

Modeling Bilingual Sentence Processing: Evaluating RNN and Transformer Architectures for Cross-Language Structural Priming

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Abstract

This study evaluates the performance of Recurrent Neural Network (RNN) and Transformer models in replicating cross-language structural priming, a key indicator of abstract grammatical representations in human language processing. Focusing on Chinese-English priming, which involves two typologically distinct languages, we examine how these models handle the robust phenomenon of structural priming, where exposure to a particular sentence structure increases the likelihood of selecting a similar structure subsequently. Our findings indicate that transformers outperform RNNs in generating primed sentence structures, with accuracy rates that exceed 25.84% to 33. 33%. This challenges the conventional belief that human sentence processing primarily involves recurrent and immediate processing and suggests a role for cue-based retrieval mechanisms. This work contributes to our understanding of how computational models may reflect human cognitive processes across diverse language families.

1 Introduction

Structural priming refers to the phenomenon where encountering a specific syntactic structure boosts the probability of generating or understanding sentences with a comparable structure (Pickering and Ferreira, 2008). It serves as a valuable method for exploring the capabilities of language models and probing their internal states and their potential relation to human sentence processing.

Studies show that Recurrent Neural Networks (RNN), particularly Gated Recurrent Unit models (GRU), have been pivotal in modeling human sentence processing, including structural priming (Frank et al., 2019). Meanwhile, transformers also demonstrate structural priming ability similar to that of humans (Sinclair et al., 2022). This suggests the representations learned by the models may capture not only sequential structure but also some degree of hierarchical syntactic information.

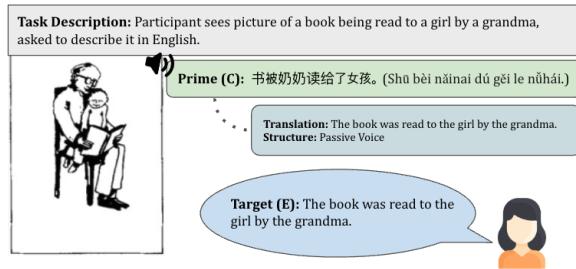


Figure 1: Cross-language structure priming of human participant: *C* denotes Chinese, *E* denotes English.

That said, to our knowledge, no study has compared these models’ ability to syntactically prime across two typologically distant languages. In the current study, we address this gap by comparing the models’ ability to prime syntactically across two languages from vastly different families.

Consider a case where a human participant reads a passive Chinese (*C*) sentence and is then asked to describe a separate picture in English (*E*) (see Figure 1). Here, the passive sentence *C* influences the structure of the target sentence *E*, leading the participant to use passive voice in their description.

Our study explores structural priming in translation models, highlighting their ability to generate syntactically diverse English outputs from Chinese inputs. A key contribution is a set of insights into syntactic representation across typologically distinct languages in computation models. We demonstrate that transformers outperform RNNs in generating primed sentence structures, challenging the belief that human sentence processing relies mainly on recurrent and immediate processing.

The next section reviews work on cross-linguistic priming. Section 3 introduces our study, exploring insights into syntactic representation across typologically distinct languages in computational models. Section 4 introduces a newly designed test set to evaluate our models. Section 5 details the implementation and training of two distinct models. Section 6 discusses the design of our experimental

setup, followed by a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of our results.

2 Related Work

This section focuses on work related to cross-linguistic priming, as exemplified in Figure 1. Prior experiments induce cross-linguistic structural priming by instructing bilingual participants to use two languages: presenting primes in one language and eliciting targets in another. These studies show that specific sentence structures in one language can influence the use of similar structures in the other language (Hartsuiker et al., 2004).

Computational modeling studies have shown that RNNs exhibit structural priming effects akin to those observed in human bilinguals (Frank, 2021). These models process sequential information through recurrence, a feature thought to resemble human cognitive processing. The emergence of such priming effects in language models suggests that they develop implicit syntactic representations that resemble those employed by human language systems (Linzen and Baroni, 2021).

However, the transformer model, which uses self-attention mechanisms instead of recurrence, challenges this notion. The transformer’s ability to directly access past input information, regardless of temporal distance, offers a fundamentally different approach from RNNs. The effectiveness of transformers in various NLP tasks makes us wonder if they can emulate RNNs in modeling cross-language structural priming.

