

What can language models teach us about human language?



Isabel Papadimitriou

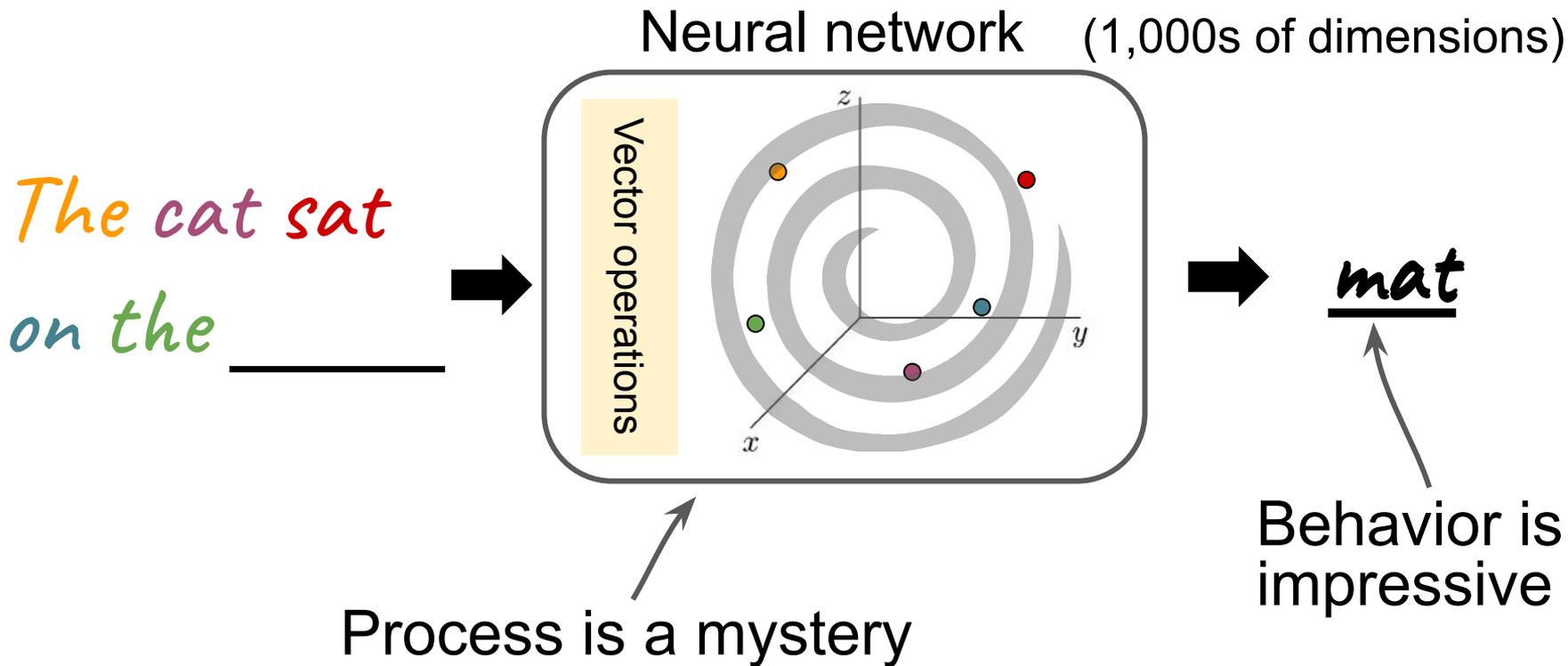
Language Models

eg.



- Artificial models of human language
- Recent, huge progress
 - In many cases, a pretty good approximation of novel human language production
- But, we don't know how they do it
- How can we use LMs to learn about language?

What is a language model?



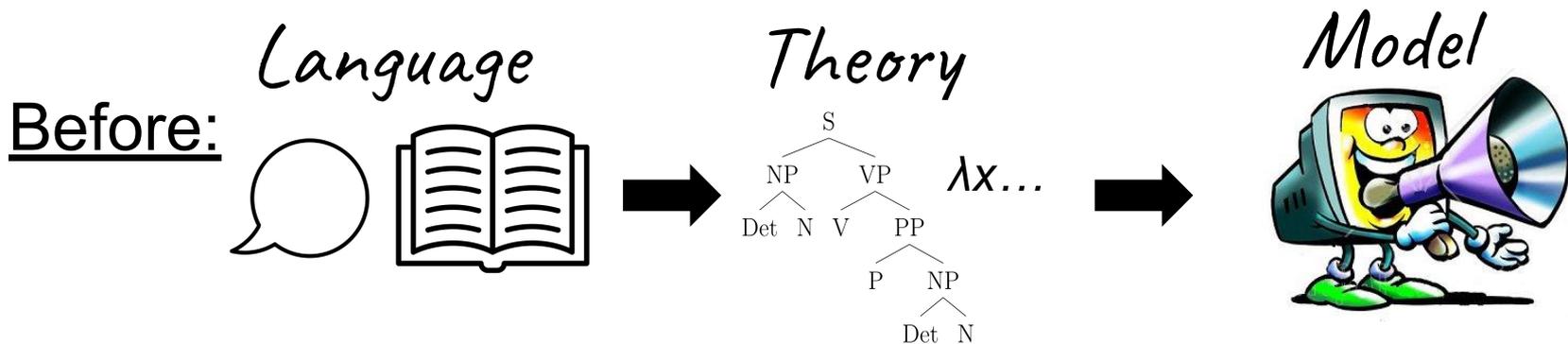
An exciting development for linguistics

Language models are:

- **Very good** –
 - We have computational models of language that capture a lot of the subtlety of language use
- **Very empirically flexible** –
 - we can control their training and examine their language system

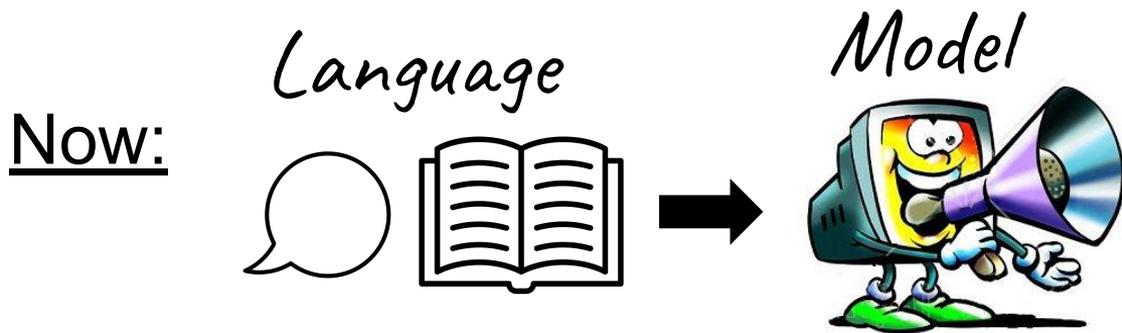
What makes language models so good is precisely *that* we don't understand how they work

- Language models are not engineering products applying one linguistic theory or analysis



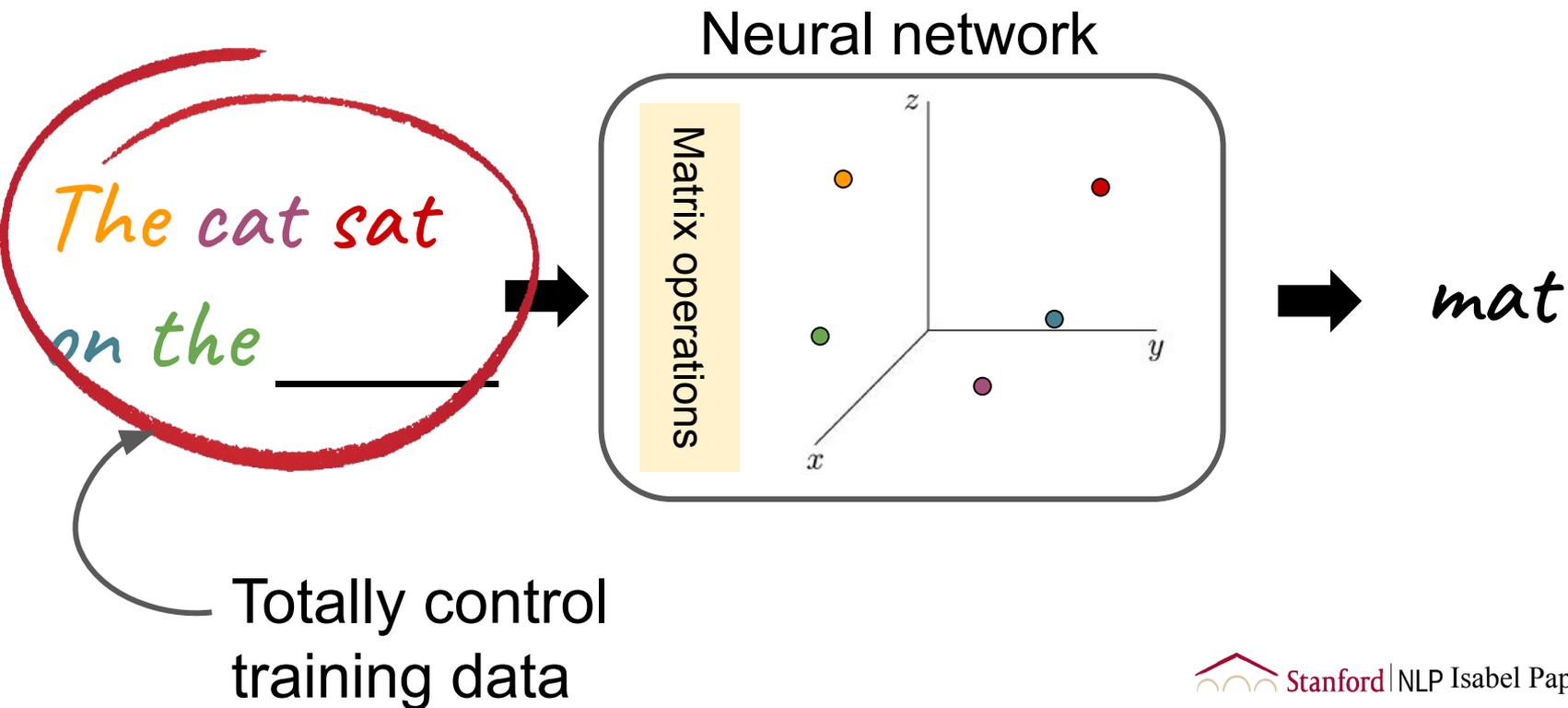
What makes language models so good is precisely *that* we don't understand how they work

