Predict but Also Integrate: an Analysis of Sentence Processing Models for English and Hindi

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Abstract

Fluent speakers make implicit predictions about forthcoming linguistic items while processing sentences, possibly to increase efficiency in real-time comprehension. However, the extent to which prediction is the primary mode of processing human language is widely debated. The human language processor may also gain efficiency by integrating new linguistic information with prior knowledge and the preceding context, without actively predicting. At present, the role of probabilistic integration, as well as its computational foundation, remains relatively understudied. Here, we explored whether a Delayed Recurrent Neural Network (d-RNN, Turek et al., 2020), as an implementation of both prediction and integration, can explain patterns of human language processing over and above the contribution of a purely predictive RNN model. We found that incorporating integration contributes to explaining variability in eye-tracking data for English and Hindi.

1 Introduction

Languages are acquired and processed in real time. The transient quality of spoken language is evident, as it vanishes the moment it is spoken. And while written words appear fixed on a page, skilled readers assimilate them in sequence rapidly, seldom needing to double-back and review past words, and even skipping words entirely. This transitory aspect of language, coupled with the remarkable efficiency and speed at which humans use it, suggests that our brains harness specialized processes for managing information that fluidly unfolds in a sequence.

One proposed cognitive mechanism is prediction, the process by which a listener or reader anticipates upcoming linguistic information during language comprehension. This anticipation is based on internalized knowledge of language, previous local context information, and accumulated world-knowledge from semantic and episodic long-term memory. Psycholinguistic research suggests that individuals often implicitly predict elements such as the next word or grammatical structure while engaging with language, which allows for more efficient processing and understanding (Hale, 2016; Pimentel et al., 2023; Wilcox et al., 2023a). Prediction can occur at multiple levels, from anticipating the completion of a familiar phrase to forecasting the thematic content of a conversation or narrative. Probabilistic word prediction has been explicitly implemented in a class of cognitive recurrent models since the inception of the Recurrent Neural Network (Elman, 1990).

However, an unresolved debate in psycholinguistics centers around the extent to which the human language processor anticipates upcoming information (prediction) and how it assimilates incoming linguistic information with existing knowledge (integration, Ferreira and Chantavarin, 2018; Kuperberg and Jaeger, 2016; Nieuwland et al., 2020). A mechanism of probabilistic integration would not necessarily try to predict upcoming material, but instead increase efficiency by evaluating the probability of the preceding context given each heard/read linguistic item (e.g., the current word). In recent work (Onnis and Huettig, 2021; Onnis et al., 2022) this mechanism has been modeled successfully using n-gram language models as the backward transitional probability, *P(prior context | word)* as a proxy for integration, as opposed to prediction in the form of forward transitional probability, *P(word | prior context)*.

Here, we conducted an exploratory analysis to determine whether a recurrent language model implementing integration can explain patterns of human language processing (online reading times revealed by eye movements from existing psycholinguistic datasets) over and above the contribution of a purely predictive language model. We did so by comparing two types of Recurrent Neural Networks (RNNs), namely the classic RNN, and the Delayed

RNN (d-RNN) as proposed by Turek et al. (2020). The classic RNN can be considered an implementation of prediction, while the d-RNN implements both prediction and integration (see details below). To test the robustness of our method, we applied it to reading data from two languages, English and Hindi, that differ typologically in several ways, reflecting their distinct linguistic origins, families, and structures. Our work has value in attempting to model probabilistic integration explicitly, as an additional important cognitive mechanism underlying language processing that is currently underappreciated in psycholinguistic modeling.

2   Model Architectures

We evaluate two Recurrent Neural Network architectures: a vanilla Recurrent Neural Network (RNN, Elman, 1990), and a variant that introduces a processing delay (d-RNN, Turek et al., 2020). The former has a long tradition in cognitive modeling (Elman, 1990; Rohde and Plaut, 1997; Christiansen and Chater, 1999; Cartling, 2008), as it is naturally suited to implement forward prediction over sequential inputs. The latter was first proposed in the context of NLP, to incorporate sensitivity to backward dependencies (i.e., approximating bidirectional RNNs); however, it has also been used to model language acquisition (Alhama et al., 2021).

RNNs are forward models by design because they are trained to predict the upcoming word in a sentence (x_{t+1}) based on two sources of information: the current word x_t and the hidden state of the network, computed in the previous step (h_{t-1}). The d-RNN implements next-word prediction in the same way, but its key feature is the addition of a processing delay d such that, for an input word x_t, its output is produced at time $t + d$ (i.e. the predicted word is $\hat{y}_{t+d}$). Thus, the weights of the d-RNN are only updated after d extra words, delaying learning. Turek et al. (2020) showed that a large enough delay approximates bidirectional processing, suggesting that the delay allows the network to capture backward dependencies. Importantly, while bidirectional models do exploit context to the left and right of a target word to be predicted, they appear unsuited as cognitive models of real-time incremental language processing, as they require entire sentences or paragraphs to compute their predictions. Instead, and crucially, the d-RNN combines classic forward prediction for incremental input with sensitivity to backward dependencies, making it a suitable cognitive model of prediction *and* integration.