The current study is inspired by two prior studies. Merkx and Frank (2021) compare transformer and RNN models’ ability to account for measures of monolingual (English) human reading effort. They show that transformers outperform RNNs in explaining self-paced reading times and neural activity during English sentence reading, challenging the widely held idea that human sentence processing relies on recurrent and immediate processing. Their study is monolingual and English-centric. Frank (2021) investigates cross-language structural priming, finding that RNNs trained on English-Dutch sentences account for garden-path effects and are sensitive to structural priming, within and between languages.

Recent studies on structural priming in neural language models have shown significant progress, with researchers quantifying this phenomenon using various methods across different languages.

Active	他们种了很多树。 他们 种了 很多 树。 They planted many trees.
Passive	很多树被他们种下了。 很多 树 被 种下了。 他们 Many trees were planted by them.
PO	牛仔送了那本书给水手。 牛仔 送了 那本 书 给 水手。 The cowboy gave the book to the sailor.
DO	牛仔送给了水手那本书。 牛仔 送给了 水手 那本 书。 The cowboy gave the sailor the book.

Figure 2: Example of Active, Passive, Propositional Object (PO), and Double Object (DO). White highlighted sentence is original Chinese sentence, and yellow highlighted Sentence is word-to-word mapping between Chinese and English.

Prasad et al. (2019) demonstrate that LSTM language models can hierarchically organize syntactic representations in a manner that reflects abstract sentence properties. Sinclair et al. (2022) show that Transformer models exhibit structural priming, suggesting these models capture both sequential and hierarchical syntactic information.

Michaelov et al. (2023) provide evidence that large multilingual language models possess abstract grammatical representations that influence text generation similarly across different languages. Together, these findings underscore the capacity of neural models to develop and apply structural abstractions, contributing to a deeper understanding of language processing in AI.

3 The Current Study

Our study examines structural priming in translation models, demonstrating their capability to generate syntactically diverse English outputs from Chinese inputs. This approach offers insights into syntactic representations across typologically distinct languages in computational models.

To compare RNNs and transformers in their ability to model cross-language structural priming, we adopt a new approach. While Frank (2021) trains models on comprehension, where a longer response time indicates greater difficulty in understanding a new sentence and thus a weaker priming effect, the current study focuses on production. Here, the structure of each generated sentence is compared with that of the input sentence to assess the presence of a priming effect.

As shown in Figure 2, Chinese has equivalents for structures that are passive (e.g., *Many trees were planted by them*) and active (e.g., *They planted many*

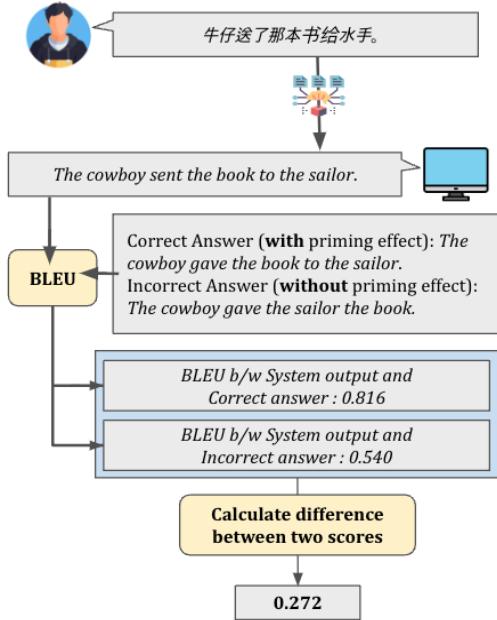


Figure 3: Example of test phase and evaluation process.

trees). It also includes structures for prepositional objects (e.g., *The cowboy gave the book to the sailor*) and double objects (e.g., *The cowboy gave the sailor the book*). In our study, the input sentence is in Chinese and system output is an English version of the sentence. BLEU scores are calculated between the system-generated English sentence and both a “correct” English sentence that shares the structure with the Chinese input and an “incorrect” sentence. We then calculate the difference between the two BLEU scores, as depicted in Figure 3.

Another novel aspect of our study is the selection of two languages from vastly divergent language families, challenging the models to develop abstract representations for distinct structures.

