Psychometric Predictive Power of Large Language Models

Tatsuki Kuribayashi1Yohei Oseki2Timothy Baldwin1,31MBZUAI2The University of Tokyo3The University of Melbourne
{tatsuki.kuribayashi,timothy.baldwin}@mbzuai.ac.ae
oseki@g.ecc.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Abstract

Instruction tuning aligns the response of large language models (LLMs) with human preferences. Despite such efforts in human-LLM alignment, we find that instruction tuning does not always make LLMs human-like from a cognitive modeling perspective. More specifically, next-word probabilities estimated by instruction-tuned LLMs are often worse at simulating human reading behavior than those estimated by base LLMs. In addition, we explore prompting methodologies for simulating human reading behavior with LLMs. Our results show that prompts reflecting a particular linguistic hypothesis improve psychometric predictive power, but are still inferior to small base models. These findings highlight that recent advancements in LLMs, i.e., instruction tuning and prompting, do not offer better estimates than direct probability measurements from base LLMs in cognitive modeling. In other words, pure next-word probability remains a strong predictor for human reading behavior, even in the age of LLMs.

https://github.com/kuribayashi4/
llm-cognitive-modeling

1 Introduction

Aligning computational models with human perception/cognition has historically been a pivotal approach to understanding humans (Shapiro, 2003). With this in mind, computational psycholinguistics has investigated the model of human sentence processing (Crocker, 2007) and recently found an intriguing correlation between next-word probabilities from language models (LMs) and human reading behavior—the less predictable a word is, the greater the cognitive load (e.g., longer reading time) humans exhibit—suggesting the expectationbased account of human sentence processing (Levy, 2008; Smith and Levy, 2013). Based on this finding, the field has further investigated which types of models/algorithms can compute probabilities



Figure 1: Comparing the "reading behavior" of humans and LLMs, i.e., reading time from humans is compared with surprisal from LLMs (§2.1). We investigate which surprisal values estimated by: (i) base LLMs, (ii) instruction-tuned (IT) LLMs, (iii) IT-LLMs with prompting, or (iv) IT-LLMs with metalinguistic prompting can better simulate human reading time.

better aligned with human reading behavior (Figure 1; Hale (2001); Goodkind and Bicknell (2018); Wilcox et al. (2020); Oh et al. (2021); Kuribayashi et al. (2022); *inter alia*).

In the field of natural language processing (NLP), in contrast, large language models (LLMs) tuned to human-preferred responses (e.g., GPT-3.5) improve in performance across a wide range of applications (Ouyang et al., 2022). Given the increasing prevalence of such human-aligned, *instructiontuned* LLMs (IT-LLMs), the following computational psycholinguistic question naturally arises: *do IT-LLMs successfully simulate human reading behavior in terms of predicted surprisal?* The answer to this question is not immediately obvious. On the one hand, the answer might be *yes* since these are tuned to human-preferred responses (Zhang et al., 2023), which will be, broadly speaking, more aligned with human-like expectations of upcoming information during reading, e.g., not expect fabricated/hallucinated information during reading (Grice, 1975; Askell et al., 2021). Moreover, some IT-LLMs employ reinforcement learning from human feedback (RLHF); such a scenario of language learning through (approximate) human feedback is more plausible than through text alone (Alishahi, 2010), and thus may enhance their cognitive plausibility.

On the other hand, IT-LLMs are a step beyond base LMs—pure statistical models of plausible text based on large natural language corpora—in the sense that IT-LLMs are tuned to specific humanpreferred responses and may suffer from amplified reporting biases. If the core of human sentence processing is explained by next-word probabilities (Levy, 2008; Smith and Levy, 2013), instruction tuning will be unnecessary in simulating human reading behavior. Based on this logic, the answer would be *no*.

Our experiments show that IT-LLMs frequently yield worse psychometric predictive power (PPP) for human reading behavior than base LLMs (§3). This suggests that the current paradigm of instruction tuning is irrelevant to modeling human sentence processing; IT-LLMs are not specially aligned with human language processing, at least based on reading time modeling, despite their ultimate goal of human–machine alignment.

