



Adaptation-to-Context in Humans and Large Language Models

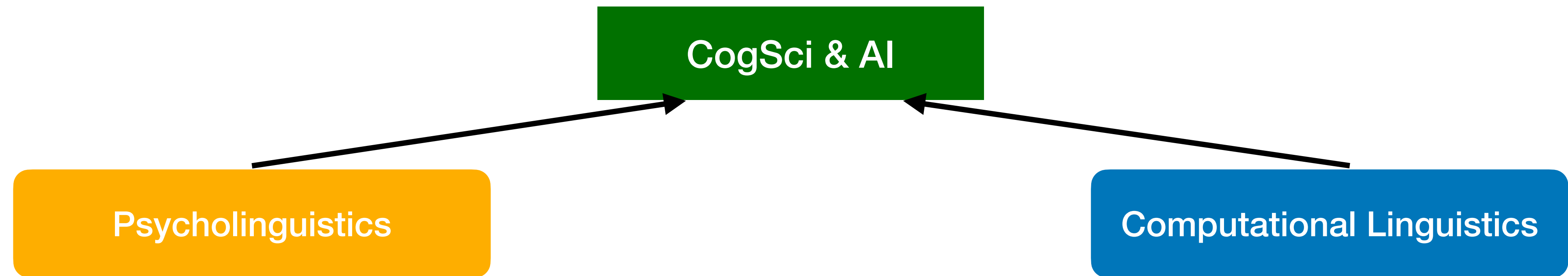
Inferring the underlying mechanisms of In-Context Learning with Structural Priming

Zhenghao Herbert Zhou 周正浩, Yale University
LA Reading Group, Peking University
December 19, 2025



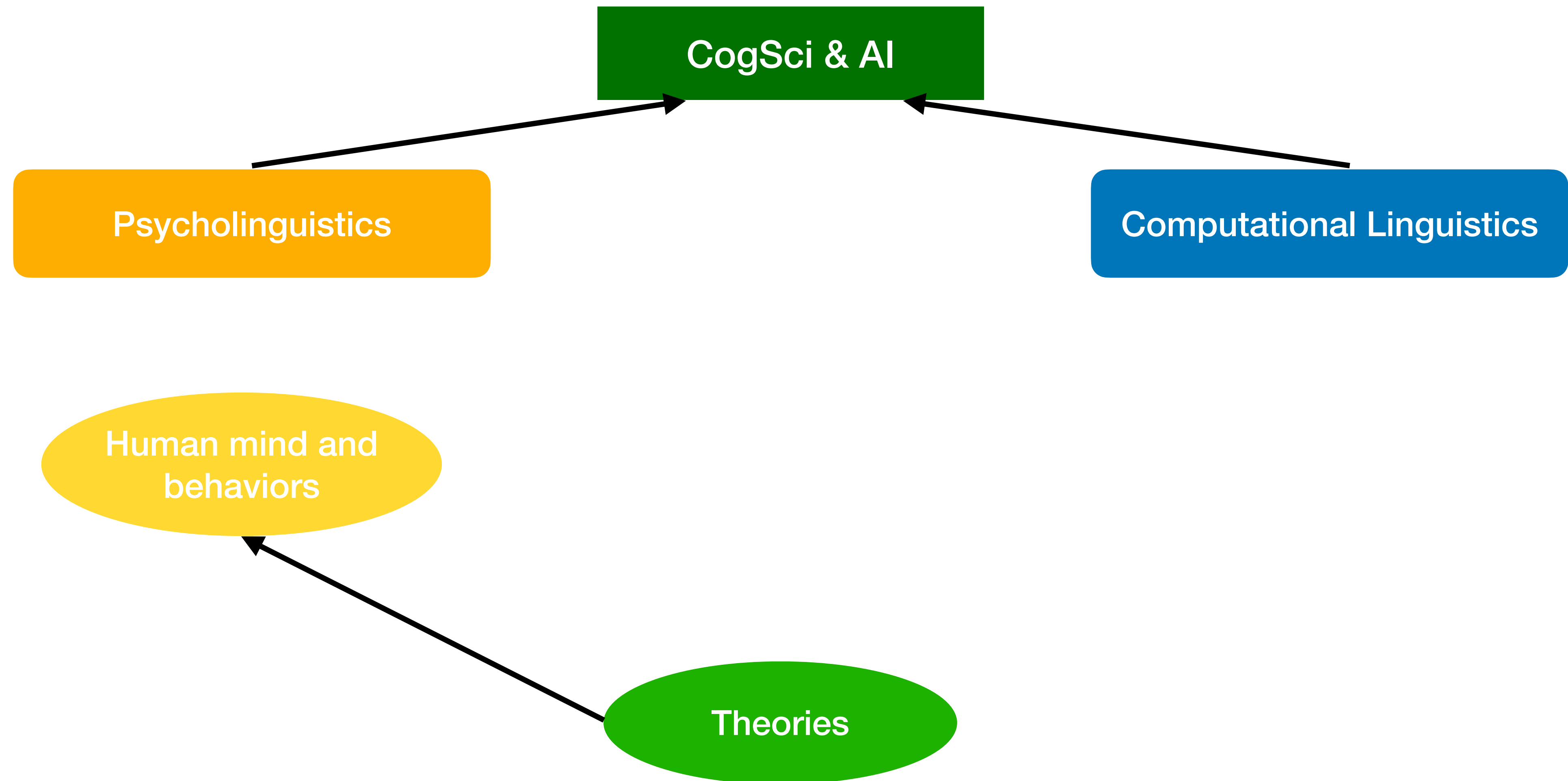
The Big Picture: Notes on Methodology

Humans and LLMs are bidirectionally informative



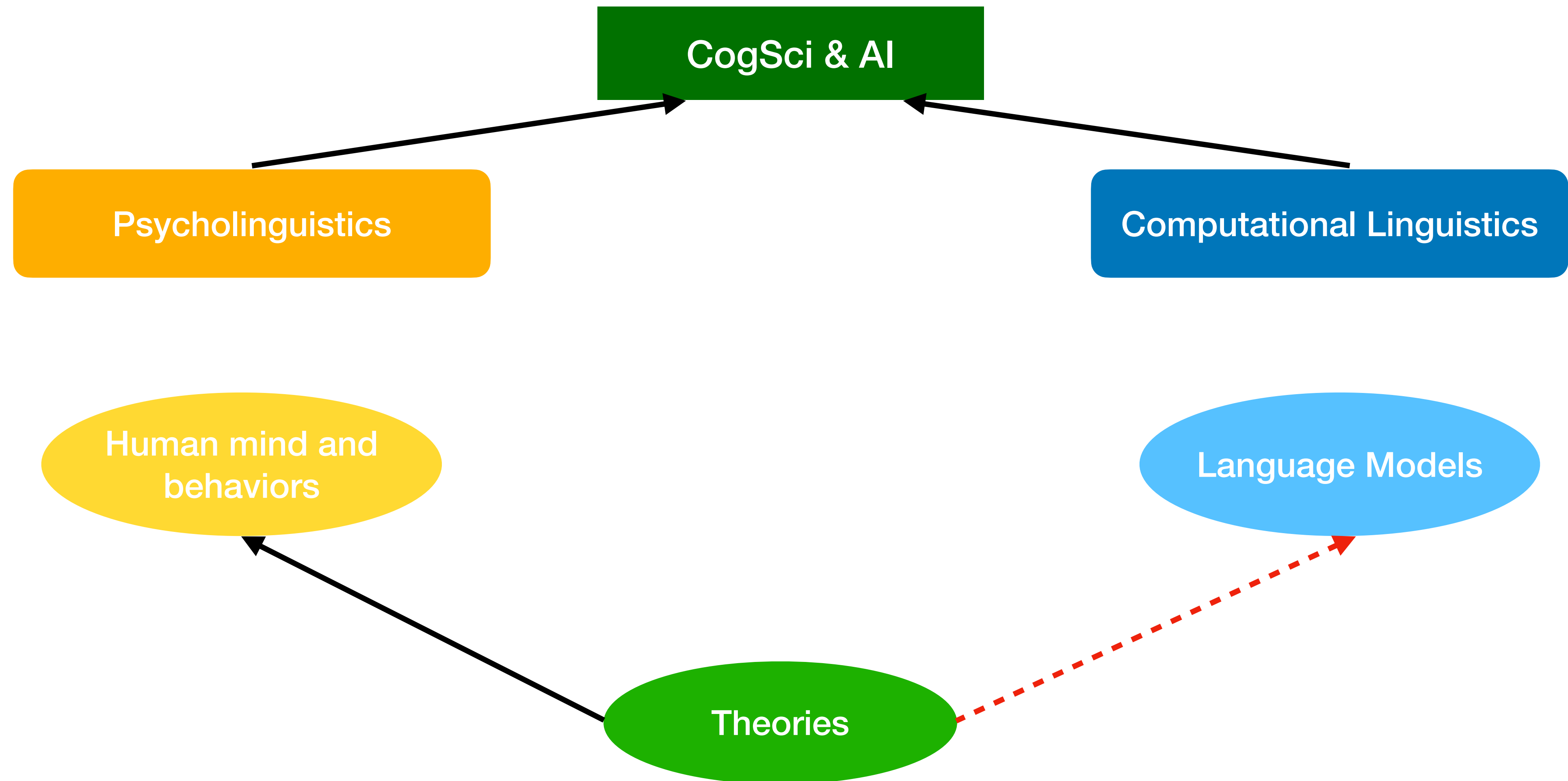
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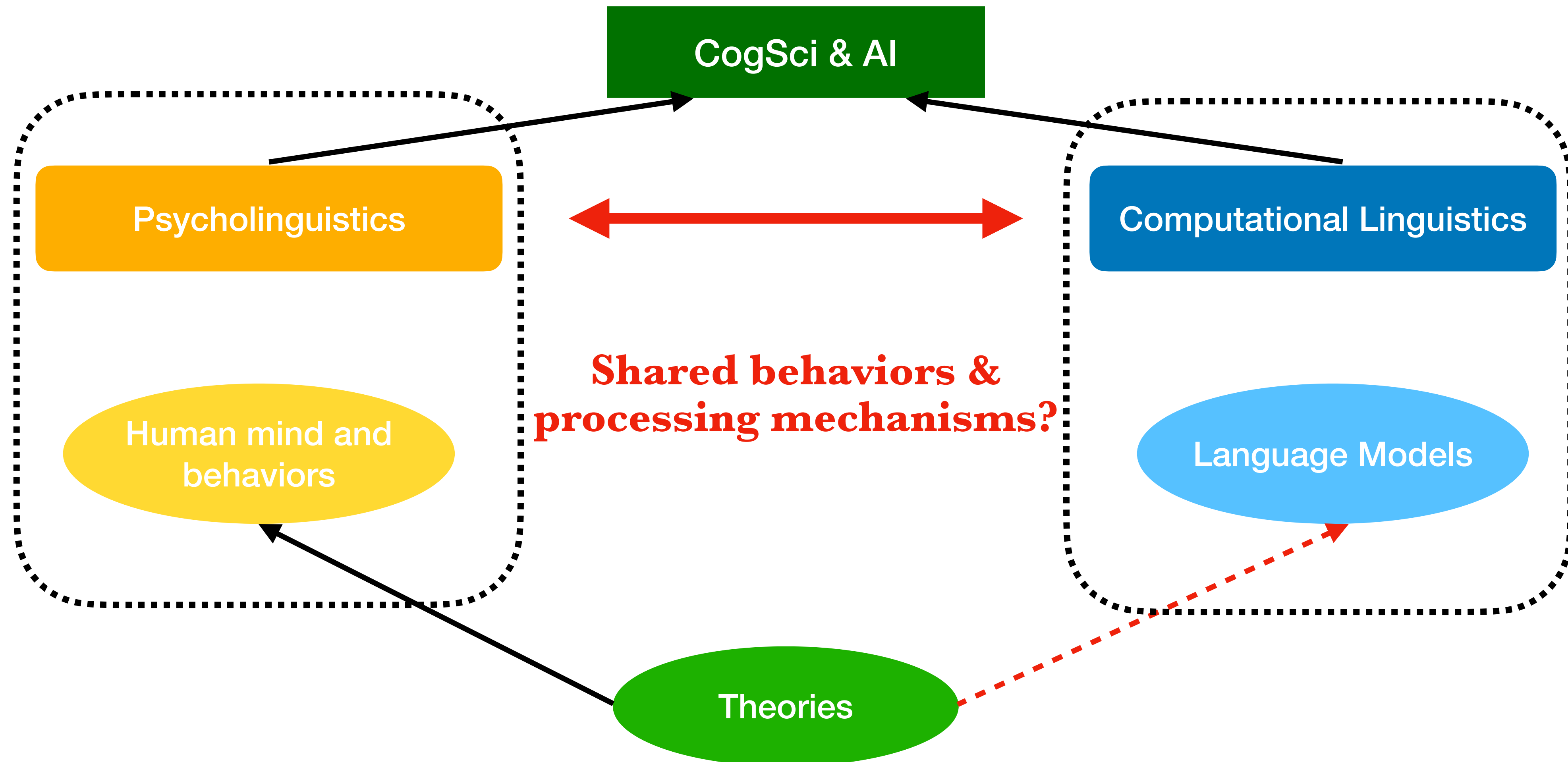
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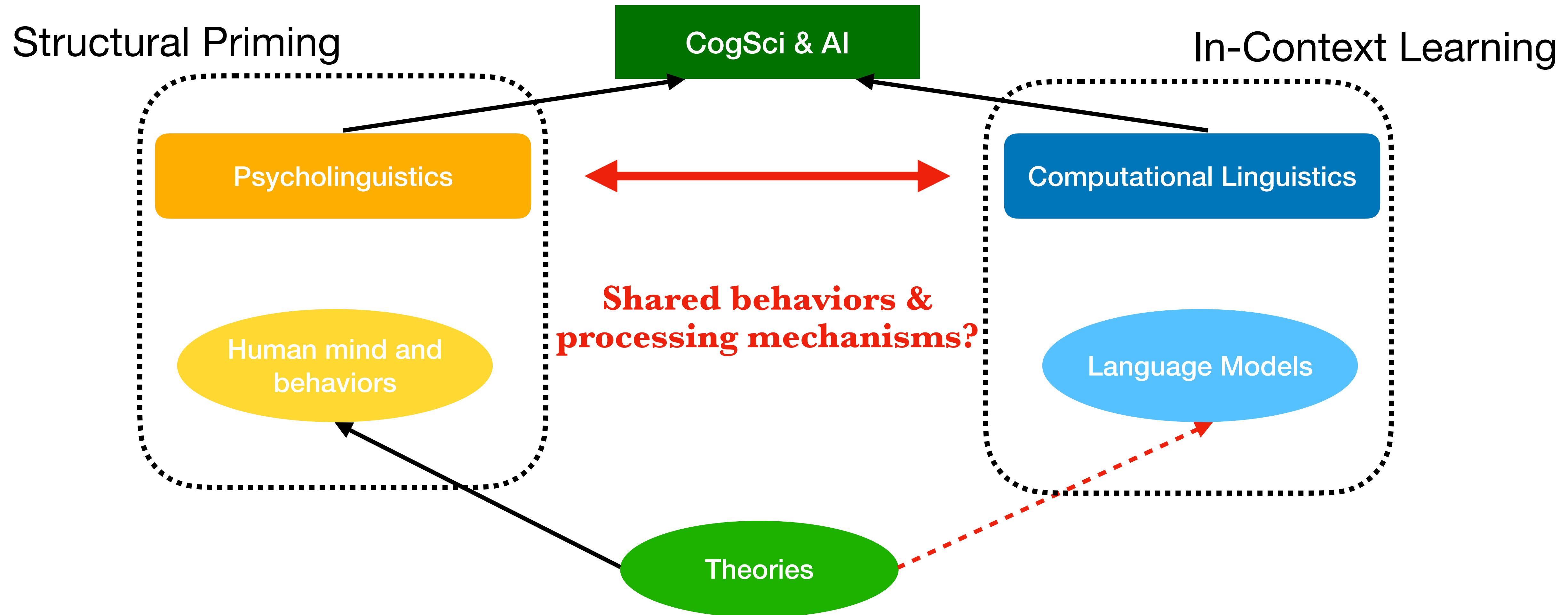
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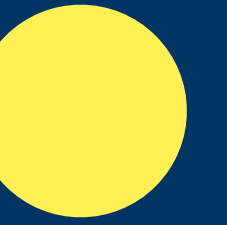


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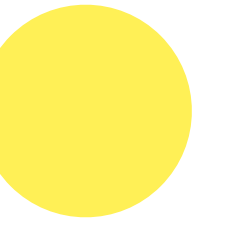
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Structural Priming in Humans

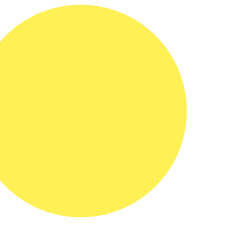


Structural Priming



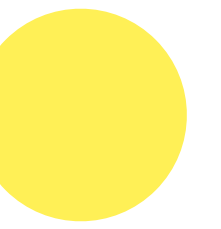
[e.g., Bock 1986; Chang 2012; etc.]

Structural Priming



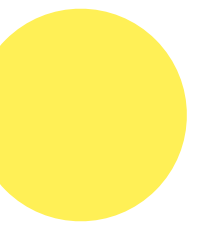
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- A classical case: **dative alternation**
 - Double Object (DO): *Alice sent Bob a letter.*
 - Prepositional Dative (PD): *Alice sent a letter to Bob.*

Structural Priming



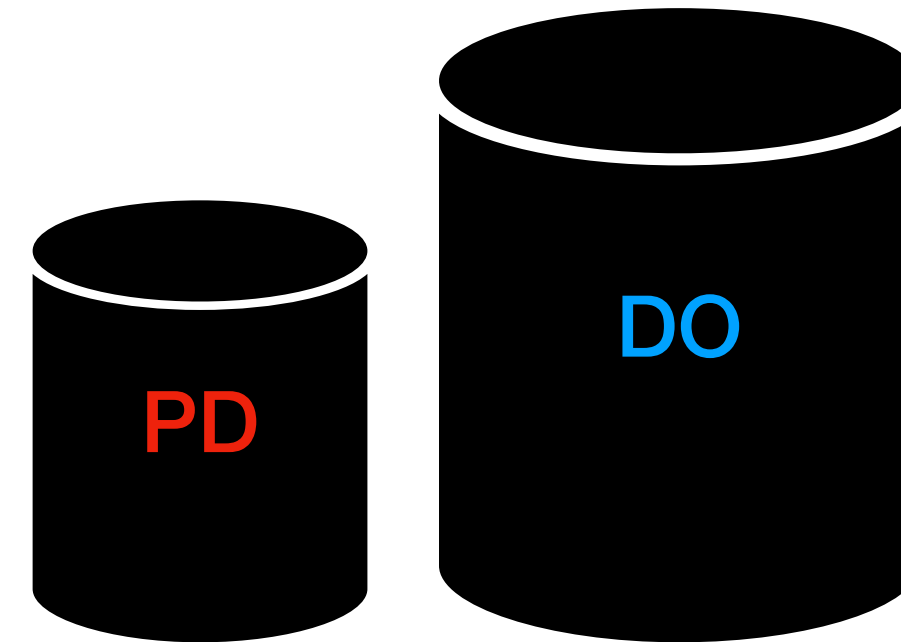
- **Structural Priming:** speakers tend to reuse the syntactic structures they have recently encountered during production or comprehension.
- A classical case: **dative alternation**
 - Double Object (DO): *Alice sent Bob a letter.*
 - Prepositional Dative (PD): *Alice sent a letter to Bob.*
- Other attested structures subject to priming:
 - active-passive;
 - *that*-omission in relative clauses and complement, etc.

The Inverse Frequency Effect (IFE)

- **Inverse Frequency Effect:** the *less preferred* (lower frequency) syntactic structure causes a *stronger* priming effect than the more preferred (higher frequency) structural alternative.

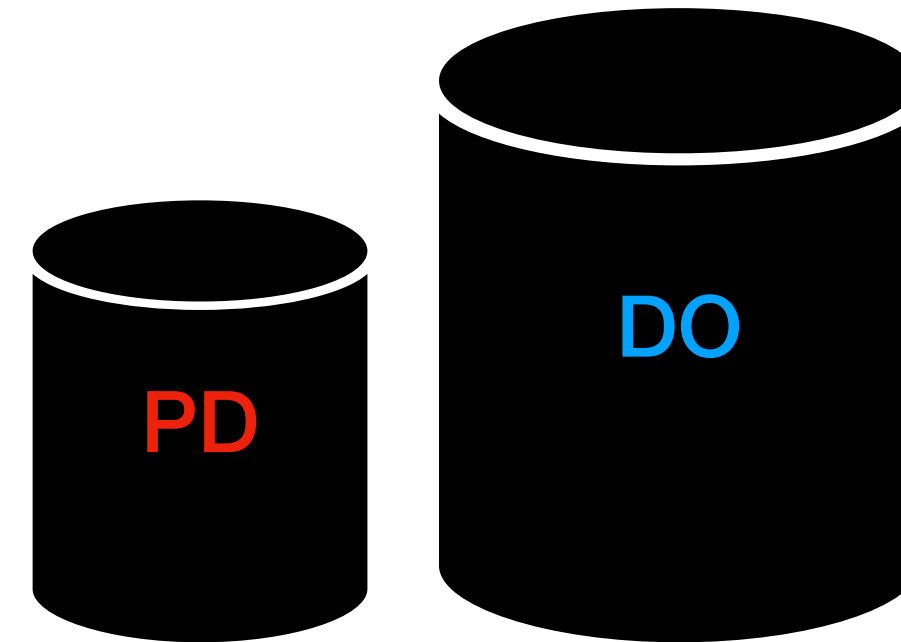
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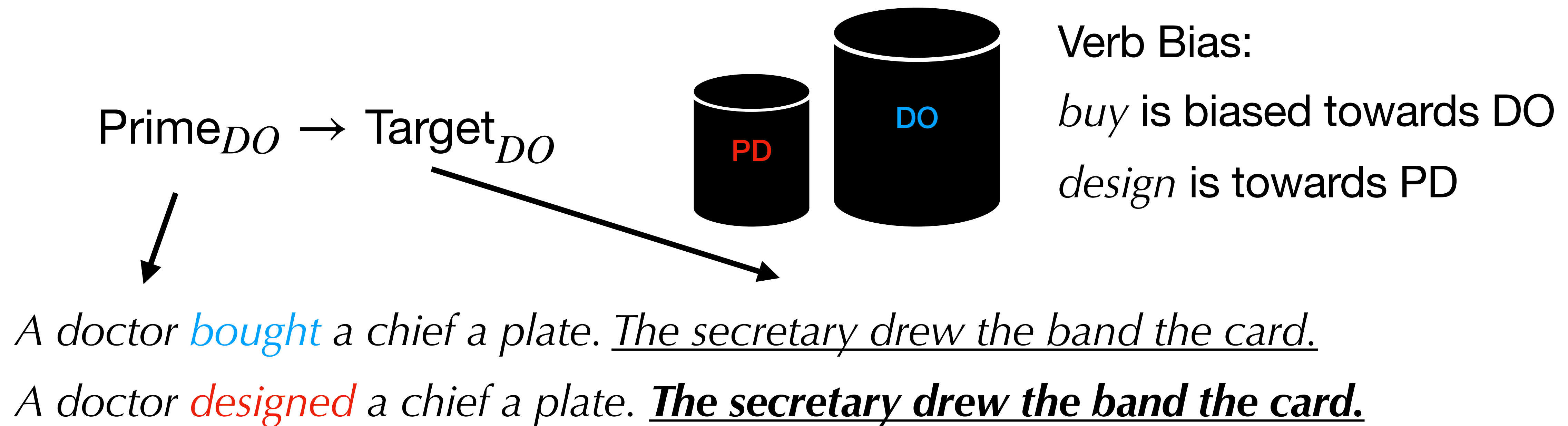
Verb Bias:

buy is biased towards DO

design is towards PD

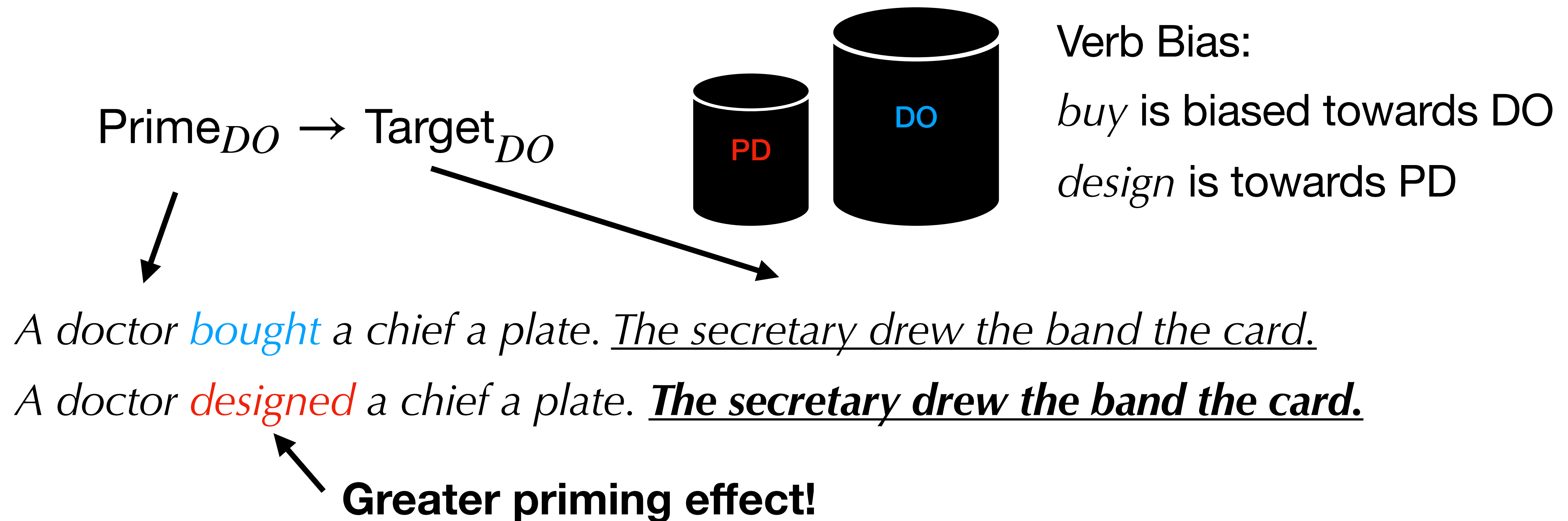
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The Inverse Frequency Effect (IFE)

Prime_{DO} → Target_{DO}

Unprimed probability = 0.2

A doctor bought a chief a plate. The secretary drew the band the card.

A doctor designed a chief a plate. The secretary drew the band the card.

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Prime Verb

Bring

Buy

Find

Draw

Design

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Verb PD Bias

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0.23

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0.27

Find

0.41

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0.52

Design

0.77



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<u>Prime Verb</u>	<u>Verb PD Bias</u>	<u>Primed probability</u> (priming magnitude)
<i>Bring</i>	0.23	0.23 (0.03)
<i>Buy</i>	0.27	0.25 (0.05)
<i>Find</i>	0.41	0.28 (0.08)
<i>Draw</i>	0.52	0.30 (0.10)
<i>Design</i>	0.77	0.33 (0.13)

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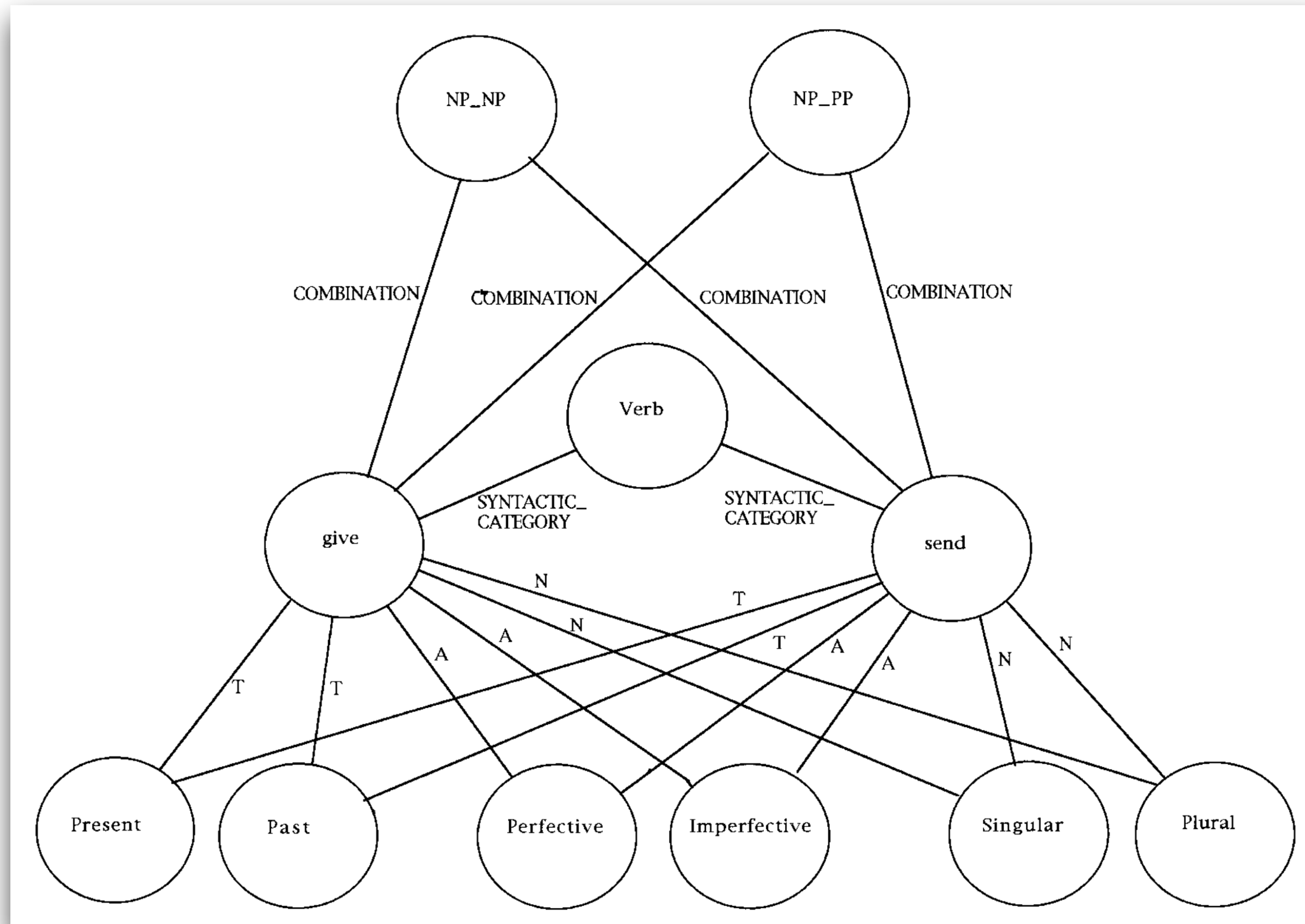
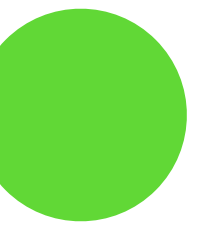
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priming in DO

larger PD biases

greater priming effects

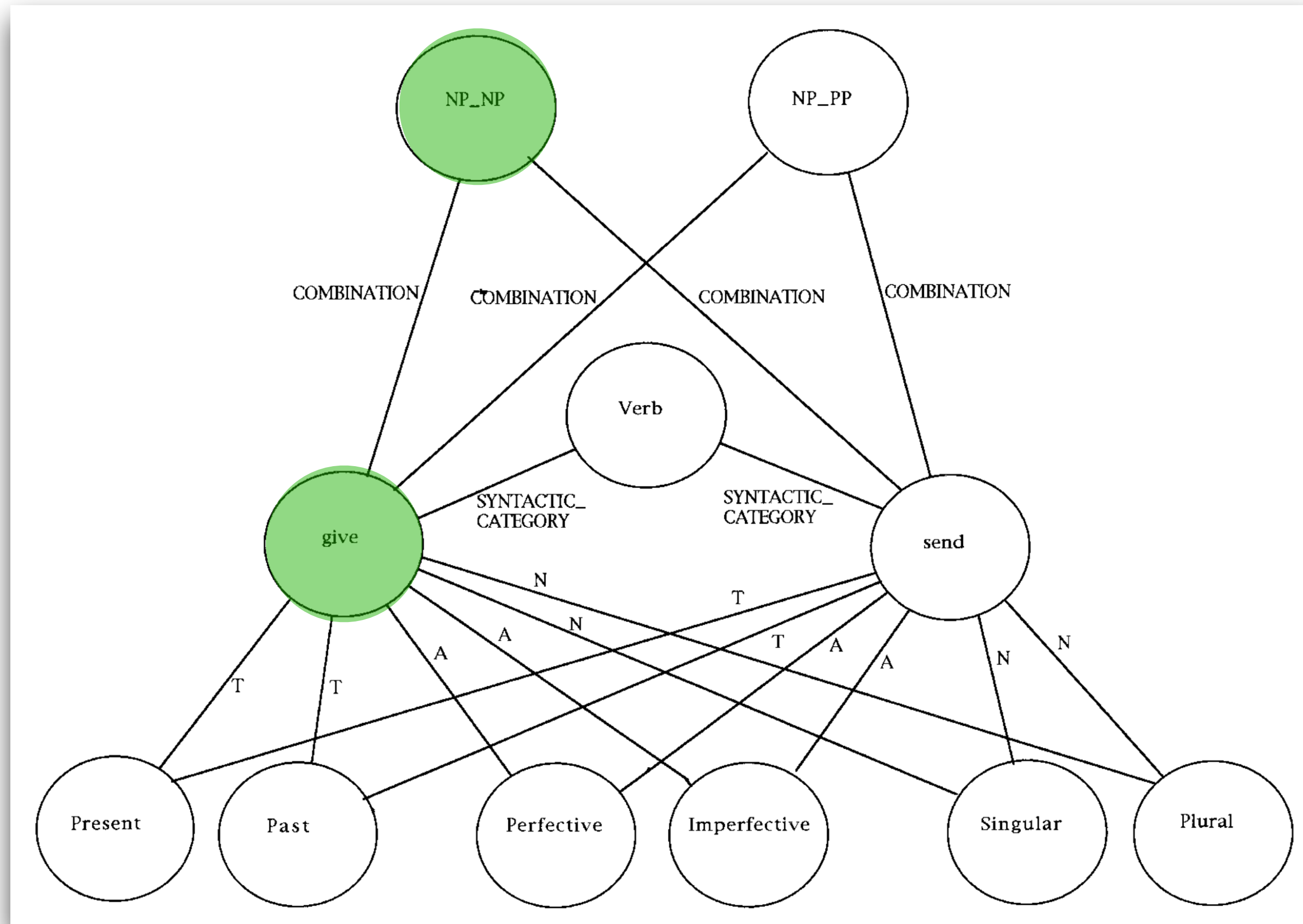
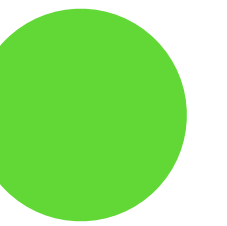
Theory 1: Transient Activation



← Structural Nodes

← Lexical Nodes

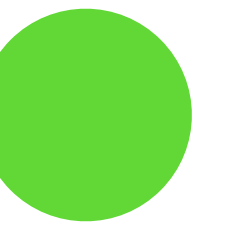
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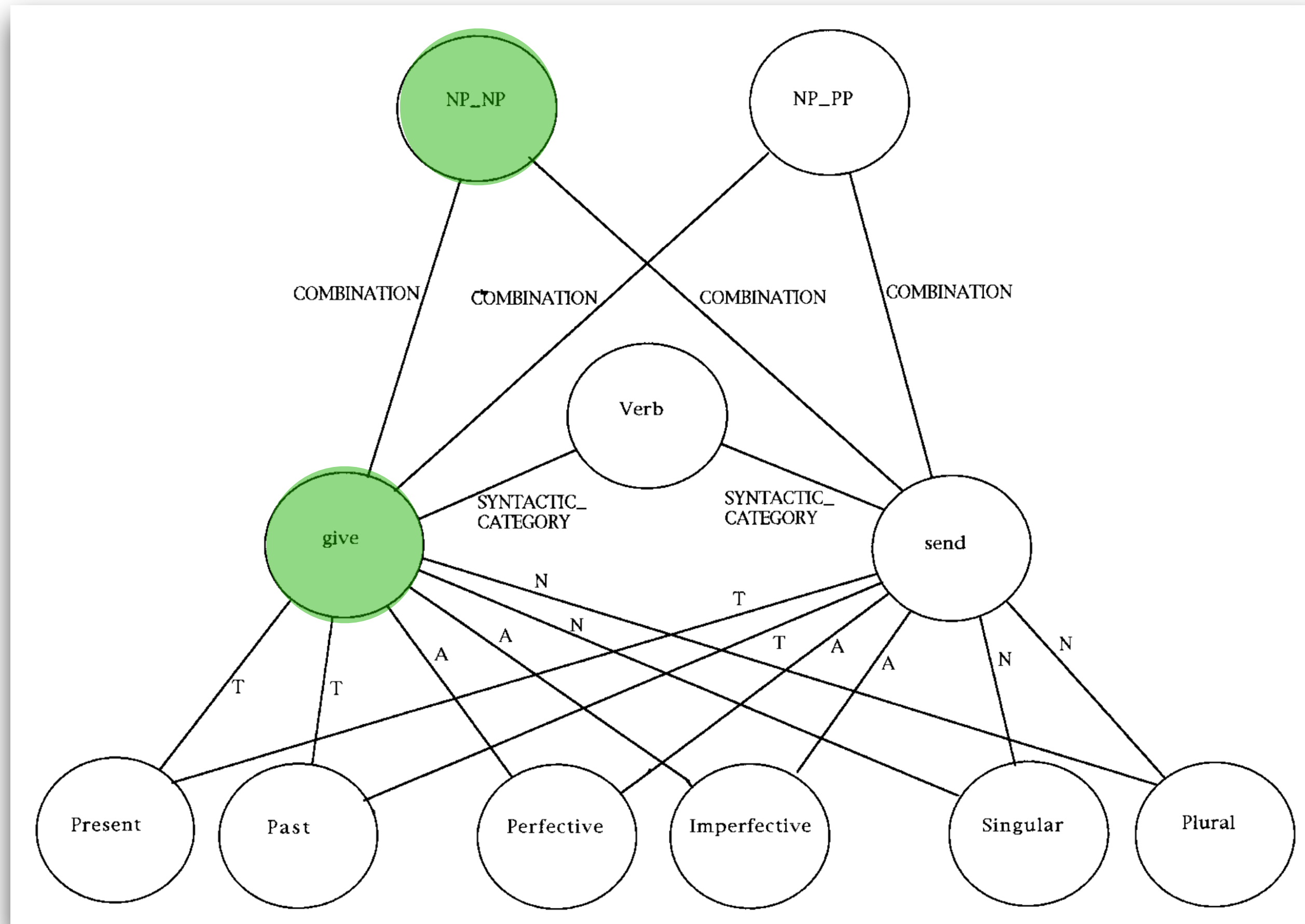
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Theory 1: Transient Activation



Quickly decaying activations

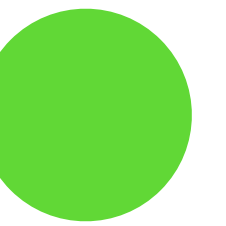


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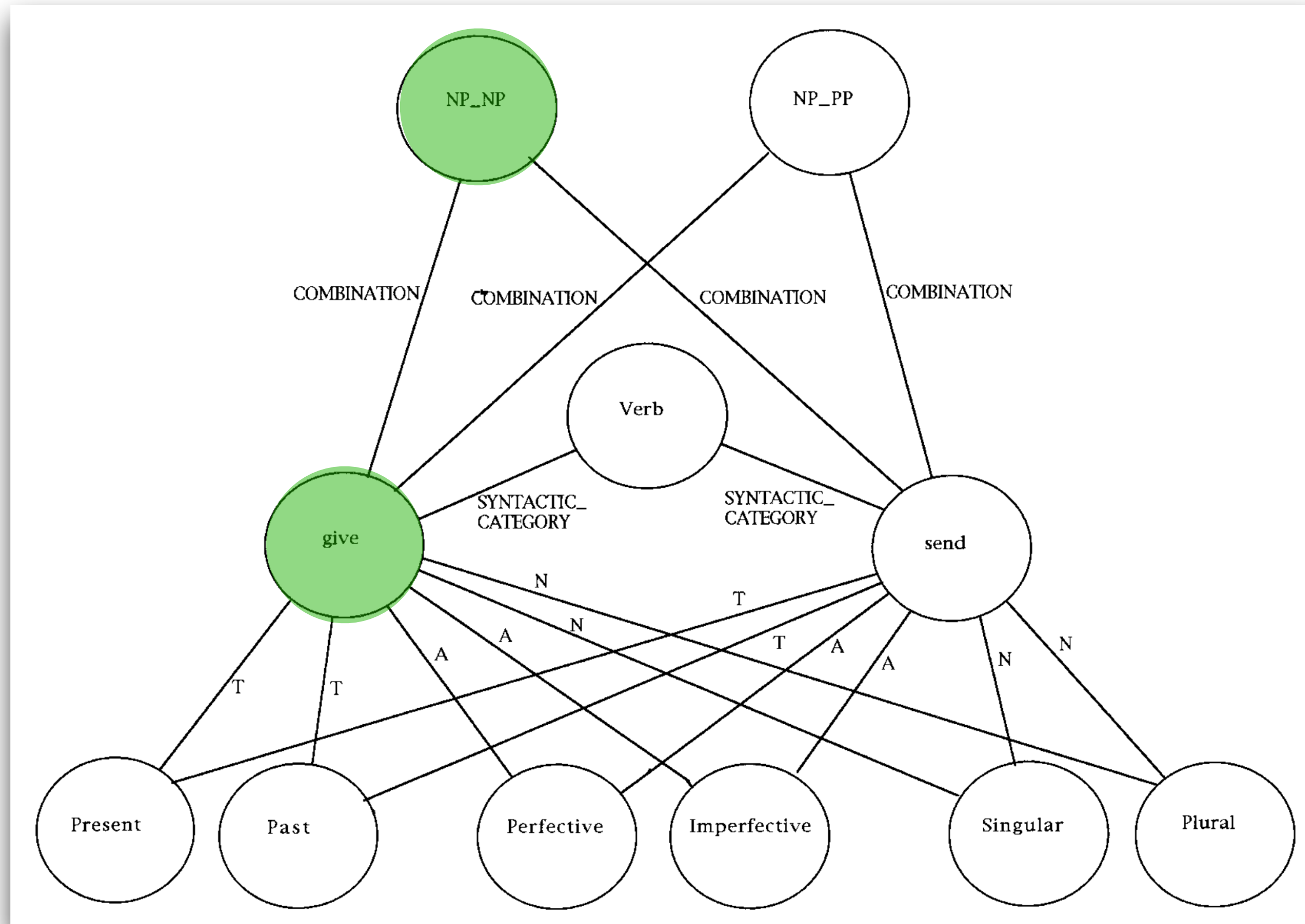
Increasing the activation values of the nodes, which persists through next productions.

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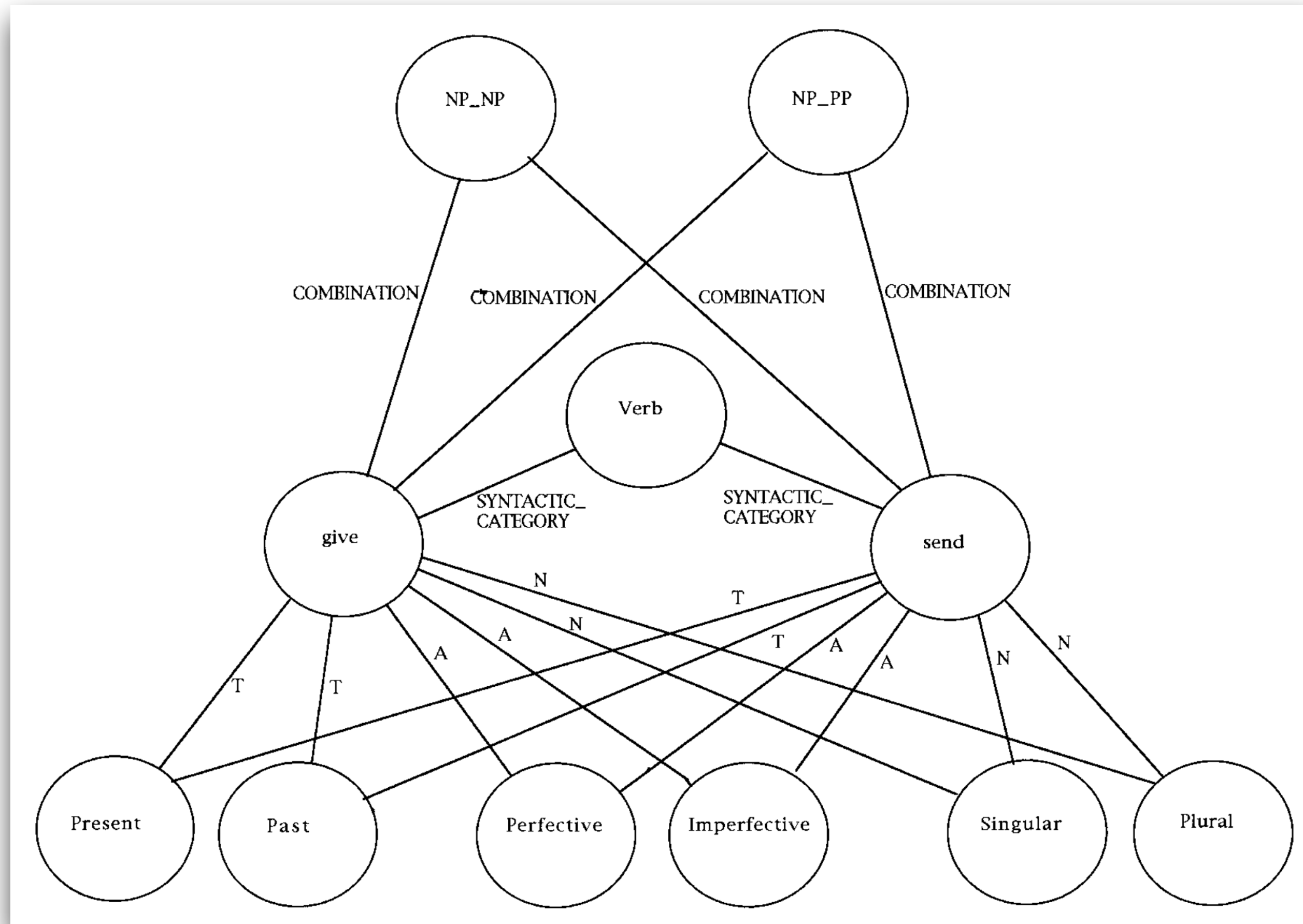
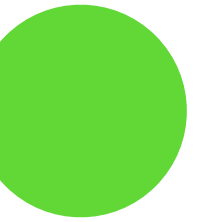
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Increasing the activation values of the nodes, which persists through next productions.

