

Are Neural Networks Good Linguistic Models? Then and Now

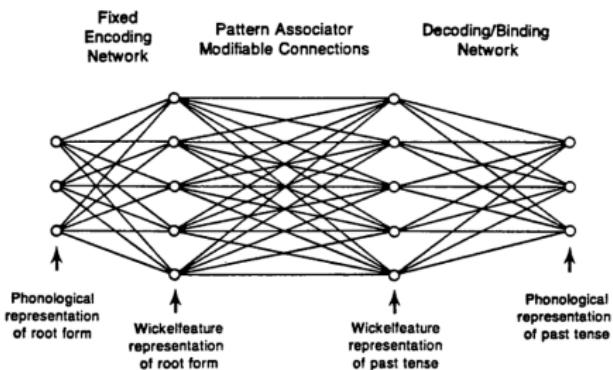
Sarah Brogden Payne

sarah.payne@stonybrook.edu
paynesa.github.io



Teen Academic Linguistics Conference
August 30th, 2025

The Million Dollar Question

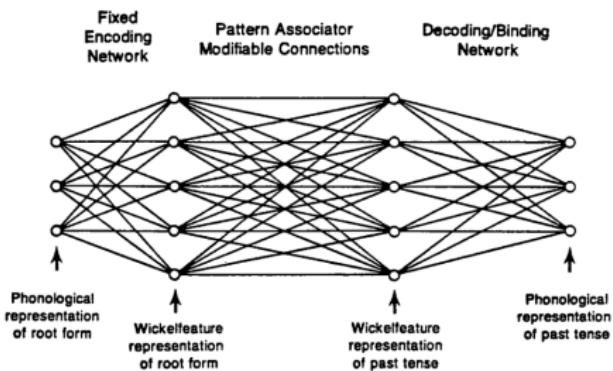


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The Million Dollar Question

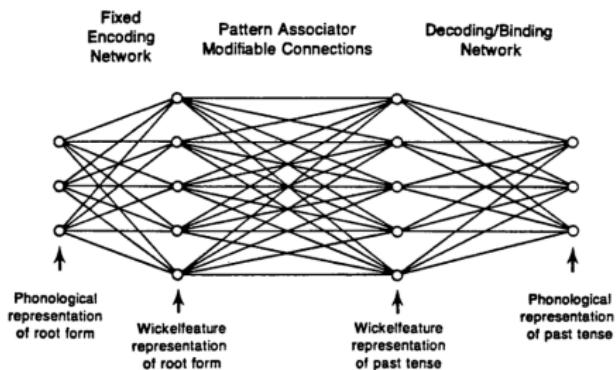


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Why do we care?

The Million Dollar Question



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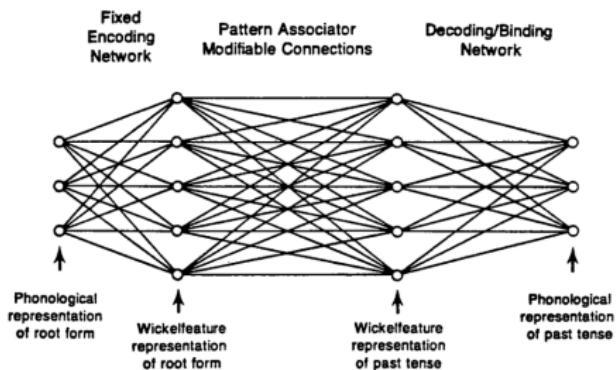


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Neural networks used by **connectionists**, cognitive scientists who believe:

The Million Dollar Question



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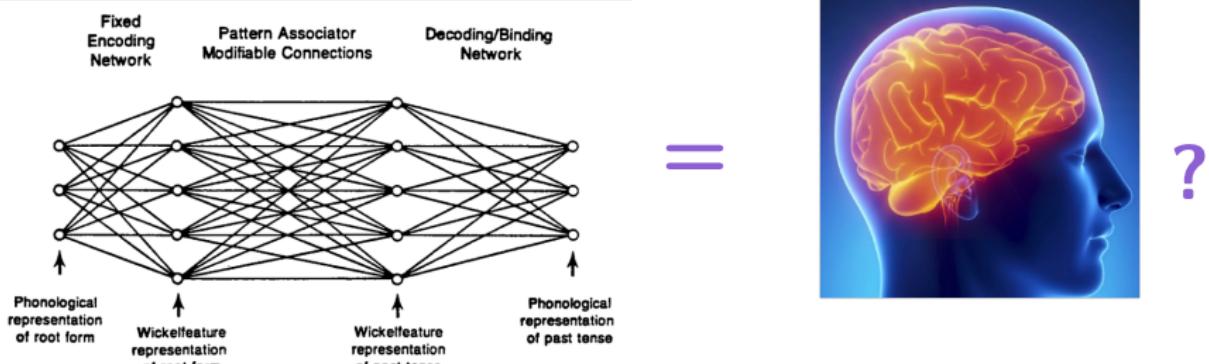
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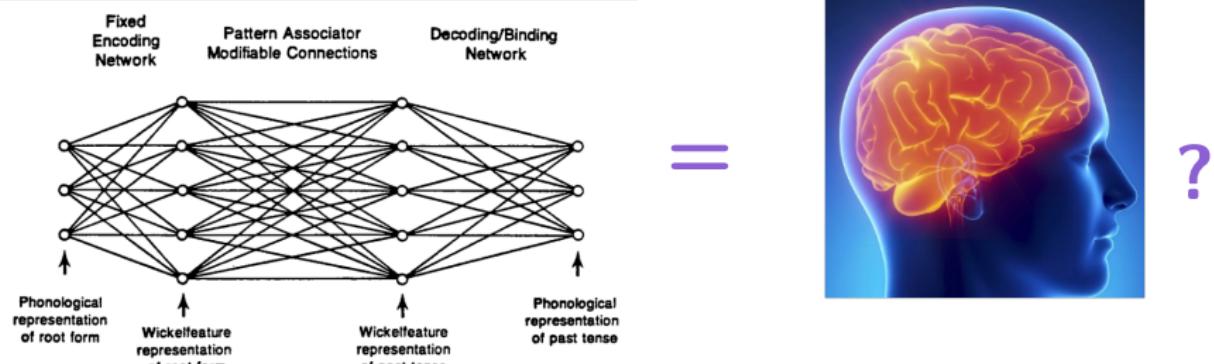


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- Everything is processed by the same **associative memory** mechanism