Furthermore, we address open questions regarding prompting in cognitive modeling: (i) Can prompting result in probabilities from IT-LLMs being more aligned with human reading behavior? and (ii) Which is better at simulating human reading behavior, using direct probability measurements or directly asking IT-LLMs about the processing cost, e.g., metalinguistic prompting (Hu and Levy, 2023)? For the first question, we find prompts in line with so-called "good-enough" human sentence processing (Ferreira and Lowder, 2016) to work well. However, these are still worse than smaller base LLMs (§4). For the second question, we find metalinguistic prompting to be inferior to direct probability measurement in terms of PPP (§5).

In sum, despite the recent advancements in IT-LLMs and prompting, they do not currently offer better estimates of human reading behavior than simple probability measurements from base LLMs. This also underlines the value of access to probabilistic outputs for closed-source LLMs to further the study of cognitive modeling.

2 Simulating human reading behavior

2.1 Linking hypothesis

It has been reported that the word-by-word processing cost for humans, typically measured by reading time (RT), can be explained by the surprisal of a word $h_{t,\theta}(w)$ in context $w_{<t} = [w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}]$, computed by a model θ (Hale, 2001; Levy, 2008; Smith and Levy, 2013):

$$\operatorname{RT}(w_t) \sim h_{t,\theta}(w_t) + \operatorname{baselines}(w_t)$$
, (1)

$$h_{t,\theta}(w) := -\log_2 p_{\theta}(w|\boldsymbol{w}_{< t}) \quad . \tag{2}$$

To gauge the advantage of the surprisal factor in reading time modeling, we train two nested regression models¹ (Eq. 1) with and without the surprisal factor in addition to the baselines(w_t) factors.² Then, we report the psychometric predictive power (PPP), which is defined as the increase in the pertoken average of the log-likelihood of the regression model due to the added surprisal factor. A high PPP indicates the effectiveness of the surprisal factor in simulating human reading behavior. Our interest in this paper is to find the model θ that leads to a higher PPP.

Following existing studies (Roark et al., 2009; van Schijndel and Linzen, 2019; Pimentel et al., 2022), we also examine other variants of Eq. 1 by replacing the surprisal factor $h_{t,\theta}(w)$ with the expected value of surprisal $H_{\theta}(W_t)$, in the form of: (i) contextualized Shannon entropy (Shannon, 1948); and (ii) its generalization called contextualized Rényi entropy $H_{\alpha,\theta}(W_t)$ (Rényi, 1961):

$$\mathbf{H}_{\theta}(W_t) := \underset{w \sim p(\cdot | \boldsymbol{w}_{< t})}{\mathbb{E}} h_{t,\theta}(w) \quad , \tag{3}$$

$$\mathbf{H}_{\alpha,\theta}(W_t) := \lim_{\gamma \to \alpha} \frac{1}{1-\gamma} \log_2 \sum_{w \in W} p_{\theta}(w | \boldsymbol{w}_{< t})^{\gamma} .$$
(4)

Here, vocabulary set W_t is approximated by the

¹We used statsmodels (Seabold and Perktold, 2010).

²We used the following formulation: $\operatorname{RT}(w_t) \sim \operatorname{surprisal}(w_t) + \operatorname{surprisal}(w_{t-1}) + \operatorname{surprisal}(w_{t-2}) + \operatorname{length}(w_t) + \operatorname{freq}(w_t) + \operatorname{length}(w_{t-1}) + \operatorname{freq}(w_{t-1}) + \operatorname{length}(w_{t-2}) + \operatorname{freq}(w_{t-2})$. The surprisal(w_t) factor is excluded in the baseline regression model. The freq(w_t) is quantified based on Wiki-103 data (Stephen et al., 2017) with logarithmic conversion. The length(w_t) is the character length of the word. Adding an interaction term length(w_i)*freq(w_i) did not alter our findings, and thus we use the simpler independent model.

model's subword vocabulary set.³ For the Rényi entropy, we set $\alpha = 0.5$ based on the results of Pimentel et al. (2022); Liu et al. (2023), noting that Shannon entropy is a special case of Rényi entropy with $\alpha = 1$. Note that we limit $w_{<t}$ to intra-sentential context since we are interested in sentence-level language processing in this study. Word boundaries are based on the reading-time corpus; if a word consists of several subwords, cumulative surprisal is computed.