3   Data

Sources. The choice of English and Hindi is based on three criteria. First, we required languages with different word order, to ensure enough variability in forward and backward dependencies. While English is strictly SVO, Hindi favours SOV order. Second, we chose languages that differ in terms of morphological typology. Our statistical analysis is done at the word level, so we use this criterion to ensure the languages are comprised of words that cannot easily be separated into multiple morphemes, as in agglutinative languages. English is an analytic language that uses specific words rather than inflection to express syntactic relations. Generally, this entails having one morpheme per word. Hindi is a fusional language: it 'fuses' morphemes together in a word where it is not easy to distinguish the individual morphemes (Ramoo, 2021).

Thirdly, for model training and validation against human reading patterns (specifically, eye fixations on words), we sourced publicly accessible datasets for each language, containing texts of a uniform style. We utilized the Potsdam-Allahabad Hindi Eye-tracking Corpus (PAC, Husain et al., 2015; Vasishth, 2021) comprising word-level eye-tracking data from 30 individuals reading 83 sentences sourced from newspapers. For English, our source was the Multilingual Eye-tracking Corpus (MECO, Siegelman et al., 2022), which includes eye-tracking data captured from 46 participants reading 112 encyclopedic sentences. Both human reading datasets align with expository writing, prompting us to select Wikipedia articles for training our language models. These articles provide a congruent encyclopedic text style and are widely available across languages from Wikimedia Foundation dumps.

Pre-processing. We pre-process the Wikipedia articles and the PAC and MECO sentences using the Stanza library (Qi et al., 2020) for tokenization, Part-of-Speech annotation and lemmatization. We use lowercased text and remove all punctuation (but we process sentences separately). In the case of Wikipedia texts, we remove article titles using regular expressions, and randomly sample 200,000 sentences for each language. The chosen corpora appear comparable in their mean sentence

lengths: 18.73 and 21.07 words-per-sentence (wps) for the English training set and MECO sentences, respectively, and 18.94 and 16.2 wps for the Hindi training set and PAC sentences, respectively.

We introduce an unknown token to handle out-of-vocabulary (OOV) and rare words. When setting low frequency words in the corpus to the unknown token, we are reducing the vocabulary size the RNNs need to train on. This simplifies the task, reducing training time (Chen et al., 2019), but it also reduces the amount of text in MECO and PAC sentences. We find that a cut-off word frequency of 24 leaves us with almost 90% of the data within MECO and PAC, while the vocabulary of the training set in English and Hindi is reduced to some 11 thousand words.

The type-token ratio (TTR) calculated after the vocabulary size reduction shows MECO and PAC have a higher degree of lexical variety than the RNN training sets[1]. This is as expected since these datasets contain fewer sentences compared to the amount sampled from Wikipedia. Moreover, the similarity of the training sets' TTRs indicates that the RNNs' task difficulty is similar across languages.

Finally, MECO and PAC require minor pre-processing. In both human reading datasets, we remove skipped words, as they do not help us quantify the predictability of a word and the processing effort required to read it. The code used for preprocessing and the rest of our research is available at `https://github.com/ninadelcaro/predict-integrate-cmcl`.

4 Experimental Setup

Language Models. We use the code for the RNN and d-RNN by Alhama et al. (2021), with a delay of 1 for the d-RNN. Both networks have three layers: an embedding layer, a recurrent one, and a fully connected layer with softmax activation. We feed the networks with the tokenized sentences described above, and we use cross-entropy loss on next-word prediction objective. We update the weights with Stochastic Gradient Descent. We train until the loss becomes stable (around 45 epochs) in the classic RNN and use the same number of epochs to train the d-RNN (41 epochs for English and 45 for Hindi).

Hyperparameter optimization is done using ran-

dom search (Bergstra and Bengio, 2012). We train on 80% of the Wikipedia articles, using 10% as the validation set and the other 10% as the testing set. The hyperparameters we optimize are the word embedding and hidden state dimensions as well as the learning rate. We select the RNN model with the lowest loss on the validation set and make sure there is no overfitting by comparing the validation loss to the training loss. Our final model has a hidden state size of 682, an embedding size of 426, and a learning rate of 0.001. We use these same hyperparameters across all models (i.e., for both RNN variants and languages).

