HIERARCHIC SYNTAX IMPROVES READING TIME PREDICTION

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Previous studies have debated whether humans use hierarchic syntax

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But standard baseline predictors may be deficient

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This work shows that:

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Hierarchic syntax not improved by accumulation

- This work shows that: Baselines can be greatly improved (accumulation)
- Hierarchic syntax is still predictive over stronger baseline
- Hierarchic syntax not improved by accumulation
- Long distance dependencies independently improve model



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Baseline:

- Sentence Position
- Word length
- N-grams (Unigram, bigram)

The red apple that the girl ate ...
$$W_1$$
 W_2 W_3 W_4 W_5 W_6

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HIERARCHIC SYNTAX IN READING?



Frank & Bod (2011)

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Outcome:

```
PSG < ESN + PSG
```

```
ESN = ESN + PSG
```

Test POS Predictors:

- Echo State Network (ESN)
- Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG)

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Baseline:

- Sentence Position
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Outcome:

```
PSG < ESN + PSG Sequential helps over hierarchic
ESN = ESN + PSG
```

- Echo State Network (ESN)
- Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG)

Baseline:

- Sentence Position
- Word length
- N-grams (Unigram, bigram)

Outcome:

```
PSG < ESN + PSG
```

ESN = ESN + PSG Hierarchic doesn't help over sequential

Test POS Predictors:

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Replicated Frank & Bod (2011): PSG < ESN + PSG ESN = ESN + PSG

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Better *n*-gram baseline (more data) changes result: $PSG \equiv ESN + PSG$ ESN = ESN + PSG

Replicated Frank & Bod (2011): PSG < ESN + PSG

ESN = ESN + PSG

Better *n*-gram baseline (more data) changes result: PSG = ESN + PSG Sequential doesn't help over hierarchic ESN = ESN + PSG

Replicated Frank & Bod (2011): PSG < ESN + PSG FSN = FSN + PSG

Better *n*-gram baseline (more data) changes result: $PSG \equiv ESN + PSG$ Sequential doesn't help over hierarchic ESN = ESN + PSG

Also: lexicalized syntax improves PSG fit

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Previous reading time studies:

• Unigrams/Bigrams/Trigrams Trained on WSJ, Dundee, BNC Previous reading time studies:

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- Only from region boundaries





• Fails to capture entire sequence;

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- Fails to capture entire sequence;
- Conditions never generated;



- Fails to capture entire sequence;
- Conditions never generated;
- Probability of sequence is deficient

CUMULATIVE BIGRAM EXAMPLE

Reading time of *girl* after *red*:

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CUMULATIVE BIGRAM EXAMPLE

Reading time of *girl* after *red*:

- Captures entire sequence;
- Well-formed sequence probability;
- Reflects processing that must be done by humans

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This study:

- 5-grams (w/ backoff)
- Trained on Gigaword 4.0
- Cumulative and Non-cumulative

Dundee Corpus (Kennedy et al., 2003)

- 10 subjects
- 2,388 sentences
- 58,439 words
- 194,882 first pass durations
- 193,709 go-past durations

Exclusions:

- Unknown words (5 tokens)
- First and last of a line
- Regions larger than 4 words (track loss)

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Fixed Effects

- Sentence Position
- Word length
- Region Length
- Preceding word fixated?

Random Effects

- Item/Subject Intercepts
- By Subject Slopes:
 - All Fixed Effects
 - N-grams (5-grams)
 - N-grams (Cumu-5-grams)

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 - *N*-grams (Cumu-5-grams) \leftarrow



Log-likelihood

First Pass

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FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

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• Is hierarchic surprisal useful over the better baseline?

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- If so, can it be similarly improved through accumulation?

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- If so, can it be similarly improved through accumulation? van Schijndel & Schuler (2013) found it could over weaker baselines

Grammar:

Berkeley parser, WSJ, 5 split-merge cycles (Petrov & Klein 2007)

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Fixed Effects

- Same as before
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But... long-distance dependencies should affect reading times!

- Suggests previous findings were due to weaker *n*-gram baseline
- Suggests only local PCFG surprisal affects reading times

But... long-distance dependencies should affect reading times!

Let's try a PCFG that tracks long-distance deps

Nguyen et al. (2012)



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Nguyen et al. (2012)



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Baseline: Fixed Effects

• Same as before

Random Effects

- Same as before
- By Subject Slopes:
 - Hierarchic PTB surprisal
 - Hierarchic GCG surprisal

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• Same as before

Random Effects

- Same as before
- By Subject Slopes:
 - Hierarchic PTB surprisal \leftarrow
 - Hierarchic GCG surprisal \leftarrow



Log-likelihood

First Pass and Go-Past

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Log-likelihood

First Pass and Go-Past

Both help independently

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Hierarchic syntax predicts reading times over strong linear baseline

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Long-distance dependencies do affect reading times

- Hierarchic syntax predicts reading times over strong linear baseline
- Long-distance dependencies do affect reading times
- Studies should use cumu-n-grams in their baselines

Compare to Echo State Networks

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Test anticipatory accumulation

Thanks to:

- Stefan Frank
- Attendees of CUNY 2015
- National Science Foundation (DGE-1343012)

First Pass Evaluation (Log-Likelihood):

Base		
-1212399		
Base+N-gram	Base+Cumu- <i>n</i> -gram	
−1212396 (<i>p</i> < 0.05)	−1212392 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	
Base+Both	Base+Both	
−1212387 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	−1212387 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	

Comparable with go-past durations

Go-Past Evaluation (Log-Likelihood):

Base			
-1261582			
Base+N-gram	Base+Cumu- <i>n</i> -gram		
—1261577 (p < 0.01)	−1261576 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)		
Base+Both	Base+Both		
−1261570 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	−1261570 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)		

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First Pass Evaluation (Log-Likelihood):

Base			
-1212260			
Base+Surp	Base+CumuSurp		
−1212253 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	-1212259		
Base+Both	Base+Both		
-1212253	−1212253 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)		

Comparable with go-past durations

Go-Past Evaluation (Log-Likelihood):

Base			
-1261488			
Base+Surp	Base+CumuSurp		
−1261481 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	—1261487		
Base+Both	Base+Both		
-1261481	−1261481 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)		

First Pass Evaluation (Log-Likelihood):

Base			
-1212242			
Base+PTB	Base+GCG		
−1212239 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	−1212239 (<i>p</i> < 0.05)		
Base+Both	Base+Both		
−1212235 (<i>p</i> < 0.05)	−1212235 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)		

Both help independently

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PCFG surprisal helps more with go-past durations

	Go-Past Evaluation (Log-Likelihood):				
	Base				
	—1261474				
	Base+PTB	Base+GCG			
-1261468 (<i>p</i> < 0.01) Base+Both		−1261470 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)			
		Base+Both			
	-1261465 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)	−1261465 (<i>p</i> < 0.01)			

Again, both help independently.

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Dradictor	First Pass		Go-Past	
Predictor	coef	t value	coef	t value
sentpos	-2.47	-3.59	-2.82	-3.38
wlen	25.90	8.67	28.98	9.97
prevfix	-30.16	-7.81	-37.42	-11.49
<i>n</i> -gram	-2.39	-1.81	-6.70	-3.36
cumu- <i>n</i> -gram	—14.69	-7.36	—11.68	-5.01
rlen	-5.67	-1.31	-12.51	-2.59
surp-GCG	4.97	2.87	5.74	2.73
surp-PTB	4.20	3.23	4.85	3.29