The Million Dollar Question

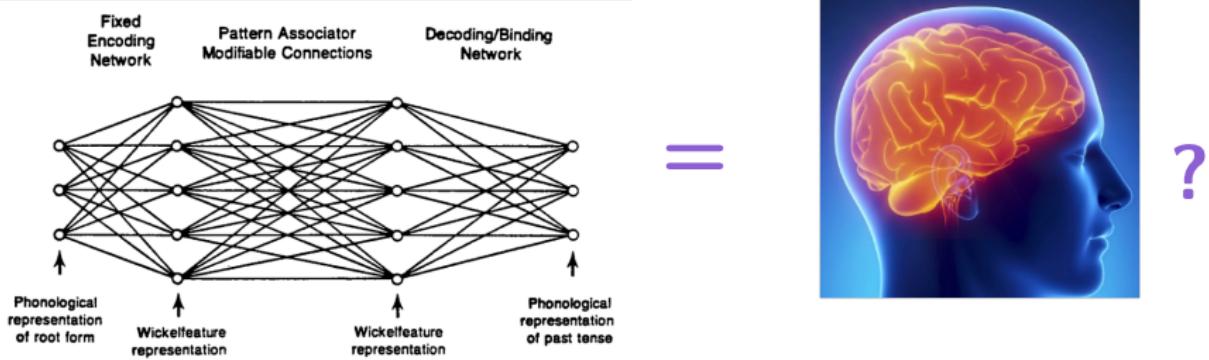


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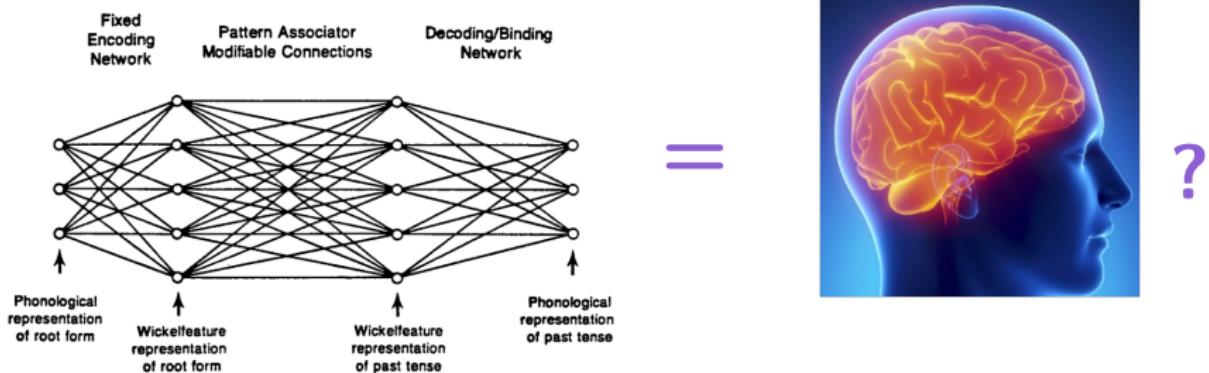
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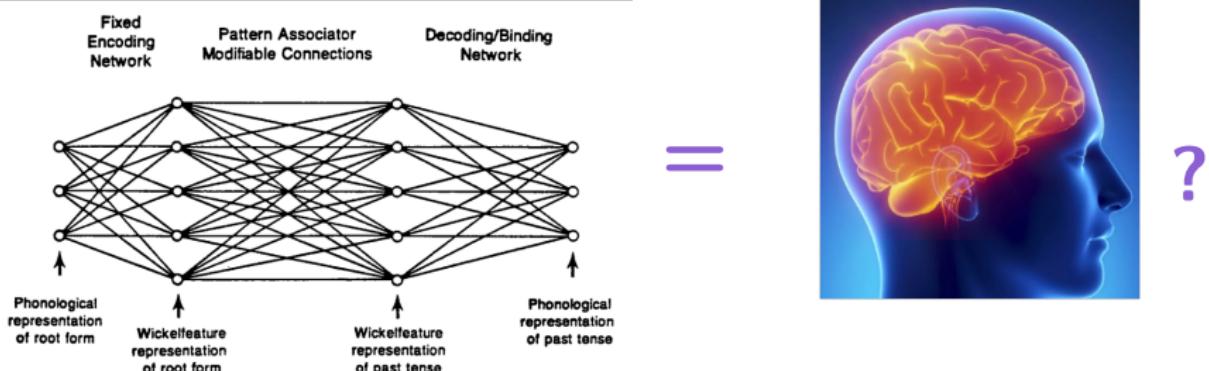
Understanding NNs helps us understand **connectionist theory!**

The Million Dollar Question



To answer this, we will need an understanding of:

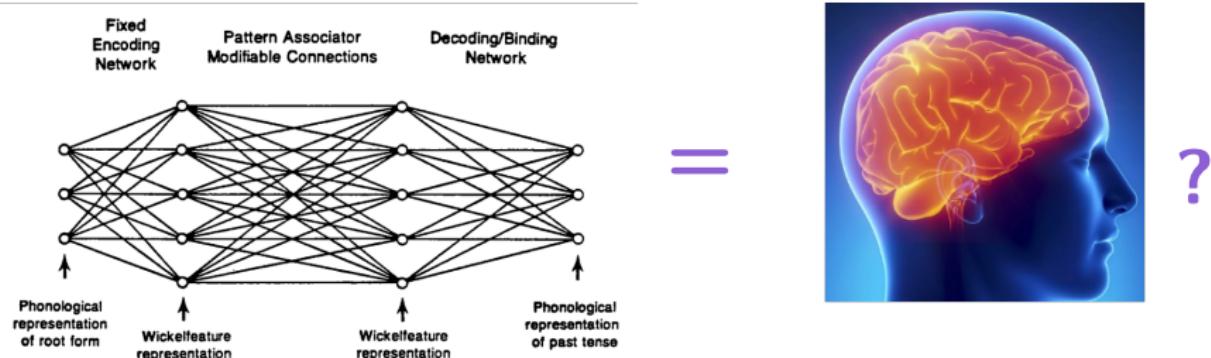
The Million Dollar Question



To answer this, we will need an understanding of:

- The **input** to the child learner

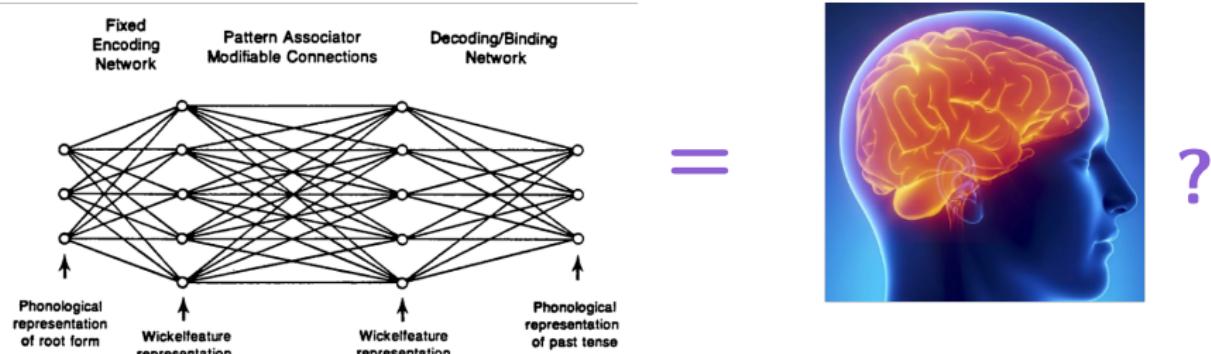
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To answer this, we will need an understanding of:

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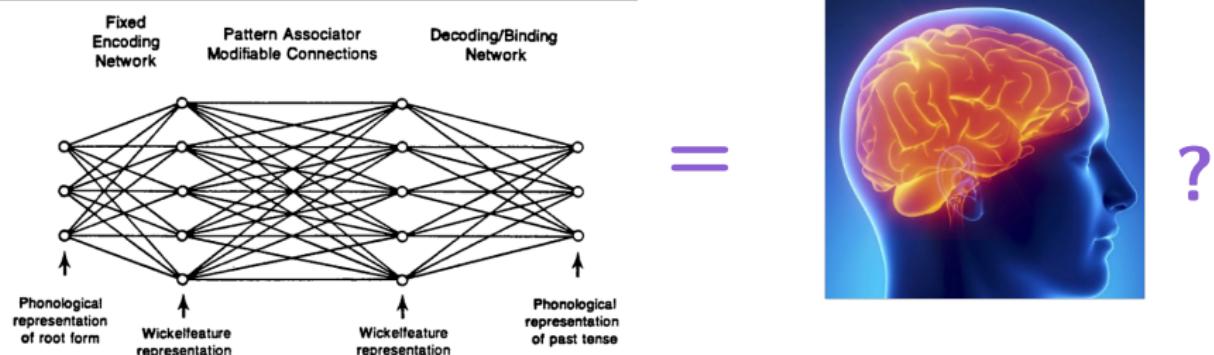
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To answer this, we will need an understanding of:

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How are these **the same** or **different** to those made by neural networks?

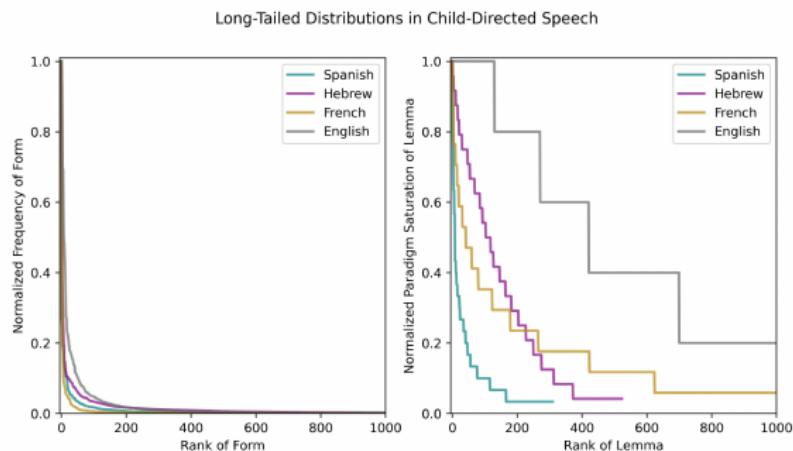
Case Study: The English Past Tense

We will examine these questions with the case of **English past tense acquisition**, which is **widely studied** and **at the center of these debates!**

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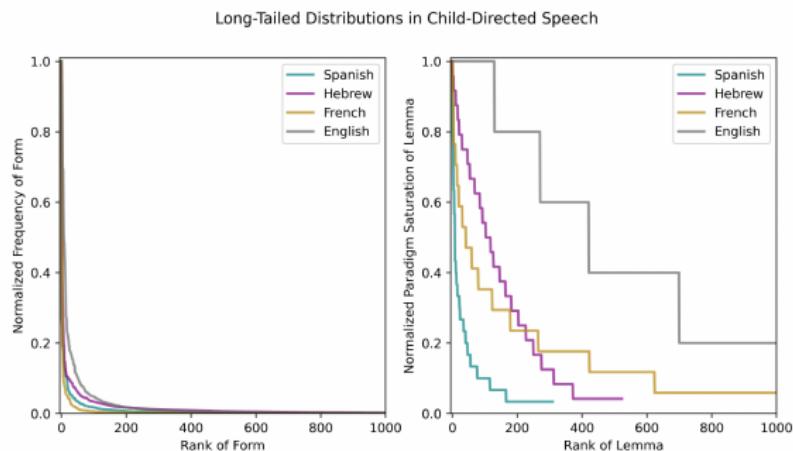
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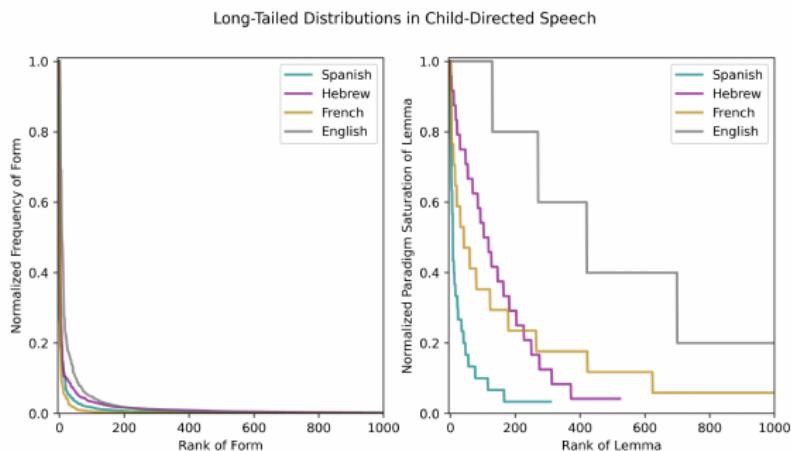