- Language models are not engineering products applying one linguistic theory or analysis

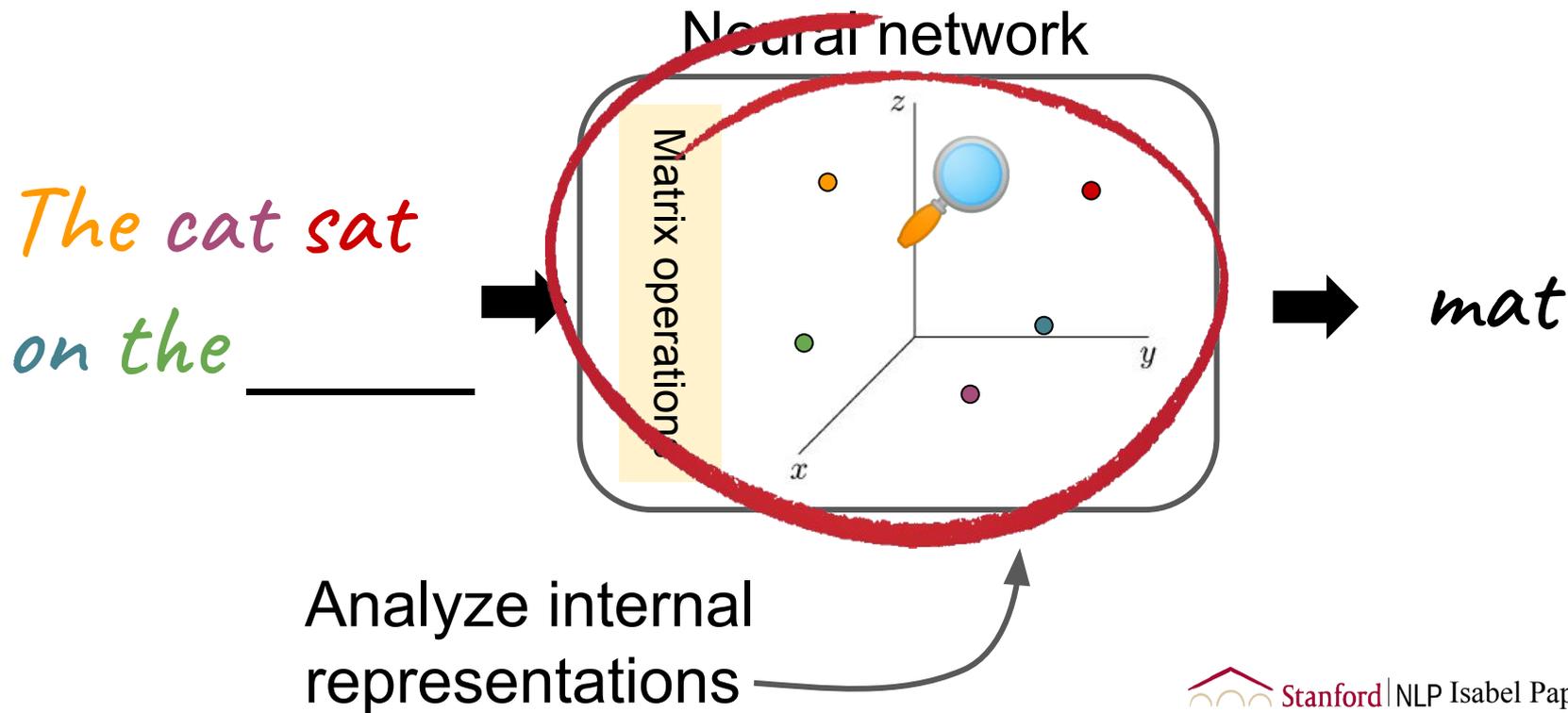


- A functioning theory of **possibilities to analyze human language** [Baroni 2021]

Empirical flexibility: experiments that are impossible with humans



Empirical flexibility: experiments that are impossible with humans



Language models are:

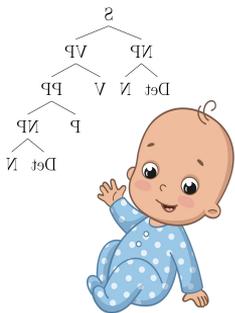
- **Very good** –
 - We have computational models of language that capture the subtlety of language use
- **Very empirically flexible** –
 - we can control their training and examine their language system
- **But.. very different from humans** –
 - Unconstrained language learners
 - Continuous high-dimensional space



This talk: methodologies for **bridging the gap**

Use language models to address two linguistic questions:

What makes language acquisition possible?



[Papadimitriou and Jurafsky 2020, Papadimitriou and Jurafsky 2023]

How do speakers represent syntactic information?



[Papadimitriou et al 2021, Papadimitriou et al 2022]

This talk: methodologies for **bridging the gap**

- **But.. very different from humans –**

- Unconstrained language learners
- Continuous high-dimensional space

1) Bias language models towards theoretically-significant structural constraints

This talk: methodologies for **bridging the gap**

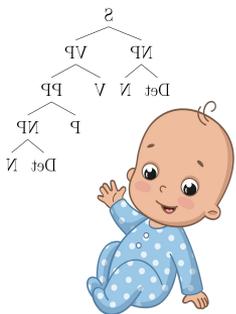
- **But.. very different from humans –**

- Unconstrained language learners
- Continuous high-dimensional space

2) Map out the representation of grammatical role in the model's internal space

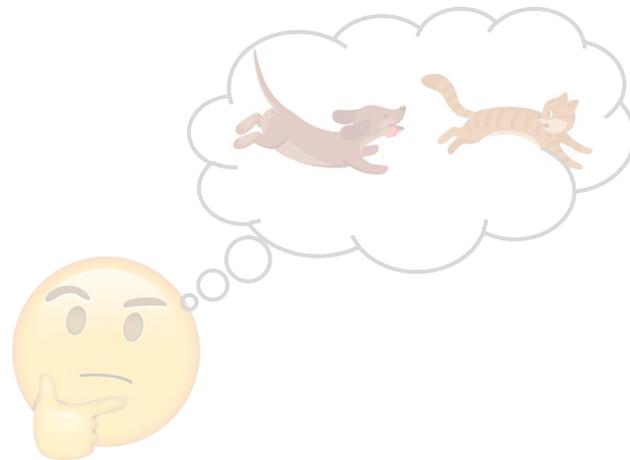
Use language models to address two linguistic questions:

What makes language acquisition possible?



Method: structural injection
before LM training

How do speakers represent syntactic information?



Method: subjecthood
representation analysis

What does a language learner need to start from?



?

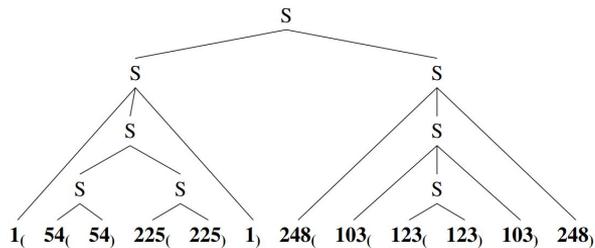


? (no restrictions?)



Language exposure

Method: Inject a model with a bias that we choose



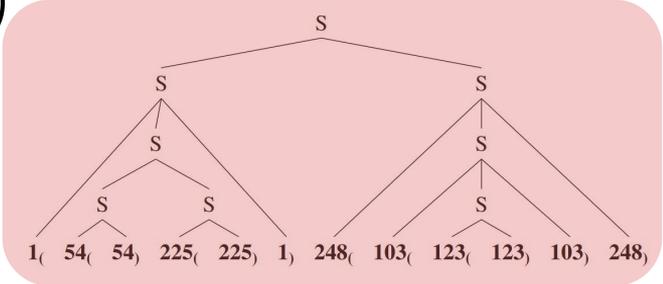
Recursion



Inject structural language, learn natural language

1

Formal structure



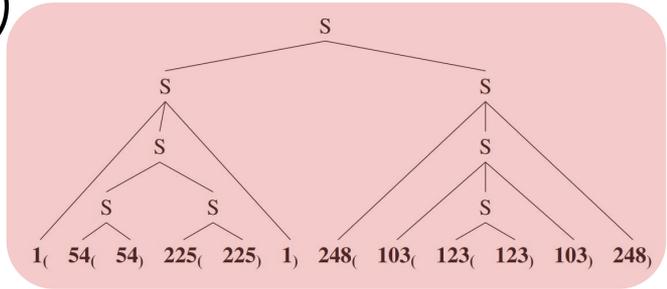
Neural network



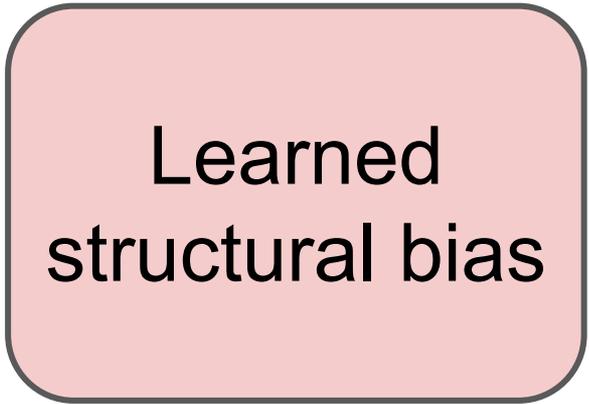
Inject structural language, learn natural language

1

Formal structure



Neural network



Does the structural bias help with language learning?

