

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

Byung-Doh Oh<sup>1</sup>

Department of Linguistics  
The Ohio State University

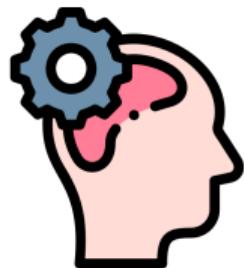
25 April 2024  
Universität des Saarlandes & SFB 1102



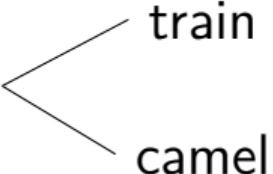
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<sup>1</sup>Sep. 2024–: Center for Data Science, New York University

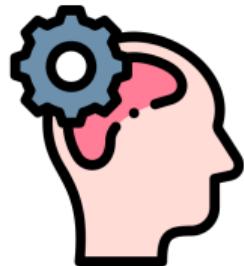
I landed in Frankfurt and took a



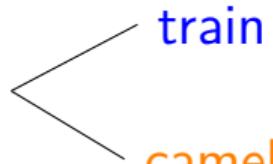
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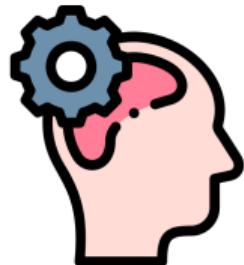
train  
camel



I landed in Frankfurt and took a

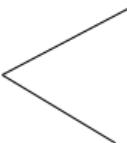


train  
camel



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

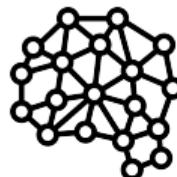


Human  
subjects

~



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 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

## 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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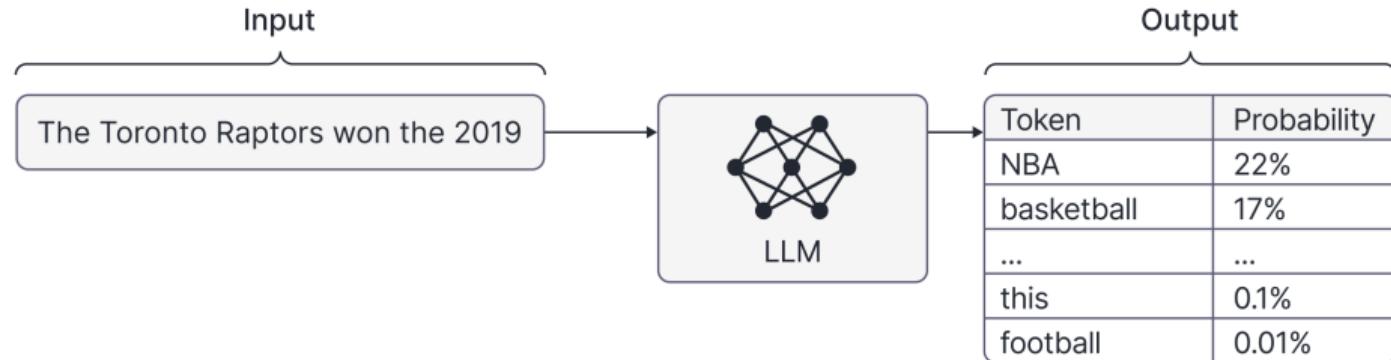


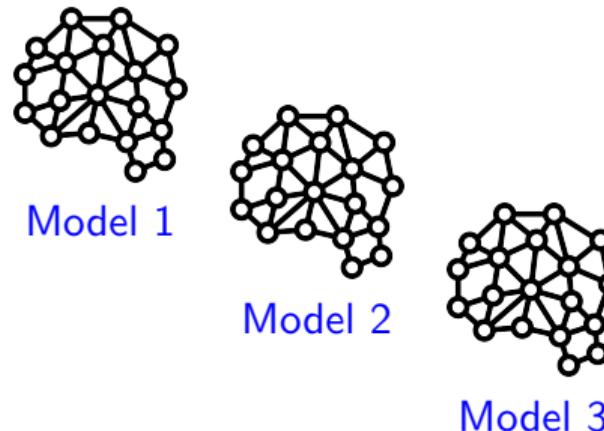
Figure from Borealis AI

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



Human  
subjects

~



Model 1

Model 2

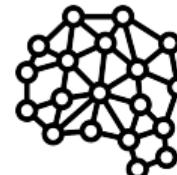
Model 3

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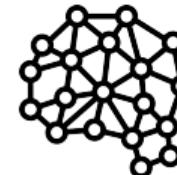


Human  
subjects

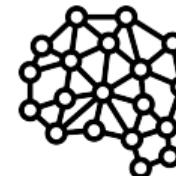
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

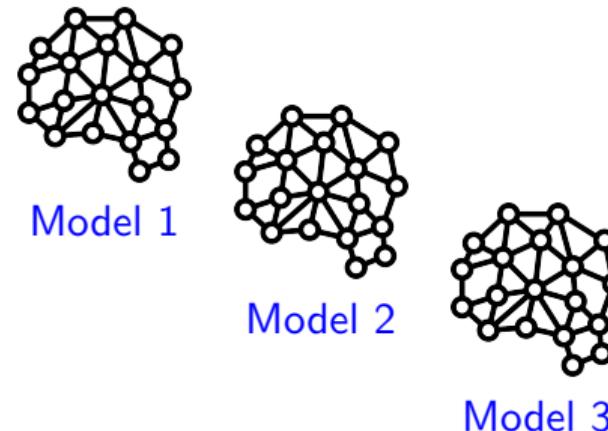
$$RT(w_t) \propto \underbrace{-\log_2 P(w_t | w_{1..t-1})}_{\text{surprisal}}$$

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



Human  
subjects

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

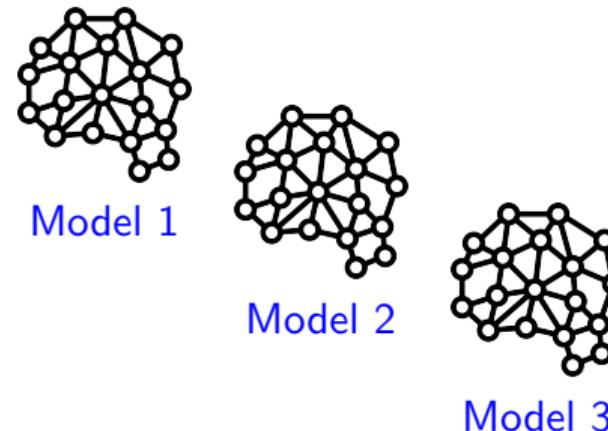
$$RT(\text{camel}) \propto -\log_2 P(\text{camel} \mid \text{I landed in Frankfurt and took a camel})$$

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



Human  
subjects

~



Model 1

Model 2

Model 3

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

# Roadmap

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- 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

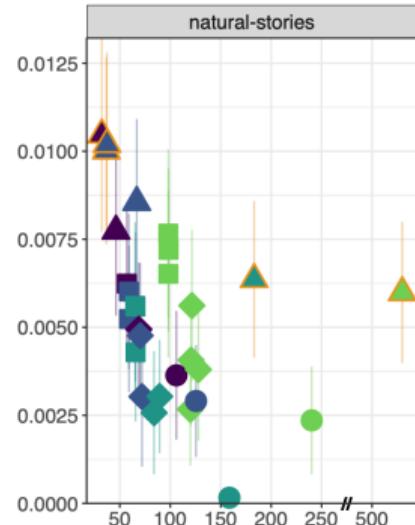
Oh and Schuler (2023a). Why does surprisal from larger Transformer-based language models provide a poorer fit to human reading times? *TACL*.

Better

Fit

Poorer

Fit



Wilcox et al. (2020)

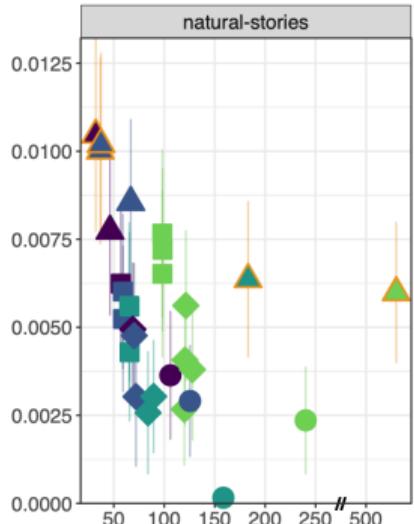
More  
Accurate ← → Less  
Accurate

Better

Fit

Poorer

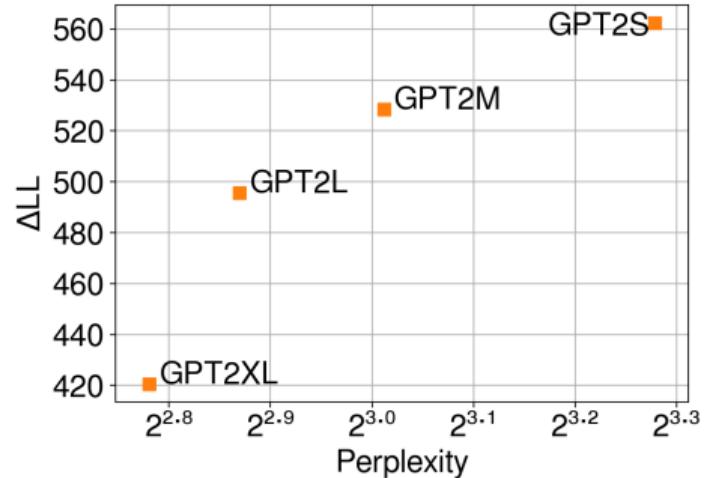
Fit



Wilcox et al. (2020)

More Accurate ← → Less Accurate

Natural Stories SPR



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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- Predictors of interest: LLM surprisal

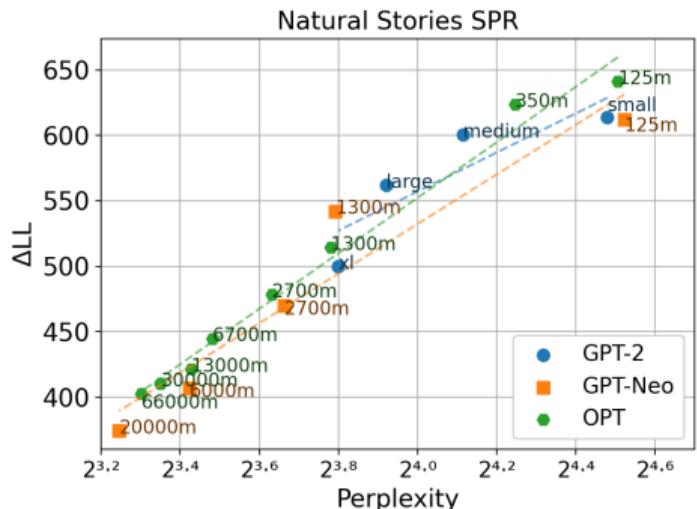
Model	#L	#H	$d_{\text{model}}$
GPT-2 Small	12	12	768
GPT-2 Medium	24	16	1024
GPT-2 Large	36	20	1280
GPT-2 XL	48	25	1600
GPT-Neo 125M	12	12	768
GPT-Neo 1.3B	24	16	2048
GPT-Neo 2.7B	32	20	2560
GPT-J 6B	28	16	4096
GPT-NeoX 20B	44	64	6144
OPT 125M	12	12	768
OPT 350M	24	16	1024
OPT 1.3B	24	32	2048
OPT 2.7B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

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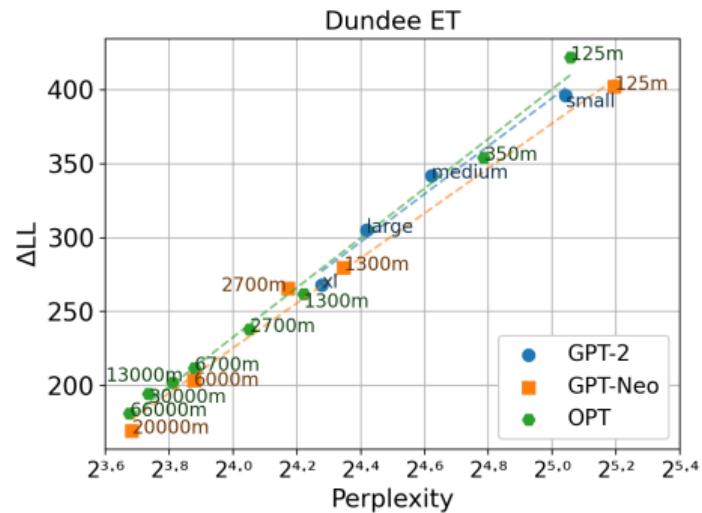
- Regression models fit to reading times of Natural Stories and Dundee corpora (Futrell et al., 2021; Kennedy et al., 2003)
- Baseline predictors: word length/position, saccade length, previous word fixated
- Predictors of interest: LLM surprisal
- Evaluation metric:  $\Delta\text{log-likelihood}$  ( $\Delta\text{LL}$ ): how well does surprisal fit to RT?

