ORDERED NEURONS:
INTEGRATING TREE STRUCTURES
INTO RECURRENT NEURAL NETWORKS

Yikang Shen[*]
Mila/Université de Montréal and Microsoft Research
Montréal, Canada

Shawn Tan[*]
Mila/Université de Montréal
Montréal, Canada

Alessandro Sordoni
Microsoft Research
Montréal, Canada

Aaron Courville
Mila/Université de Montréal
Montréal, Canada

ABSTRACT

Natural language is hierarchically structured: smaller units (e.g., phrases) are nested within larger units (e.g., clauses). When a larger constituent ends, all of the smaller constituents that are nested within it must also be closed. While the standard LSTM architecture allows different neurons to track information at different time scales, it does not have an explicit bias towards modeling a hierarchy of constituents. This paper proposes to add such an inductive bias by *ordering* the neurons; a vector of master input and forget gates ensures that when a given neuron is updated, all the neurons that follow it in the ordering are also updated. Our novel recurrent architecture, *ordered neurons* LSTM (ON-LSTM), achieves good performance on four different tasks: language modeling, unsupervised parsing, targeted syntactic evaluation, and logical inference[1].

1 INTRODUCTION

Natural language has a sequential overt form as spoken and written, but the underlying structure of language is not strictly sequential. This structure is usually tree-like. Linguists agree on a set of rules, or *syntax*, that determine this structure (Chomsky, 1956; 1965; Sandra & Taft, 2014) and dictate how single words compose to form meaningful larger units, also called "constituents" (Koopman et al., 2013). The human brain can also implicitly acquire the latent structure of language (Dehaene et al., 2015): during language acquisition, children are not given annotated parse trees. This observation brings more interest in latent structure induction with artificial neural network approaches, which are inspired by information processing and communication patterns in biological nervous systems. From a practical point of view, integrating a tree structure into a neural network language model may be important for multiple reasons:

(i) to obtain a hierarchical representation with increasing levels of abstraction, a key feature of deep neural networks (Bengio et al., 2009; LeCun et al., 2015; Schmidhuber, 2015);

(ii) to model the compositional effects of language (Koopman et al., 2013; Socher et al., 2013) and help with the long-term dependency problem (Bengio et al., 2009; Tai et al., 2015) by providing shortcuts for gradient backpropagation (Chung et al., 2016);

(iii) to improve generalization via a better inductive bias and at the same time potentially reducing the need of a large amount of training data.

The study of deep neural network techniques that can infer and use tree structures to form better representations of natural language sentences has received a great deal of attention in recent

---

[*]Equal contribution. {`yi-kang.shen,jing.shan.shawn.tan`}`@umontreal.ca`.
[1]The code can be found at `https://github.com/yikangshen/Ordered-Neurons`.
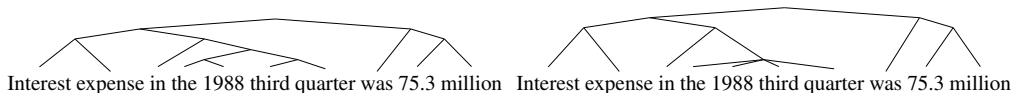
Figure 1: Binary parse tree inferred by our model (left) and its corresponding ground-truth (right).

years (Bowman et al., 2016; Yogatama et al., 2016; Shen et al., 2017; Jacob et al., 2018; Choi et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2018; Shi et al., 2018).

Given a sentence, one straightforward way of predicting the corresponding latent tree structure is through a supervised syntactic parser. Trees produced by these parsers have been used to guide the composition of word semantics into sentence semantics (Socher et al., 2013; Bowman et al., 2015), or even to help next word prediction given previous words (Wu et al., 2017). However, supervised parsers are limiting for several reasons: i) few languages have comprehensive annotated data for supervised parser training; ii) in some domains, syntax rules tend to be broken (e.g. in tweets); and iii) languages change over time with use, so syntax rules may evolve.

On the other hand, *grammar induction*, defined as the task of learning the syntactic structure from raw corpora without access to expert-labeled data, remains an open problem. Many such recent attempts suffer from inducing a trivial structure (e.g., a left-branching or right-branching tree (Williams et al., 2018)), or encounter difficulties in training caused by learning branching policies with Reinforcement Learning (RL) (Yogatama et al., 2016). Furthermore, some methods are relatively complex to implement and train, like the PRPN model proposed in Shen et al. (2017).

Recurrent neural networks (RNNs) have proven highly effective at the task of language modeling (Merity et al., 2017; Melis et al., 2017). RNNs explicitly impose a chain structure on the data. This assumption may seem at odds with the latent non-sequential structure of language and may pose several difficulties for the processing of natural language data with deep learning methods, giving rise to problems such as capturing long-term dependencies (Bengio et al., 2009), achieving good generalization (Bowman et al., 2015), handling negation (Socher et al., 2013), etc. Meanwhile, some evidence exists that LSTMs with sufficient capacity potentially implement syntactic processing mechanisms by encoding the tree structure implicitly, as shown by Gulordava et al. (2018); Kuncoro et al. (2018) and very recently by Lakretz et al. (2019). We believe that the following question remains: Can better models of language be obtained by architectures equipped with an inductive bias towards learning such latent tree structures?

In this work, we introduce *ordered neurons*, a new inductive bias for recurrent neural networks. This inductive bias promotes differentiation of the life cycle of information stored inside each neuron: high-ranking neurons will store long-term information which is kept for a large number of steps, while low-ranking neurons will store short-term information that can be rapidly forgotten. To avoid a strict division between high-ranking and low-ranking neurons, we propose a new activation function, the cumulative softmax, or $\mathrm{cumax}()$, to actively allocate neurons to store long/short-term information. We use the $\mathrm{cumax}()$ function to produce a vector of master input and forget gates ensuring that when a given neuron is updated (erased), all of the neurons that follow it in the ordering are also updated (erased). Based on the $\mathrm{cumax}()$ and the LSTM architecture, we have designed a new model, ON-LSTM, that is biased towards performing tree-like composition operations. Our model achieves good performance on four tasks: language modeling, unsupervised constituency parsing, targeted syntactic evaluation (Marvin & Linzen, 2018) and logical inference (Bowman et al., 2015). The result on unsupervised constituency parsing suggests that the proposed inductive bias aligns with the syntax principles proposed by human experts better than previously proposed models. The experiments also show that ON-LSTM performs better than standard LSTM models in tasks requiring capturing long-term dependencies and achieves better generalization to longer sequences.