← Lexical Nodes

- An activation-based mechanism
- Explaining short-term effect
- Inverse Frequency effect? ❌

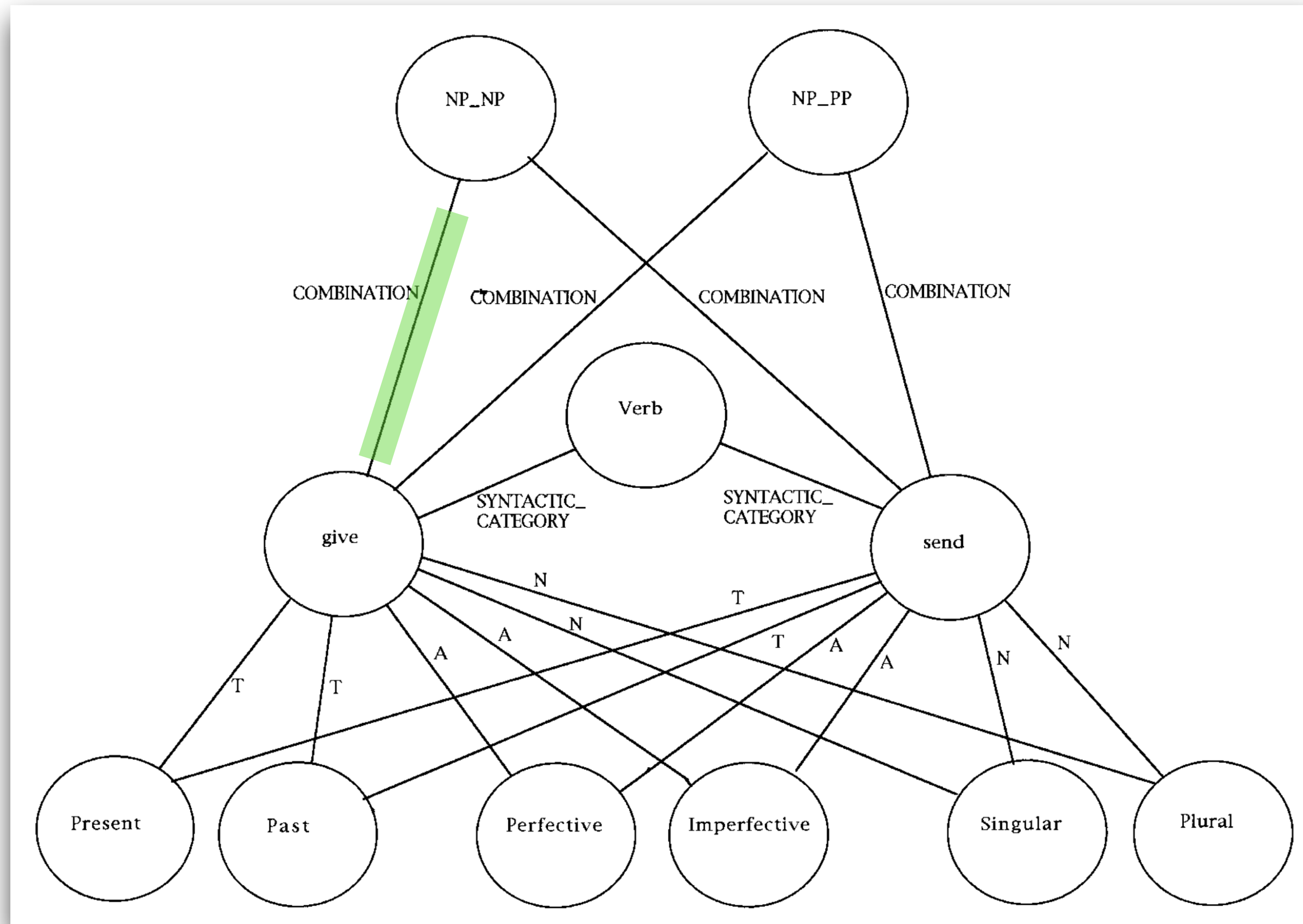
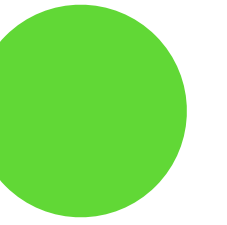
Theory 2: Implicit Learning



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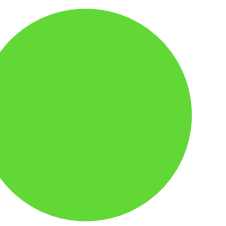
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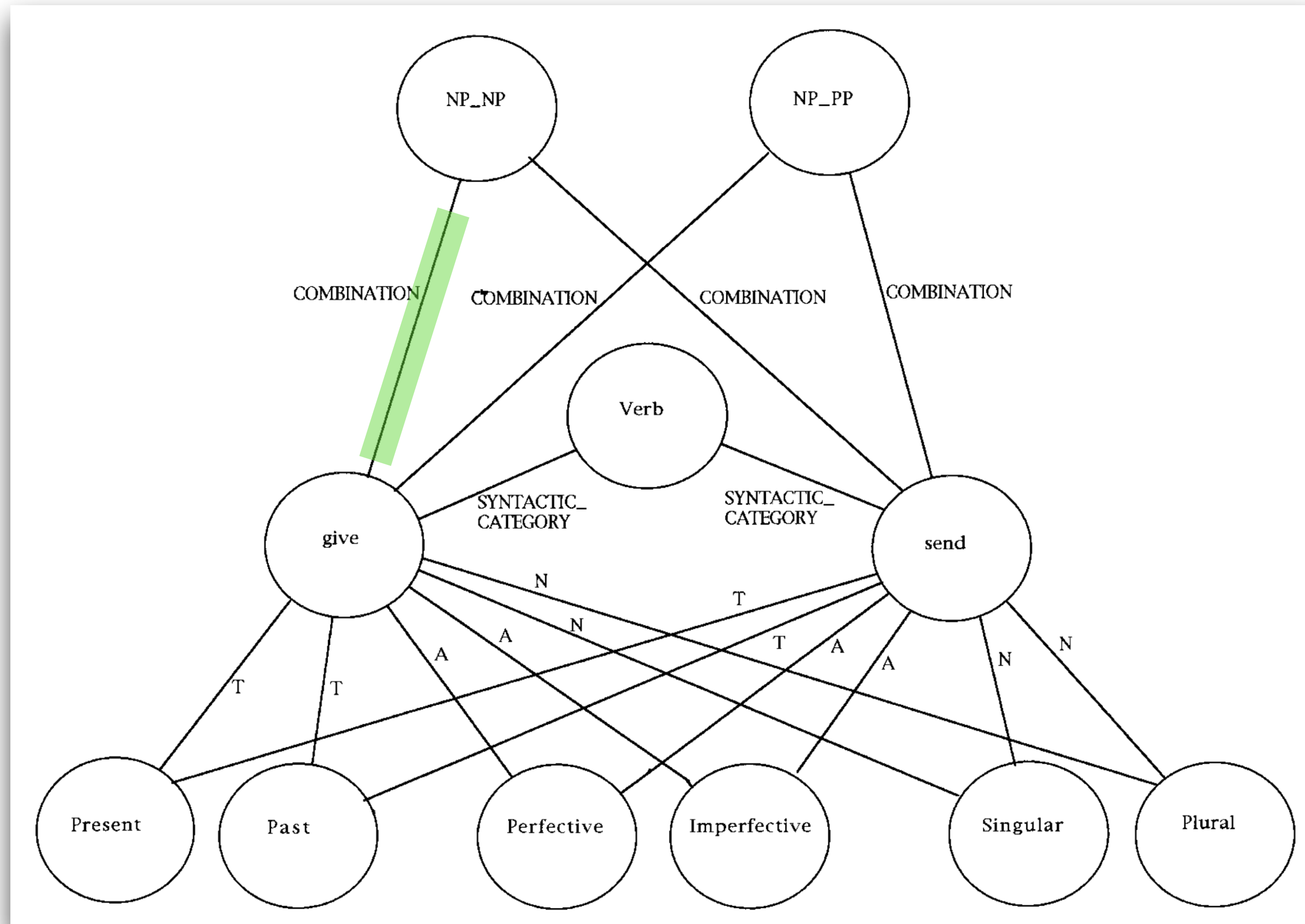
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Theory 2: Implicit Learning



Slowly decaying weight changes

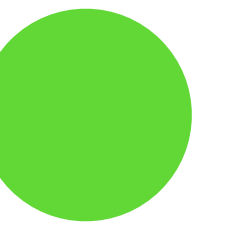


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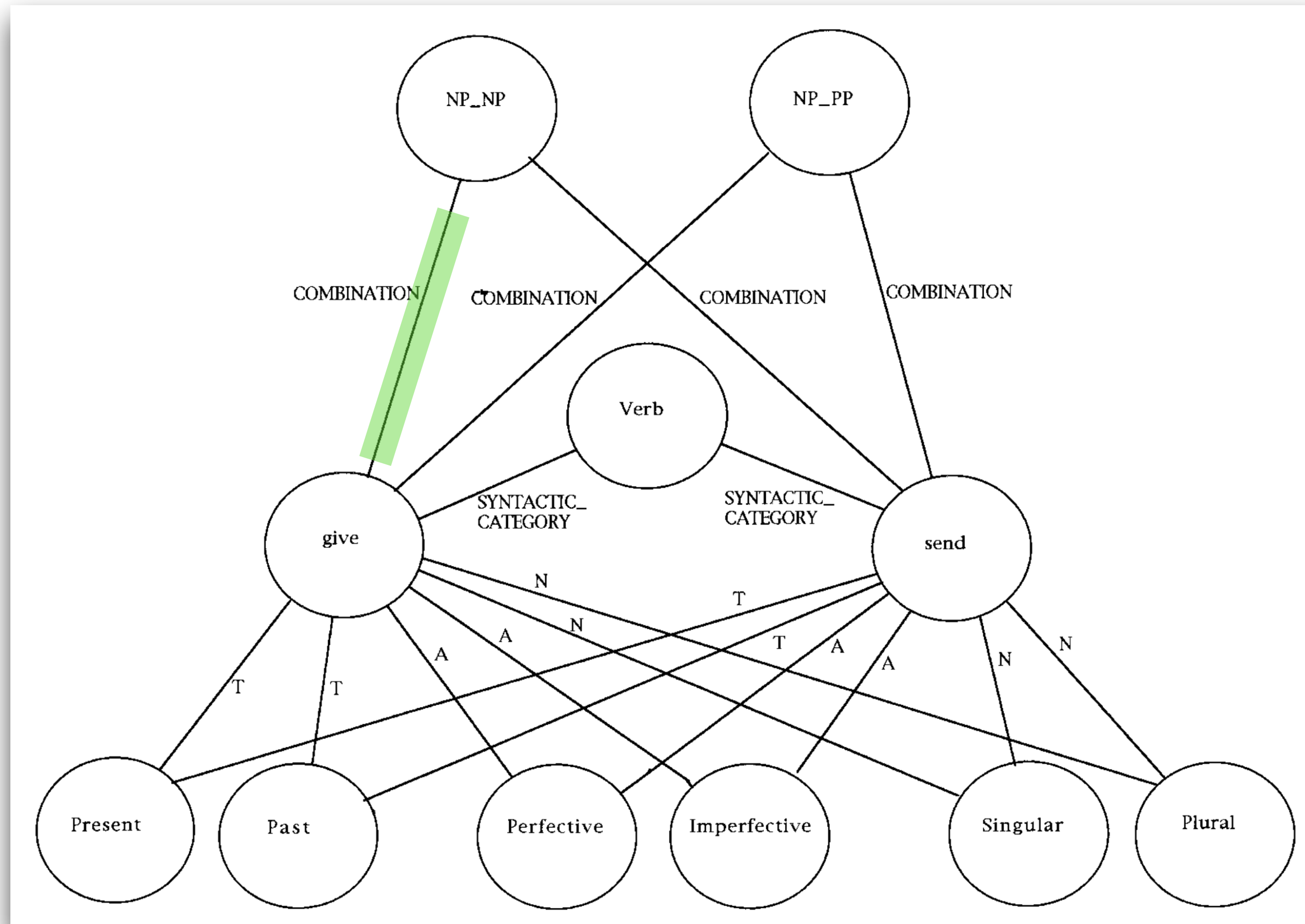
Increasing the link weights proportional to the error signal between verb-bias prediction and the actual input prime.

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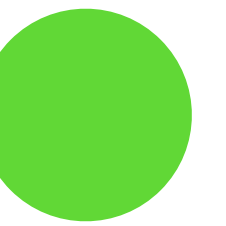
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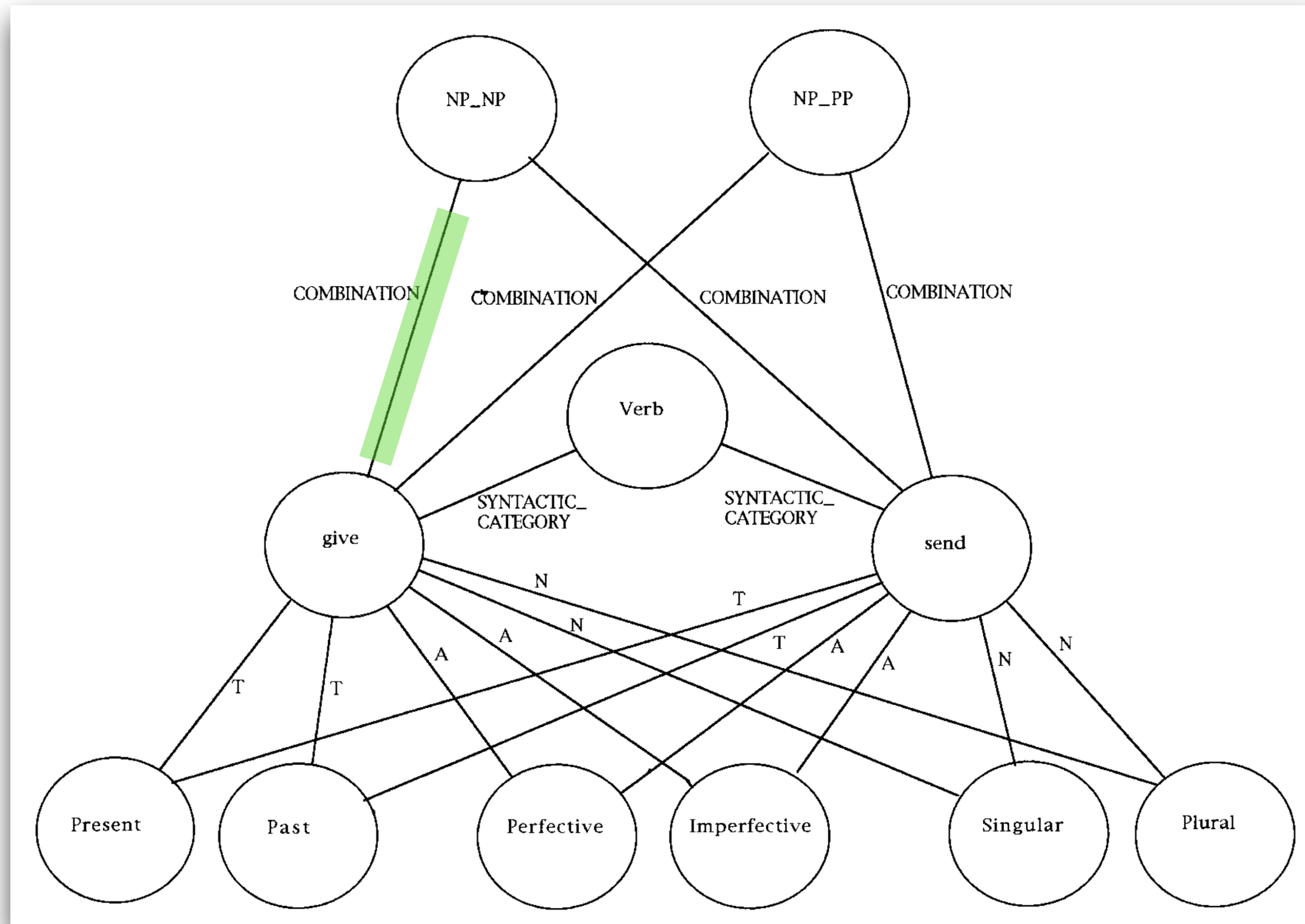
← Lexical Nodes

- An error-driven learning / adaptation mechanism
- Explaining long-term effect
- Inverse Frequency effect? ✓

Theory 2: Implicit Learning

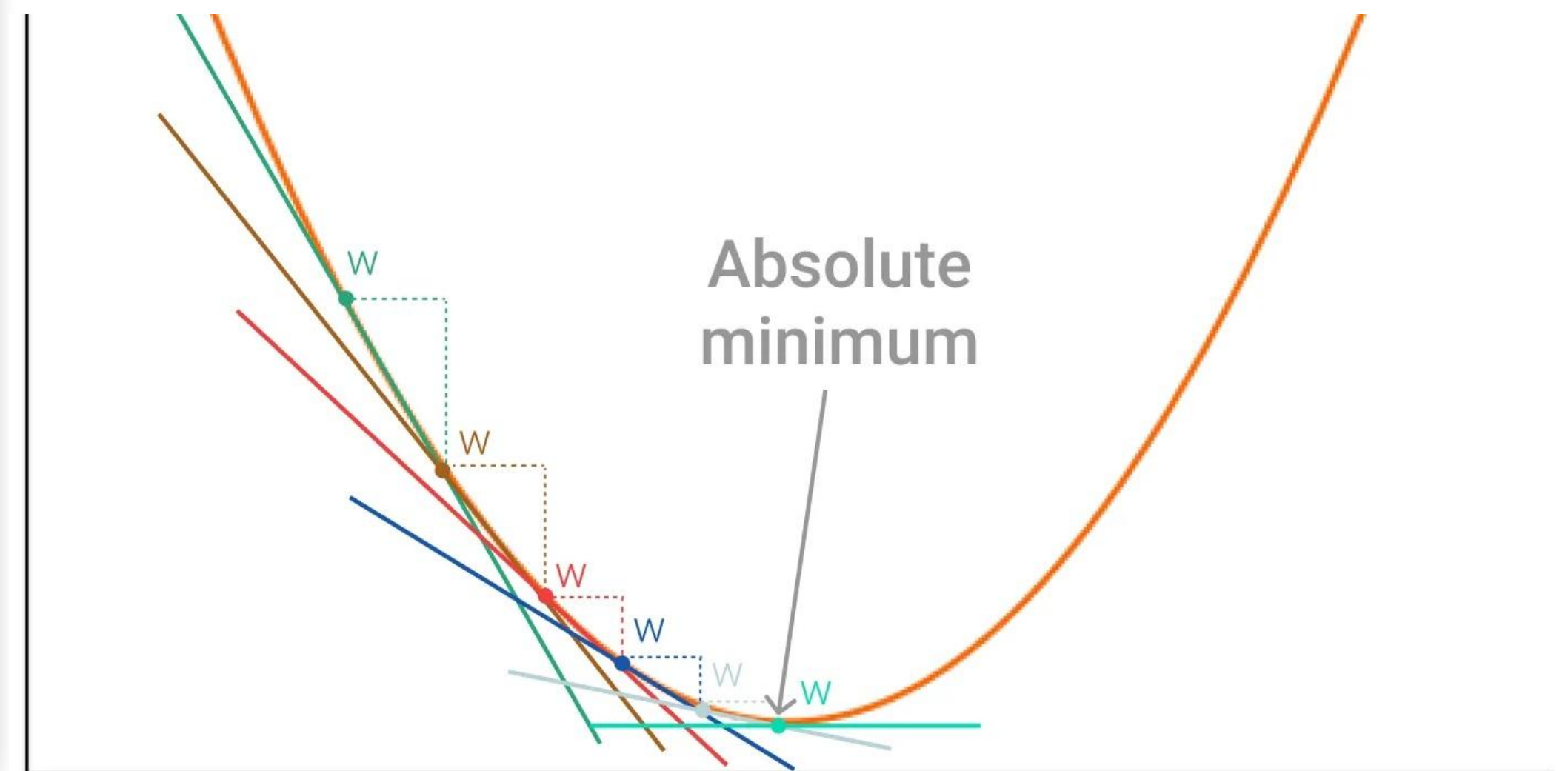


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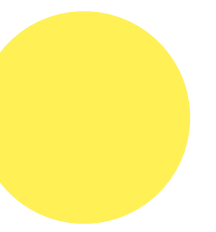
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Increasing the link weights proportional to the error signal between verb-bias prediction and the actual input prime.



[e.g., Chang et al. 2002, 2006; Jaeger & Snider 2013]

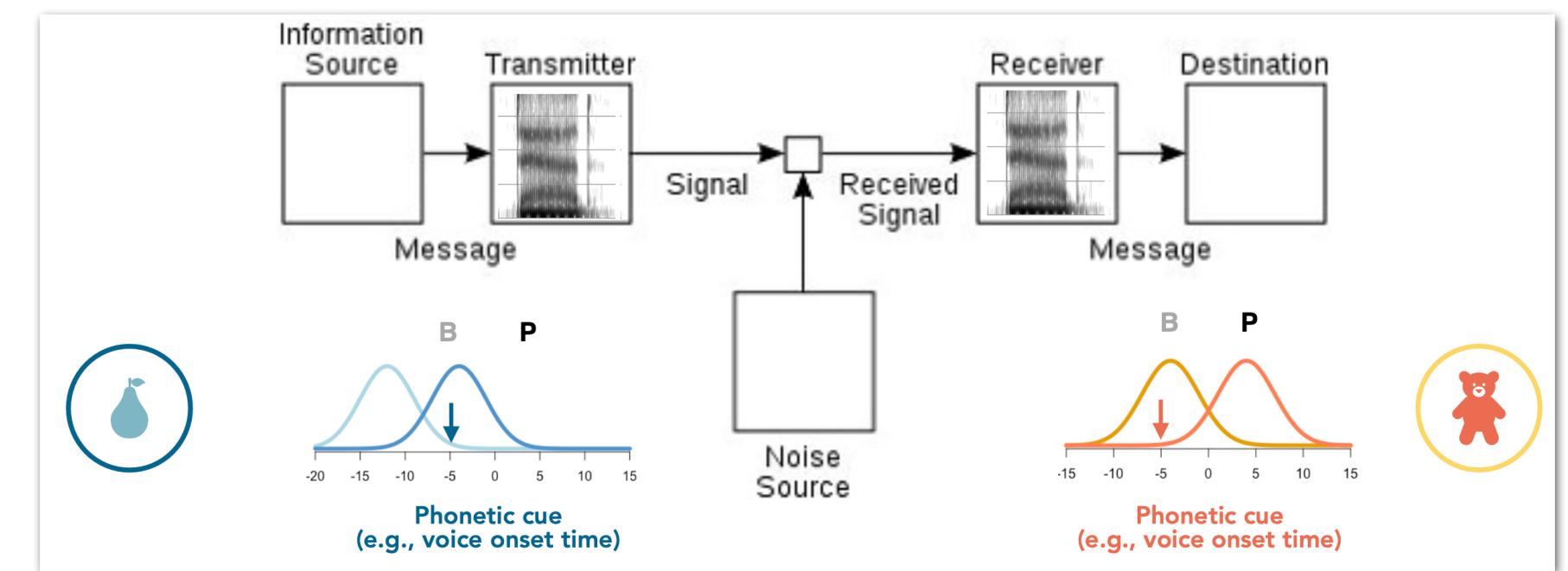
Side Notes: Priming as Linguistic Adaptation



[e.g., Xie & Kurumada 2023; Lu et al. 2025; Feng 2022; etc.]

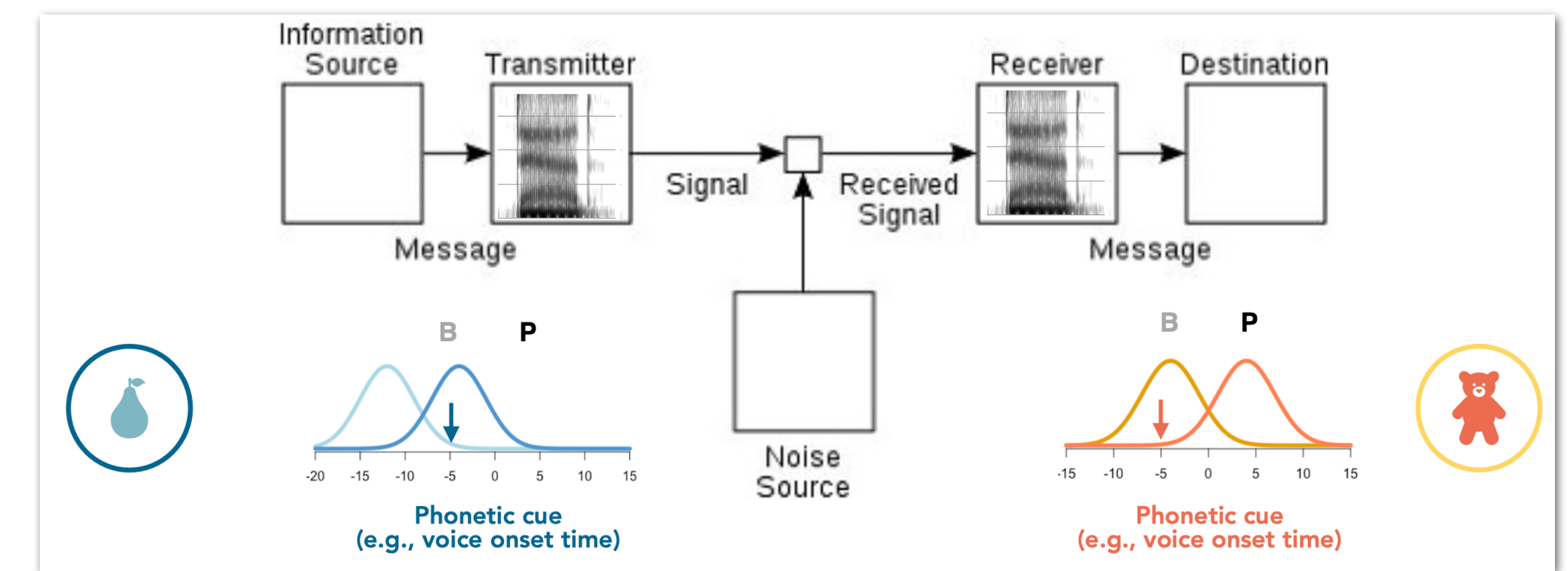
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- **Linguistic Adaptation:** adjustment of distributional knowledge / expectations to accommodate local input;
 - Speech adaptation & perception;
 - Syntactic satiation;
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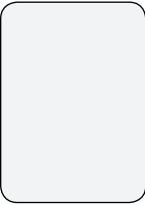
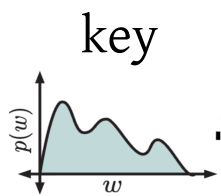
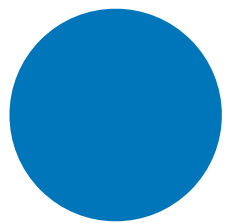
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- **Linguistic Adaptation & Statistical Learning?**
 - Adaptation as a *micro-learning window*: you can watch the learner update after tiny bits of evidence.
 - **IFE is the *signature* that the update is error-driven**, not just residual activation: rarer structures create bigger prediction error → bigger update.

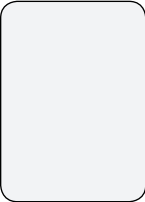
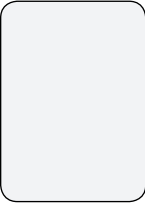


In-Context Learning in LLMs

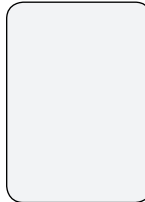
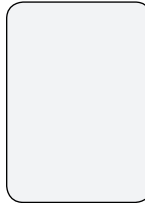
A Primer on Intuitions behind LLMs



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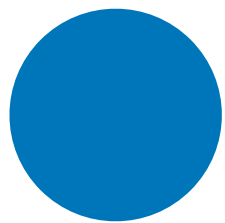


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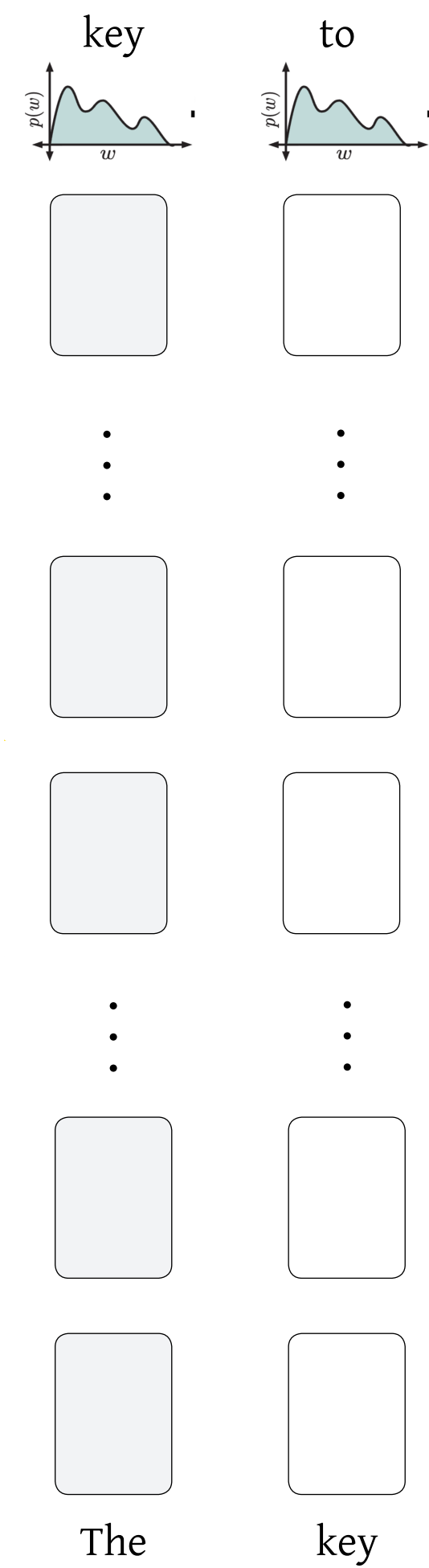
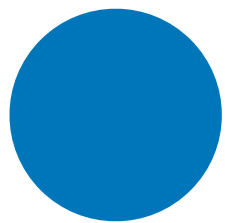
Time steps to process one sentence

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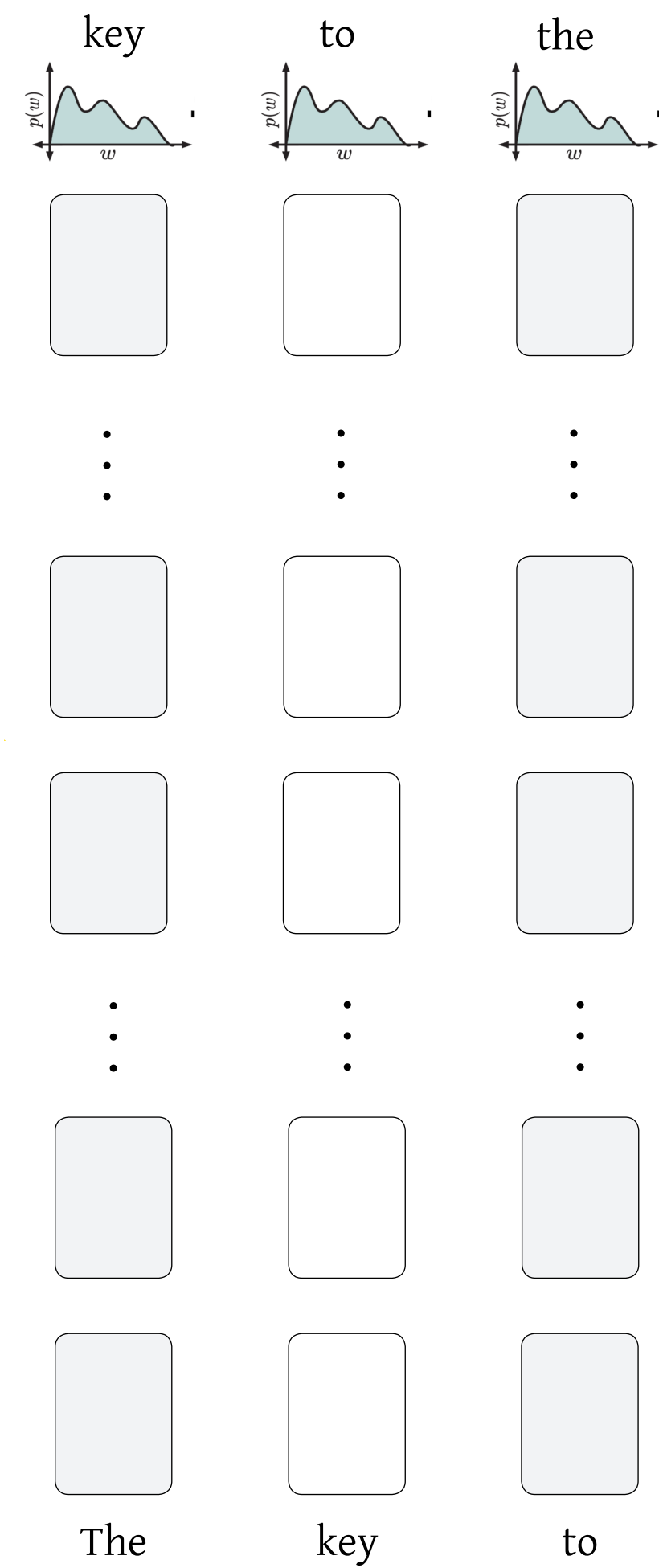
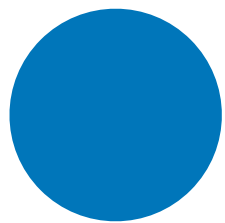
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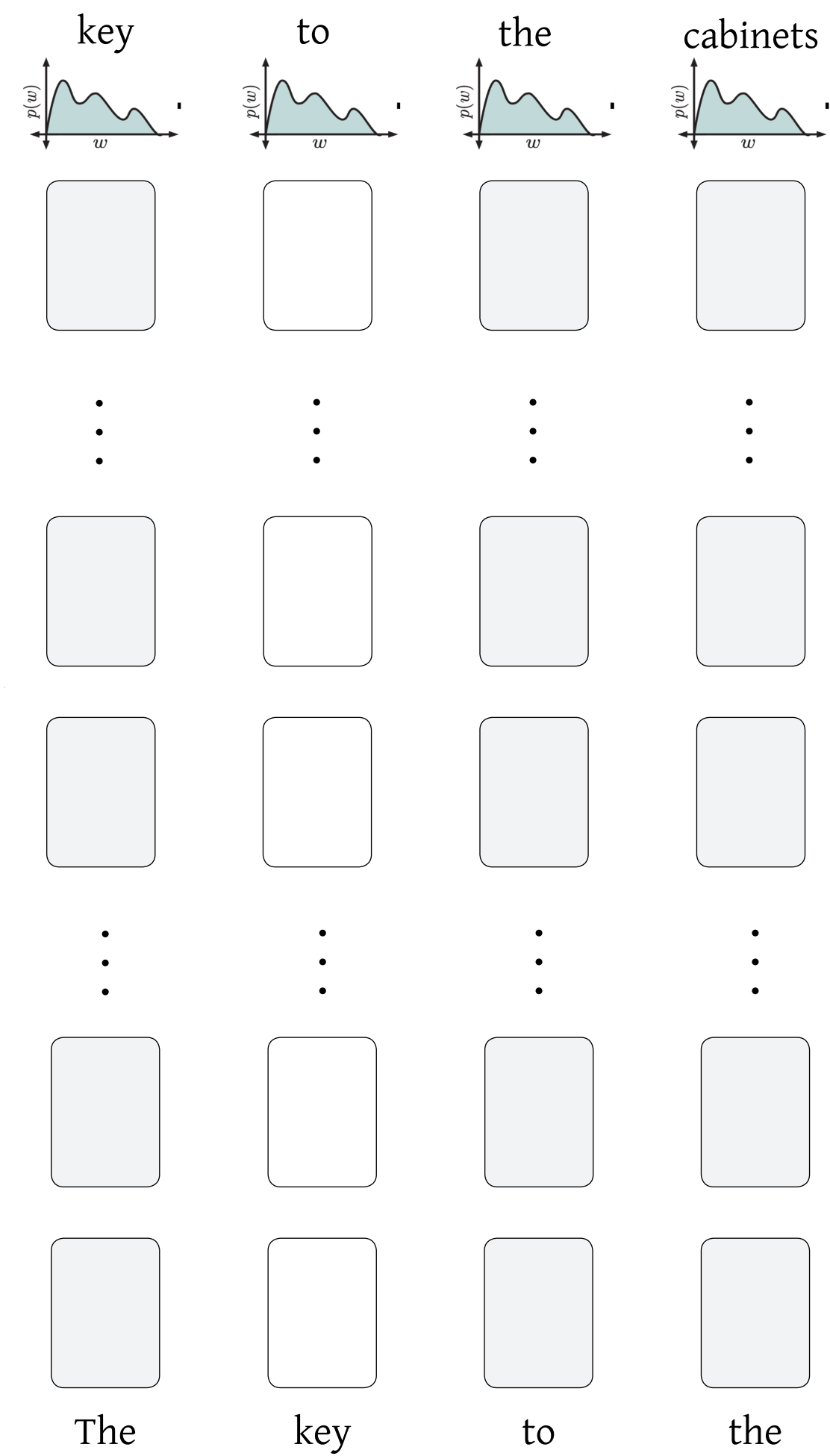
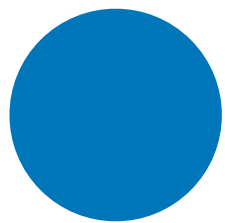


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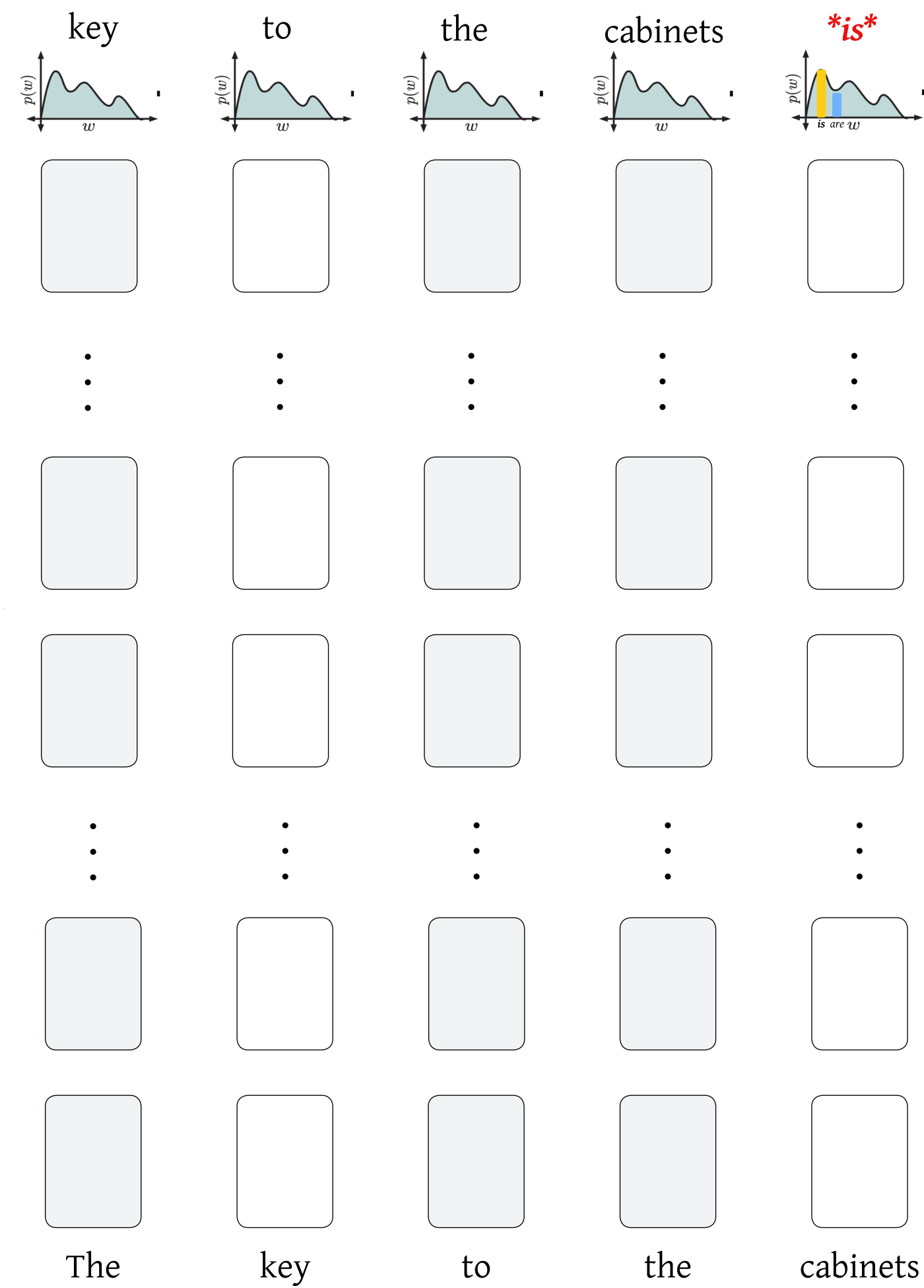
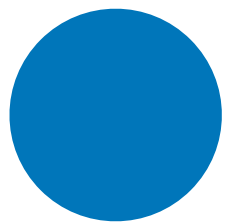


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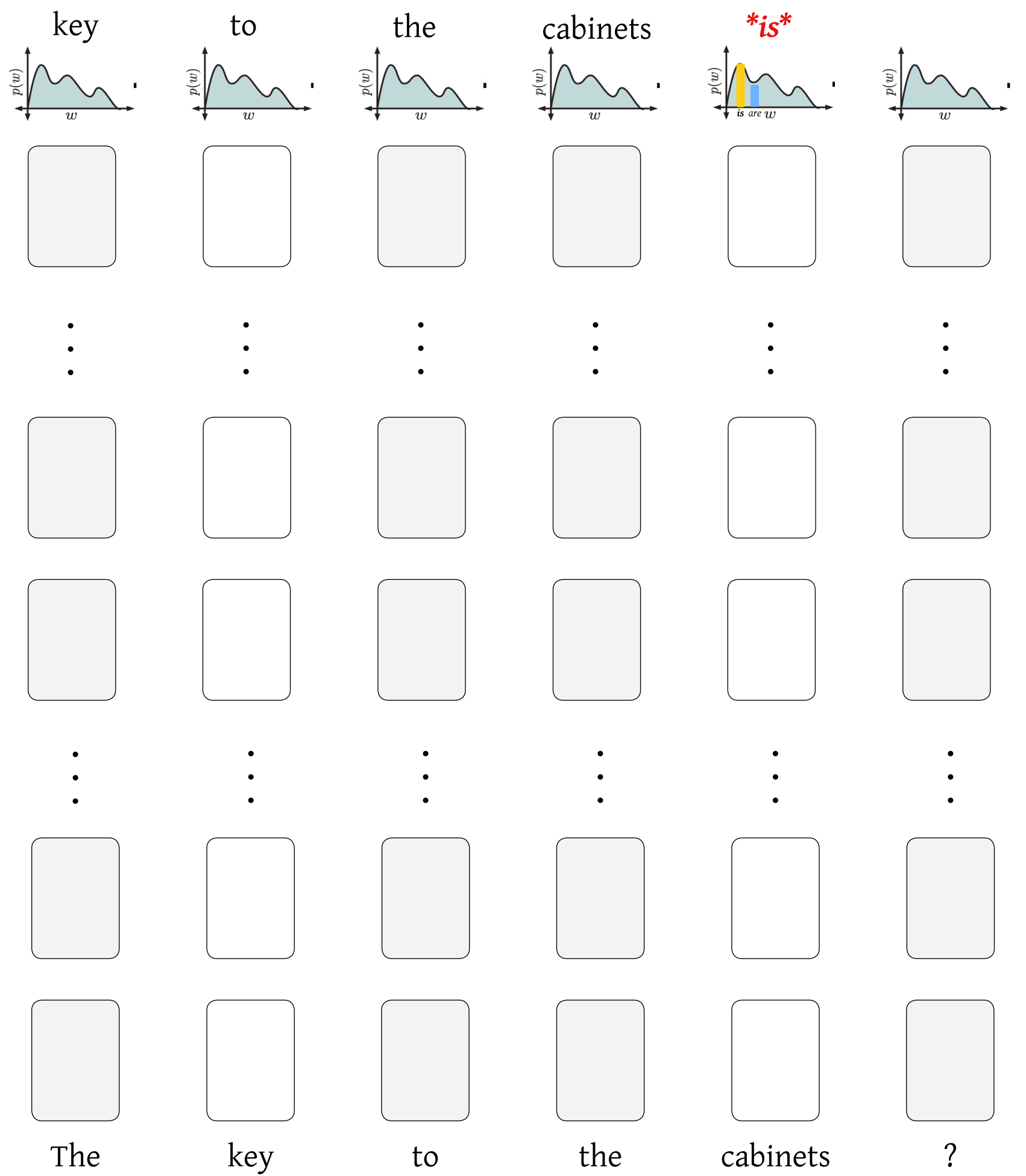
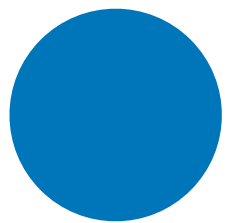
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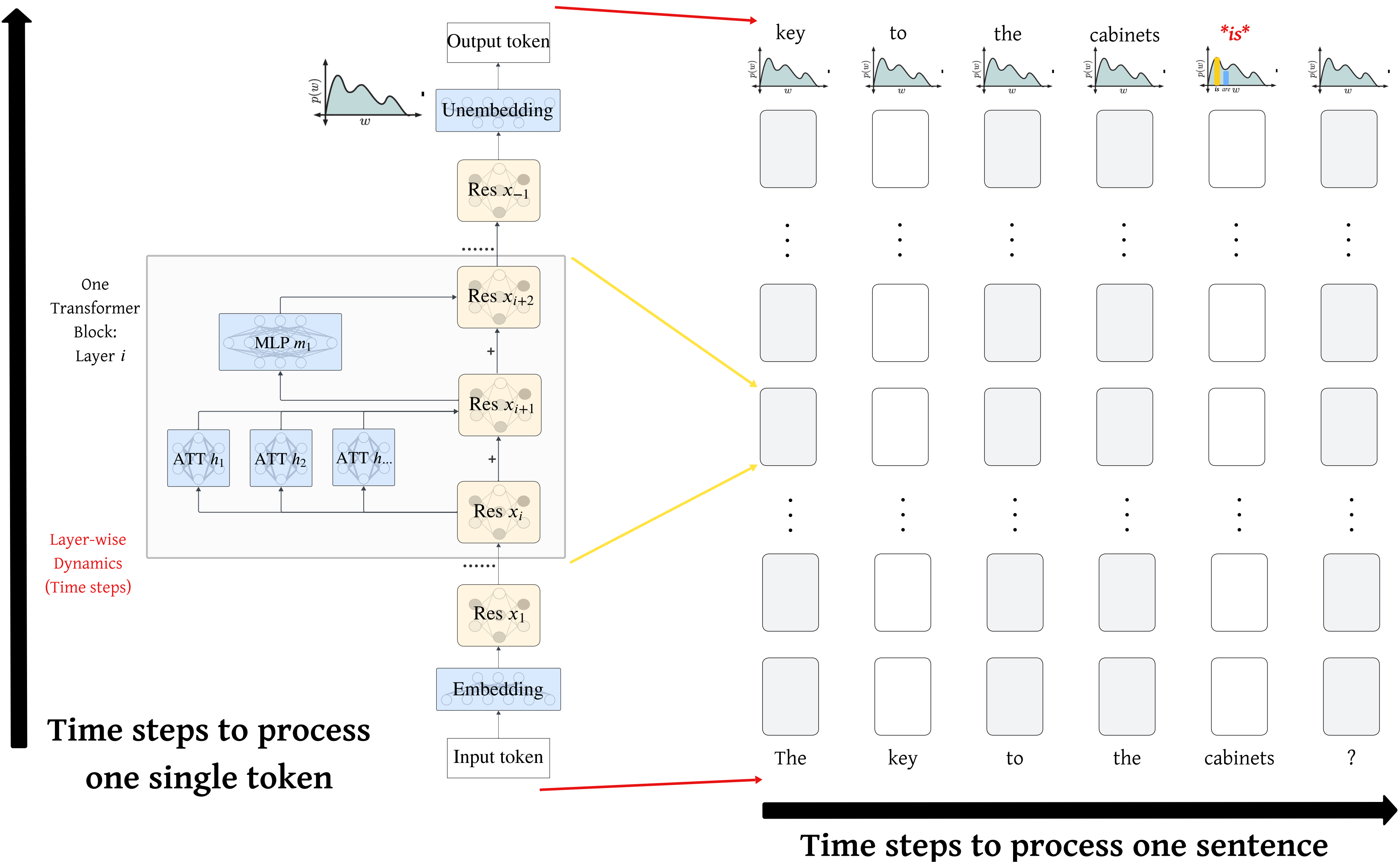
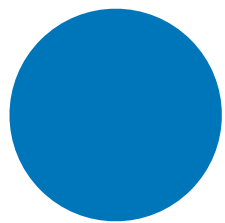
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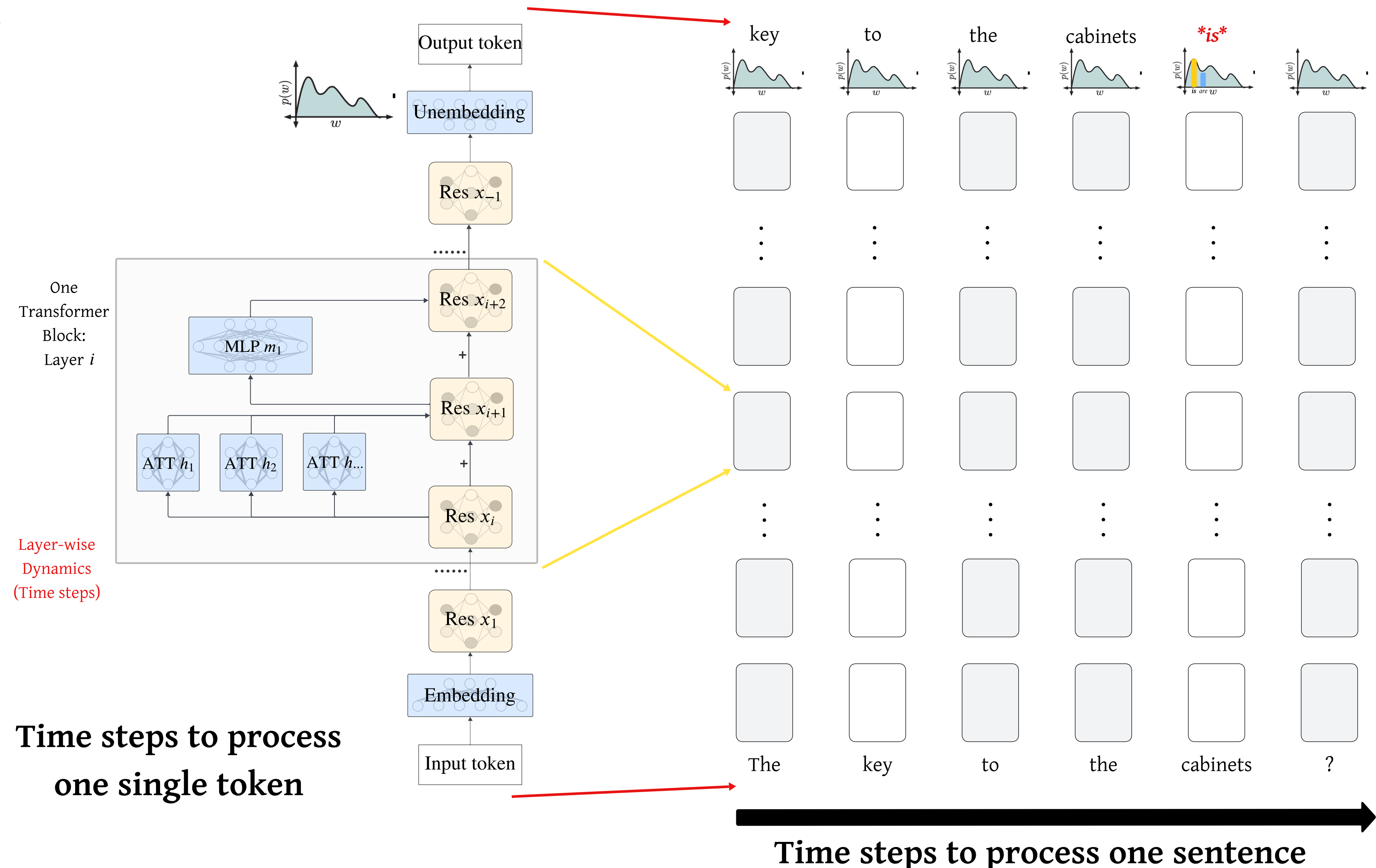
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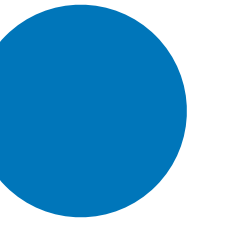
A Primer on Intuitions behind LLMs

Modern LLMs:
machines of *next-token prediction*

- **Parameters:**
trainable weights updated during training & fine-tuning → **long-term memory-ish**;
- **Activations:**
temporary variables generated during running → **working memory**;



In-Context Learning (ICL) in LLMs



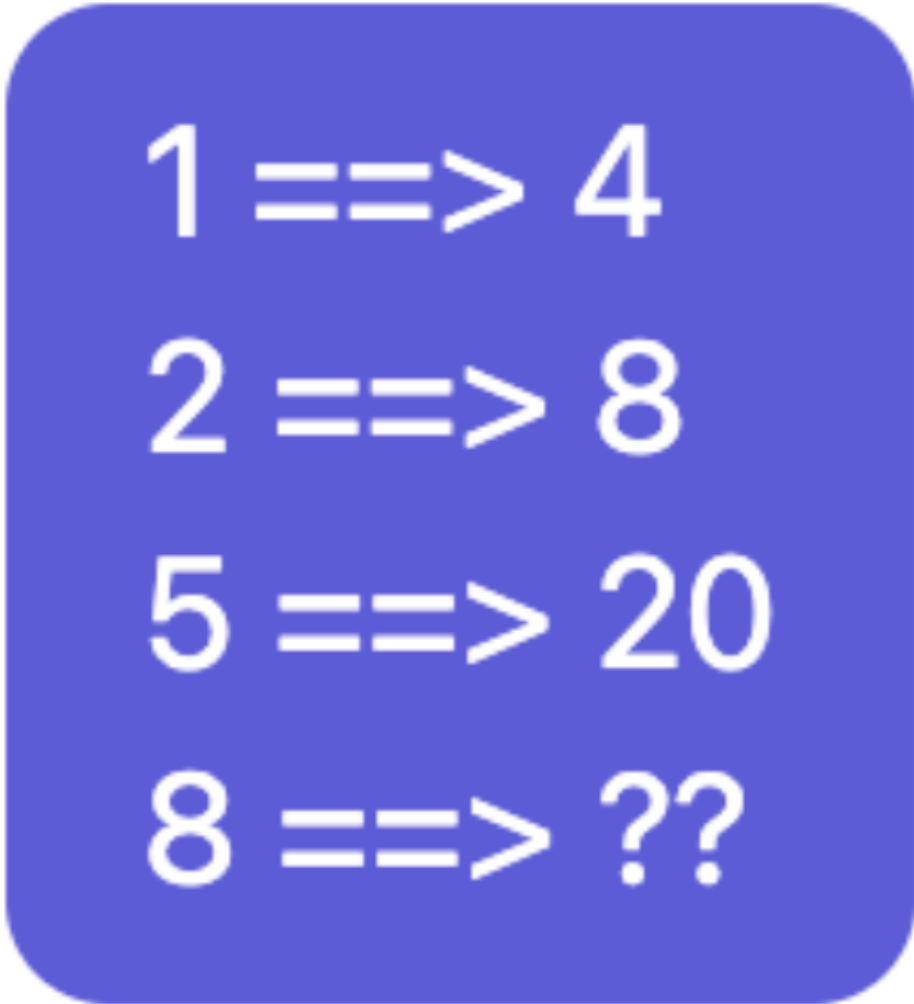
In-Context Learning: several demonstration-answer pairs of a task in context improves models' performance on this task.

- No explicit description of the task;
- No weight (long-term memory) update!

