

The Bigger-is-Worse Effects of Model Size and Training Data of Large Language Model Surprisal on Human Reading Times

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25 April 2024
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


THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

¹Sep. 2024–: Center for Data Science, New York University

I landed in Frankfurt and took a



I landed in Frankfurt and took a  train
camel



I landed in Frankfurt and took a train
camel



The more predictable train is easier to process than camel
(Balota et al., 1985; Ehrlich & Rayner, 1981; Kutas & Hillyard, 1980)

I landed in Frankfurt and took a < train
camel



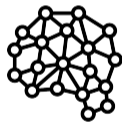
Human
subjects

I landed in Frankfurt and took a train
camel

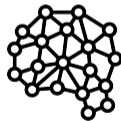


Human
subjects

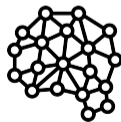
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

I =====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

= landed =====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

===== in =====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

===== `Frankfurt`=====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

===== and =====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

===== took =====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human subjects

===== a =====

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects

===== camel



Human
subjects

I landed in Frankfurt and took a camel

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects



I landed in Frankfurt and took a camel

Human subject data: Word-by-word reading times



Human
subjects



I landed in Frankfurt and took a camel

Assumption: Processing difficulty causes delays in reading times!

Computational models: Large language models (LLMs)

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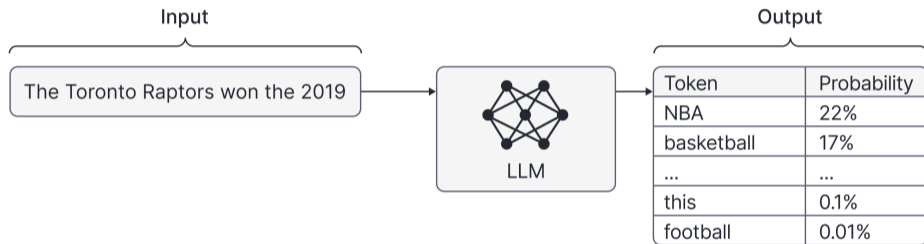


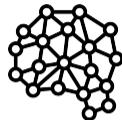
Figure from Borealis AI

Link between human behavior and LLMs (Surprisal theory; Hale, 2001; Levy, 2008)

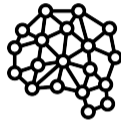


Human
subjects

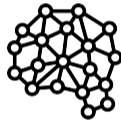
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Model 1



Model 2



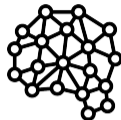
Model 3

Link between human behavior and LLMs (Surprisal theory; Hale, 2001; Levy, 2008)

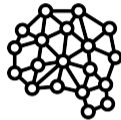


Human
subjects

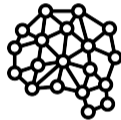
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

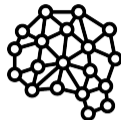
$$RT(w_t) \propto \underbrace{-\log_2 P(w_t | w_{1..t-1})}_{\text{surprisal}}$$

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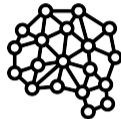


Human
subjects

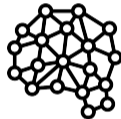
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

$$RT(\text{train}) \propto -\log_2 P(\text{train} \mid \text{I landed in Frankfurt and took a})$$

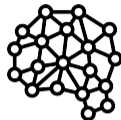
$$RT(\text{camel}) \propto -\log_2 P(\text{camel} \mid \text{I landed in Frankfurt and took a})$$

Link between human behavior and LLMs (Surprisal theory; Hale, 2001; Levy, 2008)

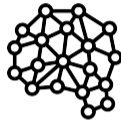


Human
subjects

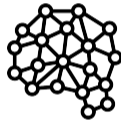
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

Evaluation: How well does surprisal from Model n fit to human reading times?
(through regression modeling)

- ① Phenomenon #1: The bigger-is-worse effect of model size (Oh & Schuler, 2023a)

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- ③ Word frequency as a unified explanation (Oh, Yue, & Schuler, 2024)

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- ③ Word frequency as a unified explanation (Oh, Yue, & Schuler, 2024)
- ④ Conclusion

Phenomenon #1: The bigger-is-worse effect of model size

Oh and Schuler (2023a). Why does surprisal from larger Transformer-based language models provide a poorer fit to human reading times? *TACL*.

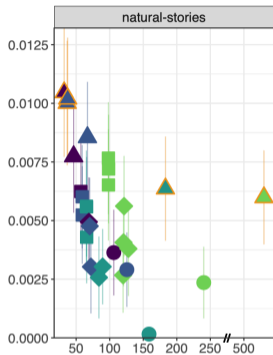
Better

Fit



Poorer

Fit



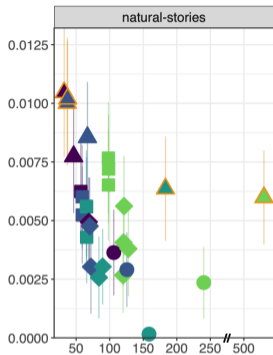
Wilcox et al. (2020)

More
Accurate



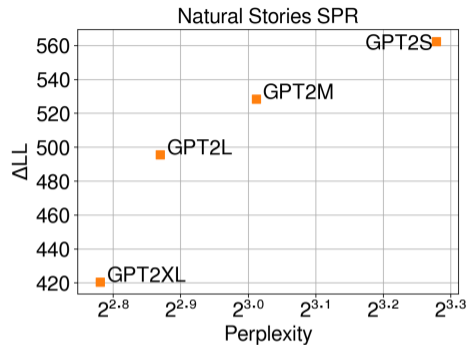
Less
Accurate

Better
Fit
↑
↓
Poorer
Fit



Wilcox et al. (2020)

More Accurate ← → Less Accurate



Oh, Clark, and Schuler (2022)

More Accurate, Larger ← → Less Accurate, Smaller

Replication with more LLM families

- Regression models fit to reading times of Natural Stories and Dundee corpora (Futrell et al., 2021; Kennedy et al., 2003)

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Model	#L	#H	d_{model}
GPT-2 Small	12	12	768
GPT-2 Medium	24	16	1024
GPT-2 Large	36	20	1280
GPT-2 XL	48	25	1600
GPT-Neo 125M	12	12	768
GPT-Neo 1.3B	24	16	2048
GPT-Neo 2.7B	32	20	2560
GPT-J 6B	28	16	4096
GPT-NeoX 20B	44	64	6144
OPT 125M	12	12	768
OPT 350M	24	16	1024
OPT 1.3B	24	32	2048
OPT 2.7B	32	32	2560
OPT 6.7B	32	32	4096
OPT 13B	40	40	5120
OPT 30B	48	56	7168
OPT 66B	64	72	9216

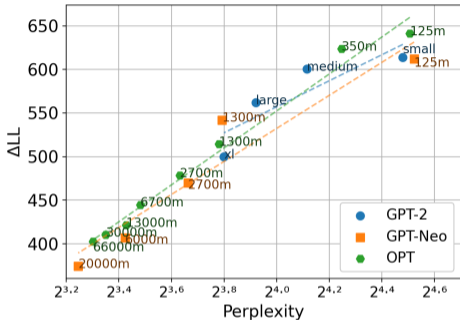
Replication with more LLM families

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- Baseline predictors: word length/position, saccade length, previous word fixated
- Predictors of interest: LLM surprisal
- Evaluation metric: $\Delta\log\text{-likelihood}$ (ΔLL); how well does surprisal fit to RT?

Model	#L	#H	d_{model}
GPT-2 Small	12	12	768
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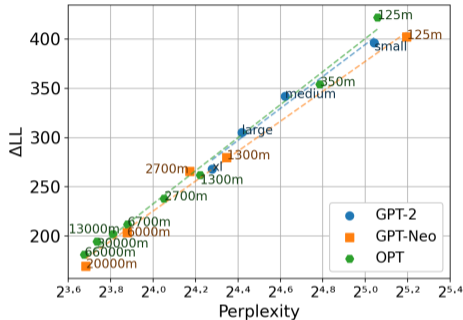
Better
Fit
↑
↓
Poorer
Fit

Natural Stories SPR



More Accurate, Larger ← → Accurate, Smaller

Dundee ET



More Accurate, Larger ← → Accurate, Smaller

What linguistic factors drive this trend?