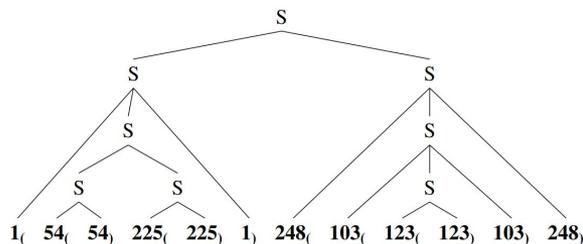
2

The cat sat
on the _____



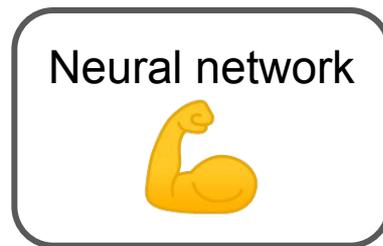
With structural injection, we combine theoretically-significant biases with the power of LMs

Structural bias



and

Strong statistical learner

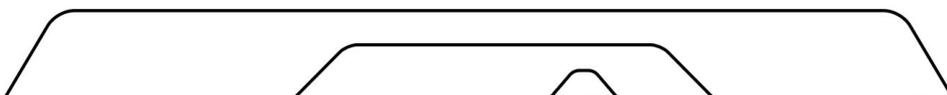


LMs let us do **hypothesis testing** of different biases

Test three types of structure:

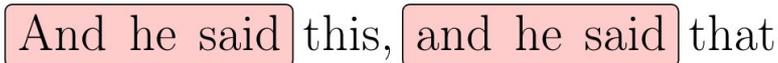
1) Recursion

The lawyer that the man that the dog bit hired was disbarred



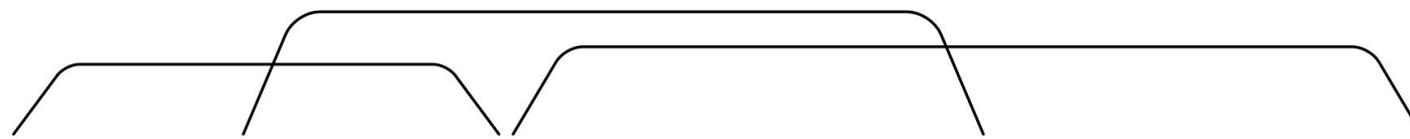
2) Simple regular bias, repetition

And he said this, and he said that



3) Crossing dependencies

"I voted for him even though I am negatively affected by his redistribution policies" he said



Recursion

- Nesting, context-free
- Hypothesis that recursion is what makes language [Hauser Chomsky Fitch 2002]

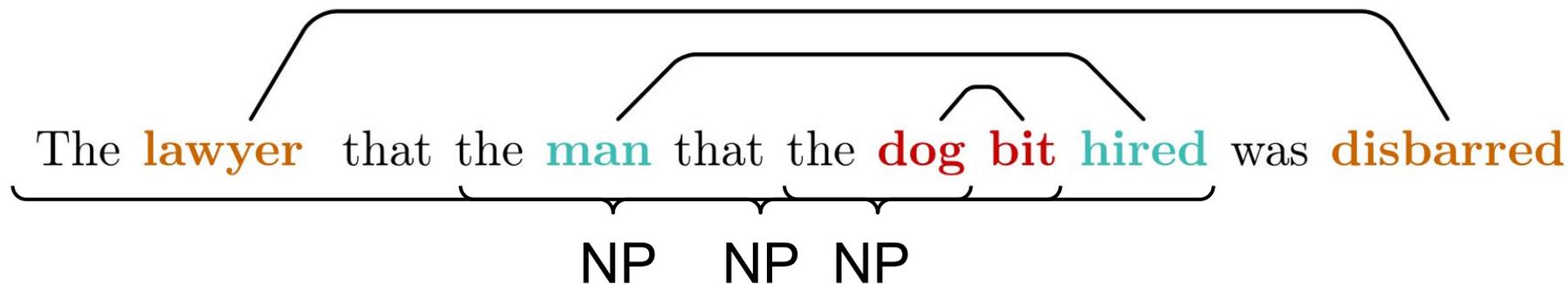
The cat sat on the mat

I think that the cat sat on the mat

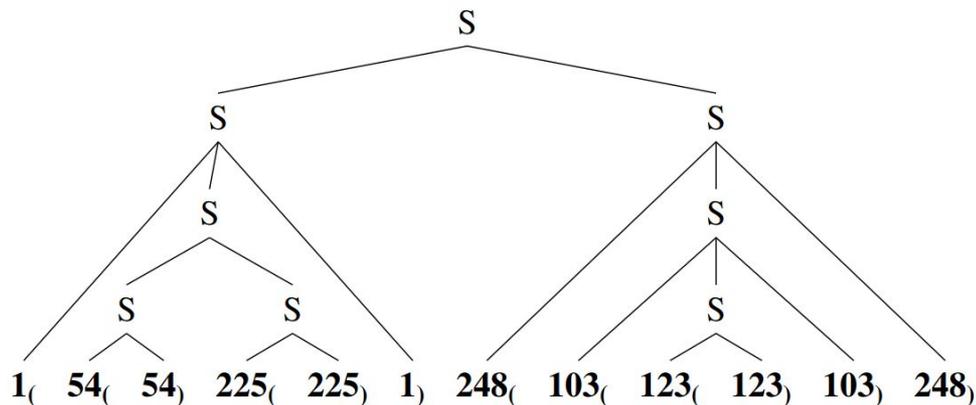
You always accuse me that I think that the cat sat on the mat

Recursion

- Nesting, context-free
- Hypothesis that recursion is what makes language [Hauser Chomsky Fitch 2002]