Predictor Variables from Language Models. Following established computational psycholinguistics literature, we use per-word information-theoretic measures of entropy and surprisal (Hale, 2016). Word surprisal is the negative log-probability of said word, and it intuitively quantifies its unexpectedness. This measure has been linked to human sentence processing difficulty and is predictive of eye movements (Levy, 2008; Wilcox et al., 2023b; Aurnhammer and Frank, 2018; Boston et al., 2008; Ehrlich and Rayner, 1981; Merkx and Frank, 2021; Oh and Schuler, 2023; Demberg and Keller, 2008; Smith and Levy, 2013; Shain et al., 2020). Entropy, on the other hand, quantifies the degree of uncertainty over possible outcomes (Shannon, 1948), and it has also been shown to correlate with human sentence processing effort (Keller, 2004; Linzen and Jaeger, 2014; Wilcox et al., 2023b; Hale, 2003; Linzen and Jaeger, 2016; Roark et al., 2009). We compute these metrics for each word in the MECO and PAC datasets, using the probability distributions predicted by our language models.

Outcome Variables: Eye gazes while reading. Metrics of reading processing difficulty available from MECO and PAC include: first fixation duration, first-pass reading time, and total fixation time. Because no consensus exists on whether these measures underlie separate cognitive processes, these reading times (RTs) were used as dependent variables in separate regression models (Agrawal et al., 2017; Boston et al., 2008; Keller, 2004; Merkx and Frank, 2021). RTs were log-transformed for normalization, variance stabilization, and outlier influence reduction (Aurnhammer and Frank, 2018).

Statistical Inference Model. As in previous research (Agrawal et al., 2017; Aurnhammer and

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[1] MECO: $TTR = .34$; PAC: $TTR = .25$; English training set: $TTR = .0023$; Hindi training set: $TTR = .0022$

Frank, 2018; Boston et al., 2008; Merkx and Frank, 2021), we analyze the relationship between the per-word information-theoretic metrics of entropy and suprisal from our language models as predictors, and human reading times as outcomes, using Generalised Linear Mixed Effects Regression models (GLMER) that incorporate both fixed and random effects. The hierarchical structure of MECO and PAC reading data makes the word-level observations non-independent, because the sentences contain words that are embedded in sentences that are read by specific participants. Therefore, we require random intercepts for the participant and the word read to be part of the linear regression models.

We use nested modelling to compare GLMER models with additional independent variables to a baseline GLMER model. Besides random effects, the baseline regresses the eye-tracking data on these control fixed effects covariates known to affect reading times: word length, and order of appearance of each word within the sentence presented to the reader. Model comparison is performed with a log-likelihood ratio test, allowing us to test whether a single predictor added at each step explains any more variance in the outcome variable by improving the model fit.

Entropy and surprisal are not correlated (Pearson's $r(119306) = 0.36, p < 0.001$) in the RNN regression, but they are in the d-RNN regression (Pearson's $r(119306) = 0.99, p < 0.001$). Therefore, we choose to separate these two metrics in two sets of stepwise GLMER models, one using entropy and another using surprisal as predictor variables. Each set consists of a) the baseline model, b) a model adding the RNN's metric, and c) a model adding the d-RNN's metric to the previous model. We can thus rigorously evaluate our key theoretical conjecture: does the d-RNN architecture, which incorporates a form of language integration, contribute incremental variance over and above an RNN that operates solely on a predictive mechanism?

5 Results

Table 1 presents the core outcomes of our GLMER analysis, with detailed model comparisons, log-likelihood ratio tests, and α significance levels provided in Appendix A.

English. For the English reading dataset, word entropy of the RNN did not improve the baseline model for any of the three dependent variables,

Metric	Model	English		Hindi	
		Ent.	Surp.	Ent.	Surp.
FFD	RNN	.39	.002	.02	.11
	d-RNN	.01	.13	.1	.19
TFD	RNN	.22	<.001	<.001	<.001
	d-RNN	<.001	.07	.02	.3
FPRT	RNN	.8	.002	.02	.08
	d-RNN	.08	.56	.02	.05

Table 1: Nested model comparison results for human reading time outcomes. Each model comprises various predictors—RNN Model with baseline predictors plus RNN metric, and d-RNN Model with added d-RNN metric. The table shows *p-values* from log-likelihood ratio tests for model comparisons. FFD: First Fixation Duration; TFD: Total Fixation Duration; FPRT: First Pass Reading Time; Ent.: Entropy; Surp.: Surprisal.

whereas the d-RNN's entropy did so when considering first fixation and total fixation duration as dependent variables. Conversely, adding the surprisal of the RNN improved model fit for all three dependent variables, while adding the surprisal of the d-RNN did not improve model fit further.