2.2 Experimental settings

Models: We examined 26 LLMs as candidate models θ to compute information-theoretic values: six LLaMA-2 (Touvron et al., 2023), four Falcon (Almazrouei et al., 2023), four GPT-2 (Radford et al., 2019), four GPT-3/3.5 (Ouyang et al., $(2022)^4$, and eight OPT (Zhang et al., 2022) models with different sizes and instruction tuning settings (see Appendix A for details). Among them, GPT-3.5, two LLaMA-2, and two Falcon models are IT-LLMs (models with \checkmark in the "IT" column in Table 1), and the others are "base LLMs." More specifically, GPT-3.5 D2 is trained through supervised fine-tuning, Falcon IT-LLMs are also trained via a particular supervised-tuning approach (Xu et al., 2023)⁵, and GPT-3.5 D3 and LLaMA-2 IT-LLMs employ RLHF. Note that entropy metrics are omitted from the GPT-3/3.5 results since their APIs do not provide the probability distribution over the entire vocabulary.

Data: We use two corpora: Dundee Corpus (DC: Kennedy et al. (2003)) and Natural Stories Corpus (NS: Futrell et al. (2018)). DC is eye-tracking data, where we use the first-pass duration as reading time, while NS is self-paced reading time data. Following recent studies (Wilcox et al., 2020, 2021; Pimentel et al., 2022), we averaged the reading times for each word across different human subjects. We excluded data points with a reading time of zero or beyond three standard deviations. We also excluded the sentence-initial/final words since IT-LLMs tend to predict special phrases (e.g., *Sure, here is my answer...*) at the sentence-initial

	DC						NS					
Model	IT	$h\uparrow$	H↑]	$H_{0.5}$ \uparrow	$PPL \downarrow$	$h\uparrow$	H↑I	$H_{0.5}\uparrow$	PPL↓			
LMA-27B		10.33	8.58	13.45	76.40	6.41	3.06	9.97	45.21			
LMA-27B	\checkmark	8.97	5.57	12.03	153.46	7.07	2.42	8.33	63.74			
LMA-2 13B		9.44	8.04	13.77	75.28	5.44	2.44	9.23	41.62			
LMA-2 13B	\checkmark	9.13	5.30	11.97	123.35	5.93	1.99	7.53	56.05			
LMA-2 70B		8.21	5.14		78.28	4.51	1.80	6.79	37.61			
LMA-2 70B	✓	8.67	4.53	10.67	112.07	5.60	1.75	7.34	52.05			
Falcon 7B		9.08	7.75	11.81	97.86	7.61	3.95	12.17	49.64			
Falcon 7B	\checkmark	11.18	8.57	12.31	131.53	8.54	4.38	12.63	62.99			
Falcon 40B		8.53	6.93	10.99	77.72		2.41	9.36	41.46			
Falcon 40B	\checkmark	9.06	6.76	10.43	92.53	5.49	2.89	8.49	47.27			
GPT-3 B2		12.47	-	-	108.77	10.58	-	-	57.91			
GPT-3 D2		9.93	-	-	79.65	6.45	-	-	44.79			
GPT-3.5 D2	\checkmark	9.35	-	-	72.95	5.30	-	-	38.23			
GPT-3.5 D3	\checkmark	8.91	-	-	84.17	5.83		-	44.38			
GPT-2 177M	[15.23	12.32	15.55	209.37	15.61	10.20	18.19	93.81			
GPT-2 355M	I	9.63	11.20	15.37	222.17	13.62	8.91	16.96	75.67			
GPT-2 774M	[10.98	9.66	14.79	165.81	12.04	7.01	14.52	66.87			
GPT-2 1.5B		10.18	-	14.15	158.75	10.94	6.99	14.69	65.14			
OPT 125M		15.65	13.72	17.18	231.80	15.54	12.27	19.41	109.11			
OPT 350M		14.81	11.89	16.07	196.02	14.86	10.35	18.11	94.51			
OPT 1.3B		10.51	10.16	15.55	160.95	11.81	7.43	16.53	67.59			
OPT 2.7B		9.52	9.65	14.38	150.78	11.66	6.60	15.51	63.98			
OPT 6.7B		9.43	9.06	13.63	130.01	9.59	5.56	13.64	57.86			
OPT 13B		9.06	8.57	13.15	130.44	9.51	4.96	12.84	56.74			
OPT 30B		9.62	8.58	13.17	119.42	8.55	4.16	10.39	54.91			
OPT 66B		10.30	7.42	12.73	94.15	7.78	4.33	11.92	49.11			