- Subsets defined by word-level and syntactic properties (Shain et al., 2018)

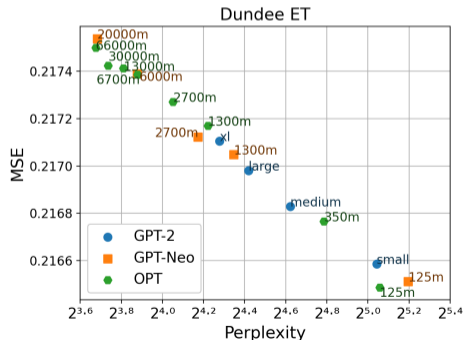
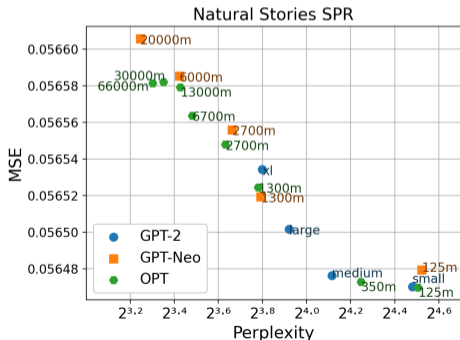
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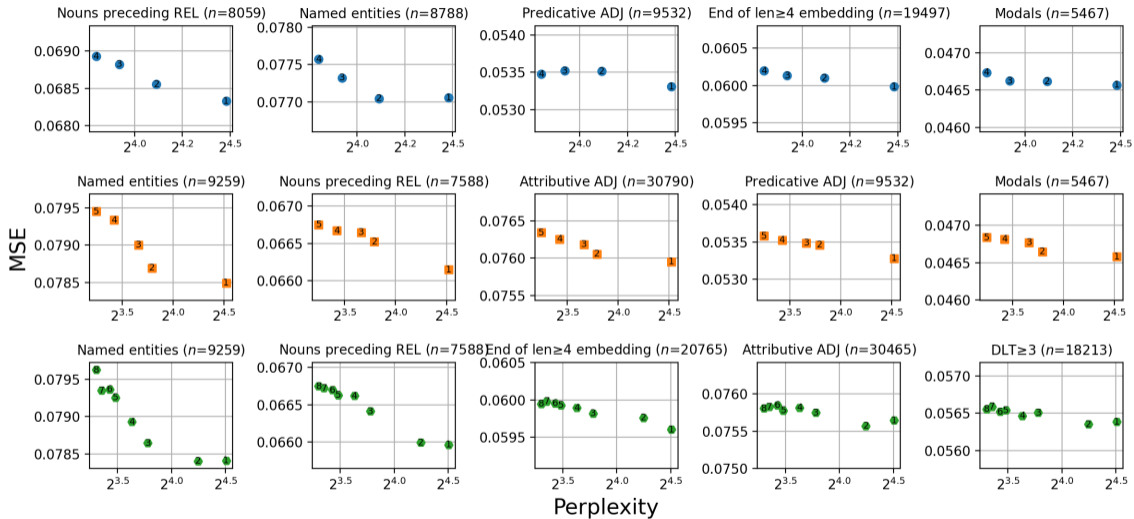
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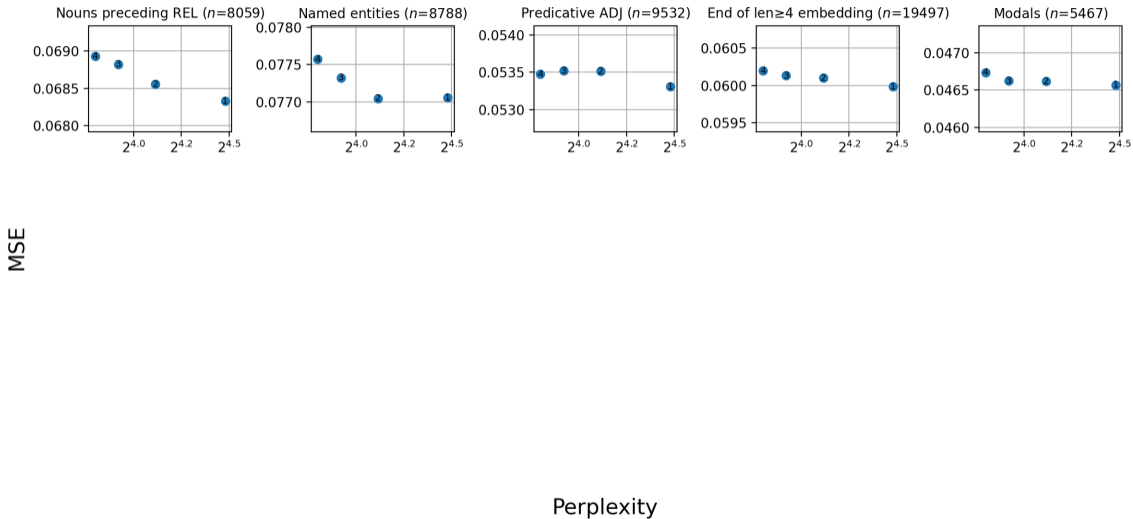
Poorer
Fit
↑
Better
Fit