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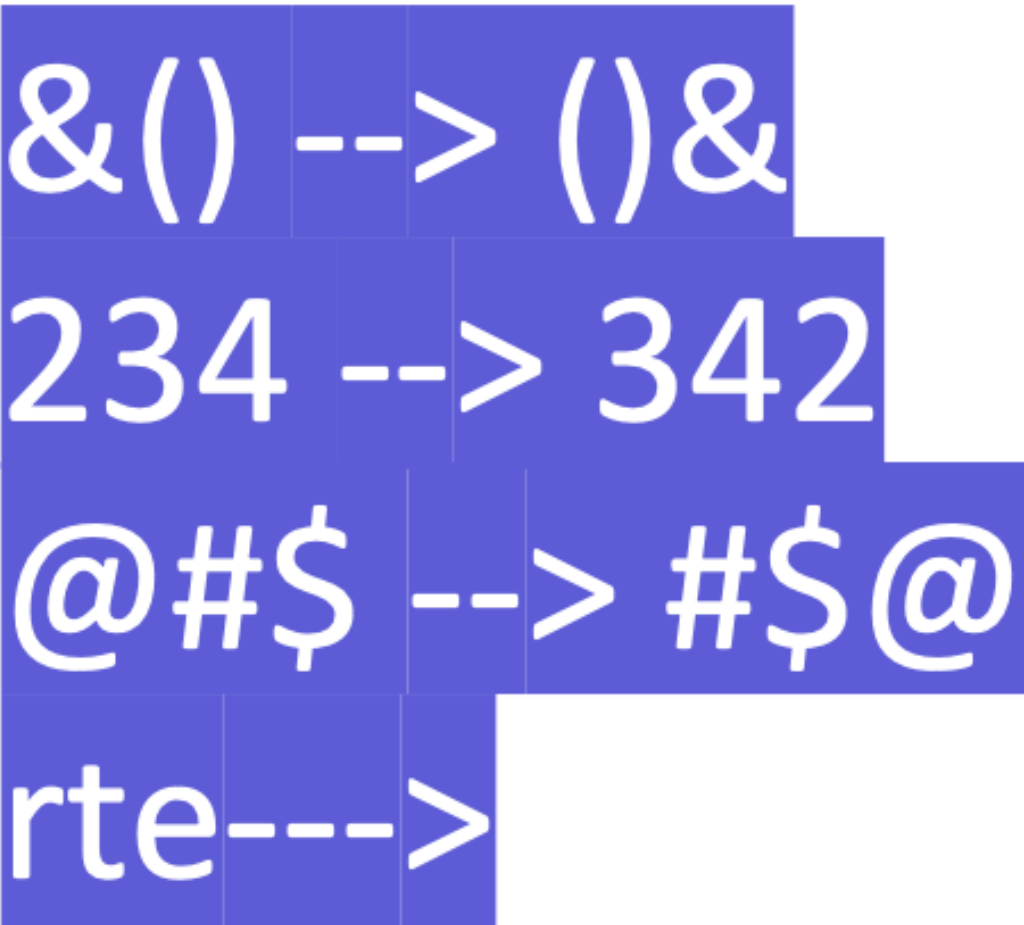
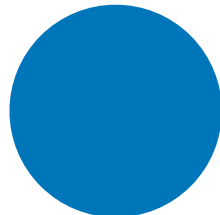


1 ==> 4
2 ==> 8
5 ==> 20
8 ==> ??

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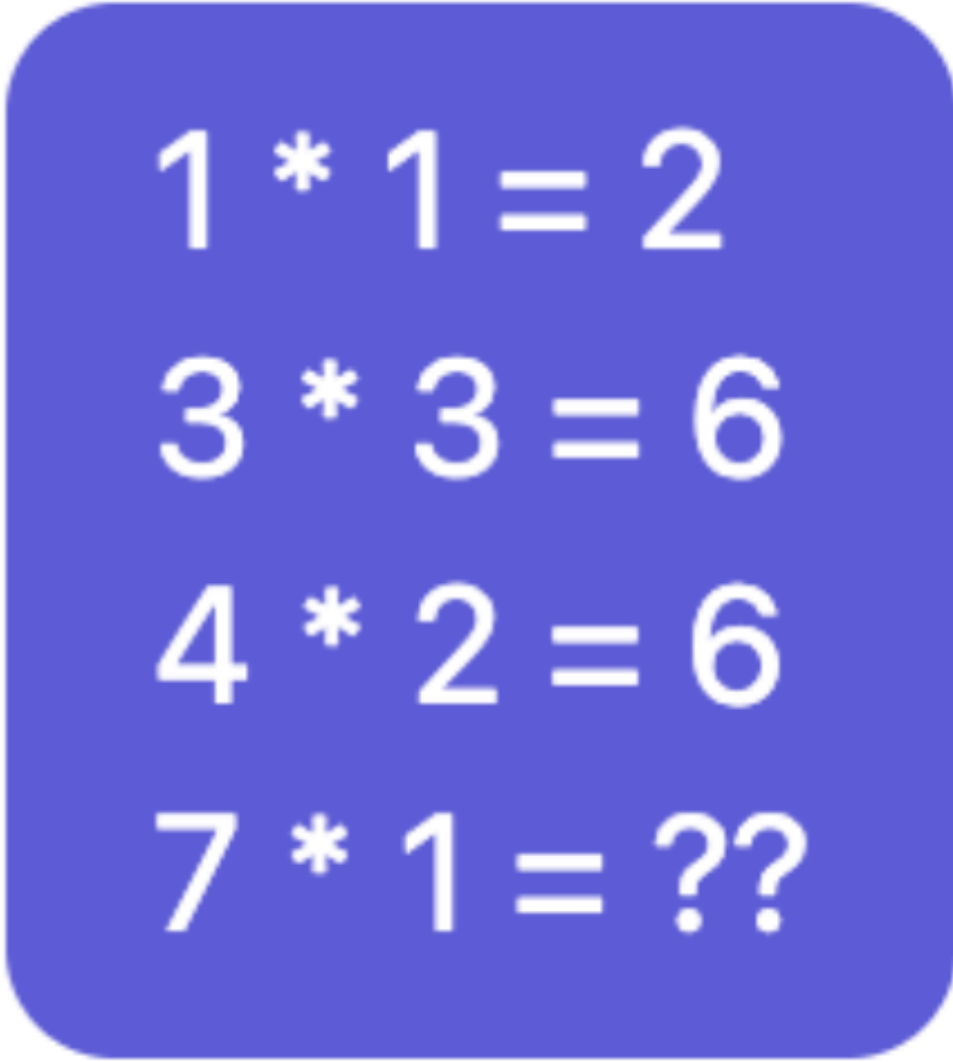


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$1 * 1 = 2$
 $3 * 3 = 6$
 $4 * 2 = 6$
 $7 * 1 = ??$

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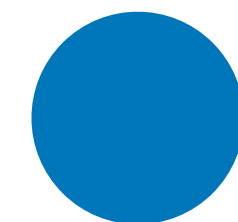
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Language Models are Few-Shot Learners				
Tom B. Brown*	Benjamin Mann*	Nick Ryder*	Melanie Subbiah*	
Jared Kaplan [†]	Prafulla Dhariwal	Arvind Neelakantan	Pranav Shyam	Girish Sastry
Amanda Askell	Sandhini Agarwal	Ariel Herbert-Voss	Gretchen Krueger	Tom Henighan
Rewon Child	Aditya Ramesh	Daniel M. Ziegler	Jeffrey Wu	Clemens Winter
Christopher Hesse	Mark Chen	Eric Sigler	Mateusz Litwin	Scott Gray
Benjamin Chess		Jack Clark	Christopher Berner	
Sam McCandlish	Alec Radford	Ilya Sutskever	Dario Amodei	
OpenAI				

$$\begin{array}{l} 1 * 1 = 2 \\ 3 * 3 = 6 \\ 4 * 2 = 6 \\ 7 * 1 = ?? \end{array}$$

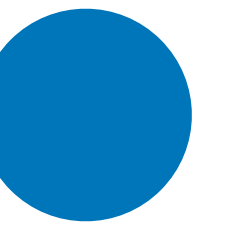
ICL vs. In-*Weights* Learning



[Brown et al. 2020]

[Brown et al. 2020]

ICL vs. In-Weights Learning



One-shot

In addition to the task description, the model sees a single example of the task. No gradient updates are performed.

```
1 Translate English to French: ← task description
2 sea otter => loutre de mer ← example
3 cheese => ..... ← prompt
```

In-context Learning:

- No gradient updates;
- Rapid: from a few examples;
- One-shot / Few-shot learning;

Few-shot

In addition to the task description, the model sees a few examples of the task. No gradient updates are performed.

```
1 Translate English to French: ← task description
2 sea otter => loutre de mer ← examples
3 peppermint => menthe poivrée ←
4 plush girafe => girafe peluche ←
5 cheese => ..... ← prompt
```

[Brown et al. 2020]

[Brown et al. 2020]

ICL vs. In-Weights Learning

One-shot

In addition to the task description, the model sees a single example of the task. No gradient updates are performed.

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```

Few-shot

In addition to the task description, the model sees a few examples of the task. No gradient updates are performed.

```
1 Translate English to French: ← task description
2 sea otter => loutre de mer ← examples
3 peppermint => menthe poivrée ←
4 plush girafe => girafe peluche ←
5 cheese => ..... ← prompt
```

[Brown et al. 2020]

In-context Learning:

- No gradient updates;
- Rapid: from a few examples;
- One-shot / Few-shot learning;

In-weights Learning (Fine-tuning):

- Gradient-based;
- Slow: need many examples;
- Standard supervised learning;

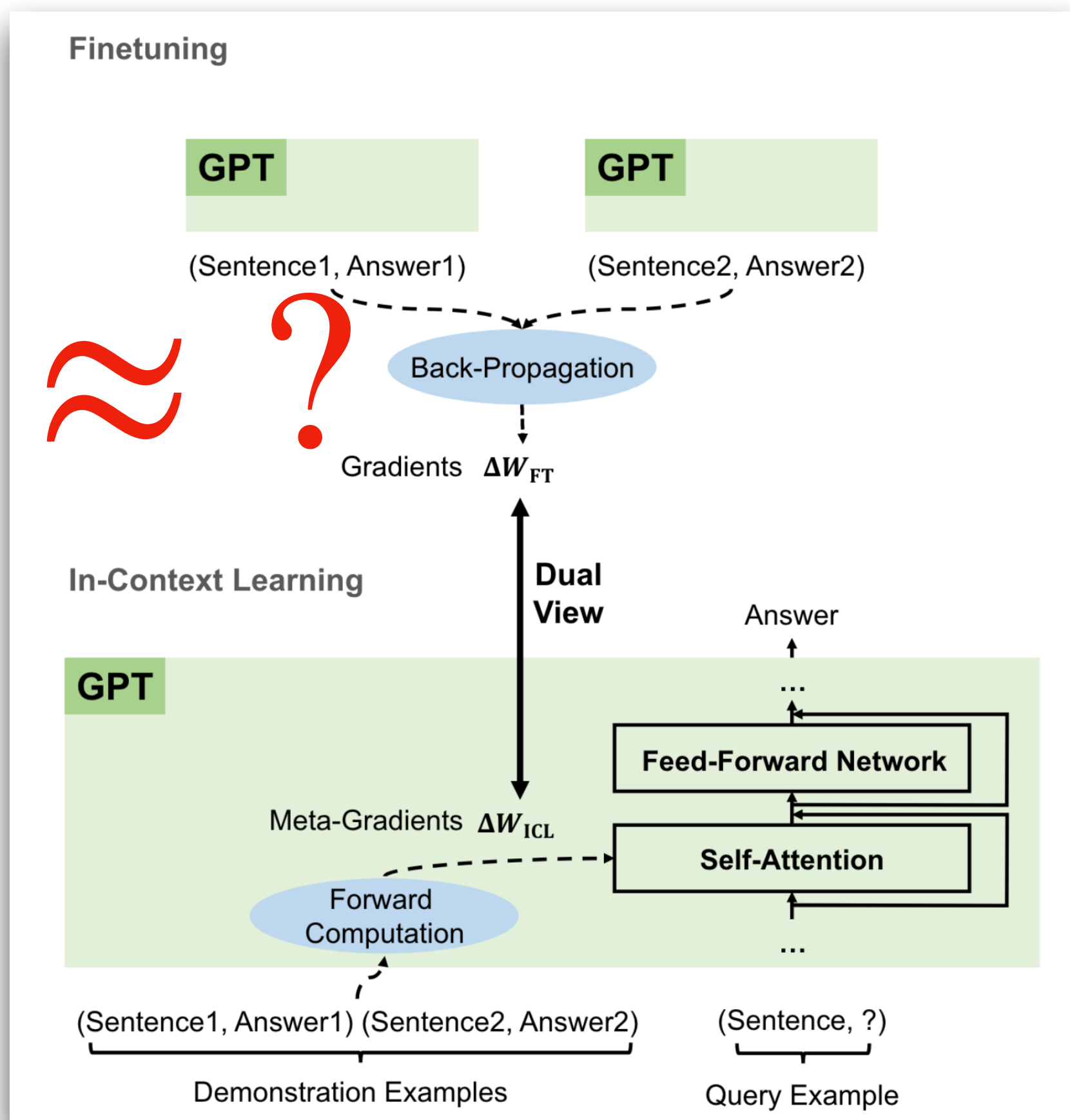
Fine-tuning

The model is trained via repeated gradient updates using a large corpus of example tasks.



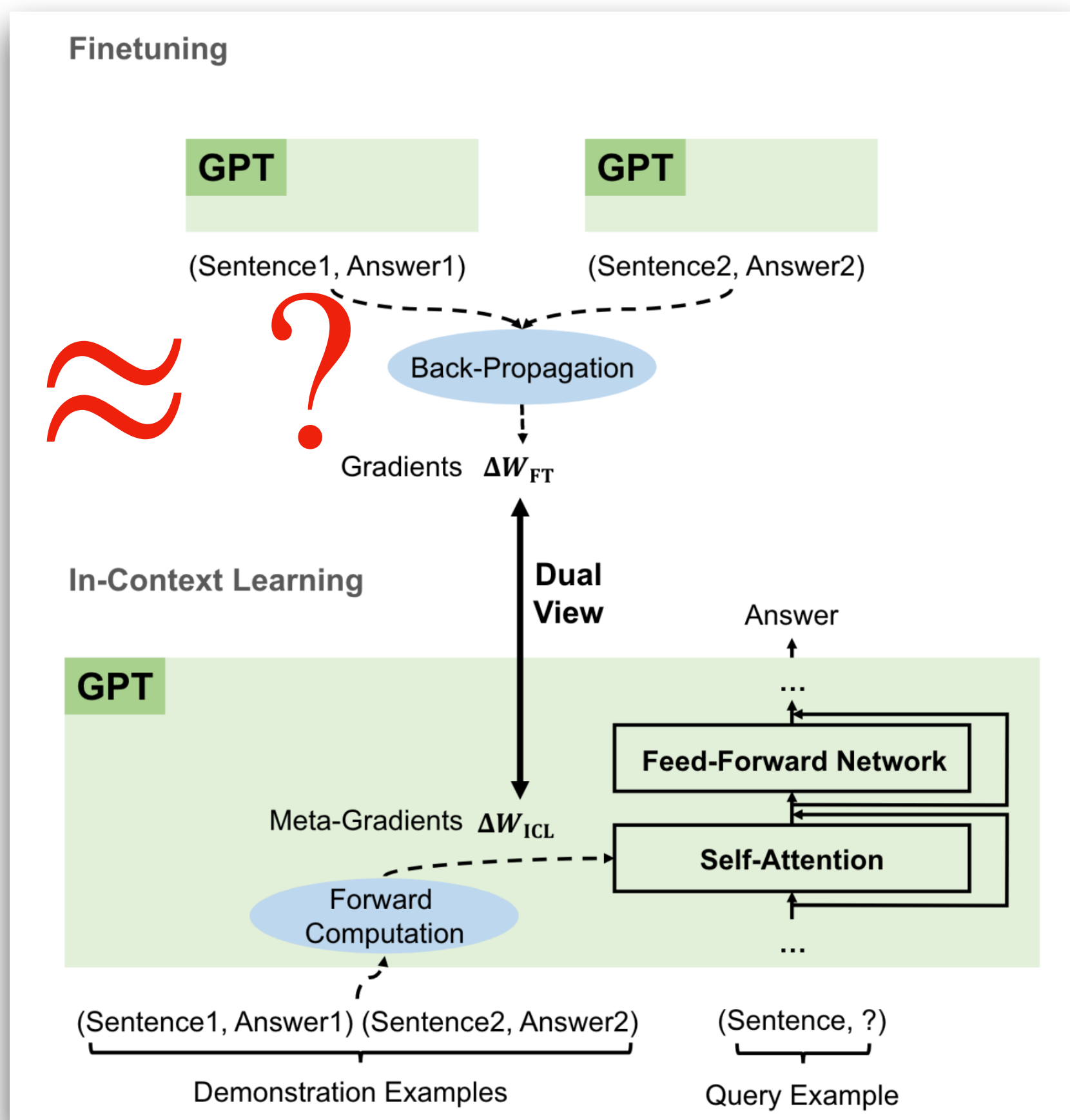
[Brown et al. 2020]

Research Question: is there error-driven learning mechanisms in ICL?



[e.g., Xie et al. 2022, von Oswald et al. 2022, Dai et al. 2023]

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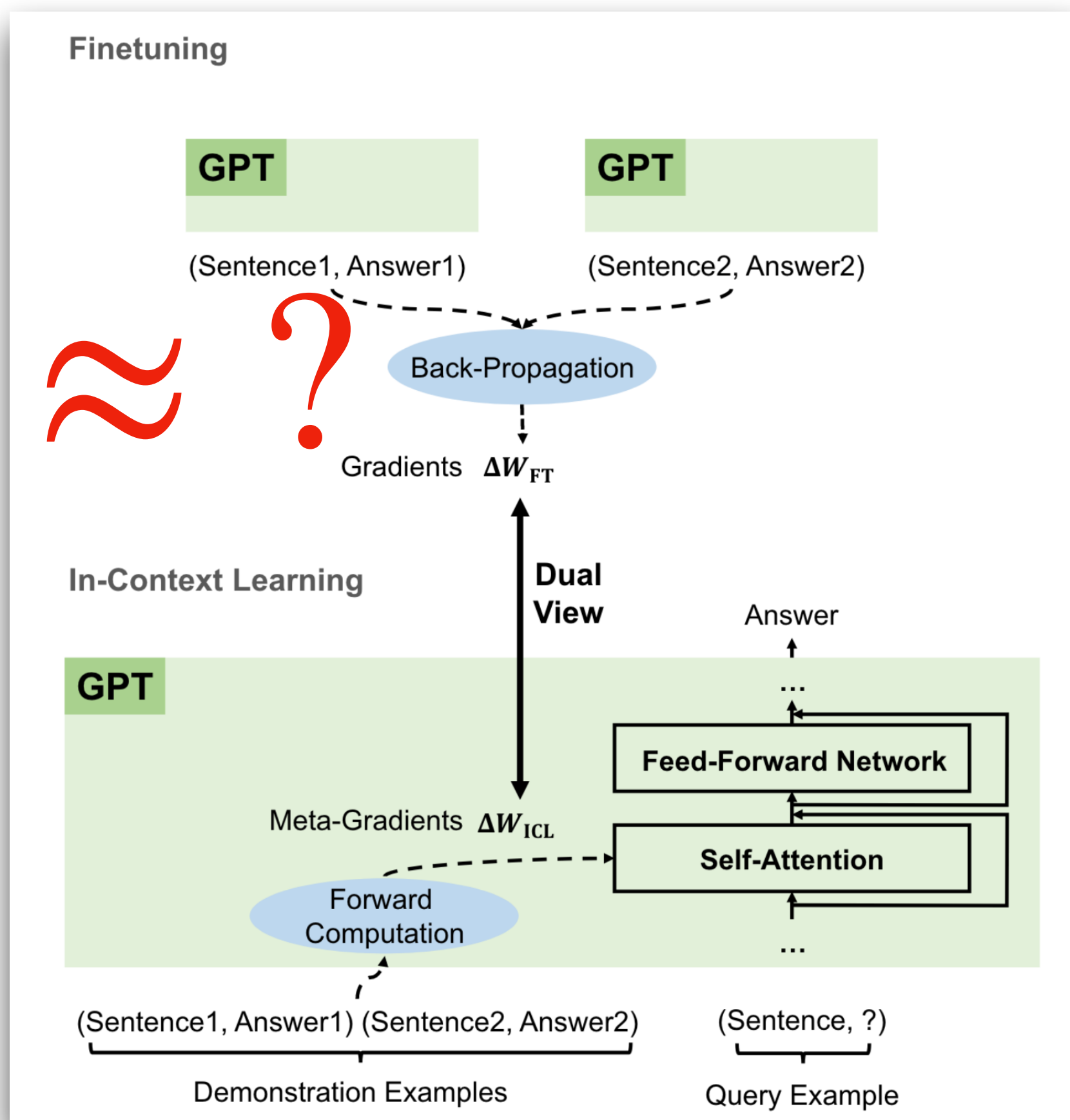


Previous studies in AI/CS:

- On toy models and toy tasks;
- In-principle claims: math derivations;

[e.g., Xie et al. 2022, von Oswald et al. 2022, Dai et al. 2023]

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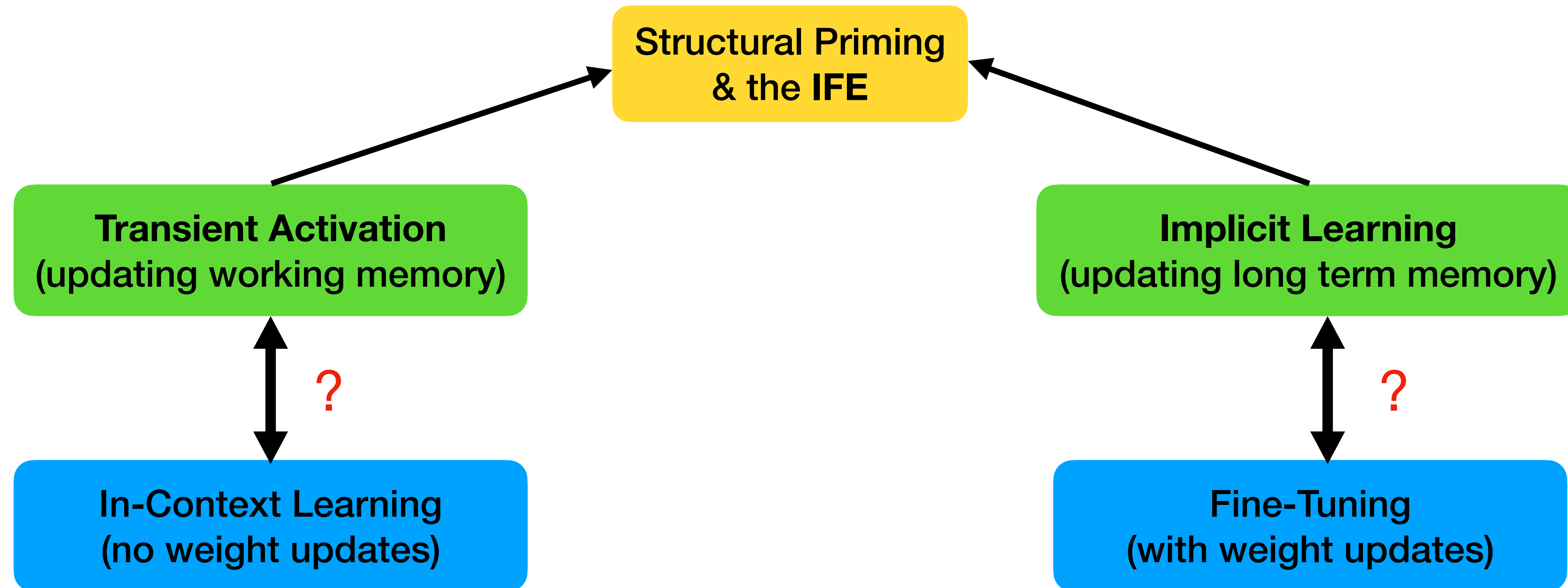
Current work:

- On pretrained, actual LLMs;
- Psycholinguistically motivated — *after all, LLMs are trained to model language*



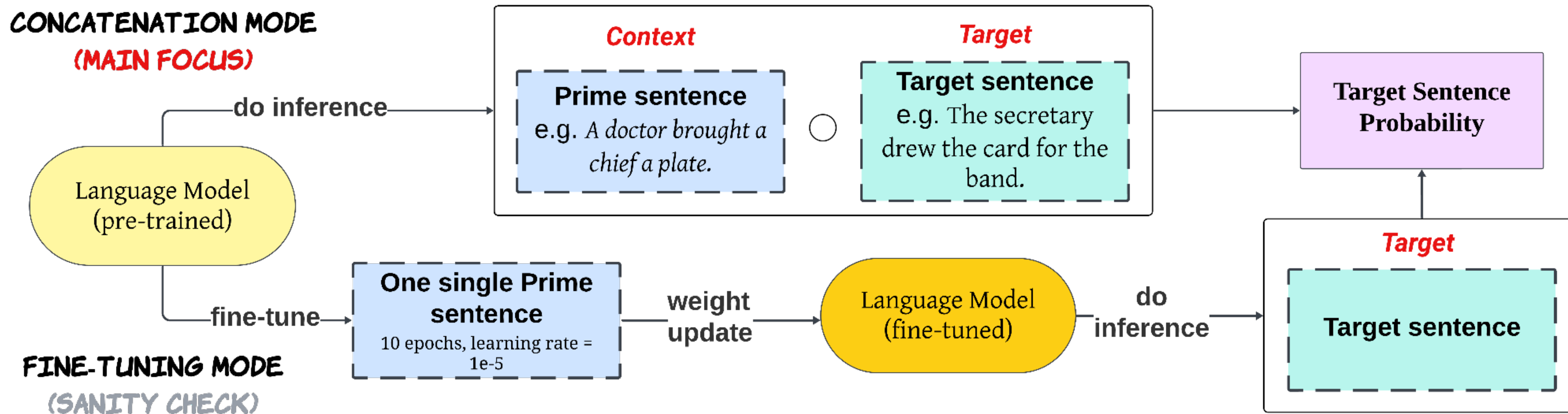
[e.g., Xie et al. 2022, von Oswald et al. 2022, Dai et al. 2023]

Current Picture

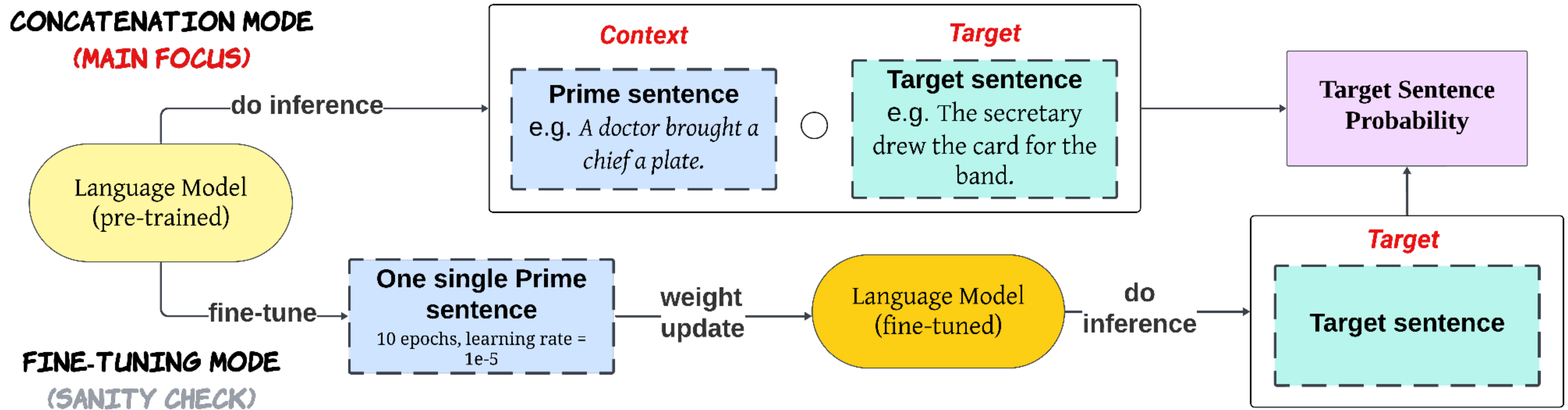


Experiment 1: Behavioral Analysis

Overview of the Current Approach



Overview of the Current Approach



Assumption from Priming Theories: only some error-driven learning mechanism could lead to the IFE. Then, we predict that:

- Fine-tuning Mode: (with weight update) IFE ✓
- Concatenation Mode: (no weight update) IFE ?

Corpus

- 22 ditransitive verbs;
- 50 target sentences per verb;
- For each target sentence, pair it with a prime sentence with each prime verb;



22 x 50 (target sentences)

x

21 (prime sentences)

=

23100 <prime, target> pairs

Corpus

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- 50 target sentences per verb;
- For each target sentence, pair it with a prime sentence with each prime verb;

22 x 50 (target sentences)

x

21 (prime sentences)

=

23100 <prime, target> pairs



Each <prime, target> pair $\Rightarrow$ 4 structural combinations $\Rightarrow$ 92400 trials.

Prime_{DO} $\rightarrow$ Target_{DO}, Prime_{DO} $\rightarrow$ Target_{PD}, Prime_{PD} $\rightarrow$ Target_{DO}, Prime_{PD} $\rightarrow$ Target_{PD}

Corpus

- 22 ditransitive verbs;
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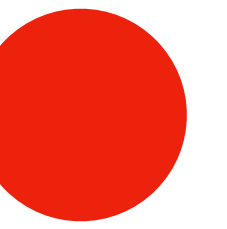
Each <prime, target> pair $\Rightarrow$ 4 structural combinations $\Rightarrow$ 92400 trials.

Prime_{DO} $\rightarrow$ Target_{DO}, Prime_{DO} $\rightarrow$ Target_{PD}, Prime_{PD} $\rightarrow$ Target_{DO}, Prime_{PD} $\rightarrow$ Target_{PD}

Prime: A doctor brought a plate to a chief.

Target: The secretary drew the card for the band.

Quantifying Verb Biases and the IFE



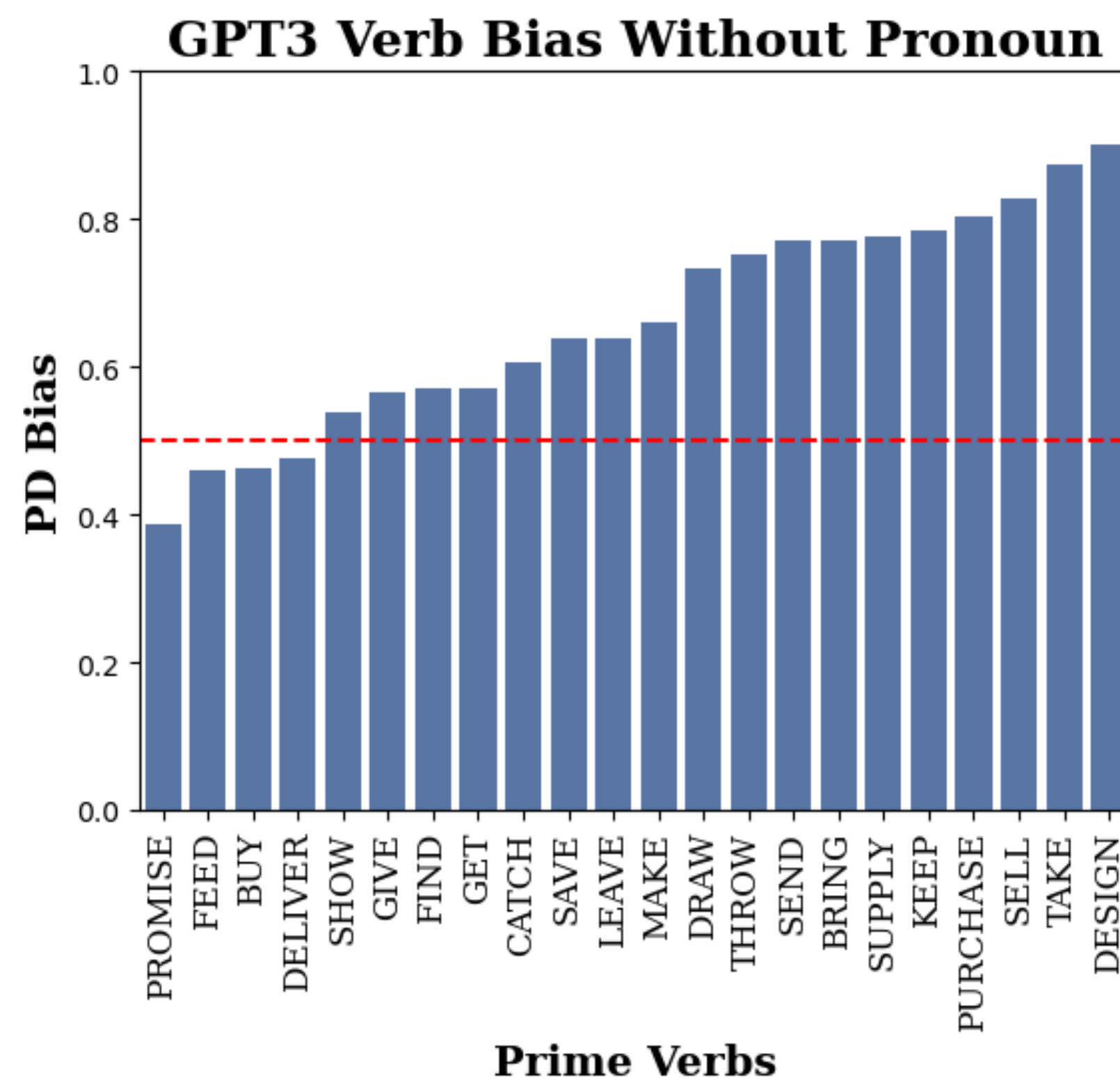
Verb Bias of verb V on structure X :

$$\textit{bias}(V, \text{PD}) = \frac{1}{|\mathcal{S}_V|} \sum_{t_{\text{PD}} \in \mathcal{S}_V} \frac{\mathcal{P}(t_{\text{PD}})}{\mathcal{P}(t_{\text{PD}}) + \mathcal{P}(t_{\text{DO}})}$$

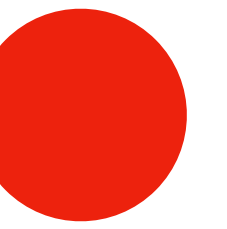
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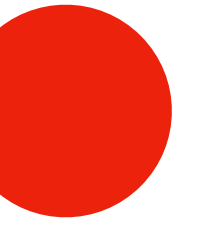
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Quantifying Verb Biases and the IFE



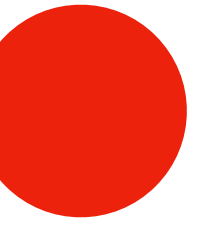
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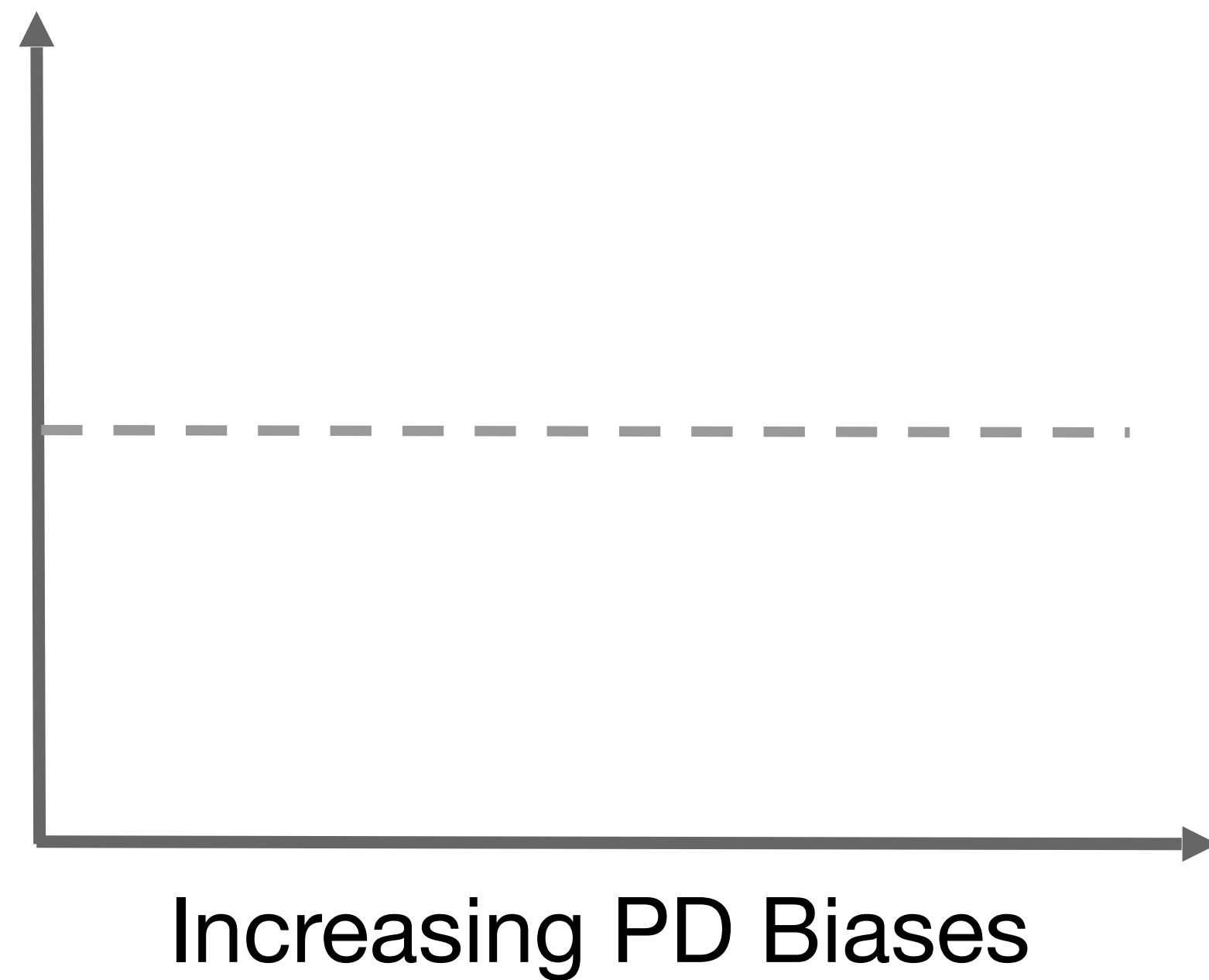
IFE: the priming effect for verb V in DO form on PD targets

$$\textit{PrimeBias}(\text{PD}|\text{DO}, V) = \frac{1}{|T_{\text{PD}}| \cdot |P_{\text{DO}}^V|} \sum_{t_{\text{PD}} \in T_{\text{PD}}} \sum_{p_{\text{DO}}^V \in P_{\text{DO}}^V} \frac{\mathcal{P}(t_{\text{PD}}|p_{\text{DO}}^V)}{\mathcal{P}(t_{\text{DO}}|p_{\text{DO}}^V) + \mathcal{P}(t_{\text{PD}}|p_{\text{DO}}^V)}$$

Predictions on the IFE

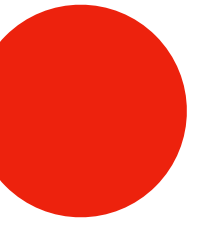


Prime_{PD} → Target_{PD}

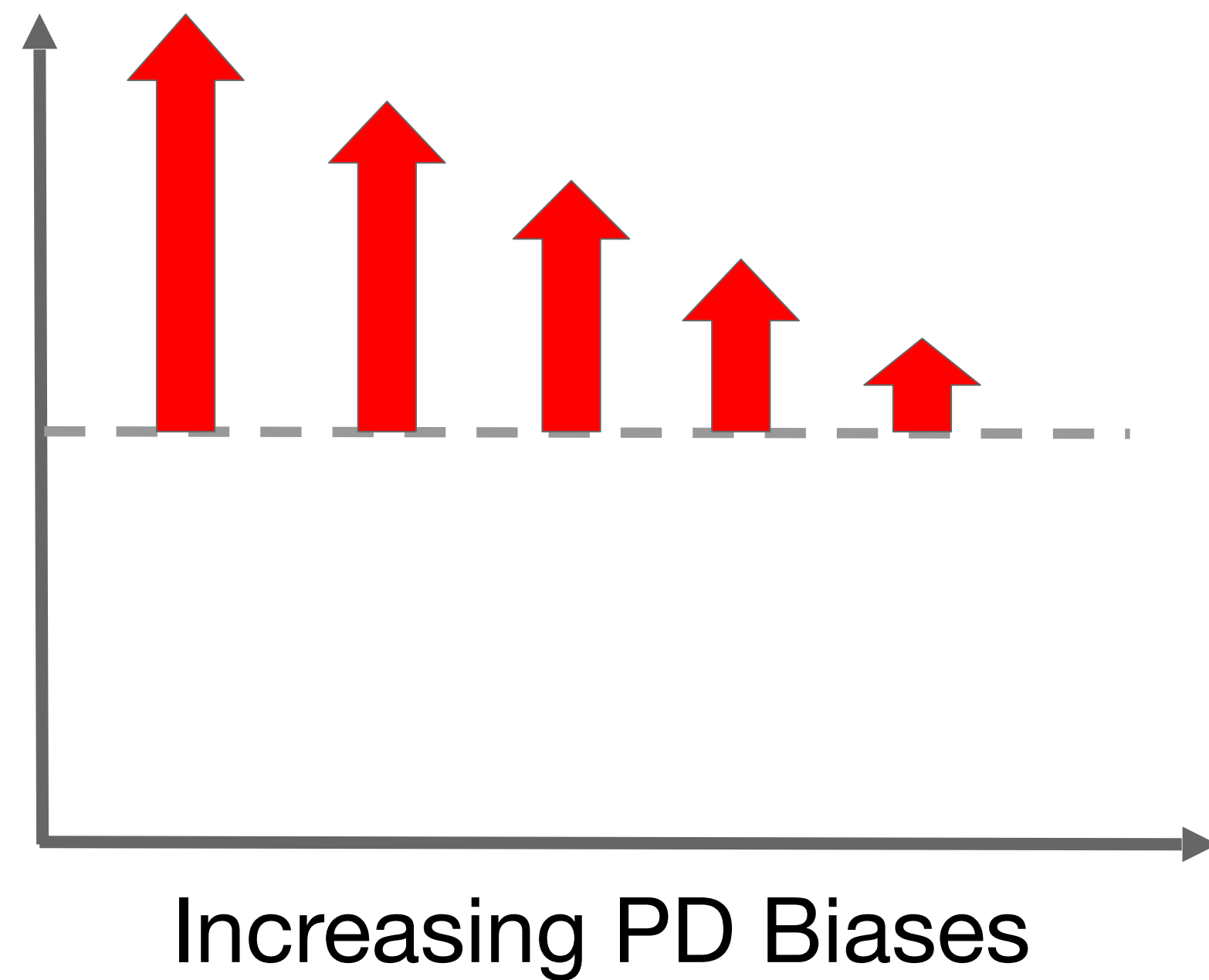


Increasing PD Biases

Predictions on the IFE

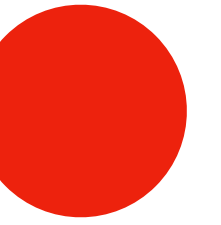


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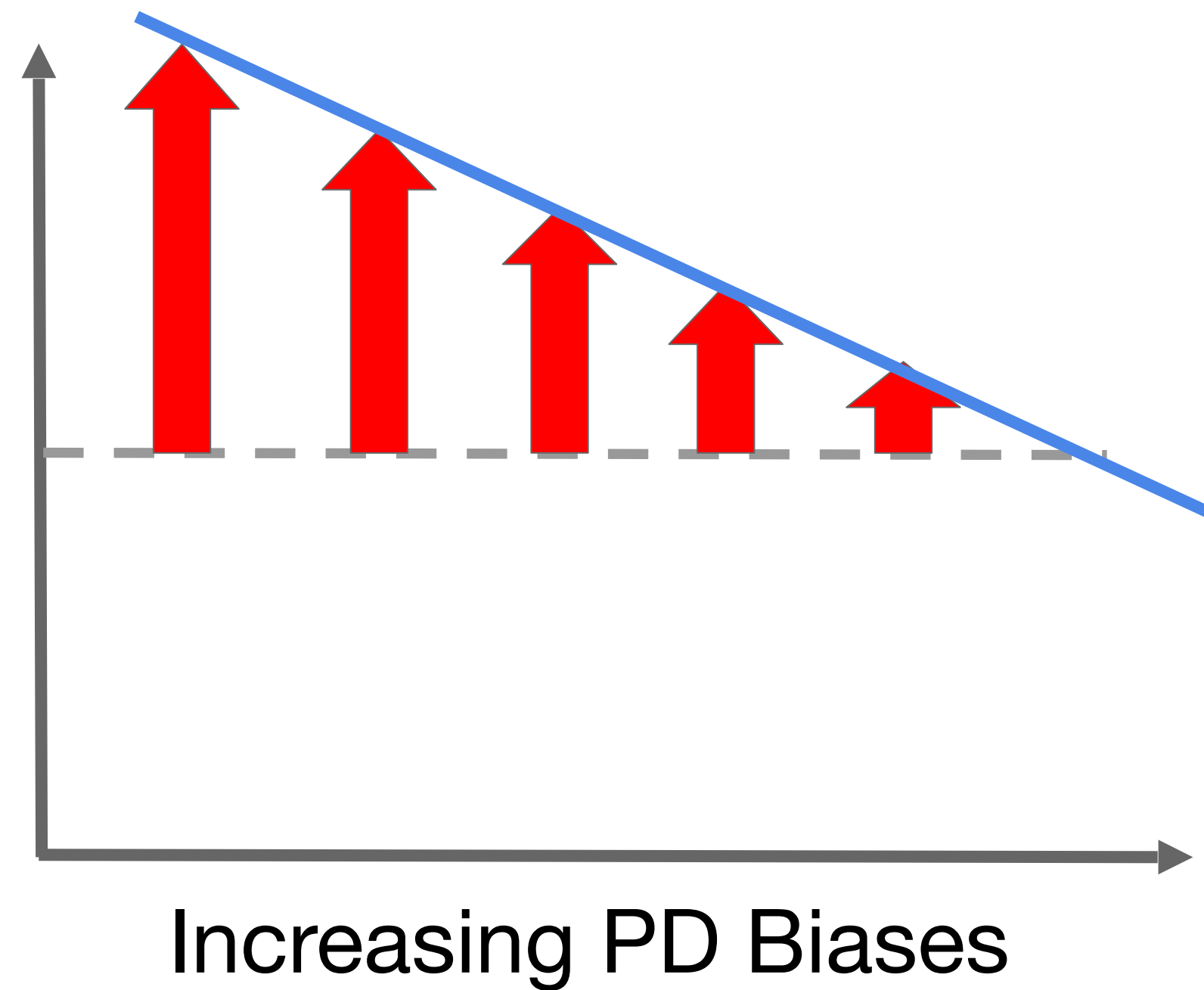