2 RELATED WORK

There has been prior work leveraging tree structures for natural language tasks in the literature. Socher et al. (2010); Alvarez-Melis & Jaakkola (2016); Zhou et al. (2017); Zhang et al. (2015) use supervised learning on expert-labeled treebanks for predicting parse trees. Socher et al. (2013) and Tai et al. (2015) explicitly model the tree-structure using parsing information from an external

parser. Later, Bowman et al. (2016) exploited guidance from a supervised parser (Klein & Manning, 2003) in order to train a stack-augmented neural network.

Theoretically, RNNs and LSTMs can model data produced by context-free grammars and context-sensitive grammars (Gers & Schmidhuber, 2001). However, recent results suggest that introducing structure information into LSTMs is beneficial. Kuncoro et al. (2018) showed that RNNGs (Dyer et al., 2016), which have an explicit bias to model the syntactic structures, outperform LSTMs on the subject-verb agreement task (Linzen et al., 2016). In our paper, we run a more extensive suite of grammatical tests recently provided by Marvin & Linzen (2018). Bowman et al. (2014; 2015) also demonstrate that tree-structured models are more effective for downstream tasks whose data was generated by recursive programs. Interestingly, Shi et al. (2018) suggests that while the prescribed grammar tree may not be ideal, some sort of hierarchical structure, perhaps task dependent, might help. However, the problem of efficiently inferring such structures from observed data remains an open question.

The task of learning the underlying grammar from data is known as *grammar induction* (Chen, 1995; Cohen et al., 2011). Early work incorporated syntactic structure in the context of language modeling (Roark, 2001; Charniak, 2001; Chelba & Jelinek, 2000). More recently, there have been attempts at incorporating some structure for downstream tasks using neural models (Grefenstette et al., 2015; Sun et al., 2017; Joulin & Mikolov, 2015). Generally, these works augment a main recurrent model with a stack and focus on solving algorithmic tasks. Yogatama et al. (2018) focus on language modeling and syntactic evaluation tasks (Linzen et al., 2016) but they do not show the extent to which the structure learnt by the model align with gold-standard parse trees. Shen et al. (2017) introduced the Parsing-Reading-Predict Networks (PRPN) model, which attempts to perform parsing by solving a language modeling task. The model uses self-attention to compose previous states, where the range of attention is controlled by a learnt "syntactic distance". The authors show that this value corresponds to the depth of the parse tree. However, the added complexity in using the PRPN model makes it unwieldy in practice.

Another possible solution is to develop models with varying time-scales of recurrence as a way of capturing this hierarchy. El Hihi & Bengio (1996); Schmidhuber (1991); Lin et al. (1998) describe models that capture hierarchies at pre-determined time-scales. More recently, Koutnik et al. (2014) proposed Clockwork RNN, which segments the hidden state of a RNN by updating at different time-scales. These approaches typically make a strong assumption about the regularity of the hierarchy involved in modelling the data. Chung et al. (2016) proposed a method that, unlike the Clockwork RNN, would learn a multi-scale hierarchical recurrence. However, the model still has a pre-determined depth to the hierarchy, depending on the number of layers. Our work is more closely related to Rippel et al. (2014), which propose to induce a hierarchy in the representation units by applying "nested" dropout masks: units are not dropped independently at random but whenever a unit is dropped, all the units that follow in the ordering are also dropped. Our work can be seen as a soft relaxation of the dropout by means of the proposed $\mathrm{cumax}()$ activation. Moreover, we propose to condition the update masks on the particular input and apply our overall model to sequential data. Therefore, our model can adapt the structure to the observed data, while both Clockwork RNN and nested dropout impose a predefined hierarchy to hidden representations.

3 ORDERED NEURONS

Given a sequence of tokens $S = (x_1, \ldots, x_T)$ and its corresponding constituency tree (Figure 2(a)), our goal is to infer the unobserved tree structure while processing the observed sequence, i.e. while computing the hidden state h_t for each time step t. At each time step, h_t would ideally contain a information about all the nodes on the path between the current leaf node x_t and the root S. In Figure 2(c), we illustrate how h_t would contain information about all the constituents that include the current token x_t even if those are only partially observed. This intuition suggests that each node in the tree can be represented by a set of neurons in the hidden states. However, while the dimensionality of the hidden state is fixed in advance, the length of the path connecting the leaf to the root of the tree may be different across different time steps and sentences. Therefore, a desiderata for the model is to dynamically reallocate the dimensions of the hidden state to each node.

Given these requirements, we introduce *ordered neurons*, an inductive bias that forces neurons to represent information at different time-scales. In our model, high-ranking neurons contain long-term

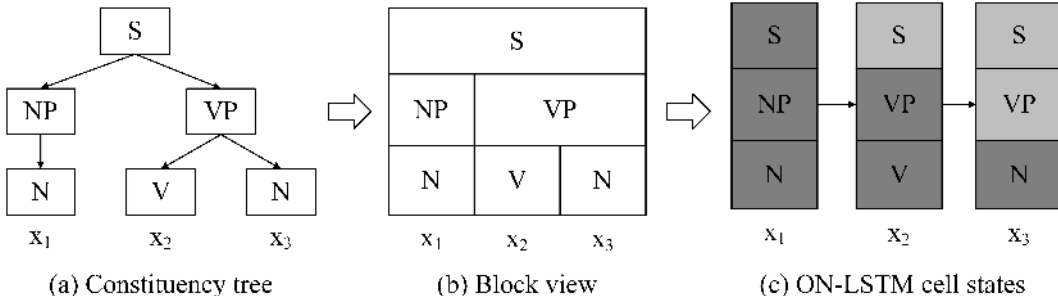(a) Constituency tree   (b) Block view   (c) ON-LSTM cell states

Figure 2: Correspondences between a constituency parse tree and the hidden states of the proposed ON-LSTM. A sequence of tokens $S = (x_1, x_2, x_3)$ and its corresponding constituency tree are illustrated in (a). We provide a block view of the tree structure in (b), where both S and VP nodes span more than one time step. The representation for high-ranking nodes should be relatively consistent across multiple time steps. (c) Visualization of the update frequency of groups of hidden state neurons. At each time step, given the input word, dark grey blocks are completely updated while light grey blocks are partially updated. The three groups of neurons have different update frequencies. Topmost groups update less frequently while lower groups are more frequently updated.

or global information that will last anywhere from several time steps to the entire sentence, representing nodes near the root of the tree. Low-ranking neurons encode short-term or local information that only last one or a few time steps, representing smaller constituents, as shown in Figure 2(b). The differentiation between high-ranking and low-ranking neurons is learnt in a completely data-driven fashion by controlling the update frequency of single neurons: to erase (or update) high-ranking neurons, the model should first erase (or update) all lower-ranking neurons. In other words, some neurons always update more (or less) frequently than the others, and that order is pre-determined as part of the model architecture.