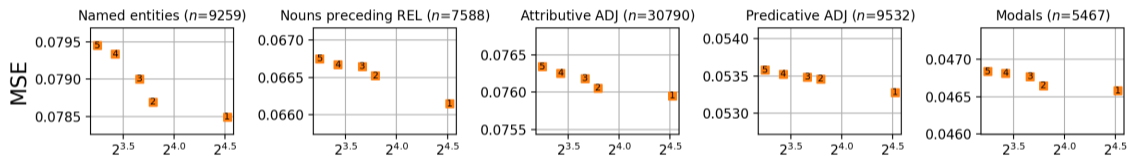
Natural Stories SPR



Natural Stories SPR



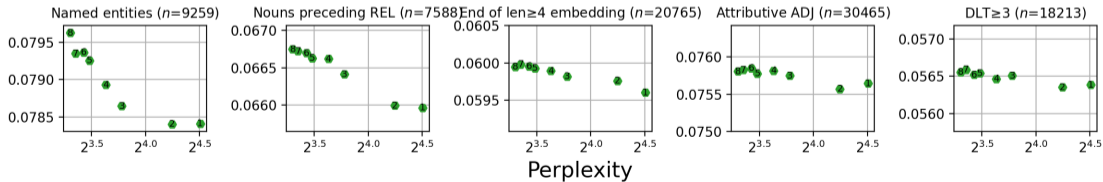
Natural Stories SPR



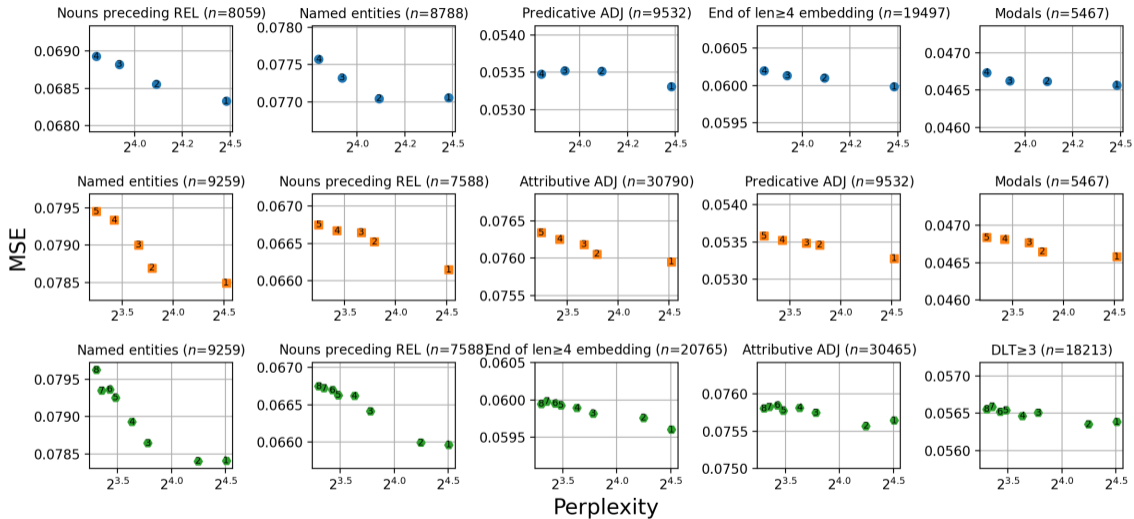
Perplexity

Natural Stories SPR

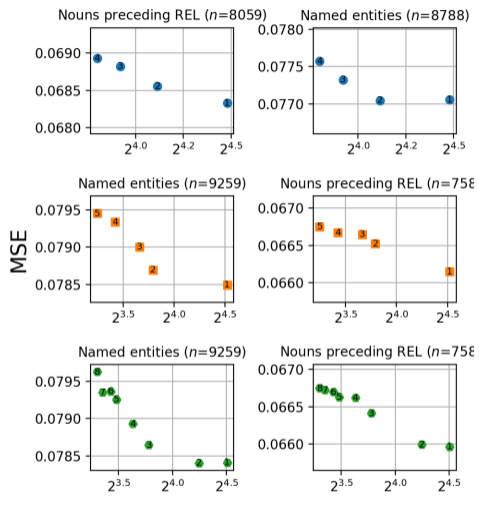
MSE



Natural Stories SPR

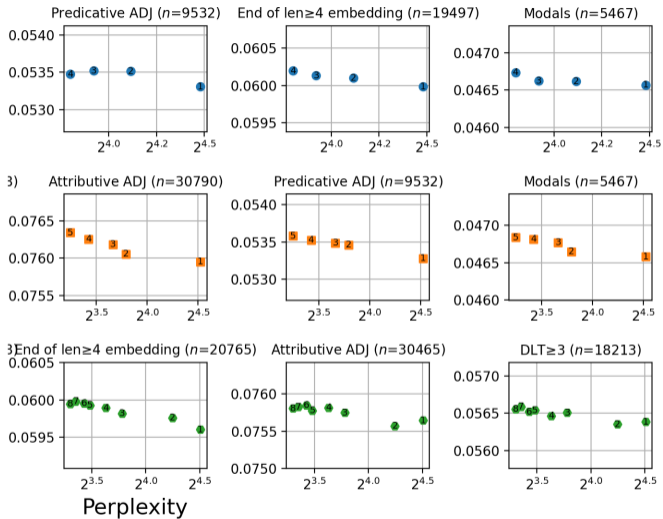


Natural Stories SPR

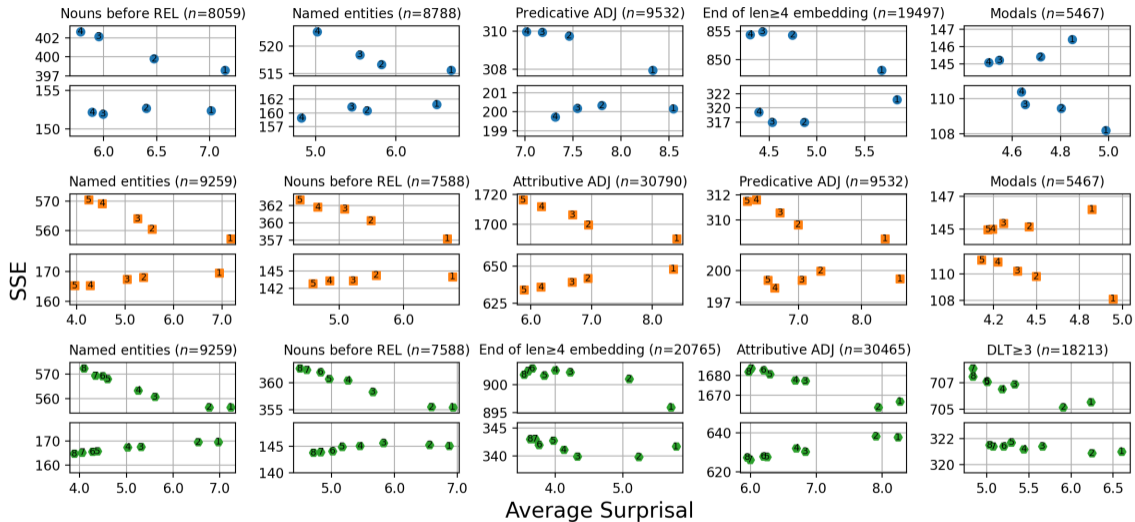


Natural Stories SPR

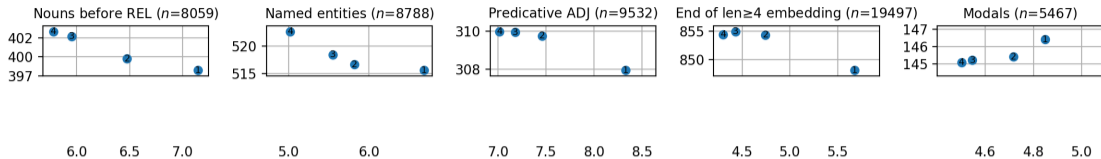
MSE



Natural Stories SPR



Natural Stories SPR



SSE

Average Surprisal

Natural Stories SPR

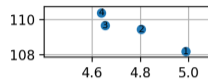
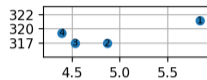
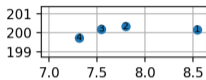
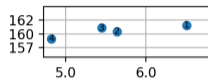
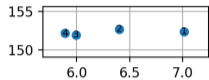
Nouns before REL ($n=8059$)

Named entities ($n=8788$)

Predicative ADJ ($n=9532$)

End of len ≥ 4 embedding ($n=19497$)

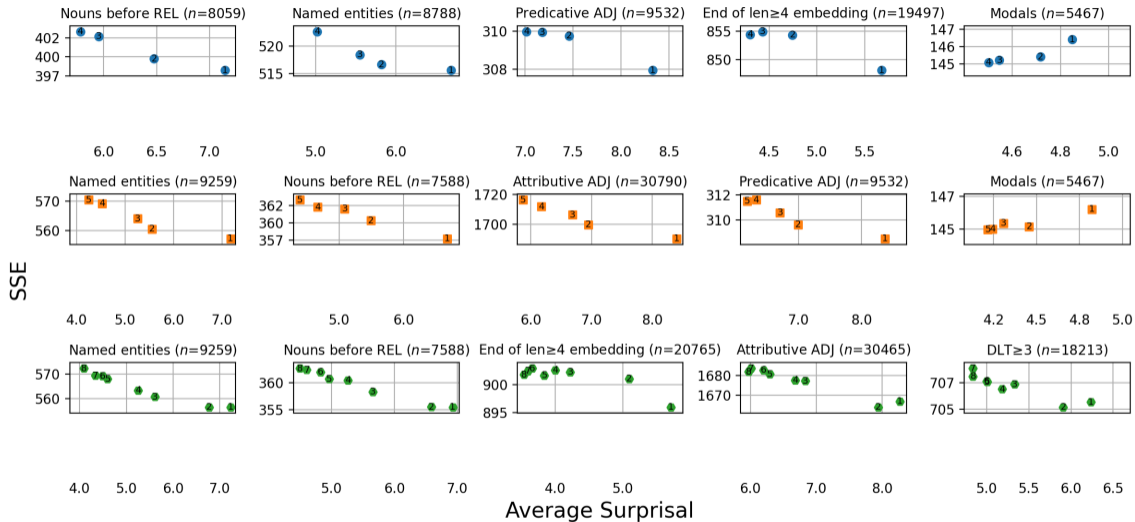
Modals ($n=5467$)