4 Data Preparation

We select and process a Chinese-English corpus which contains 5.2 million Chinese-English parallel sentence pairs (Xu, 2019).¹

We employ a DataLoader ² to facilitate batch processing, transforming text into token IDs suitable for model interpretation. We then use the Helsinki-NLP tokenizer (Tiedemann and Thottingal, 2020)³ to map Chinese to English, accommodating over a

¹The source can be found at <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1EX8eE5YWBxCaohB08Fh4e2j3b9C2bTVQ/view?pli=1>

²Our Dataloader is supported by PyTorch, referencing its license located at <https://github.com/pytorch/pytorch/blob/main/LICENSE>

³Helsinki-NLP is licensed under the MIT license. For more details, see here: <https://github.com/Helsinki-NLP/Opus-MT/blob/master/LICENSE>

thousand models for diverse language pairs.

The tokenizer, by default, processes text based on source language settings. To correctly encode target language text, the context manager must be set to use the target tokenizer. Without this, the source language tokenizer would be incorrectly applied to the target text, leading to poor tokenization results, such as improper word splitting for words not recognized in the source language.

In sequence-to-sequence models, assigning a value of -100 to padding tokens ensures they are excluded from loss calculations. This setup is crucial for effective model training, enabling precise adjustment of model parameters based on the tokenized input and target sequences. Proper data formatting through this preprocessing step facilitates optimal training outcomes.

We also design a test dataset, initially sampling five sentences for each of the four sentence structures (Active Voice, Passive Voice, Prepositional Object, and Double Object) from the Cross-language Structural Priming Corpus (Michaelov et al., 2023). To augment the data, we employ a LLM, ChatGPT 3.5 (OpenAI, 2024). By providing a one-shot learning prompt, we expand each set to 30 sentences, resulting in a total of 120 sentences for our test dataset:

Generate 30 sentences with the following structure:
The cowboy gave the book to the sailor. Replace all the words while keeping the sentence structure the same.

In our test set, each Chinese sentence is paired with a correct and an incorrect English sentence.

Subsequently, a bilingual annotator proficient in both Mandarin and English carefully reviews the sentence outputs generated by the LLM, ensuring that each triplet comprises translation equivalents. The review also confirms that only the ‘correct’ answer maintains syntactic alignment with the original Chinese sentence.

5 Language Models

We implement both a transformer model and an RNN model to handle sequence-to-sequence tasks using the encoder-decoder architecture. (See Experiment of Figure 4.) This architecture supports the processing of both input sequences and output sequences of varying lengths, which is crucial for accommodating sentences with different structures yet similar meanings. This section explores why these language models can assist us identify struc-

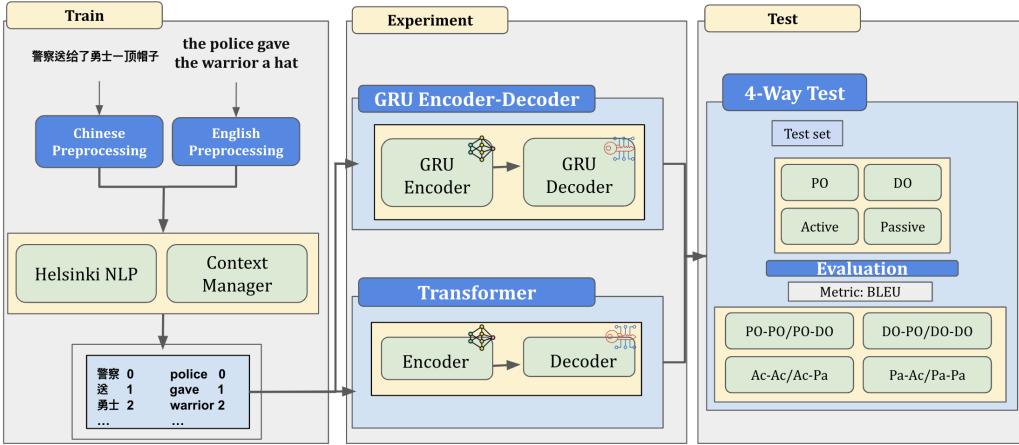


Figure 4: The workflow of the study includes PO (Propositional Object), DO (Double Object), Ac (Active), and Pa (Passive). In the training phase, raw bilingual data are preprocessed to generate token pairs. In the experiment phase, we employ transformer and RNN-based encoder-decoder architectures. In the testing phase, we evaluate the model’s performance across four sentence structures using the BLEU metric.

tural priming. We train and test our RNN model and transformer using AMD EPYC 75F3 8-Core Processor and 1 NVIDIA A100 GPU.