Increasing PD Biases

Predictions on the IFE

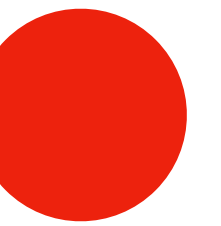


Prime_{PD} → Target_{PD}

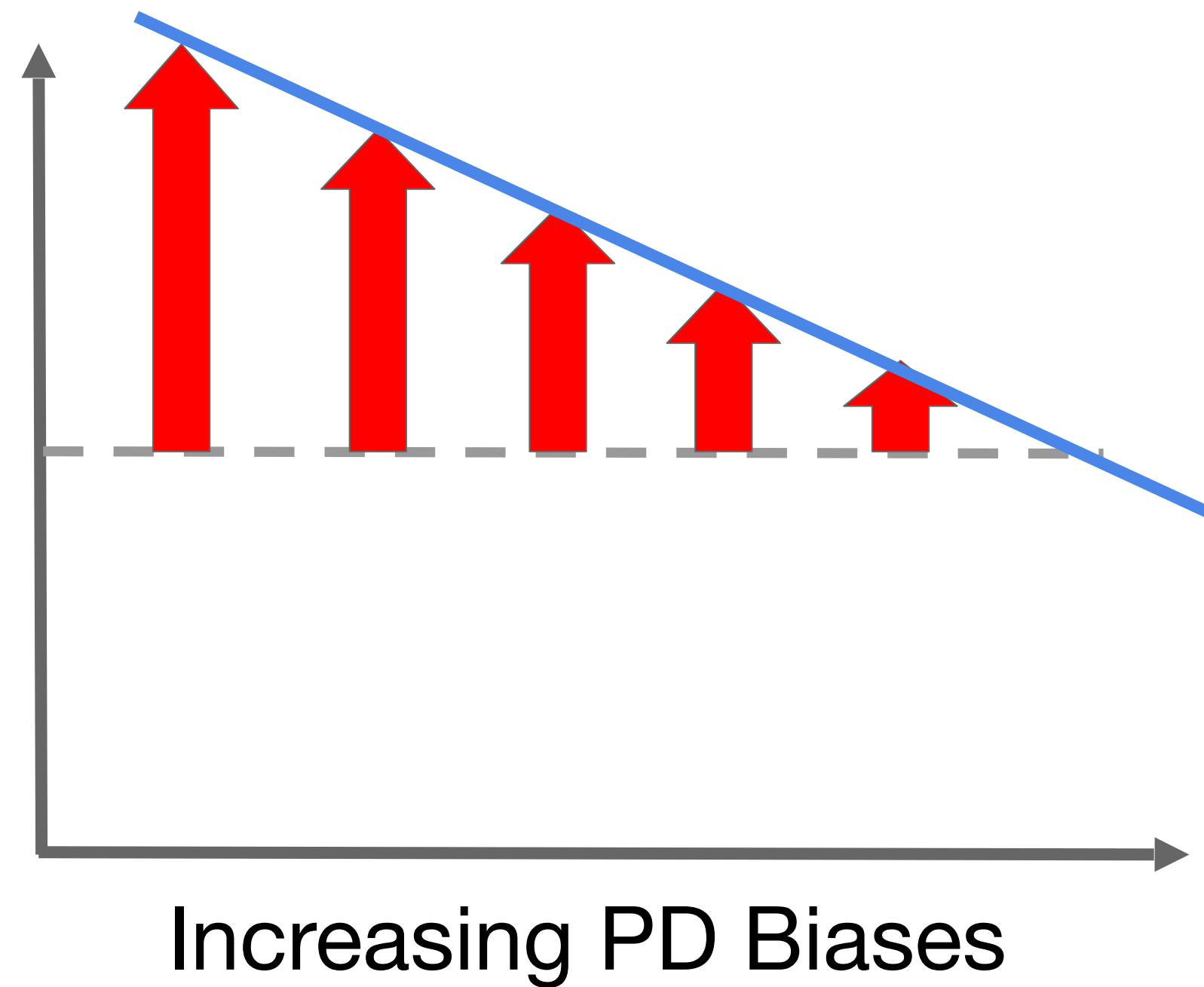


Increasing PD Biases

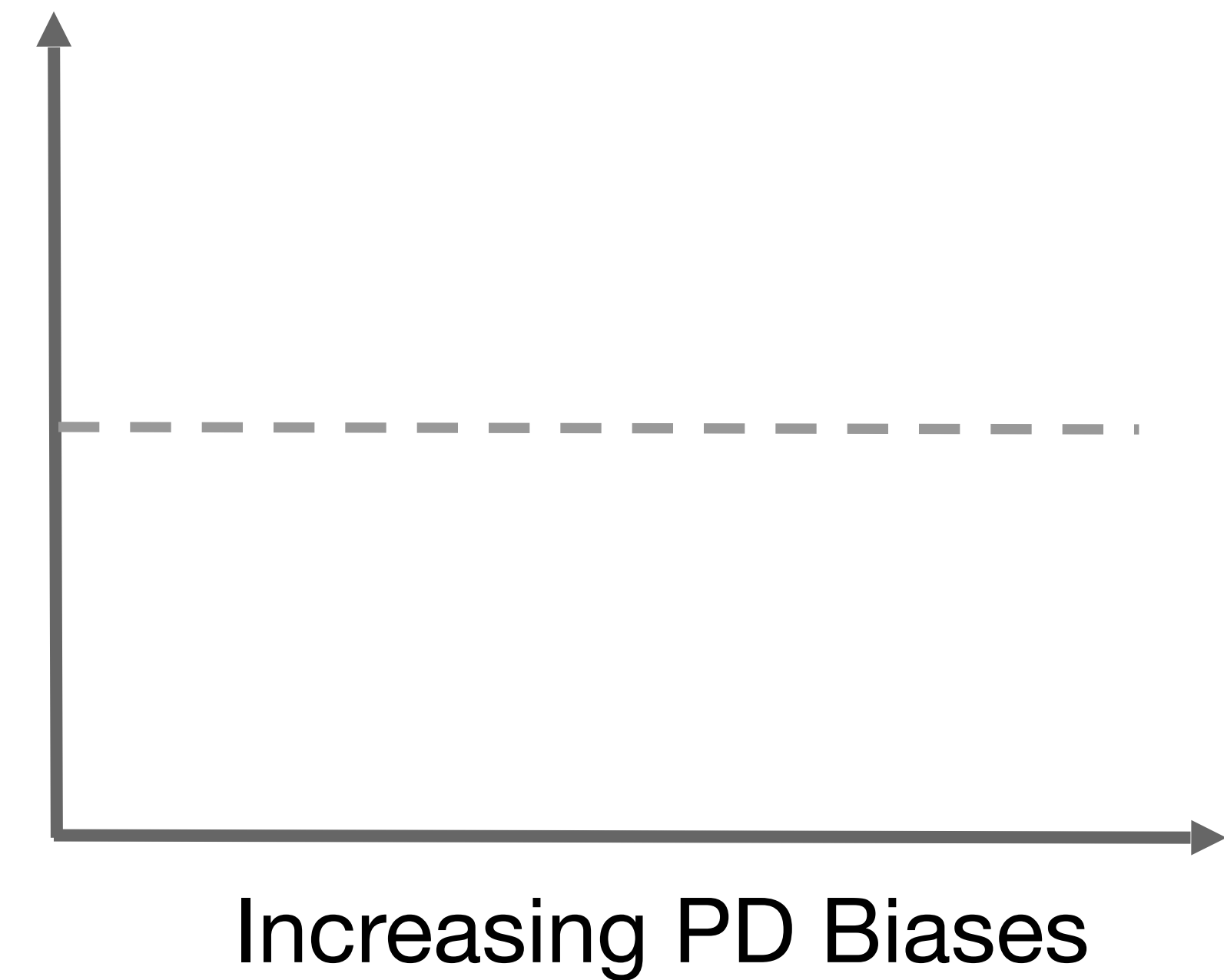
Predictions on the IFE



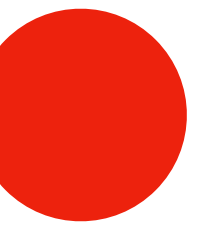
Prime_{PD} → Target_{PD}



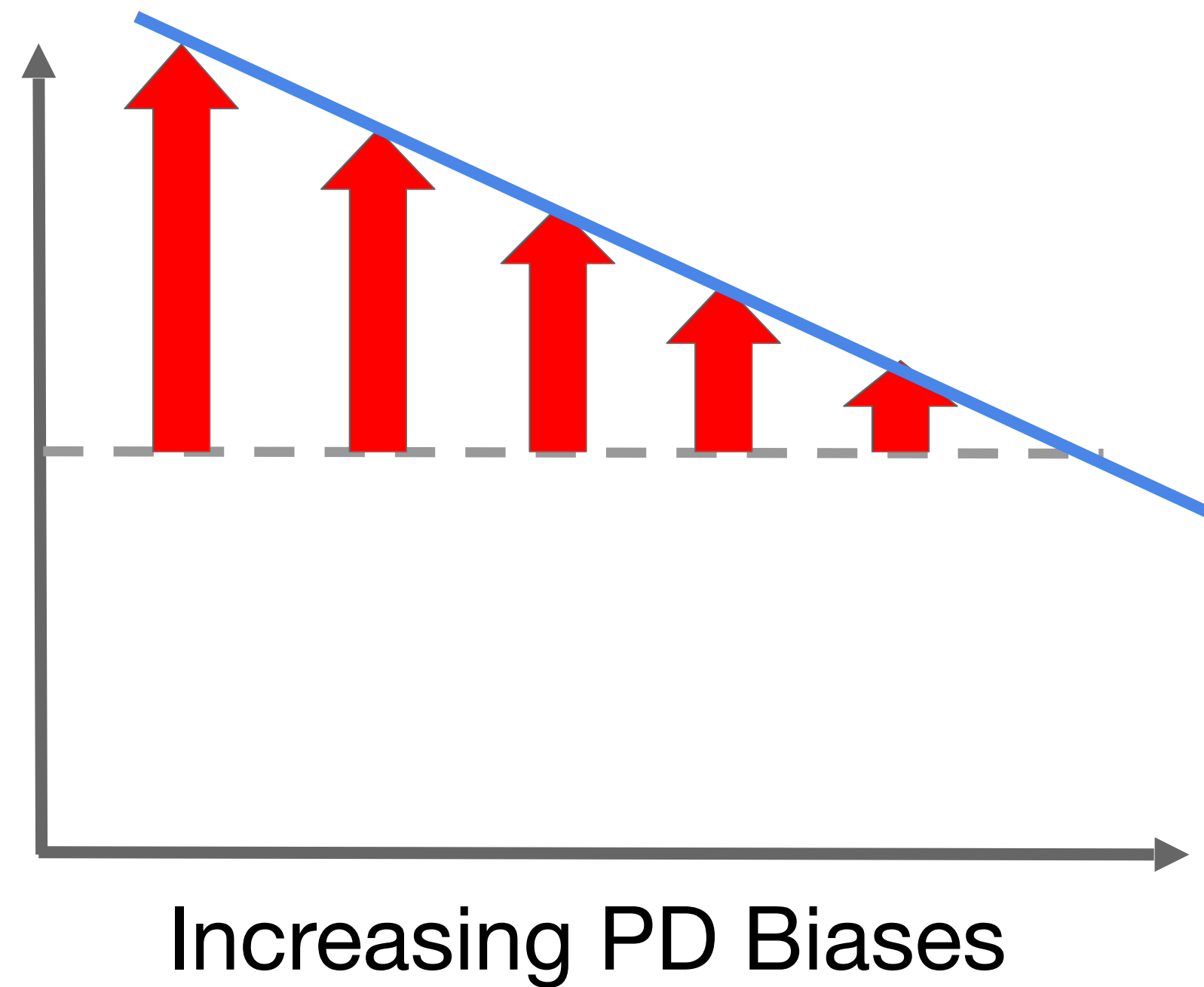
Prime_{DO} → Target_{PD}



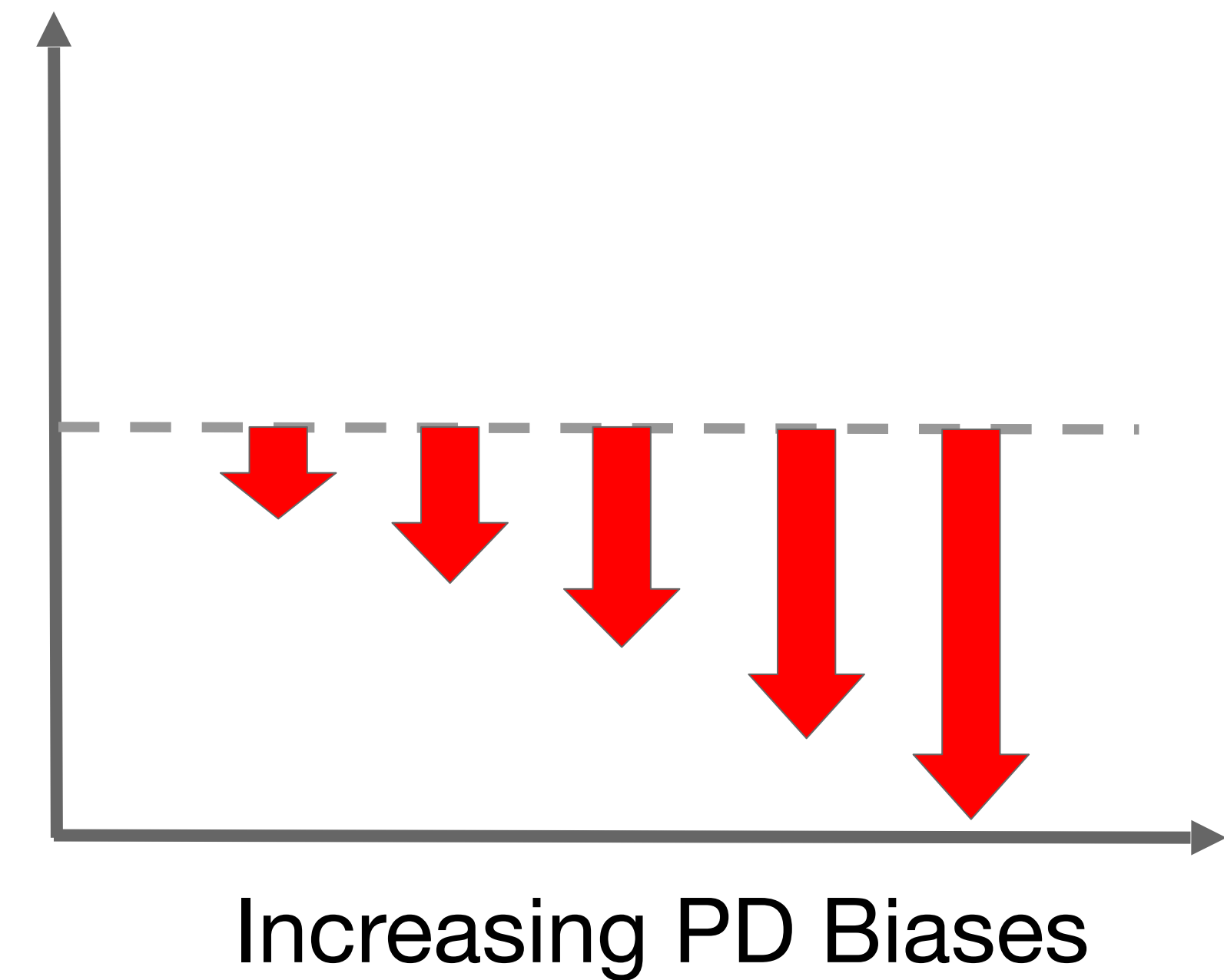
Predictions on the IFE



Prime_{PD} → Target_{PD}

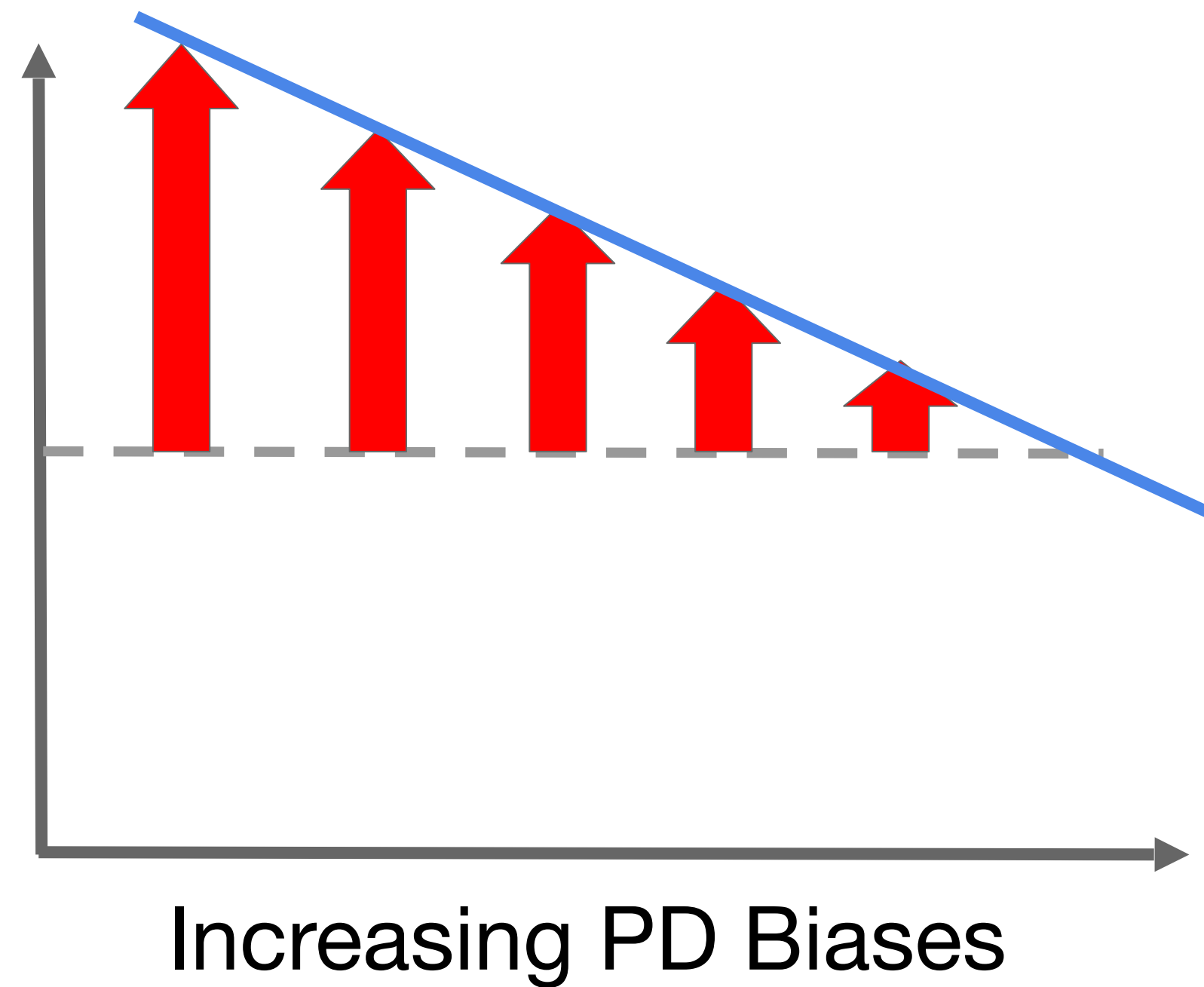


Prime_{DO} → Target_{PD}

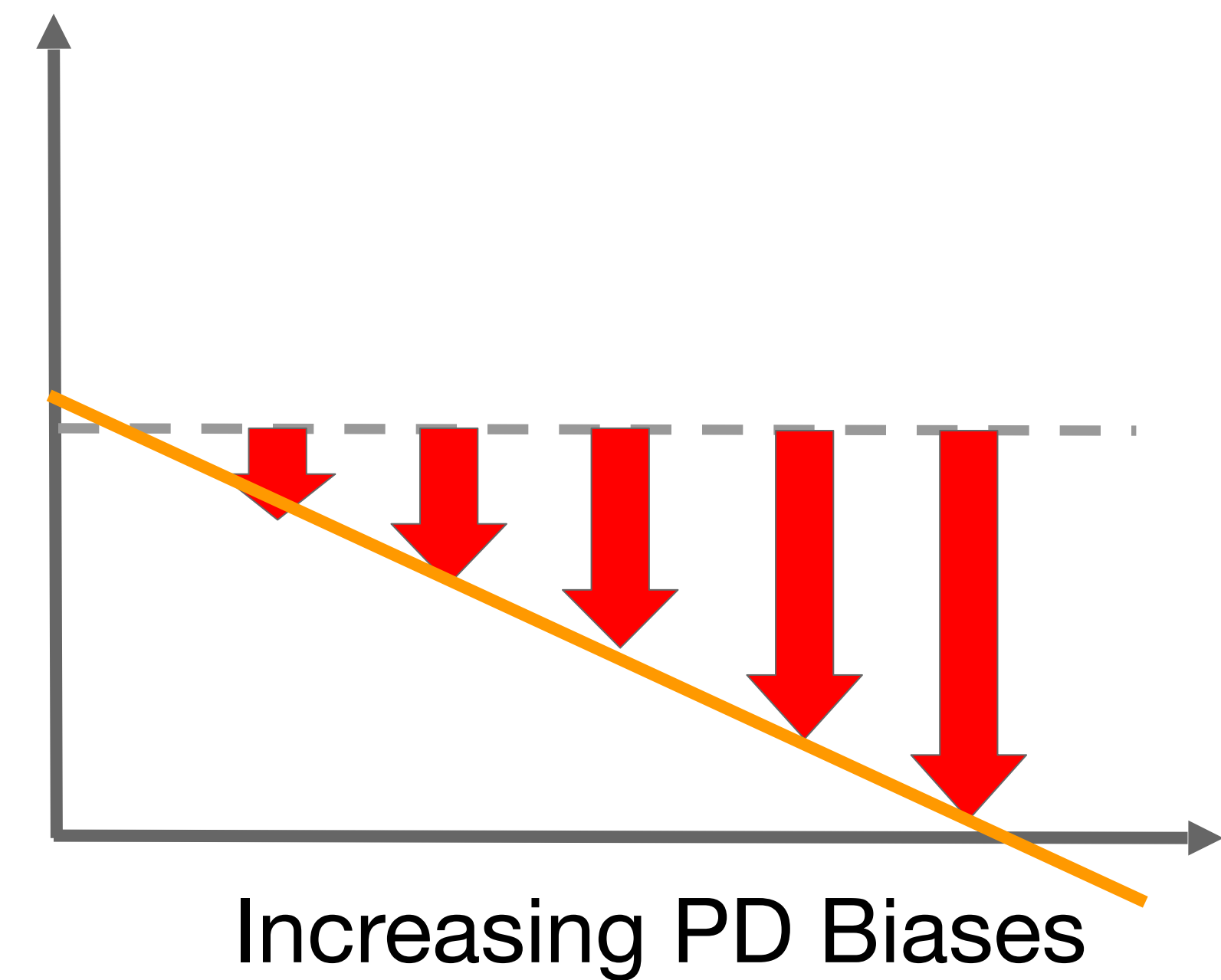


Predictions on the IFE

Prime_{PD} → Target_{PD}

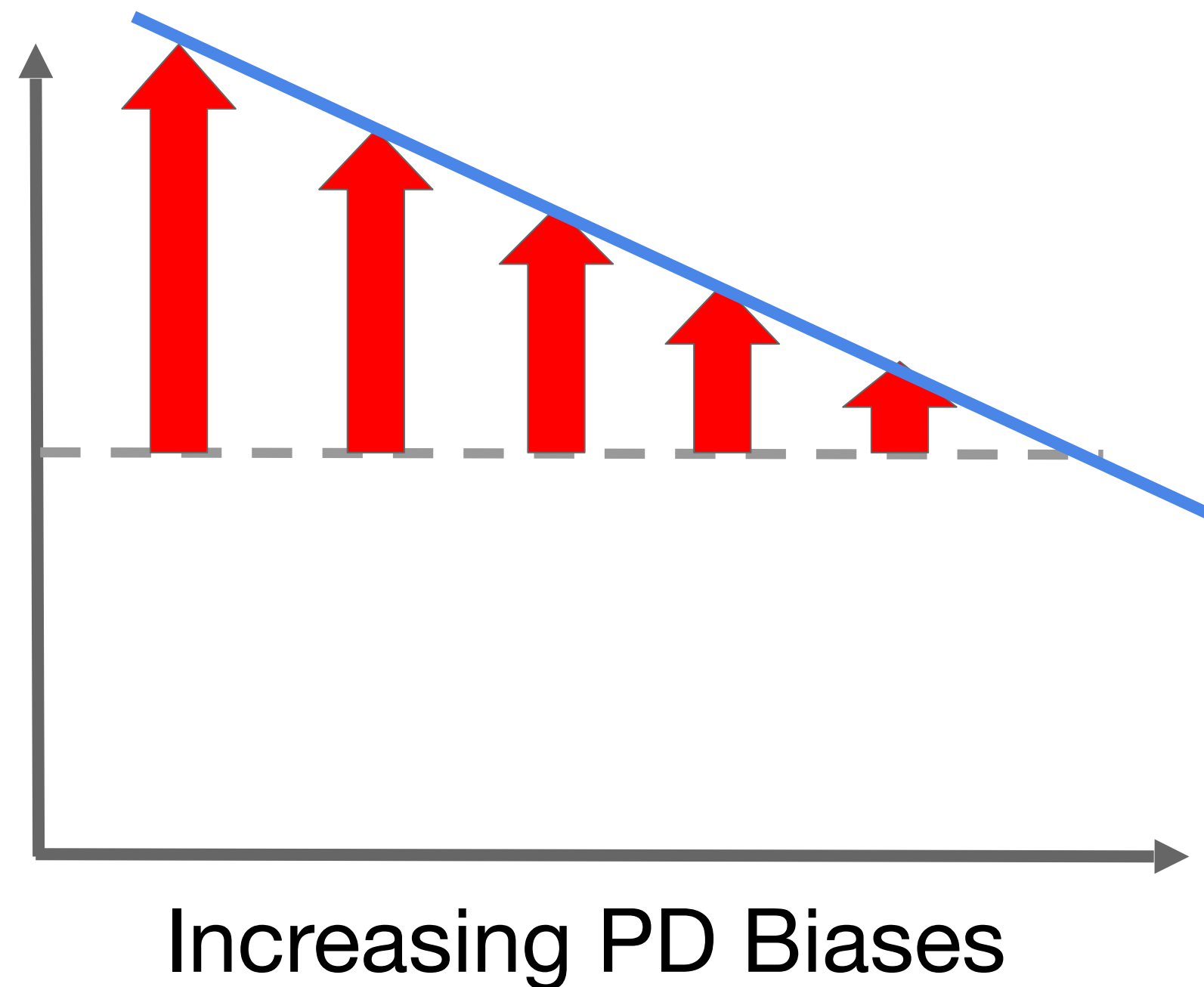


Prime_{DO} → Target_{PD}

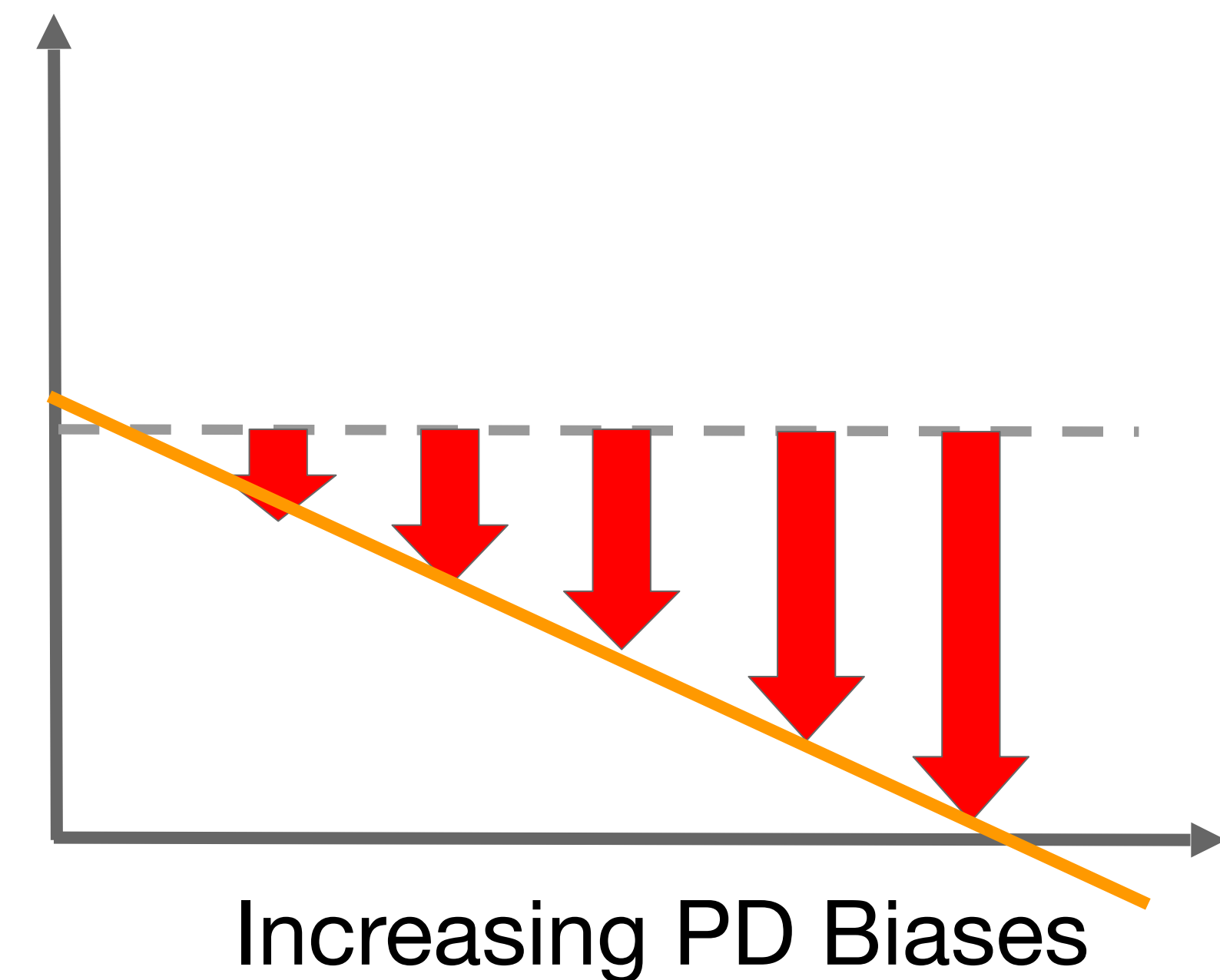


Predictions on the IFE

Prime_{PD} → Target_{PD}

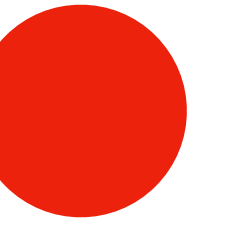


Prime_{DO} → Target_{PD}



- **IFE:** double negative slopes;
- **Standard Priming:** PD-PD has higher intercept than DO-PD;

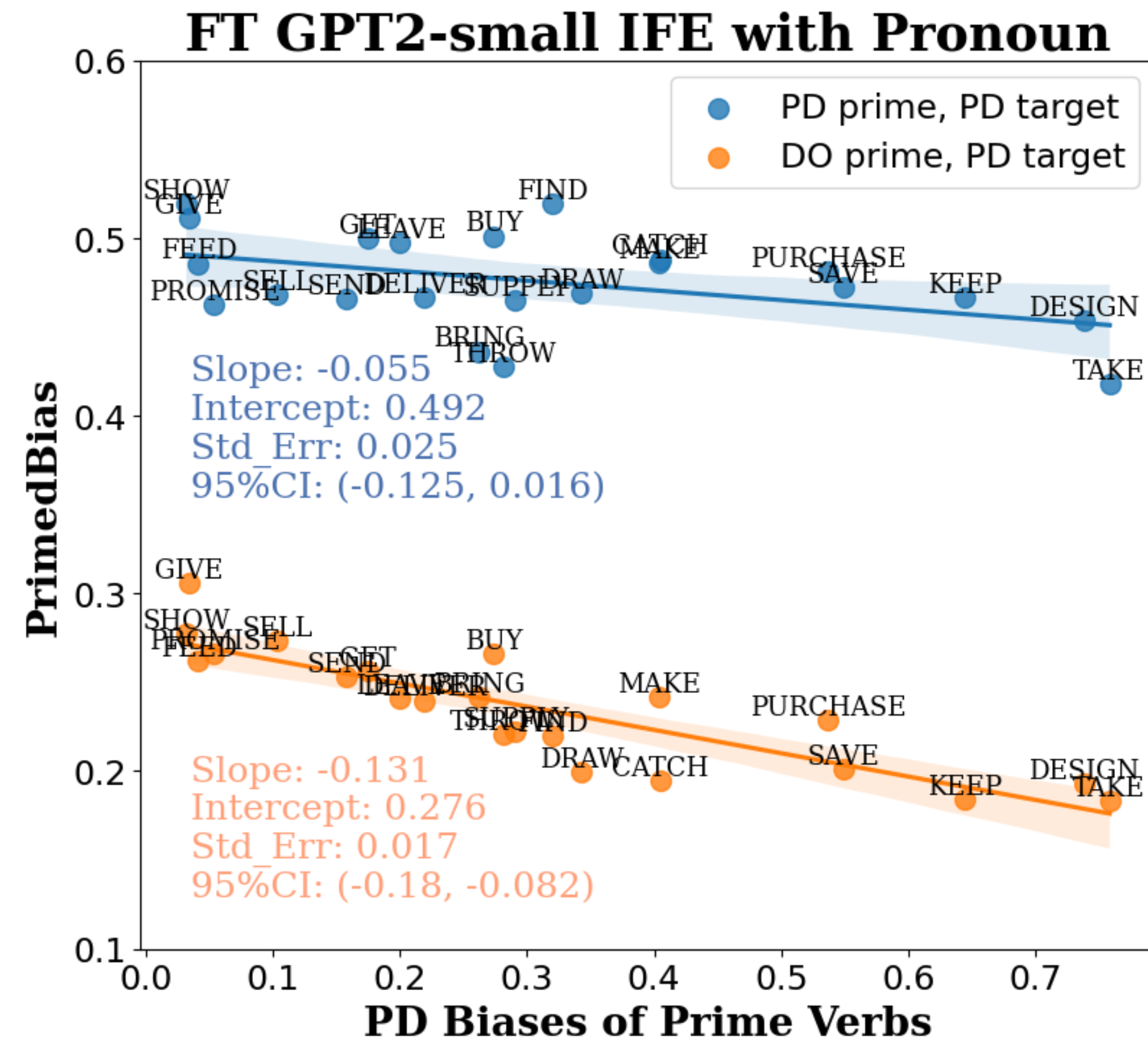
Priming in LLMs



Fine-tuning Mode: fine-tuning the model with the prime sentence and use the updated model to run the target sentence — **with weight update**;

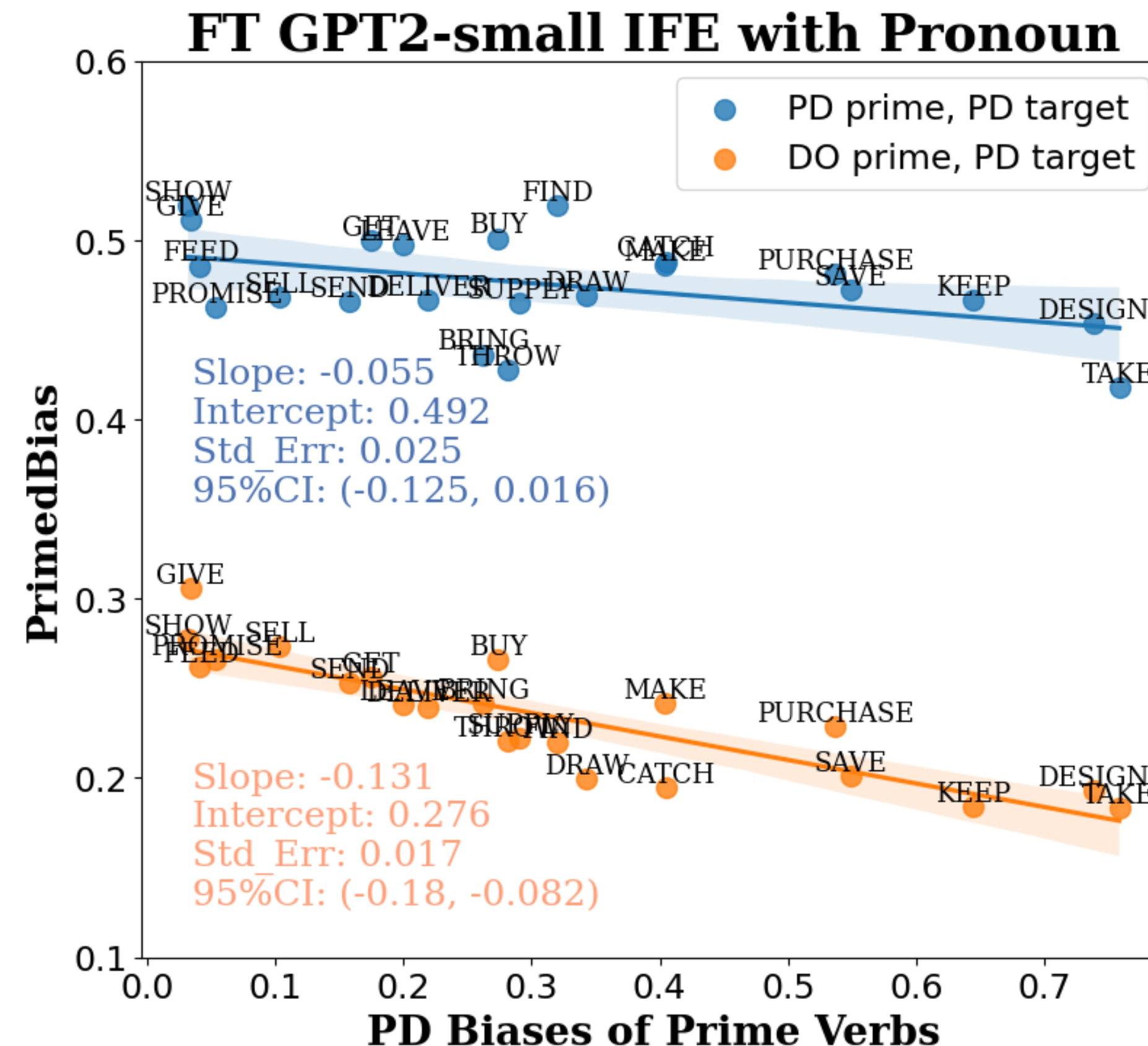
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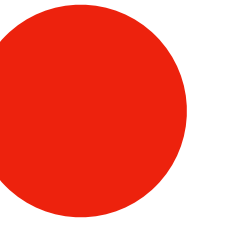
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Even *GPT2-small* shows significant inverse frequency effects!

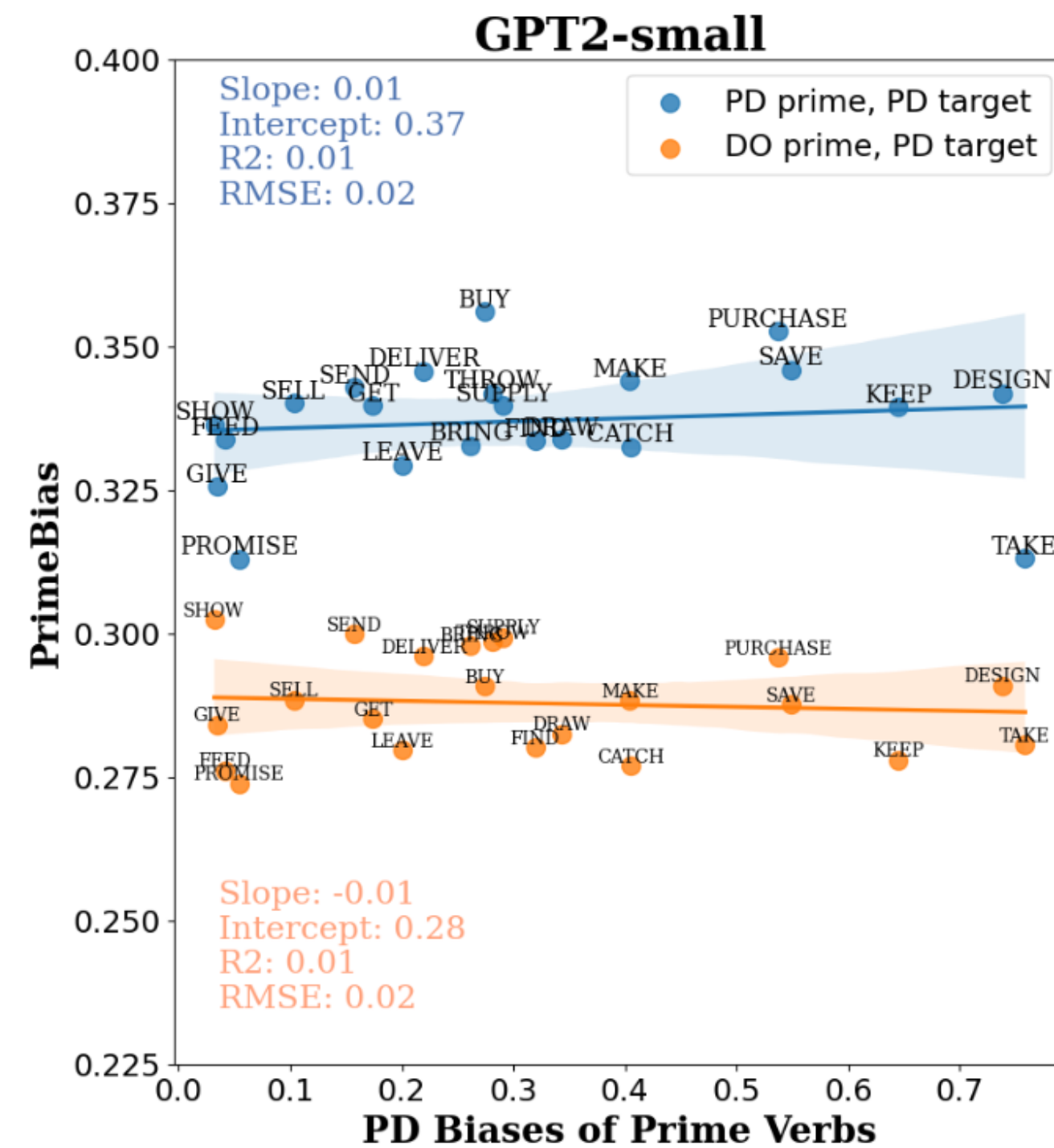
Priming in LLMs



Concatenation Mode: concatenating the prime and target sentences and run the model — **without weight update**;

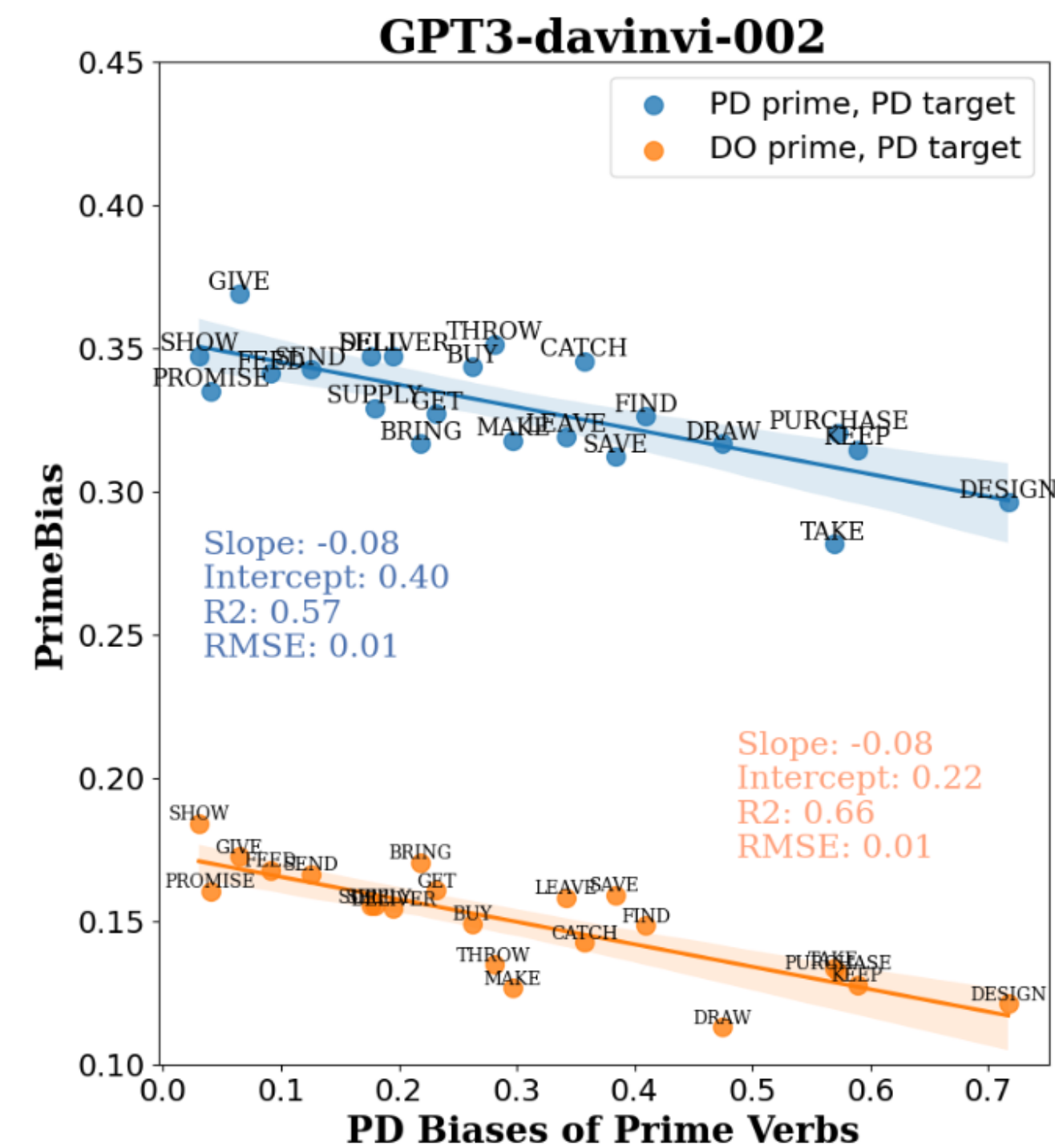
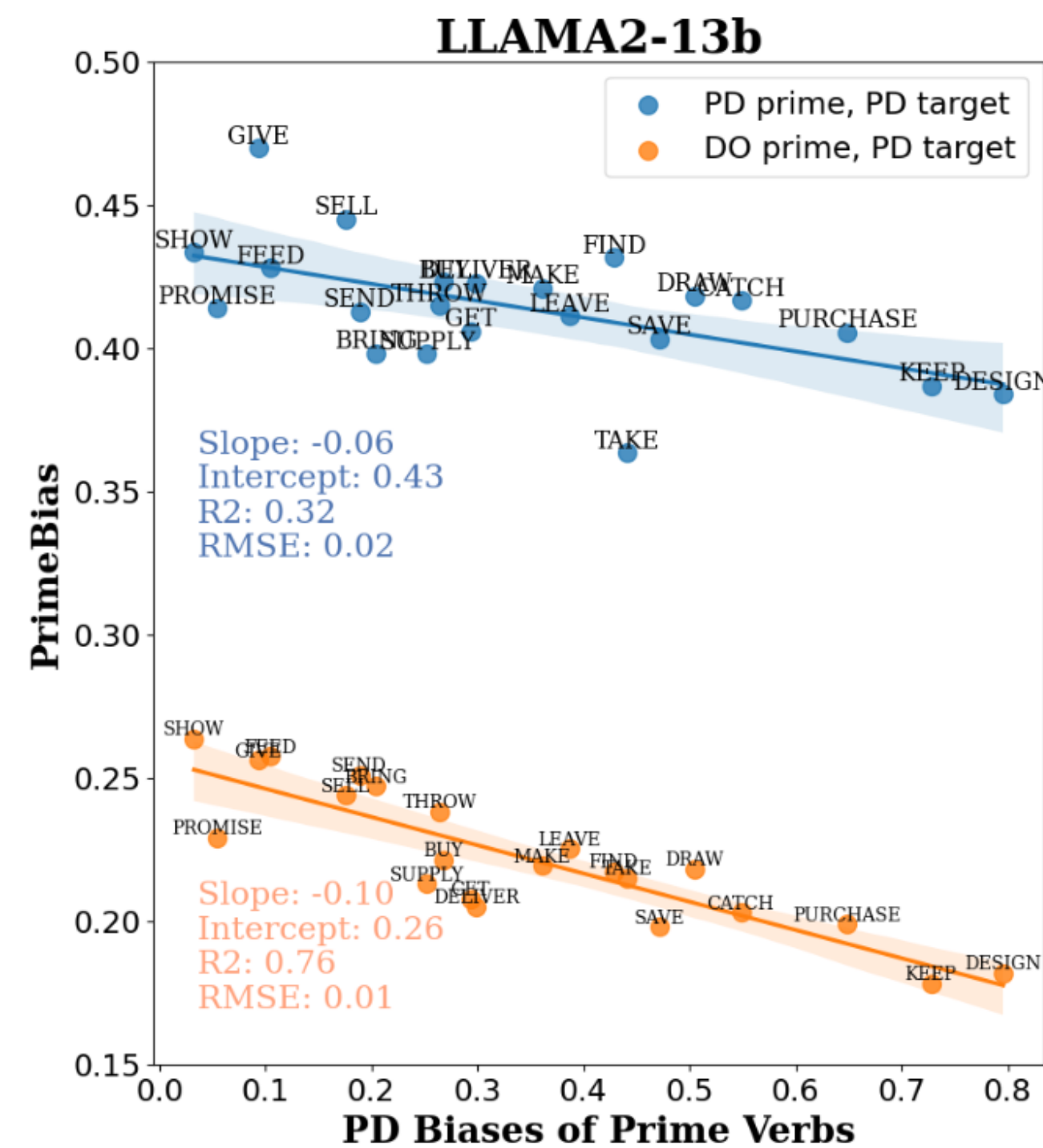
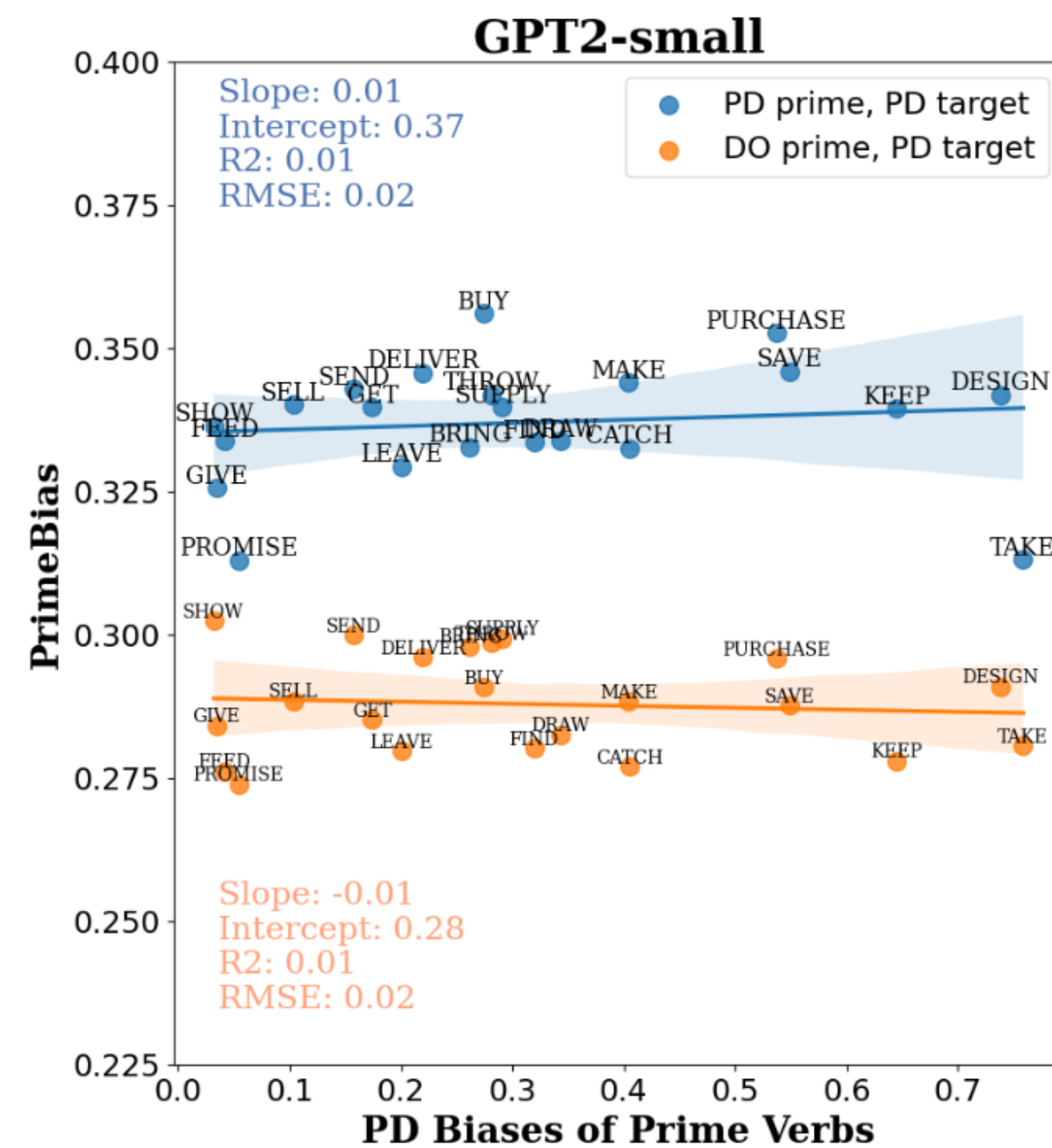
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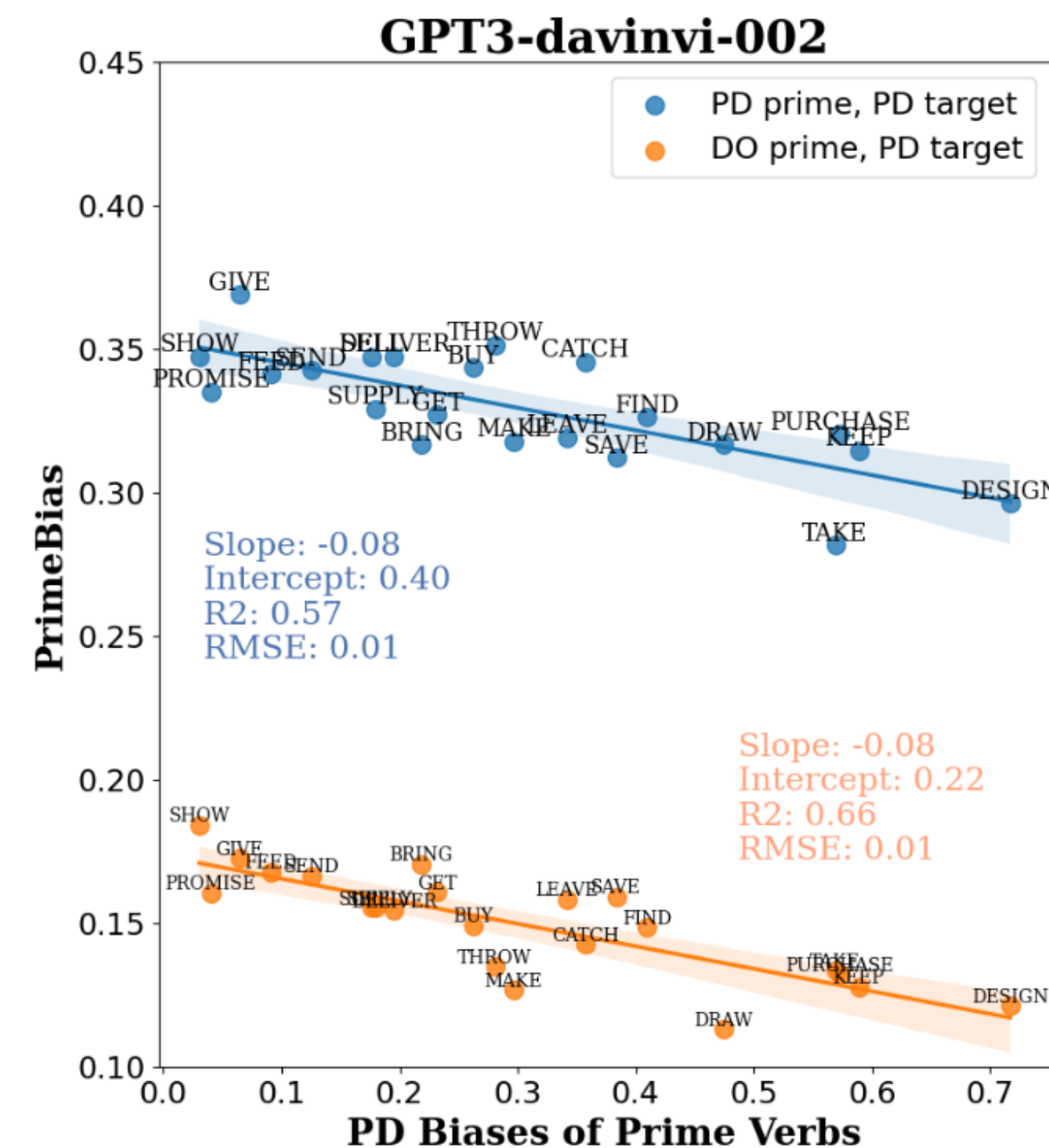
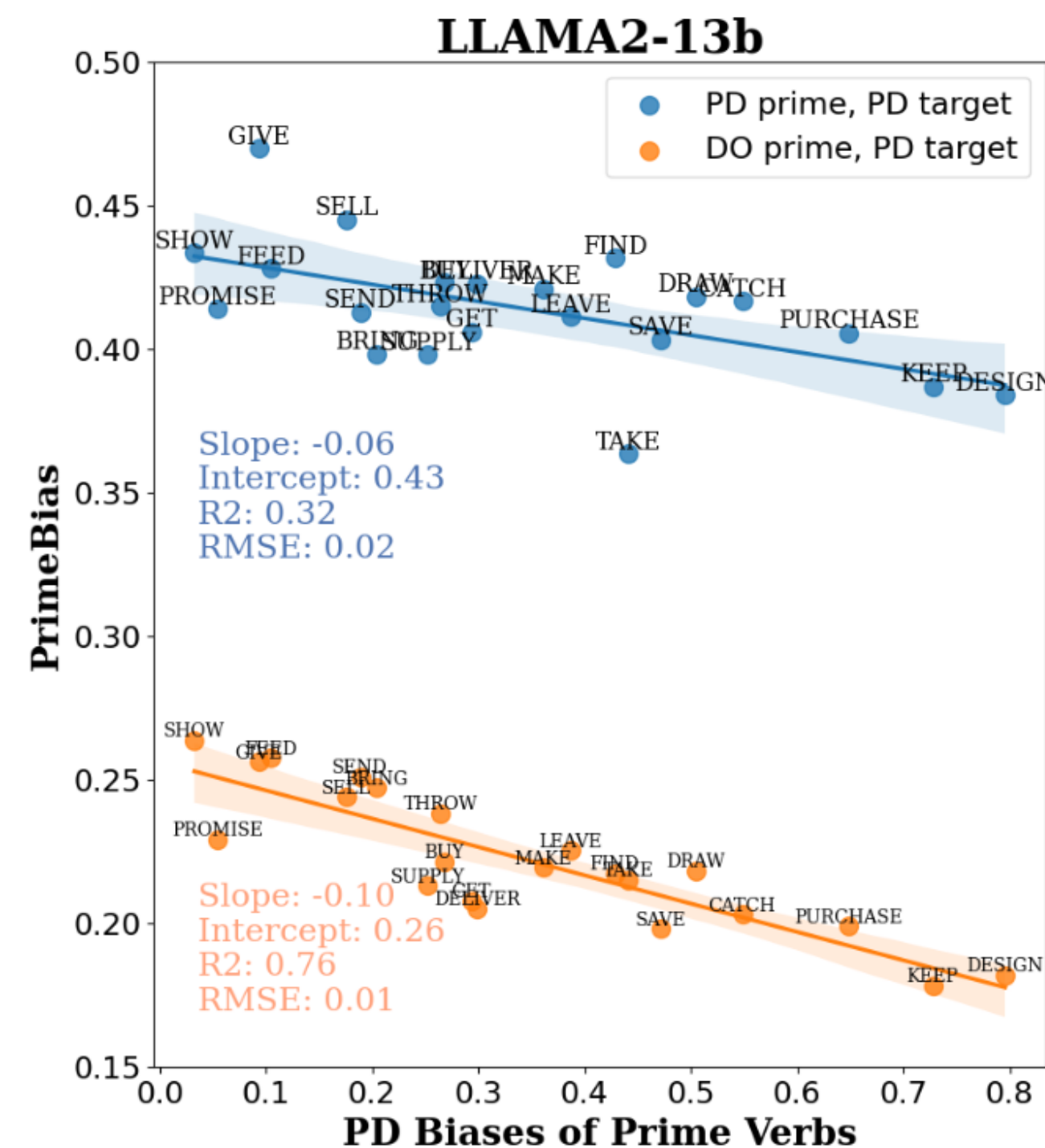
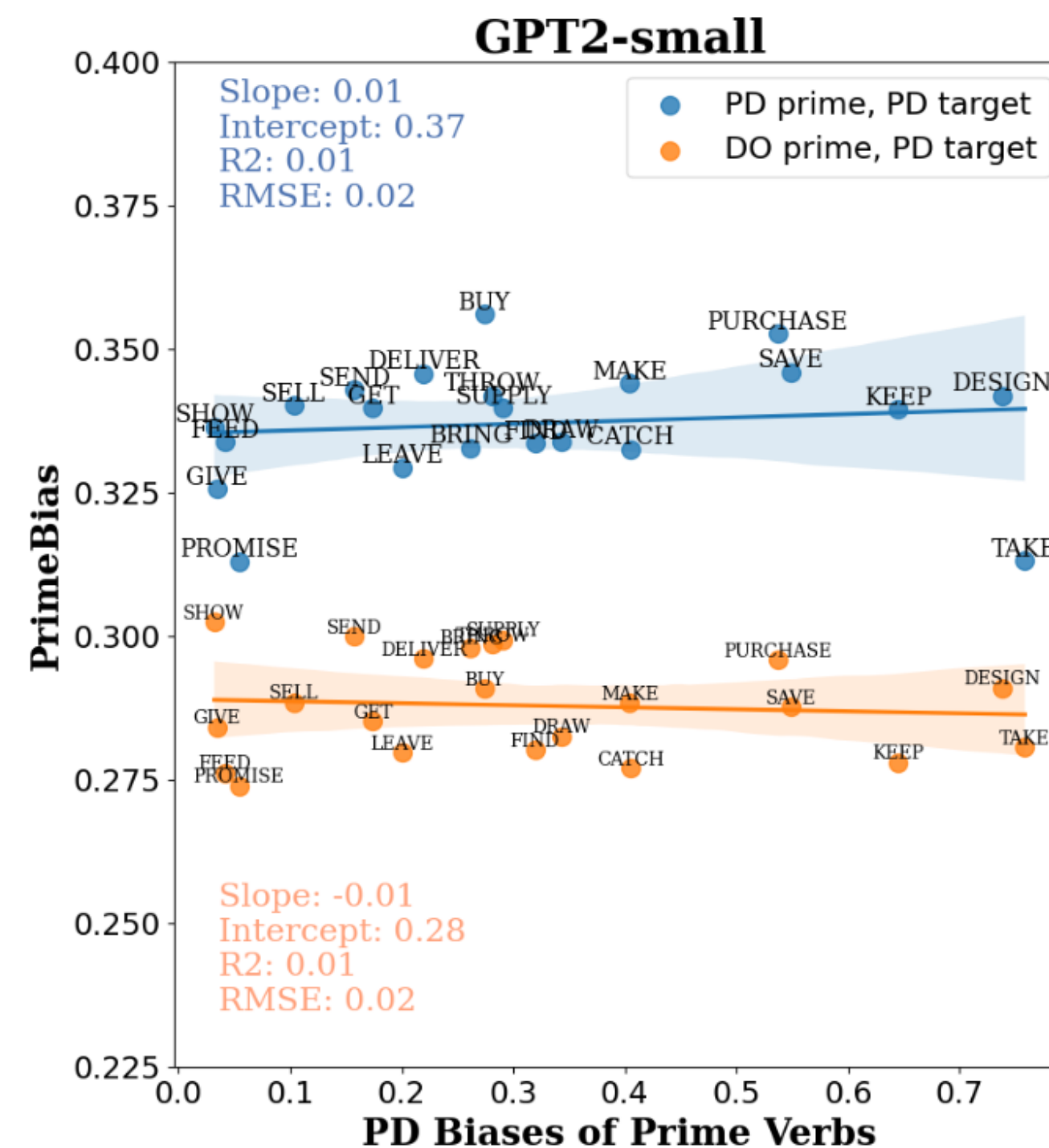
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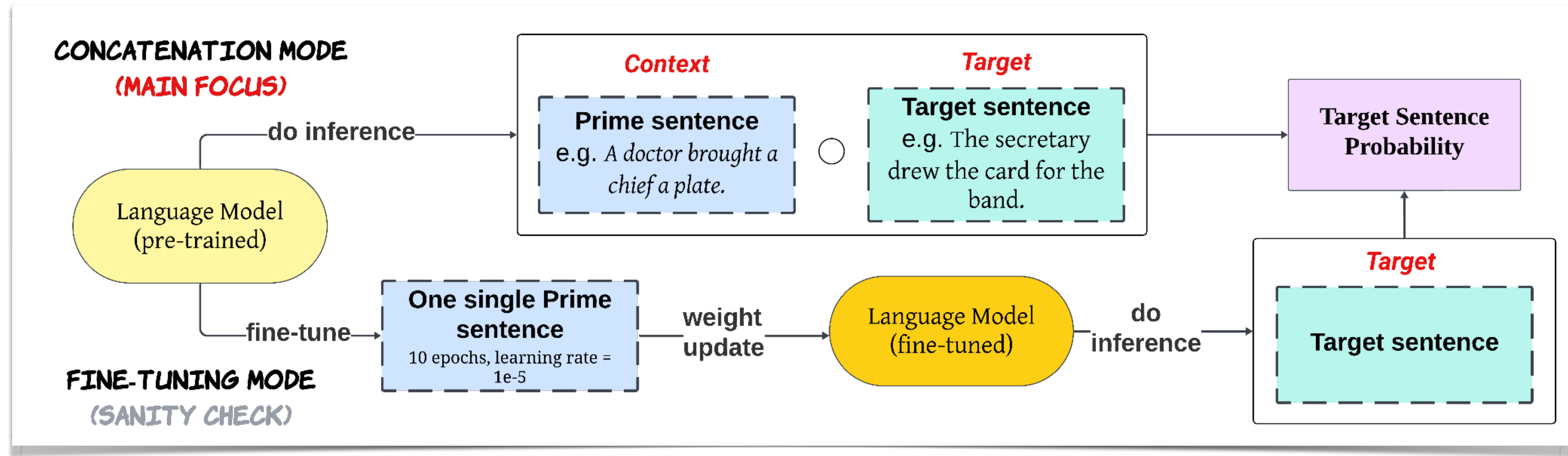
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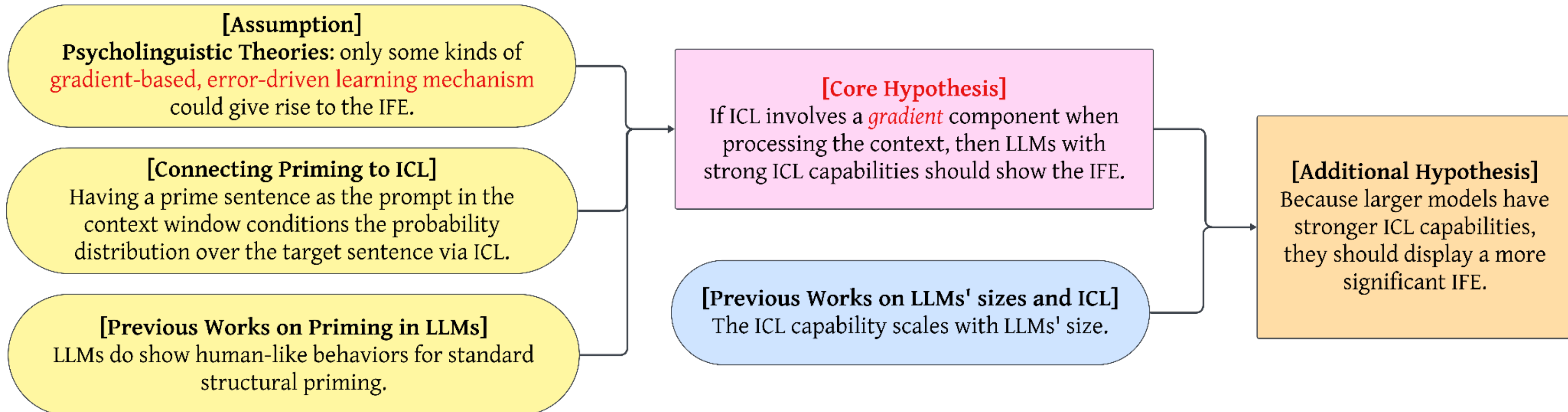
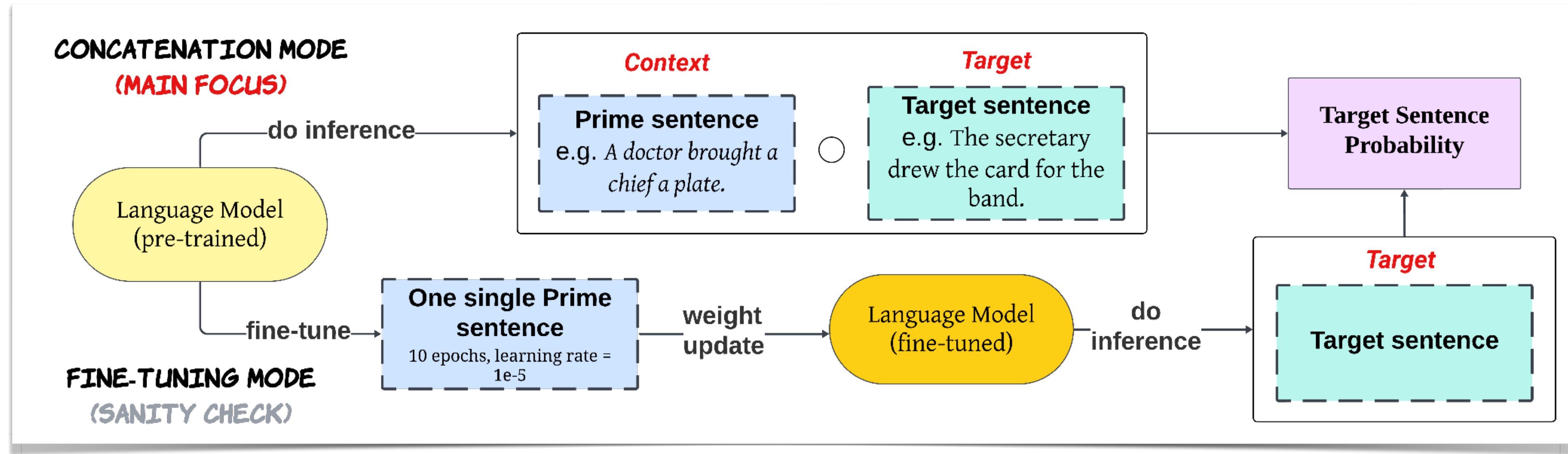