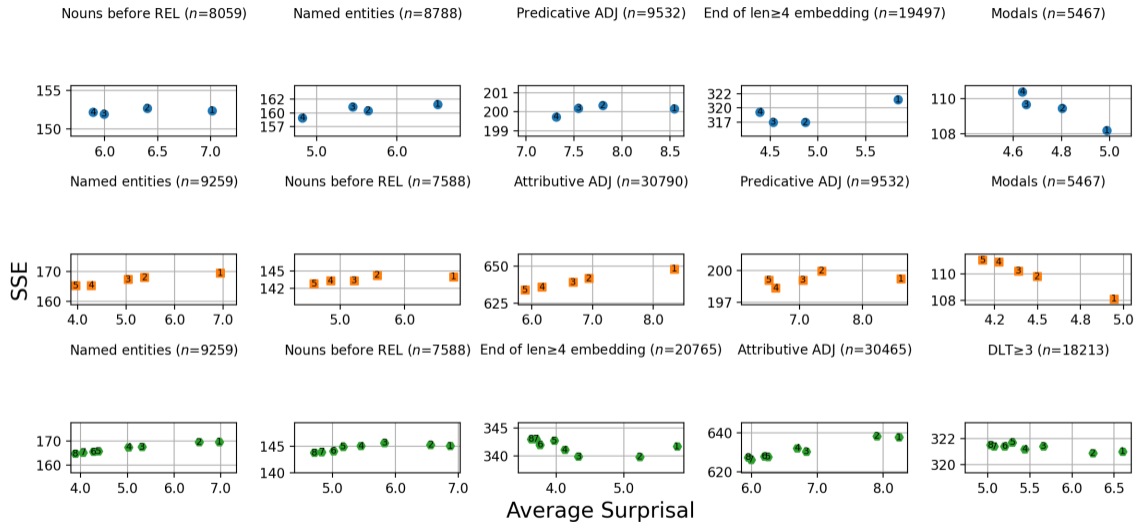
SSE

Average Surprisal

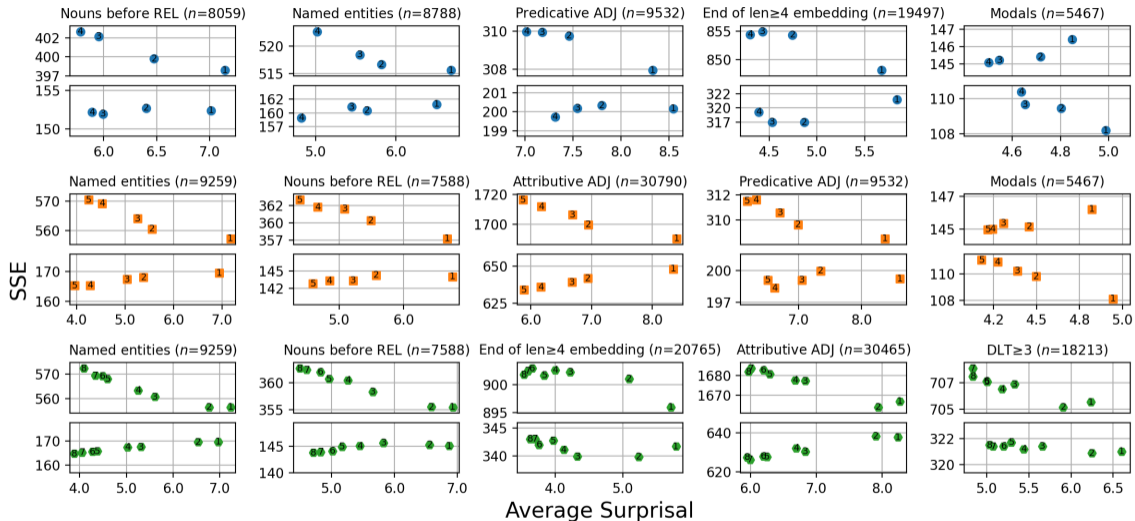
Natural Stories SPR



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Summary: Bigger-is-worse effect of model size

- Surprisal from larger models show strictly poorer fits to human reading times

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(see e.g. Arehalli et al., 2022; Hahn et al., 2022; van Schijndel & Linzen, 2021)

Summary: Bigger-is-worse effect of model size

- Surprisal from larger models show strictly poorer fits to human reading times
- Effect mostly driven by underprediction of reading times by LLM surprisal
(see e.g. Arehalli et al., 2022; Hahn et al., 2022; van Schijndel & Linzen, 2021)
- Likely due to extensive domain knowledge from massive amounts of training examples

Phenomenon #2: The bigger-is-worse effect of training data

Oh and Schuler (2023b). Transformer-based language model surprisal predicts human reading times best with about two billion training tokens. *Findings of EMNLP*.

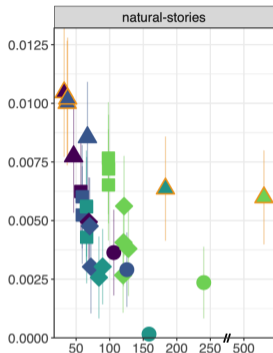
Better

Fit



Poorer

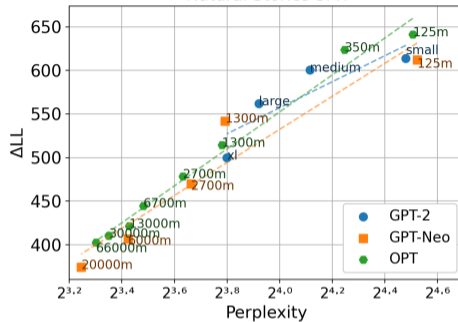
Fit



Wilcox et al. (2020)

More Accurate, Larger ← → Accurate, Smaller

Natural Stories SPR



Oh and Schuler (2023a)

More Accurate, Larger ← → Accurate, Smaller

- Regression models fit and ΔLL calculated

Evaluating LLMs trained on less data

- Regression models fit and ΔLL calculated
- Predictors of interest: LLM surprisal

Model	#L	#H	d_{model}
Pythia 70M	6	8	512
Pythia 160M	12	12	768
Pythia 410M	24	16	1024
Pythia 1B	16	8	2048
Pythia 1.4B	24	16	2048
Pythia 2.8B	32	32	2560
Pythia 6.9B	32	32	4096
Pythia 12B	36	40	5120

Evaluating LLMs trained on less data

- Regression models fit and ΔLL calculated
- Predictors of interest: LLM surprisal
- Trained on identical batches of 1024×2048 (~ 2 million) tokens

Model	#L	#H	d_{model}
Pythia 70M	6	8	512
Pythia 160M	12	12	768
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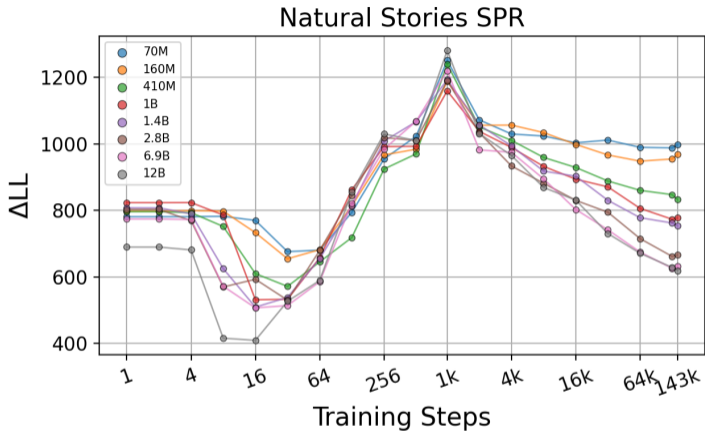
Evaluating LLMs trained on less data

- Regression models fit and ΔLL calculated
- Predictors of interest: LLM surprisal
- Trained on identical batches of 1024×2048 (~ 2 million) tokens
- Checkpoints available after $\{1, 2, 4, \dots, 512, 1000, 2000, \dots, 143000\}$ batches

Model	#L	#H	d_{model}
Pythia 70M	6	8	512
Pythia 160M	12	12	768
Pythia 410M	24	16	1024
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Better
Fit