5.1 Multi-head Attention in Transformer

In the transformer model, we use the self-attention mechanism (AttModel) to capture sentence structure. This mechanism identifies dependencies between different positions and adjusts the representation of each word based on its relationship with others, thus facilitating the learning of sentence structure. Following Vaswani et al. (2017),

$$\text{Attention}(Q, K, V) = \text{softmax}\left(\frac{QK^T}{\sqrt{d_k}}\right)V \quad (1)$$

where Q, K, V are obtained through linear transformations of an input sequence of text, each with its own learnable weight matrix. In the encoder part of model, Q, K, V comes from the same source sequence, while in the decoder, Q comes from the target sequence, and K and V come from the encoder’s output. Since the computation of Q, K , and V requires processing the entire input sentence, the model can simultaneously focus on all positions and capture the sentence’s structure.

In the decoder part of the transformer model, multiple attention heads capture different levels of sentence features, leading to a more comprehensive representation of sentence structure. Each attention head specializes in capturing specific semantic relationships, such as word dependencies and distance relationships.

This approach enhances the model’s ability to comprehend the intricacies of sentence structure.

The equation is as follows:

$$\text{MH}(Q, K, V) = \text{Concat}(\text{head}_1, \dots, \text{head}_h) \cdot W^O \quad (2)$$

where W^O is the weight matrix to be trained, and $\text{head}_1, \dots, \text{head}_h$, computed through equation 1, represent the attention weights of each head (we use 8 heads). Concat is the operation of joining tensors along their last dimension.

We also prioritize the choice of positional encoding method. While the common method involves using sine and cosine functions, we opt for learnable positional embeddings. We believe this approach offers more advantages for learning structural priming, as it helps our model better understand and encode the relative positions of words within a sentence.

In contrast to the fixed positional encoding, learnable positional embeddings assign different weights to different positions, emphasizing the relevant positional information that contributes to the priming effect. This enables the model to capture more intricate positional relationships and dependencies specific to the task of structural priming.

5.2 GRU Encoder and GRU Decoder

Some studies (Zhou et al., 2018) show that RNNs can preserve sentence structure and facilitate identification of structural priming environments. Their sequential nature allows them to process input tokens based on the context of the entire sentence. As each token is processed, the RNN’s hidden state is updated, retaining information about preceding tokens and their contextual relevance. This sequential processing enables the model to capture word

dependency relationships, thereby preserving the structural integrity of the sentence. Summarizing:

$$\text{State}(dh_i, c_i), p = f(\text{State}(dh_{i-1}, c_{i-1}), m) \quad (3)$$

The function f refers to the hidden layer of the RNN model, which is a neural network. It takes the previous layer's State $i-1$ and the output vector from the previous time step m as input, and outputs the next layer's State i and prediction value p until it encounters the termination symbol. Here, dh signifies the hidden state of the RNN unit in decoder, tasked with capturing pertinent information from the input sequence. In the initial decoder step, dh embodies the final output state of the encoder. In subsequent decoder steps, dh denotes the preceding RNN unit's output.

To address the challenge of not being able to retain the entire sentence structure, we introduce the attention mechanism. This feature of the RNN model enables it to focus more on the parts of the input sequence that are most relevant to the current output, thereby enhancing prediction accuracy. Its potential for predicting structural patterns stems from the attention mechanism's ability to capture dependencies within sequential data and to leverage these for better predictions. As shown in equation 3, c denotes the attention, and its calculation is as follows:

$$\alpha_i = g(eh_i, dh_0) \quad (4)$$

As before, dh_0 denotes the final state of the encoder and eh signifies the hidden state of the each RNN unit in the encoder. Function g is used to calculate the weight α_i of eh_i in the final state dh_0 . As a result, the attention c is obtained by combining all previous states:

$$c_i = \sum (\alpha_i * dh_i) \quad (5)$$

calculated by summing the products of the weight α and the decoder state dh .

Our study utilizes a variant of RNNs known as the Gated Recurrent Unit (GRU). The GRU encoder and decoder are gating mechanisms that effectively manage long-distance dependencies and mitigate the vanishing gradient problem. Additionally, GRUs possess fewer parameters and demonstrate higher computational efficiency.