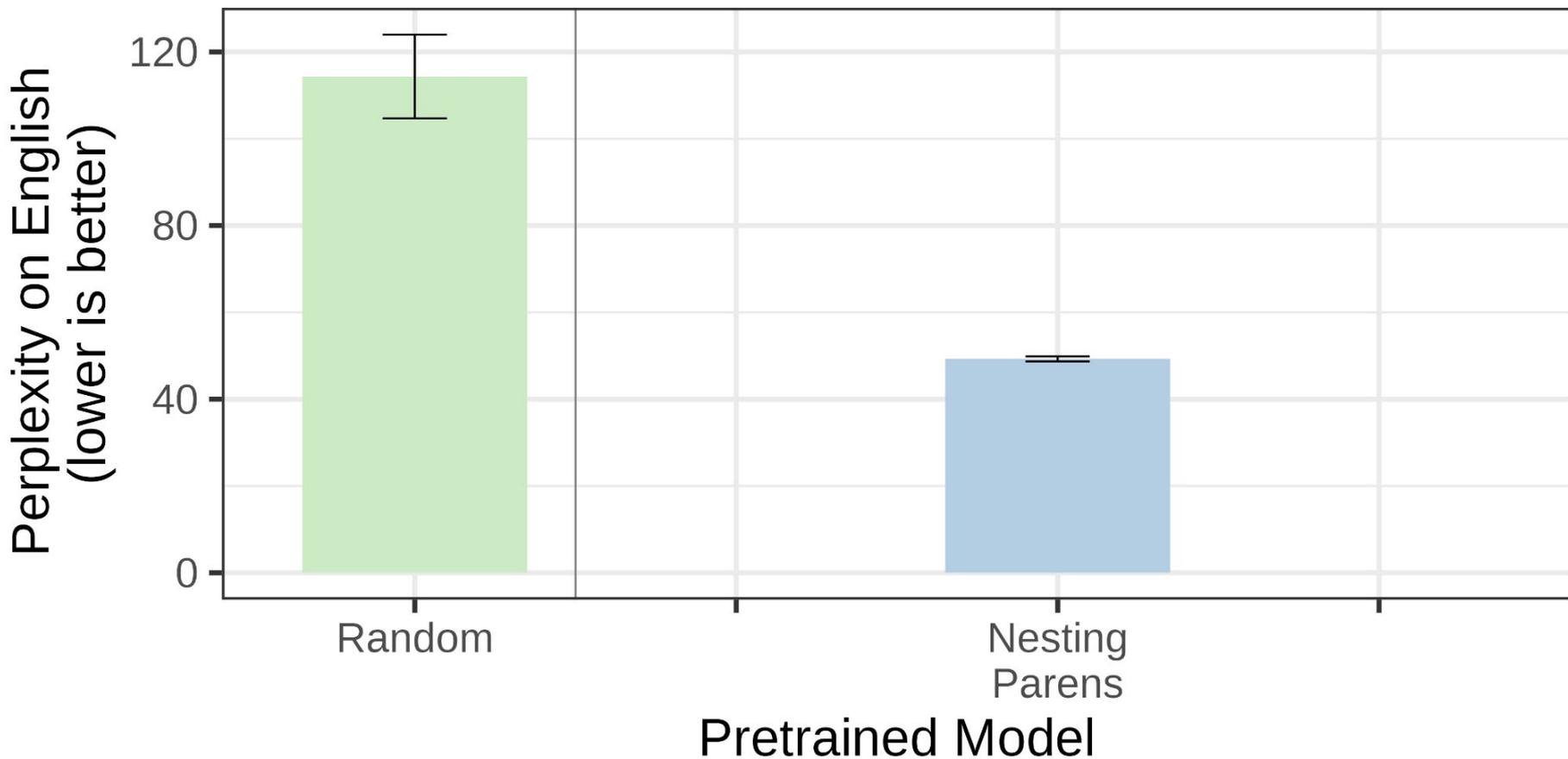


Structural injection formal language: Nesting parentheses



- Well-nested, matching pairs
- Constituents: S strings contain S strings

Recursive bias helps language acquisition



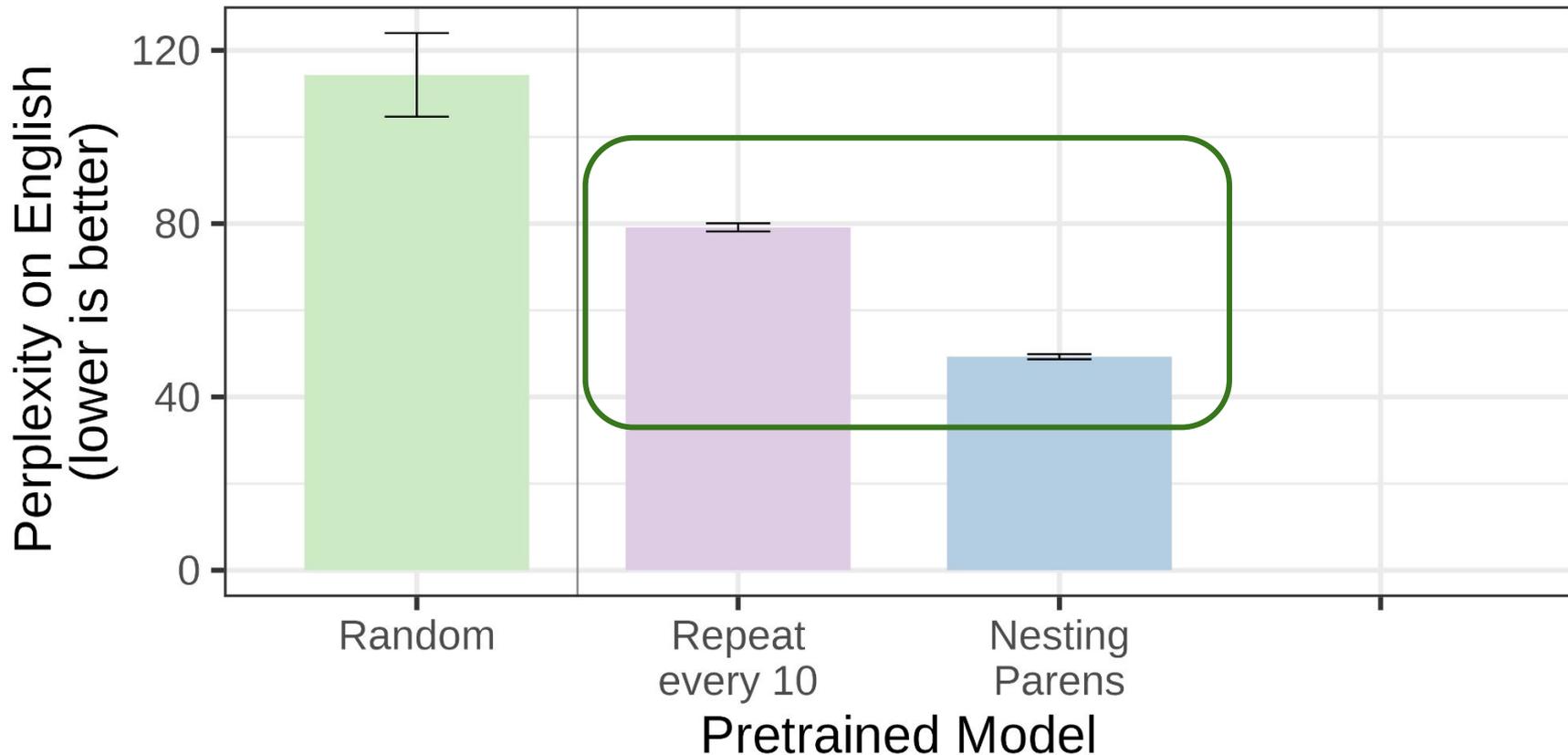
Simple regular bias

- Is a recursive bias really necessary?
- Test a structural bias that's not very theoretically important in human language

Inject finite repetition language (regular)

499 472 300 499 472 300 309 18 ...

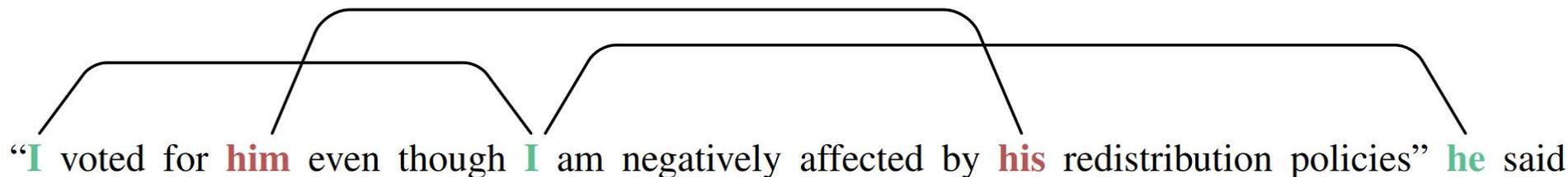
Recursive bias is needed – not just any simple structure



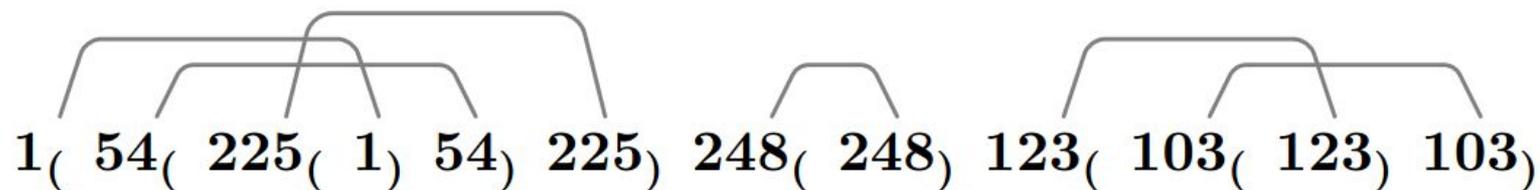
Crossing links and dependencies bias

- Crossing dependencies arise in meaning, reference, discourse, pragmatic relationships
- Example: anaphora

“I voted for **him** even though **I** am negatively affected by **his** redistribution policies” **he** said

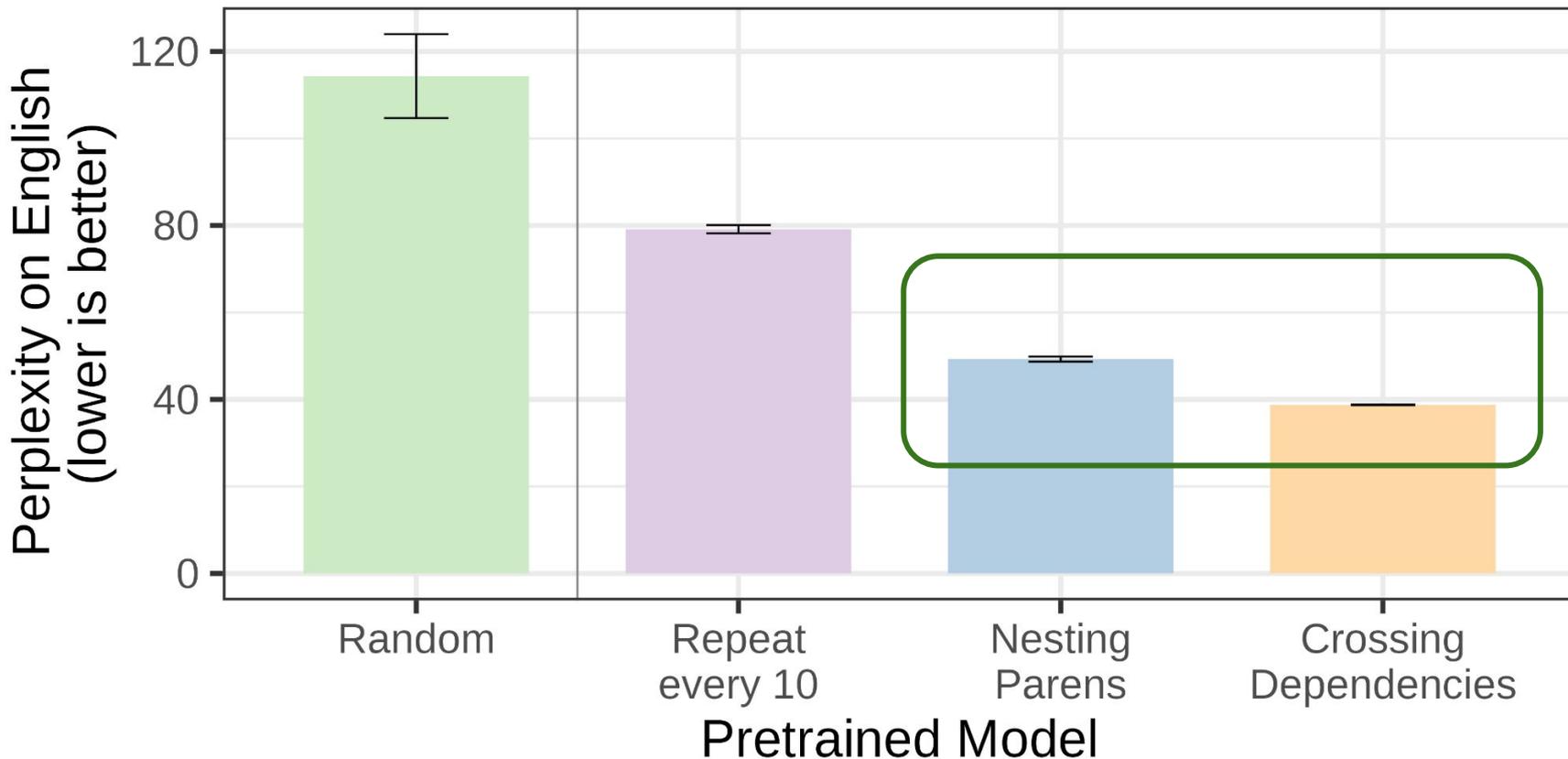
A diagram illustrating crossing dependencies in the sentence. Four lines connect the pronouns to their corresponding nouns: a line from the first 'I' to 'I', a line from 'him' to 'his', a line from 'I' to 'he', and a line from 'his' to 'I'. The lines cross, with the line from 'I' to 'he' crossing over the line from 'him' to 'his', and the line from 'his' to 'I' crossing over the line from 'I' to 'I'.