≤ 1000 words total

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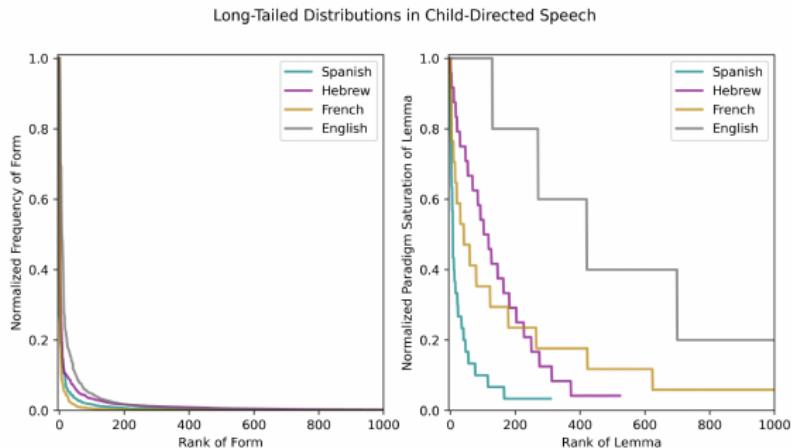


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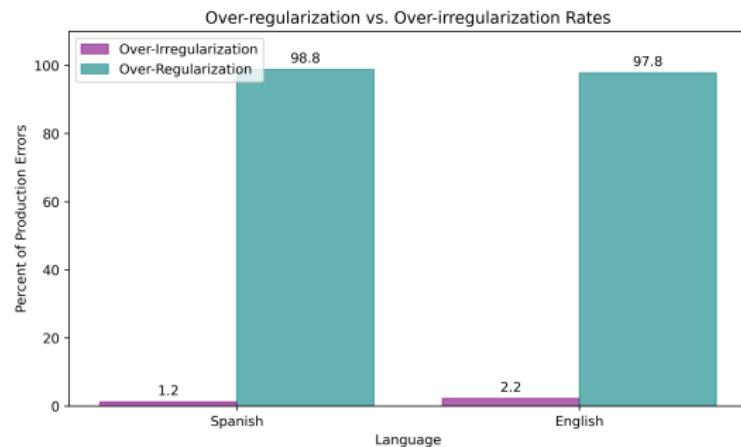
Most words are **very infrequent**

Most words occur in **a fraction** of their possible inflected forms

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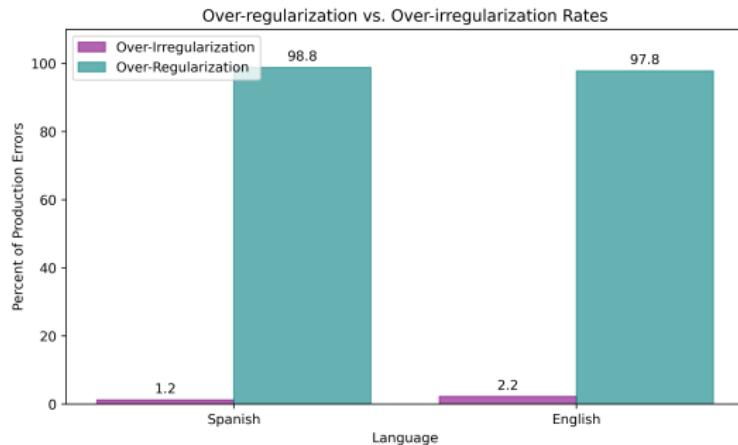
English Past Tense: The Errors



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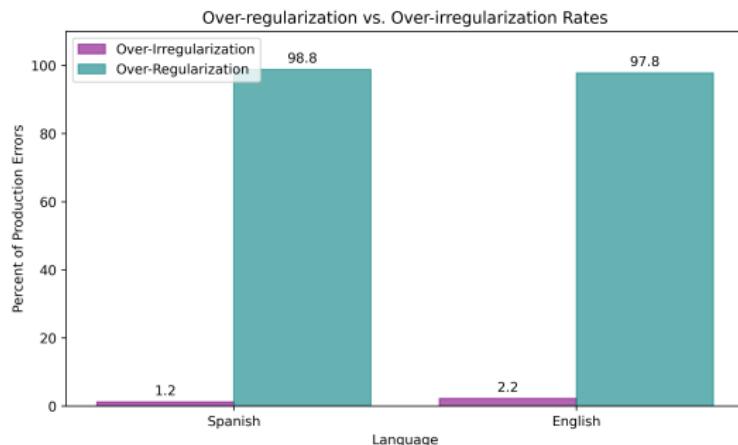


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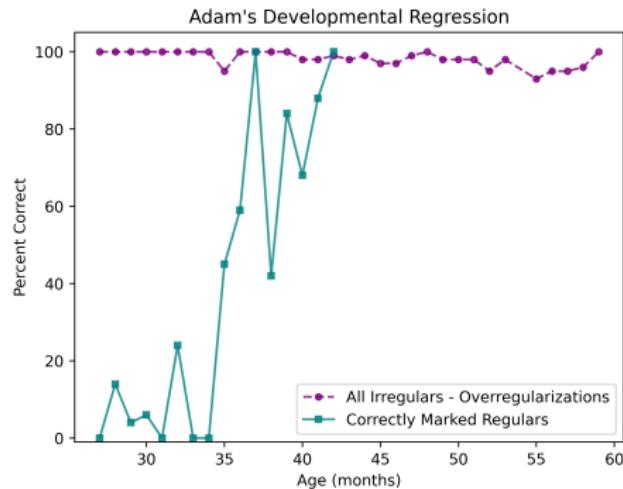
Over-regularizations
(e.g. *go-goed*) are super common!

Over-irregularizations
(e.g. *wipe-wope*) are exceedingly rare!