Larger models show more significant inverse frequency effects!

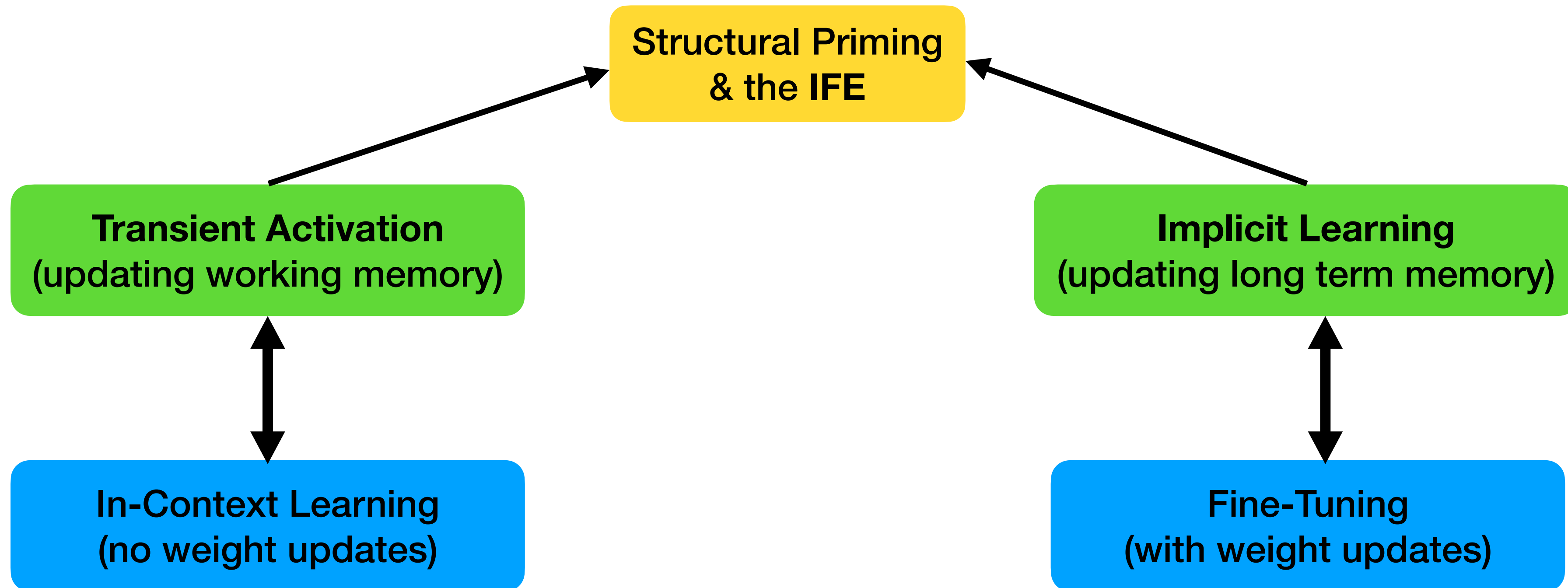
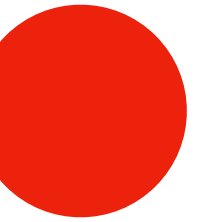
Recap



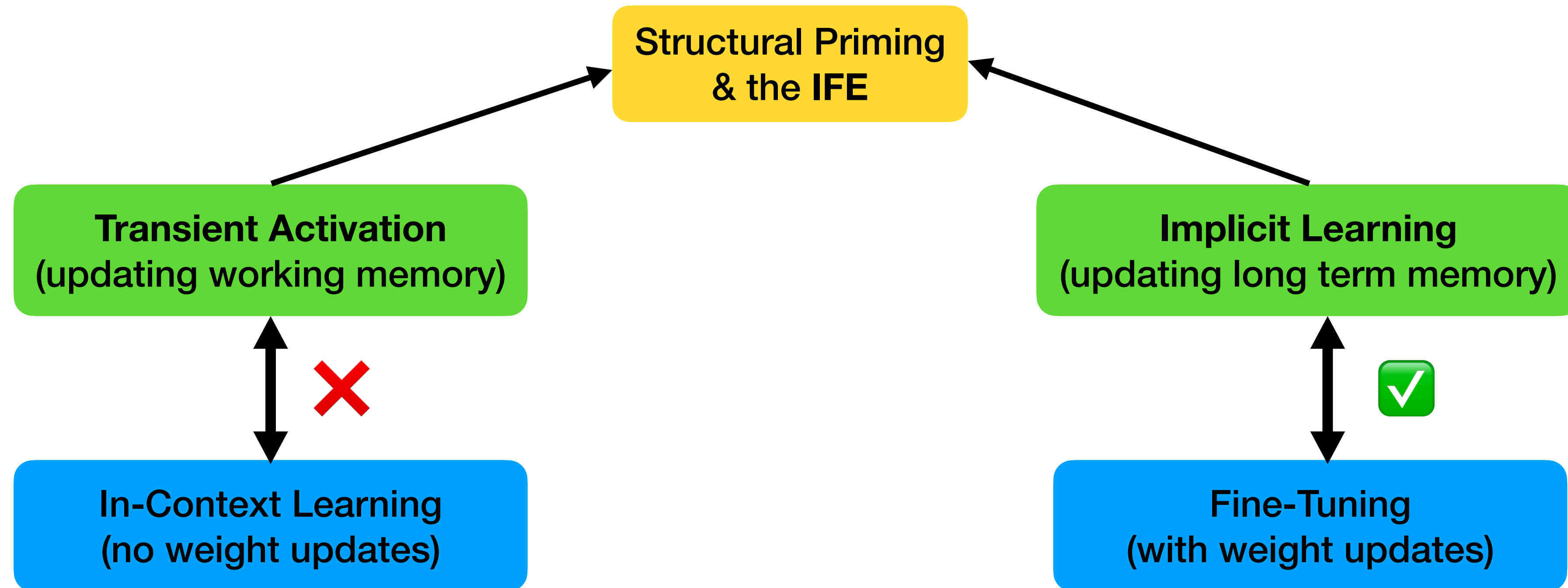
Recap



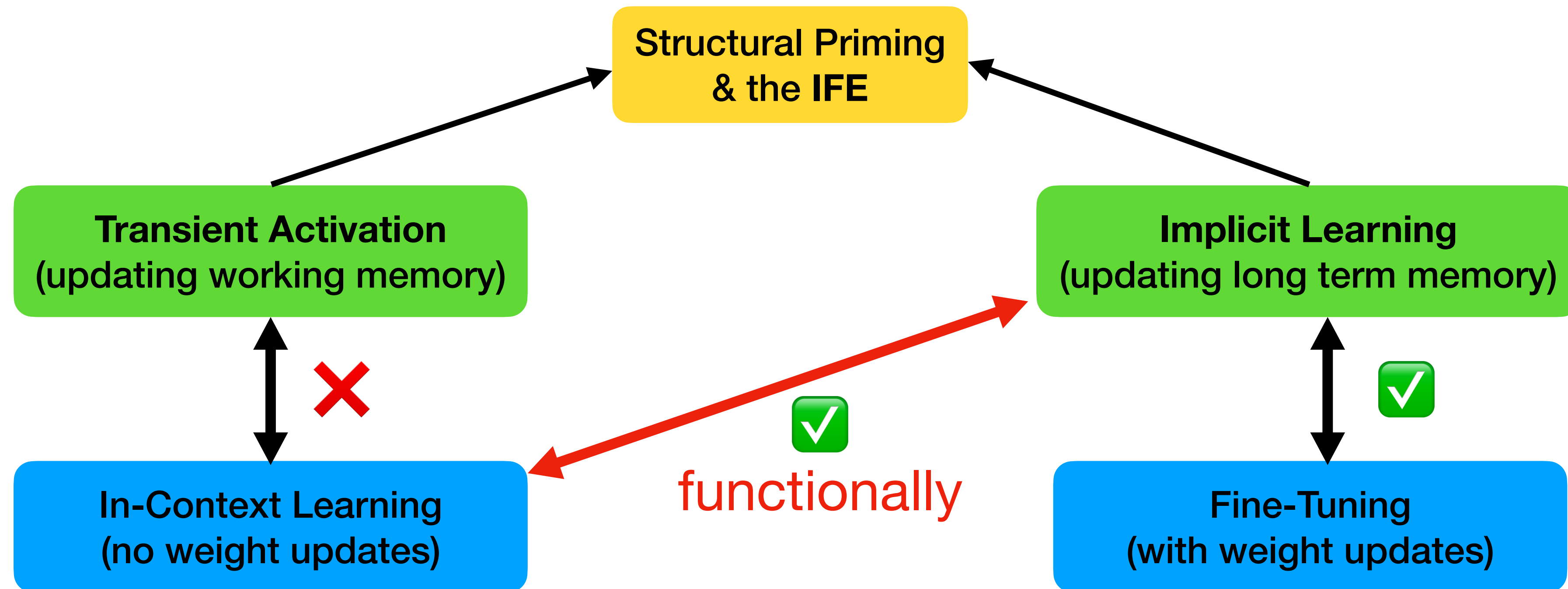
Takeaways from Experiment 1



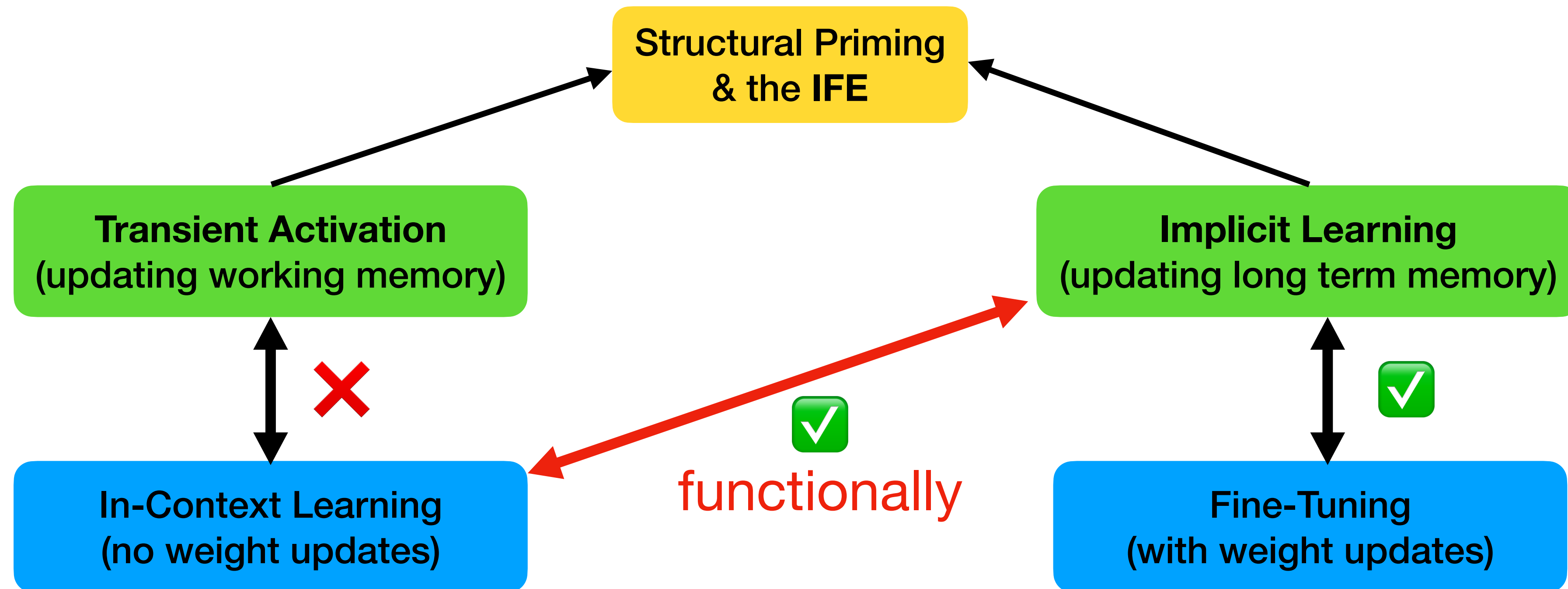
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Takeaways from Experiment 1

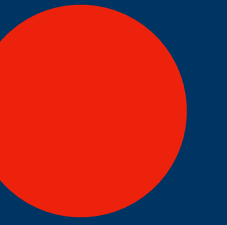


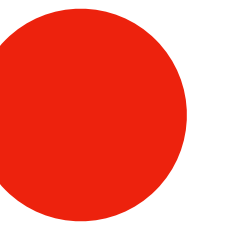
Takeaways from Experiment 1



We used the IFE as a diagnostic on the error-driven nature of ICL as a processing / adaptation mechanism in LLMs.

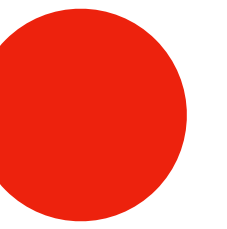
Experiment 2: Mechanistic Analysis





Research Questions:

- Then, what is truly equivalent to “transient activation” in LLMs?
- How could we causally verify the involvement of verb bias in IFE?

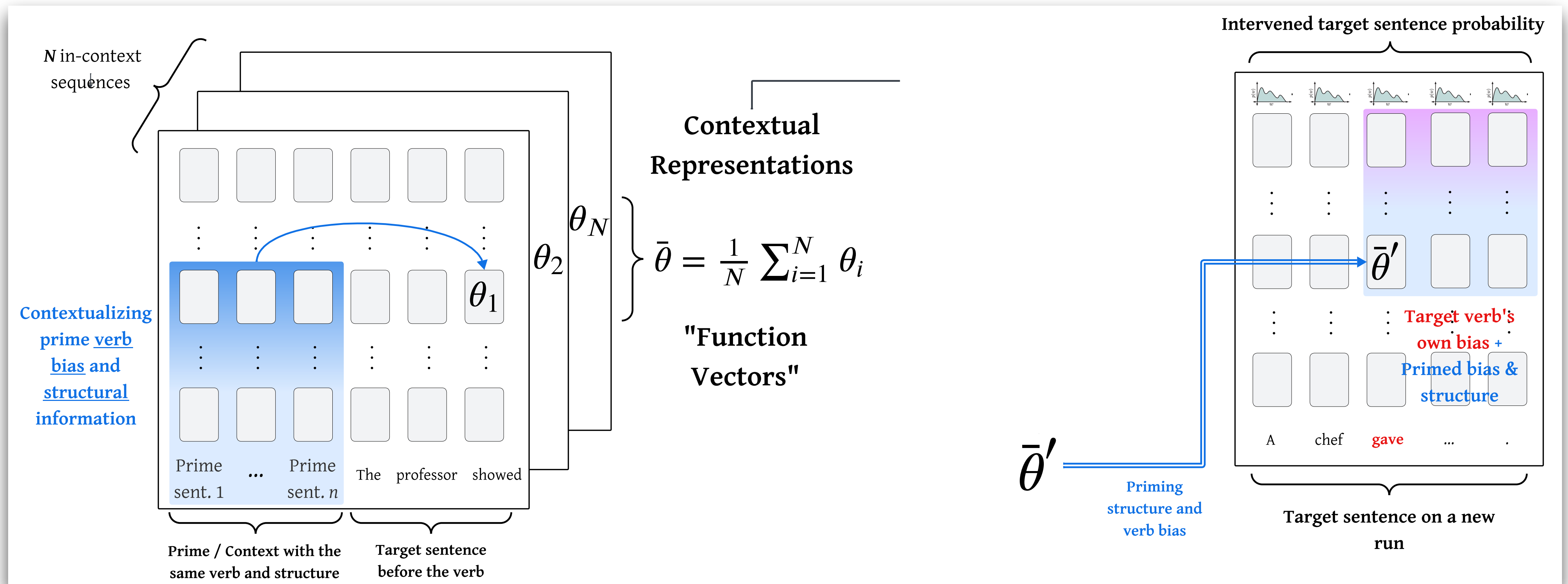


Research Questions:

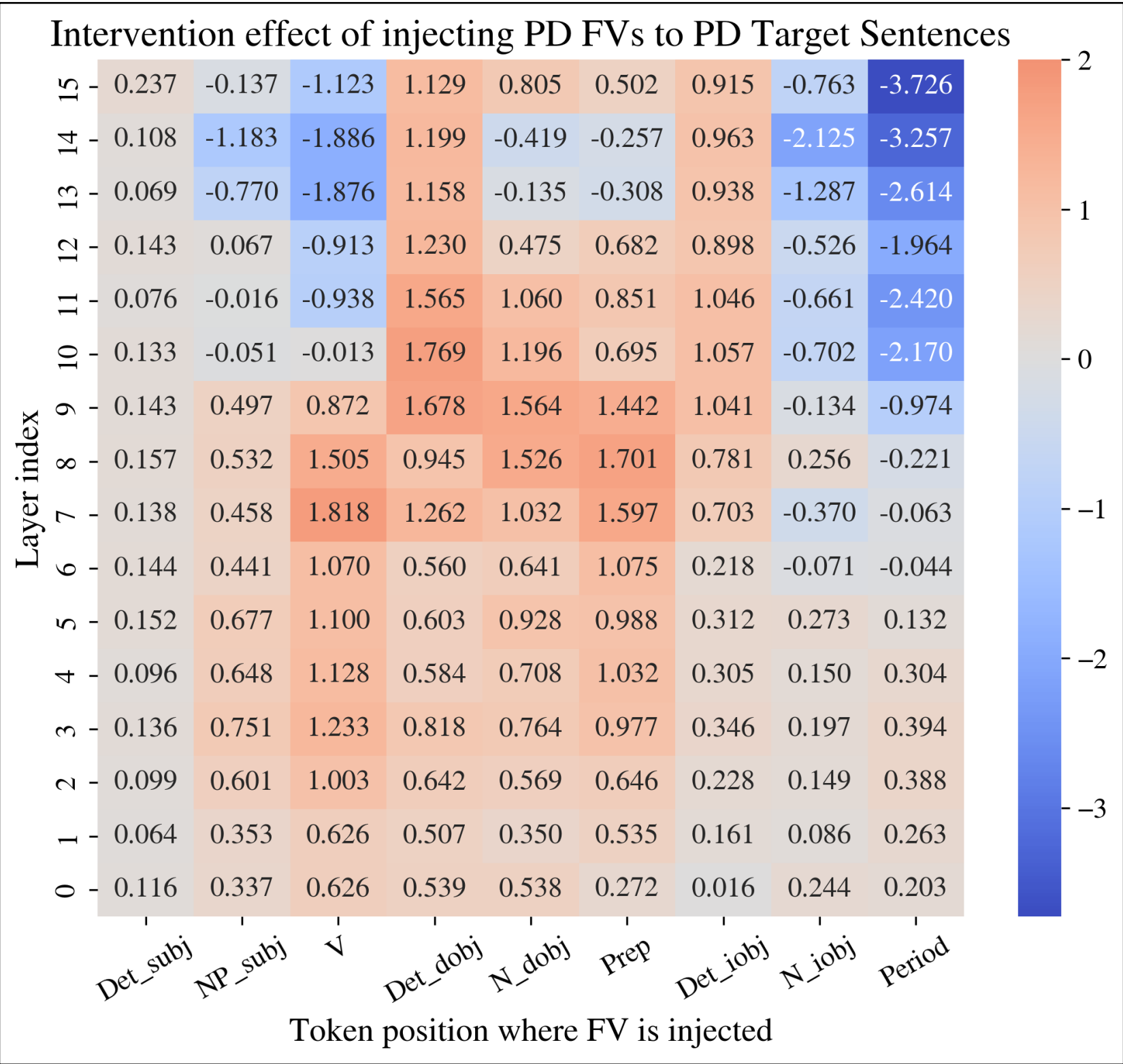
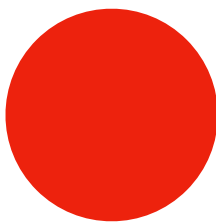
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- How could we causally verify the involvement of verb bias in IFE?

Let's go beyond purely behavioral evaluation and open up the black box!

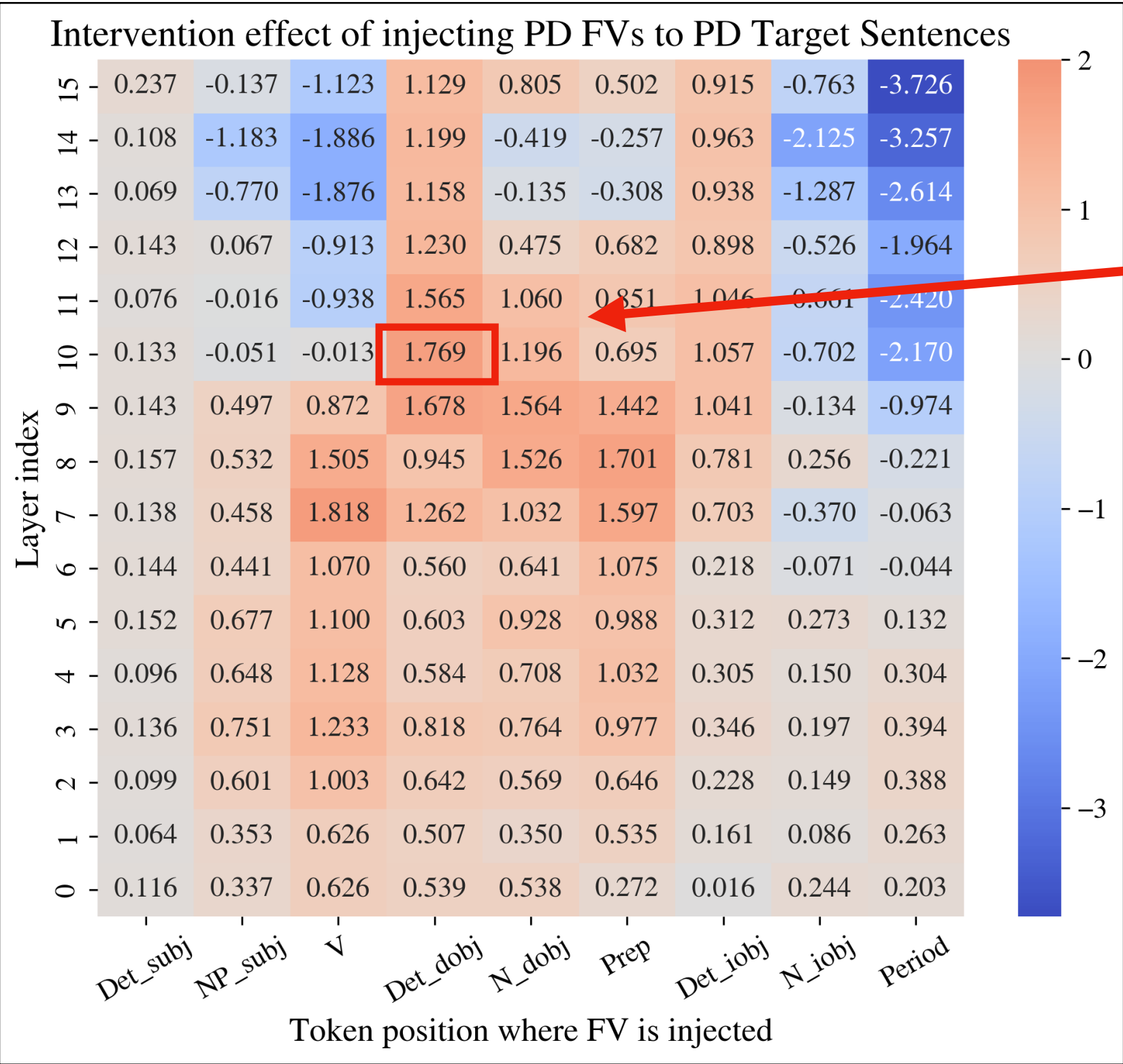
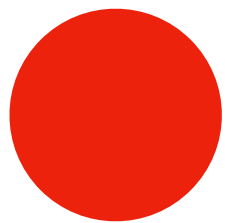
Simulating Transient Activations



Simulating Transient Activations

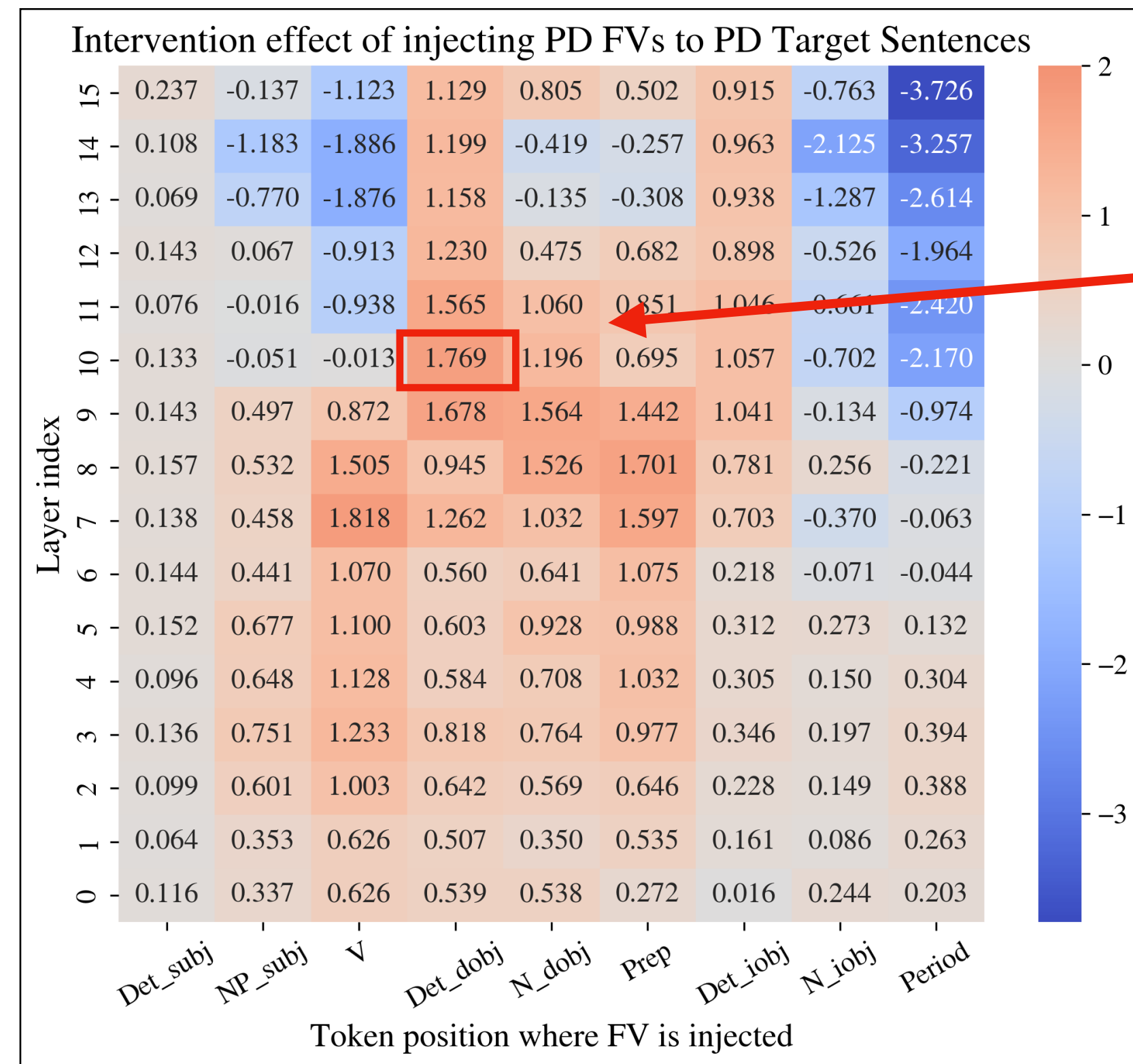
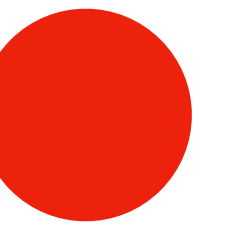


Simulating Transient Activations

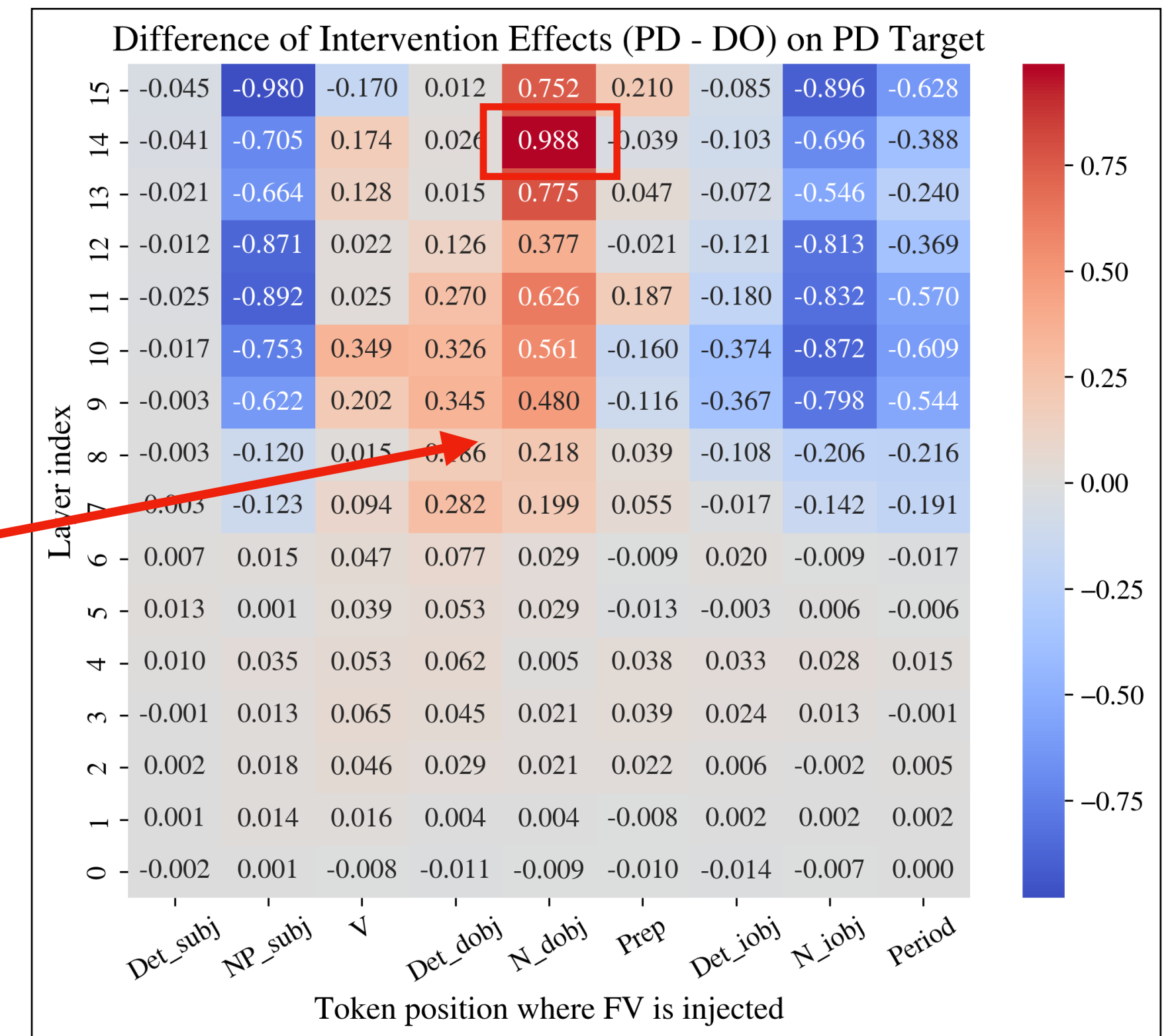


- Observing the priming effect: FVs increased target sentence probability;

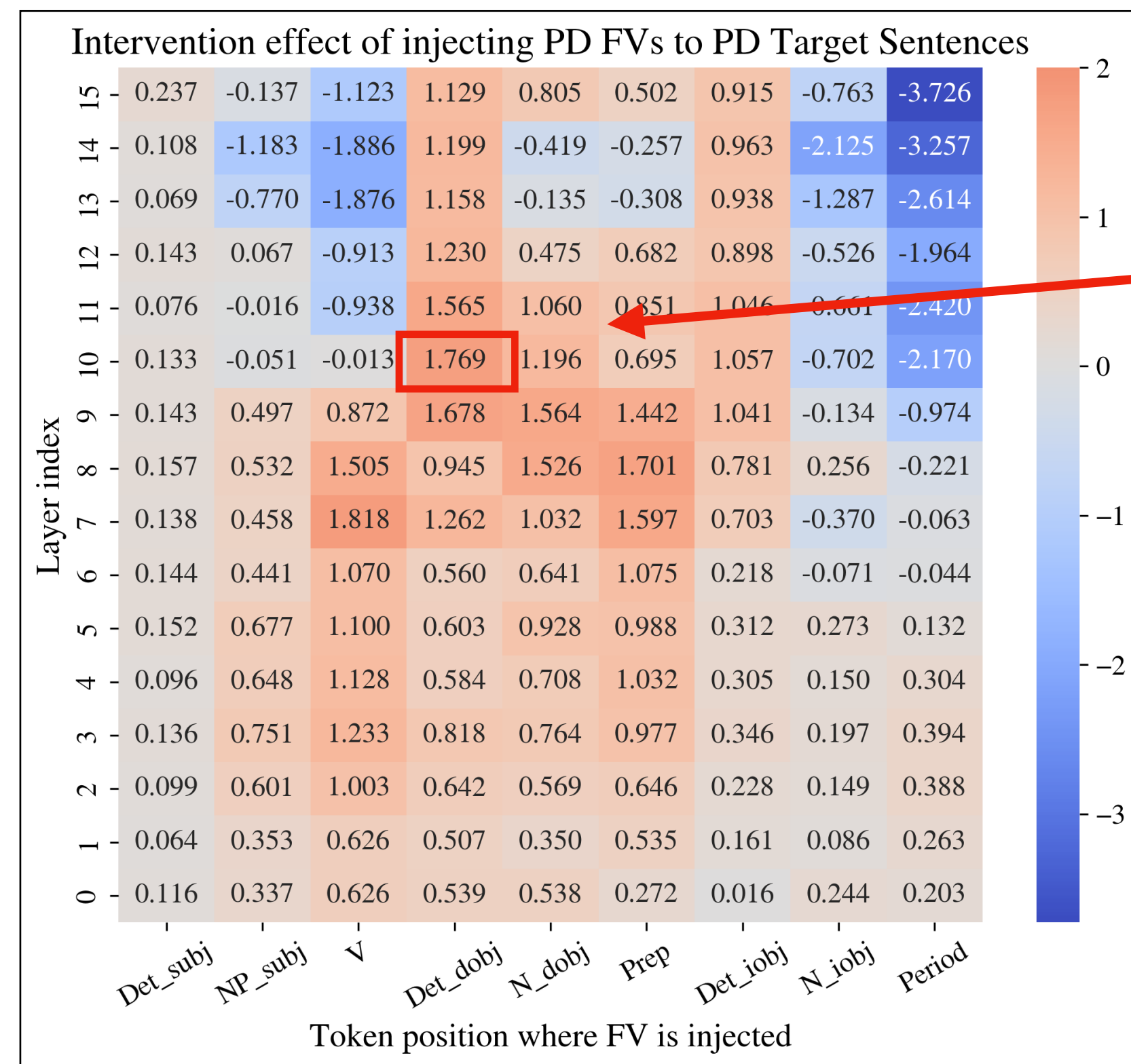
Simulating Transient Activations



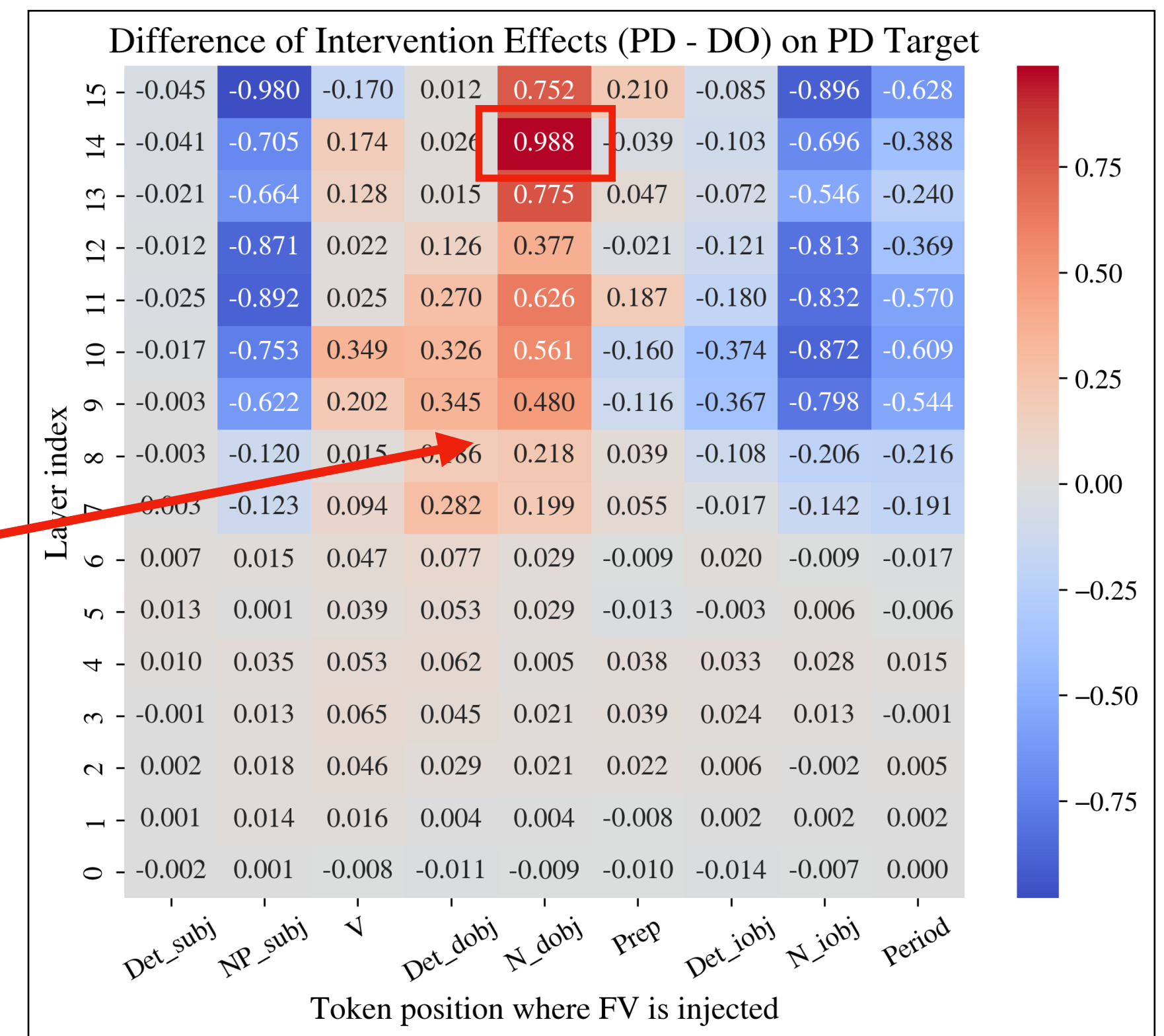
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Simulating Transient Activations

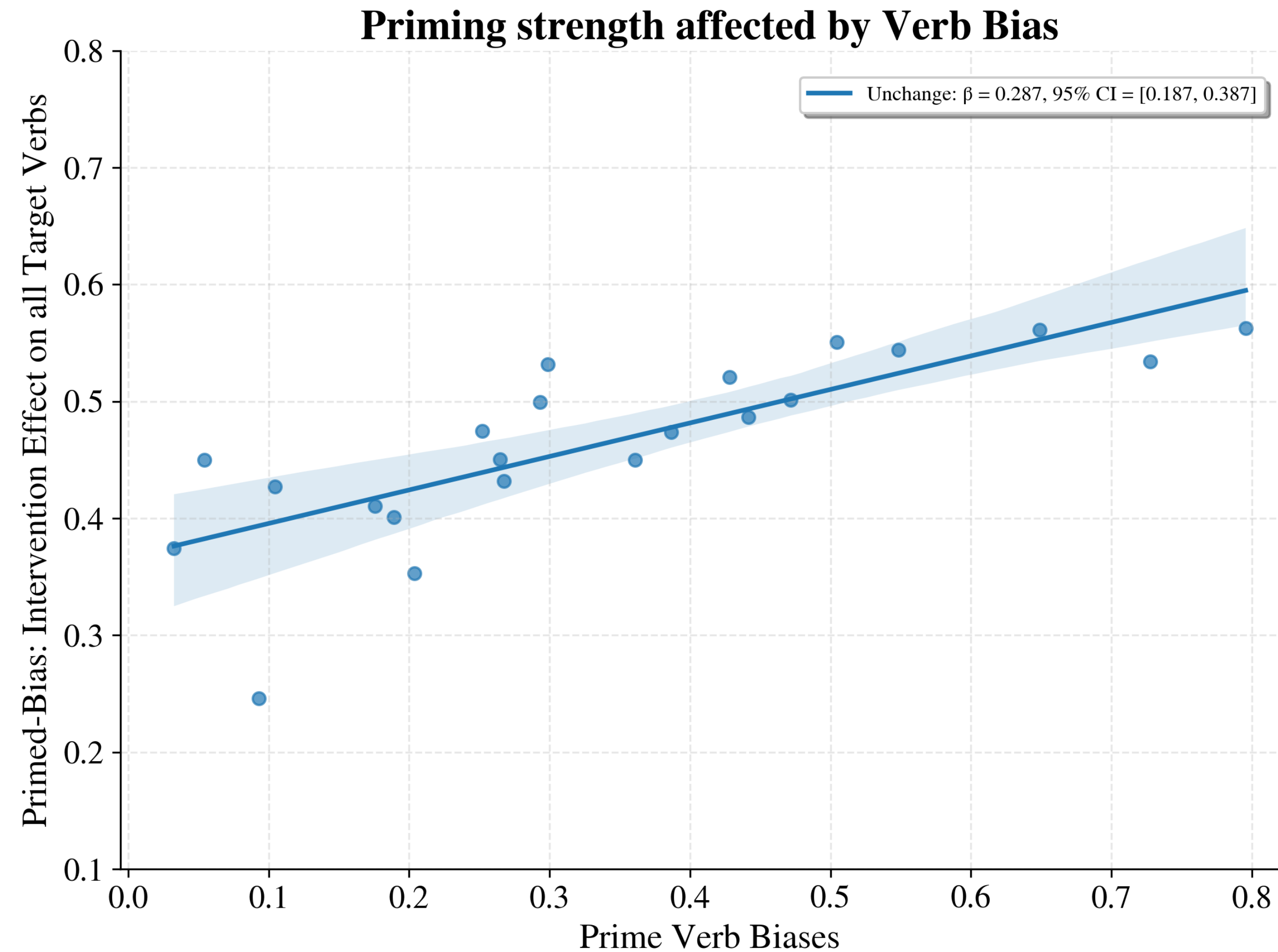
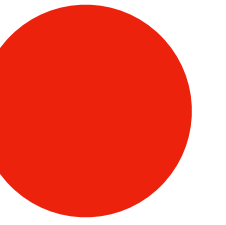


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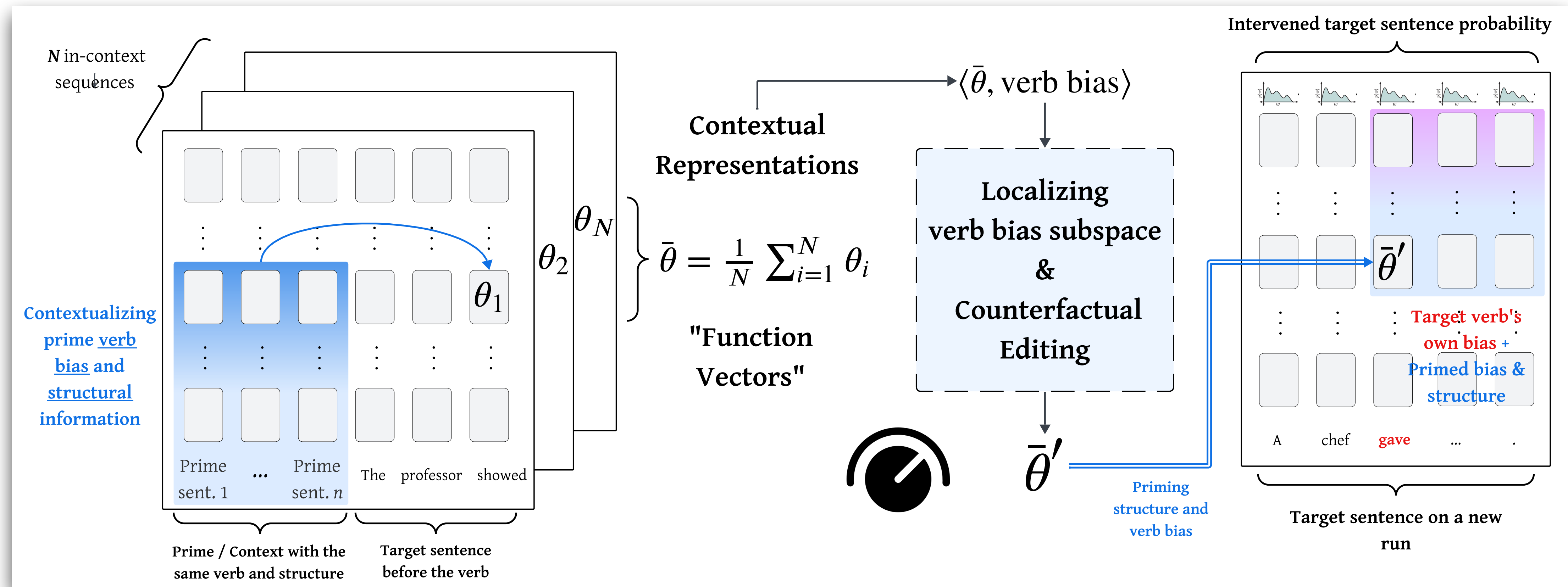
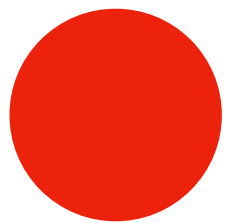
Yes, we do observe standard priming effect.