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Better Fit ↑  
↓ Poorer Fit



More Accurate, ← → Less Accurate,  
Larger Smaller



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Larger Smaller

## What linguistic factors drive this trend?

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

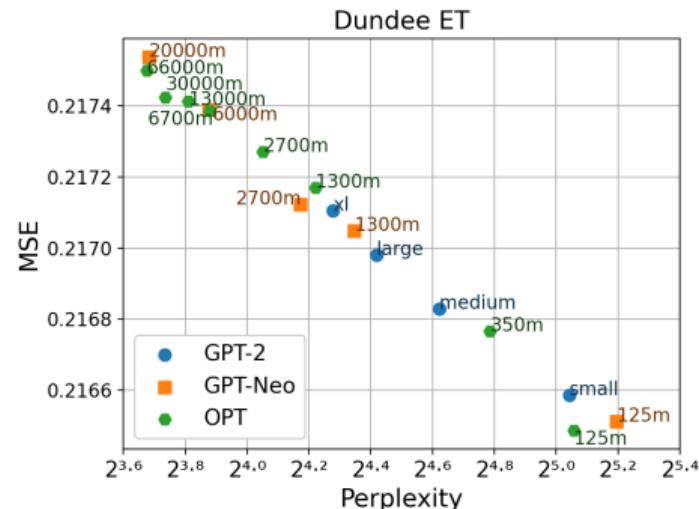
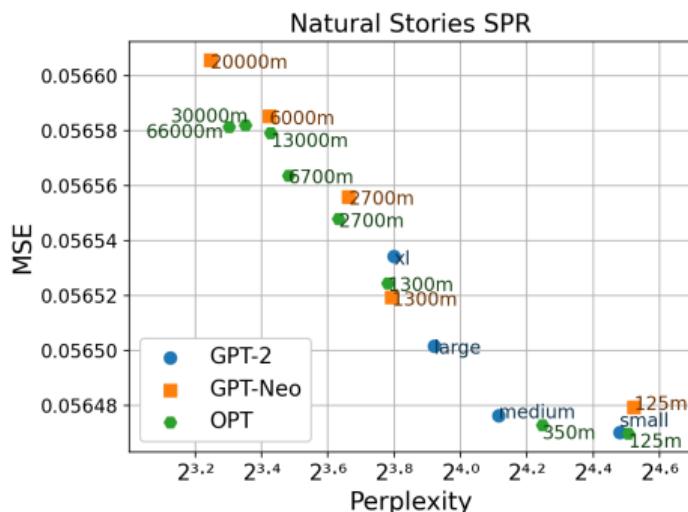
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- Subsets defined by word-level and syntactic properties (Shain et al., 2018)
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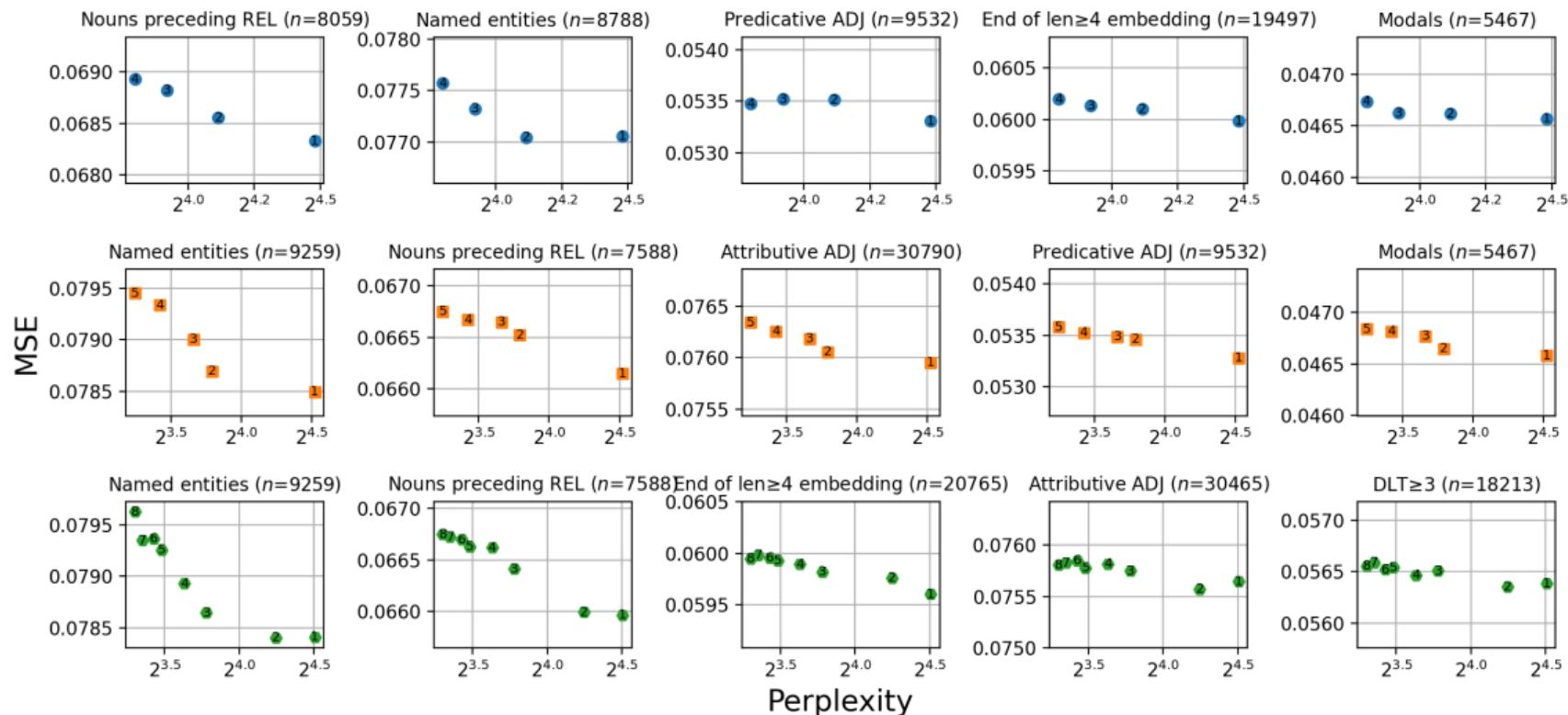
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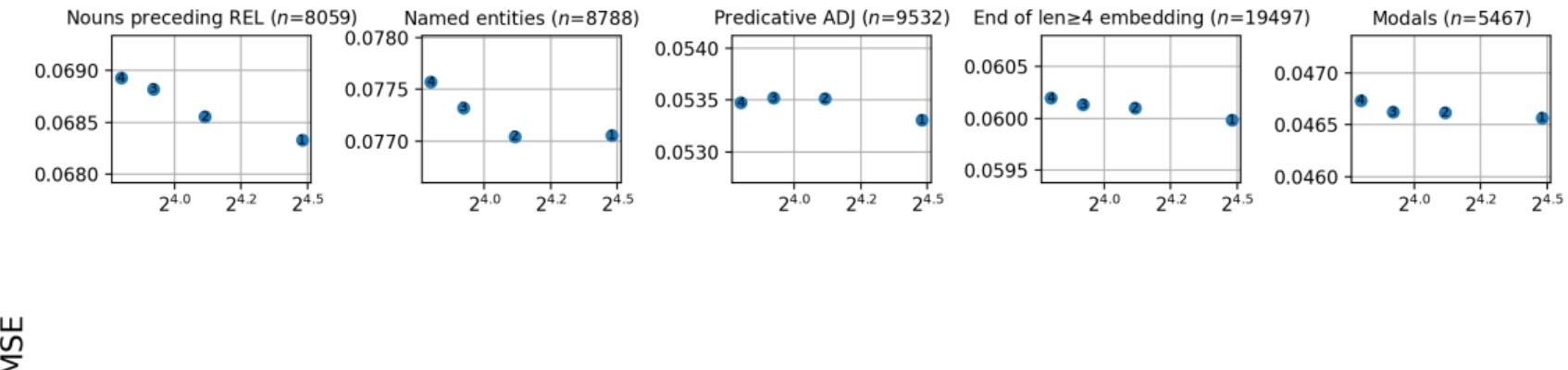
Poorer Fit ↑  
↓ Better Fit



## Natural Stories SPR



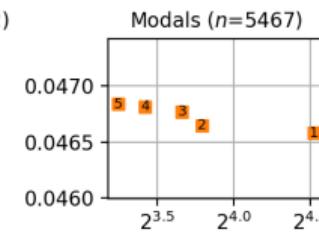
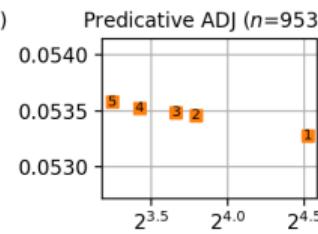
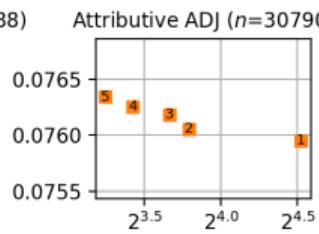
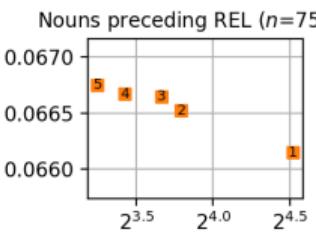
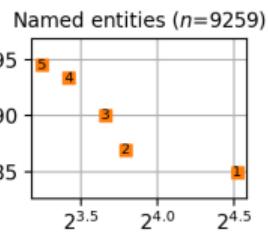
## Natural Stories SPR



Perplexity

# Natural Stories SPR

MSE

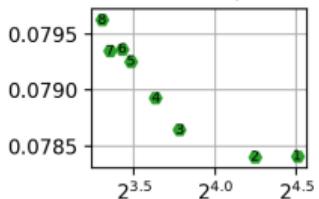


Perplexity

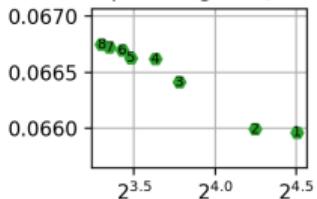
## Natural Stories SPR

MSE

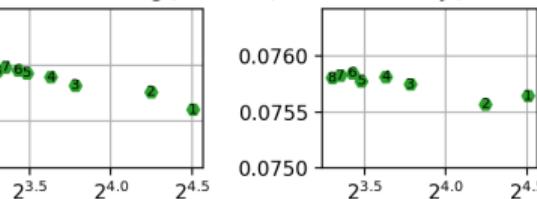
Named entities ( $n=9259$ )



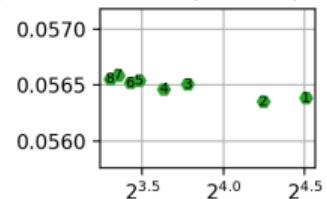
Nouns preceding REL ( $n=7588$ ) End of len $\geq 4$  embedding ( $n=20765$ )



Attributive ADJ ( $n=30465$ )

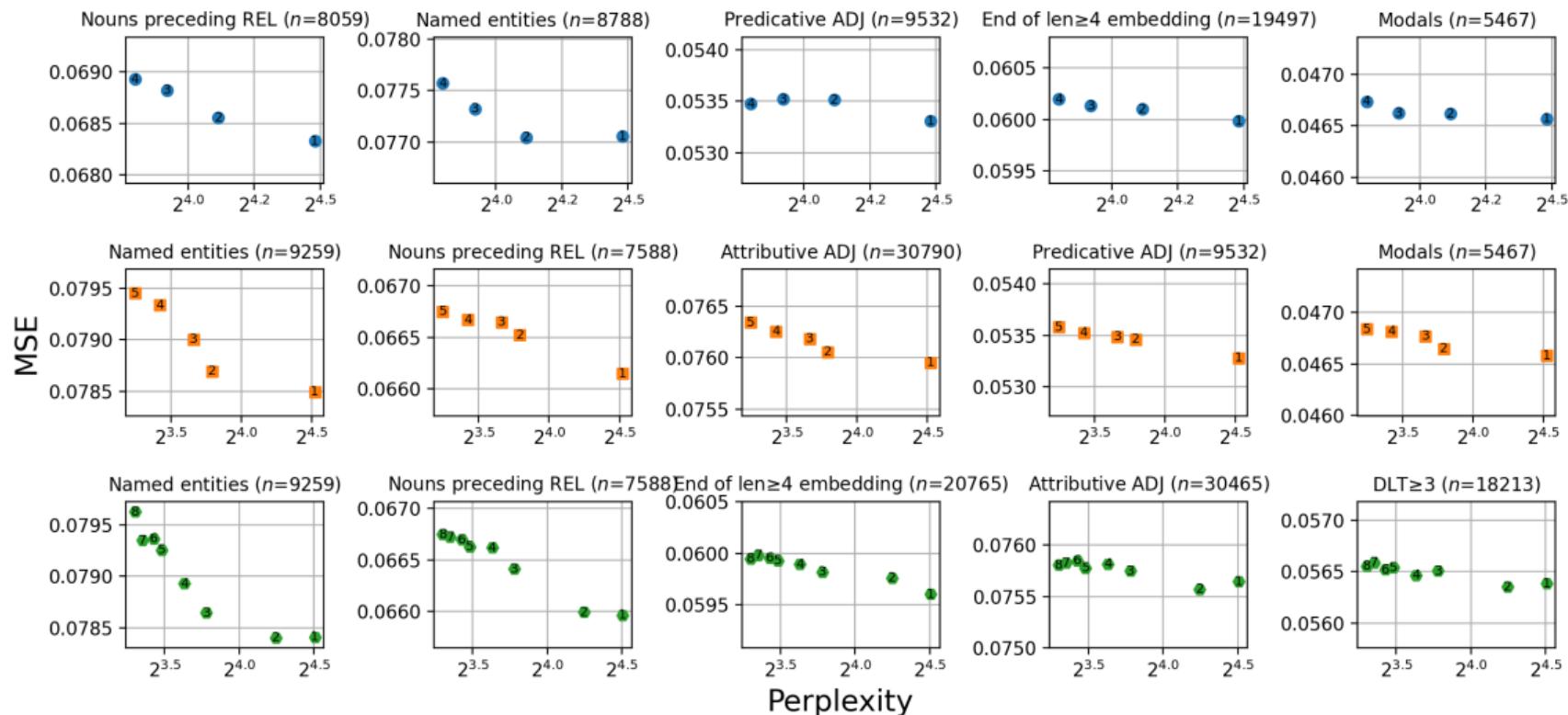


DLT $\geq 3$  ( $n=18213$ )