Poorer
Fit



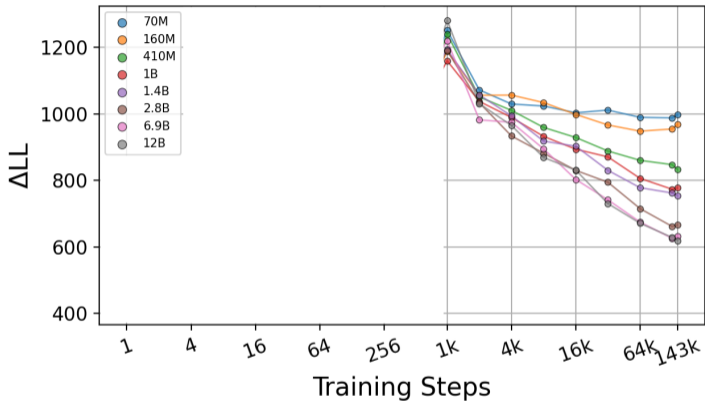
Less
Data

More
Data

Better
Fit

Poorer
Fit

Natural Stories SPR

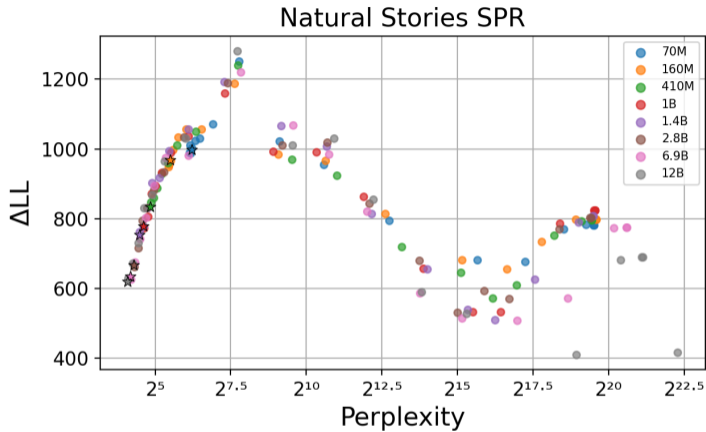


Less
Data

More
Data

Better
Fit

Poorer
Fit



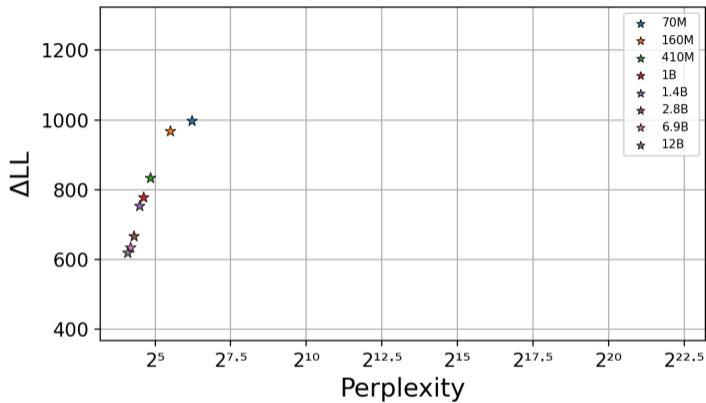
More
Accurate

Less
Accurate

Better
Fit

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Natural Stories SPR

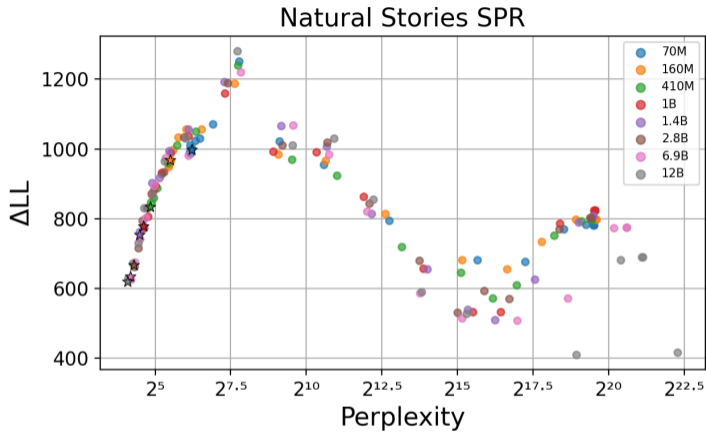


More
Accurate

Less
Accurate

Better
Fit

↑
↓
Poorer
Fit



More
Accurate

←—————→
Less
Accurate

How small can we go?

- Smaller LMs trained following the procedures of the Pythia LM

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Model	#L	#H	d_{model}	#Parameters
Repro 1-1-64	1	1	64	~6M
Repro 1-2-128	1	2	128	~13M
Repro 2-2-128	2	2	128	~13M
Repro 2-3-192	2	3	192	~20M
Repro 2-4-256	2	4	256	~27M
Repro 3-4-256	3	4	256	~28M
Repro 4-6-384	4	6	384	~46M
Repro 6-8-512	6	8	512	~70M

How small can we go?

- Smaller LMs trained following the procedures of the Pythia LM

Model	#L	#H	d_{model}	#Parameters
Repro 1-1-64	1	1	64	~6M
Repro 1-2-128	1	2	128	~13M
Repro 2-2-128	2	2	128	~13M
Repro 2-3-192	2	3	192	~20M
Repro 2-4-256	2	4	256	~27M
Repro 3-4-256	3	4	256	~28M
Repro 4-6-384	4	6	384	~46M
Repro 6-8-512	6	8	512	~70M

- LMs evaluated after $\{1, 2, 4, \dots, 512, 1000, 1500, \dots, 10000\}$ training steps

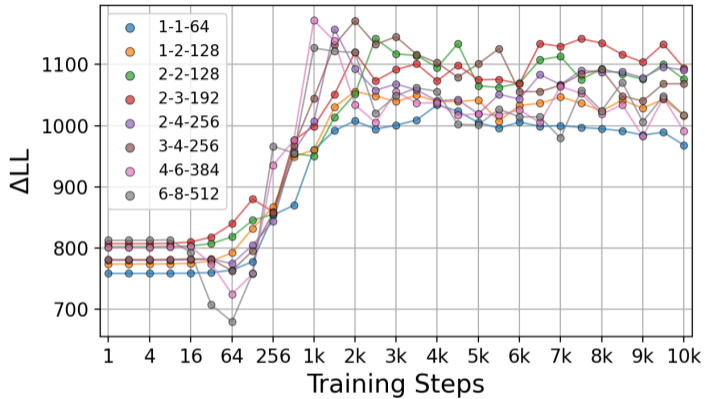
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Fit



Poorer
Fit



Natural Stories SPR



Less
Data

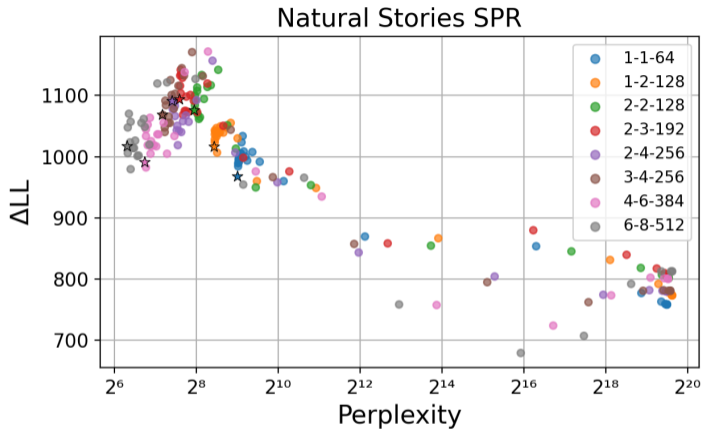


More
Data



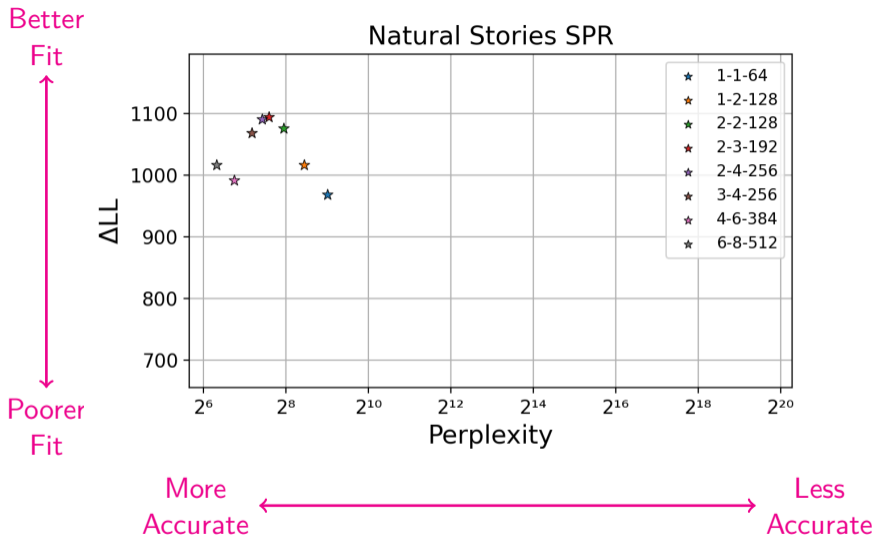
Better
Fit

Poorer
Fit



More
Accurate

Less
Accurate



Summary: Bigger-is-worse effect of training data

- Fit to reading times starts to degrade after about two billion tokens of training data

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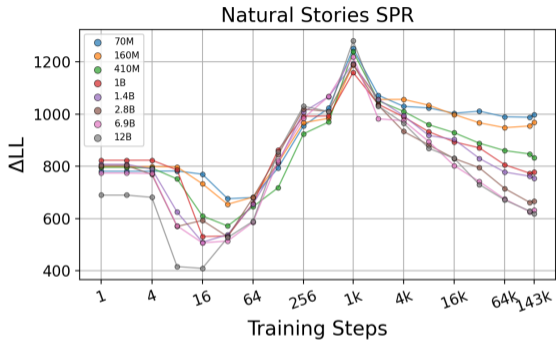
Summary: Bigger-is-worse effect of training data

- Fit to reading times starts to degrade after about two billion tokens of training data
- Strong interaction between model size and training data amount after the peak
- Consolidates conflicting results about LM perplexity and fit to reading times

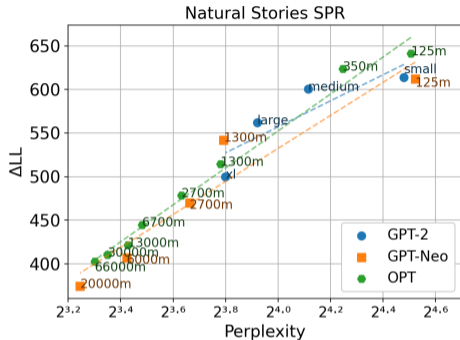
Word frequency as a unified explanation

Oh, Yue, and Schuler (2024). Frequency explains the inverse correlation of large language models' size, training data amount, and surprisal's fit to reading times. *Proceedings of EACL*.