Simulating Transient Activations

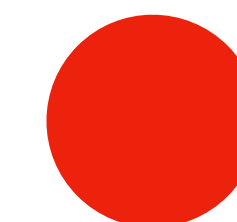


However, no IFE is observed...!

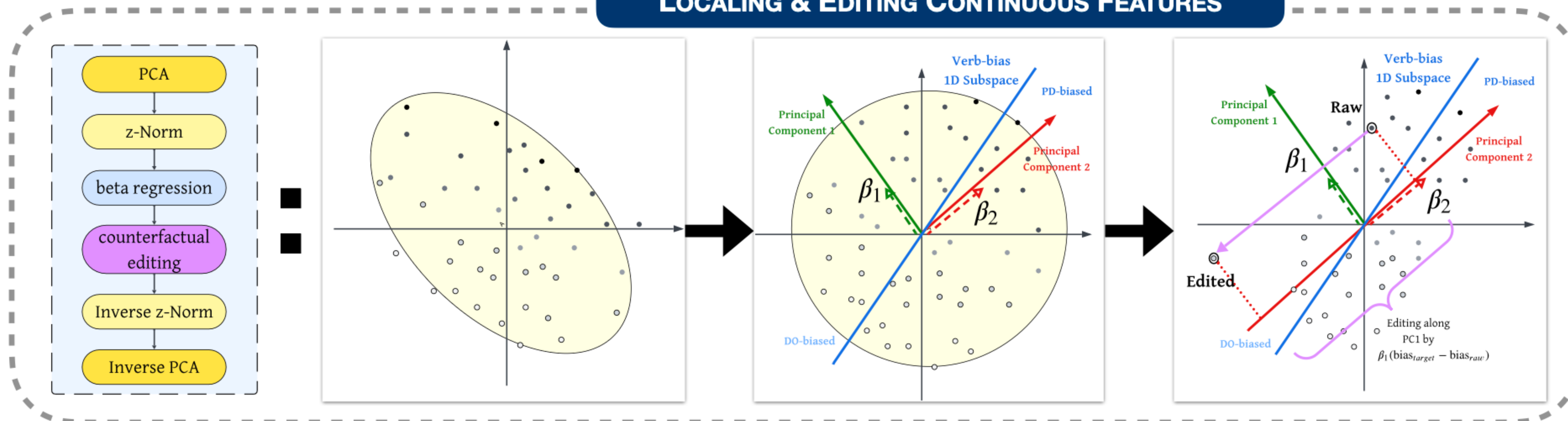
Causal Verification



Causal Verification

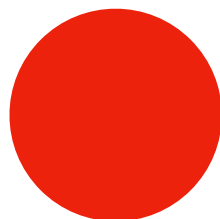
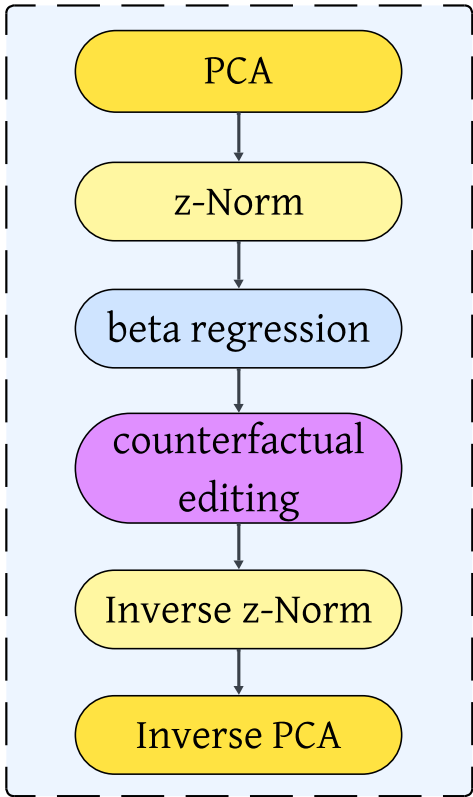
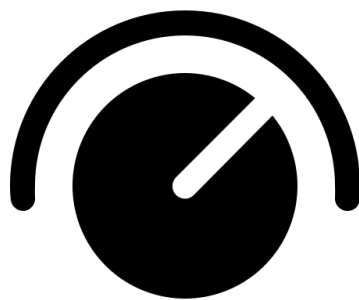


LOCALING & EDITING CONTINUOUS FEATURES

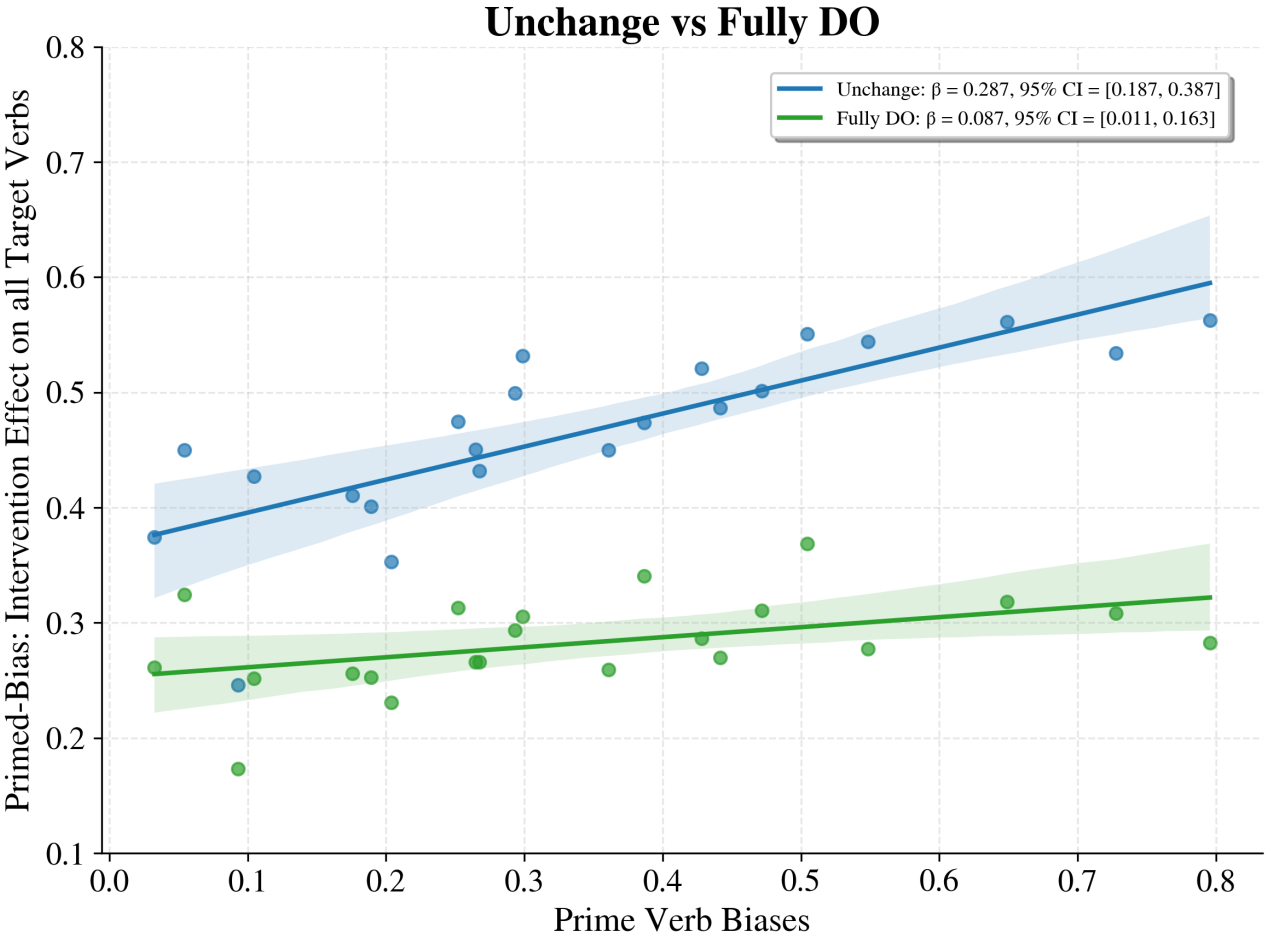
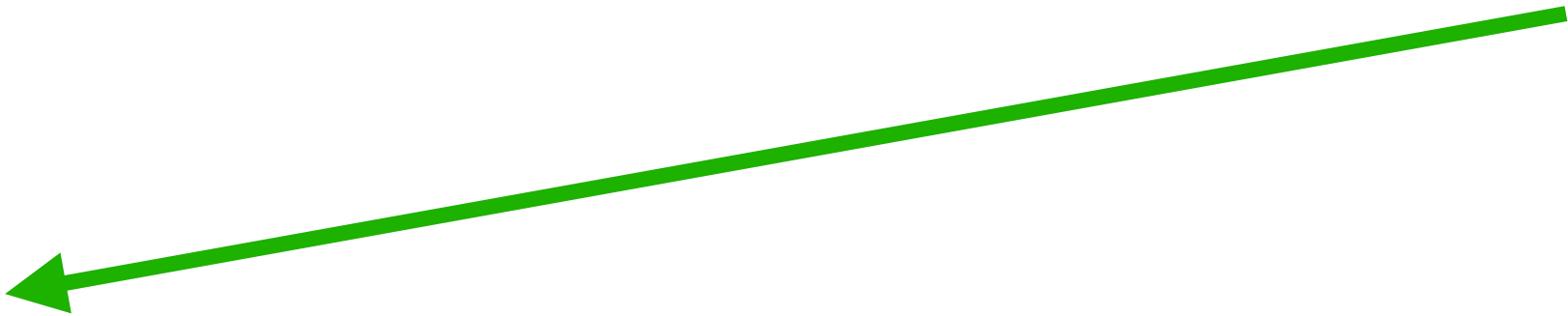
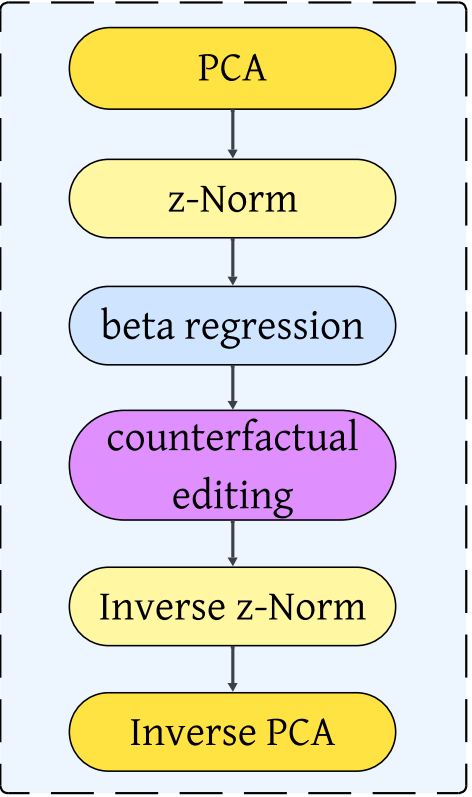
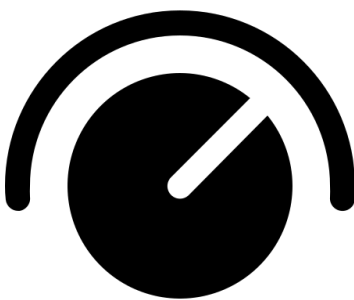
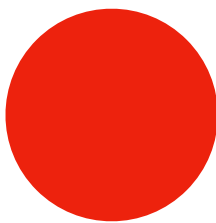


Localizing a 1-dimensional space that represents verb biases, and causally manipulate the verb bias values without changing other information.

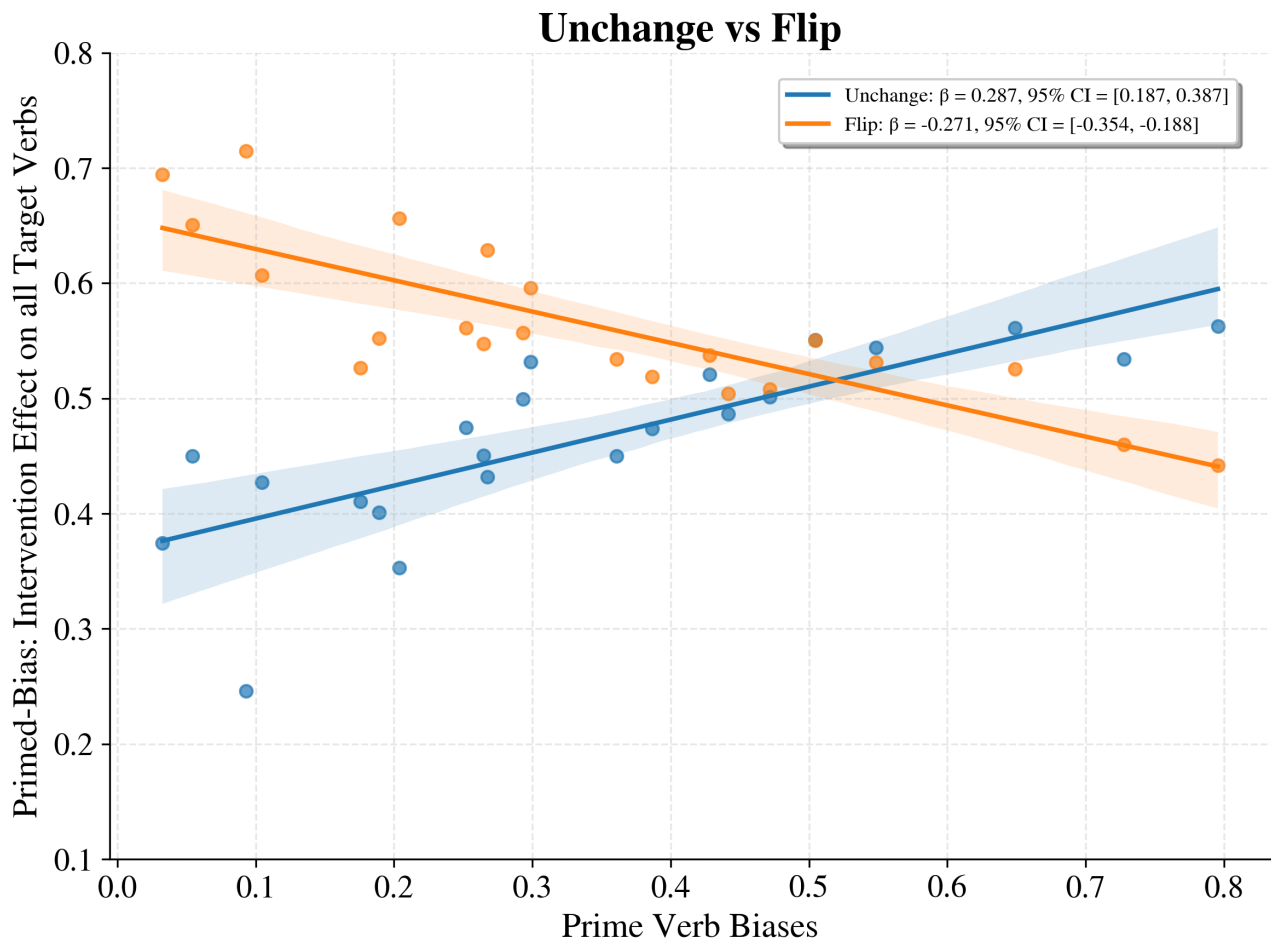
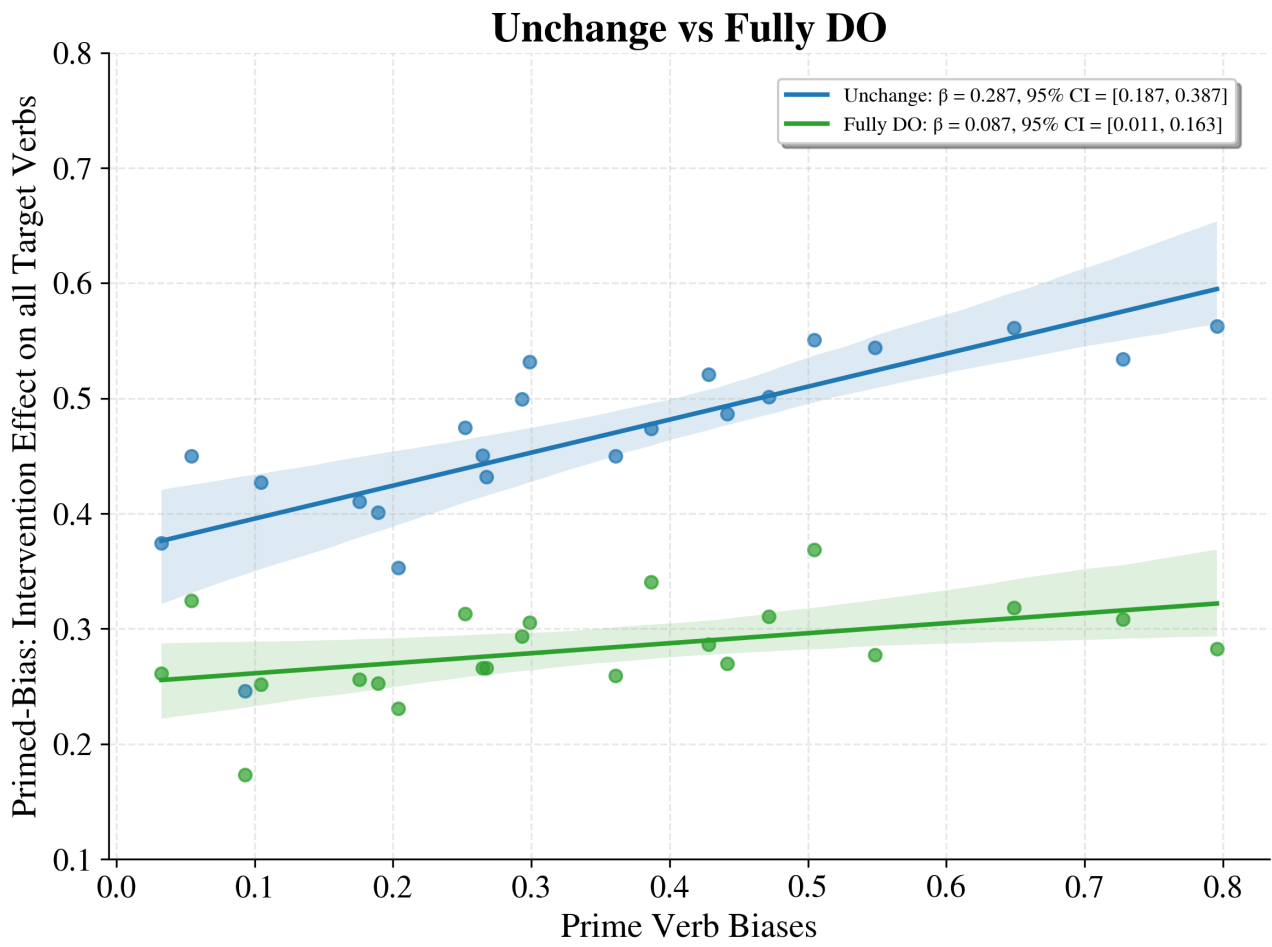
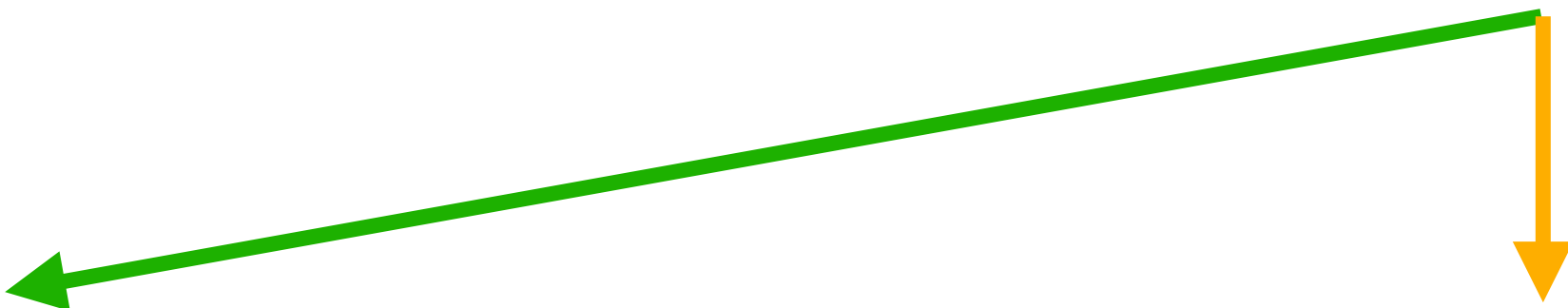
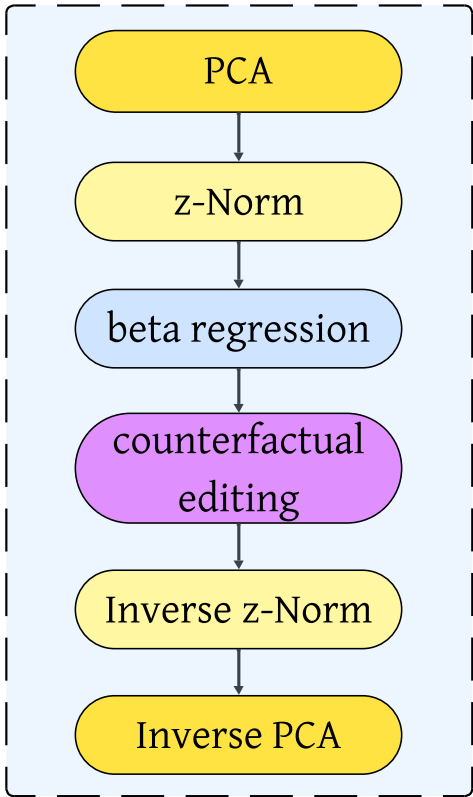
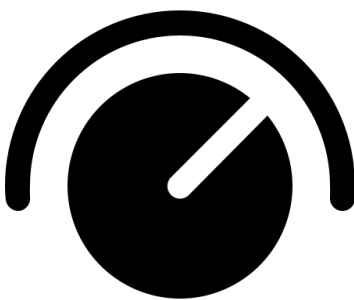
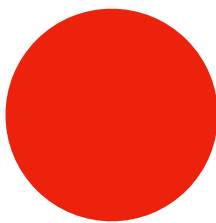
Causal Verification



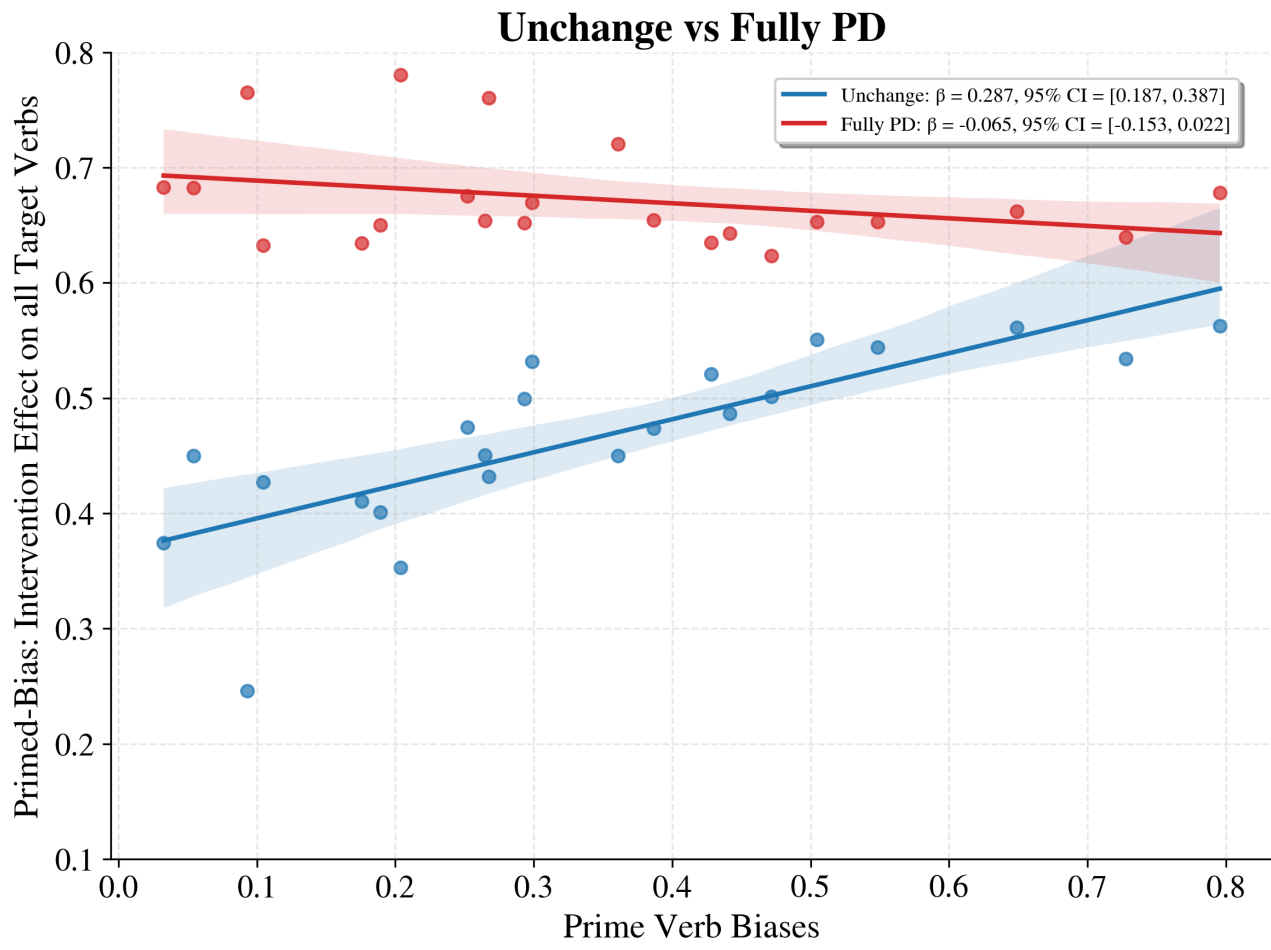
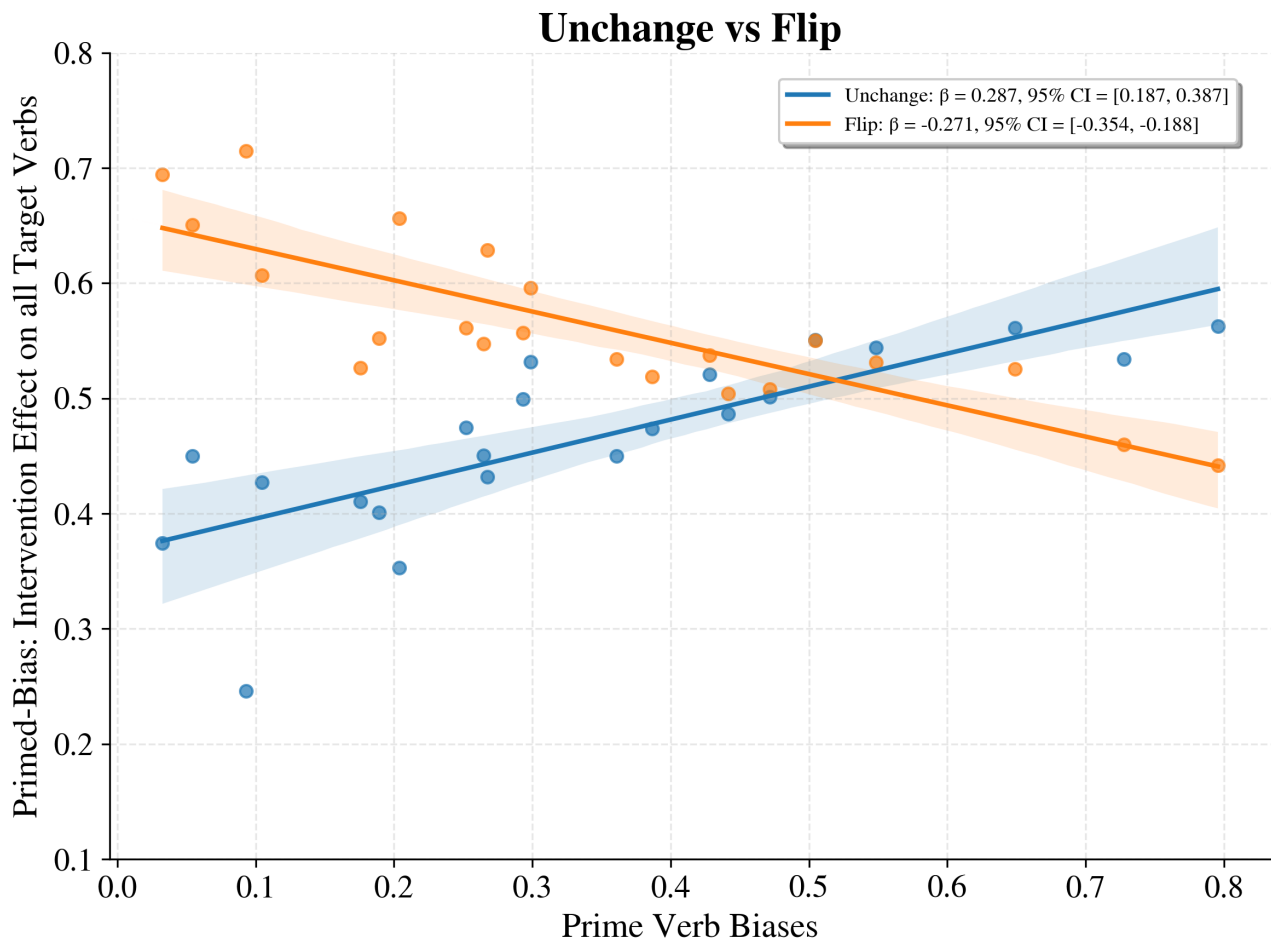
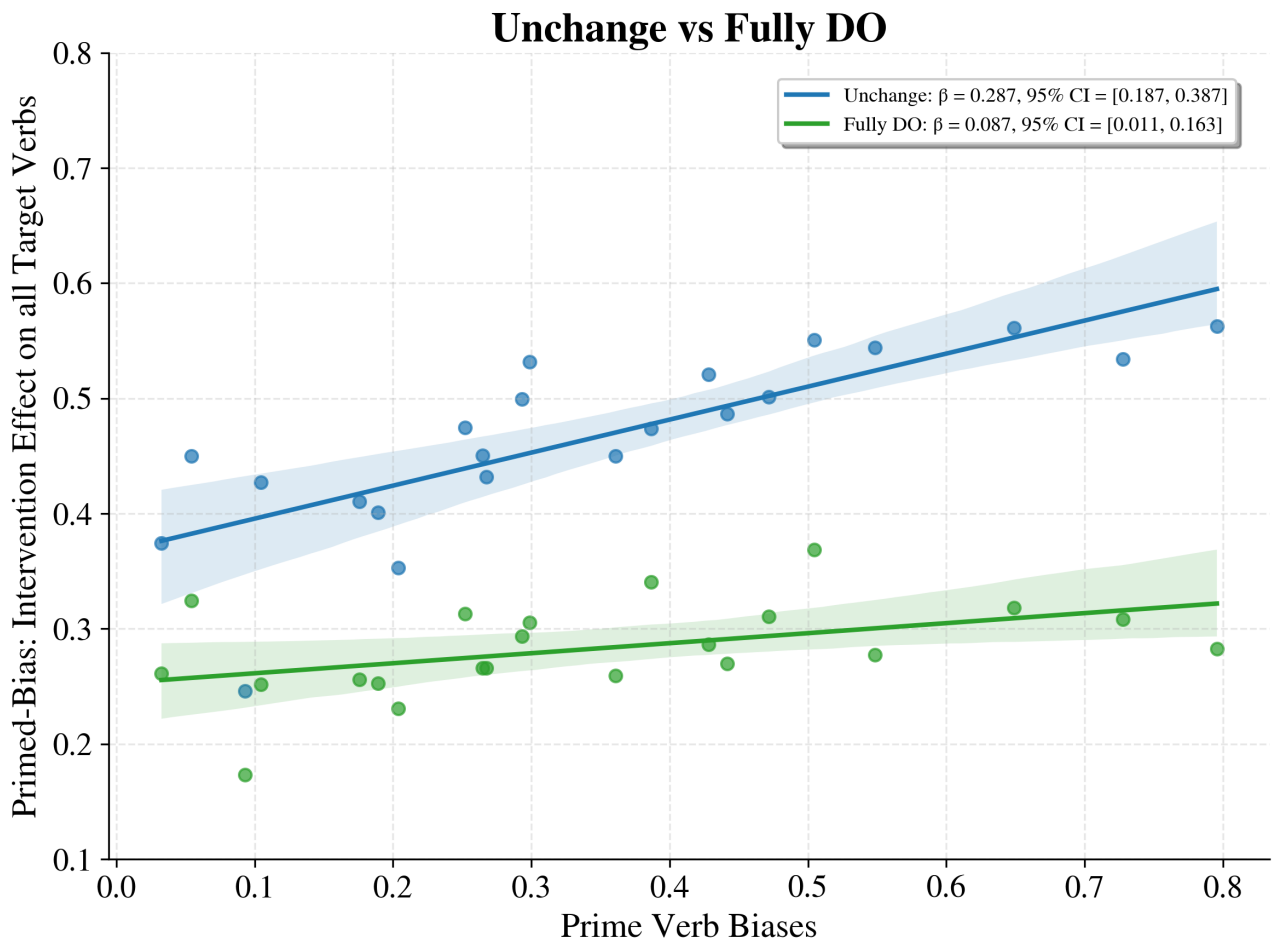
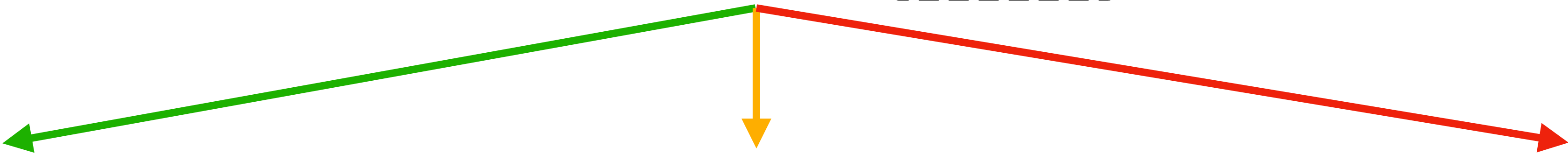
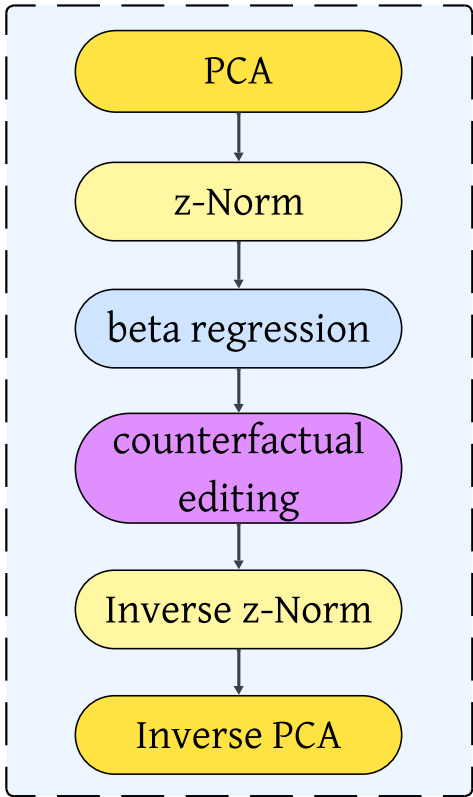
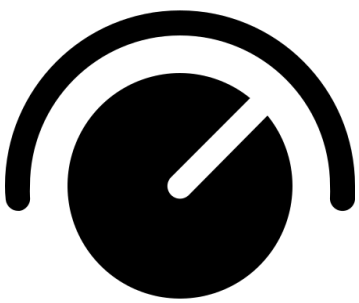
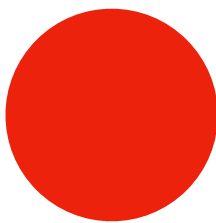
Causal Verification



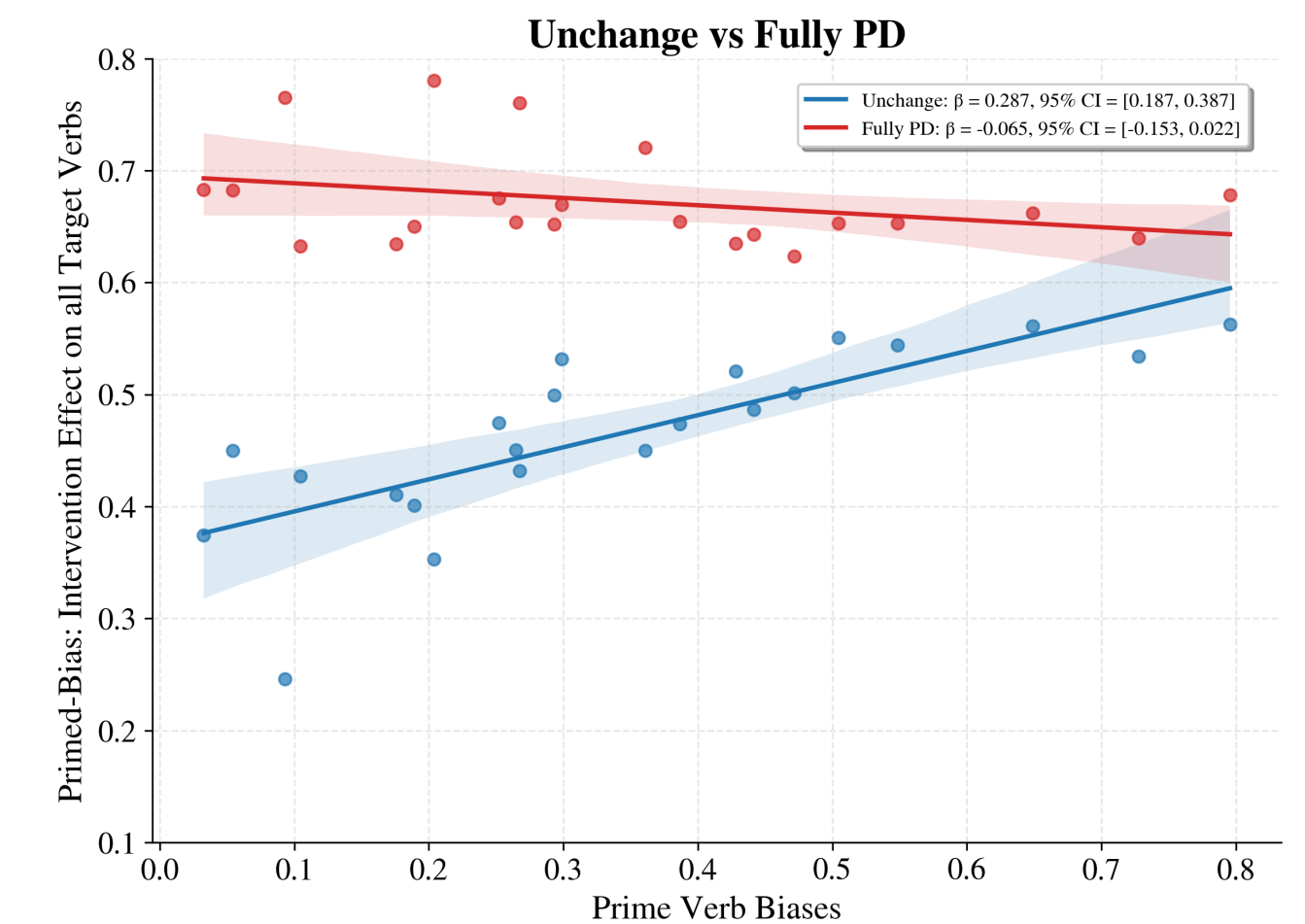
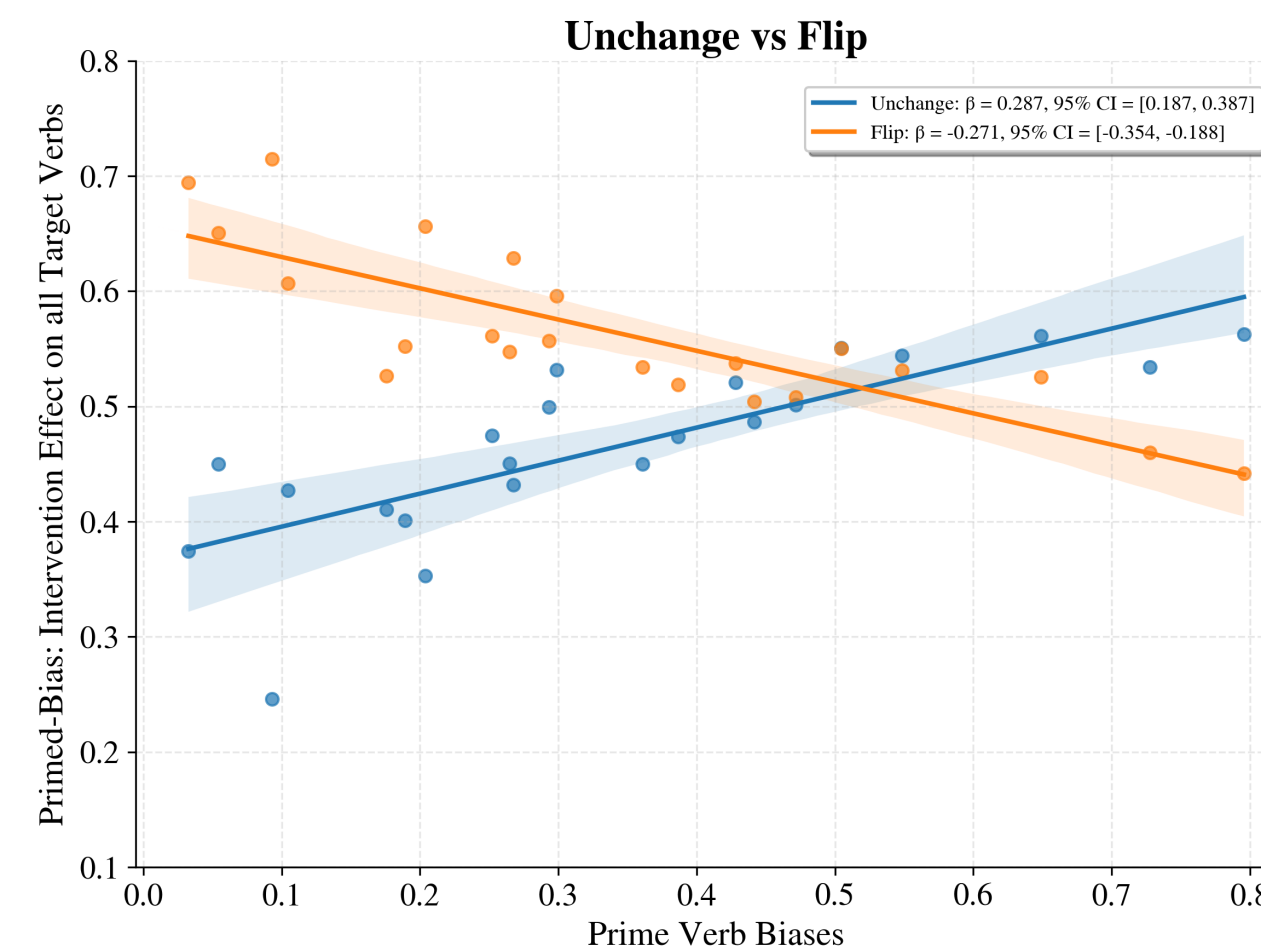
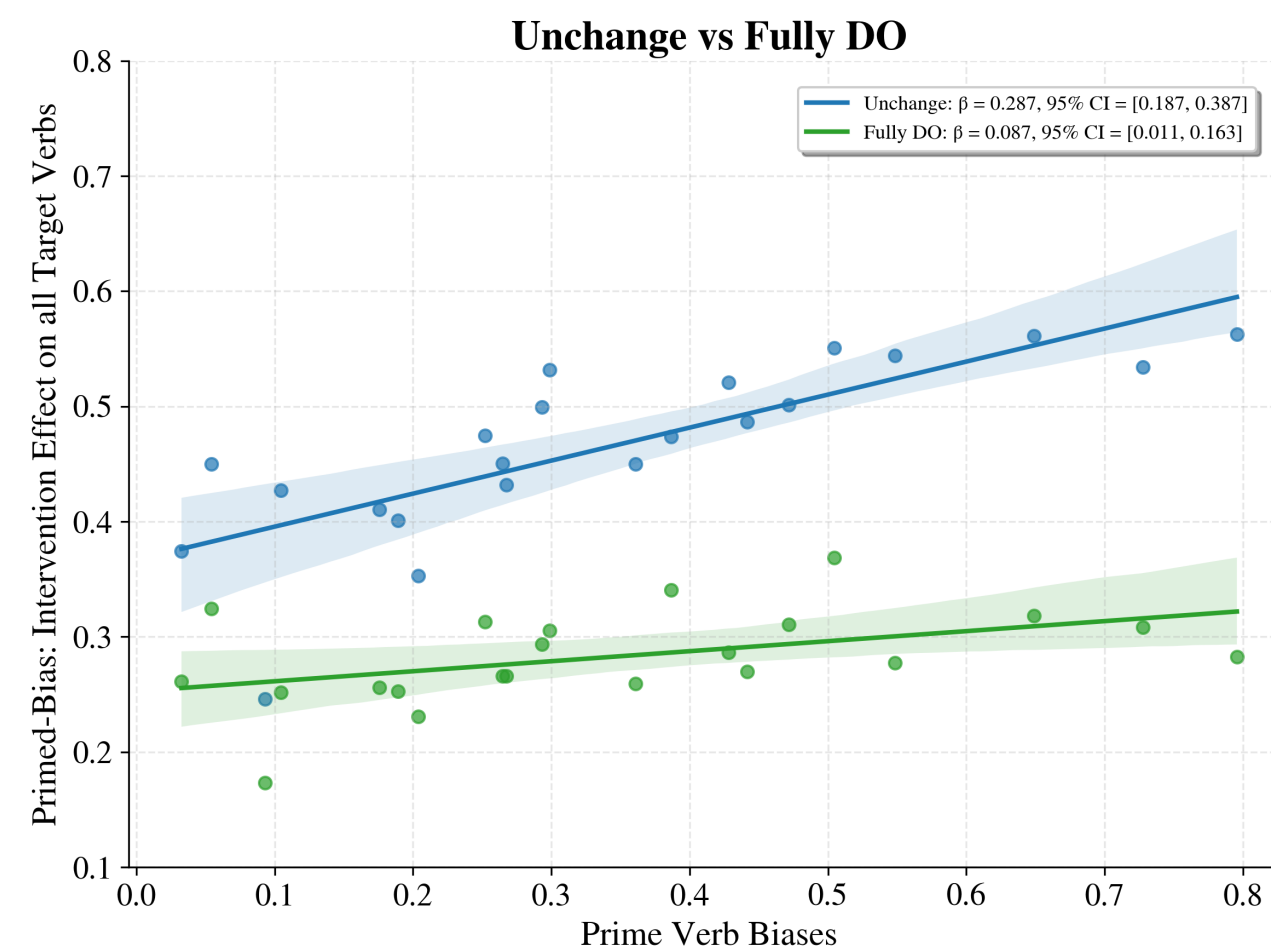
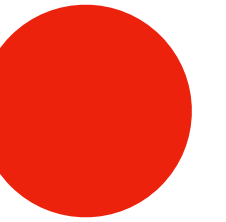
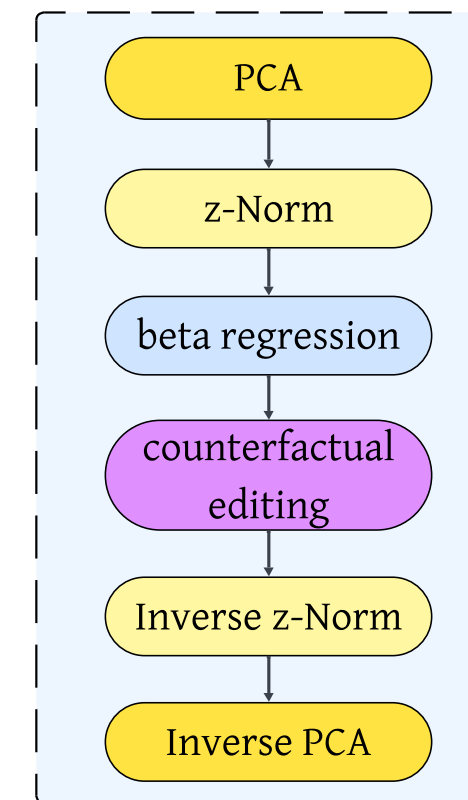
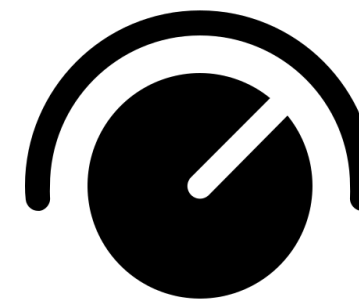
Causal Verification