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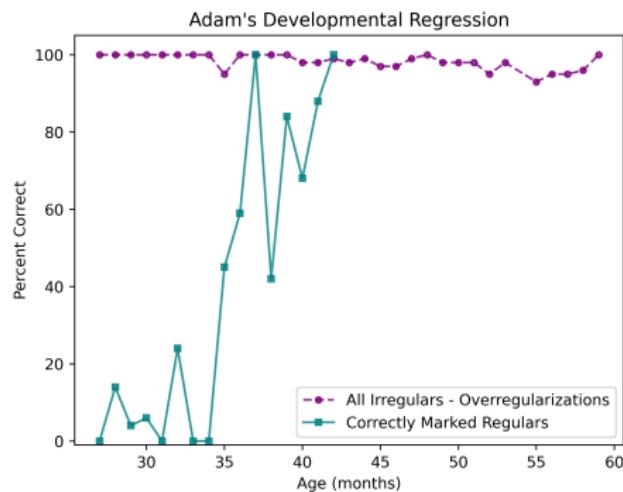
English Past Tense: The Acquisition Trajectory



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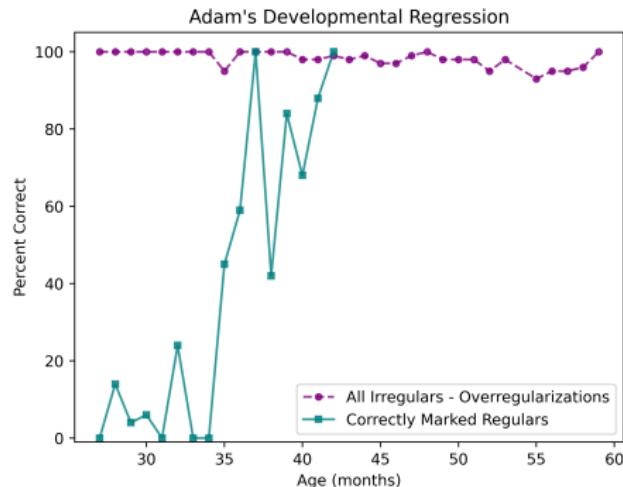


Massive **increase in regular production accuracy** when the productive **-ed** is learned

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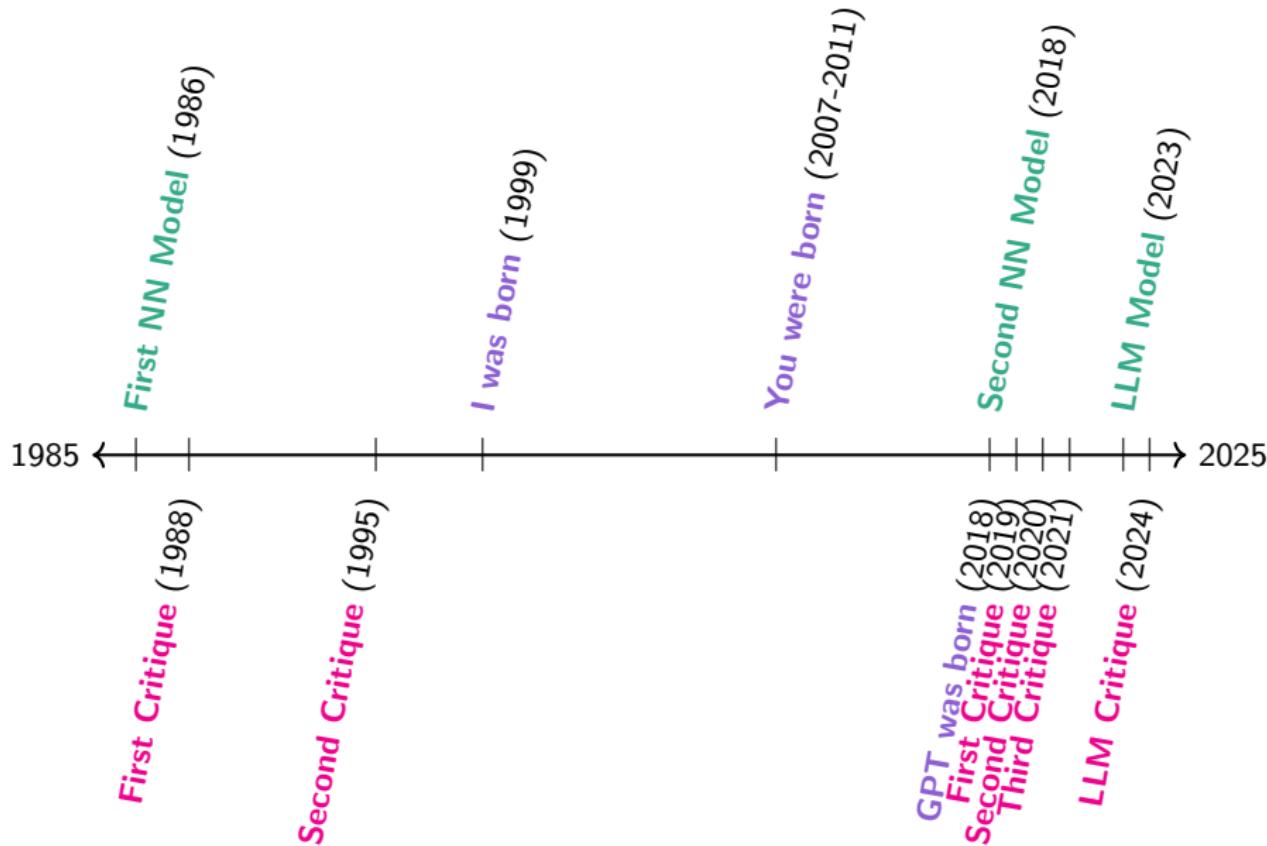
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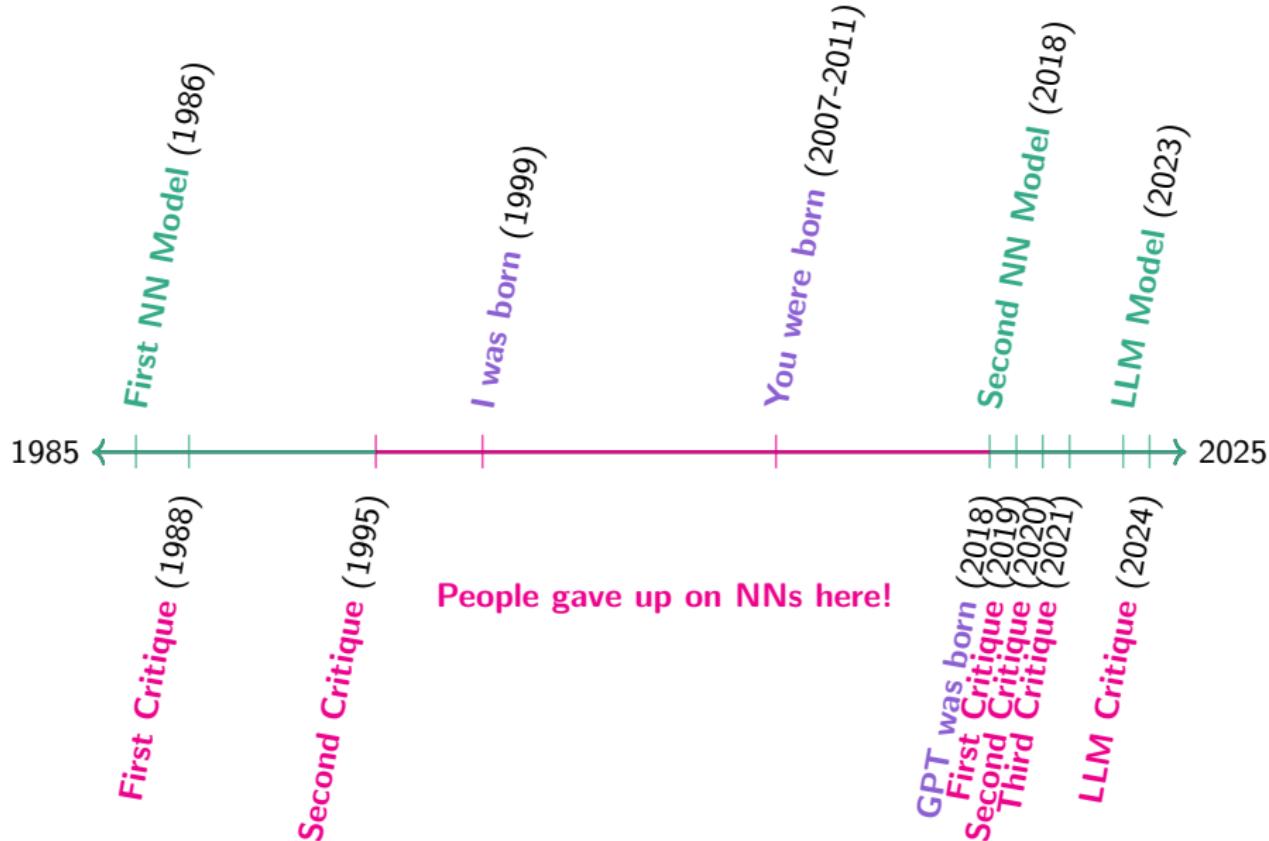
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Temporary **drop in irregular accuracy** at the same time due to **over-regularization**