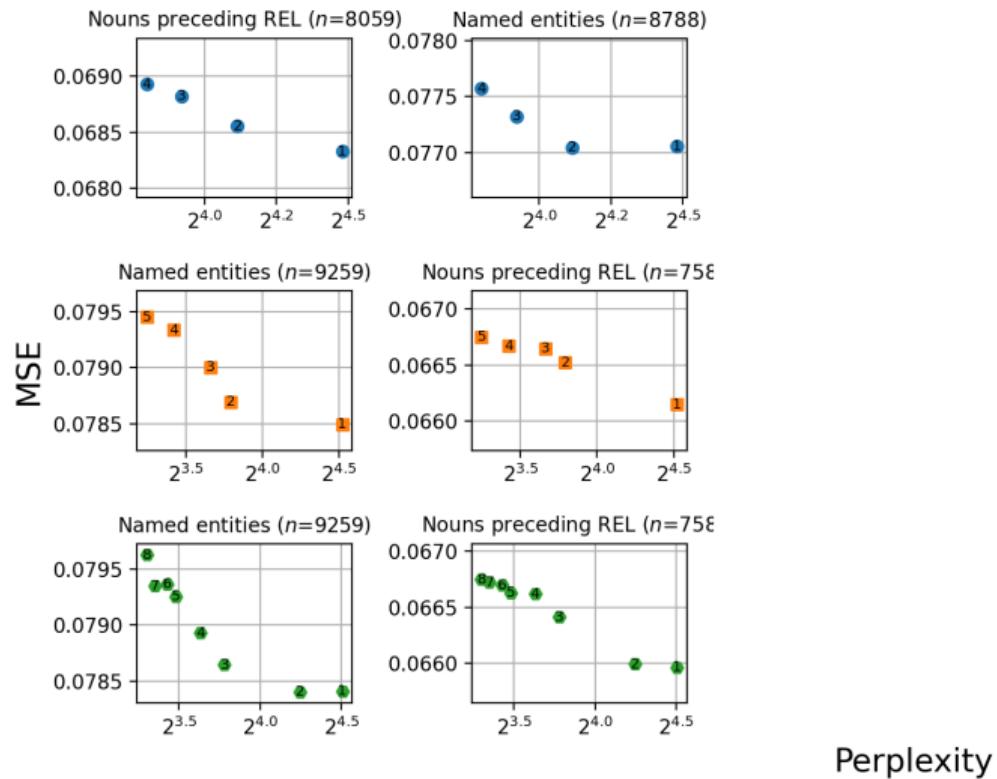


Perplexity

## Natural Stories SPR

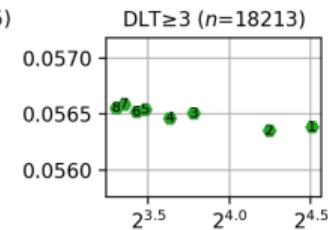
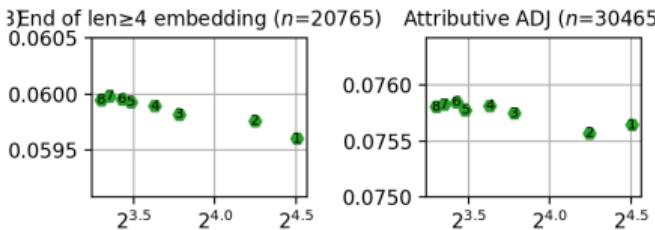
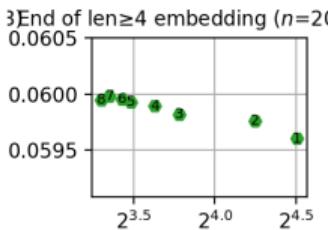
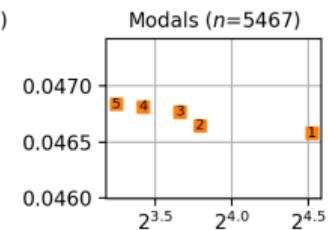
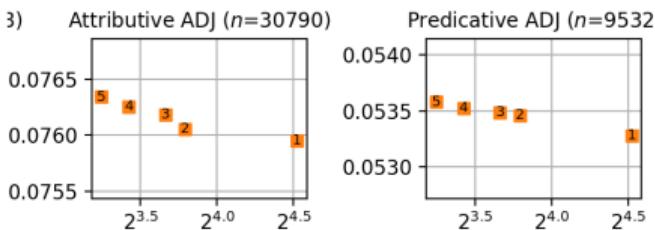
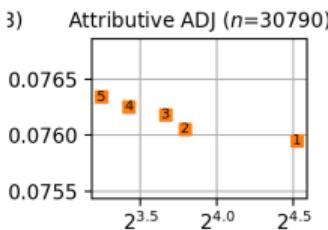
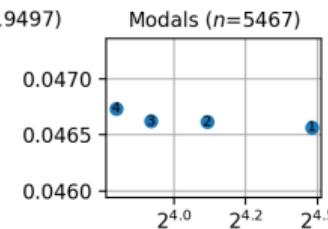
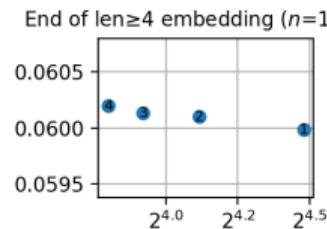
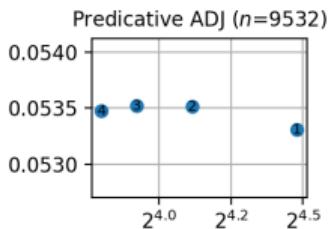


## Natural Stories SPR



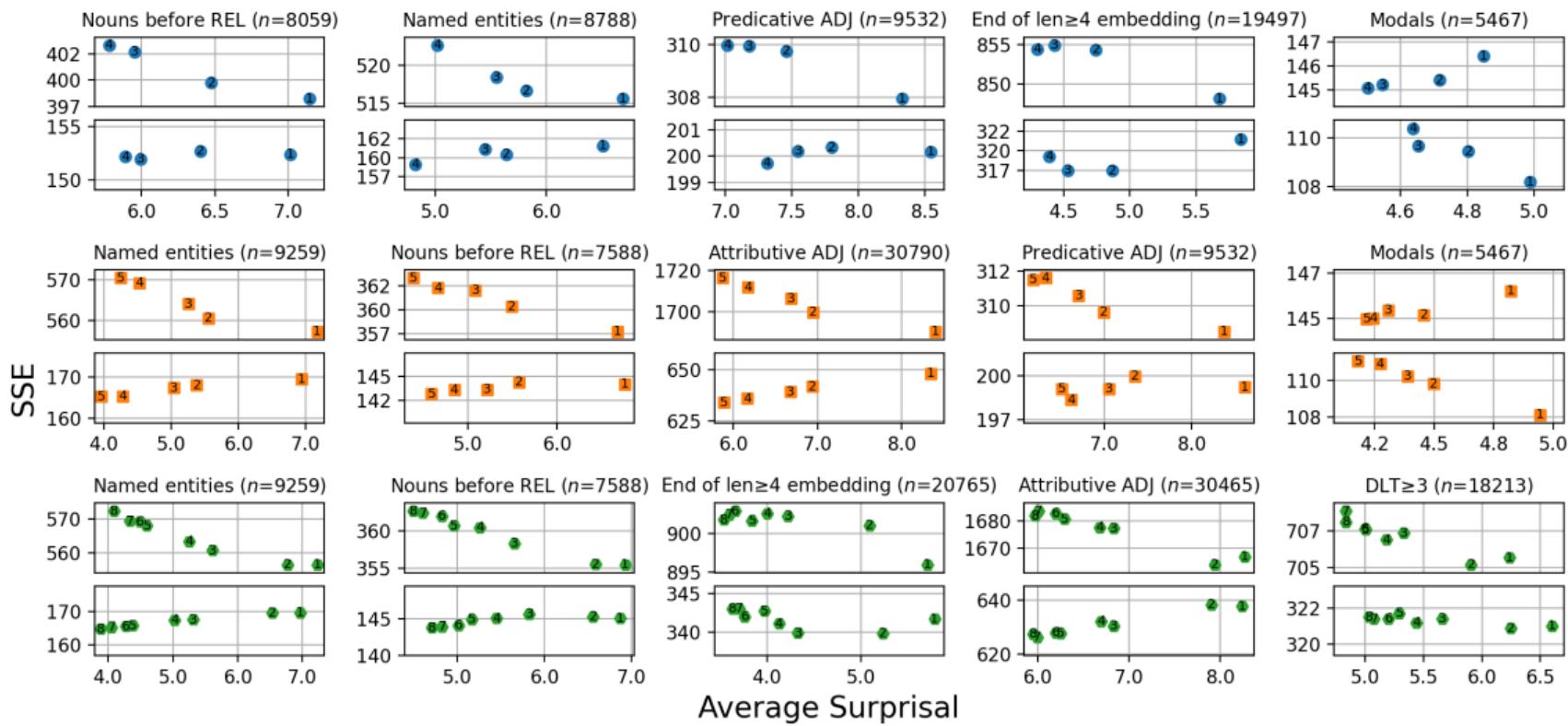
## Natural Stories SPR

MSE

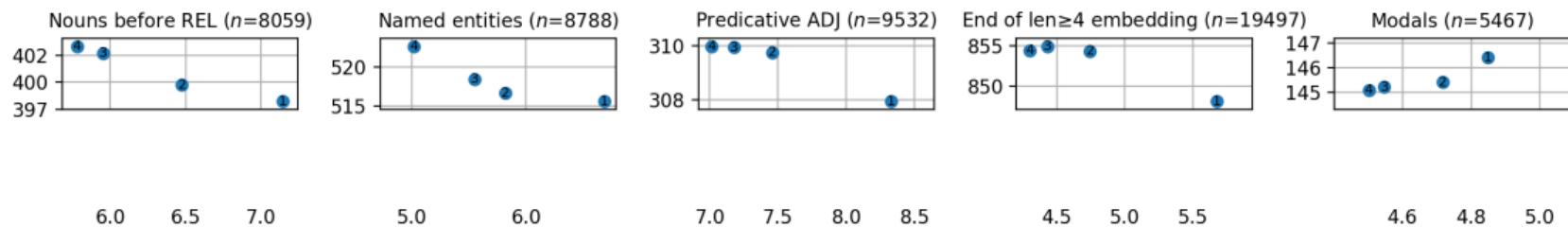


Perplexity

## Natural Stories SPR



## Natural Stories SPR



SSE

Average Surprisal

## Natural Stories SPR

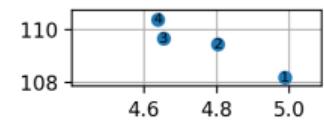
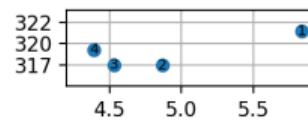
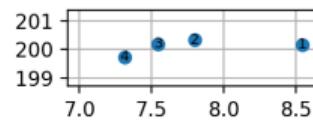
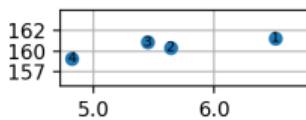
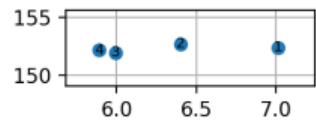
Nouns before REL ( $n=8059$ )

Named entities ( $n=8788$ )

Predicative ADJ ( $n=9532$ )

End of len $\geq 4$  embedding ( $n=19497$ )

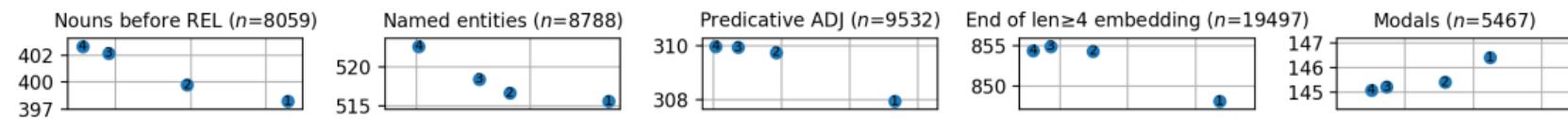
Modals ( $n=5467$ )