4 ON-LSTM

In this section, we present a new RNN unit, ON-LSTM ("*ordered neurons* LSTM"). The new model uses an architecture similar to the standard LSTM, reported below:

$$f_t = \sigma(W_f x_t + U_f h_{t-1} + b_f) \tag{1}$$
$$i_t = \sigma(W_i x_t + U_i h_{t-1} + b_i) \tag{2}$$
$$o_t = \sigma(W_o x_t + U_o h_{t-1} + b_o) \tag{3}$$
$$\hat{c}_t = \tanh(W_c x_t + U_c h_{t-1} + b_c) \tag{4}$$
$$h_t = o_t \circ \tanh(c_t) \tag{5}$$

The difference with the LSTM is that we replace the update function for the cell state c_t with a new function that will be explained in the following sections. The forget gates f_t and input gates i_t are used to control the erasing and writing operation on cell states c_t, as before. Since the gates in the LSTM act independently on each neuron, it may be difficult in general to discern a hierarchy of information between the neurons. To this end, we propose to make the gate for each neuron dependent on the others by enforcing the order in which neurons should be updated.

4.1 ACTIVATION FUNCTION: cumax()

To enforce an order to the update frequency, we introduce a new activation function:

$$\hat{g} = \text{cumax}(\ldots) = \text{cumsum}(\text{softmax}(\ldots)), \tag{6}$$

where cumsum denotes the cumulative sum. We will show that the vector $\hat{g}$ can be seen as the expectation of a binary gate $g = (0, ..., 0, 1, ..., 1)$. This binary gate splits the cell state into two segments: the 0-segment and the 1-segment. Thus, the model can apply different update rules on the two segments to differentiate long/short-term information. Denote by d a categorical random

4

variable representing the index for the first 1 in g:

$$p(d) = \text{softmax}(\ldots) \tag{7}$$

The variable d represents the split point between the two segments. We can compute the probability of the k-th value in g being 1 by evaluating the probability of the disjunction of any of the values before the k-th being the split point, that is $d \leq k = (d = 0) \vee (d = 1) \vee \cdots \vee (d = k)$. Since the categories are mutually exclusive, we can do this by computing the cumulative distribution function:

$$p(g_k = 1) = p(d \leq k) = \sum_{i \leq k} p(d = i) \tag{8}$$

Ideally, g should take the form of a discrete variable. Unfortunately, computing gradients when a discrete variable is included in the computation graph is not trivial (Schulman et al., 2015), so in practice we use a continuous relaxation by computing the quantity $p(d \leq k)$, obtained by taking a cumulative sum of the softmax. As g_k is binary, this is equivalent to computing $\mathbb{E}[g_k]$. Hence, $\hat{g} = \mathbb{E}[g]$.

4.2 STRUCTURED GATING MECHANISM

Based on the $\text{cumax}()$ function, we introduce a master forget gate $\tilde{f}_t$ and a master input gate $\tilde{i}_t$:

$$\tilde{f}_t = \text{cumax}(W_{\tilde{f}} x_t + U_{\tilde{f}} h_{t-1} + b_{\tilde{f}}) \tag{9}$$

$$\tilde{i}_t = 1 - \text{cumax}(W_{\tilde{i}} x_t + U_{\tilde{i}} h_{t-1} + b_{\tilde{i}}) \tag{10}$$

Following the properties of the $\text{cumax}()$ activation, the values in the master forget gate are monotonically increasing from 0 to 1, and those in the master input gate are monotonically decreasing from 1 to 0. These gates serve as high-level control for the update operations of cell states. Using the master gates, we define a new update rule:

$$\omega_t = \tilde{f}_t \circ \tilde{i}_t \tag{11}$$

$$\hat{f}_t = f_t \circ \omega_t + (\tilde{f}_t - \omega_t) = \tilde{f}_t \circ (f_t \circ \tilde{i}_t + 1 - \tilde{i}_t) \tag{12}$$

$$\hat{i}_t = i_t \circ \omega_t + (\tilde{i}_t - \omega_t) = \tilde{i}_t \circ (i_t \circ \tilde{f}_t + 1 - \tilde{f}_t) \tag{13}$$

$$c_t = \hat{f}_t \circ c_{t-1} + \hat{i}_t \circ \hat{c}_t \tag{14}$$

In order to explain the intuition behind the new update rule, we assume that the master gates are binary:

- The master forget gate $\tilde{f}_t$ controls the erasing behavior of the model. Suppose $\tilde{f}_t = (0, \ldots, 0, 1, \ldots, 1)$ and the split point is d_t^f. Given the Eq. (12) and (14), the information stored in the first d_t^f neurons of the previous cell state c_{t-1} will be completely erased. In a parse tree (e.g. Figure 2(a)), this operation is akin to closing previous constituents. A large number of zeroed neurons, i.e. a large d_t^f, represents the end of a high-level constituent in the parse tree, as most of the information in the state will be discarded. Conversely, a small d_t^f represents the end of a low-level constituent as high-level information is kept for further processing.

- The master input gate $\tilde{i}_t$ is meant to control the writing mechanism of the model. Assume that $\tilde{i}_t = (1, \ldots, 1, 0, \ldots, 0)$ and the split point is d_t^i. Given Eq. (13) and (14), a large d_t^i means that the current input x_t contains long-term information that needs to be preserved for several time steps. Conversely, a small d_t^i means that the current input x_t just provides local information that could be erased by $\tilde{f}_t$ in the next few time steps.