Crossing Dependencies



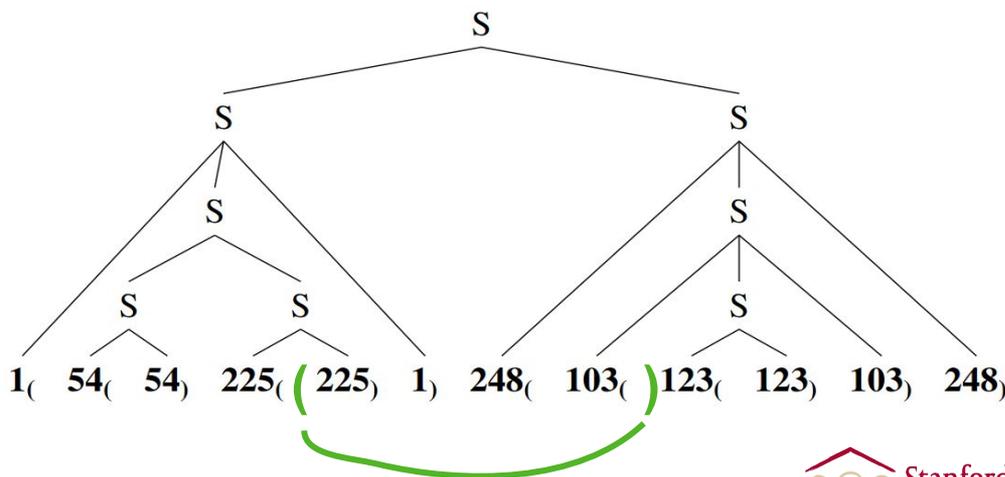
- Tokens have to **match**, but not **nest**

Complex, crossing dependencies provide the best bias – with no recursion

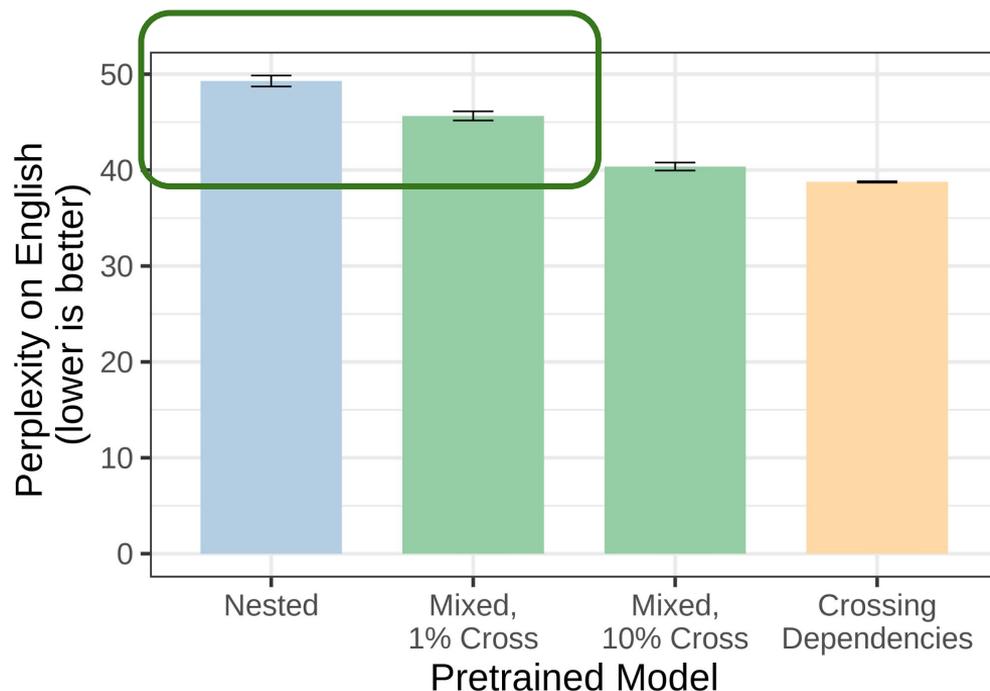


Does crossing-type context sensitive structure **always** help?

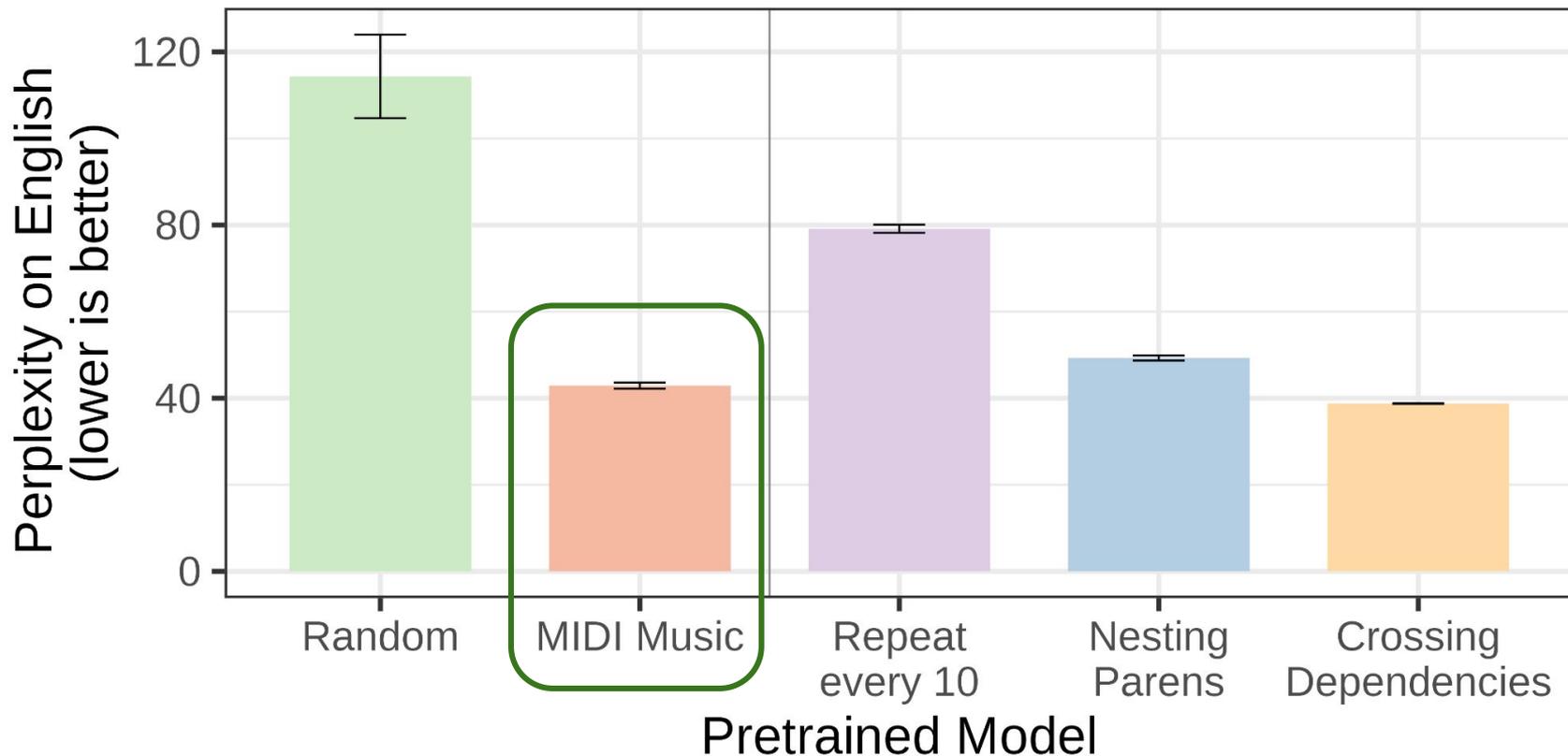
- Mix nesting and cross: mostly nesting, with 1%, or 10% of parentheses not following the structure



Slightly breaking constituent structure makes better language learners



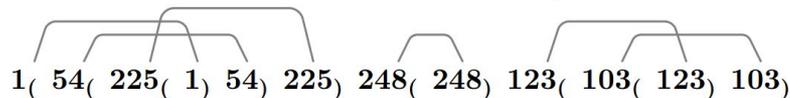
Are these cognitive biases unique to language?



What does a language learner need to start from?



Complex, crossing links  

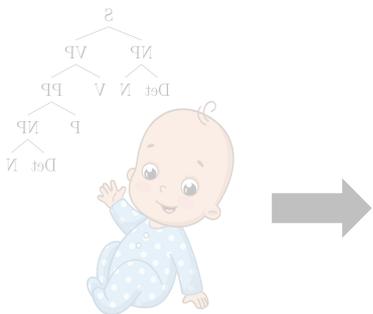


Language exposure

- Importance of bootstrapping meaning, discourse, reference, information structure

Use language models to address two linguistic questions:

What makes language acquisition possible?



Method: structural injection before LM training

How do speakers represent syntactic information?



Method: subjecthood representation analysis

Linguistic property: subjecthood

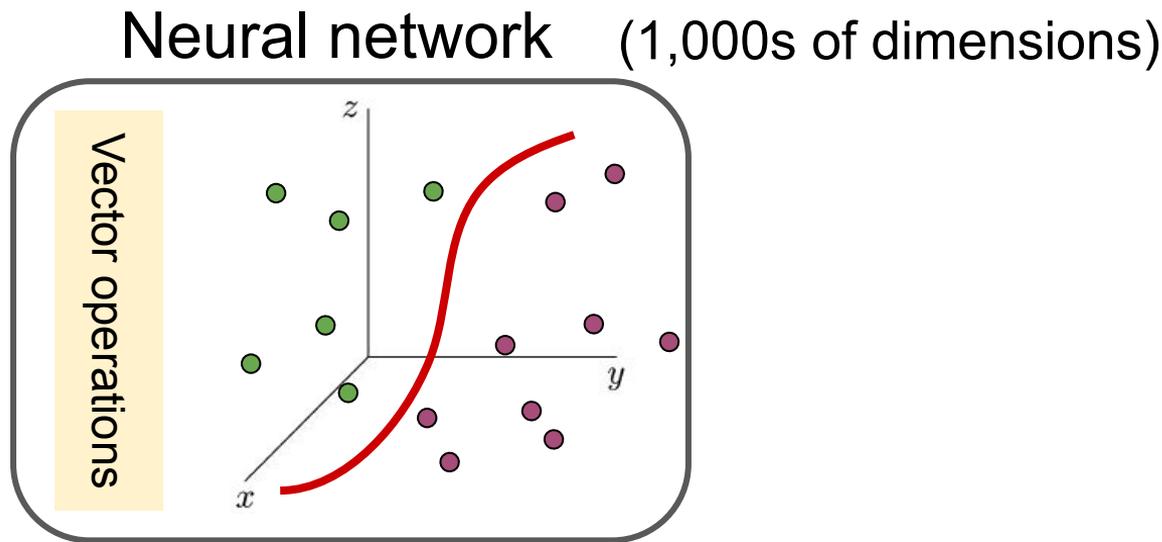
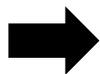


- Who does what to who, being the subject vs the object
- Subjecthood is relevant in basically every utterance, in every language
- How do we represent this relation?