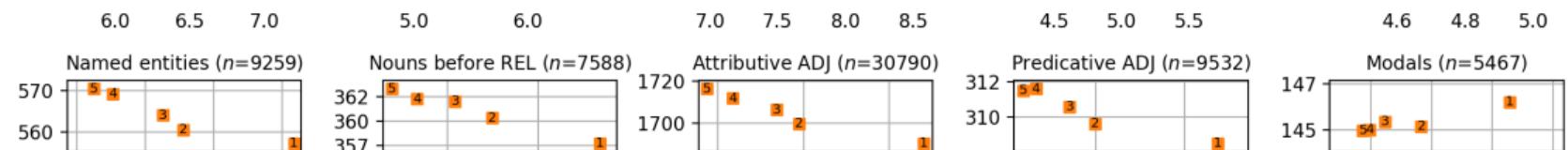
SSE

Average Surprisal

## Natural Stories SPR



SSE



Average Surprisal



# Natural Stories SPR

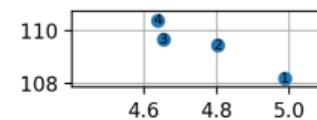
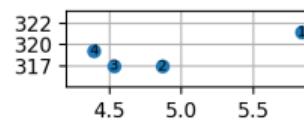
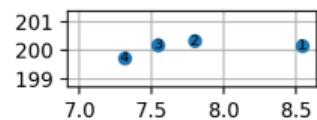
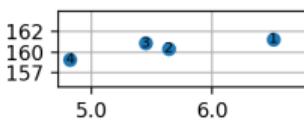
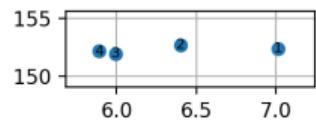
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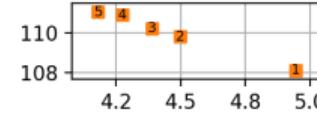
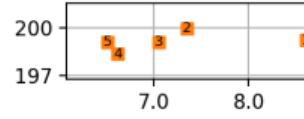
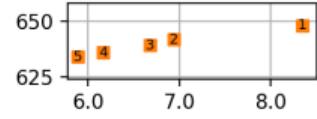
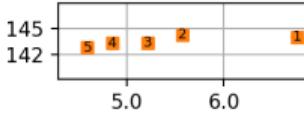
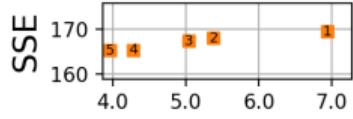
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Attributive ADJ ( $n=30790$ )

Predicative ADJ ( $n=9532$ )

Modals ( $n=5467$ )



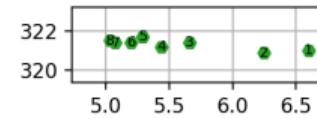
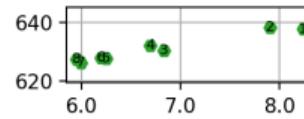
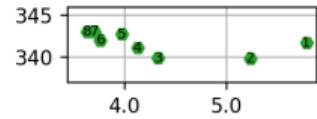
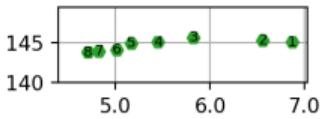
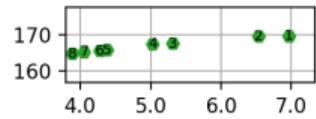
Named entities ( $n=9259$ )

Nouns before REL ( $n=7588$ )

End of len $\geq 4$  embedding ( $n=20765$ )

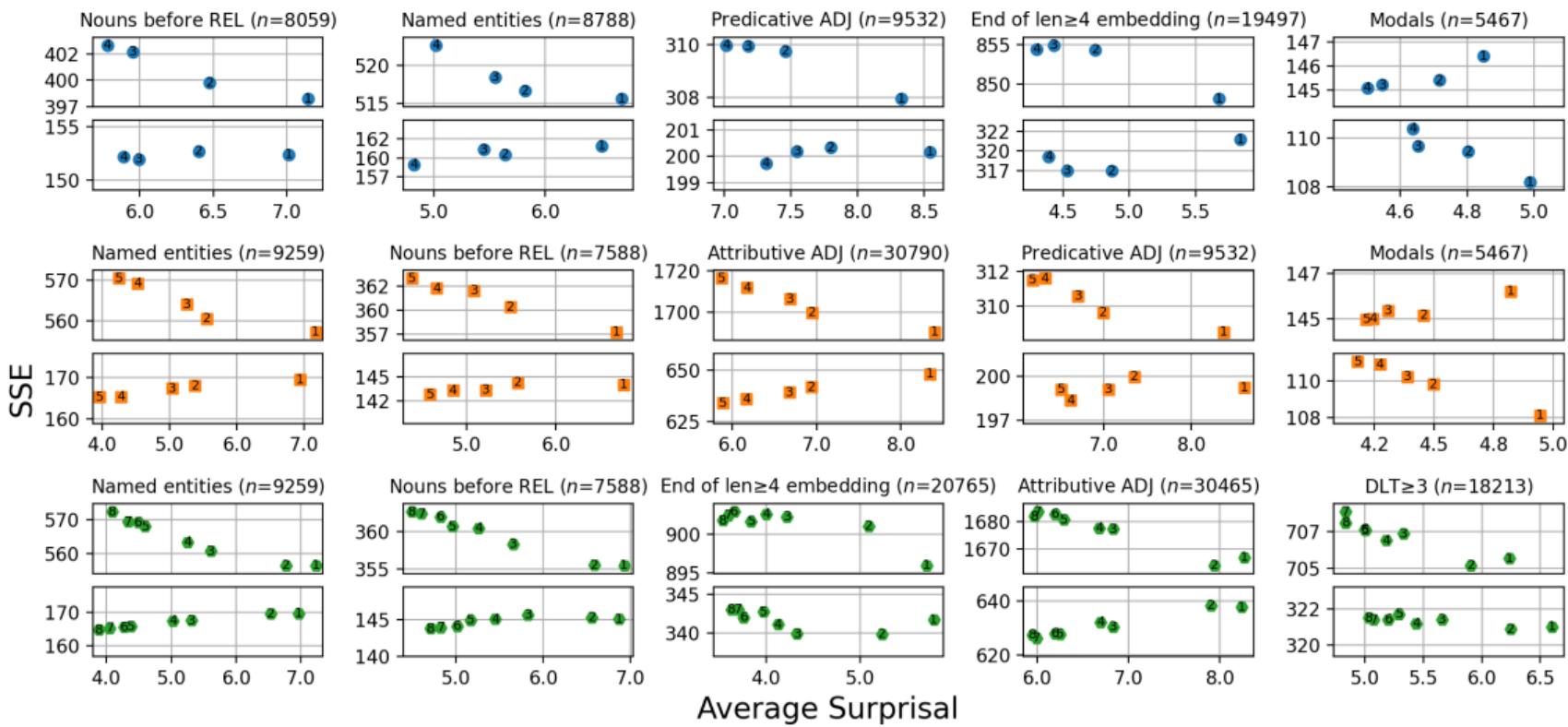
Attributive ADJ ( $n=30465$ )

DLT $\geq 3$  ( $n=18213$ )



Average Surprisal

## Natural Stories SPR



## Summary: Bigger-is-worse effect of model size

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(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

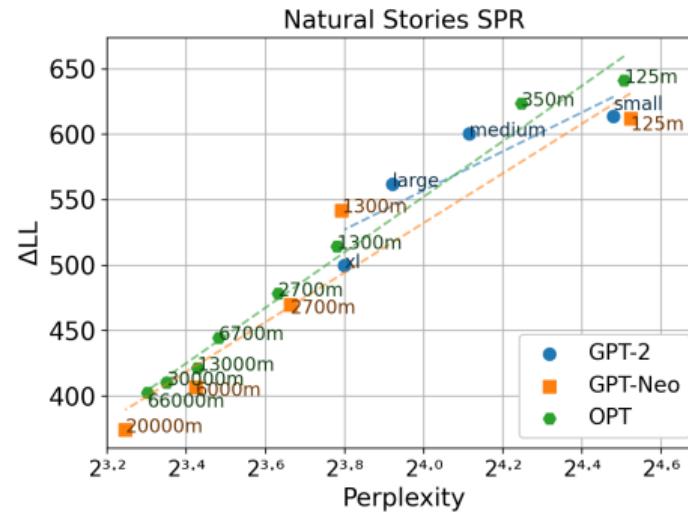
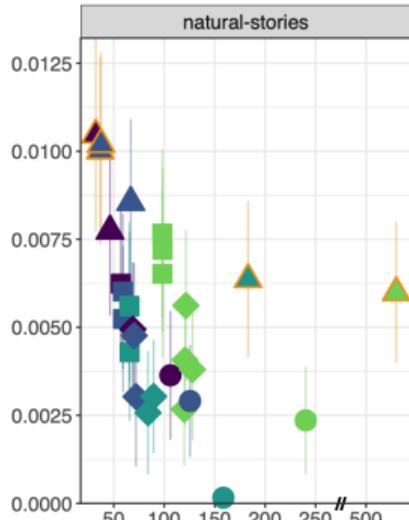
Oh and Schuler (2023b). Transformer-based language model surprisal predicts human reading times best with about two billion training tokens. *Findings of EMNLP*.

