driving output. The response to this is threefold. First, adding an adaptive element to the competitive mechanism in the form of a bias did not make the modular architecture the best. Second, cooperative use of the mechanisms fits better with the partial specialization exhibited with the emergent approach. And third, strict output competition is the existing proposal in Pinker's dual mechanism theory of past tense acquisition. Although we did not implement that theory here, the simulations raise questions over its viability with regard to the nature and developmental function of the 'blocking principle'.

Conclusion

What is modularity good for? Modular developmental solutions are *good* when computational components drive separate outputs and the information required by each output is independent (Calabretta et al., 2003). Pre-specified modular architectures are *bad* (or at least inefficient) when components receive information from a common input and have to drive a common output. This is because a competition must be resolved for which module will drive the output. Either an emergent or redundant solution using the same resources may be superior. For the problem domain considered, cooperation is more efficient than competition.

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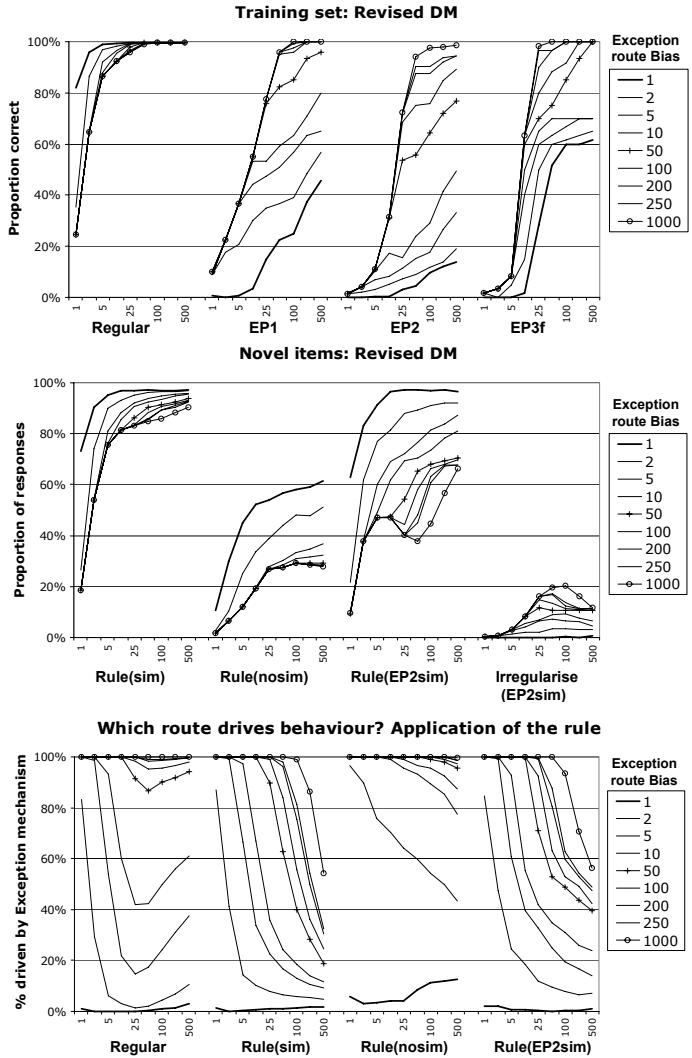


Figure 5: Biased trajectories for the Revised DM condition

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