Causal Verification

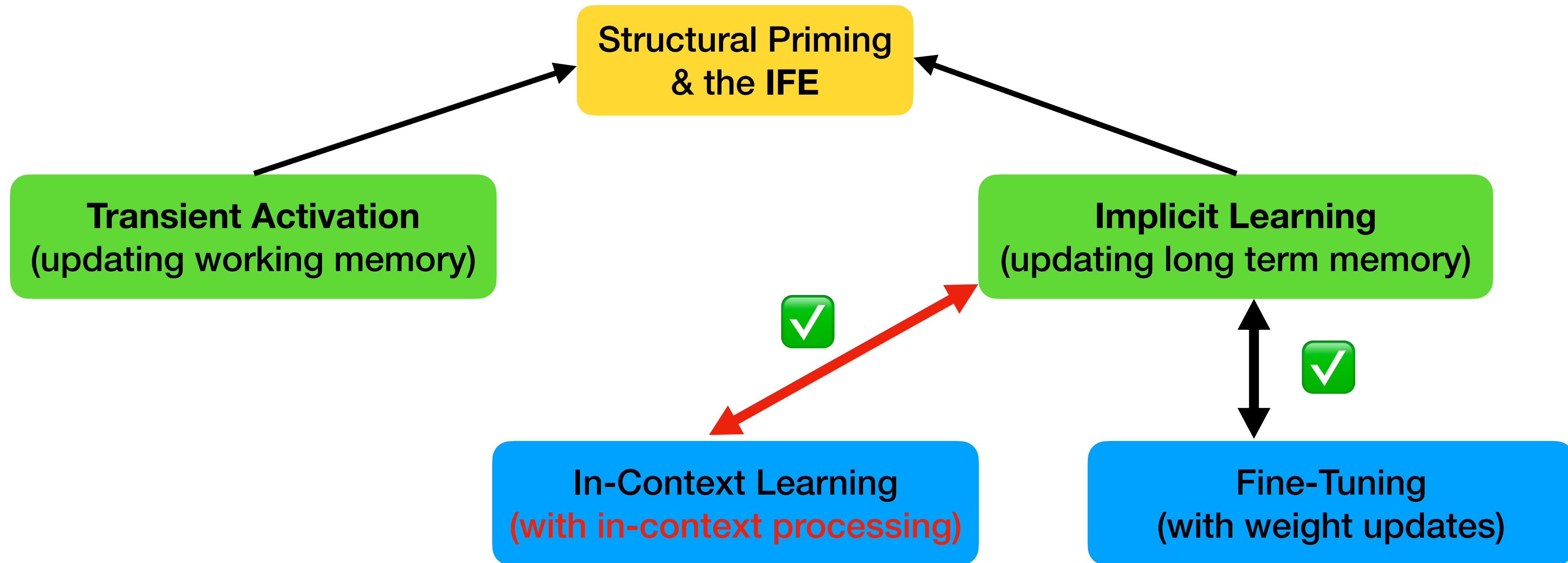


Causal Verification

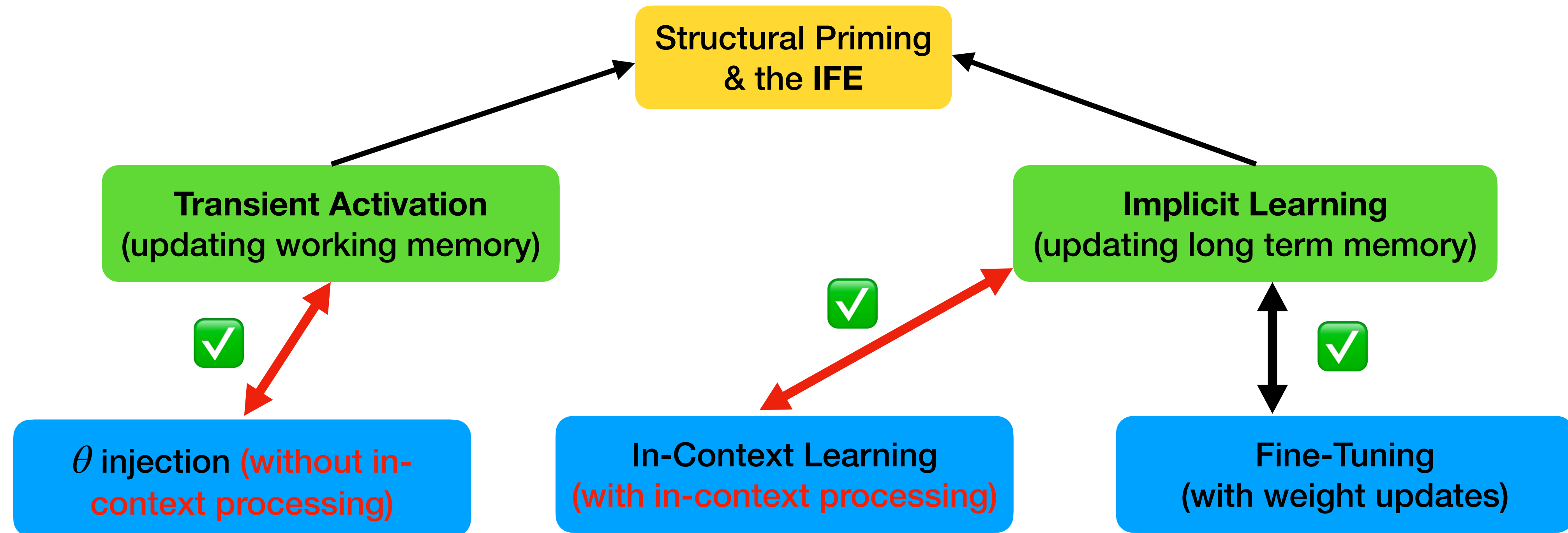


**We showed that manipulating the verb biases causes predicted changes in the priming strength;
⇒ The verb bias representation is causally involved in LLM's next-word prediction!**

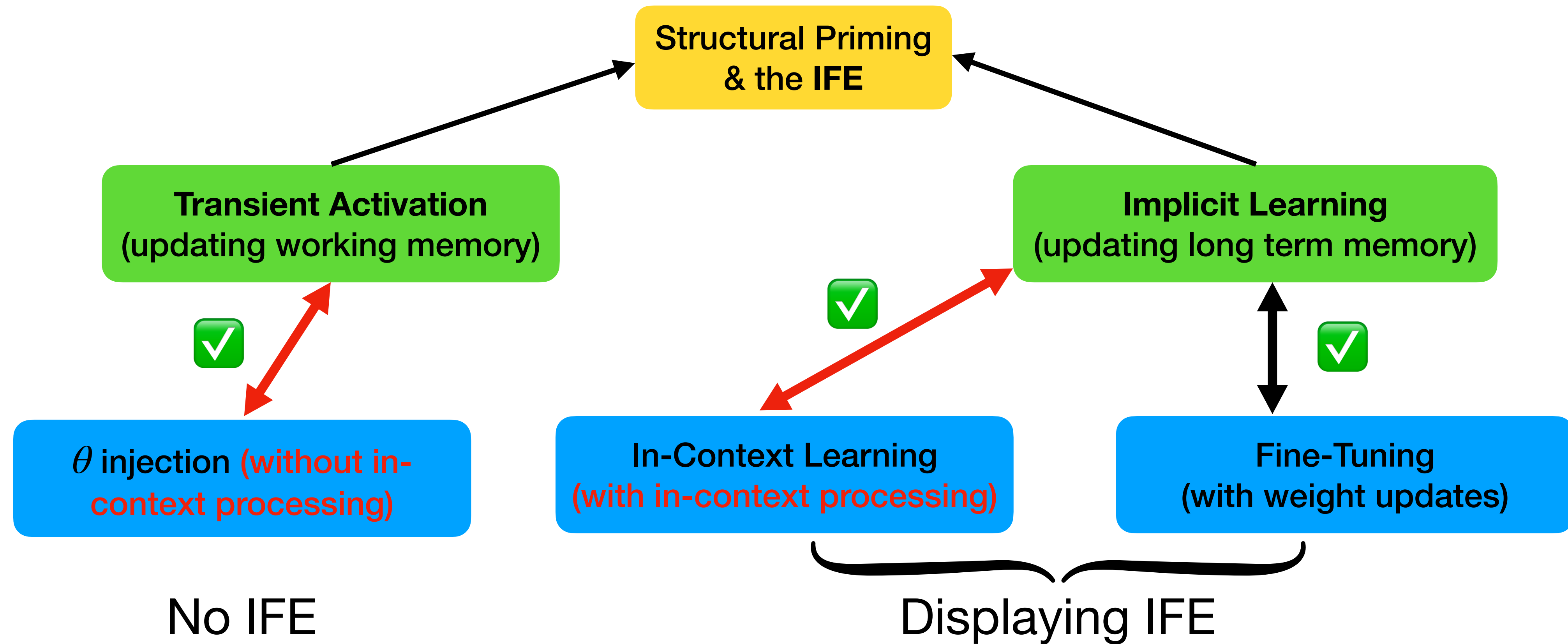
Takeaways from Experiment 2



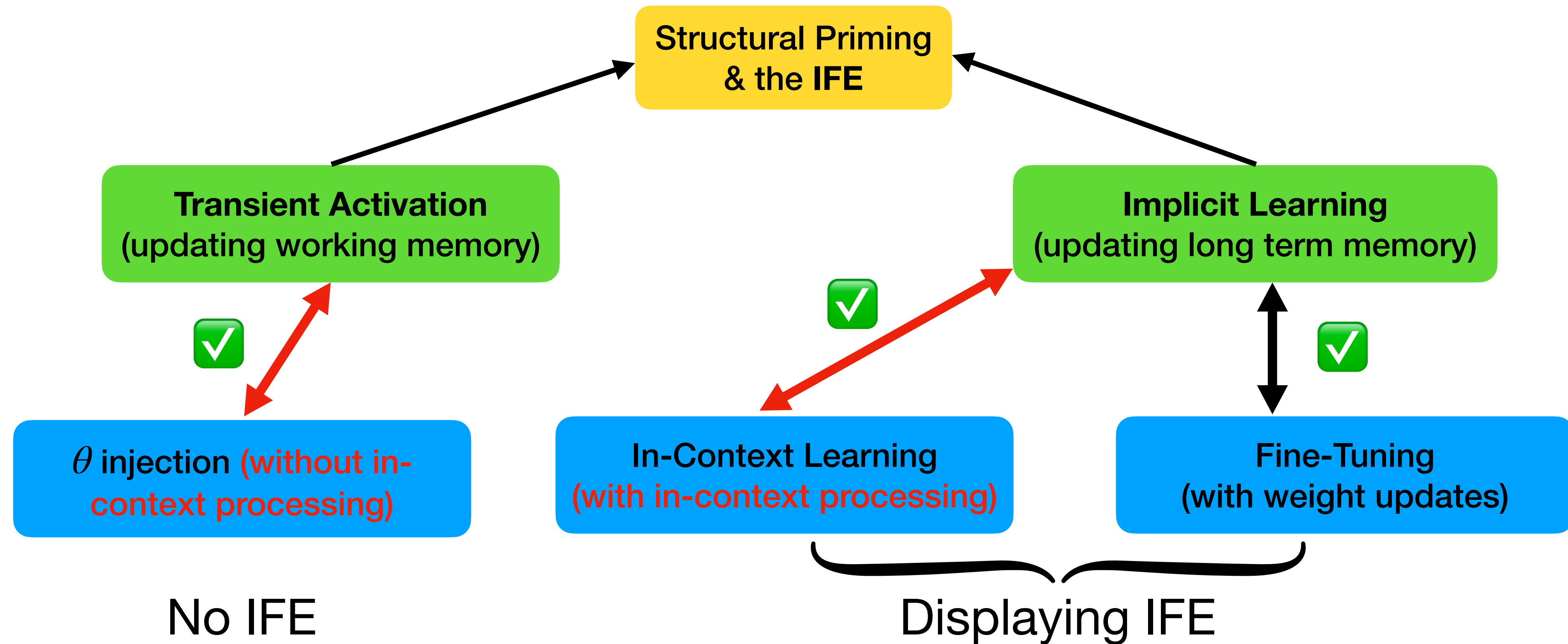
Takeaways from Experiment 2



Takeaways from Experiment 2



Takeaways from Experiment 2



What's crucial for LLMs to adapt to context (in an error-driven way) is to actually have the context window for in-context processing!

Future Steps

Published as a conference paper at COLM 2025

Contextualize-then-Aggregate: Circuits for In-Context Learning in Gemma-2 2B

Aleksandra Bakalova, Yana Veitsman, Xinting Huang & Michael Hahn
Saarland Informatics Campus, Saarland University
{abakalov, yanav, xhuang, mhahn}@lst.uni-saarland.de

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SPECIAL ISSUE:
Cognitive Computational Neuroscience of Language

Strong Prediction: Language Model Surprisal Explains Multiple N400 Effects

James A. Michaelov¹, Megan D. Bardolph¹, Cyma K. Van Petten²,
Benjamin K. Bergen¹, and Seana Coulson¹

¹Department of Cognitive Science, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA, USA

²Department of Psychology, Binghamton University, State University of New York, Binghamton, NY, USA

Keywords: distributional semantics, ERPs, N400, neural language models, predictive coding

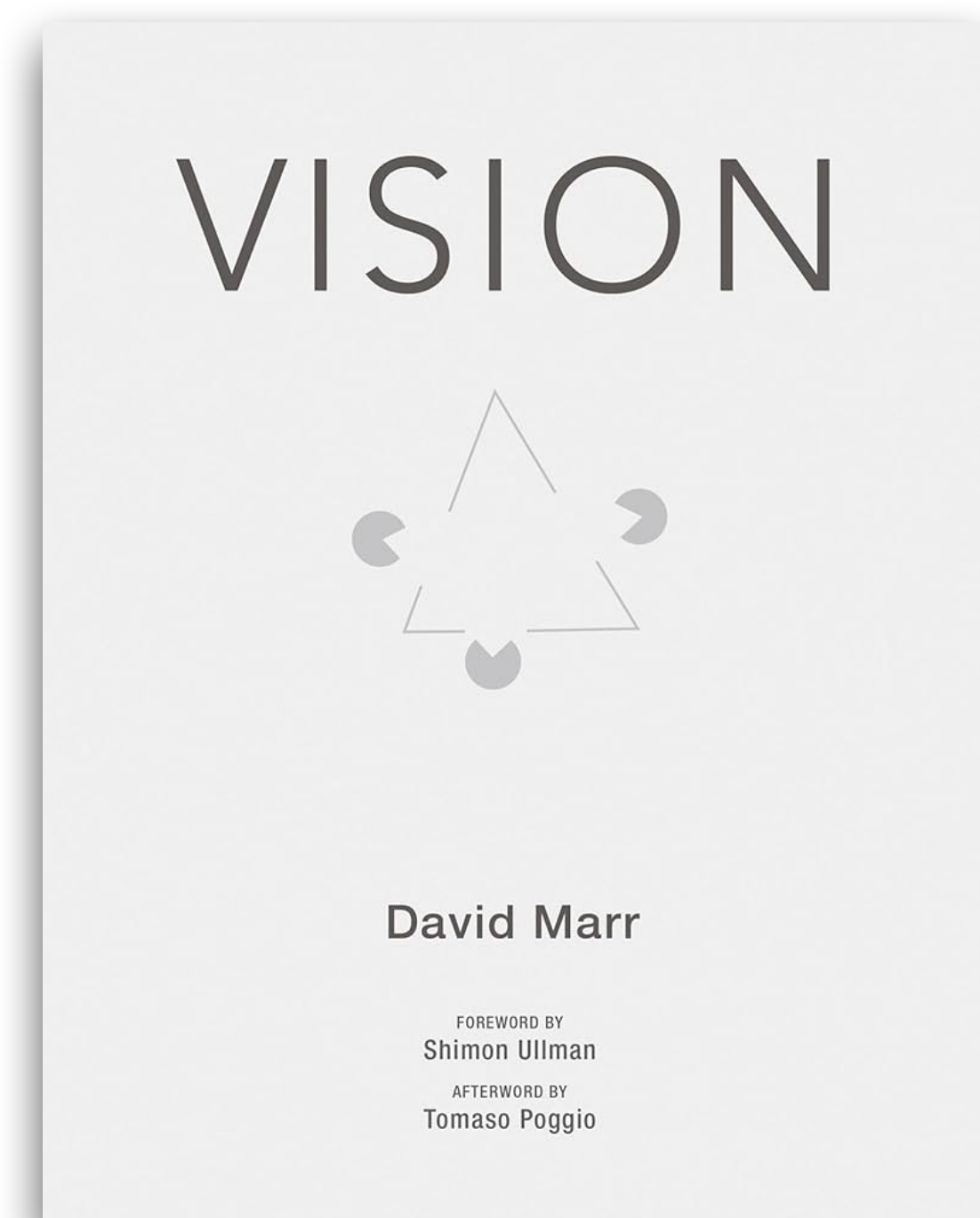
Thanks for Listening!

Q&A Discussion

Appendices

Revisiting Marr's Levels of Analysis

Multiple facets for studying information processing systems



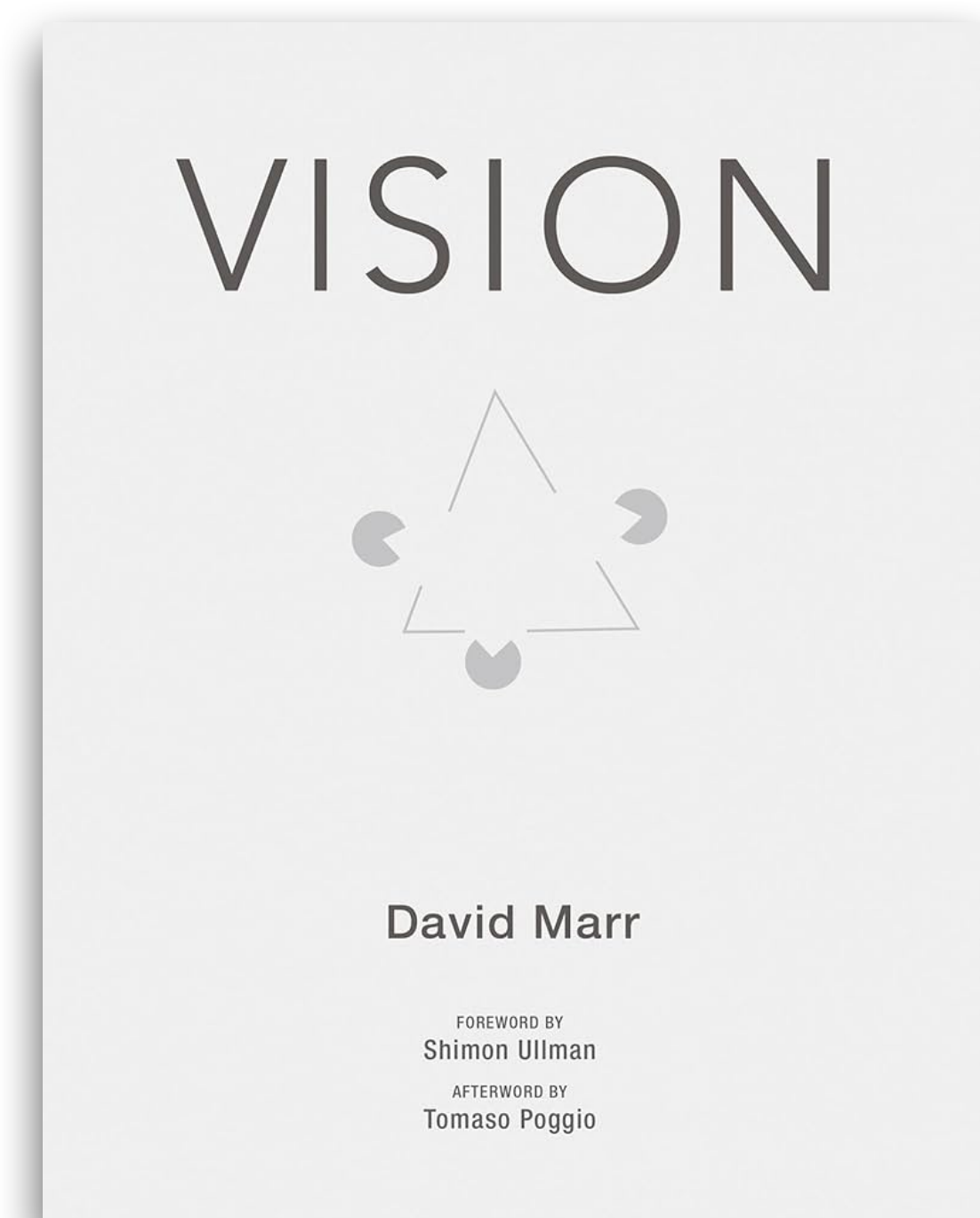
[Marr, 1982]

Revisiting Marr's Levels of Analysis

Multiple facets for studying information processing systems



- **Computational level** → [Theoretical linguistics]
 - [What, why] *Competence, mental grammar, abstract linguistic knowledge*



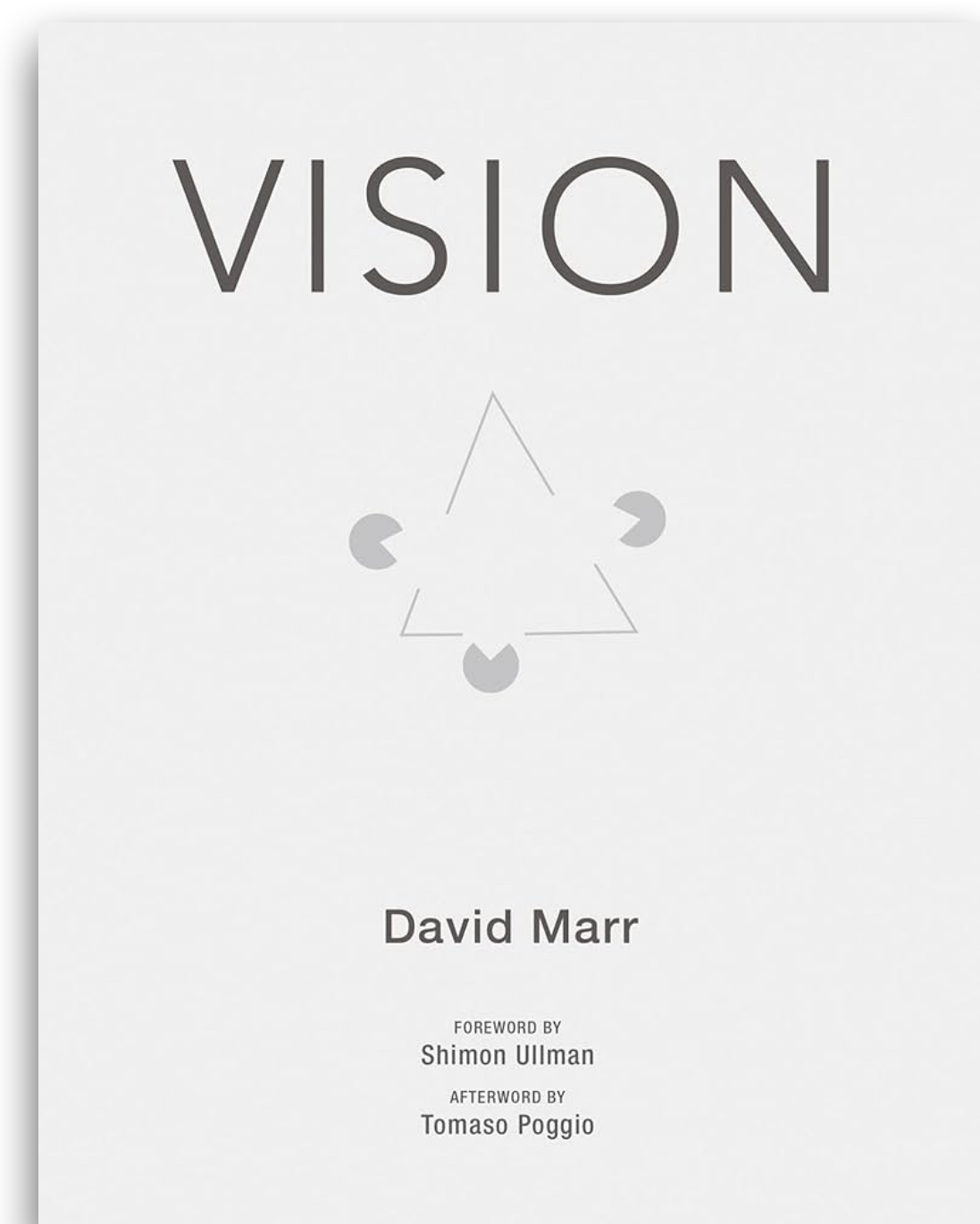
[Marr, 1982]

Revisiting Marr's Levels of Analysis

Multiple facets for studying information processing systems



- **Computational level** → [Theoretical linguistics]
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- **Algorithmic level** → [Psycholinguistics]
 - [How] *Performance, real-time processing*



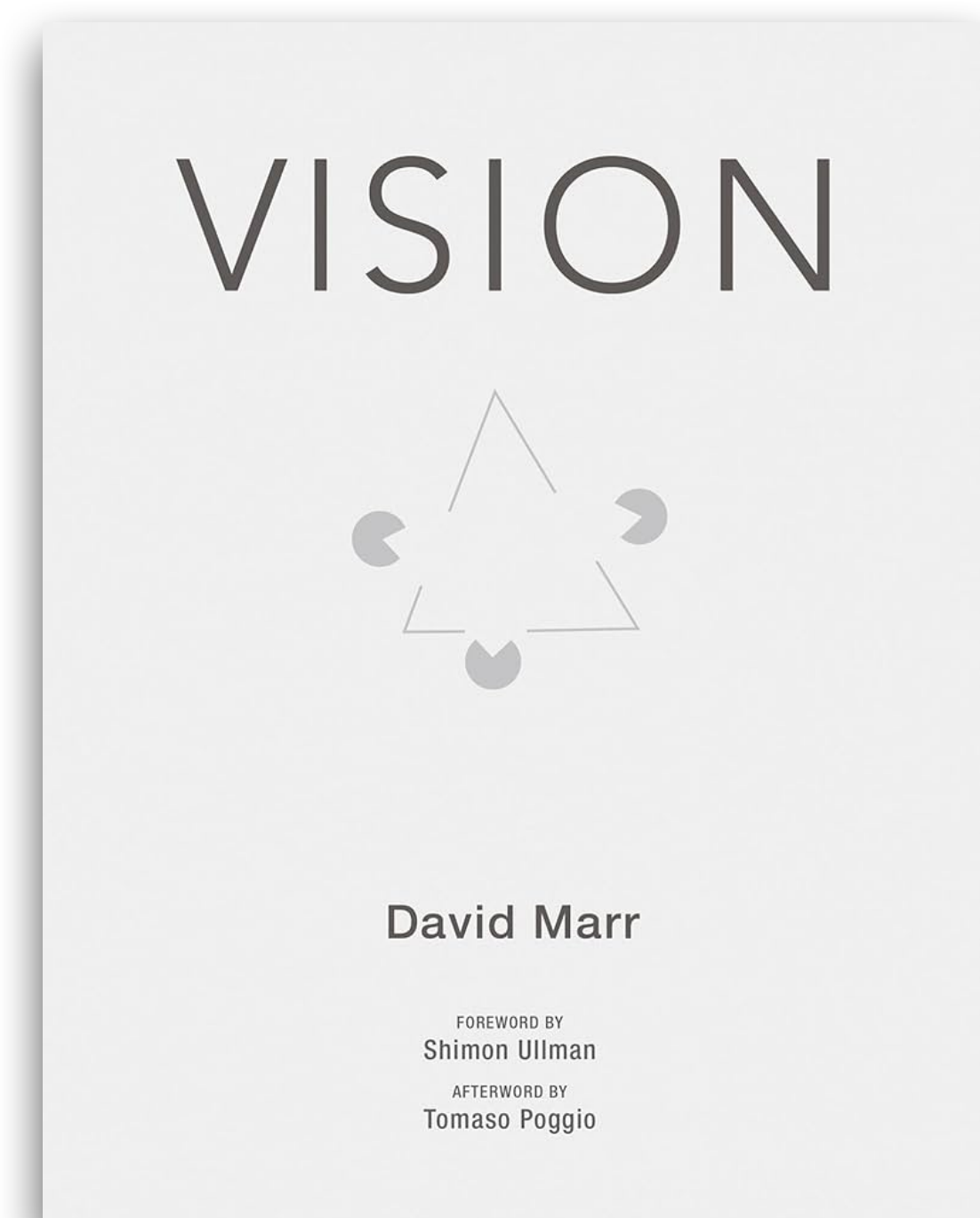
[Marr, 1982]

Revisiting Marr's Levels of Analysis

Multiple facets for studying information processing systems



- **Computational level → [Theoretical linguistics]**
 - [What, why] *Competence, mental grammar, abstract linguistic knowledge*
- **Algorithmic level → [Psycholinguistics]**
 - [How] *Performance, real-time processing*
- **Implementational level → [Neurolinguistics]**
 - [How - lower level] *Performance, neural instantiations of language*



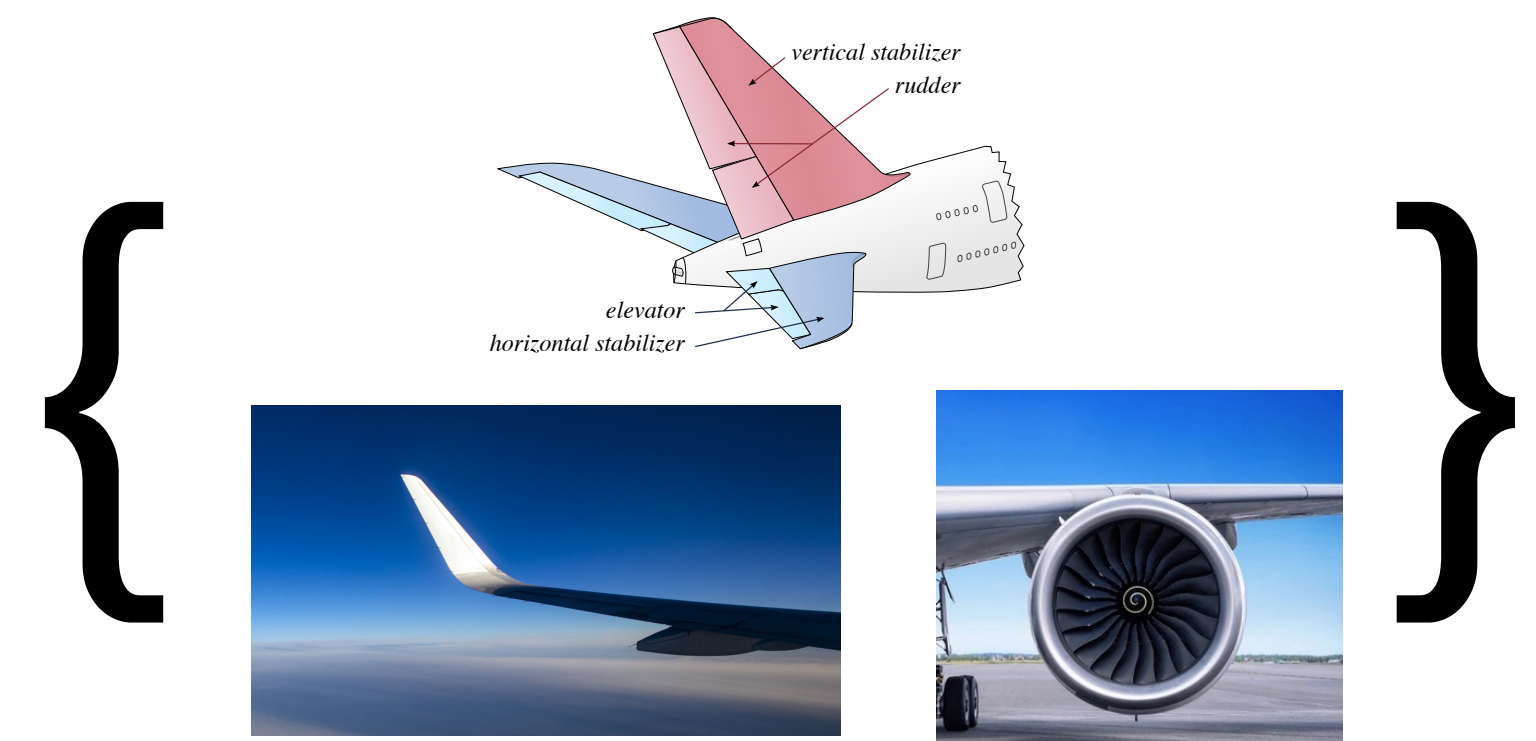
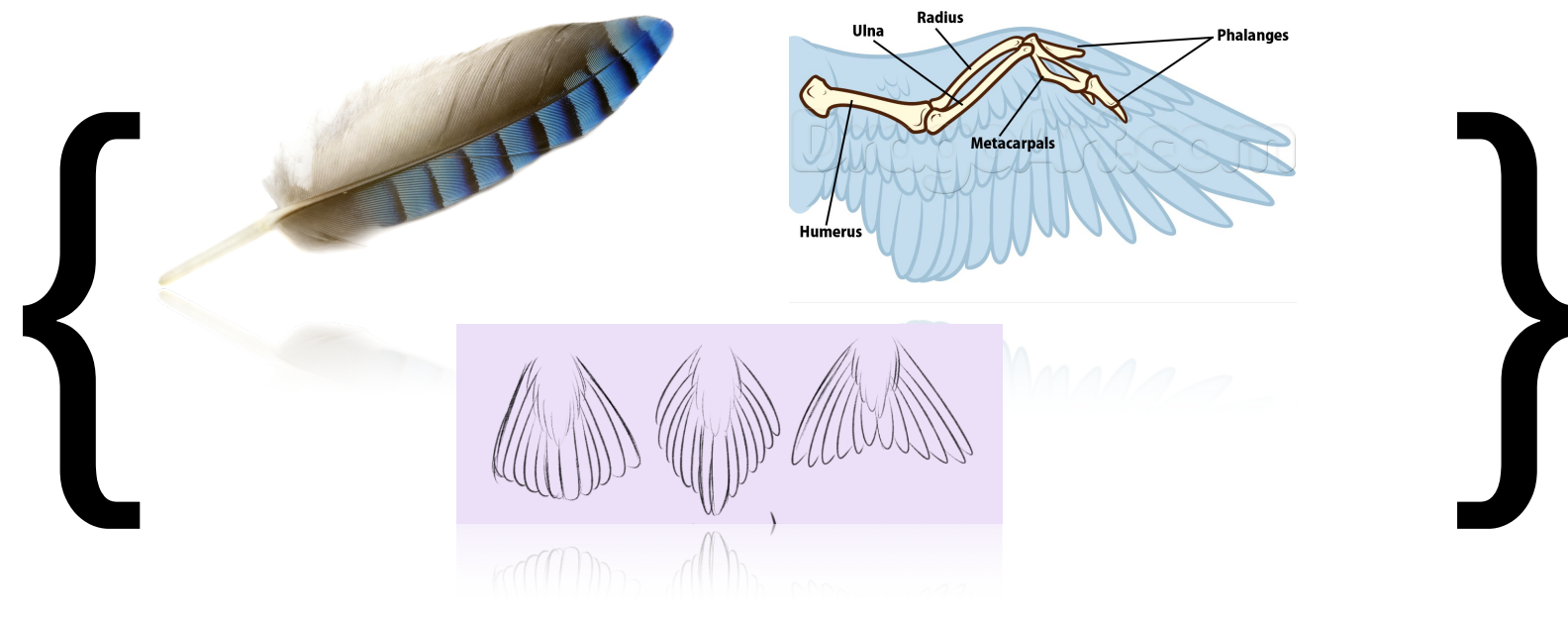
[Marr, 1982]

Revisiting Birds vs. Airplanes

Does understanding airplanes inform us how birds fly?



Be able to fly

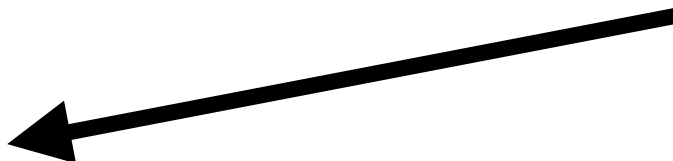


Revisiting Birds vs. Airplanes

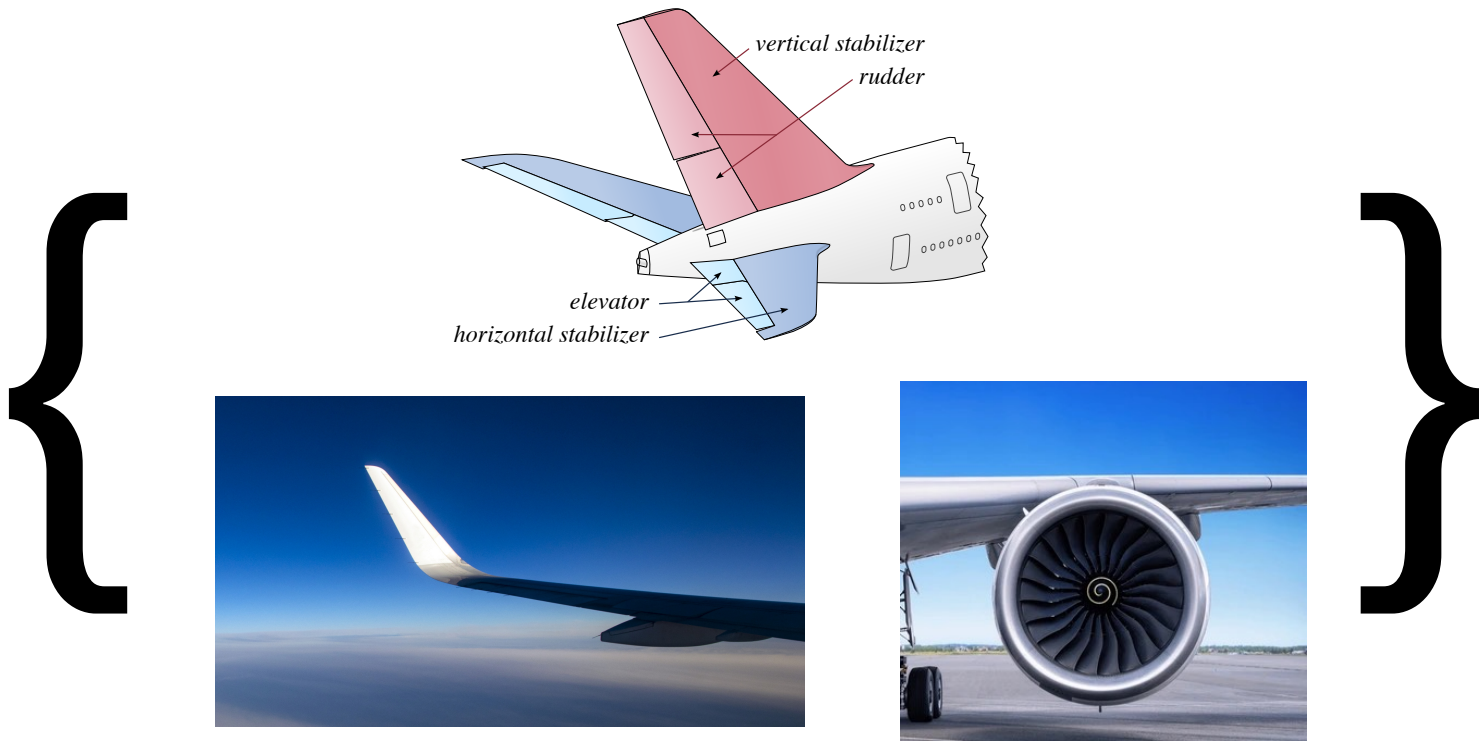
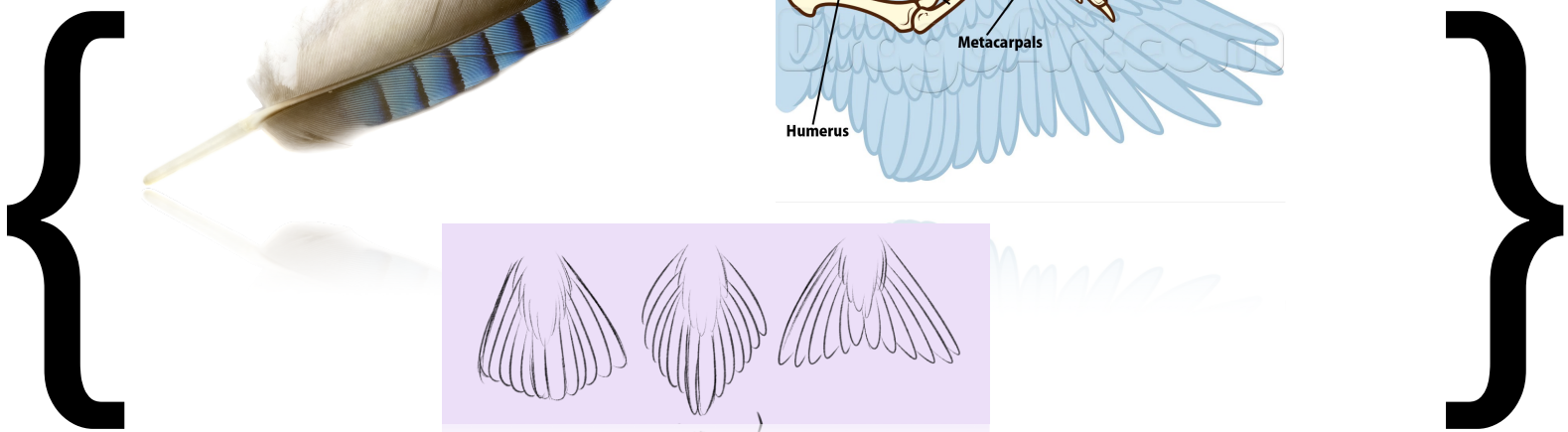
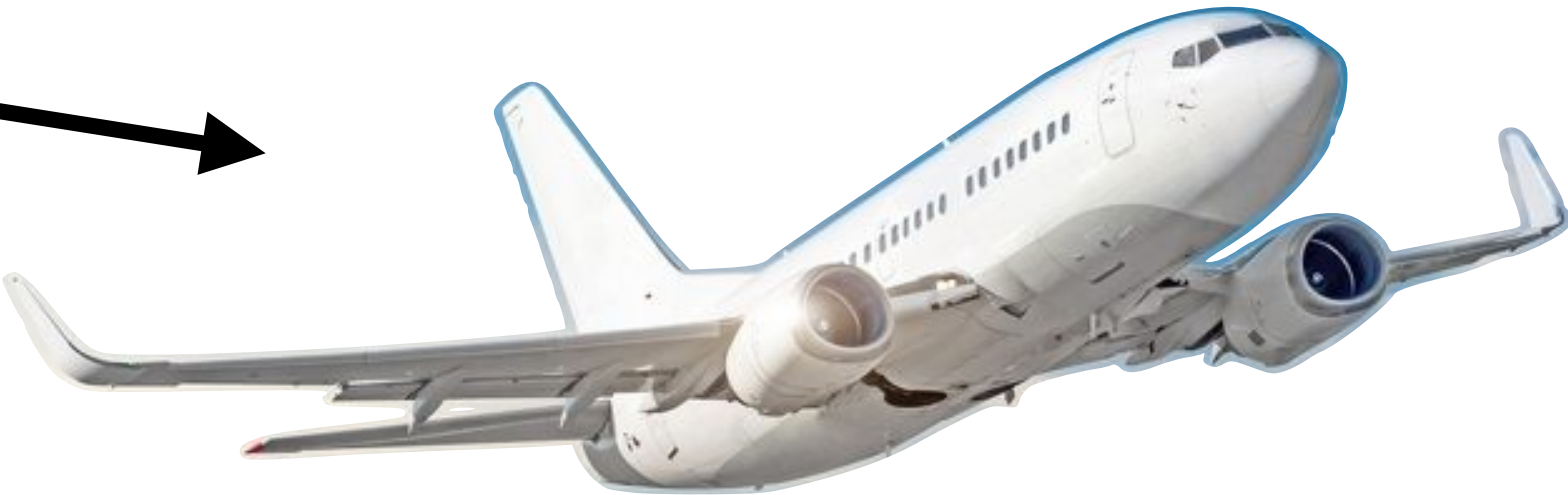
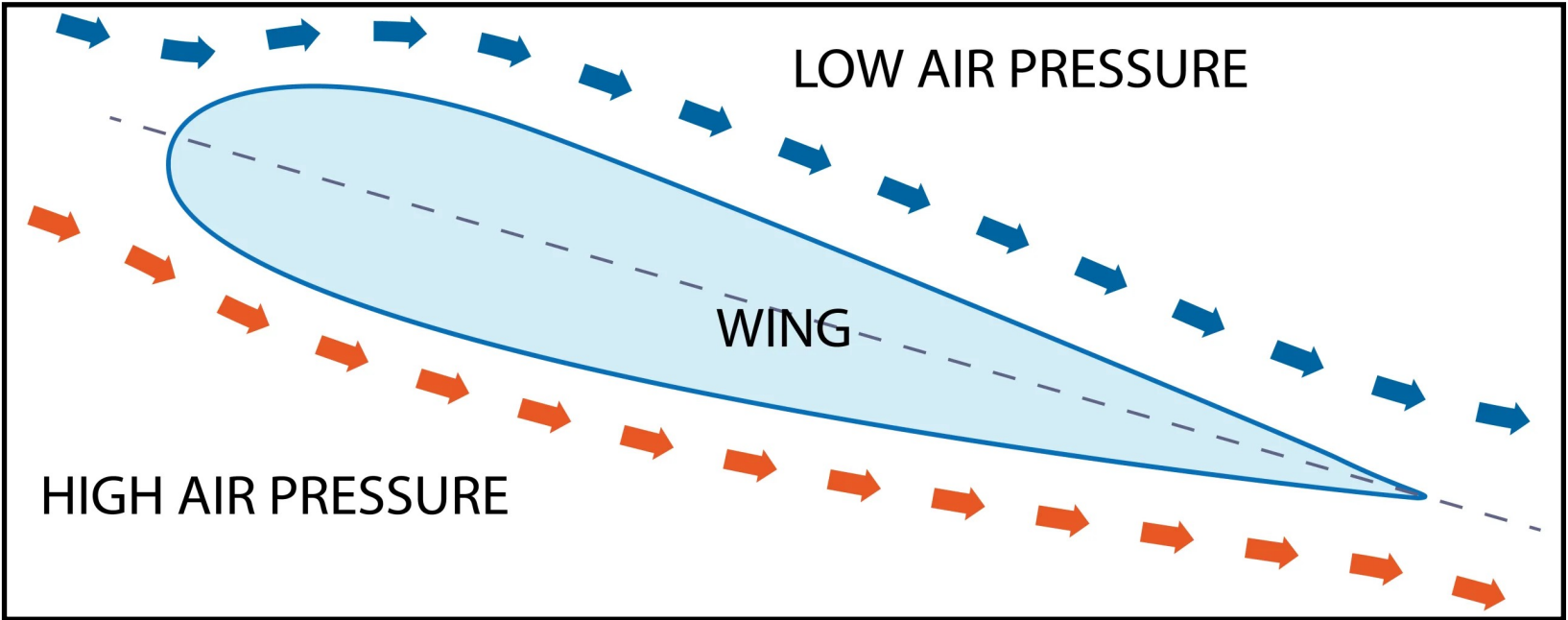
Does understanding airplanes inform us how birds fly?