Table 1: The PPL and PPP scores of tested LMs. The "IT" column denotes whether instruction tuning is applied. The columns h, H, and H_{0.5} indicate surprisal, Shannon entropy, and Rényi entropy ($\alpha = 0.5$), respectively. The colors of cells for IT-LLMs indicate if the PPP increased or decreased relative to its base version (GPT-3.5 models are compared to GPT-3s)."LMA-2" denotes the LLaMA-2 family.

position, and sentence-final words potentially have a confounding influence (Rayner et al., 2000; Meister et al., 2022).

3 Experiment 1: PPP of LLMs

We first observe the PPP of base LLMs (§3.1) and then analyze the PPP of IT-LLMs (§3.2). We explore prompting in §4 and §5.

3.1 Reproducing previous findings

Table 1 shows the PPP and perplexity $(PPL)^6$ of each LLM. We first examine whether we are able to reproduce results from existing studies.

Surprisal theory: Across all the settings of {model×corpus×metric}, information-theoretic

³A set of entire words in natural language can inherently be infinite. See Appendix B in Pimentel et al. (2022) for the details about subword-based entropy.

⁴GPT-3 B2/D2 denotes bebbage-002 and davinci-002, respectively. GPT-3.5 D2/D3 denotes text-davinci-002 and text-davinci-003, respectively.

⁵Further details are not clear at the time of writing this paper. We solely rely on the description here: https://huggingface.co/tiiuae/falcon-40b-instruct

⁶We measure the PPL of an LLM as average surprisal power of 2: $2^{\frac{1}{N}\sum_{t}h_{t,\theta}(w)}$ over the reading-time-annotated units; this ensures comparable PPL scores across LLMs with different tokenizers.



Figure 2: The relationship between PPL and PPP (see exact scores in Table 1). Each point corresponds to each LLM, and those with a black edge line are IT-LLMs. The regression line is estimated by base LLMs, and the colored area presents a 95% confidence interval. IT-LLMs were relatively poor (below the line) at balancing PPL and PPP.

metrics are effective in simulating reading time as shown in existing studies (Shain et al., 2022, *inter alia*). The PPP scores were significantly positive (F-test, p < 0.001), and the coefficients of interest were also significantly larger than zero (one-sample two-sided *t*-test, p < 0.001).

Advantage of Rényi entropy: Rényi entropy with $\alpha = 0.5$ (H_{0.5}) is consistently better at simulating human reading behavior (Table 1) than the other metrics (*h* and H) in all settings. Such an advantage has been reported with GPT-2 models (Pimentel et al., 2022; Liu et al., 2023); we further show that this generalizes to other LLMs.