Better

Fit

Poorer

Fit



## Evaluating LLMs trained on less data

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Better Fit



Poorer Fit



Less Data



More Data

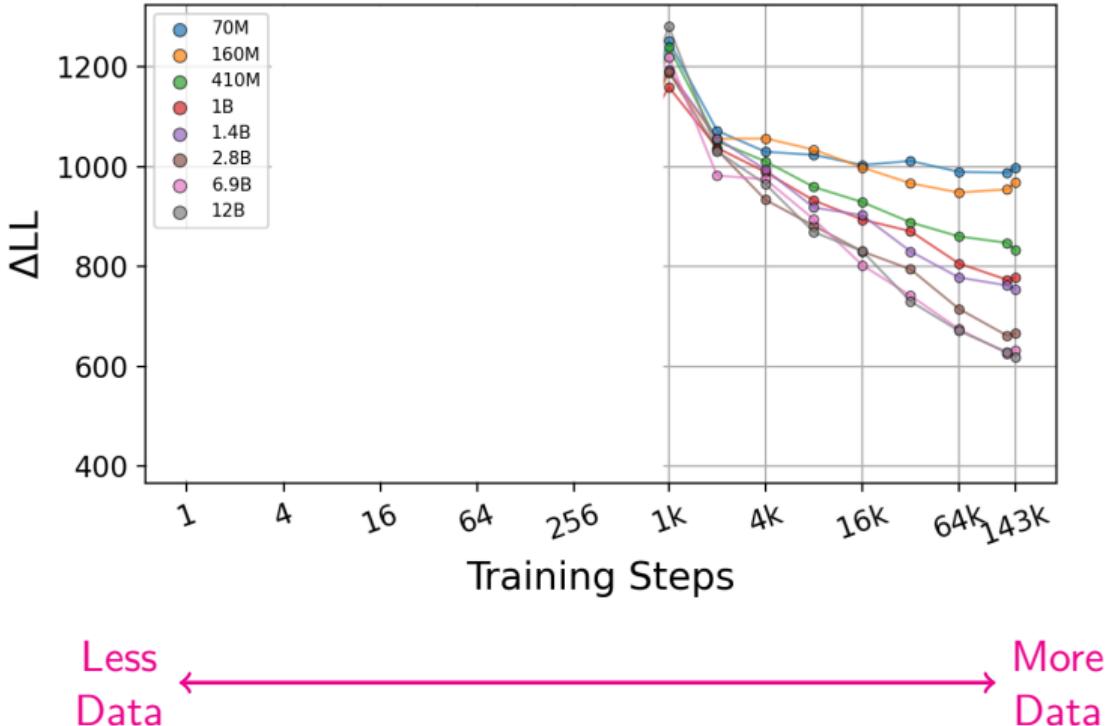
Better Fit



Poorer Fit



## Natural Stories SPR



Better

Fit

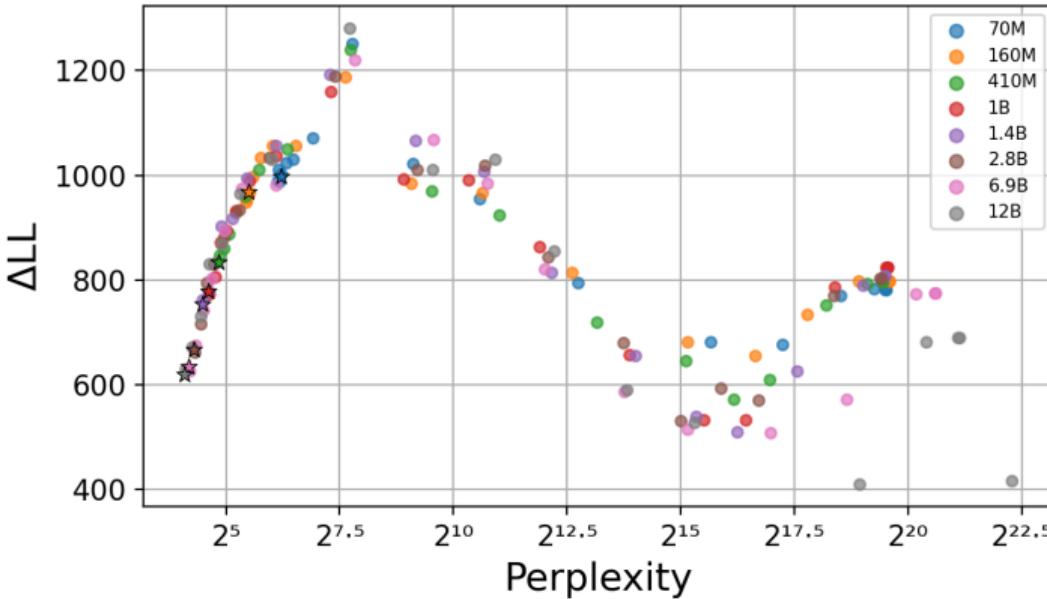
Poorer

Fit

More  
Accurate

Less  
Accurate

## Natural Stories SPR

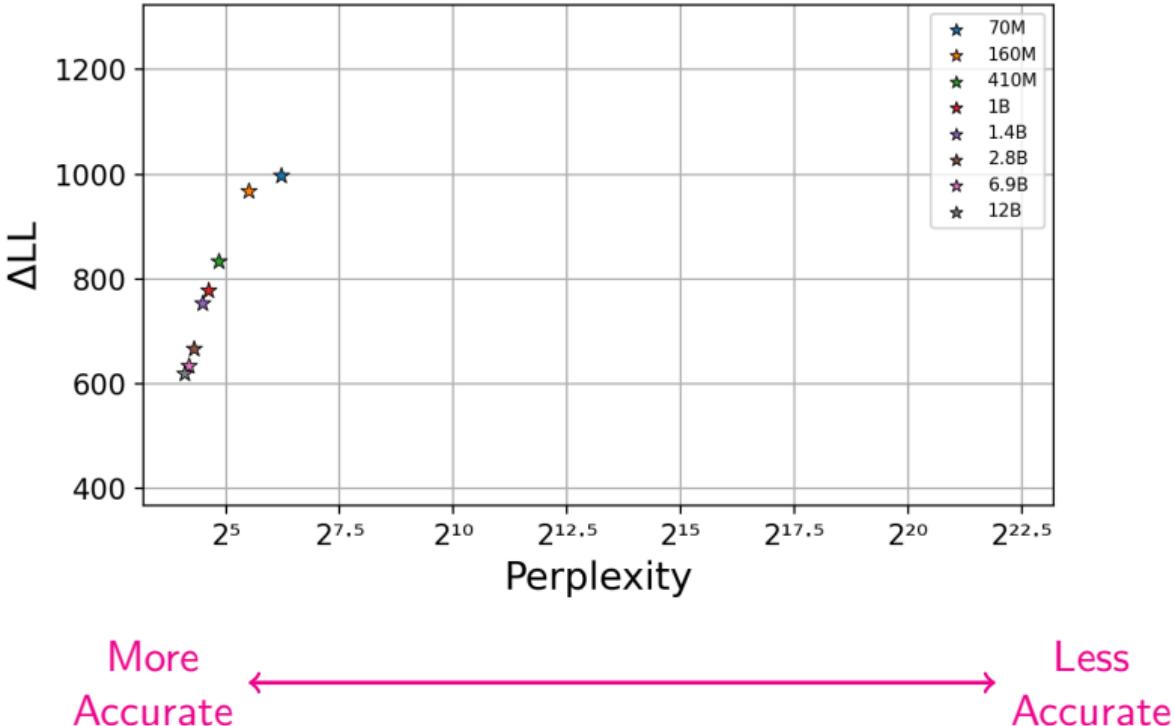


Better Fit



Poorer Fit

Natural Stories SPR



More  
Accurate



Less  
Accurate



Better

Fit

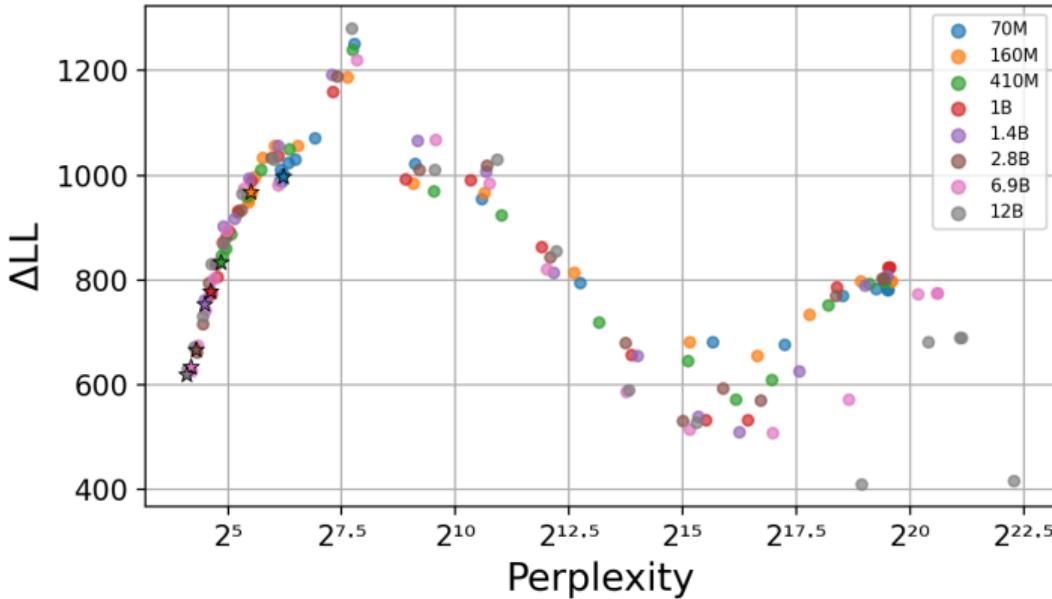
Poorer

Fit

More  
Accurate

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## Natural Stories SPR



## How small can we go?

- Smaller LMs trained following the procedures of the Pythia LM

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Model	#L	#H	$d_{\text{model}}$	#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

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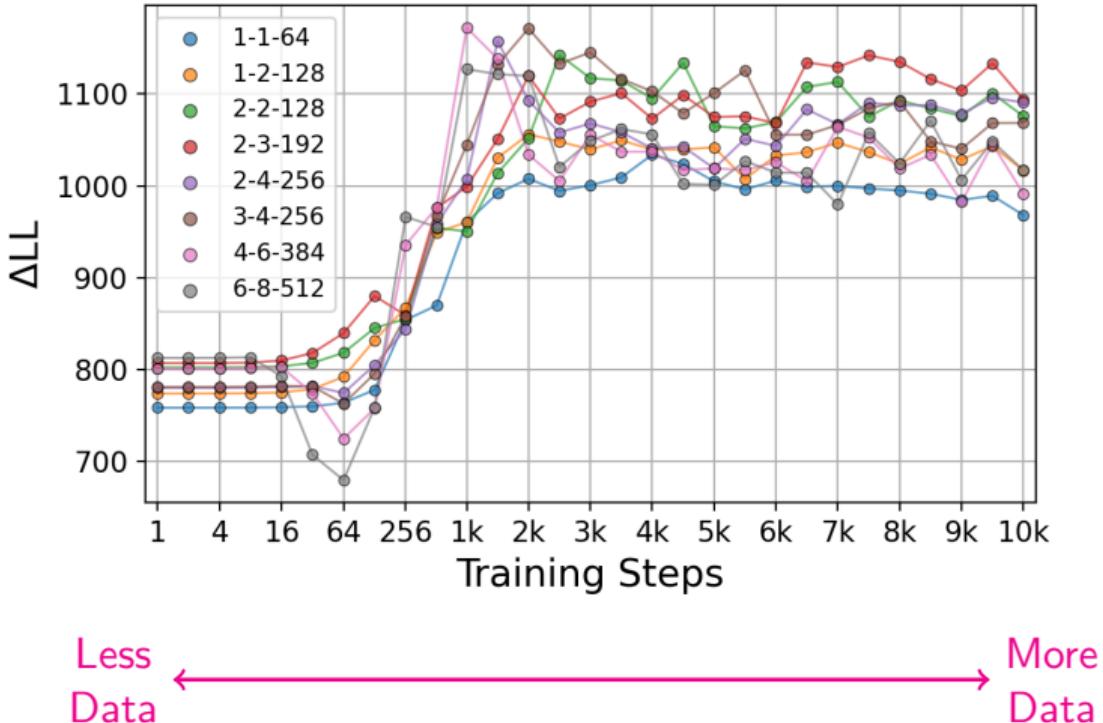
- LMs evaluated after  $\{1, 2, 4, \dots, 512, 1000, 1500, \dots, 10000\}$  training steps

Better Fit



Poorer Fit

### Natural Stories SPR



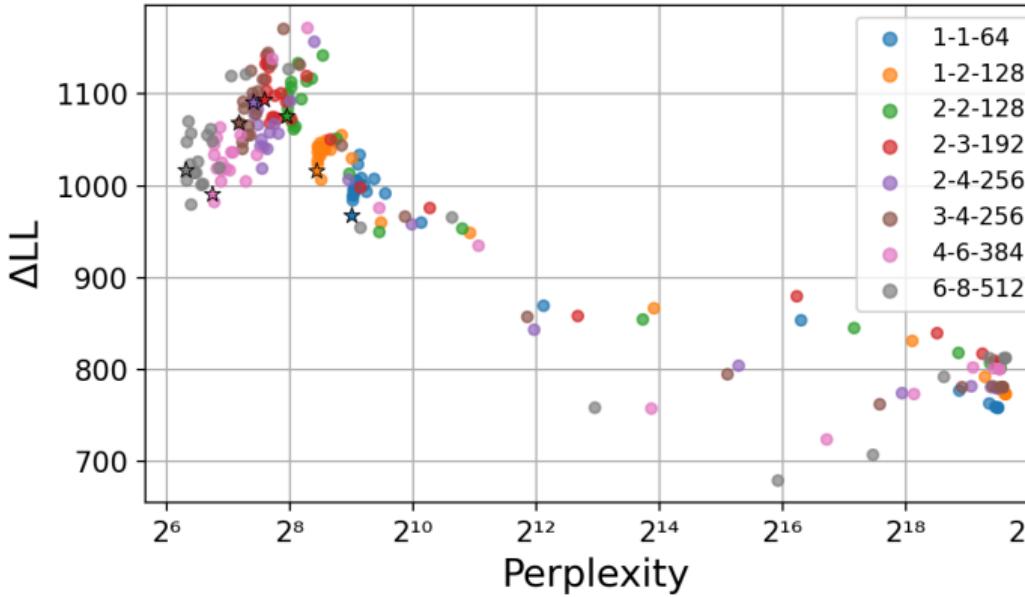
Better Fit



Poorer Fit



## Natural Stories SPR



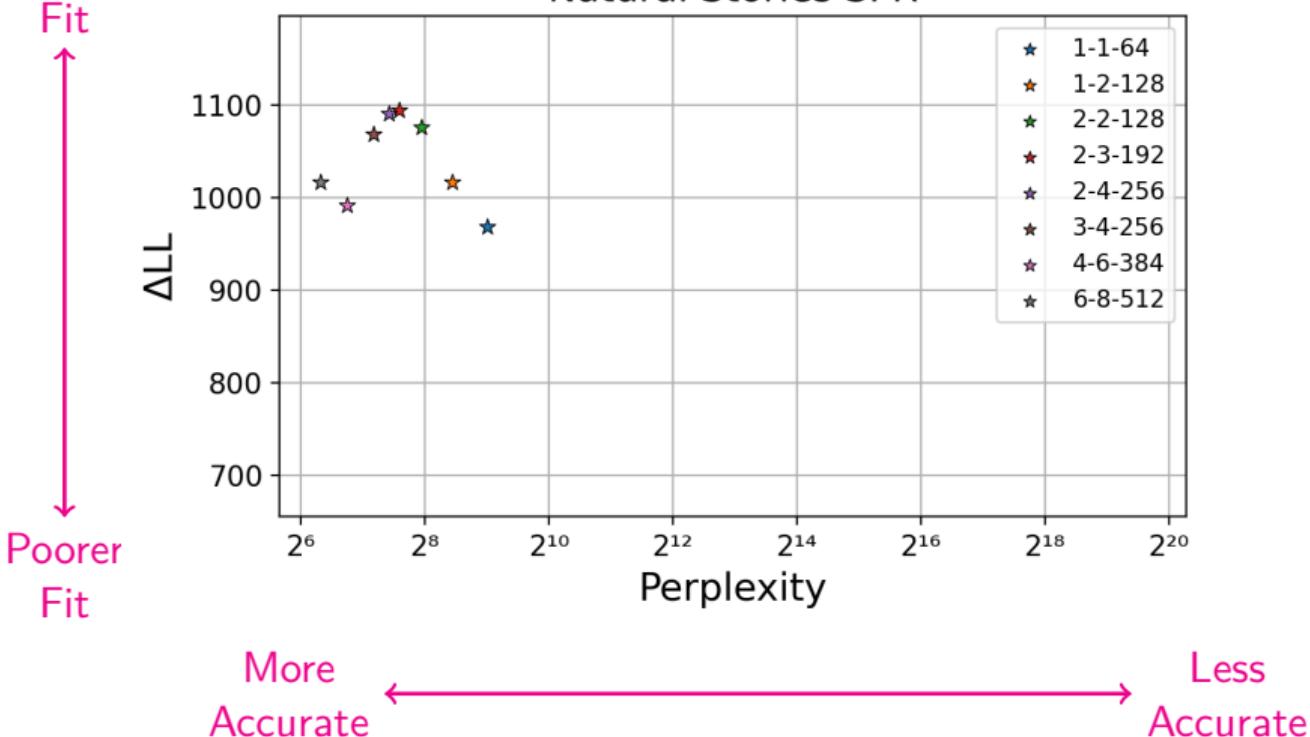
More  
Accurate

Less  
Accurate

Better Fit



### Natural Stories SPR



Poorer Fit



More Accurate



Less Accurate



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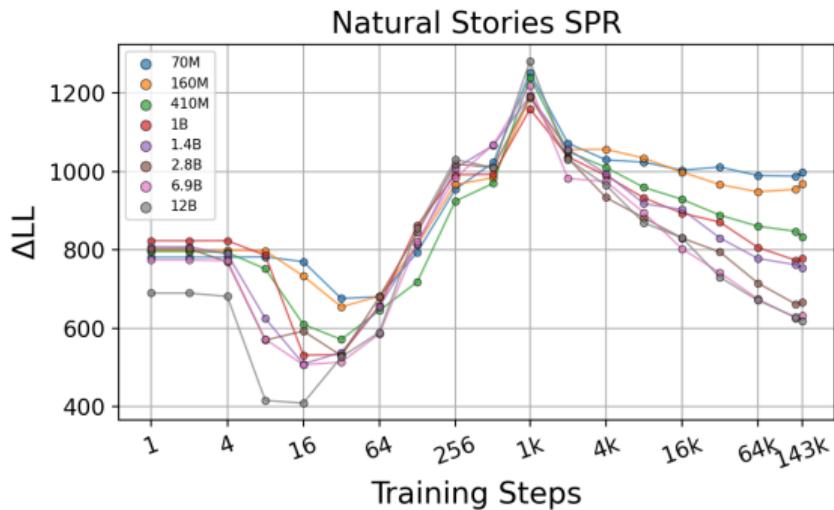
## Summary: Bigger-is-worse effect of training data