- The product of the two master gates ω_t represents the overlap of $\tilde{f}_t$ and $\tilde{i}_t$. Whenever an overlap exists ($\exists k, \omega_{tk} > 0$), the corresponding segment of neurons encodes the incomplete constituents that contain some previous words and the current input word x_t. Since these constituents are incomplete, we want to update the information inside the respective blocks. The segment is further controlled by the f_t and i_t in the standard LSTM model to enable more fine-grained operations within blocks. For example, in Figure 2, the word x_3 is nested

Model	Parameters	Validation	Test
Zaremba et al. (2014) - LSTM (large)	66M	82.2	78.4
Gal & Ghahramani (2016) - Variational LSTM (large, MC)	66M	–	73.4
Kim et al. (2016) - CharCNN	19M	–	78.9
Merity et al. (2016) - Pointer Sentinel-LSTM	21M	72.4	70.9
Grave et al. (2016) - LSTM	–	–	82.3
Grave et al. (2016) - LSTM + continuous cache pointer	–	–	72.1
Inan et al. (2016) - Variational LSTM (tied) + augmented loss	51M	71.1	68.5
Zilly et al. (2016) - Variational RHN (tied)	23M	67.9	65.4
Zoph & Le (2016) - NAS Cell (tied)	54M	–	62.4
Shen et al. (2017) - PRPN-LM	–	–	62.0
Melis et al. (2017) - 4-layer skip connection LSTM (tied)	24M	60.9	58.3
Merity et al. (2017) - AWD-LSTM - 3-layer LSTM (tied)	24M	60.0	57.3
ON-LSTM - 3-layer (tied)	25M	$\mathbf{58.29 \pm 0.10}$	$\mathbf{56.17 \pm 0.12}$
Yang et al. (2017) - AWD-LSTM-MoS*	22M	56.5	54.4

Table 1: Single model perplexity on validation and test sets for the Penn Treebank language modeling task. Models labelled *tied* use weight tying on the embedding and softmax weights (Inan et al., 2016; Press & Wolf, 2017). Models labelled * focus on improving the softmax component of RNN language model. Their contribution is orthogonal to ours.

> into the constituents S and VP. At this time step, the overlap gray blocks would represent these constituents, such that $\tilde{f}_t$ and $\tilde{i}_t$ can decide whether to reset or update each individual neurons in these blocks.

As the master gates only focus on coarse-grained control, modeling them with the same dimensions as the hidden states is computationally expensive and unnecessary. In practice, we set $\tilde{f}_t$ and $\tilde{i}_t$ to be $D_m = \frac{D}{C}$ dimensional vectors, where D is the dimension of hidden state, and C is a chunk size factor. We repeat each dimension C times, before the element-wise multiplication with f_t and i_t. The downsizing significantly reduces the number of extra parameters that we need to add to the LSTM. Therefore, every neuron within each C-sized chunk shares the same master gates.

5 EXPERIMENTS

We evaluate the proposed model on four tasks: language modeling, unsupervised constituency parsing, targeted syntactic evaluation (Marvin & Linzen, 2018), and logical inference (Bowman et al., 2015).

5.1 LANGUAGE MODELING

Word-level language modeling is a macroscopic evaluation of the model's ability to deal with various linguistic phenomena (e.g. co-occurence, syntactic structure, verb-subject agreement, etc). We evaluate our model by measuring perplexity on the Penn TreeBank (PTB) (Marcus et al., 1993; Mikolov, 2012) task.

For fair comparison, we closely follow the model hyper-parameters, regularization and optimization techniques introduced in AWD-LSTM (Merity et al., 2017). Our model uses a three-layer ON-LSTM model with 1150 units in the hidden layer and an embedding of size 400. For master gates, the downsize factor $C = 10$. The total number of parameters was slightly increased from 24 millions to 25 millions with additional matrices for computing master gates. We manually searched some of the dropout values for ON-LSTM based on the validation performance. The values used for dropout on the word vectors, the output between LSTM layers, the output of the final LSTM layer, and embedding dropout where (0.5, 0.3, 0.45, 0.1) respectively. A weight-dropout of 0.45 was applied to the recurrent weight matrices.

As shown in Table 1, our model performs better than the standard LSTM while sharing the same number of layers, embedding dimensions, and hidden states units. Recall that the master gates only control how information is stored in different neurons. It is interesting to note that we can improve

the performance of a strong LSTM model without adding skip connections or a significant increase in the number of parameters.

5.2 Unsupervised Constituency Parsing

The unsupervised constituency parsing task compares the latent stree structure induced by the model with those annotated by human experts. Following the experiment settings proposed in Htut et al. (2018), we take our best model for the language modeling task, and test it on WSJ10 dataset and WSJ test set. WSJ10 has 7422 sentences, filtered from the WSJ dataset with the constraint of 10 words or less, after the removal of punctuation and null elements (Klein & Manning, 2002). The WSJ test set contains 2416 sentences with various lengths. It is worth noting that the WSJ10 test set contains sentences from the training, validation, and test set of the PTB dataset, while WSJ test uses the same set of sentences as the PTB test set.

To infer the tree structure of a sentence from a pre-trained model, we initialize the hidden states with the zero vector, then feed the sentence into the model as done in the language modeling task. At each time step, we compute an estimate of d_t^f:

$$\hat{d}_t^f = \mathbb{E}\left[d_t^f\right] = \sum_{k=1}^{D_m} k p_f(d_t = k) = \sum_{k=1}^{D_m} \sum_{i=1}^{k} p_f(d_t = k) = D_m - \sum_{k=1}^{D_m} \tilde{f}_{tk} \tag{15}$$

where p_f is the probability distribution over split points associated to the master forget gate and D_m is the size of the hidden state. Given $\hat{d}_t^f$, we can use the top-down greedy parsing algorithm proposed in Shen et al. (2017) for unsupervised constituency parsing. We first sort the $\{\hat{d}_t^f\}$ in decreasing order. For the first $\hat{d}_i^f$ in the sorted sequence, we split the sentence into constituents $((x_{<i}), (x_i, (x_{>i})))$. Then, we recursively repeat this operation for constituents $(x_{<i})$ and $(x_{>i})$, until each constituent contains only one word.

The performance is shown in Table 2. The second layer of ON-LSTM achieves state-of-the-art unsupervised constituency parsing results on the WSJ test set, while the first and third layers do not perform as well. One possible interpretation is that the first and last layers may be too focused on capturing local information useful for the language modeling task as they are directly exposed to input tokens and output predictions respectively, thus may not be encouraged to learn the more abstract tree structure. Since the WSJ test set contains sentences of various lengths which are unobserved during training, we find that ON-LSTM provides better generalization and robustness toward longer sentences than previous models. We also see that ON-LSTM model can provide strong results for phrase detection, including ADJP (adjective phrases), PP (prepositional phrases), and NP (noun phrases). This feature could benefit many downstream tasks, like question answering, named entity recognition, co-reference resolution, etc.