PPP-PPL inverse scaling: While early work showed that better PPL leads to better PPP (Roark et al., 2009; Frank and Bod, 2011; Goodkind and Bicknell, 2018), more recent work using neural LLMs has reported the opposite, inverse relationship between PPP and PPL when using base LLMs—the **worse** the PPL is, the better the PPP is (Kuribayashi et al., 2022; Shain et al., 2022; de Varda and Marelli, 2023; Oh and Schuler, 2023), implying a "superhuman" ability of LLMs in nextword prediction. The results of Table 1 are mapped onto the PPP and PPL axes in Figure 2. Each point corresponds to an LLM, and those with blackedged outlines correspond to IT-LLMs (their results are analyzed in $\S3.2$). The regression lines of the PPP-PPL relationship are estimated only by base

LLMs; these lines replicate the inverse scaling effect, i.e., better PPL leads to worse PPP. Pearson's correlation between PPP and PPL was positive in all settings (r was within 0.55–0.95 with p < 0.05). Our results confirm that such a relationship holds even when using LLaMA-2, Falcon, and GPT-3/3.5 models and entropy metrics, extending the results of earlier studies (Oh and Schuler, 2023).

3.2 The effects of instruction tuning

Instruction tuning often hurts PPP: The green and red cells in Table 1 indicate the positive and negative effects of instruction tuning, respectively, based on comparison of the base model and its instruction-tuned variant (e.g., LLaMA-2 7B vs. LLaMA-2 7B instruct). There are no consistent positive or negative effects and thus no evidence that instruction tuning causes LLMs to be more cognitively plausible in terms of cognitive modeling. More specifically, LLaMA-2 and GPT-3.5 models tend to degrade under instruction tuning, while Falcon IT-LLMs show a somewhat positive effect. Falcon family IT-LLMs employ a supervisedtuning approach (Xu et al., 2023) rather than RLHF, suggesting that RLHF might lead to drastic negative effects. Nevertheless, there could be several confounding factors, e.g., the base model architecture, training regimen, and instruction-tuning data/policies, motivating future work to investigate this effect in a more controlled manner.

Worse PPP compared to base LLMs with equivalent PPL: We additionally report a consistent tendency that IT-LLMs yielded poorer PPP than the base LLMs with equivalent PPL, on top of the reported PPP-PPL trade-off (Oh and Schuler, 2023). Figure 2 shows that IT-LLMs (points with blackedged outlines) are positioned below the PPP-PPL regression line estimated by the base LLMs across all metrics and corpora. Specifically, IT-LLMs yield poor PPL scores, presumably due to their objective no longer being pure language modeling. Worse still, they also yield worse PPP scores than the expected good values based on the estimated inverse PPP-PPL relationship (gray lines in Figure 2). Specifically, 32 results out of 34 {IT-LLM×metric×corpus} settings are below the regression line. This is significantly more frequent than chance $\pi = 0.5$ based on a two-sided binomial test (p < 1e - 7). That is, IT-LLMs struggle to balance PPP and PPL.⁷

Discussion: These results indicate that instruction tuning does not enhance the simulation of human reading behavior, despite it being intended to make LLMs more human-aligned. There are at least two hypotheses for why this should be the case: (i) instruction tuning with manipulated text amplifies reporting biases in training data and corrupts the LLM's language statistics built on naturally occurring text during pretraining; and (ii) the instruction-tuning objective is misaligned with human reading, e.g., IT-LLMs are trained to correctly predict responses over a huge range of questions, well beyond the capacity of a single human subject. In other words, our results support the surprisal theory that links human sentence processing efforts with pure word surprisal (Levy, 2008; Smith and Levy, 2013; Shain et al., 2022).