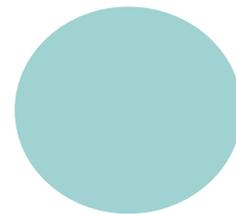
How is subjecthood represented in language models?

- Mapping out grammatical role in neural networks

The subject
verbs the
object



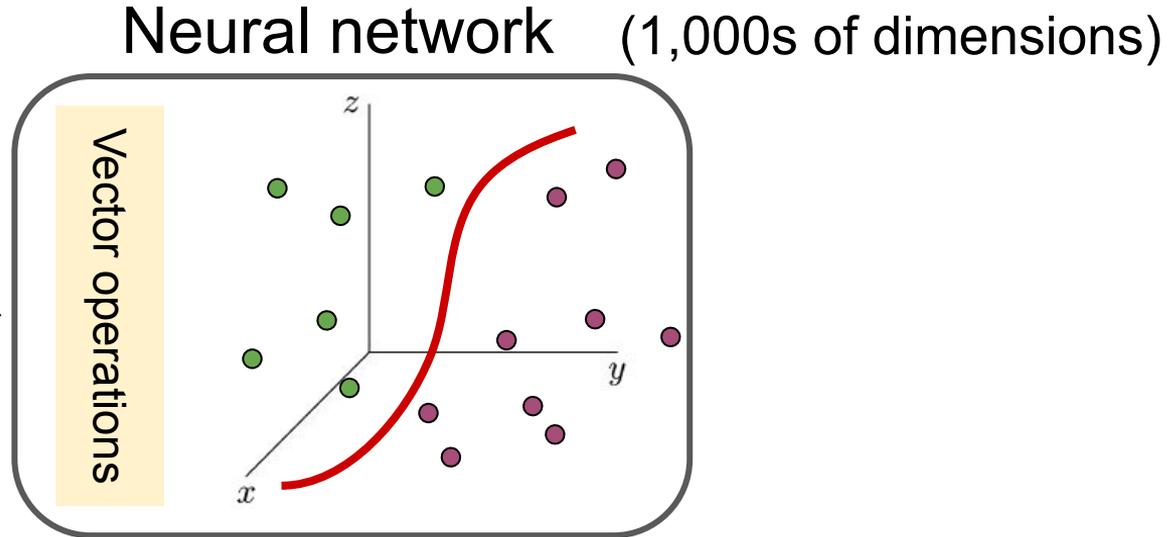
Use LMs to look at subjecthood:



- 1) Across different languages
- 2) Interacting with semantics

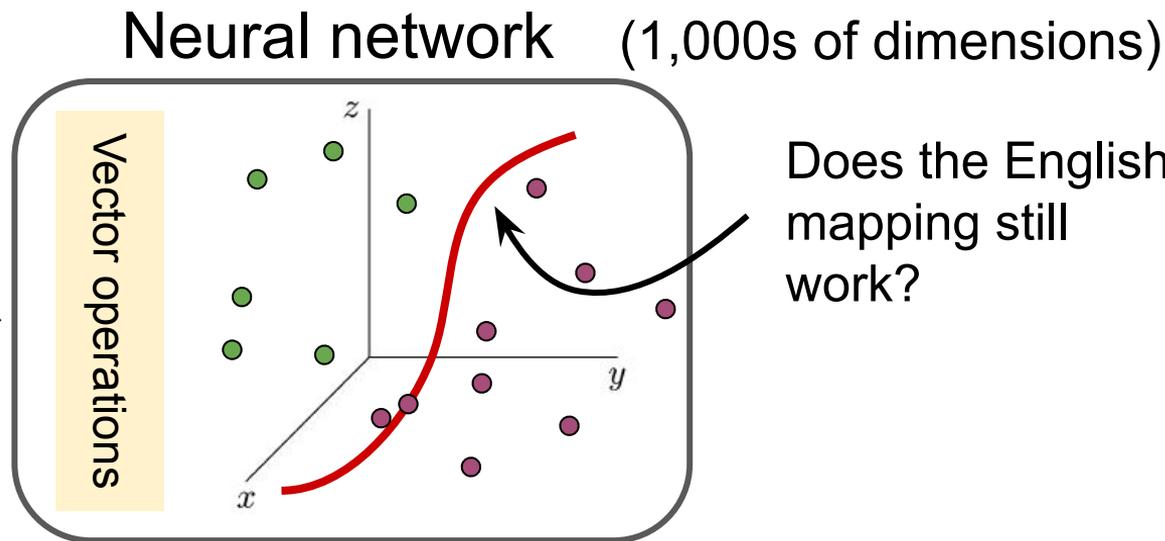
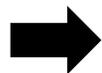
Subjecthood representation in different languages

The subject
verbs the
object



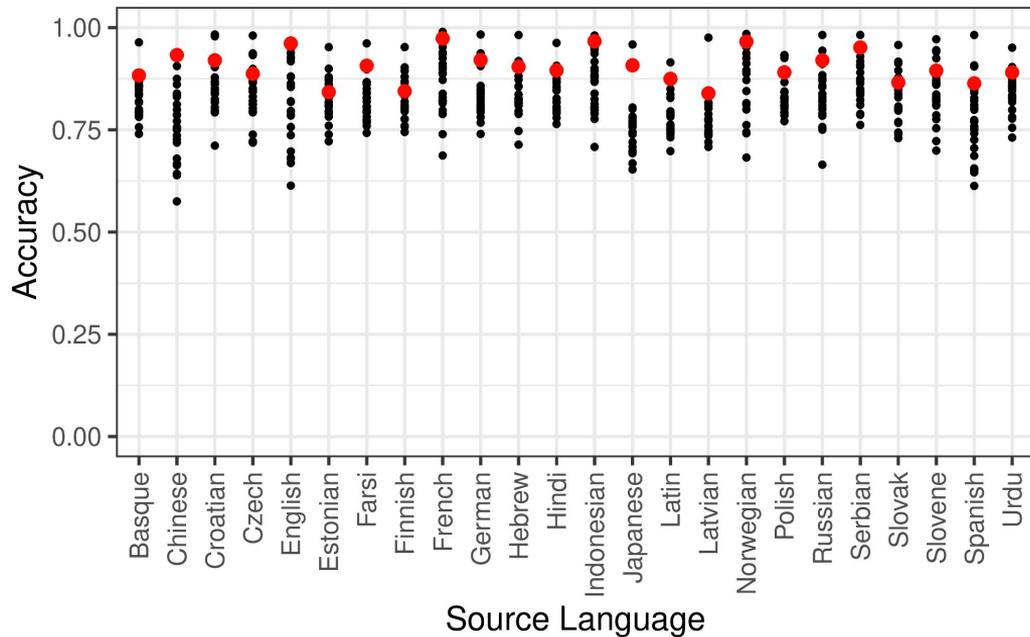
Subjecthood representation in different languages

Το **ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ**
ρήμα το
ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ



Subjecthood is cross-lingual

- Subject-object geometry is similar in-language (red) and out-of-language (black)