Following Dey and Salem (2017), we define the gate mechanism in two parts:

- Update Gate: $z_t = \sigma(W_z x_t + U_z h_{t-1} + b_z)$

The update gate z_t in the encoder controls the blending of the current input x_t and the previous

hidden state h_{t-1} . In the decoder, the update gate regulates the interaction between the current input and the previous decoder state, allowing the model to selectively incorporate relevant information from the input when generating the output.

- Reset Gate: $r_t = \sigma(W_r x_t + U_r h_{t-1} + b_r)$

The reset gate r_t in the encoder regulates the interaction between the current input x_t and the previous hidden state h_{t-1} . In the decoder, the reset gate governs how the current input interacts with the previous decoder state. This allows the model to selectively forget certain parts of the input information captured by the encoder. This helps the decoder to generate outputs that are less influenced by outdated information from the input sequence.

6 Experimental Setup

Since structural priming effects are sometimes not symmetrical, our study only includes a structural priming experiment with Mandarin to English bilinguals, while existing literature strongly supports the presence of structural priming effects in both language directions.

To assess the effectiveness of our model in Chinese-English, we adopt the standard bilingual evaluation understudy (BLEU) metric (Papineni et al., 2002), which ranges from 0 to 1, indicating the similarity of predicted text against target text:

$$\text{BLEU} = \text{BP} \cdot \exp \left(\sum_{n=1}^N w_n \log p_n \right)$$

Here, N is the maximum n-gram order (typically 4), w_n is the weight assigned to each n-gram precision score (with $\sum_{n=1}^N w_n = 1$), p_n is the precision score for n-grams of order n , and BP is the brevity penalty which penalizes shorter results.

After generating predicted outcomes and assembling a test set, we analyze the relationship between predictions and four types of reference sentences: (1) correct mappings with the same structure; (2) semantically similar but structurally different sentences; (3) semantically different but structurally identical sentences; and (4) sentences that differ both semantically and structurally.

We divide the comparisons into two groups based on semantic similarity. In the first group of sentences with identical meanings, we hypothesize that effective structural priming would result in higher BLEU scores between the predicted sentences and the reference sentences that share the same structure,

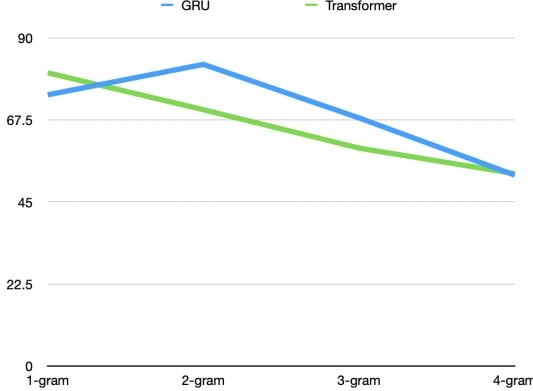


Figure 5: BLEU Score for standard structural priming. Comparison of ground truth datasets for testing and calibration.

compared to those with different structures. This comparison aims to establish whether the model prefers to reproduce structures that are syntactically aligned with the ground truths when the semantic content remains constant.

The second category, with sentences differing in meaning, is crucial for demonstrating structural priming, as it eliminates the influence of semantic similarity. If sentences with identical structures receive higher BLEU scores than those with different structures, it suggests the model’s predictions are driven by structure, regardless of semantic changes.

This methodology rigorously tests for structural priming, offering insights into how models process and replicate language structures.

7 Results and Analyses

We present the performance of the GRU-based RNN and standard transformer model (Vaswani et al., 2017) demonstrating their crosslingual structural priming effect in Chinese-English scenarios.

7.1 Structural Priming Performance

Our analysis reveals that, although both models achieve competitive BLEU scores, the transformer model shows a slight edge in handling complex sentence structures. Figure 5 shows that, when the training dataset is sufficiently large, both models attain high predicted BLEU scores for sentence segments. Figures 5–7 use BLEU scores, common in translation and relevant to structural priming, where identical structures yield higher scores (Lopez, 2008).