4 Experiment 2: prompting

The use of IT-LLMs stimulates an additional question—*does prompt tuning lead to better PPP for IT-LLMs?* One can control the *prior belief* of LLMs about upcoming words through the prompt, e.g., *complete the sentence to make it grammatically simple.* Analyzing effective prompt types may shed light on underlying bias in human expectation-

ID	Prompt
Syn↓	Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically simple as possible: $n w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
Syn→	Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on grammar: $\ln w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
Syn↑	Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically complex as possible: $n w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
Lex↓	Please complete the following sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible: $\ln w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
$\text{Lex} \rightarrow$	Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on word choice: $\ln w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
Lex↑	Please complete the following sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible: $n w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
Task1	Please complete the following sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. $\ln w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
Task2	Please complete the following sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}
Base	Please complete the following sentence: $n_{w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}}$

Table 2: Our examined prompts. The IDs shown in the first column are also used in Tables 3 and 4.

based reading, i.e., which kinds of words are more expected by humans.

Settings: We examine the nine prompts shown in Table 2 to linguistically bias the LLM-computed information-theoretic values.⁸ The first six prompts focus on syntactic and lexical complexity, based on longstanding interest in syntactic and lexical biases in expectation-based reading (Roark et al., 2009; Frank and Bod, 2011). The "Task1" and "Task2" prompts inform IT-LLMs of the task-specific objective of our experiments. A prompt is appended immediately before the context words ($w_{<t}$ in Eq. 2) when computing the information-theoretic values. That is, we now use prompt-conditioned surprisal, Shannon entropy, and Rényi entropy ($\alpha = 0.5$) values with a given prompt r:

⁷To handle the concern of IT-LLMs simply being confused for a given sentence fragment $w_{<t}$ in isolation, we re-conducted the experiments with the explicit instruction to predict the next word, yielding results consistent with the original; that is, the results hold up even after instructing IT-LLMs to behave as base LLMs (Appendix B).

⁸We used a slightly different prompting format for LLaMA-2s (see Appendix C.1).

	dependency length \uparrow					sentence length \uparrow					
	LLaMA-2		Fal	Falcon		LI	LaMA	Falcon			
Prompt	7B	13B	70B	7B	40B		7B	13B	70B	7B	40B
Syn↓	2.10	2.43	2.51	2.27	2.48	1	2.3	14.6	16.4	12.8	15.7
Syn→	2.90	2.87	2.68	2.65	3.47	2	4.9	22.9	21.2	18.4	18.1
Syn↑	3.45	3.29	3.31	2.86	3.49	4	3.9	44.0	45.5	23.8	33.5
Lex↓	2.31	2.40	2.46	2.28	3.01	1	3.4	13.1	14.7	13.5	15.7
$\text{Lex} \rightarrow$	2.95	3.29	3.05	2.58	3.33	3	2.4	28.0	25.2	17.5	19.9
Lex↑	3.08	3.06	3.24	2.86	3.23	3	5.2	36.5	33.8	24.6	27.6
Task1	2.87	2.94	2.82	2.70	2.87	2	7.1	28.2	28.6	21.1	26.2
Task2	2.99	2.80	3.07	2.79	2.82	2	3.6	20.4	18.3	21.2	21.4
Base	2.65	2.47	2.77	2.91	3.00	1	7.9	17.4	19.3	20.4	18.9

(a) Syntactic complexity

	$\log \text{ word frequency} \downarrow$					word length \uparrow					
	LI	LLaMA-2 Falcon			LI	LaMA	- -2	Falcon			
Prompt	7B	13B	70B	7B	40B		7B	13B	70B	7B	40B
Syn↓	4.77	4.89	4.69	4.87	4.87	3	.97	4.08	4.23	3.78	4.13
Syn→	4.55	4.67	4.63	4.79	4.84	4	.44	4.53	4.46	3.94	4.39
Syn↑	4.43	4.44	4.55	4.64	4.70	4	.60	4.68	4.67	4.84	4.35
Lex↓	4.73	4.80	4.73	4.79	4.85	4	.16	3.62	4.22	4.03	4.11
$\text{Lex} \rightarrow$	4.55	4.76	4.57	4.50	4.84	4	.49	4.51	4.54	4.59	4.31
Lex↑	3.90	4.09	3.80	4.37	4.44	5	.16	4.98	5.27	4.99	4.95
Task1	4.75	4.73	4.68	4.65	4.78	4	.61	4.31	4.47	4.94	4.27
Task2	4.80	4.75	4.83	4.87	4.80	4	.28	4.14	4.23	4.37	4.46
Base	4.77	4.86	4.87	4.93	4.91	4	.37	4.21	4.23	4.15	4.16

⁽b) Lexical complexity. Stopwords are excluded when calculating the average of logarithmic word frequencies.