- Fit to reading times starts to degrade after about two billion tokens of training data
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- Consolidates conflicting results about LM perplexity and fit to reading times

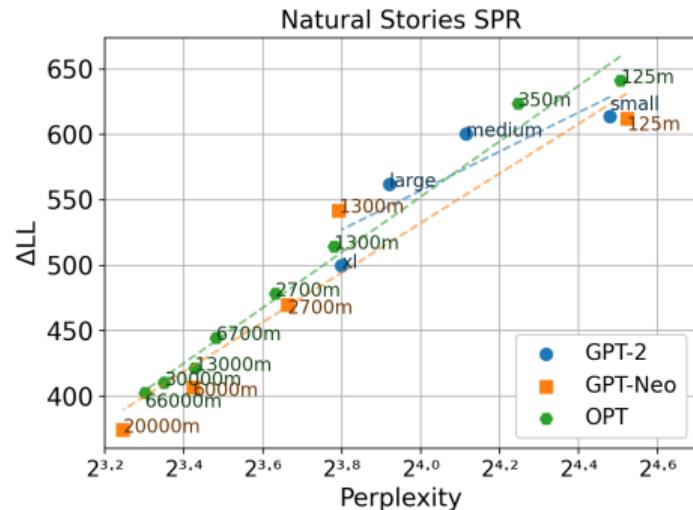
## Word frequency as a unified explanation

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

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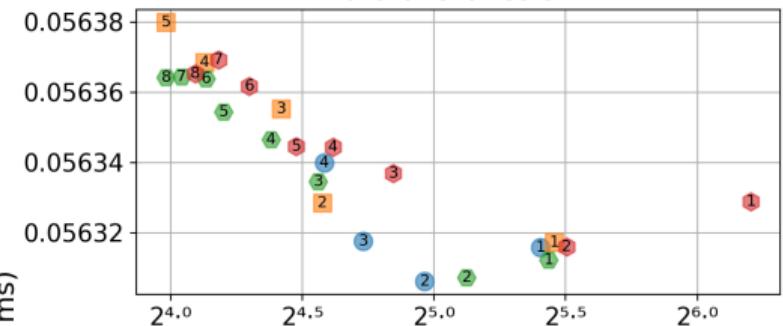
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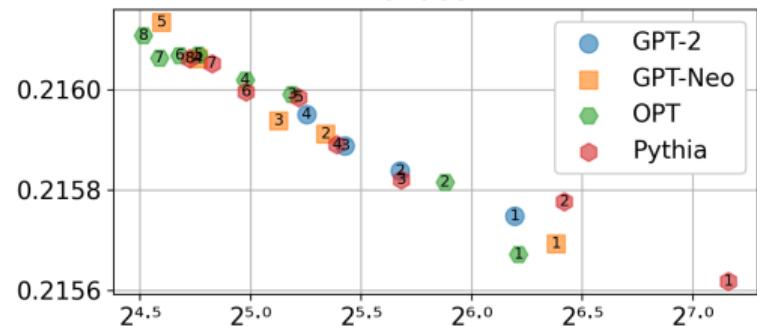
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- Mean squared errors calculated on each quintile defined by unigram log-probability

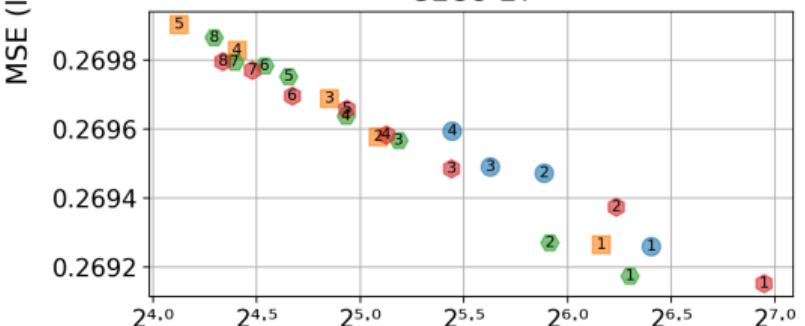
Natural Stories SPR



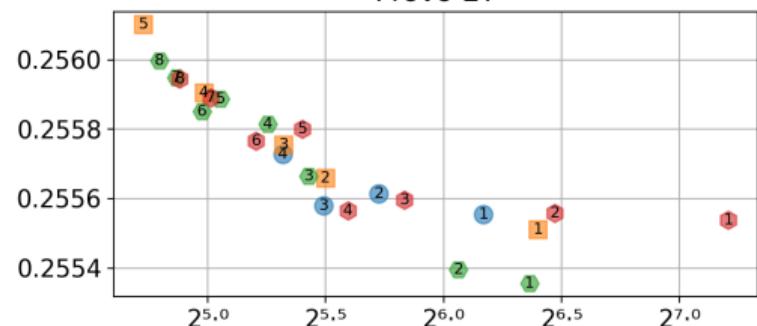
Dundee ET



GECO ET



Provo ET



Poorer Fit  
Better Fit

Larger Models

Smaller Models

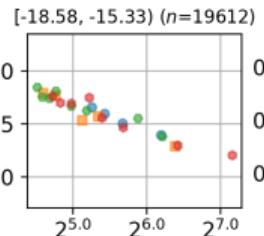
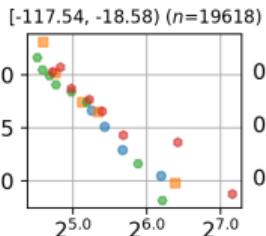
Poorer

Fit

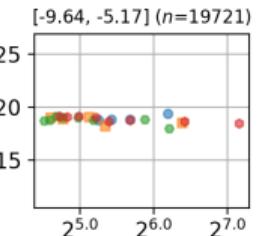
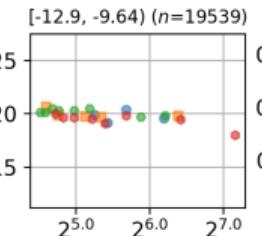
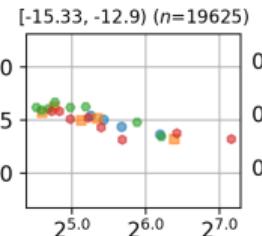


Better Fit

MSE (log ms)



Dundee ET



Perplexity

Rare Words

Frequent Words

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

- Similar regression modeling procedures as Experiment 1

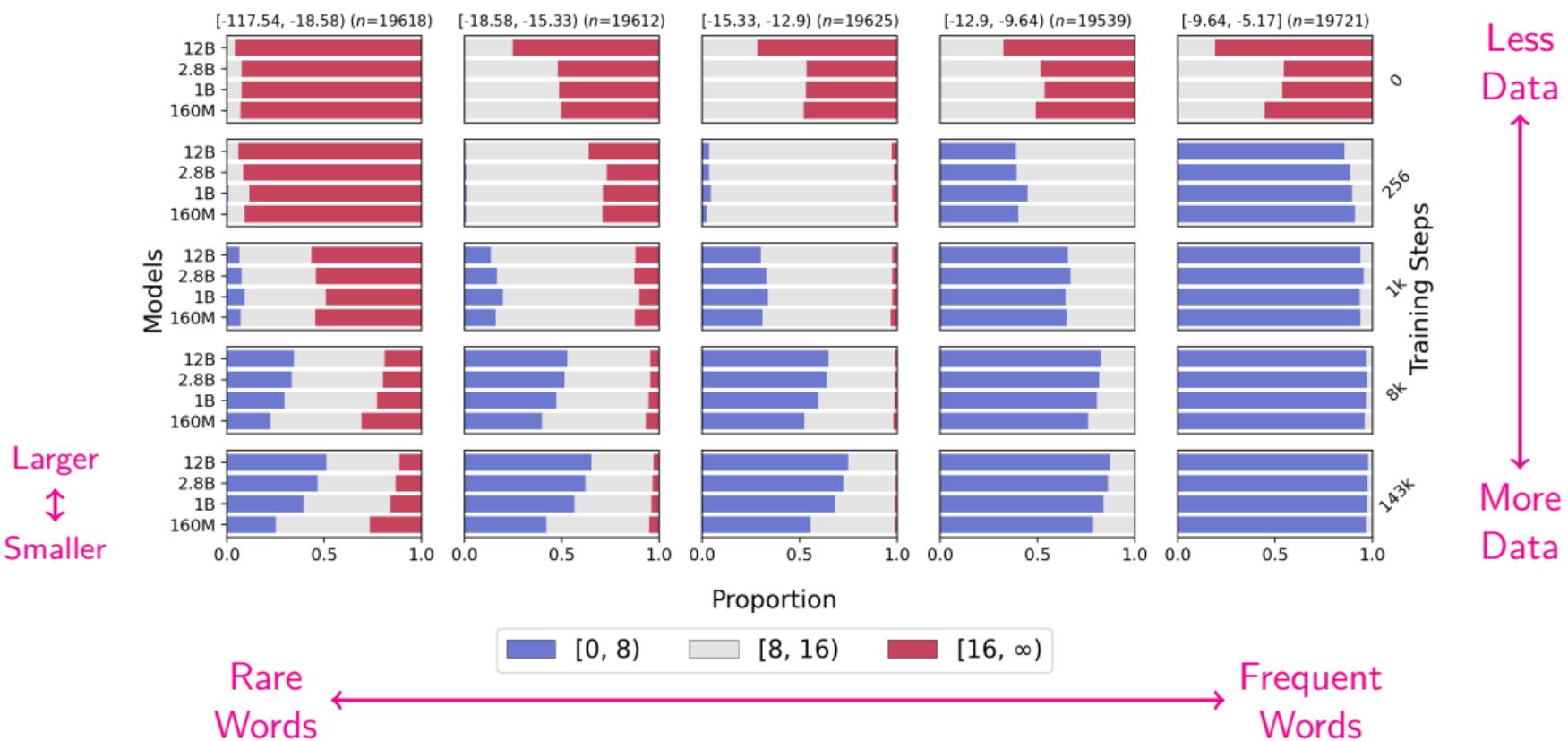
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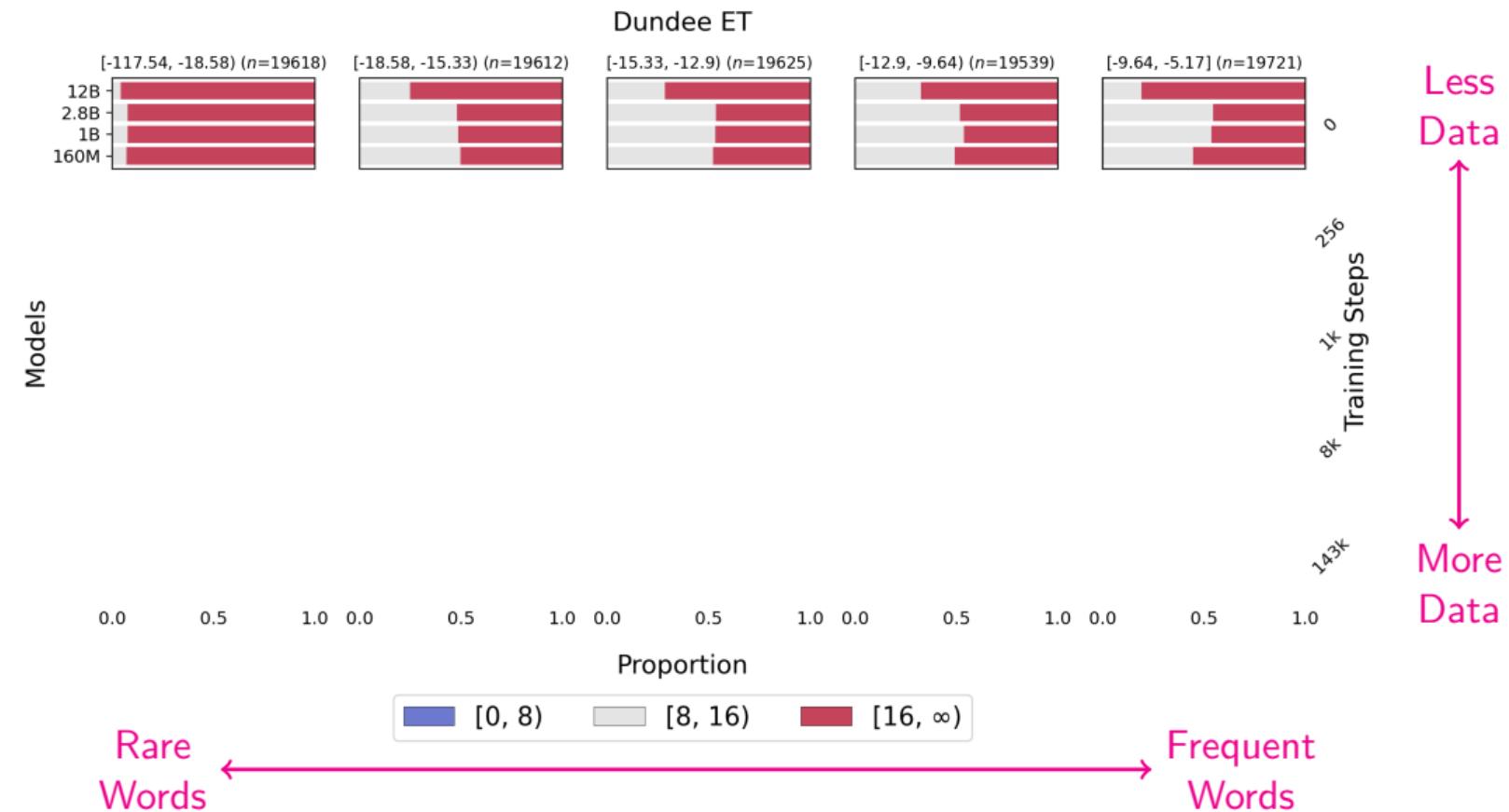
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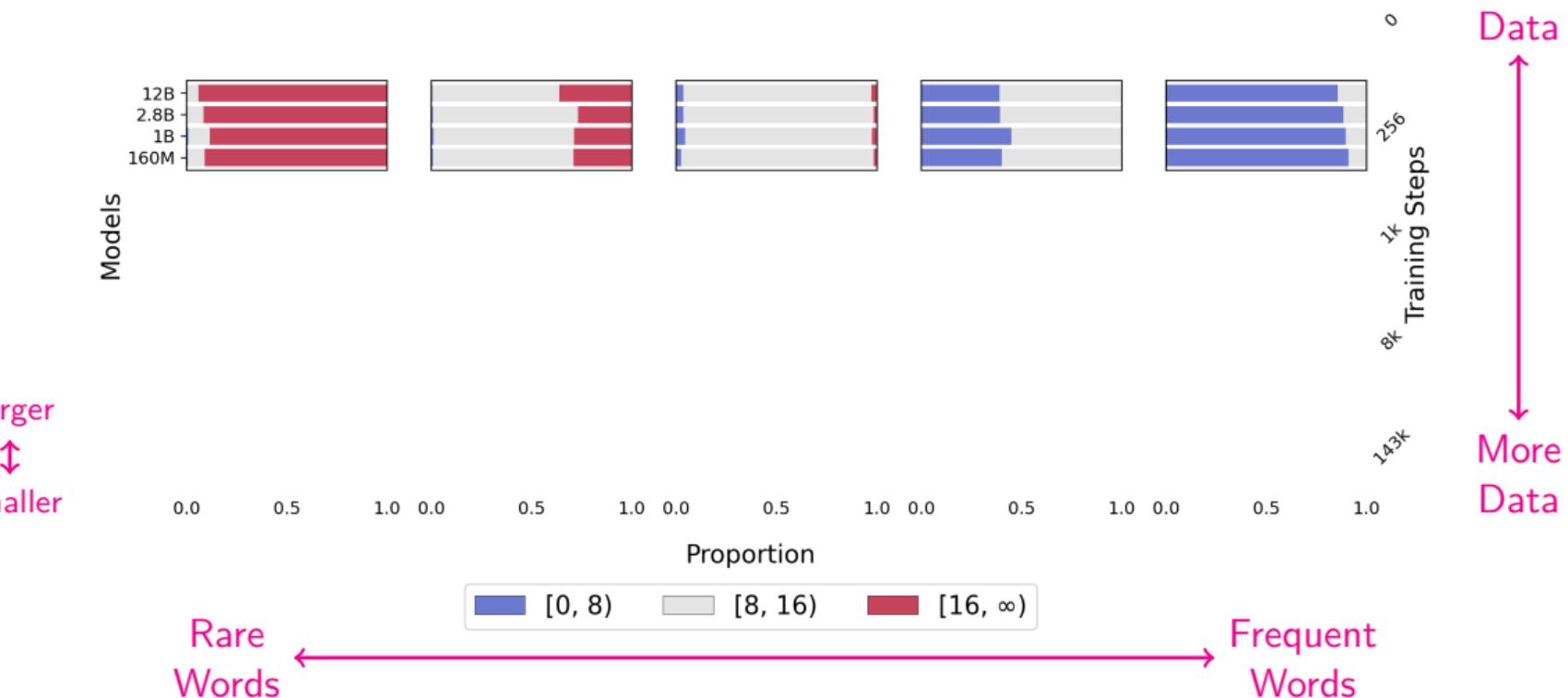
## Dundee ET