Better
Fit
↑
↓
Poorer
Fit



Less Data ← → More Data



Larger Models ← → Smaller Models

- Larger models 'learn faster' given the same amount of exposure (Tirumala et al., 2022)

Insights from the scaling behavior of LLMs

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Word frequency modulates the difference in surprisal estimates as a function of model size and training data amount, which drives their adverse effects on fit to human reading times.

Revisiting the bigger-is-worse effect of model size

- LME models fit to reading times of Natural Stories, Dundee, Ghent, and Provo corpora (Cop et al., 2017; Futrell et al., 2021; Kennedy et al., 2003; Luke & Christianson, 2018)

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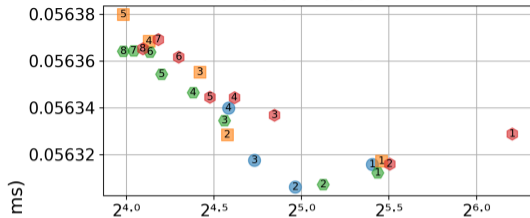
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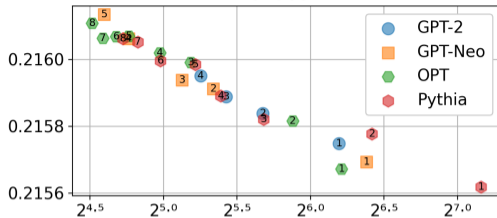
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- Mean squared errors calculated on each quintile defined by unigram log-probability

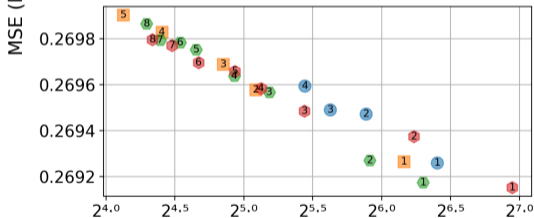
Natural Stories SPR



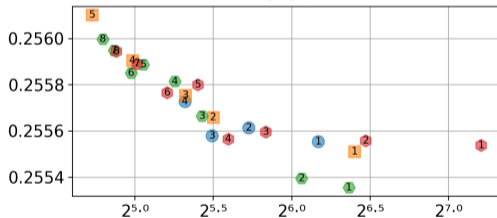
Dundee ET



GECO ET



Provo ET



Poorer Fit

↑

Better Fit

↓

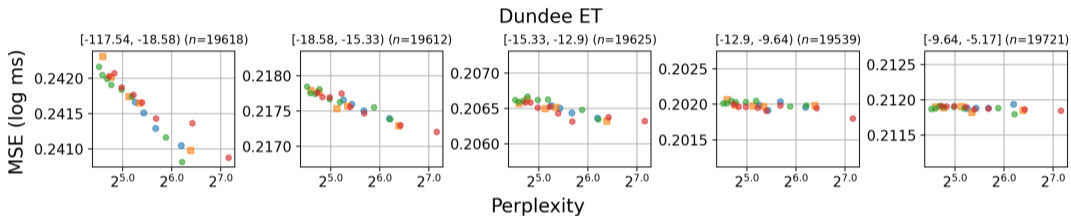
Larger Models



Perplexity

Smaller Models

Poorer
Fit
↑
Better
Fit



Rare
Words

Frequent
Words

Revisiting the bigger-is-worse effect of training data amount

- Similar regression modeling procedures as Experiment 1

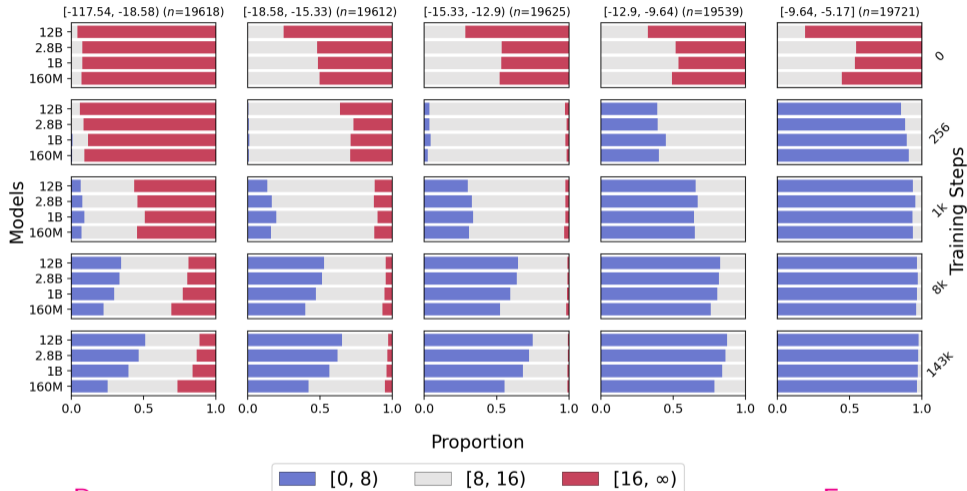
Revisiting the bigger-is-worse effect of training data amount

- Similar regression modeling procedures as Experiment 1
- Pythia surprisal after $\{0, 128, 256, 512, 1k, 2k, 4k, 8k, 143k\}$ training steps