5.3 Targeted Syntactic Evaluation

Targeted syntactic evaluation tasks have been proposed in Marvin & Linzen (2018). It is a collection of tasks that evaluate language models along three different structure-sensitive linguistic phenomena: subject-verb agreement, reflexive anaphora and negative polarity items. Given a large number of minimally different pairs of English sentences, each consisting of a grammatical and an ungrammatical sentence, a language model should assign a higher probability to a grammatical sentence than an ungrammatical one.

Using the released codebase[2] and the same settings proposed in Marvin & Linzen (2018), we train both our ON-LSTM model and a baseline LSTM language model on a 90 million word subset of Wikipedia. Both language models have two layers of 650 units, a batch size of 128, a dropout rate of 0.2, a learning rate of 20.0, and were trained for 40 epochs. The input embeddings have 200 dimensions and the output embeddings have 650 dimesions.

Table 3 shows that the ON-LSTM performs better on the long-term dependency cases, while the baseline LSTM fares better on the short-term ones. This is possibly due to the relatively small num-

---

[2]https://github.com/BeckyMarvin/LM_syneval. We notice that the test set generated from the code is different from the one used in the original paper Marvin & Linzen (2018). Therefore, our results are not strictly comparable with the results in Marvin & Linzen (2018).

Model	Training Data	Training Object	Vocab Size	Parsing F1				Depth WSJ	Accuracy on WSJ by Tag			
				WSJ10		WSJ			ADJP	NP	PP	INTJ
				$\mu\ (\sigma)$	max	$\mu\ (\sigma)$	max					
PRPN-UP	AllNLI Train	LM	76k	66.3 (0.8)	68.5	38.3 (0.5)	39.8	5.8	28.7	65.5	32.7	*0.0*
PRPN-LM	AllNLI Train	LM	76k	52.4 (4.9)	58.1	35.0 (5.4)	42.8	6.1	37.8	59.7	**61.5**	**100.0**
PRPN-UP	WSJ Train	LM	15.8k	62.2 (3.9)	70.3	26.0 (2.3)	32.8	5.8	24.8	54.4	17.8	*0.0*
PRPN-LM	WSJ Train	LM	10k	70.5 (0.4)	71.3	37.4 (0.3)	38.1	5.9	26.2	**63.9**	24.4	*0.0*
ON-LSTM 1st-layer	WSJ Train	LM	10k	35.2 (4.1)	42.8	20.0 (2.8)	24.0	5.6	38.1	23.8	18.3	**100.0**
ON-LSTM 2nd-layer	WSJ Train	LM	10k	65.1 (1.7)	66.8	47.7 (1.5)	**49.4**	5.6	**46.2**	61.4	55.4	*0.0*
ON-LSTM 3rd-layer	WSJ Train	LM	10k	54.0 (3.9)	57.6	36.6 (3.3)	40.4	5.3	44.8	57.5	47.2	*0.0*
300D ST-Gumbel	AllNLI Train	NLI	–	–	–	19.0 (1.0)	20.1	–	*15.6*	*18.8*	*9.9*	59.4
w/o Leaf GRU	AllNLI Train	NLI	–	–	–	22.8 (1.6)	25.0	–	18.9	24.1	*14.2*	51.8
300D RL-SPINN	AllNLI Train	NLI	–	–	–	*13.2 (0.0)*	13.2	–	*1.7*	*10.8*	*4.6*	50.6
w/o Leaf GRU	AllNLI Train	NLI	–	–	–	*13.1 (0.1)*	13.2	–	*1.6*	*10.9*	*4.6*	50.0
CCM	WSJ10 Full	–	–	–	71.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
DMV+CCM	WSJ10 Full	–	–	–	77.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UML-DOP	WSJ10 Full	–	–	–	**82.9**	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Random Trees	–	–	–	31.7 (0.3)	32.2	18.4 (0.1)	18.6	5.3	17.4	22.3	16.0	40.4
Balanced Trees	–	–	–	43.4 (0.0)	43.4	24.5 (0.0)	24.5	4.6	22.1	*20.2*	*9.3*	55.9
Left Branching	–	–	–	*19.6 (0.0)*	*19.6*	*9.0 (0.0)*	*9.0*	12.4	–	–	–	–
Right Branching	–	–	–	56.6 (0.0)	56.6	39.8 (0.0)	39.8	12.4	–	–	–	–

Table 2: Unlabeled parsing F1 results evaluated on the full WSJ10 and WSJ test set. Our language model has three layers, each of them provides a sequence of $\hat{d}_t^f$. We provide the parsing performance for all layers. Results with RL-SPINN and ST-Gumbel are evaluated on the full WSJ (Williams et al., 2017). PRPN models are evaluated on the WSJ test set (Htut et al., 2018). We run the model with 5 different random seeds to calculate the average F1. The *Accuracy* columns represent the fraction of ground truth constituents of a given type that correspond to constituents in the model parses. We use the model with the best F1 score to report ADJP, NP, PP, and INTJ. WSJ10 baselines are from Klein & Manning (2002, CCM), Klein & Manning (2005, DMV+CCM), and Bod (2006, UML-DOP). As the WSJ10 baselines are trained using POS tags, they are not strictly comparable with the latent tree learning results. Italics mark results that are worse than the random baseline.

ber of units in the hidden states, which is insufficient to take into account both long and short-term information. We also notice that the results for NPI test cases have unusually high variance across different hyper-parameters. This result maybe due to the non-syntactic cues discussed in Marvin & Linzen (2018). Despite this, ON-LSTM actually achieves better perplexity on the validation set.

5.4 LOGICAL INFERENCE

We also analyze the model's performance on the logical inference task described in Bowman et al. (2015). This task is based on a language that has a vocabulary of six words and three logical operations, *or, and, not*. There are seven mutually exclusive logical relations that describe the relationship between two sentences: two types of entailment, equivalence, exhaustive and non-exhaustive contradiction, and two types of semantic independence. Similar to the natural language inference task, this logical inference task requires the model to predict the correct label given a pair of sentences. The train/test split is as described in the original codebase[3], and 10% of training set is set aside as the validation set.

