

Constraints on Word Exchanges During Noisy-Channel Inference

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According to the Noisy Channel Model of Gibson et al. (2013), communication can succeed even when the input is corrupted because comprehenders rationally infer the speaker's intended meaning based on the a-priori probability of the literal interpretation and the probability that the input has been corrupted by noise. A major point of debate concerns what kind of corruptions comprehenders take into account. Whereas there is consensus that insertions and deletions are considered a possible source of noise, the status of word exchanges is less clear (Poppels and Levy, 2016).

To test whether and under which conditions word exchanges can be observed, we ran four online experiments on processing three types of simple German sentences: subject-before-object sentences (SO), object-before-subject sentences (OS), and passive sentences (see (1)). SO, OS and passive sentences provide an interesting test case because implausible sentences can be "repaired" by exchanging function words or by exchanging nouns (see (2) for SO). As in Gibson et al. (2013), sentences were presented in full along with a yes-no question to probe interpretation. Exp. 1 (N=48) tested plausible and implausible SO and OS sentences and varied whether a word exchange would cross a main verb or an auxiliary. Exp. 2 (N=74) included plausible and implausible passive sentences in addition to SO and OS sentences. Exp. 3 (N=78) tested implausible SO, OS and passive sentences and varied the proportion of implausible sentences in the total stimulus set (high: 50% vs. low: 15%). Exp. 4 (N=36) tested implausible SO, OS and passive sentences but required explicit corrections of implausible sentences in addition to answering yes-no questions.

Results are shown in Figure 1. The results were analysed using Bayesian mixed-effect modeling. We consistently found that implausible SO and passive sentences elicit few non-literal interpretations whereas the rate of non-literal interpretations is high for implausible OS sentences. This holds regardless of whether word exchanges have to cross a main verb or an auxiliary (Exp. 1) and, as predicted by the Noisy Channel Model, is more pronounced if the overall proportion of implausible sentences is low (Exp. 3). Thus, exchanges of function words of the same syntactic category are considered, but not noun exchanges. Moreover, word exchanges are considered only when resulting in a more likely syntactic structure, supporting the idea that comprehenders' noise model is structure-sensitive (Poppels and Levy, 2016). This prevents function word exchanges to be applied to SO and passive sentences. Finally, Exp. 4 showed that comprehenders use noun exchanges to a much higher extent when asked to provide explicit corrections, in line with Ryskin et al. (2018). This suggests that constraints on word exchanges depend on whether or not sentences are corrected consciously.

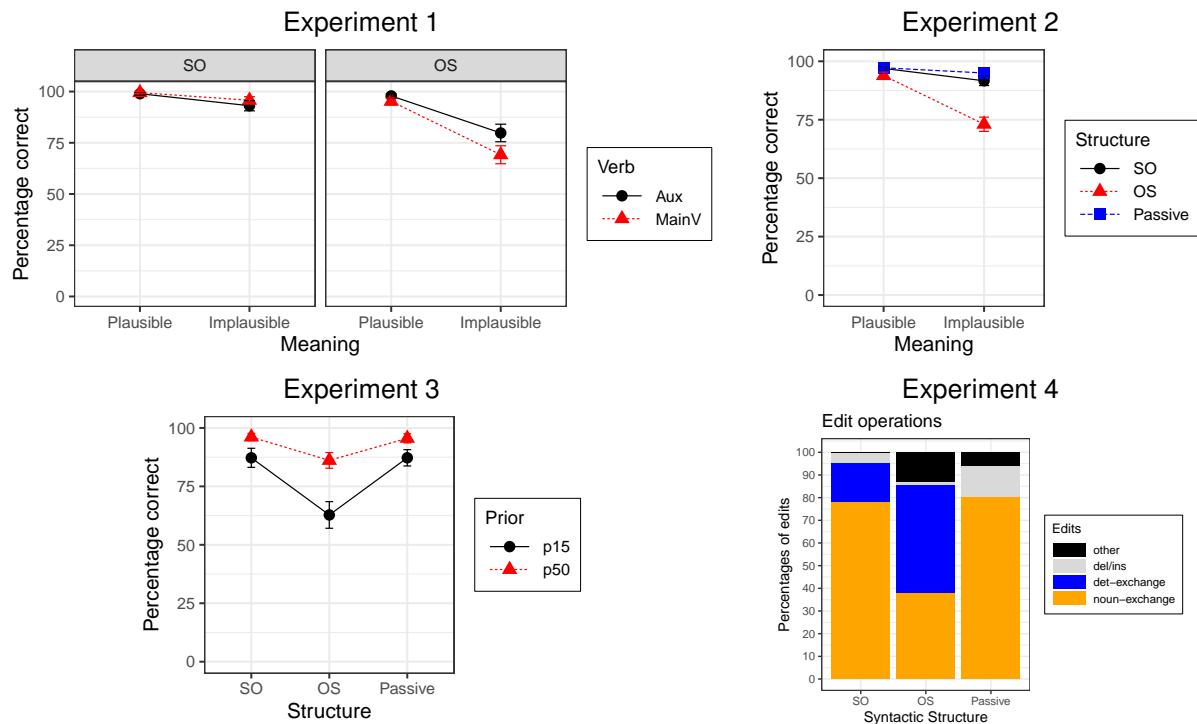


Figure 1: Percentages of correct answers in Exp. 1–3 and distribution of edit operations in Exp. 4.

- (1) Implausible versions of the experimental sentences (plausible versions are obtained by exchanging nouns)
 - a. [SO:] Der Knochen hat den Hund gegessen.
the_{NOM} bone has the_{ACC} dog eaten
 - b. [OS:] Den Hund hat der Knochen gegessen.
the_{ACC} dog has the_{NOM} bone eaten
 - c. [Passive:] Der Hund wurde vom Knochen gegessen.
the_{NOM} dog was by-the bone eaten
- (2) [Presented – SO:] Der Knochen hat den Hund gegessen.
the_{NOM} bone has the_{ACC} dog eaten
 - a. [Noun exchange – SO:] Der **Hund** hat den **Knochen** gegessen.
the_{NOM} dog has the_{ACC} bone eaten
 - b. [Det exchange – OS:] **Den** Knochen hat **der** Hund gegessen.
the_{ACC} bone has the_{NOM} dog eaten

References

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