Be able to fly



Following aerodynamics

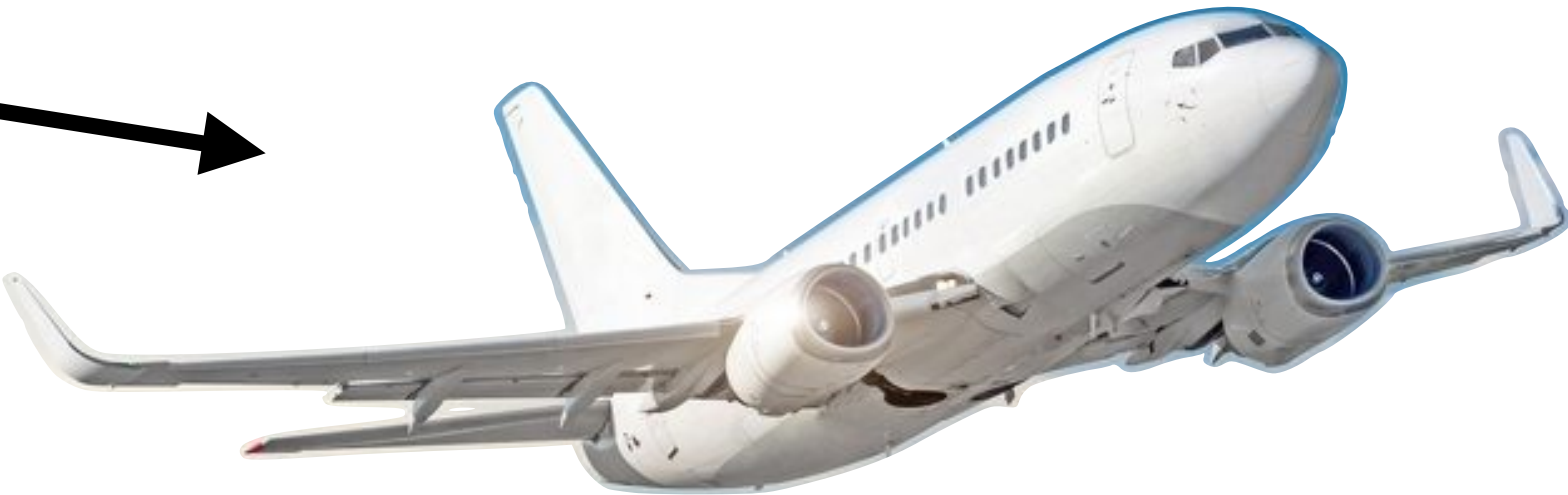
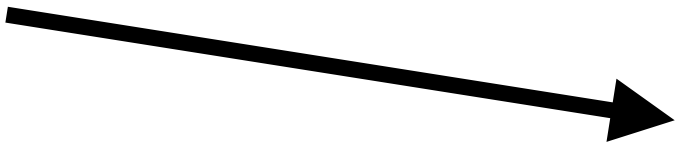
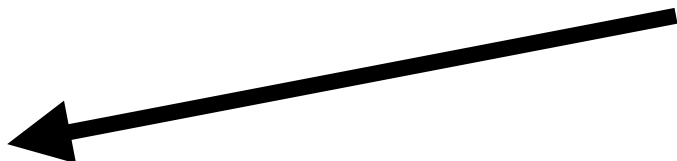


Revisiting Birds vs. Airplanes

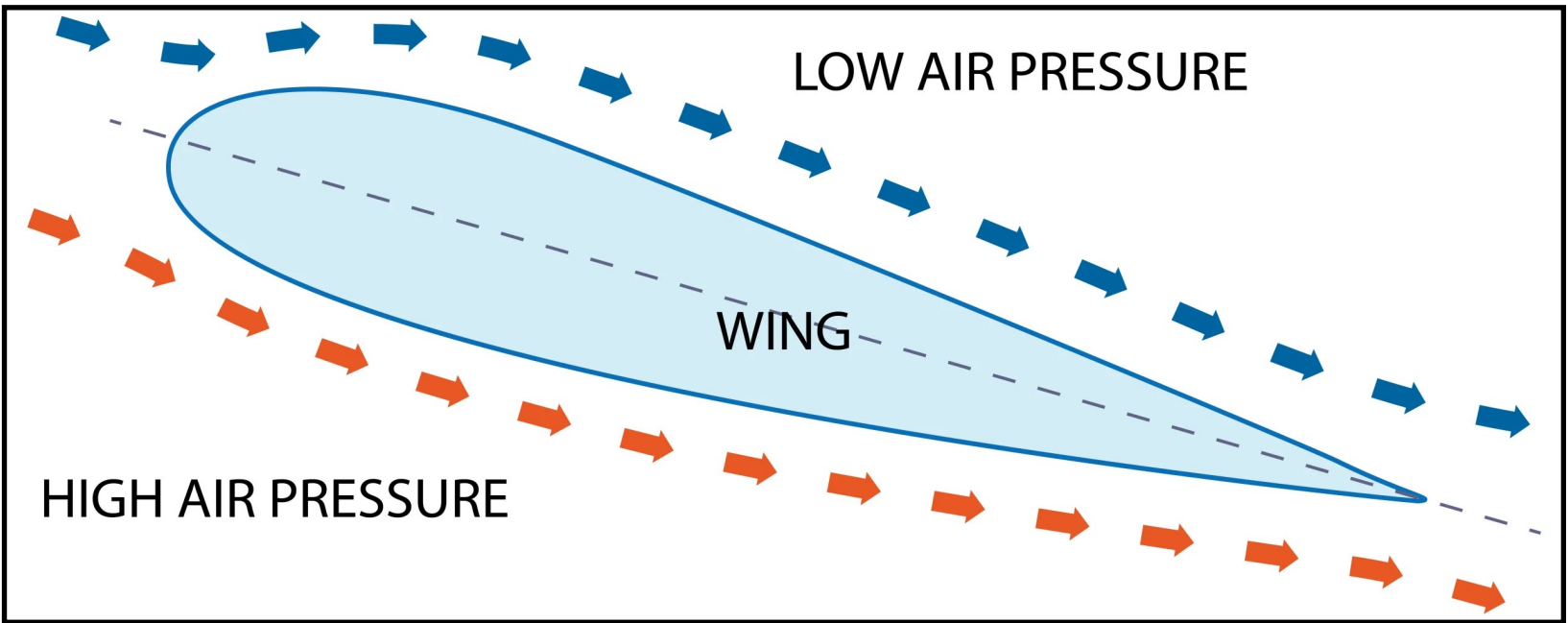
Does understanding airplanes inform us how birds fly?



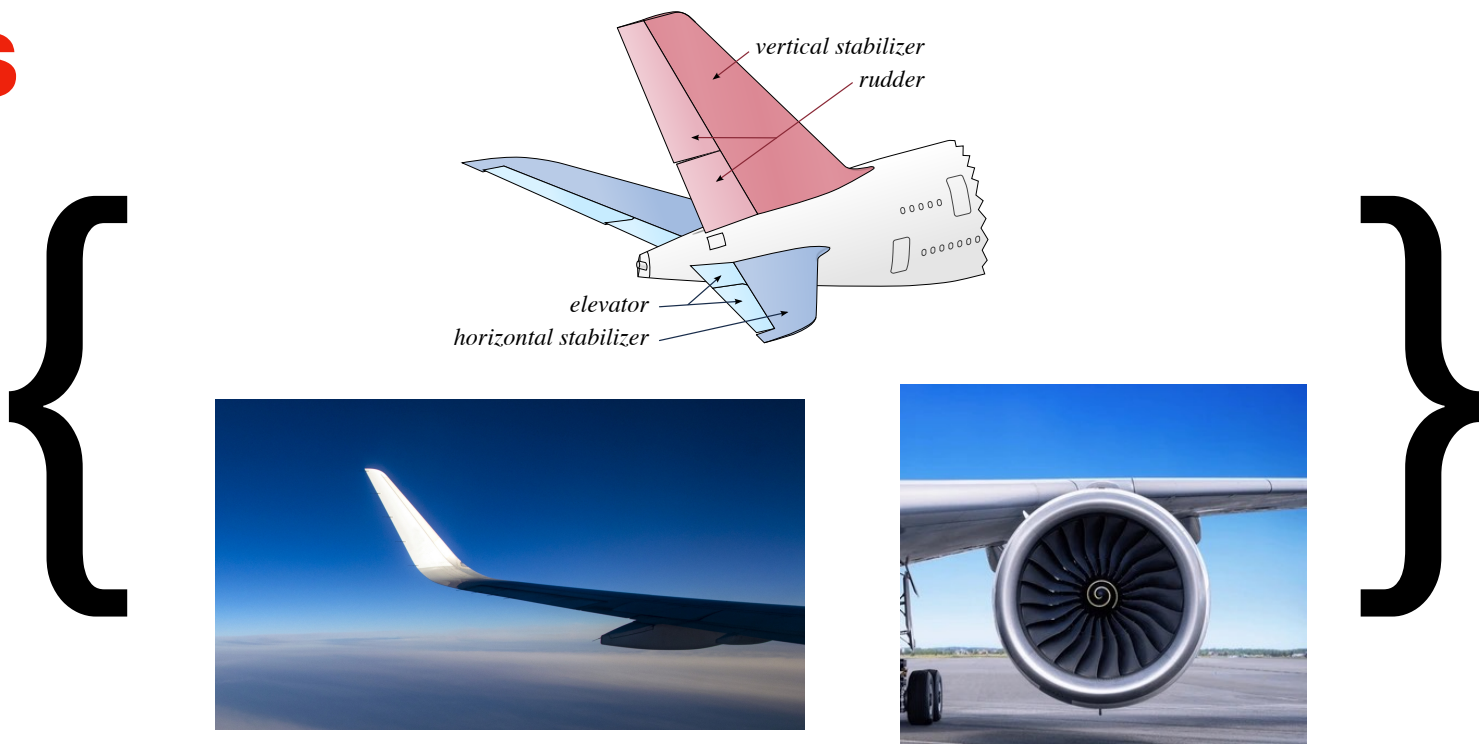
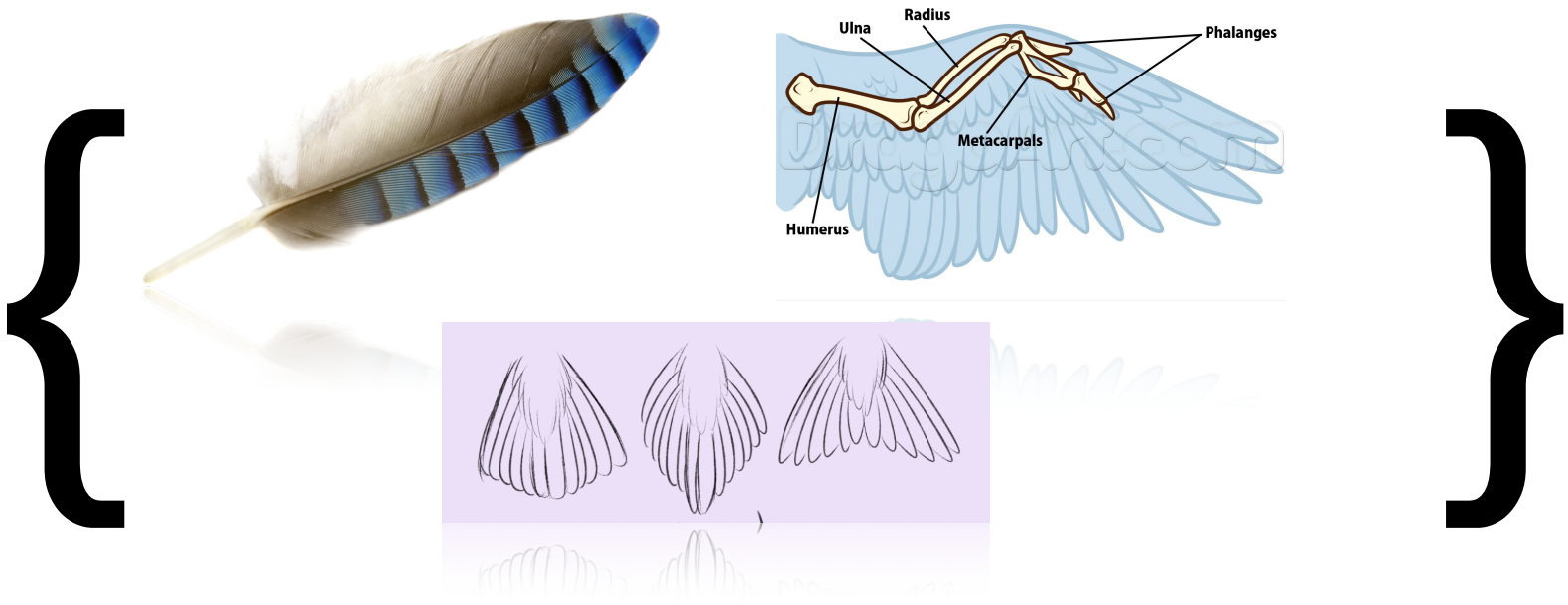
Be able to fly



Following aerodynamics



A general “algorithm” of flying spelled out in aerodynamic terms

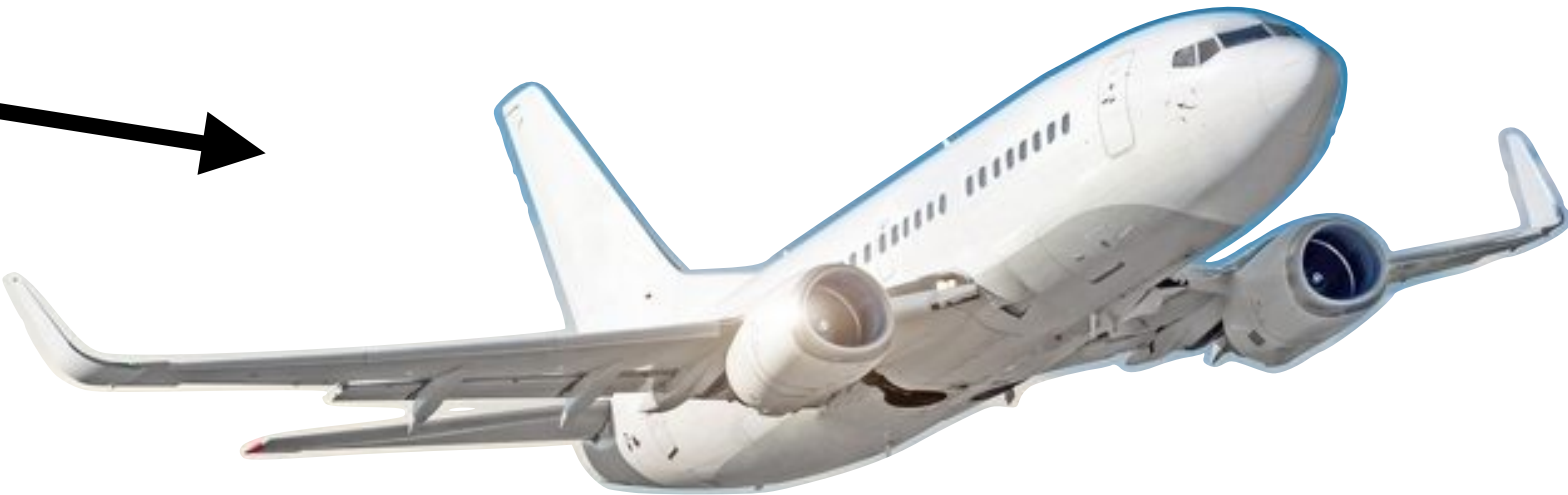


Revisiting Birds vs. Airplanes

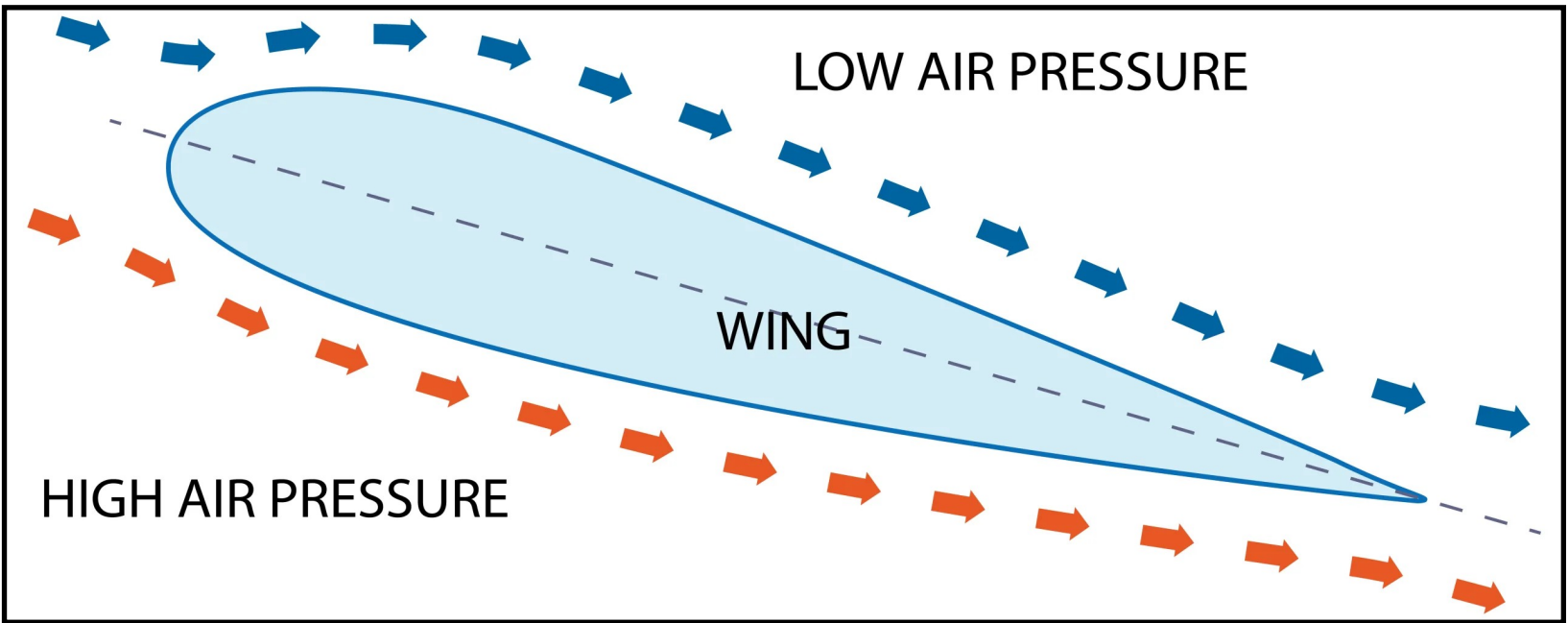
Does understanding airplanes inform us how birds fly?



Be able to fly

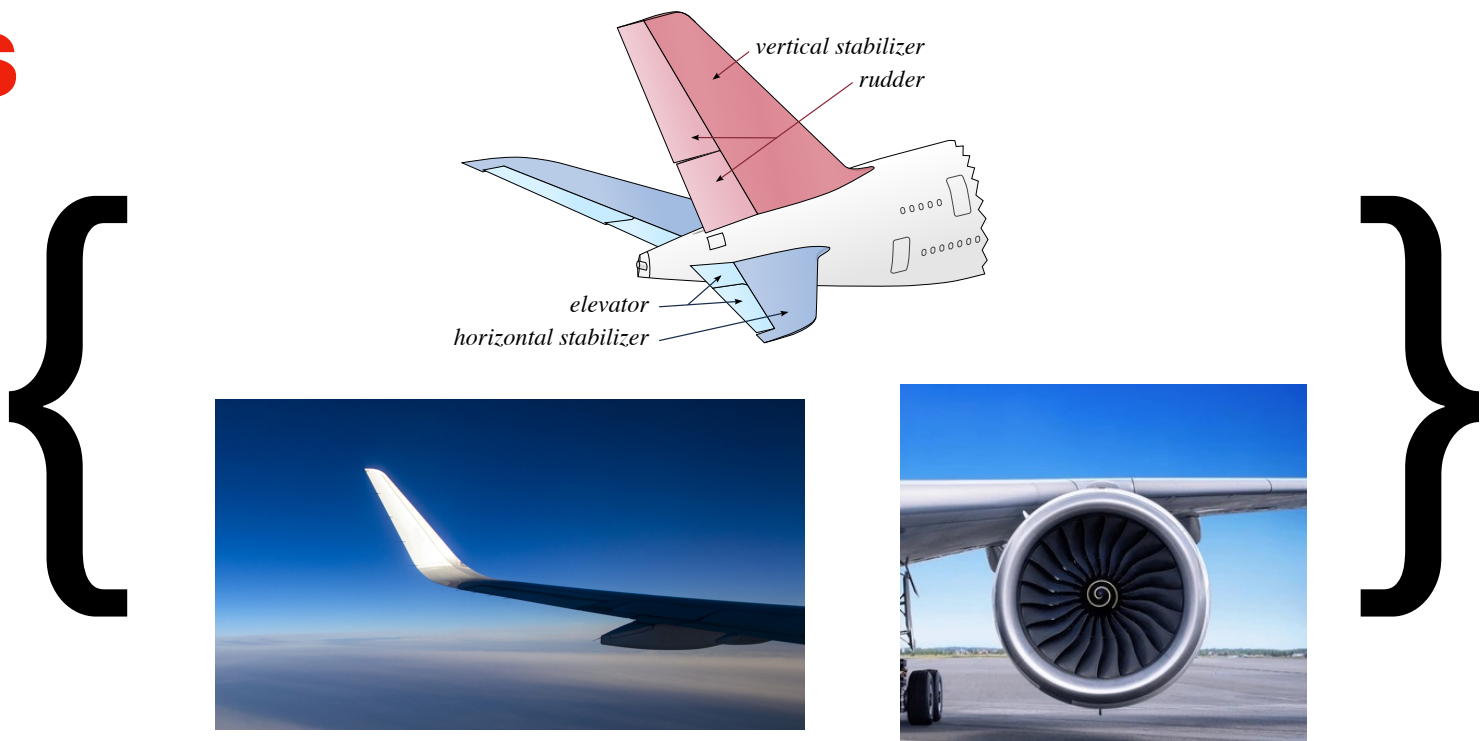
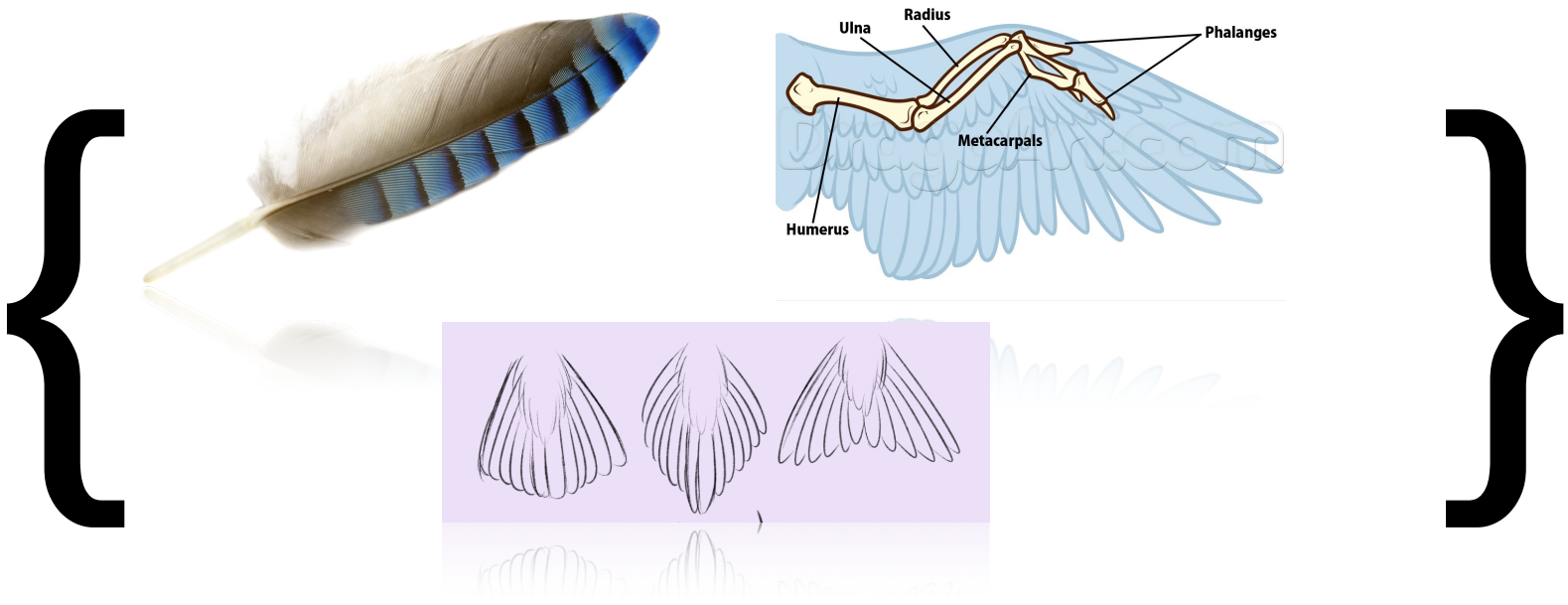


Following aerodynamics



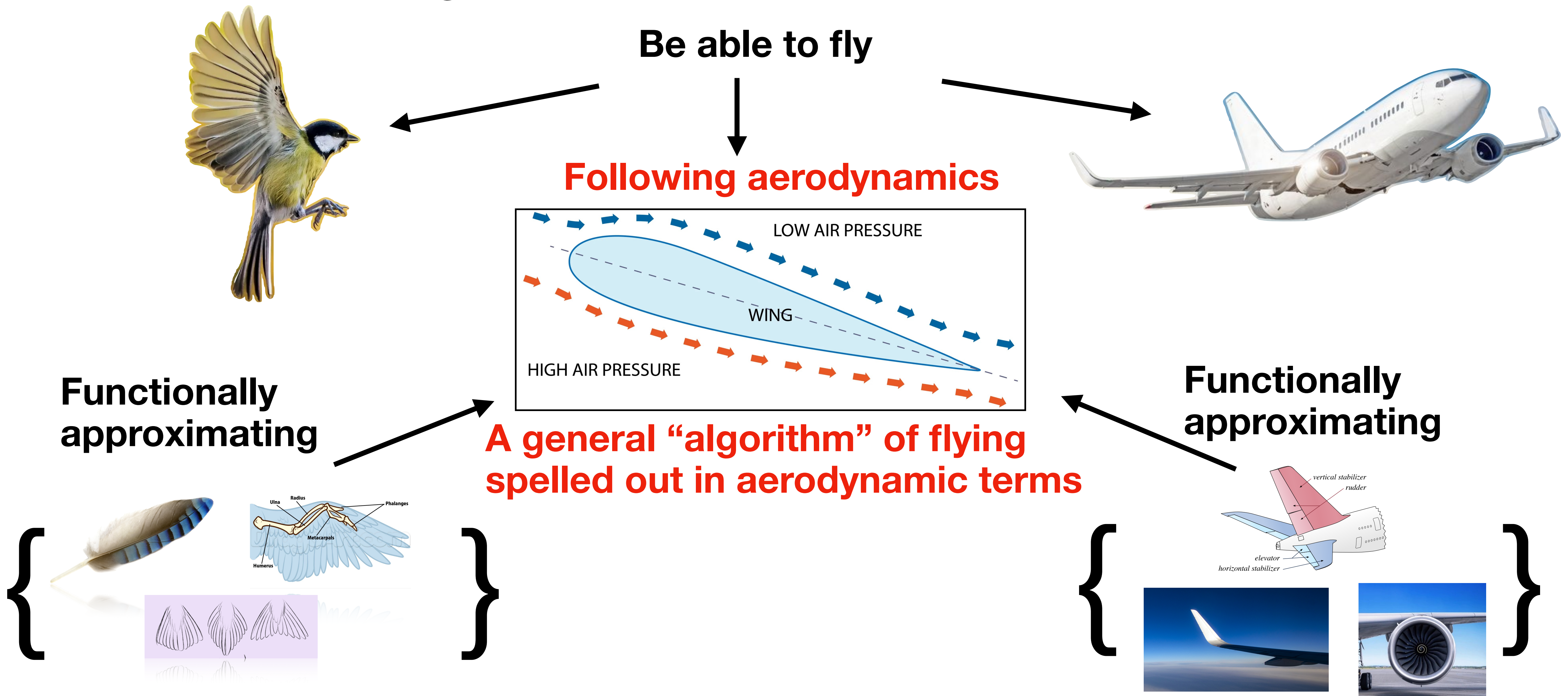
Functionally approximating

A general “algorithm” of flying spelled out in aerodynamic terms



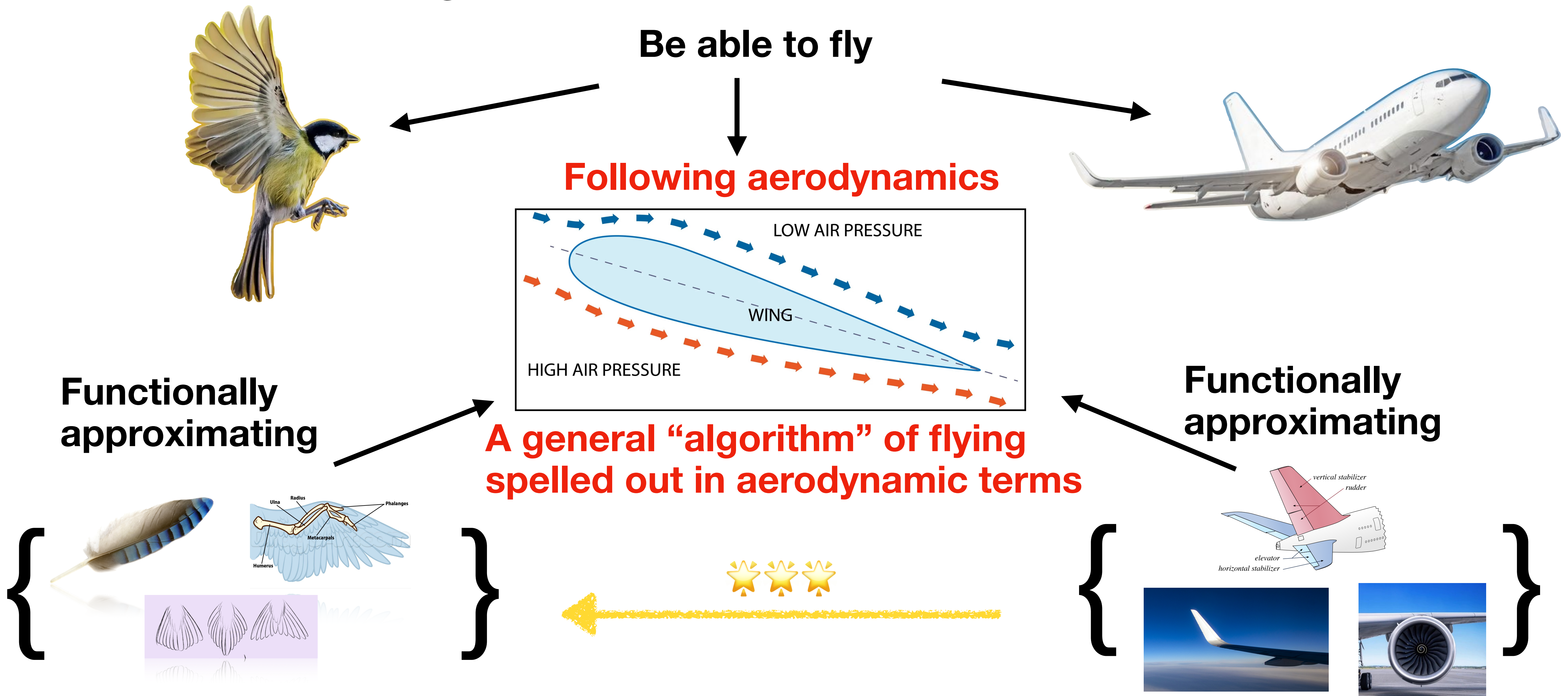
Revisiting Birds vs. Airplanes

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Current Proposal: The Full Picture

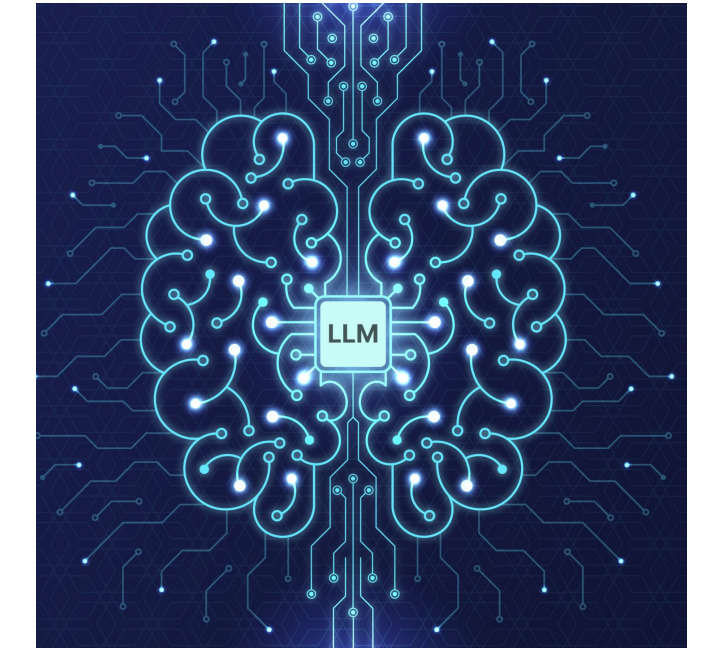
Current Proposal: The Full Picture

Computational
Level

Current Proposal: The Full Picture

**Computational
Level**

Language in the broader design of intelligent systems

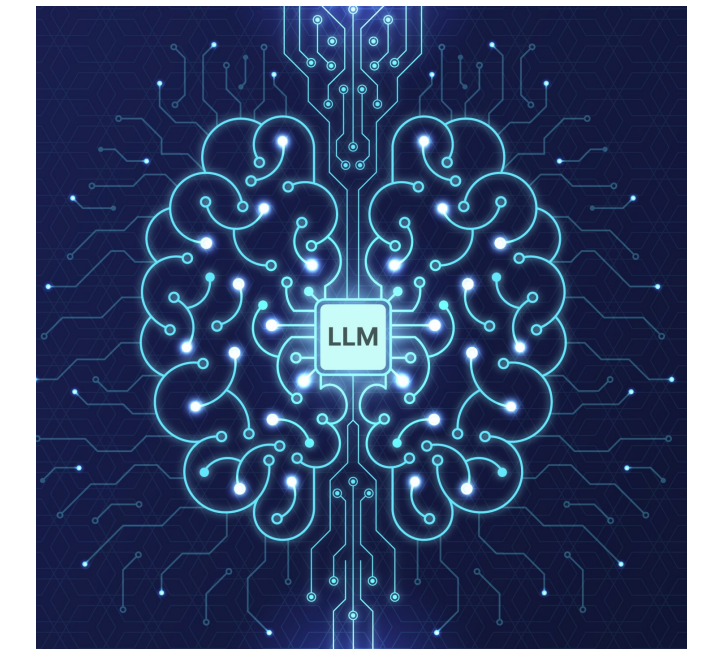
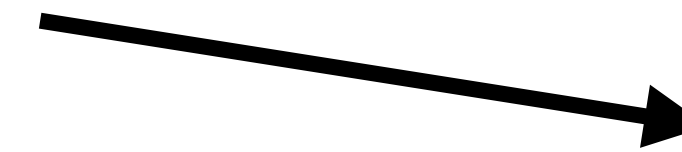


Current Proposal: The Full Picture

**Computational
Level**

Language in the broader design of intelligent systems

**Algorithmic
Level ONE**



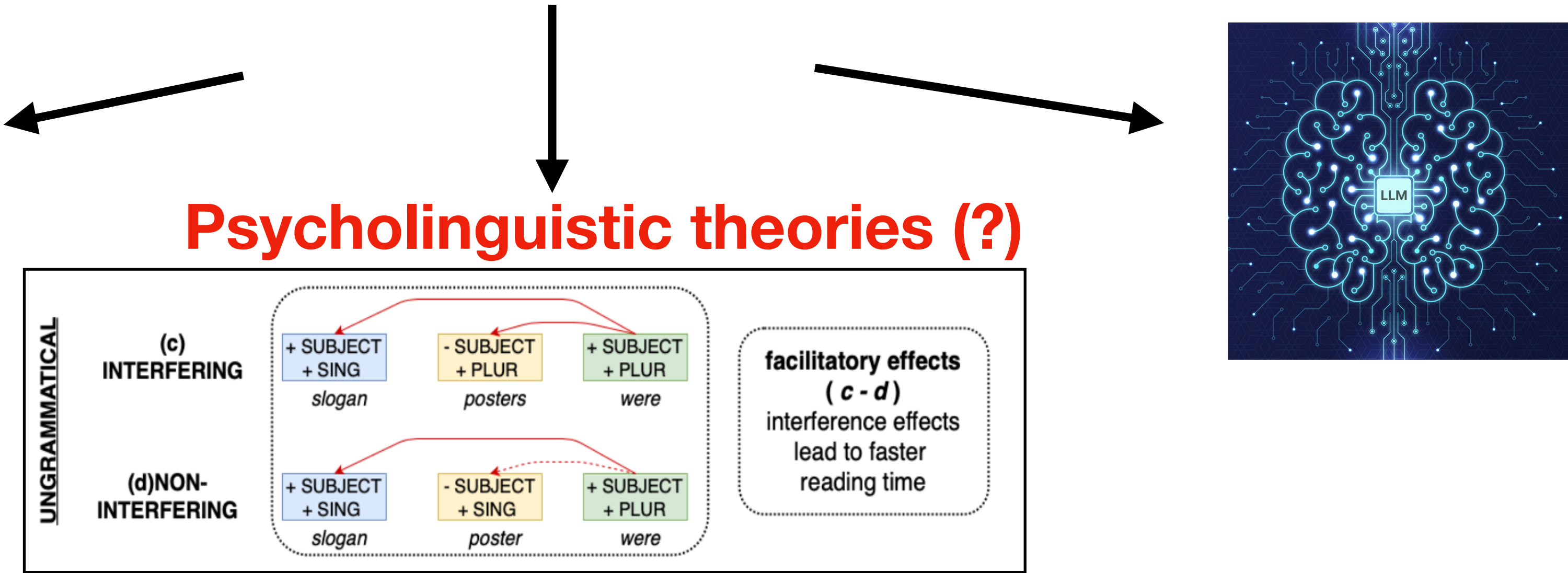
Current Proposal: The Full Picture

Computational
Level

Language in the broader design of intelligent systems



Algorithmic
Level ONE



An “algorithm” of sentence processing

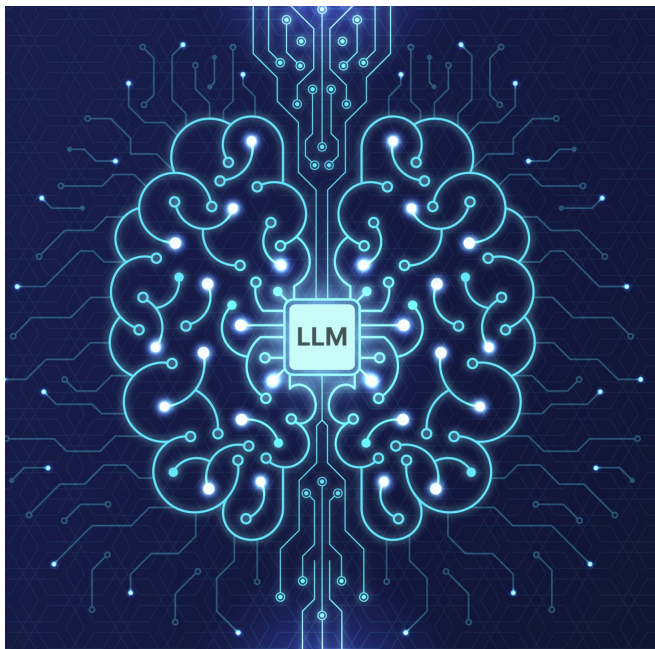
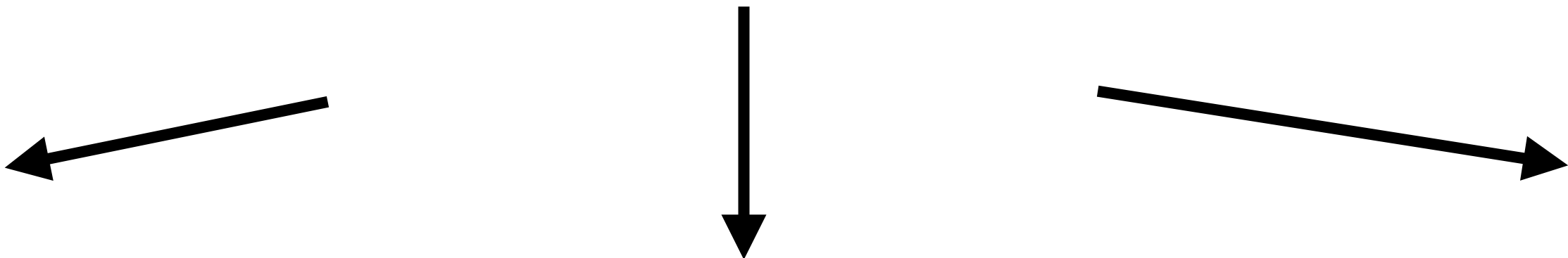
Current Proposal: The Full Picture

Language in the broader design of intelligent systems

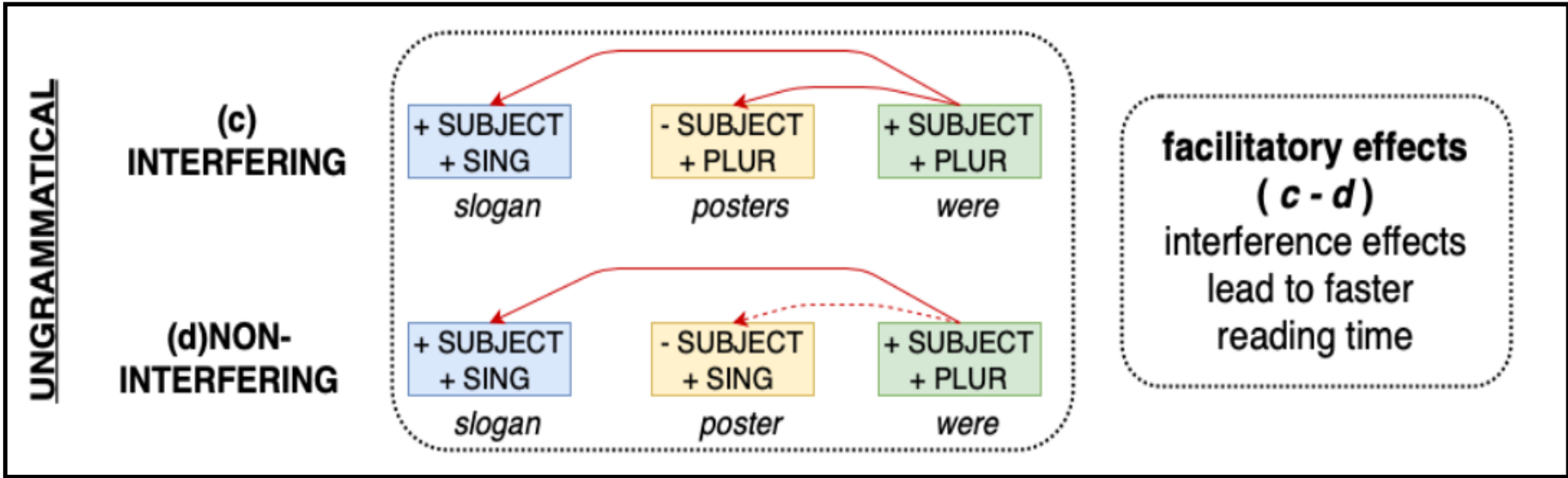
Computational
Level



Algorithmic
Level ONE



Psycholinguistic theories (?)



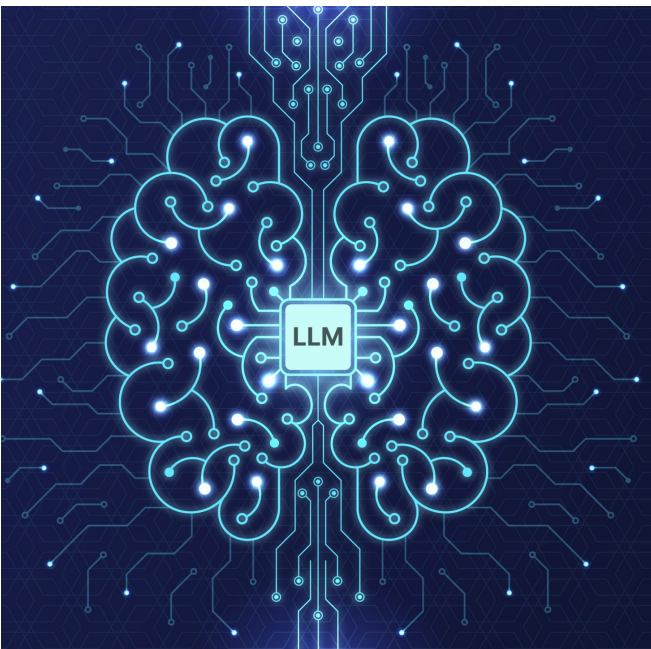
An “algorithm” of sentence processing

Algorithmic
Level TWO

Current Proposal: The Full Picture

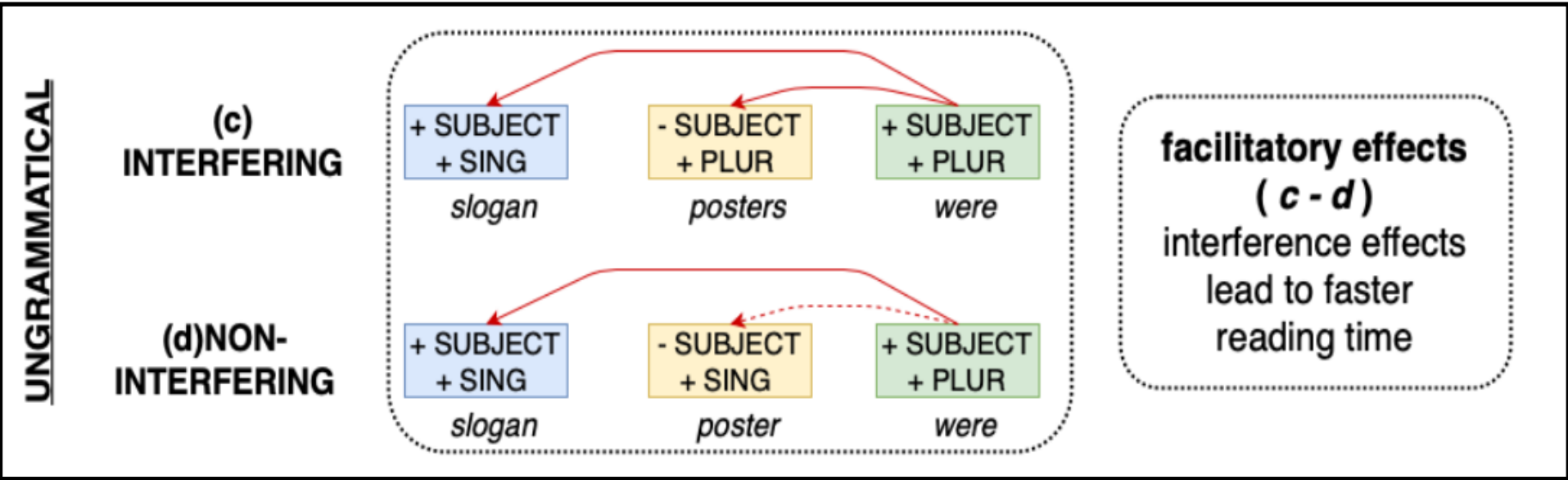
Computational
Level

Language in the broader design of intelligent systems



Algorithmic
Level ONE

Psycholinguistic theories (?)

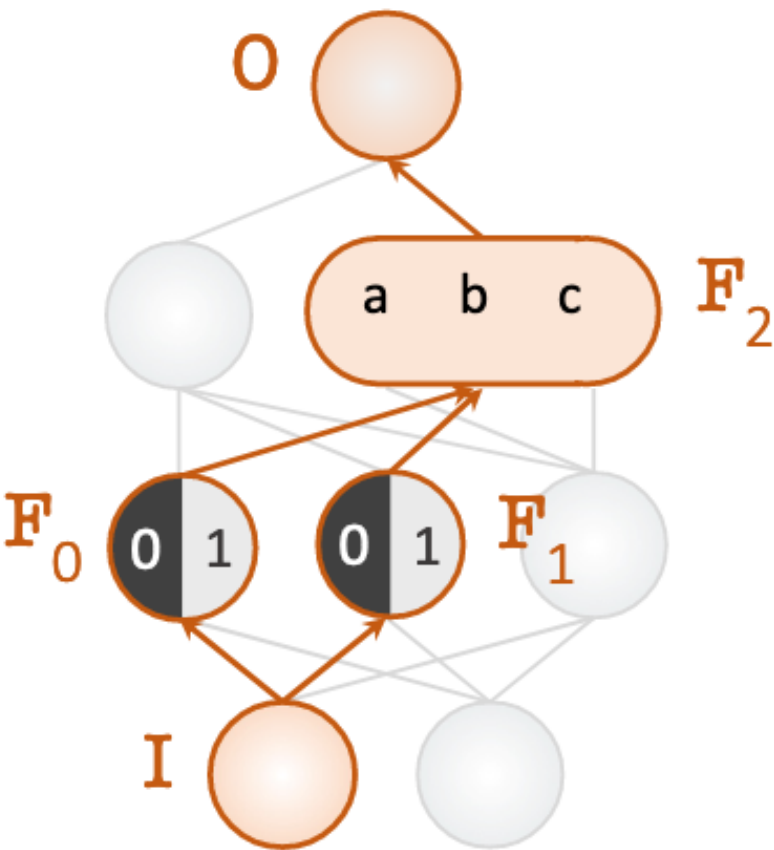
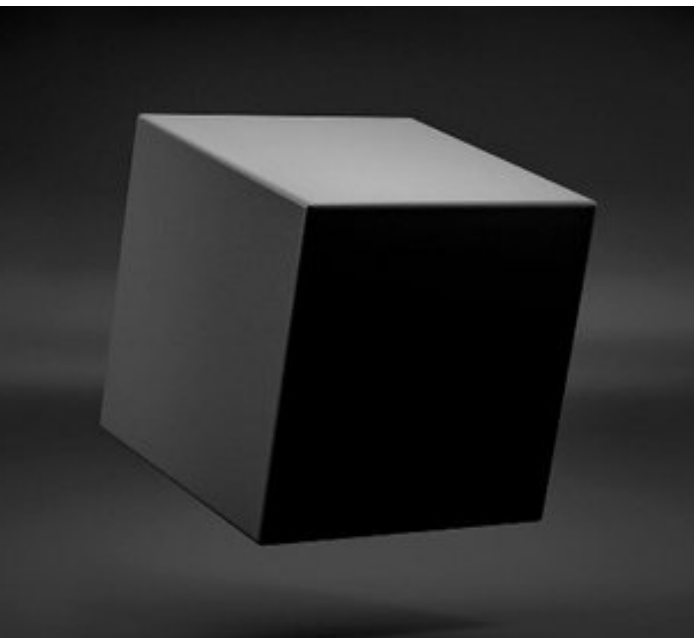


Functionally approximating

Functionally approximating

Algorithmic
Level TWO

An "algorithm" of sentence processing



LMs are shaped by what they are trained on!

Data Distributional Properties Drive Emergent In-Context Learning in Transformers

Stephanie C.Y. Chan
DeepMind

Adam Santoro
DeepMind

Andrew K. Lampinen
DeepMind

Jane X. Wang
DeepMind

Aaditya K. Singh
University College London

Pierre H. Richemond
DeepMind

James L. McClelland
DeepMind, Stanford University

Felix Hill
DeepMind

Burstiness as a distributional property!

Compositional Structures!

Rethinking the Role of Demonstrations: What Makes In-Context Learning Work?

Sewon Min^{1,2} Xixi Lyu¹ Ari Holtzman¹ Mikel Artetxe²
Mike Lewis² Hannaneh Hajishirzi^{1,3} Luke Zettlemoyer^{1,2}

Parallel Structures in Pre-training Data Yield In-Context Learning

Yanda Chen¹ Chen Zhao^{2,3} Zhou Yu¹ Kathleen McKeown¹ He He²

Parallelism!

⇒ The IFE as a diagnostic of the error-driven learning
mechanism in ICL!