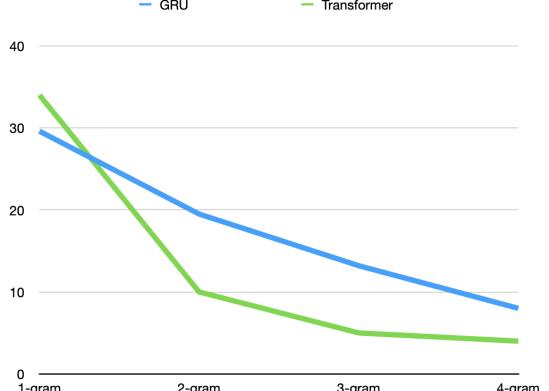


Figure 6: BLEU Score for wrong priming. Comparison between predictions for cross-language priming via average BLEU Score.

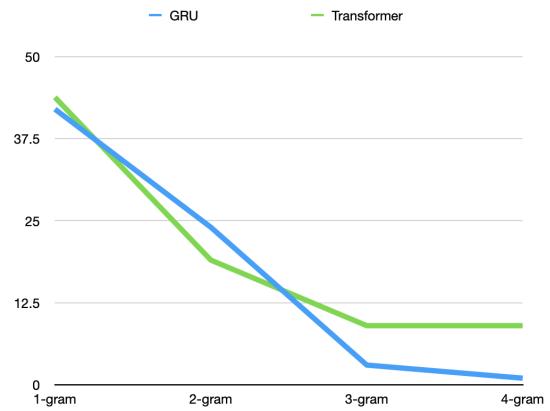


Figure 7: BLEU Score for correct priming. Comparison between predictions for opposite cross-language priming via average BLEU Score.

7.2 Crosslingual Structural Priming Effect

Our crosslingual structural priming exploration reveals a noteworthy pattern: both models facilitate the use of target-language syntactic structures influenced by the source language. However, the transformer model displays a stronger priming effect, suggesting a potential edge in mimicking human-like syntactic adaptation in bilingual contexts.

Figure 6 and Figure 7 show BLEU scores for machine-generated predictions with correct or opposite priming test sets. This representation allows for a more direct comparison with the results from machine translation models, facilitating a broader discussion regarding language structure in neural networks. From these we gain insights into model performance by evaluating how closely predictions align with the correct structures (e.g., Active-Active, DO-DO) versus opposite structures (e.g., Active-Passive, PO-DO). Higher BLEU scores against the correct priming sets indicate better structural

alignment, whereas higher scores against opposite priming sets suggest deviations. For 1-gram and 2-gram comparisons, GRU and transformer models perform similarly. However, as n-grams increase, the transformer shows higher BLEU scores, indicating a closer alignment with incorrect structures. Overall, GRU outperforms the transformer in avoiding opposite priming (see Figure 7).

These results show that, when evaluated against the correct priming test sets, the transformer model performs similarly to GRU (see Figure 6), with slight improvements as the n-gram size increases. However, GRU generally outperforms the transformer compared to opposite priming (see Figure 7). Given that this involves “incorrect” priming, GRU aligns more closely with the opposite priming test set. Since the transformer shows a larger gap between correct and incorrect BLEU scores, we infer that it adheres more closely to the appropriate structural priming.

In a previous study, Michaelov et al. (2023) examine the presence of structural priming by comparing the proportion of target sentences produced after different types of priming statements. Similarly, in our study, we prime the language model with a specific sentence for each experimental item and then calculate the normalized probabilities for the two target sentences. These normalized probabilities are computed as follows:

First, calculate the raw probability of each target sentence given the priming sentence:

$$\begin{aligned} P(\text{DO Target}|\text{DO Prime}) \\ P(\text{PO Target}|\text{PO Prime}) \\ P(\text{DO Target}|\text{PO Prime}) \\ P(\text{PO Target}|\text{DO Prime}) \end{aligned}$$

And the same method for:

$$\begin{aligned} P(\text{Active Target}|\text{Active Prime}) \\ P(\text{Passive Target}|\text{Passive Prime}) \\ P(\text{Active Target}|\text{Passive Prime}) \\ P(\text{Passive Target}|\text{Active Prime}) \end{aligned}$$

These probabilities are then normalized to calculate the conditional probability of the target sentence, assuming the model outputs one of the two target sentences. Taking DO | PO as example:

$$P_N(\text{Target}|\text{Prime}) = \frac{P(\text{Target}|\text{Prime})}{P(\text{DO Target}|\text{Prime}) + P(\text{PO Target}|\text{Prime})}$$