We evaluate the ON-LSTM and the standard LSTM on this dataset. Given a pair of sentences (s_1, s_2), we feed both sentences into an RNN encoder, taking the last hidden state (h_1, h_2) as the sentence embedding. The concatenation of $(h_1, h_2, h_1 \circ h_2, \text{abs}(h_1 - h_2))$ is used as input to a multi-layer classifier, which gives a probability distribution over seven labels. In our experiment, the RNN models were parameterised with 400 units in one hidden layer, and the input embedding size was 128. A dropout of 0.2 was applied between different layers. Both models are trained on sequences with 6 or less logical operations and tested on sequences with at most 12 operations.

Figure 3 shows the performance of ON-LSTM and standard LSTM on the logical inference task. While both models achieve nearly 100% accuracy on short sequences (≤ 3), ON-LSTM attains

---

[3]`https://github.com/sleepinyourhat/vector-entailment`

	ON-LSTM	LSTM
Short-Term Dependency		
SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT:		
Simple	0.99	**1.00**
In a sentential complement	0.95	**0.98**
Short VP coordination	0.89	**0.92**
In an object relative clause	0.84	**0.88**
In an object relative (no *that*)	0.78	**0.81**
REFLEXIVE ANAPHORA:		
Simple	**0.89**	0.82
In a sentential complement	**0.86**	0.80
NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS:		
Simple (grammatical vs. intrusive)	0.18	**1.00**
Simple (intrusive vs. ungrammatical)	**0.50**	0.01
Simple (grammatical vs. ungrammatical)	0.07	**0.63**
Long-Term Dependency		
SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT:		
Long VP coordination	**0.74**	**0.74**
Across a prepositional phrase	0.67	**0.68**
Across a subject relative clause	**0.66**	0.60
Across an object relative clause	**0.57**	0.52
Across an object relative (no *that*)	**0.54**	0.51
REFLEXIVE ANAPHORA:		
Across a relative clause	0.57	**0.58**
NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS:		
Across a relative clause (grammatical vs. intrusive)	0.59	**0.95**
Across a relative clause (intrusive vs. ungrammatical)	**0.20**	0.00
Across a relative clause (grammatical vs. ungrammatical)	**0.11**	0.04

Table 3: Overall accuracy for the ON-LSTM and LSTM on each test case. "Long-term dependency" means that an unrelated phrase (or a clause) exist between the targeted pair of words, while "short-term dependency" means there is no such distraction.
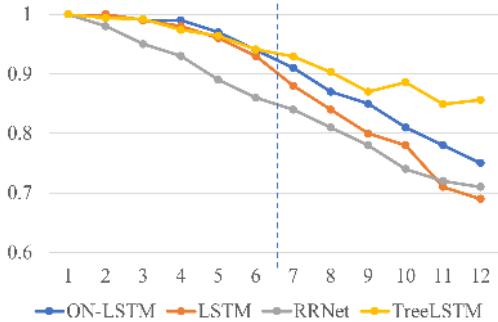

Figure 3: Test accuracy of the models, trained on short sequences (≤ 6) in logic data. The horizontal axis indicates the length of the sequence, and the vertical axis indicates the accuracy of models performance on the corresponding test set.

better performance on sequences longer then 3. The performance gap continues to increase on longer sequences (≥ 7) that were not present during training. Hence, the ON-LSTM model shows better generalization while facing structured data with various lengths and comparing to the standard LSTM. A tree-structured model can achieve strong performance on this dataset (Bowman et al., 2015), since it is provided with the ground truth structure as input. The recursive application of the same composition function is well suited for this task. We also include the result of RRNet (Jacob et al., 2018), which can induce the latent tree structure from downstream tasks. Note that the results may not be comparable, because the hyper-parameters for training were not provided.

9

6   CONCLUSION

In this paper, we propose *ordered neurons*, a novel inductive bias for recurrent neural networks. Based on this idea, we propose a novel recurrent unit, the ON-LSTM, which includes a new gating mechanism and a new activation function cumax($\cdot$). This brings recurrent neural networks closer to performing tree-like composition operations, by separately allocating hidden state neurons with long and short-term information. The model performance on unsupervised constituency parsing shows that the ON-LSTM induces the latent structure of natural language in a way that is coherent with human expert annotation. The inductive bias also enables ON-LSTM to achieve good performance on language modeling, long-term dependency, and logical inference tasks.

REFERENCES

David Alvarez-Melis and Tommi S Jaakkola. Tree-structured decoding with doubly-recurrent neural networks. 2016.

Yoshua Bengio et al. Learning deep architectures for ai. *Foundations and trends® in Machine Learning*, 2(1):1–127, 2009.

Rens Bod. An all-subtrees approach to unsupervised parsing. In *Proceedings of the 21st International Conference on Computational Linguistics and the 44th annual meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics*, pp. 865–872. Association for Computational Linguistics, 2006.

Samuel R Bowman, Christopher Potts, and Christopher D Manning. Recursive neural networks can learn logical semantics. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1406.1827*, 2014.

Samuel R Bowman, Christopher D Manning, and Christopher Potts. Tree-structured composition in neural networks without tree-structured architectures. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1506.04834*, 2015.

Samuel R Bowman, Jon Gauthier, Abhinav Rastogi, Raghav Gupta, Christopher D Manning, and Christopher Potts. A fast unified model for parsing and sentence understanding. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1603.06021*, 2016.

Eugene Charniak. Immediate-head parsing for language models. In *Proceedings of the 39th Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*, pp. 124–131. Association for Computational Linguistics, 2001.

Ciprian Chelba and Frederick Jelinek. Structured language modeling. *Computer Speech & Language*, 14(4):283–332, 2000.

Stanley F Chen. Bayesian grammar induction for language modeling. In *Proceedings of the 33rd annual meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*, pp. 228–235. Association for Computational Linguistics, 1995.

Jihun Choi, Kang Min Yoo, and Sang-goo Lee. Learning to compose task-specific tree structures. In *Proceedings of the 2018 Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence (AAAI). and the 7th International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing (ACL-IJCNLP)*, 2018.

Noam Chomsky. Three models for the description of language. *IRE Transactions on information theory*, 2(3):113–124, 1956.

Noam Chomsky. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, 1965. URL `http://www.amazon.com/Aspects-Theory-Syntax-Noam-Chomsky/dp/0262530074`.

Junyoung Chung, Sungjin Ahn, and Yoshua Bengio. Hierarchical multiscale recurrent neural networks. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1609.01704*, 2016.

Shay B Cohen, Dipanjan Das, and Noah A Smith. Unsupervised structure prediction with non-parallel multilingual guidance. In *Proceedings of the Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing*, pp. 50–61. Association for Computational Linguistics, 2011.