Table 3: Statistics of sentences generated with different prompts and IT-LLMs. The highest values of dependency, sentence, and word length, and the lowest value of log word frequency for each model are highlighted.

$$h_{t,\theta}(w,r) := -\log_2 p_\theta(w|\boldsymbol{w}_{< t}, r) \quad , \tag{5}$$

$$\mathbf{H}_{\theta}(W_t, r) := \underset{w \sim p(\cdot | \boldsymbol{w}_{< t})}{\mathbb{E}} h_{t, \theta}(w, r) \quad , \tag{6}$$

$$H_{\alpha,\theta}(W_t, r) = \lim_{\gamma \to \alpha} \frac{1}{1 - \gamma} \log_2 \sum_{w \in W} p_{\theta}(w | \boldsymbol{w}_{< t}, r)^{\gamma} \quad . \tag{7}$$

4.1 Preliminary: does prompting control next-word prediction?

To ensure that prompting does indeed induce the intended changes in the next-word distribution, we first analyze sentences generated with different prompts using LLaMA-2 and Falcon IT-LLMs. To diversify the input context, we first extract 20 sentences from the DC dataset and append their first five words to each of the nine prompts, resulting in 180 ($=20 \times 9$) input contexts. Then, we generate 180 sentences by feeding the respective input contexts to the IT-LLMs. To measure the syntactic and lexical biases in text generation, we report the

averaged dependency length, sentence length, logarithmic word frequency, and word length of the sentences generated with each prompt. Appendix C.2 provides more details of this preliminary analysis.

Prompting controls next-word prediction as in**tended:** Table 3 shows the statistics of sentences generated by different prompts. As intended, syntactically complex, long sentences with long syntactic dependencies are generated when the model is instructed to make sentences grammatically complex (Syn \uparrow ; Table 3a), and vice versa (Syn \downarrow ; Table 3a). The lexical biases are also appropriately injected by prompting: the Lex \uparrow (Lex \downarrow) prompts result in sentences with less (more) frequent and longer (shorter) words (Table 3b). On the basis of this, we can infer that LLMs have some ability to bias sentence completion prediction based on linguistic instructions. This finding itself opens up the potential of prompting as a way of controlling the linguistic bias in information-theoretic values rather than, e.g., training differently-biased LLMs from scratch as typically done in computational psycholinguistics research (Frank and Bod, 2011). Note that, nevertheless, LLMs are not able to perfectly separate the two orthogonal dimensions of syntactic and lexical complexity in text generation with prompts. For example, Lex \downarrow and Lex \uparrow prompts somewhat affect the syntactic complexity of generated sentences (Table 3a) as well. Progress in controlled text generation should mitigate this effect (Zhou et al., 2023).

4.2 Results: PPP of prompt-conditioned LLMs

Effective prompts: Table 4 shows the averaged PPP against each prompt in each IT-LLM family: instruction-tuned LLaMA-2 (7B, 13B, 70B), Falcon (7B, 40B), and GPT-3.5 (D2 and D3) models. We also report two baseline results obtained with the "Base" prompt (Table 2) and without prompting. We observe the following: (i) some prompts, typically, Syn↓ and Task2, lead LLMs to achieve better PPP than baselines; (ii) such effective prompting strategies are generally consistent across corpora; and (iii) instructions to use simple grammar/vocabulary work better than those to use complex grammar/vocabulary. In terms of the first finding, some prompt-conditioned LLMs exhibit better PPP than the baselines, especially based on the entropy measurements (H and $H_{0.5}$). For the second finding, particular prompts, e.g., Syn↓ and