Since the sum of the normalized probabilities for the two target sentences is 1, we only need to consider the probability of one target type and compare

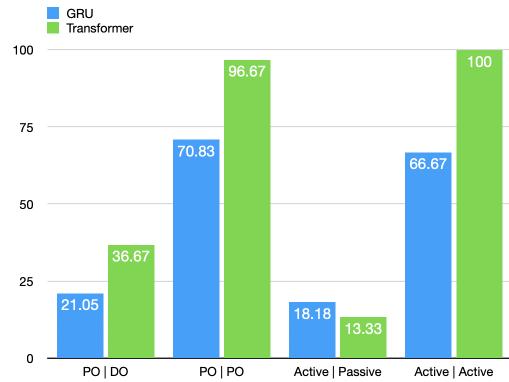


Figure 8: Priming Effect per Chunk: Proportion of correct cross-language priming chunks in the machine prediction results.

it across different priming types. The probability of another target type can be derived from this, i.e. $P_N(\text{Target}|\text{Prime}) = 1 - P_N(\text{Target}|\text{Prime})$. By considering only one target type, we can directly compare the priming effects of the two priming types on the specific target, which is a key aspect of structural priming analysis. The quantitative findings depicted in Figure 8 indicate that the transformer model generally outperforms GRU. Additionally, a horizontal analysis of priming structural types reveals that machine predictions perform better with active/passive structures compared to PO/DO structures.

8 Summary and Conclusions

This study evaluates cross-language structural priming effects in RNN and transformer models in a Chinese-English context. The models are trained on sentence pairs from both languages. Our research aims to compare the structural priming abilities of different models. Even when using the same training set, which contains structurally primed sentences, RNNs and transformers still exhibit differences in their ability to achieve this effect. We find evidence for abstract crosslingual grammatical representations in these models, which operate similarly to those found in prior research.

Our results show that BLEU scores decrease as n-gram length increases, consistent with findings in sentence-similarity evaluation (He et al., 2022). Longer n-grams (e.g., bigrams and trigrams) capture more specific contexts, making exact matches less likely unless the target sentence is very precise. Moreover, minor errors in word choice or sequence can disrupt the alignment of these n-grams.

Importantly, our results indicate that transformer

models outperform RNNs in modeling Chinese-English structural priming, a finding that is intriguing given prior research. Traditionally, RNNs have been effective in modeling human sentence processing, explaining garden-path effects and structural priming through their sequential processing capabilities, which are thought to mirror aspects of human cognitive processing (Frank, 2021).

Our results show that the transformer model is more effective at preserving structural information than the RNN. The standardized accuracy rates for the transformer model exceed those of the RNN by 25.84% for the PO structure and by 33.33% for the active structure. This offers guidance for selecting base models in future computational linguistics research aimed at implementing or enhancing structural priming effects. This superiority of transformers raises questions about the efficacy of RNNs as human sentence processing models, especially if they are surpassed by a model considered less cognitively plausible. However, these results could also be seen as supporting the cognitive plausibility of transformers, particularly due to the attention mechanism.

While the concept of unlimited working memory in transformers seems implausible, some researchers argue that human working memory capacity is much smaller than traditionally estimated, limited to only two or three items. They suggest that language processing involves rapid, direct-access retrieval of items from memory (Lewis et al., 2006), a process compatible with the attention mechanism in transformers. This mechanism assigns weights to past inputs based on their relevance to the current input, consistent with cue-based retrieval theories, where memory retrieval is influenced by the similarity of current cues to stored information (Parker and Shvartsman, 2018).

Our study on translation models extends the traditional RNN and Transformer comparisons in cognitive science, typically applied to language models for predictive coding. Michaelov et al. (2023) have shown Transformers often better capture human language structure. While distinct from pure language modeling, our translation-focused approach offers insights into structural representations in neural networks and lays groundwork for refined language production models.

9 Future Directions

A promising future direction is to develop a model that generates sentences based on new semantic concepts and thematic roles before and after priming. While challenging, this approach could help mitigate the lexical boost effect (see Limitations).

