## An Information-Theoretic Explanation of Adjective Ordering Preferences

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the big blue tableVSthe blue big tablethe beautiful old houseVSthe old beautiful housethe delicious boiling curryVSthe boiling delicious curry

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#### Various generalizations have been offered

- Inherentness (Whorf 1945)
- **Specificity** (Sweet 1898, Ziff 1960)
- Absoluteness (Sproat & Shih 1991)
- **Concept-Formability** (Svenonius 2008)
- **Subjectivity** (Hetzron 1978)

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- **Subjectivity** (Hetzron 1978)

Scontras et al. (2017):

**Subjectivity** captures all of these

configuration naturalness 0.75 -0.50 -0.25 --0.3 0.0 0.3 green big book subjectivity difference

From Scontras et al. (2017)

The more **subjective** an adjective, the **farther** from the noun it occurs.

## big green book

## a. xiao lü huanping small green vase

'the small green vase' (Sproat & Shih, 1991, 566)

b. \*lü xiao huanping

## Mandarin Chinese

#### **Research Question:**

Can adjective ordering be explained in terms of **general principles** of **language use** and **processing**?

#### **Empirical Question:**

Are factors other than subjectivity relevant?

PMI(Adj,Noun) = log P(Noun|Adj) - log P(Noun)

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Probability that **Noun** occurs, given the modifier **Adj** 

Noun occurs, give the modifier **Adj** 

#### PMI(Adj,Noun) = log P(Noun|Adj) - log P(Noun)

Quantifies degree to which words appear together **more frequently than expected** at chance

Common measure of collocation (Manning and Schuetze 1999)

#### PMI(Adj,Noun) = log P(Noun|Adj) - log P(Noun)



(PMIs computed from COCA, https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/)

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Hypothesis:

Adjectives with **higher** mutual information with the noun tend to come **closer** to the noun.

## Corpus Study

**BookCorpus:** 

11,038 English novels

74 Million sentences

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## Relation of MI and Subjectivity

Predict order of  $A_1 A_2$  in logistic mixed-effects model from

- 1.  $PMI(A_1, N) PMI(A_2, N)$
- 2.  $Subj(A_1) Subj(A_2)$

#### Model Comparison (BIC)



Subjectivity and Mutual Information independently impact ordering.

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	new	good luck	i	nternational	young people
PMI	-3.1	4.1	PMI	-3.0	3.9
Subjectivity	0.5	0.8	Subjectivity	0.26	0.64

#### open curly braces

PMI 2.5 9.5

Subjectivity 0.38 0.40

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#### Goal:

## Provide a model of adjective use that **explains** effects of **subjectivity** and mutual **information**.

## The Use of Adjectives

Adjectives can help **pick out** referents.

# Click on the yellow comb.

Sedivy, Chambers, and Tanenhaus (1999)



#### The Use of Adjectives

Adjectives can help **pick out** referents.

Adjectives can **describe** and **comment on** a referent.
## The Use of Adjectives

Adjectives can help **pick out** referents.

Adjectives can **describe** and **comment on** a referent.



Does not help pick out a referent.

Speaker comments on referent.

Forrest looks at the massive crowd.

I see the door to the house open..., and in the yellow light I see Kate.

We look at the little animal faces, and we know they need a home.

The toes of animals tapped on the **metal** roof in the dark.

Abruptly, the **beautiful** face softened.

Telling the red blood to stop flowing.

Look at the little boy!

from COCA (Davies, 2017)

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## Modeling Approach

- 1. Formalize nonrestrictive use of adjectives
- 2. Define a rational Bayesian model of communication
- 3. Show how memory limitations lead effects of subjectivity and mutual information
- 4. Evaluate on Corpus Data

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World state = Truth value assignment to the cells in this table



#### Speakers mostly agree on objective judgments



Speakers mostly agree on objective judgments

More **disagreement** for more **subjective** judgments

	4				4	$\wedge$	
METAL	?	?	?	METAL	?	?	?
GREEN	?	?	?	GREEN	?	?	?
LARGE	?	?	?	LARGE	?	?	?
BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?	BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?



	4	$\land$			4	$\wedge$	
METAL	?	?		METAL	?	?	?
GREEN	?	?	?	GREEN	?	?	?
LARGE	?	?	?	LARGE	?	?	?
BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?	BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?



	4	$\land$			4	$\wedge$	
METAL	?	?		METAL	?	?	
GREEN	?	?	?	GREEN	?	?	?
LARGE	?	?	?	LARGE	?	?	?
BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?	BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?