Stanislas Dehaene, Florent Meyniel, Catherine Wacongne, Liping Wang, and Christophe Pallier. The neural representation of sequences: from transition probabilities to algebraic patterns and linguistic trees. *Neuron*, 88(1):2–19, 2015.

Chris Dyer, Adhiguna Kuncoro, Miguel Ballesteros, and Noah A Smith. Recurrent neural network grammars. In *Proceedings of the 2016 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies*, pp. 199–209, 2016.

Salah El Hihi and Yoshua Bengio. Hierarchical recurrent neural networks for long-term dependencies. In *Advances in neural information processing systems*, pp. 493–499, 1996.

Yarin Gal and Zoubin Ghahramani. A theoretically grounded application of dropout in recurrent neural networks. In *Advances in neural information processing systems*, pp. 1019–1027, 2016.

Felix A Gers and E Schmidhuber. Lstm recurrent networks learn simple context-free and context-sensitive languages. *IEEE Transactions on Neural Networks*, 12(6):1333–1340, 2001.

Edouard Grave, Armand Joulin, and Nicolas Usunier. Improving neural language models with a continuous cache. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1612.04426*, 2016.

Edward Grefenstette, Karl Moritz Hermann, Mustafa Suleyman, and Phil Blunsom. Learning to transduce with unbounded memory. In *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems*, pp. 1828–1836, 2015.

Kristina Gulordava, Piotr Bojanowski, Edouard Grave, Tal Linzen, and Marco Baroni. Colorless green recurrent networks dream hierarchically. In *Proc. of NAACL*, pp. 1195–1205, 2018.

Phu Mon Htut, Kyunghyun Cho, and Samuel R Bowman. Grammar induction with neural language models: An unusual replication. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1808.10000*, 2018.

Hakan Inan, Khashayar Khosravi, and Richard Socher. Tying word vectors and word classifiers: A loss framework for language modeling. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1611.01462*, 2016.

Athul Paul Jacob, Zhouhan Lin, Alessandro Sordoni, and Yoshua Bengio. Learning hierarchical structures on-the-fly with a recurrent-recursive model for sequences. In *Proceedings of The Third Workshop on Representation Learning for NLP*, pp. 154–158, 2018.

Armand Joulin and Tomas Mikolov. Inferring algorithmic patterns with stack-augmented recurrent nets. In *Advances in neural information processing systems*, pp. 190–198, 2015.

Yoon Kim, Yacine Jernite, David Sontag, and Alexander M Rush. Character-aware neural language models. In *AAAI*, pp. 2741–2749, 2016.

Dan Klein and Christopher D Manning. A generative constituent-context model for improved grammar induction. In *Proceedings of the 40th Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics*, pp. 128–135. Association for Computational Linguistics, 2002.

Dan Klein and Christopher D Manning. Accurate unlexicalized parsing. In *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Meeting on Association for Computational Linguistics-Volume 1*, pp. 423–430. Association for Computational Linguistics, 2003.

Dan Klein and Christopher D Manning. Natural language grammar induction with a generative constituent-context model. *Pattern recognition*, 38(9):1407–1419, 2005.

Hilda Koopman, Dominique Sportiche, and Edward Stabler. An introduction to syntactic analysis and theory, 2013.

Jan Koutnik, Klaus Greff, Faustino Gomez, and Juergen Schmidhuber. A clockwork rnn. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1402.3511*, 2014.

Adhiguna Kuncoro, Chris Dyer, John Hale, Dani Yogatama, Stephen Clark, and Phil Blunsom. Lstms can learn syntax-sensitive dependencies well, but modeling structure makes them better. In *Proceedings of the 56th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Volume 1: Long Papers)*, volume 1, pp. 1426–1436, 2018.

Yair Lakretz, German Kruszewski, Theo Desbordes, Dieuwke Hupkes, Stanislas Dehaene, and Marco Baroni. The emergence of number and syntax units in lstm language models. In *Proc. of NAACL*, 2019.

Yann LeCun, Yoshua Bengio, and Geoffrey Hinton. Deep learning. *Nature*, 521(7553):436–444, 2015.

Tsungnan Lin, Bill G Horne, Peter Tino, and C Lee Giles. Learning long-term dependencies is not as difficult with narx recurrent neural networks. Technical report, 1998.

Tal Linzen, Emmanuel Dupoux, and Yoav Goldberg. Assessing the ability of lstms to learn syntax-sensitive dependencies. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1611.01368*, 2016.

Mitchell P Marcus, Mary Ann Marcinkiewicz, and Beatrice Santorini. Building a large annotated corpus of english: The penn treebank. *Computational linguistics*, 19(2):313–330, 1993.

Rebecca Marvin and Tal Linzen. Targeted syntactic evaluation of language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1808.09031*, 2018.

Gábor Melis, Chris Dyer, and Phil Blunsom. On the state of the art of evaluation in neural language models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1707.05589*, 2017.

Stephen Merity, Caiming Xiong, James Bradbury, and Richard Socher. Pointer sentinel mixture models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1609.07843*, 2016.

Stephen Merity, Nitish Shirish Keskar, and Richard Socher. Regularizing and Optimizing LSTM Language Models. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1708.02182*, 2017.

Tomáš Mikolov. Statistical language models based on neural networks. *Presentation at Google, Mountain View, 2nd April*, 2012.

Ofir Press and Lior Wolf. Using the output embedding to improve language models. In *Proceedings of the 15th Conference of the European Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Volume 2, Short Papers*, volume 2, pp. 157–163, 2017.

Oren Rippel, Michael Gelbart, and Ryan Adams. Learning ordered representations with nested dropout. In *International Conference on Machine Learning*, pp. 1746–1754, 2014.

Brian Roark. Probabilistic top-down parsing and language modeling. *Computational linguistics*, 27 (2):249–276, 2001.

Dominiek Sandra and Marcus Taft. *Morphological Structure, Lexical Representation and Lexical Access (RLE Linguistics C: Applied Linguistics): A Special Issue of Language and Cognitive Processes*. Routledge, 2014.

Jürgen Schmidhuber. Neural sequence chunkers. 1991.

Jürgen Schmidhuber. Deep learning in neural networks: An overview. *Neural networks*, 61:85–117, 2015.

John Schulman, Nicolas Heess, Theophane Weber, and Pieter Abbeel. Gradient estimation using stochastic computation graphs. In *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems*, pp. 3528–3536, 2015.