Modeling the English Past Tense: Then and Now



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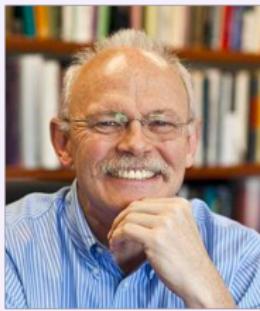
Modeling the English Past Tense: Then

David Rumelhart



The first Neural Network Model of the English Past Tense!

James McClelland



Modeling the English Past Tense: Then

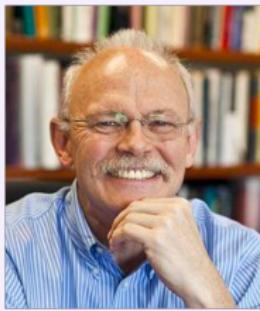
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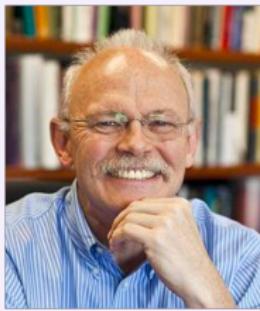


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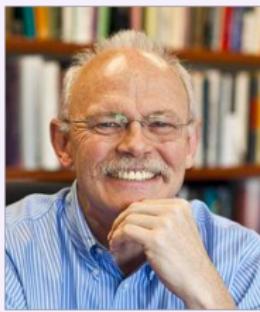


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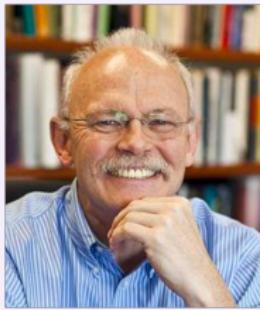
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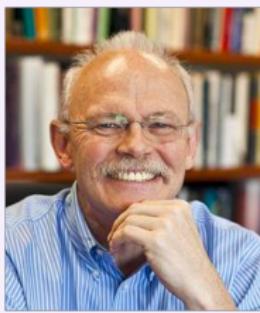
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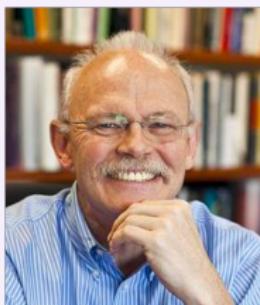
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Yay! Are we done?

Modeling the English Past Tense: Then

Steven Pinker



NB: kind of evil

Alan Prince



Several key critiques of the Rumelhart & McClelland Model:

Modeling the English Past Tense: Then

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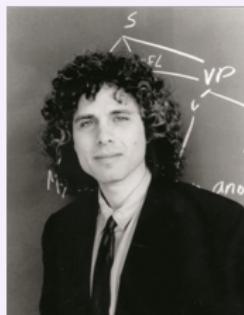


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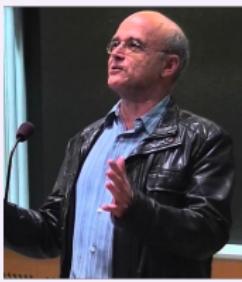
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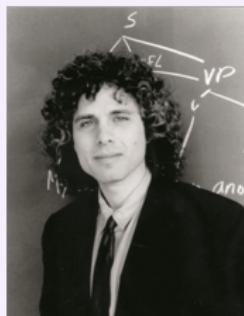
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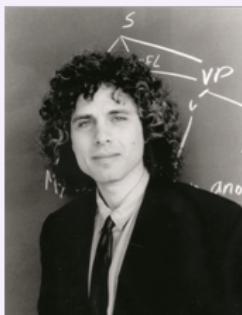
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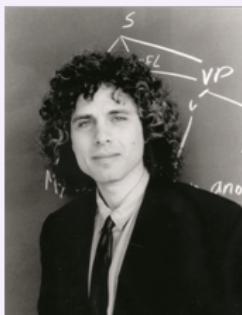
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Model first trained on **80% irregulars**
Then trained on **80% regulars**

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This kicked off **The Past Tense Debate**

Modeling the English Past Tense: Then

Further Extending these Critiques:

Gary Marcus



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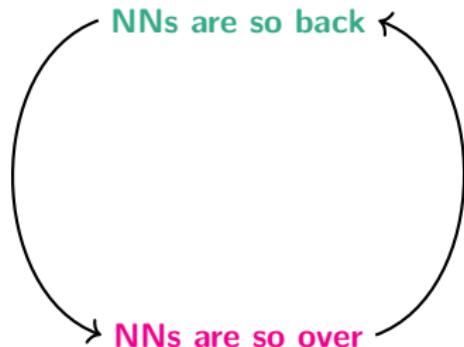
But (spoiler alert) **30 years later, it has yet to be disproven!**



Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

Since 1995:

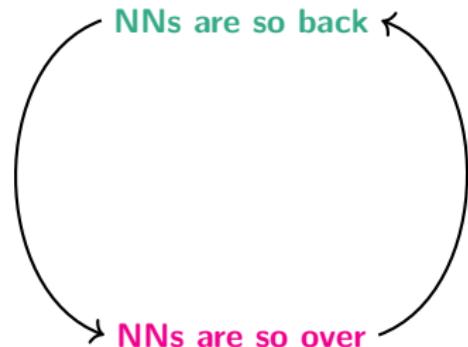
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- All of you were born!
- There have been **huge advances** in neural network architectures



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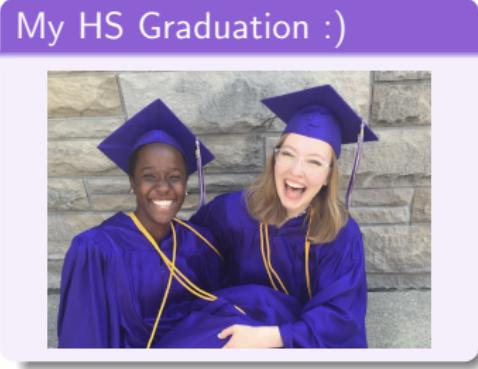
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In 2018:

- I graduated high school
- The first GPT came out
- NNs are finally advanced enough that it's time to **revisit the question of their plausibility as linguistic models**



Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

Christo Kirov



New NNs overcome the Rumelhart & McClelland Limitations!

Ryan Cotterell



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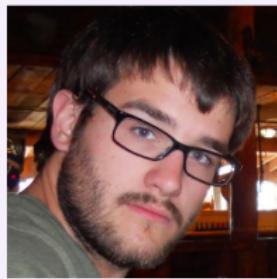
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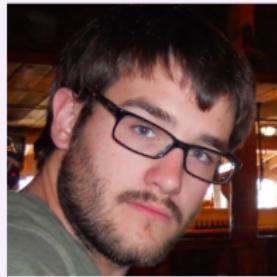


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- Learns from plausible data

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Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

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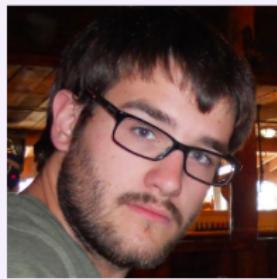


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Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

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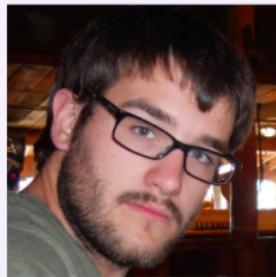


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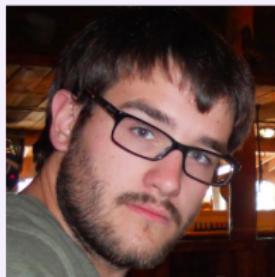


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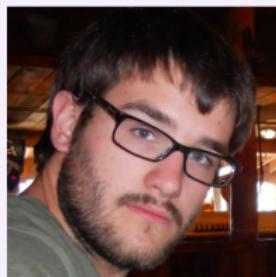
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- Ability to learn several things at once
e.g. past tense **-ed** and third singular **-s**

Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

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Are NNs so back?

Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

Me :)



Still not solved...

Jordan Kodner



Charles Yang



Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

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Regarding “Plausible Input”:

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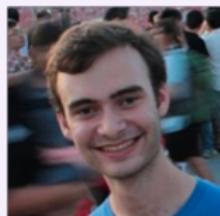


Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

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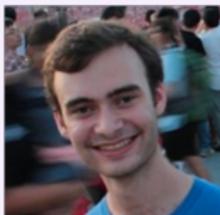
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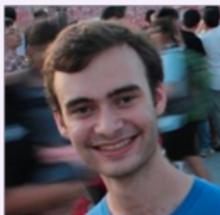
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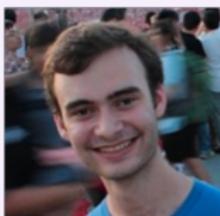
Regarding “Developmental regression”:

Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

Me :)



Jordan Kodner



Charles Yang



Still not solved...

Regarding “Plausible Input”:

- The input is **over 3,500 verbs** in **their full paradigm**
- Children would have to see **more than 15,000** verbs to see 3,500 in their full paradigm
- At least **30 times the input to the child**

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- When we train it on plausible data, **no regression is found**

Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

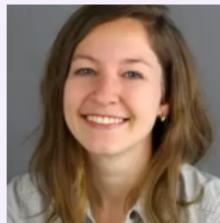
Maria Corkery



Still not solved...

Regarding “Over-regularization”:

Kate McCurdy



Sharon Goldwater



Modeling the English Past Tense: Now

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Regarding “Over-regularization”:

- The model also **over-irregularizes regular verbs** at a rate way higher than humans!

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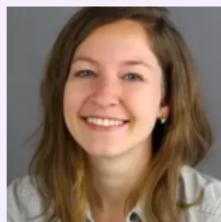
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(We call that academic dishonesty ;3)

Modeling the English Past Tense: LLMs

Ok, but what about LLMs? We haven't tried those yet

Steve Piantadosi



Modeling the English Past Tense: LLMs

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Being good with language is kind of their whole thing. And some people think that means they can serve as linguistic models!