Revisiting the bigger-is-worse effect of training data amount

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Dundee ET



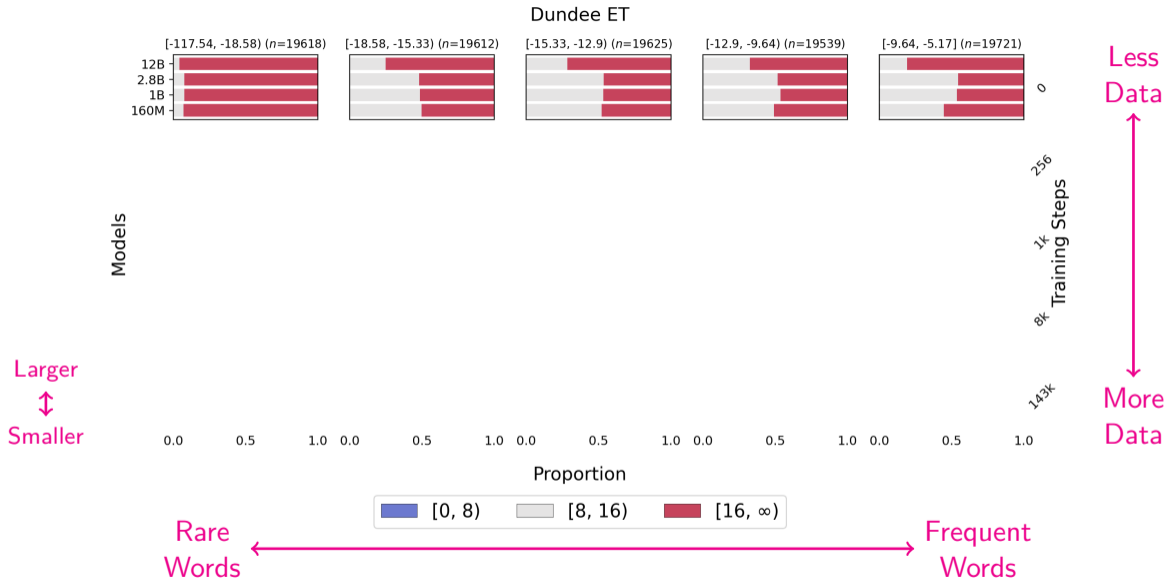
Larger
↕
Smaller

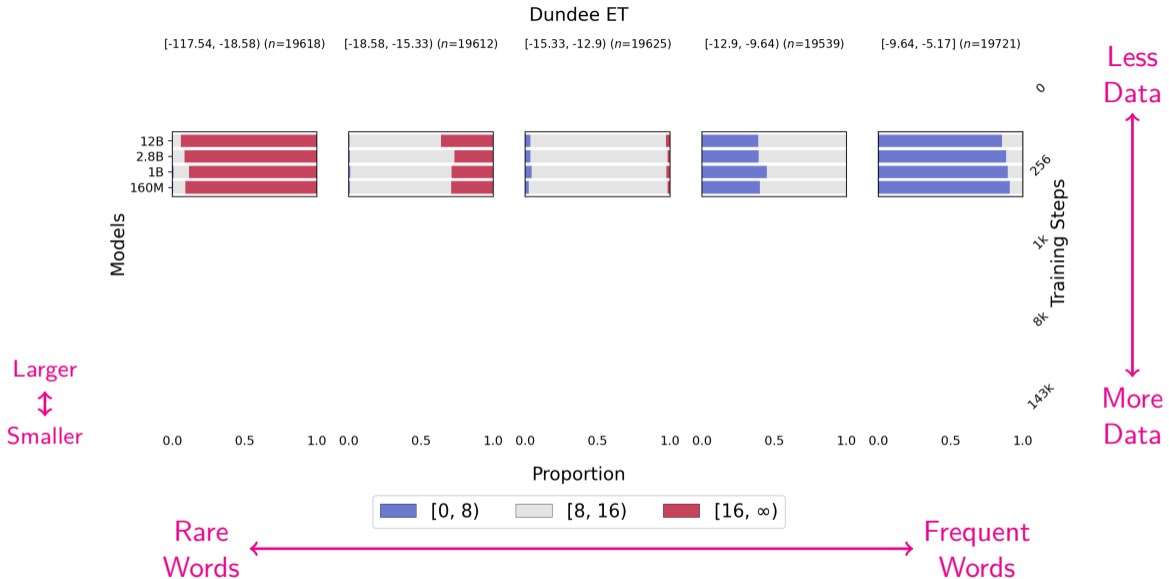
Rare
Words

Frequent
Words

Less
Data

More
Data





Dundee ET

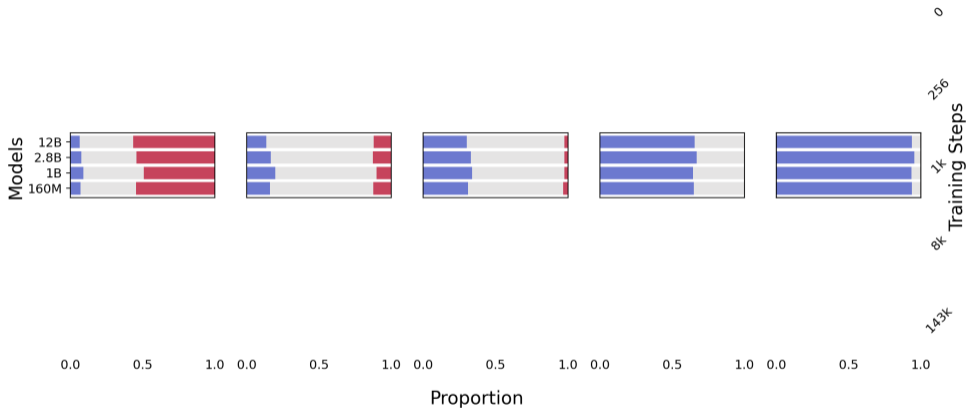
[-117.54, -18.58] (n=19618)

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Larger
↕
Smaller

Rare Words

Frequent Words

Less Data

More Data

Dundee ET

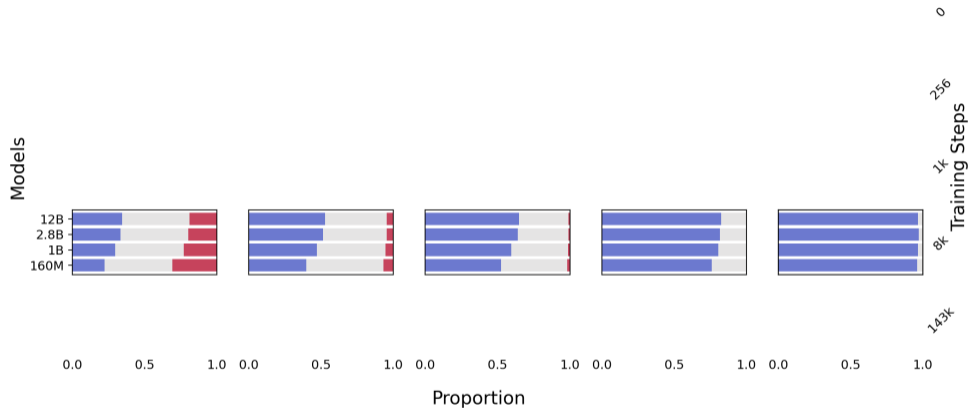
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Larger
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Smaller

Less Data

More Data

Rare Words

Frequent Words

Dundee ET

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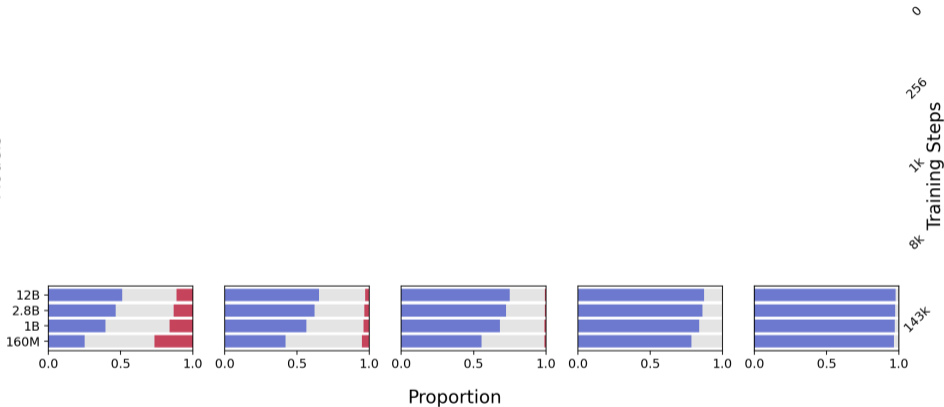
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Models