Typology: how languages treat **intransitives**

Transitive: The **A** **dog** chased the **O** **cat**

Intransitive: The **S** **glass** broke

Nominative languages

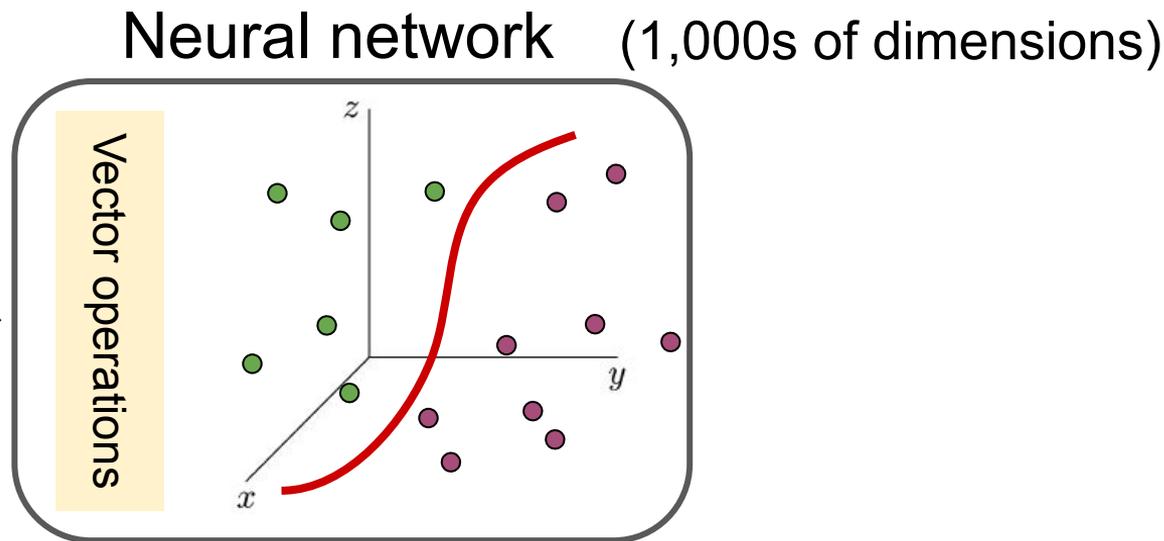


Ergative languages

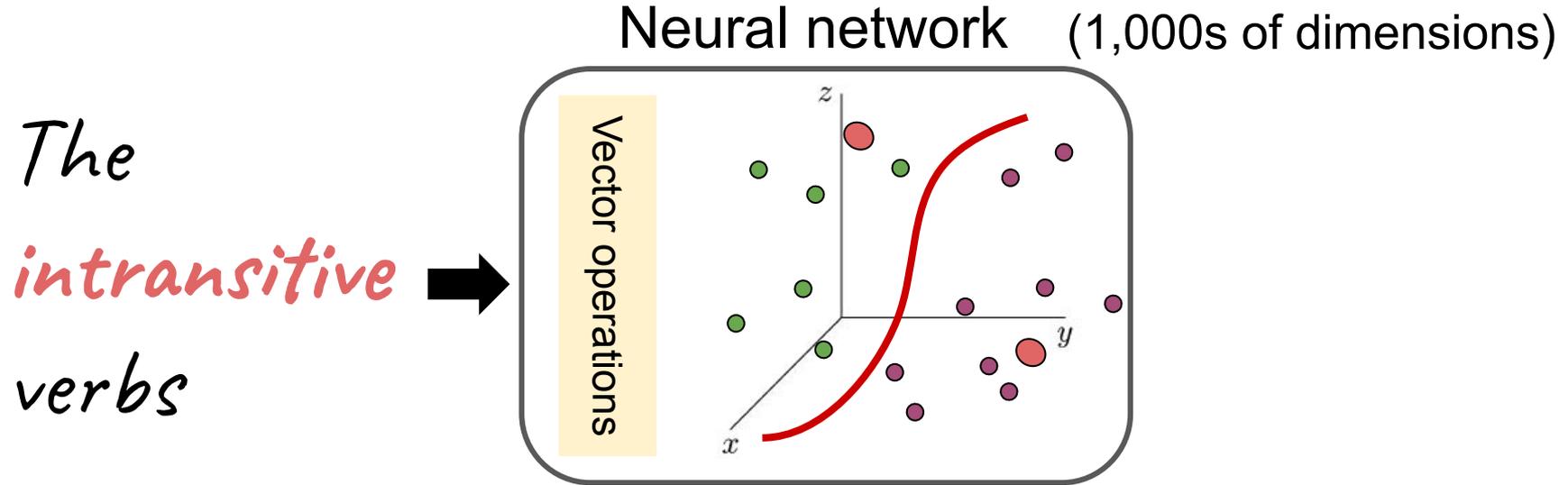


Subjecthood representation of intransitives

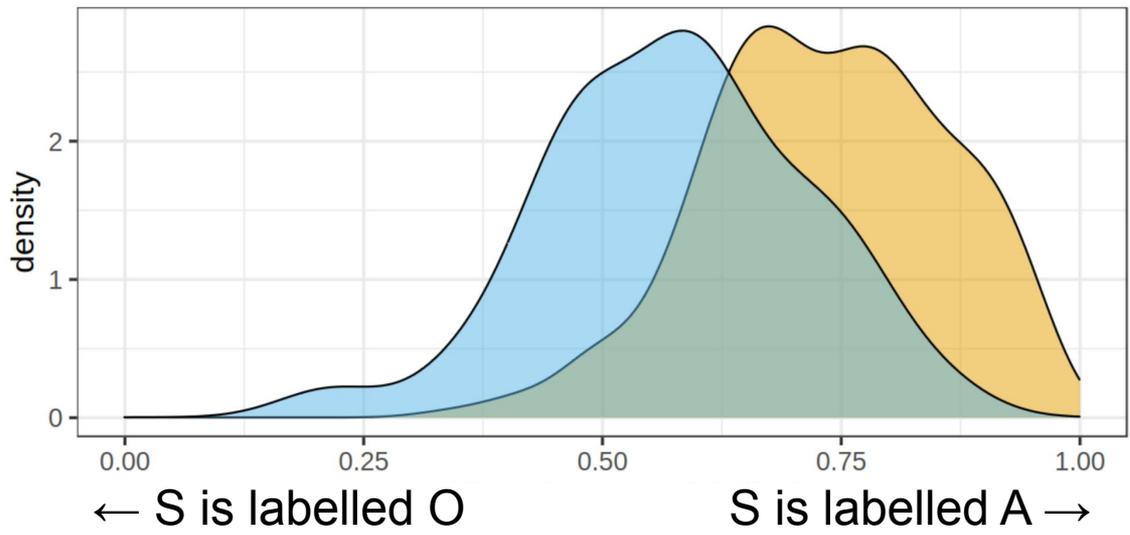
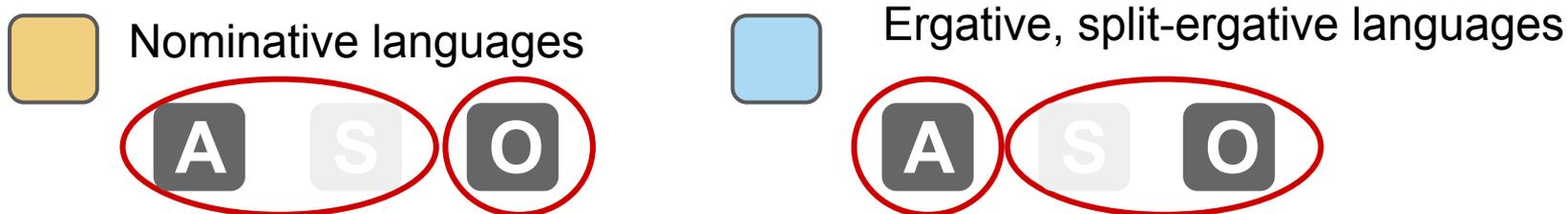
The subject
verbs the
object

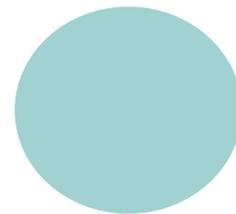


Subjecthood representation of intransitives



What is the behavior of those universal classifiers on S nouns?





How does this robust cross-lingual representation work?

- **Proposal:** through integrating the grammatical relationship of subjecthood with cross-lingual meaning representation

Subjecthood is complicated, influenced by meaning

Intransitives

The **glass** broke

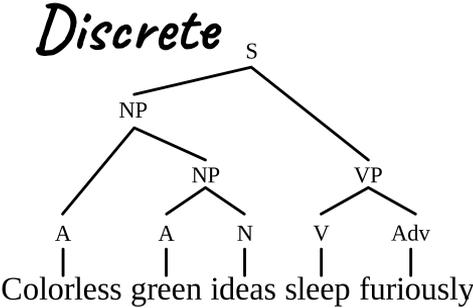
Isabel broke the **glass**

Passive voice

The **cat** jumped on to the perch

The **perch** was jumped on to by the cat

Case



“There is...”

Animacy

He ran all day

The **fridge** ran all day

Volitionality

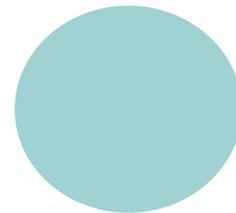
Mary punched **Sam**

Mary liked **Sam**

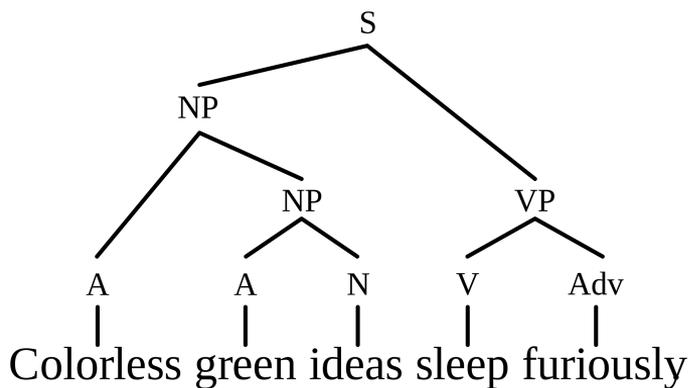
Mary forgot **Sam**

[Comrie 1989 *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*]
[Hopper and Thompson 1980 *Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse*]

Is subjecthood a discrete category?



Discrete

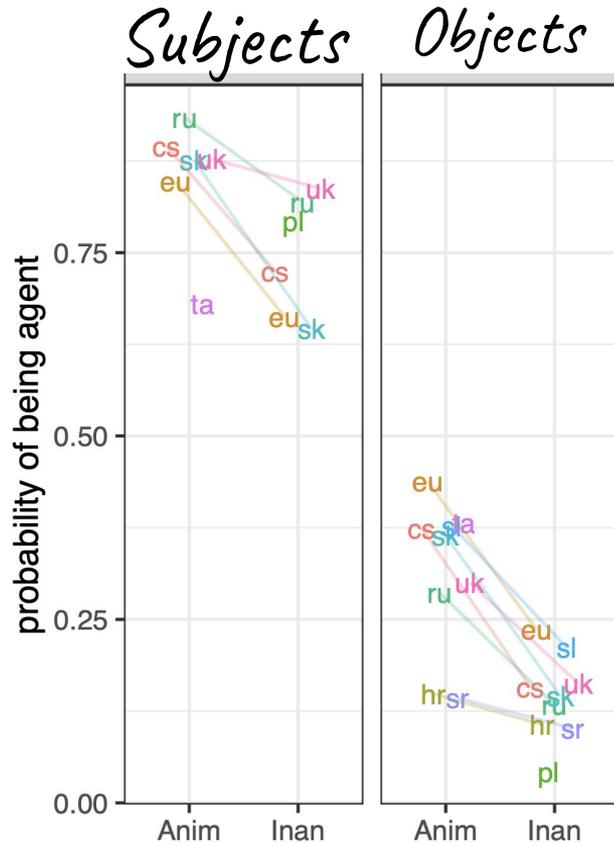


vs.