	4				4	$\wedge$	
METAL	?	?	?	METAL	?	?	?
GREEN	?	?	?	GREEN	?	?	?
LARGE	?	?	?	LARGE	?	?	?
BEAUTIFUL	V	?	?	BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?



	4				4	$\wedge$	
METAL	?	?	?	METAL	?	?	?
GREEN	?	?	?	GREEN	?	?	?
LARGE	?	?	?	LARGE	?	?	?
BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?	BEAUTIFUL	?	?	?









## beautiful green car









## Modeling Approach

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## **Rational Communication: Speakers and Listeners**

Formalize model in the framework of **Bayesian pragmatics** (Franke 2008; Frank and Goodman, 2012)

$$P_{listener}(w|u) \propto P_{prior}(w) \delta_{u \ is \ true \ for \ speaker \ in \ w}$$
  
 $P_{speaker}(u) \propto exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$ 

## **Listener Model**

Listener performs Bayesian reasoning to infer world state.

$$\begin{array}{ll} \mathsf{P}_{\mathsf{listener}}(w|u) \propto \mathsf{P}_{\mathsf{prior}}(w) \, \delta_{\mathsf{u} \, \mathsf{is \, true \, for \, speaker \, in \, w}} \\ & \mathsf{state \, of} & \mathsf{utterance} \\ & \mathsf{the \, world} & \mathsf{received} \end{array}$$

#### beautiful green car



GREEN	✓
BEAUTIFUL	$\checkmark$
GREEN	$\checkmark$
BEAUTIFUL	??

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## **Rational Communication: Speakers and Listeners**

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$$\mathbf{P}_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$

## **Speaker Model**

Speaker chooses utterance to optimize utility (Franke 2008; Frank and Goodman 2012).



## **Speaker Model**

$$\mathsf{P}_{\mathsf{speaker}}(\mathsf{u}) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot \mathbf{l}(\mathbf{u}) - \beta \cdot \mathbf{C}(\mathbf{u}))$$

# **Typically:** Reduction in the listener's uncertainty about the world state, measured in bits (e.g., Frank and Goodman, 2012; Goodman and

Stuhlmueller, 2013).





Informativity = 0 bits







Informativity = 1 bits







Informativity = 2 bits



## **Speaker Model**

Speaker chooses utterance to optimize utility (Franke 2008; Frank and Goodman 2012).

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$
Informativity of
utterance `u'

## **Speaker Model**

 $P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot \mathbf{I}(u))$ 









that generalizes to other people.
**Speaker Model: Cost** 

 $P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$ 

Cost of the utterance

### Speaker Model: Cost

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$
$$C(u) = -\log P(u)$$

### **Surprisal of the utterance**

(cf. Bennett & Goodman, 2018; Peloquin et al 2019)

Speaker Model: Cost

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$

$$C(u) = -\log P(u)$$

We will assume no prior preference:

$$\mathsf{P}(\mathsf{A}_1 \mathsf{A}_2 \mathsf{N}) = \mathsf{P}(\mathsf{A}_2 \mathsf{A}_1 \mathsf{N})$$

Formalize model in the framework of **Bayesian pragmatics** (Franke 2008; Frank and Goodman, 2012)

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Informativity about

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$

So far, no ordering preferences are predicted!



 $P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$ 

# **Proposal:**

Memory limitations in processing break symmetry.

# **Memory Limitations**

Firmly established as factor in language understanding

**Classical example:** Long dependencies harder to process (e.g., Gibson, 1998; McElree, 2000; Lewis & Vasishth, 2005; Bartek et al., 2011; Nicenboim, 2015)





















# Listener Model with Memory Loss



big green tree





Listener Model with Memory Loss

?? green tree

big green tree beautiful green tree ugly green tree

. . . .

big green tree



- Rational listener marginalizes over possible
  - **completions** (Futrell & Levy, 2017)



# Listener Model with Memory Loss ??? big tree

















### **Prediction:**

Assuming forgetful listener, placing **subjective** adjective **first** has **higher expected informativity** under the model.

 $A_1 - \log P(A_1)$ 

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \mathsf{A}_1 & & -\log\mathsf{P}(\mathsf{A}_1) \\ \mathsf{A}_1 & \mathsf{A}_2 & & -\log\mathsf{P}(\mathsf{A}_2|\mathsf{A}_1) \end{array}$ 

 $-\log P(A_1)$ Α  $-\log P(A_2|A_1)$  $A_2$ A, ??  $A_{2}$ Ν  $-\log P(N|??A_2)$ Will be smaller if  $PMI(N, A_2)$  is larger!