Shifting our focus from production to comprehension could also be fruitful. By measuring surprisal levels in models, we can explore how structural priming influences comprehension, as suggested in recent studies (Merckx and Frank, 2021). Surprisal quantifies the unexpectedness of a word in a given context, with lower values indicating higher probability. Consistently lower surprisal levels at structurally complex points in sentences following priming. This would suggest effective preparation by the priming process, offering a way to explore the impact of structural priming on language processing in model without the confounding effects of repeated vocabulary.

Additionally, evidence suggests an inverse relationship between the frequency of linguistic constructions and the magnitude of priming effects observed with those constructions (Jaeger and Snider, 2013; Kaschak et al., 2011). For example, the double object (DO) construction is more common in American English than the prepositional object (PO) construction (Bock and Griffin, 2000). Studies have shown that the less frequent PO construction exhibits stronger priming effects than the more frequent DO construction (Kaschak et al., 2011). This aligns with theories of implicit learning in structural priming, where more frequently encountered structures are less “surprising” and thus generate weaker priming effects.

To explore this further, training models on corpora of American versus British English, which differ in their construction frequencies, could reveal whether a similar inverse frequency effect is observed in computational models. This approach could shed light on the dependency of structural priming on construction frequency, offering deeper insights into how implicit learning processes are modeled computationally.

Additionally, exploring crowdsourcing as a method to enhance the sensitivity and grammaticality judgments of the test dataset could be valuable. By leveraging a diverse pool of contributors, this approach may provide a wider range of evaluations and insights, potentially refining our assessments and leading to more robust results.

Limitations

A limitation of the current study is that the Chinese-English priming effects observed in the models have not been directly compared with human data. Although existing evidence indicates a strong Chinese-English structural priming effect in both production and comprehension (Hsieh, 2017; Chen et al., 2013), equating the models' ability to replicate cross-language priming with the structural "correctness" of their outputs may be somewhat simplistic. This underscores the need for future research that could involve using the same stimuli with Mandarin-English bilinguals and making direct comparisons to human priming data. Such an approach would provide a more accurate assessment of the models' alignment with human language processing.

Another limitation is that our models cannot generate sentences based on novel word concepts and thematic roles, such as the picture naming task in Figure 1. Consequently, some critics may argue that what our models essentially do is translate from Chinese to English without generating new semantic content, as the semantic information remains consistent from the priming sentence to the output sentence. However, we maintain that the current study design validly assesses the priming effect, as the models must choose which sentence structure to use from among various structures that share the same semantic content—a choice influenced by the priming effect.

Nevertheless, we acknowledge that our design is susceptible to the "lexical boost" effect, where the structural priming effect is intensified when the same lexical head is repeated in both the prime and target sentences (Pickering and Branigan, 1998). For instance, if the target sentence is *Alice gave Bob a book*, the priming effect is more pronounced if the prime sentence is *Carl gave Danis a letter* rather than *Alice showed Bob a book*. Given that the semantic content remains constant across the prime and output sentences in our study, the observed priming effect may be artificially strengthened compared to what might be observed in a pure priming task.

Previous studies suggest that crosslingual structural priming might be affected by the asymmetry of training sources in certain language pairs (Michaelov et al., 2023). By measuring the probability shifts for source and target sentences, we find such multilingual auto-regressive transformer models display evidence of abstract structural priming

effects, although their performance varies across different scenarios.

Ethical Statement

The current study adheres to the ethical standards set forth in the ACL Code of Ethics. The training dataset used in this research is open, publicly available, and does not include demographic or identity characteristics (Xu, 2019).

Potential risks stem from the fact that translations in the training data (a Chinese-English parallel sentence pair dataset) may not always be perfectly equivalent. Some words may carry cultural nuances that differ between Chinese and English. For example, the terms "heshang" and "nígū", translated as "monk" and "nun," have specific cultural connotations in Chinese that differ from the perception of a "monk" in Western contexts, which is typically associated with Christian monasticism. These roles in Chinese Buddhism embody cultural and social aspects not fully captured by the Western terms, potentially leading to a loss of cultural meaning in translation.

Furthermore, while ChatGPT has been used to expand the test dataset, the authors have manually verified the output to ensure it remains unbiased. The potential risk of misuse of the computational model is low, as the encoders and decoders are designed to perform straightforward translation tasks and do not have the capability to self-generate harmful content.

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