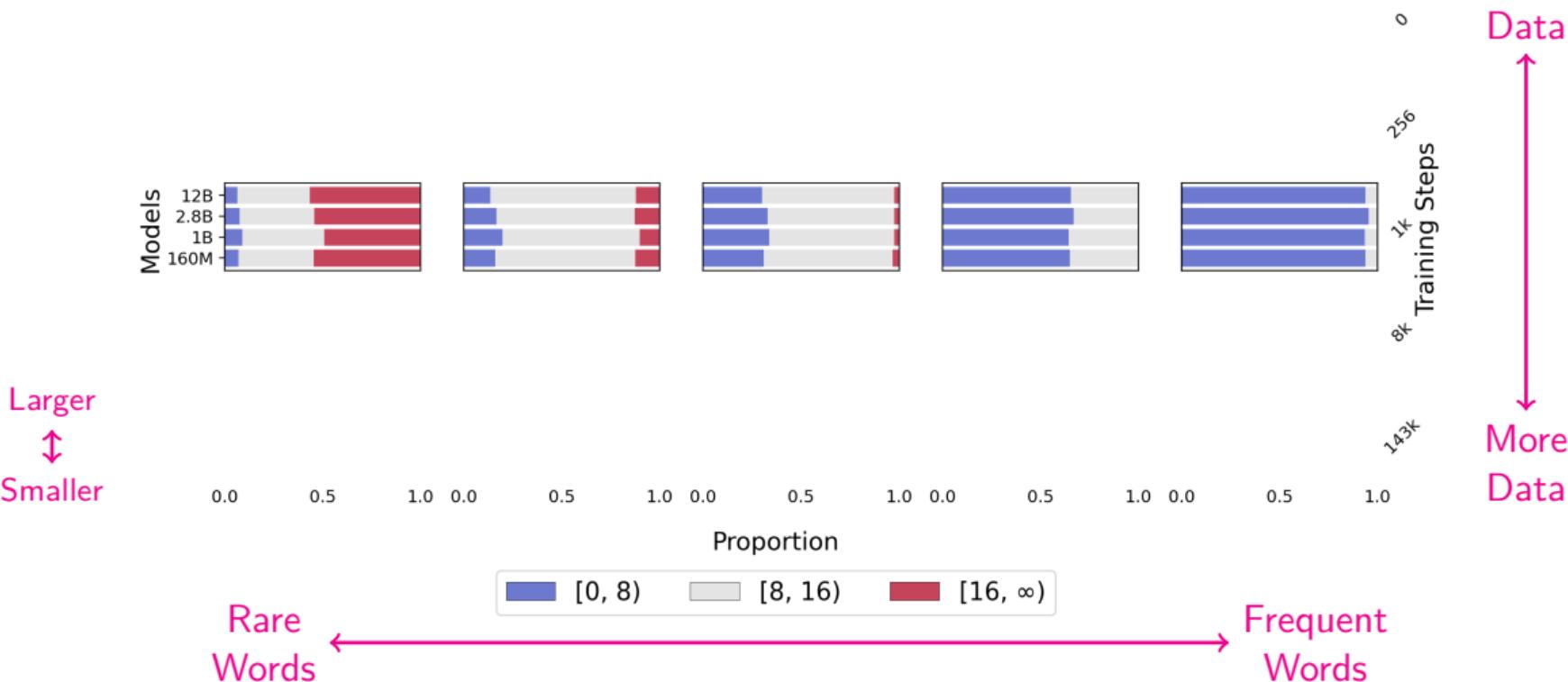
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[-117.54, -18.58] ( $n=19618$ )    [-18.58, -15.33] ( $n=19612$ )    [-15.33, -12.9] ( $n=19625$ )    [-12.9, -9.64] ( $n=19539$ )    [-9.64, -5.17] ( $n=19721$ )



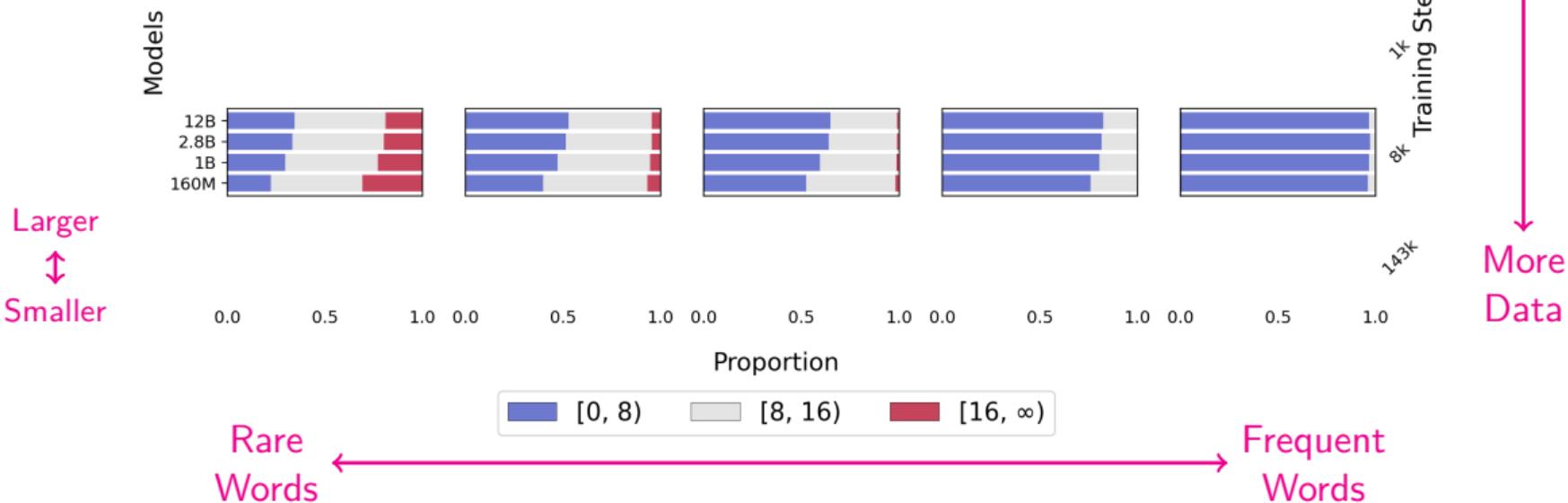
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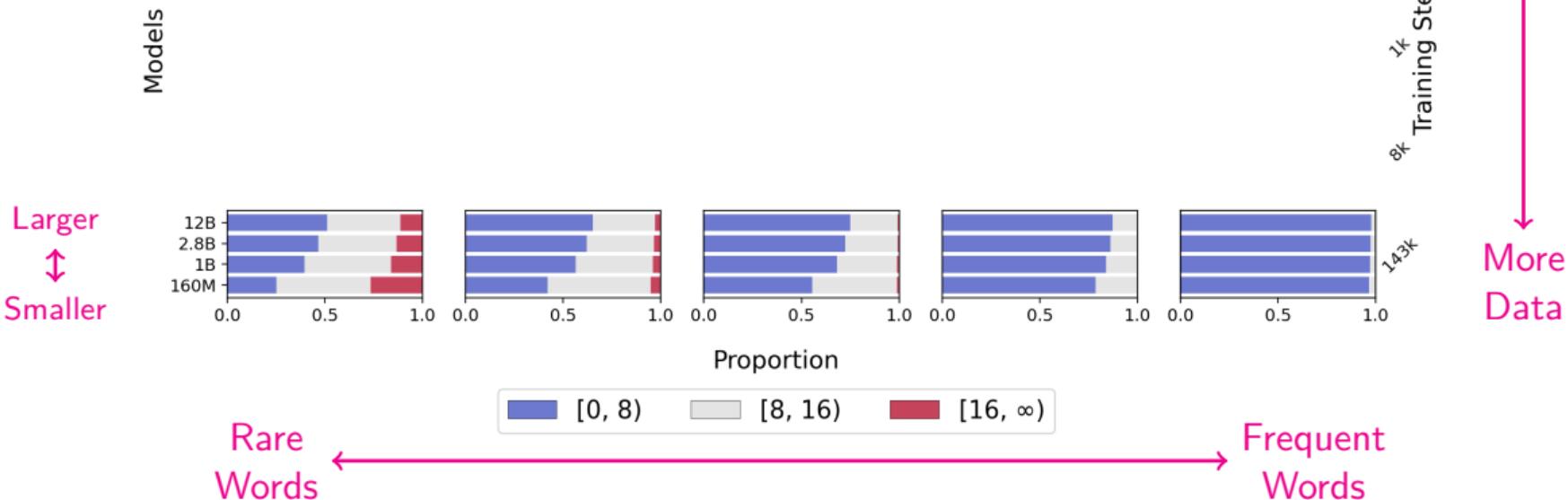
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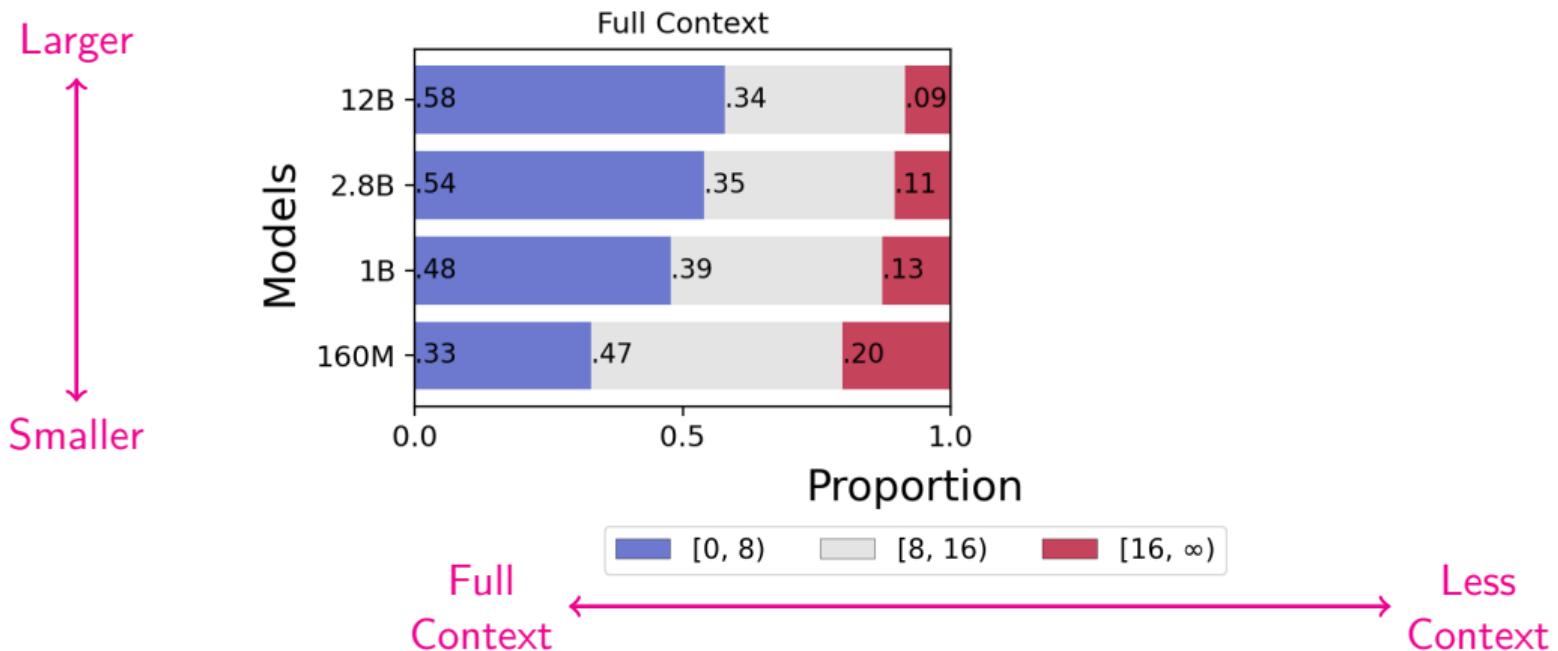
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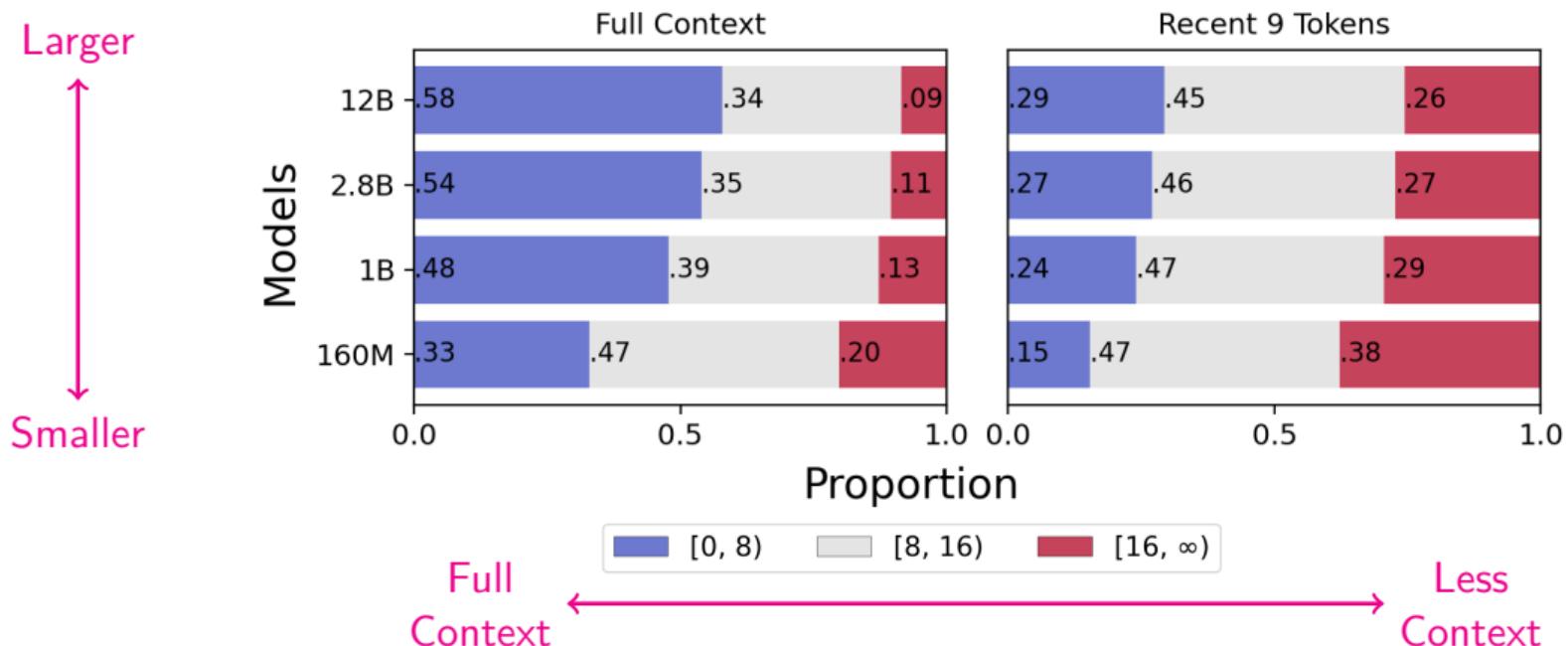
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- Change in Pythia surprisal values analyzed on the quintile of the rarest words