Larger
↕
Smaller

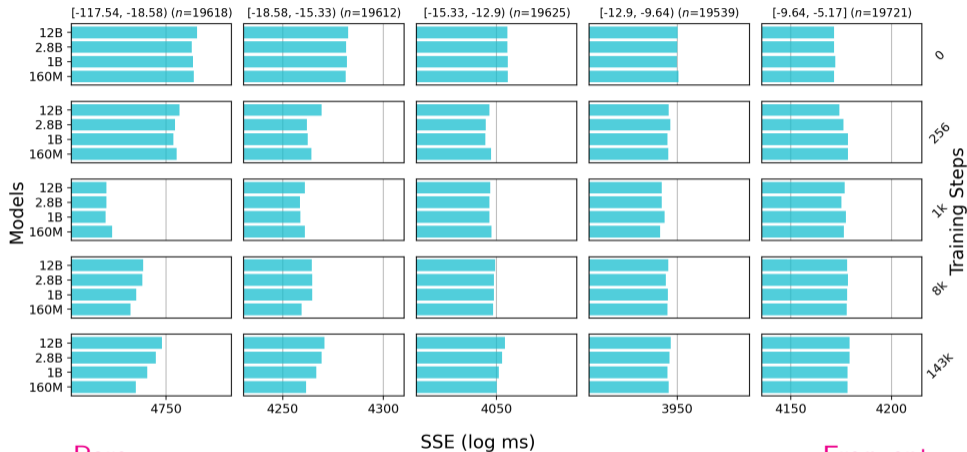
Less Data

More Data

Rare Words

Frequent Words

Dundee ET



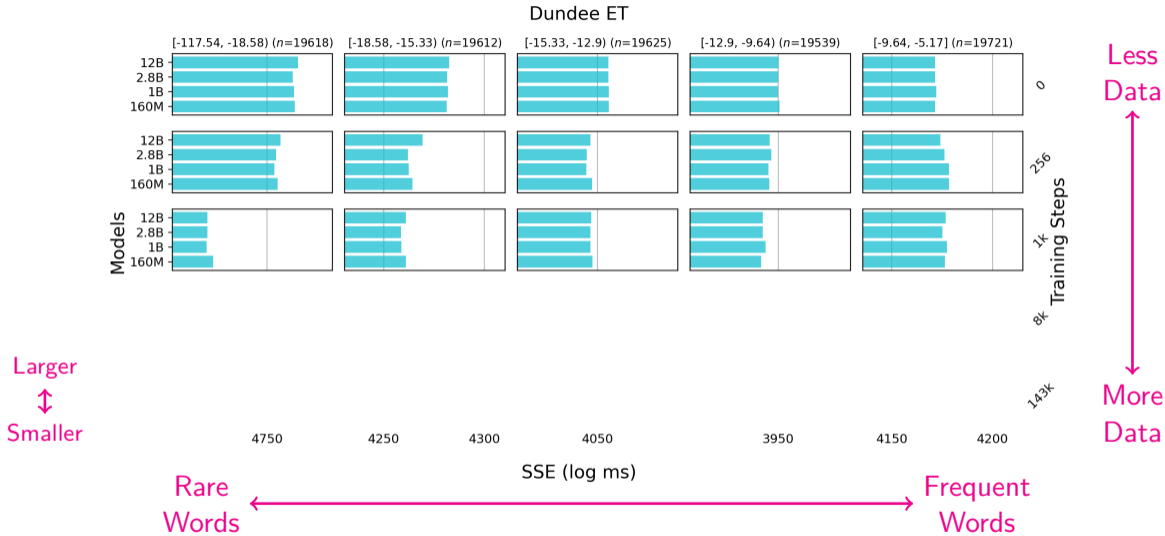
Larger
↕
Smaller

Rare Words

Frequent Words

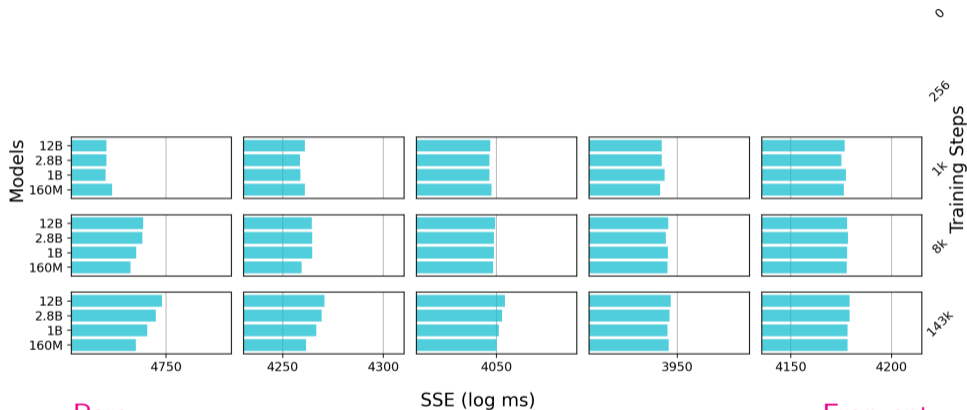
Less Data

More Data



Dundee ET

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Larger
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Less Data

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Rare Words

Frequent Words

What enables larger models to predict rare words?

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I landed in Frankfurt and took a _____

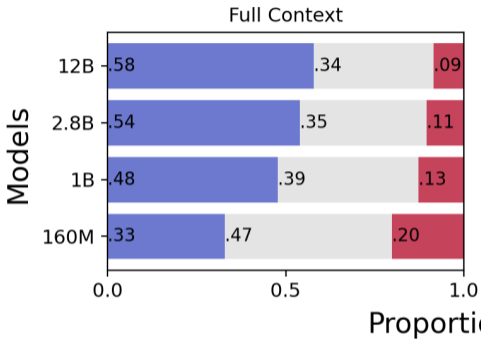
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I landed in Frankfurt and took a _____ → and took a _____

What enables larger models to predict rare words?

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I landed in Frankfurt and took a _____ → *and took a _____*
- Change in Pythia surprisal values analyzed on the quintile of the rarest words

Dundee ET



Larger



Smaller

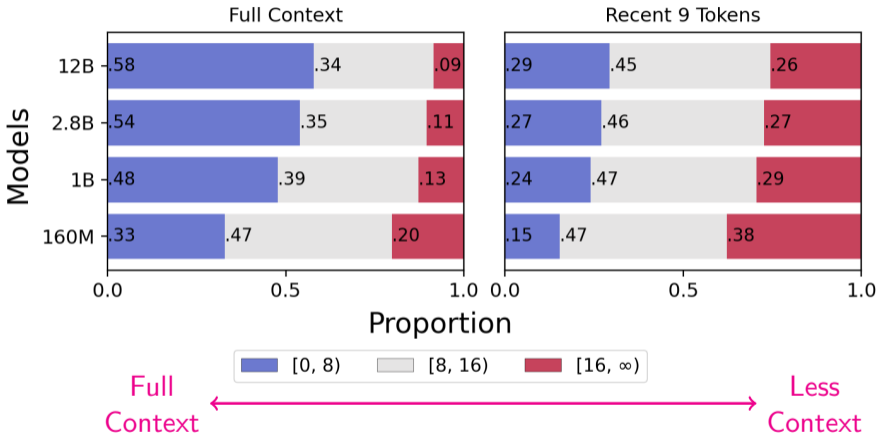
Full
Context



Less
Context

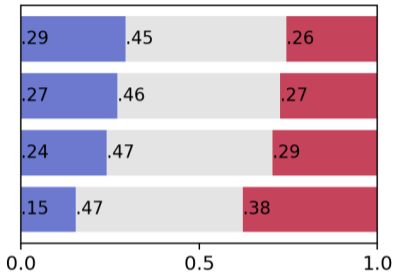
Dundee ET

Larger
↑
↓
Smaller

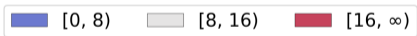


Dundee ET

Recent 9 Tokens



Proportion



Full Context

Less Context

Models

Larger



Smaller

Summary: Word frequency as a unified explanation

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Summary: Word frequency as a unified explanation

- Word frequency explains the adverse effects of model size and training data amount
- Larger model and training data sizes contribute to accurate predictions of rare words
- The associations that give larger models an advantage are widespread

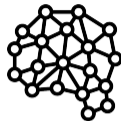
Conclusion

Takeaways

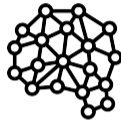


Human
subjects

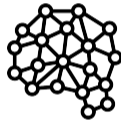
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Model 1



Model 2



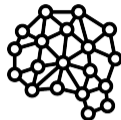
Model 3

Takeaways

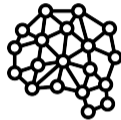


Human
subjects

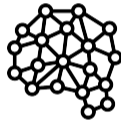
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

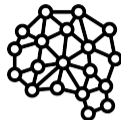
- 1 Which models are closer to human behavior among Models 1.. n ?

Takeaways

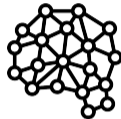


Human
subjects

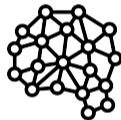
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

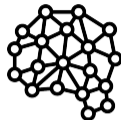
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Smaller LLMs trained on less data

Takeaways

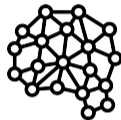


Human
subjects

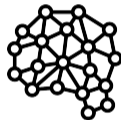
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

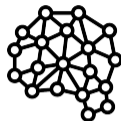
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Takeaways

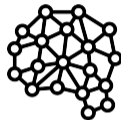


Human
subjects

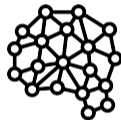
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

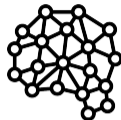
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Accurate predictions of rare words

Implications

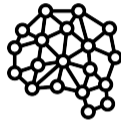


Human
subjects

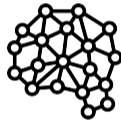
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Model 1



Model 2



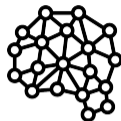
Model 3

Implications

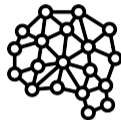


Human
subjects

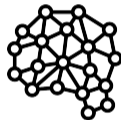
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

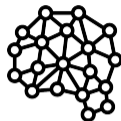
- 1 Surprisal theory could be refined to assume a realistic amount of data

Implications

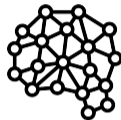


Human
subjects

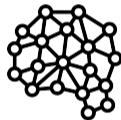
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

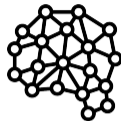
- 1 Surprisal theory could be refined to assume a realistic amount of data
- 2 Caution for using LLM surprisal to study other psycholinguistic questions!
(e.g. Hoover et al., 2023; Shain, 2023)

Future directions

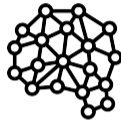


Human
subjects

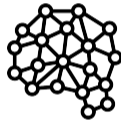
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Model 1



Model 2



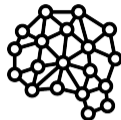
Model 3

Future directions

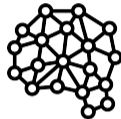


Human
subjects

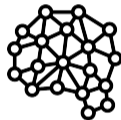
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

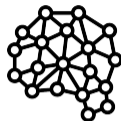
- 1 What drives the predictions of Model k ?

Future directions

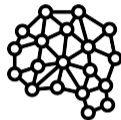


Human
subjects

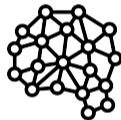
~



Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

- 1 What drives the predictions of Model k ?
- 2 Do these results generalize to other constructions or languages?

Thank you for listening!

✉ oh.531@osu.edu 🌐 byungdoh.github.io

🐙 byungdoh/{llm_surprisa,slm_surprisa}

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