Hindi. In the Hindi reading dataset, adding the RNN's word entropy to the baseline model improved the model, and so did adding the d-RNN's entropy when predicting total fixation duration and first pass reading time. On the other hand, model comparison revealed no model fit improvement when entering word surprisal, with a notable exception: the addition of the RNN's surprisal to the model regressing total fixation duration.

6 Discussion

The ephemeral nature of language is evident, as it rapidly vanishes from our sensory experience upon its completion – being spoken or read. While current psycholinguistics research primarily emphasizes probabilistic prediction as a mechanism that facilitates efficient language learning and real-time processing, the computational modeling of integration and its interplay with prediction in human sentence processing remain less understood. Addressing this, we used an RNN to model pure prediction and a d-RNN for the combined processes of prediction and integration, and assessed the relationship between language model-derived entropy and surprisal measures and eye-tracking data.

The d-RNN's entropy contribution across languages suggests that language models incorporat-

ing integration explain variability in eye-tracking data beyond prediction alone, although surprisal did not yield similar results. A tentative interpretation is that the time course of integration is better reflected in a metric like entropy, which measures uncertainty based on the current state of knowledge of the model, rather than in an a-posteriori and word-specific metric like surprisal. This may be a consequence of the specific operationalization of integration provided by the d-RNN, which delays learning until subsequent words have been processed. Such operationalization is in fact reminiscent of the *lookahead* mechanism used in the parsing literature, which peeks at a number of upcoming tokens in a sentence in order to decide between alternative syntactic analyses (Marcus, 1980; Stabler, 1983; Nozohoor-Farshi, 1986).

The different outcomes in English and Hindi data could suggest that integration and prediction may be employed differently in various languages, possibly influenced by the distinct word orders of the languages we examined—English being SVO and Hindi SOV— and how they interact with RNN model metrics and eye-tracking measures. These observations call for additional investigations into a broader spectrum of languages to discern how language structure might tip sentence processing toward either integration or prediction.

Note that in modeling reading processes, we strived for cognitive plausibility. While more recent and powerful architectures such as bidirectional recurrent networks and encoder-decoder transformers could potentially implement integration, they also do it using text from the future, i.e. they require entire sentences or passages to predict a masked word and train its algorithm. Since relying on future words is not cognitively plausible when processing language word-by-word incrementally, we opted for classic RNN implementations. Other models like Long-Short Term Memory Networks (Hochreiter and Schmidhuber, 1997) and decoder-only transformers trained unidirectionally (Radford et al., 2019) meet our requirements, and we leave the investigation of their suitability to future work.

Acknowledgments

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A Appendix

Outcome	Predictors	English			Hindi		
		AIC	χ^2	p-value	AIC	χ^2	p-value
First fixation duration	Baseline	55443			23932		
	RNN entropy	55444	0.74	.39	23928	5.8	.02
	d-RNN entropy	55440	6.36	.01	23927	2.75	.1
Total fixation duration	Baseline	94736			37375		
	RNN entropy	94737	1.52	.22	37366	11.16	<.001
	d-RNN entropy	94727	12.08	<.001	37363	5.23	.02
First pass reading time	Baseline	72201			32505		
	RNN entropy	72203	0.06	.8	32502	5.84	.02
	d-RNN entropy	72202	2.97	.08	32499	5.06	.02

Table 2: Results of stepwise nested model comparisons predicting human reading time outcomes. Each inference model includes different predictors: Baseline Model (word length, sentence position, and subject and word random intercepts), RNN Entropy Model (Baseline predictors plus RNN word entropy), and d-RNN Entropy Model (RNN Model predictors plus d-RNN word entropy). Models are assessed using log-likelihood ratio tests.

Outcome	Predictors	English			Hindi		
		AIC	χ^2	p-value	AIC	χ^2	p-value
First fixation duration	Baseline	55443			23932		
	RNN surprisal	55436	9.22	.002	23931	2.54	.11
	d-RNN surprisal	55436	2.27	.13	23932	1.74	.19
Total fixation duration	Baseline	94736			37375		
	RNN surprisal	94709	28.96	<.001	37360	17.7	<.001
	d-RNN surprisal	94708	3.23	.07	37360	1.08	.3
First pass reading time	Baseline	72201			32505		
	RNN surprisal	722194	9.84	.002	32504	3.1	.08
	d-RNN surprisal	722195	0.34	.56	32503	3.72	.05

Table 3: Results of stepwise nested model comparisons predicting human reading time outcomes. Each inference model includes different predictors: Baseline Model (word length, sentence position, and subject and word random intercepts), RNN surprisal Model (Baseline predictors plus RNN word surprisal), and d-RNN surprisal Model (RNN Model predictors plus d-RNN word surprisal). Models are assessed using log-likelihood ratio tests.