Prototype

*Animacy,
Passive voice,
Volitionality,
Agency,
Case,*

Classifier probabilities show **animacy** effects, even when controlling for syntactic role



Animacy

He ran all day

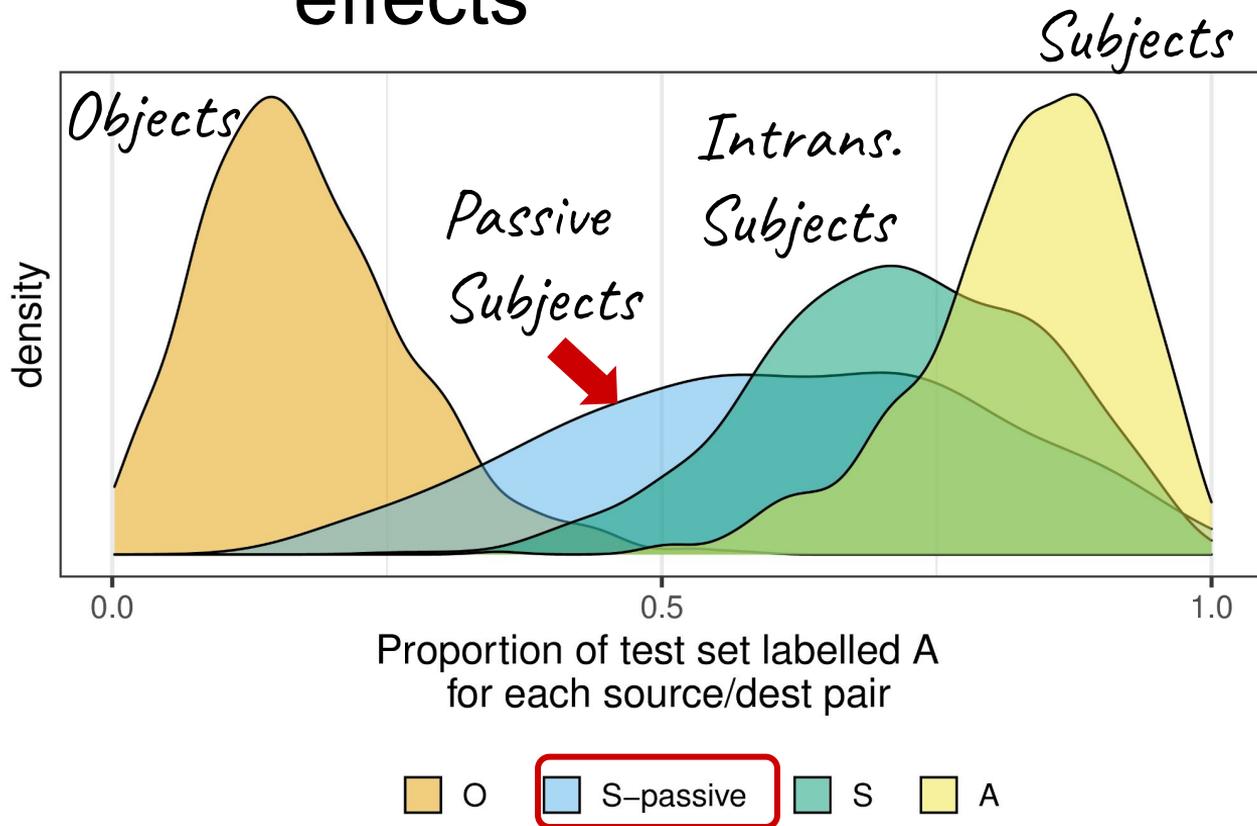
The **fridge** ran all day

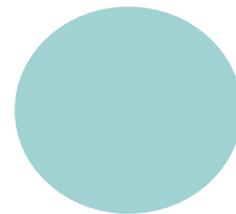
Classifier probabilities show **passive voice** effects

Passive voice

The **cat** jumped on to the perch

The **perch** was jumped on to by the cat



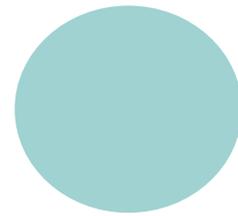


- **Prototype effects in LMs:** Many factors play into making something a subject

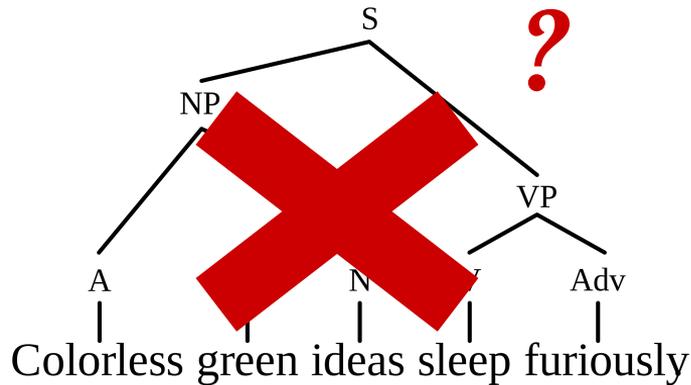
We also look at the effect of **case**.

Also working on: discourse, information structure (given/new)

But is it all just prototypes?



Discrete



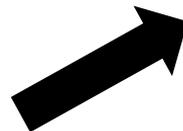
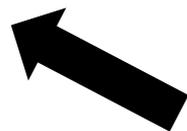
vs.

Prototype

*Animacy,
Passive voice,
Volitionality,
Agency,
Case,*

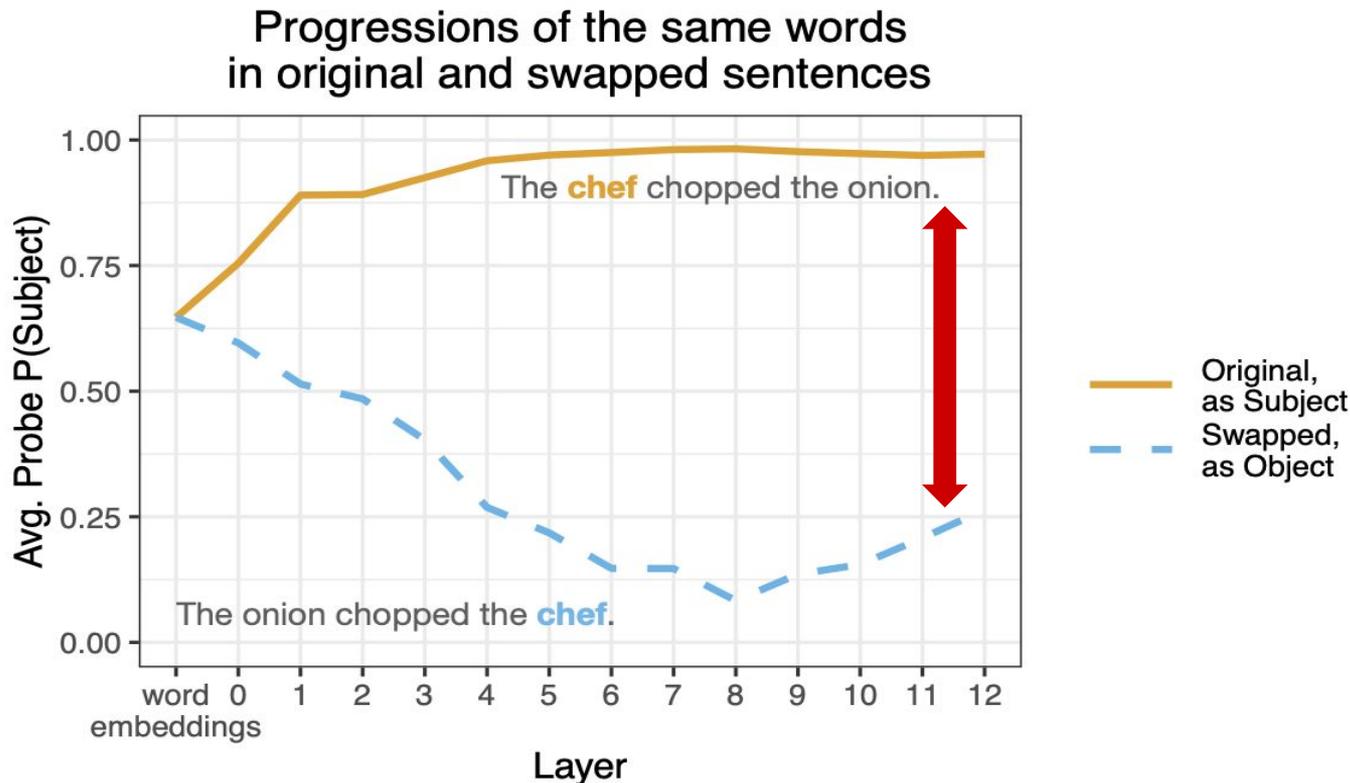
What if we test the same sentences (*with the same prototype effects*) but we **swap the labels**?

The **chef** chopped the **onion**, The **onion** chopped the **chef**



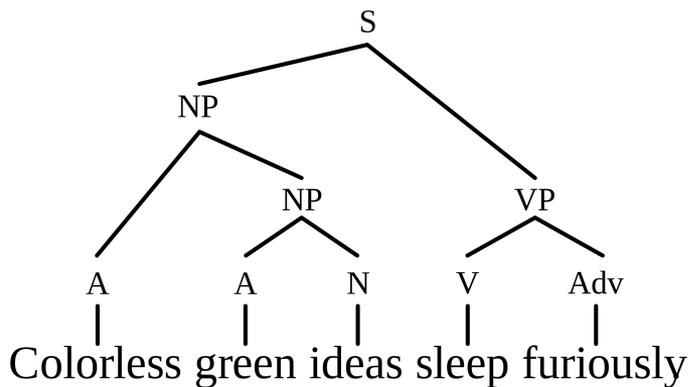
*Do they have different
classifications?*

Yes – Representation differences that are caused **only** by syntactic word order



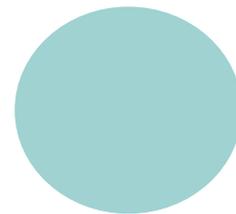
Both grammatical subjecthood and prototype effects

Discrete



Prototype

*Animacy,
Passive voice,
Volitionality,
Agency,
Case,*

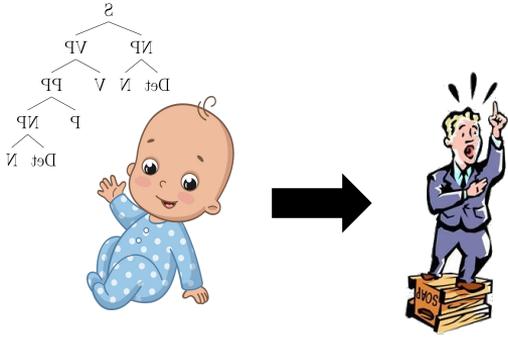


The high-dimensional space of LMs provides a model for a complex notion of subjecthood

- Both grammatical and functional aspects, in one representation model

Use language models to address two linguistic questions:

What makes language acquisition possible?



Complex, crossing dependencies bootstrap language learning

How do speakers represent syntactic information?



Combine discrete grammatical rules with functional semantics

Language models and language

- Language models are a flexible testbed for thinking about human language
- We can control their training, and inspect their internal representations
- LMs provide tangible models for expanding linguistic theory

Thanks!