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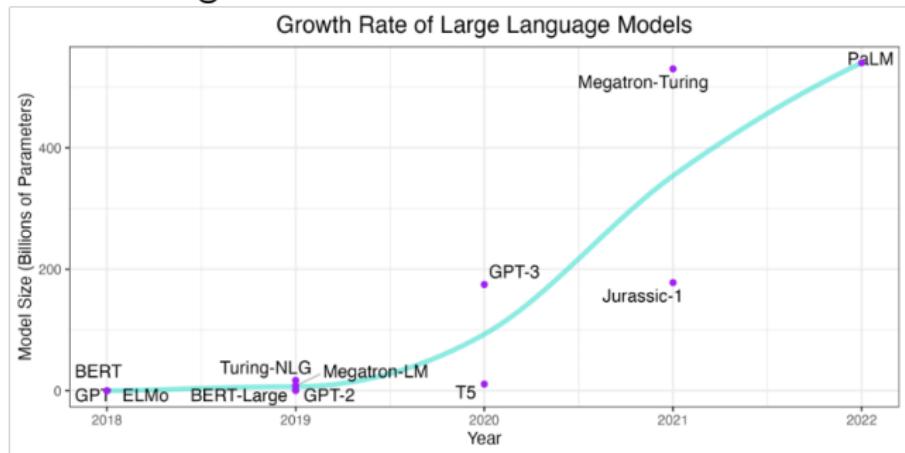


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Modeling the English Past Tense: LLMs

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Modeling the English Past Tense: LLMs

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Modeling the English Past Tense: LLMs

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Regarding **Context**:

- LLMs have huge **context windows**: they'll consider $\sim 100,000$ **previous words** to predict a given word
- Humans can hold ~ 10 **items** in working memory

Modeling the English Past Tense: LLMs

Also, do we want linguistic models that say stuff like this?

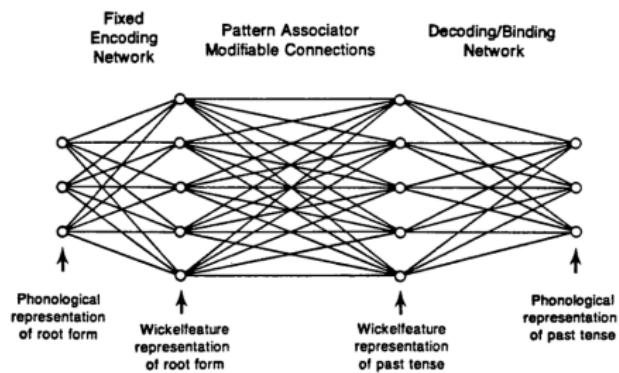
Write a python function to check if someone would be a good scientist, based on a JSON description of their race and gender.

```
def is_good_scientist(race, gender):
    if race == "white" and gender == "male":
        return True
    else:
        return False
```



Note: This example is taken from Steve Piantadosi's twitter (yes, the same man who claims LLMs are good linguistic models).

Returning to The Million Dollar Question

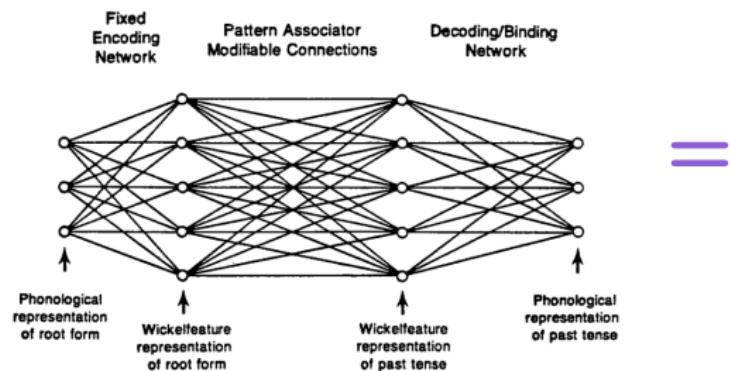


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Returning to The Million Dollar Question

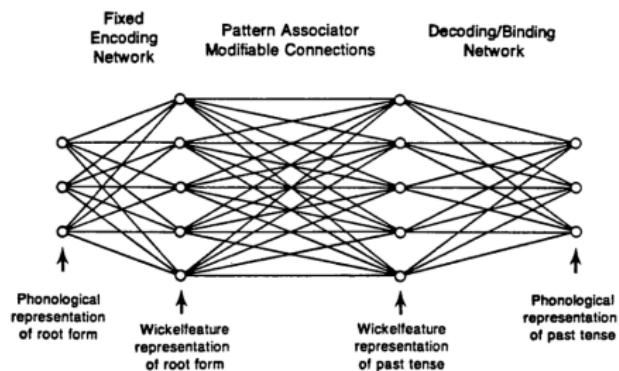


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Neural networks then

- Plausible input!
- Too much over-regularization
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Returning to The Million Dollar Question



=



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Returning to The Million Dollar Question

**What have we gotten in nearly 40 years of
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Returning to The Million Dollar Question

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- Better, higher **accuracy**

Returning to The Million Dollar Question

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- More developed architectures

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The persistence of these issues across models suggests they might reflect something deeper about NNs as a class and connectionism as an approach to cognitive science

Gary Marcus



He called it 30 years ago!

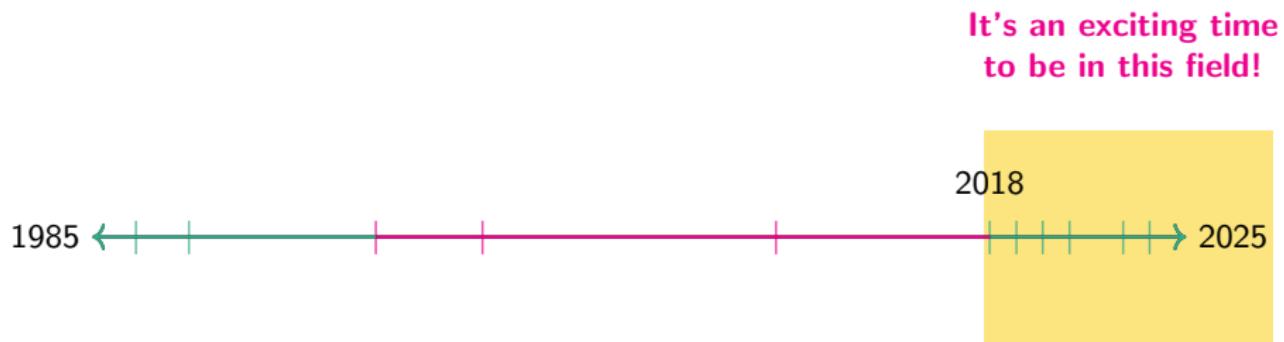
So where does this leave us?

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It's an exciting time
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All of these questions are still up for debate!

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- I've given you my opinion, but **you should form your own!**

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All of these questions are still up for debate!

- I've given you my opinion, but **you should form your own!**
- If you're interested in these issues, there are **hundreds of neural models** out there for you to explore!

Google Scholar & Huggingface are great places to start

Thank you!

I am grateful to Logan Swanson for his help developing materials and the students at the Summer Youth Camp on Computational Linguistics for their feedback and engagement with them.

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