# **Our Proposed Model**

### Rational communication with **Bayesian inference**

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$

# Our Proposed Model

Rational communication with Bayesian inference

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$

including reasoning about multiple speakers



# **Our Proposed Model**

Rational communication with Bayesian inference

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$

including reasoning about multiple speakers



and incremental, rational processing under memory limitations.



# Evaluation

Task: Predict adjective order in corpus data

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**Model Parameters:** 

 $\kappa(A) = 1 - subjectivity(A)$ 



**κ(**big) = 0.2

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- Other parameters inferred using Bayesian Data Analysis in Pyro (http://pyro.ai/)

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**Evaluation Datasets** 

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#### **Evaluation Datasets**

Unseen data set (~ 10,000 examples) Set from corpus analysis (~ 4,700 examples)



l-kitaabu l-'axdaru ṣ-ṣaγiiru the-book the-green the-small 'the little green book' (Fassi Fehri, 1999, 107)

**Standard Arabic** 

Subjectivity-based ordering reported for

- Arabic (Kachakeche & Scontras, 2020)
- Tagalog (Samonte & Scontras, 2019)

Similarly for many other languages (Dixon, 1982; Hetzron, 1978; Sproat & Shih, 1991).















MI with Noun (in bits)



Subjectivity and MI independently impact adjective ordering.

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Provided model of adjective ordering integrating standard **Bayesian reasoning** 

$$P_{\text{speaker}}(u) \propto \exp(\alpha \cdot I(u) - \beta \cdot C(u))$$



Subjectivity and MI independently impact adjective ordering.

Provided model of adjective ordering integrating standard **Bayesian reasoning** with **incremental processing** under **memory limitations** 



Subjectivity and MI independently impact adjective ordering.

Provided model of adjective ordering integrating standard Bayesian reasoning with incremental processing under memory limitations, achieving 96% accuracy on corpus data.



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Suggests that adjective ordering can be explained by general principles of **human communication** and **language processing**.

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Suggests that adjective ordering can be explained by general principles of **human communication** and **language processing.** 

Subjective material tends to appear at **periphery** of phrases and clauses (Traugott, 2010).

Future Research: Test our model on other types of subjective content.































Their model:

Grounded in reference resolution

Predicts that conjunction weakens/eliminates the effect (Rosales & Scontras, 2019; Scontras et al., 2020) Our model:

Grounded in nonrestrictive usage

Centered around incremental processing aiming to be compatible with experimental evidence on processing

Accounts for MI effect in addition to Subjectivity effect

Mutual Information beyond Adjective Order

### Mutual Information in Adverb Order

frankly > fortunately > allegedly > probably > once/then > perhaps > wisely >
usually > already > no longer > always > completely > well

(Cinque 1999, p. 34)

manaphante -furthermore secondwhile similarly however however **Adverbs** 1.5 indered appearing at nevertheless unfortunately least 20K times together alternatively back Average (Log) hende sadly 1.0 right Distance though up instead between Adverb againing thereforethaybesurely so rathernere hopefully and Verb Abvioestyectallyverv apparentlytimately sometigaes quite 0.5 rendvpicall otherwise specifically ever actively Eventuade low long particularly closely onpossion seriously gradually directly originally diately effectively commonly little stigneraticosely Cation shipletewidely actively always strongly 2 3 MI

Average Mutual Information between Adverb and Verb



Average Mutual Information between Adverb and Verb

Predict order of pairs Adverb<sub>1</sub> Adverb<sub>2</sub> in corpus using logistic regression from

- 1. Mutual Information: pmi(Adverb1, Verb) pmi(Adverb2, Verb)
- 2. Ranks of adverbs in the hierarchy

frankly > fortunately > allegedly > probably > once/then > perhaps > wisely > usually > already > no longer > always > completely > well

(Cinque 1999, p. 34)



## Model Comparison (BIC)



# Mutual Information beyond Adjective Ordering



computed from: English treebanks in Universal Dependencies (Nivre et al, 2017)

(Hahn, Degen, Futrell, in press)



(Hahn, Degen, Futrell, in press)



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# Mutual Information beyond Adjective Ordering



# Mutual Information beyond Adjective Ordering





#### Subjectivity and MI independently impact adjective ordering.



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Proposed model of adjective ordering integrating Bayesian reasoning with incremental processing under memory limitations.





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Suggest that adjective ordering can be explained by general principles of human communication and language processing.

Mutual Information predicts order in language more generally



Thank you!