## Dundee ET



## Dundee ET



## Dundee ET

Larger

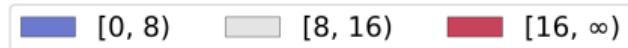
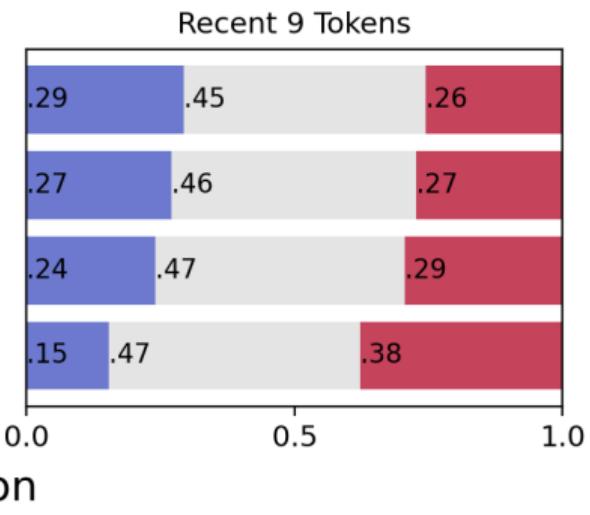


Smaller

Models

Full  
Context

Less  
Context



## Summary: Word frequency as a unified explanation

- Word frequency explains the adverse effects of model size and training data amount

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- The associations that give larger models an advantage are widespread

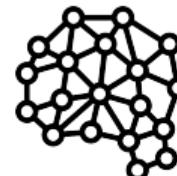
## Conclusion

# Takeaways

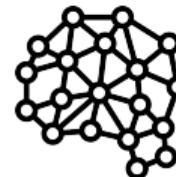


Human  
subjects

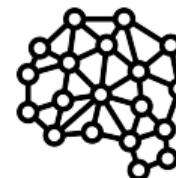
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

# Takeaways

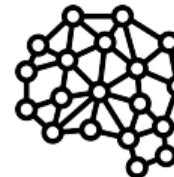


Human  
subjects

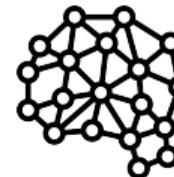
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

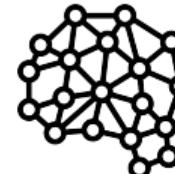
- ➊ Which models are closer to human behavior among Models 1..n?

# Takeaways



Human  
subjects

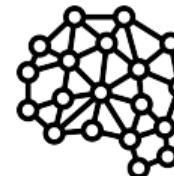
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

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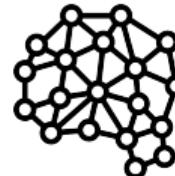
Smaller LLMs trained on less data

# Takeaways

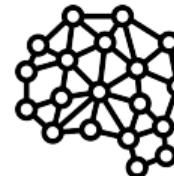


Human  
subjects

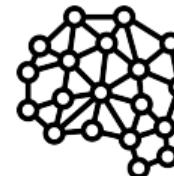
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Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

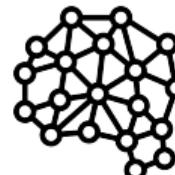
- ➊ Which models are closer to human behavior among Models 1.. $n$ ?  
**Smaller LLMs trained on less data**
- ➋ Why is Model  $i$  less human-like than Model  $j$ ?

# Takeaways

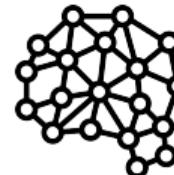


Human  
subjects

~



Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

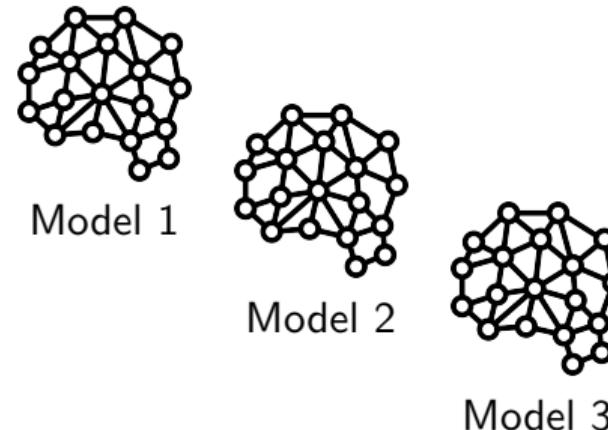
- ➊ Which models are closer to human behavior among Models 1.. $n$ ?  
**Smaller LLMs trained on less data**
- ➋ Why is Model  $i$  less human-like than Model  $j$ ?  
**Accurate predictions of rare words**

# Implications



Human  
subjects

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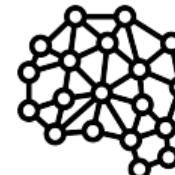


# Implications



Human  
subjects

~



Model 1



Model 2



Model 3

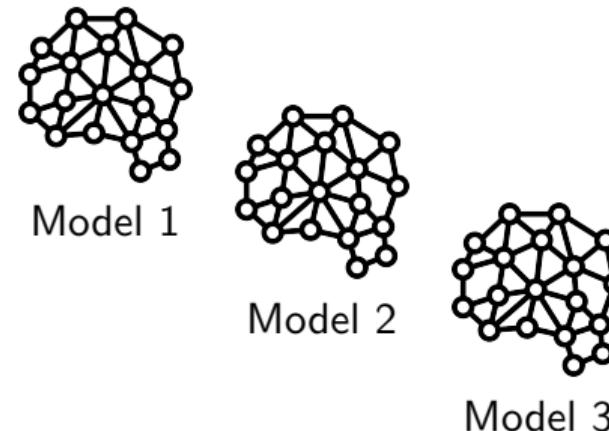
- ① Surprisal theory could be refined to assume a realistic amount of data

# Implications



Human  
subjects

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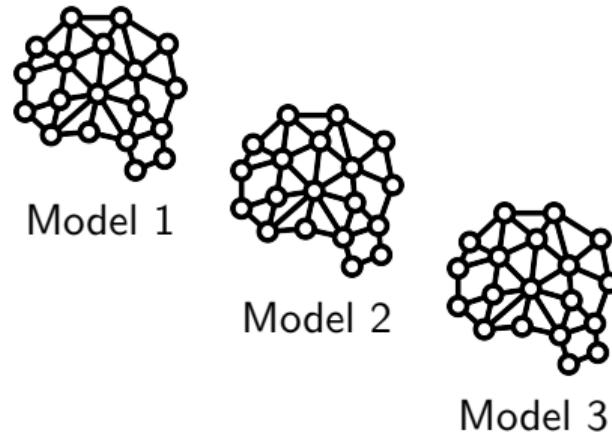
- ① Surprisal theory could be refined to assume a realistic amount of data
- ② Caution for using LLM surprisal to study other psycholinguistic questions!  
(e.g. Hoover et al., 2023; Shain, 2023)

# Future directions



Human  
subjects

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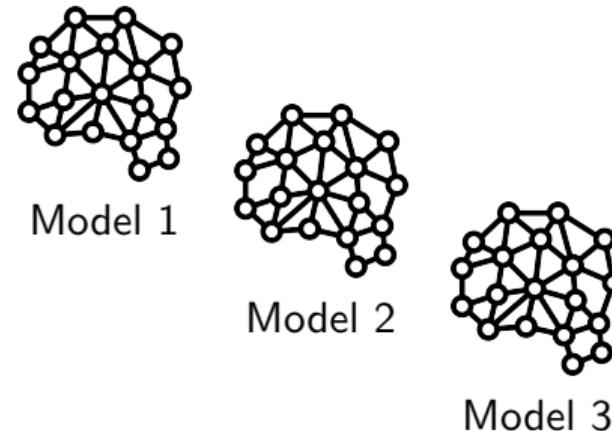


# Future directions



Human  
subjects

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- ➊ What drives the predictions of Model  $k$ ?

# Future directions



Human  
subjects

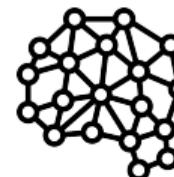
~



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!*

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 byungdoh/{llm\_surprisal,slm\_surprisal}

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