Yikang Shen, Zhouhan Lin, Chin-Wei Huang, and Aaron Courville. Neural language modeling by jointly learning syntax and lexicon. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1711.02013*, 2017.

Haoyue Shi, Hao Zhou, Jiaze Chen, and Lei Li. On tree-based neural sentence modeling. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1808.09644*, 2018.

Richard Socher, Christopher D Manning, and Andrew Y Ng. Learning continuous phrase representations and syntactic parsing with recursive neural networks. In *Proceedings of the NIPS-2010 Deep Learning and Unsupervised Feature Learning Workshop*, volume 2010, pp. 1–9, 2010.

Richard Socher, Alex Perelygin, Jean Wu, Jason Chuang, Christopher D Manning, Andrew Ng, and Christopher Potts. Recursive deep models for semantic compositionality over a sentiment treebank. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on empirical methods in natural language processing*, pp. 1631–1642, 2013.

Guo-Zheng Sun, C Lee Giles, Hsing-Hen Chen, and Yee-Chun Lee. The neural network pushdown automaton: Model, stack and learning simulations. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1711.05738*, 2017.

Kai Sheng Tai, Richard Socher, and Christopher D Manning. Improved semantic representations from tree-structured long short-term memory networks. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1503.00075*, 2015.

Adina Williams, Nikita Nangia, and Samuel R Bowman. A broad-coverage challenge corpus for sentence understanding through inference. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1704.05426*, 2017.

Adina Williams, Andrew Drozdov*, and Samuel R Bowman. Do latent tree learning models identify meaningful structure in sentences? *Transactions of the Association of Computational Linguistics*, 6:253–267, 2018.

Shuangzhi Wu, Dongdong Zhang, Nan Yang, Mu Li, and Ming Zhou. Sequence-to-dependency neural machine translation. In *Proceedings of the 55th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Volume 1: Long Papers)*, volume 1, pp. 698–707, 2017.

Zhilin Yang, Zihang Dai, Ruslan Salakhutdinov, and William W Cohen. Breaking the softmax bottleneck: A high-rank rnn language model. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1711.03953*, 2017.

Dani Yogatama, Phil Blunsom, Chris Dyer, Edward Grefenstette, and Wang Ling. Learning to compose words into sentences with reinforcement learning. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1611.09100*, 2016.

Dani Yogatama, Yishu Miao, Gabor Melis, Wang Ling, Adhiguna Kuncoro, Chris Dyer, and Phil Blunsom. Memory architectures in recurrent neural network language models. 2018.

Wojciech Zaremba, Ilya Sutskever, and Oriol Vinyals. Recurrent neural network regularization. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1409.2329*, 2014.

Xingxing Zhang, Liang Lu, and Mirella Lapata. Top-down tree long short-term memory networks. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1511.00060*, 2015.

Ganbin Zhou, Ping Luo, Rongyu Cao, Yijun Xiao, Fen Lin, Bo Chen, and Qing He. Generative neural machine for tree structures. *CoRR*, 2017.

Julian Georg Zilly, Rupesh Kumar Srivastava, Jan Koutník, and Jürgen Schmidhuber. Recurrent highway networks. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1607.03474*, 2016.

Barret Zoph and Quoc V Le. Neural architecture search with reinforcement learning. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1611.01578*, 2016.

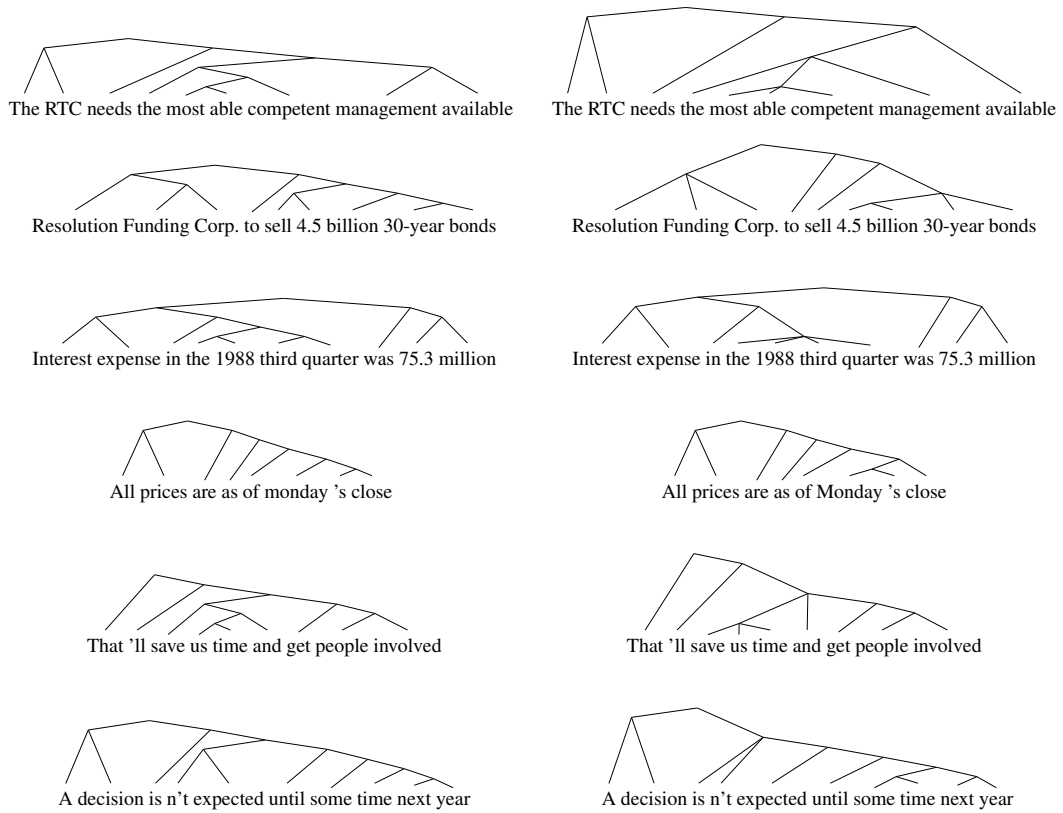## A   SAMPLE PARSES FROM THE MODEL WITH THE BEST PERPLEXITY

Figure A.1: *Left* parses are from the 2nd layer of the ON-LSTM model, *Right* parses are converted from human expert annotations (removing all punctuations).