				DC		DC					NS						
		$h\uparrow$		Н	1	H_0	5 ↑		$h\uparrow$		Н	1	H _{0.}	5 ↑			
Prompt	LMA-2	Falcon	GPT-3.5	LMA-2	Falcon	LMA-2	Falcon	LMA-2	Falcon	GPT-3.5	LMA-2	Falcon	LMA-2	Falcon			
Syn↓	8.20	9.73	6.20	5.94	9.77	12.30	12.69	3.84	7.38	5.83	2.57	4.60	8.78	13.30			
Syn→	8.63	9.46	6.56	5.56	9.52	11.94	12.40	4.34	7.46	5.23	1.88	4.63	7.14	13.01			
Syn↑	8.18	9.46	5.90	5.64	9.60	11.66	12.56	4.64	7.10	4.07	1.31	4.09	6.38	12.35			
Lex↓	7.93	9.49	5.92	6.33	9.74	12.39	12.63	3.61	6.77	4.79	2.00	4.74	8.34	13.26			
$Lex \rightarrow$	8.10	9.16	6.63	5.18	9.18	11.34	12.28	3.79	7.30	5.30	1.37	4.21	6.36	12.75			
Lex↑	7.79	8.81	5.77	5.34	9.29	11.44	12.34	3.66	6.01	3.88	1.12	3.65	6.00	11.53			
Task1	8.83	8.82	5.54	5.99	8.86	12.39	12.35	4.29	5.46	2.95	2.61	4.73	9.64	13.42			
Task2	8.90	9.16	5.95	6.53	9.13	13.11	12.42	4.76	5.99	3.23	2.64	5.14	9.43	13.54			
Base	8.42	9.60	6.98	5.65	9.45	12.15	12.41	4.94	7.13	4.69	1.94	5.01	7.82	13.52			
W/o	8.92	10.12	9.13	5.13	7.67	11.56	11.37	6.20	7.02	5.56	2.05	3.63	7.73	10.56			

Table 4: The PPP scores when using each prompt (the highest scores other than baseline ones for each corpus/metric are in boldface). Scores are averaged in each IT-LLM family ("LMA-2" denotes LLaMA-2). The columns h, H, and H_{0.5} indicate surprisal, Shannon entropy, and Rényi entropy ($\alpha = 0.5$) settings, respectively. "W/o" denotes the setting without any prompt.

Task2, generally result in the best PPP on both the DC and NS datasets. Finally, for the third finding, prompts to use simple grammar/vocabulary (Syn \downarrow and Lex \downarrow) lead to better PPP than the opposite instructions (Syn \uparrow and Lex \uparrow). Note that, interestingly, the task-specific instructions also generally worked well, especially for the entropy measures. Detailed results of each model and prompt are given in Appendix C.3.

Discussion: Regarding the third finding of the advantage of prompts to use simple grammar/vocabulary, one plausible implication is that LLMs tend to predict more complex, wordy text completions than human expectations during reading, and this is alleviated somewhat by these prompts. Such an implied **simplicity bias** in effective prompts potentially lends support to the theory of so-called good-enough processing in human language processing (Ferreira and Lowder, 2016).

4.3 Analysis: PPP–PPL relationship

Prompt-conditioned LLMs underperform base LLMs with equivalent PPLs: Figure 3 shows the PPP and PPL of IT-LLMs conditioned on different prompts, including those listed in Appendix C.1, superimposed on the results from Figure 2. Similar to the results in §3, the prompt-conditioned LLMs (points with red-edged outlines) are under the PPP–PPL regression line estimated from base LLMs; 448 results out of 468 {prompt×model×metric×corpus} settings are below the line. This is significantly more frequent than chance $\pi = 0.5$ based on a two-sided binomial test (p < 1e - 105). This shows that the base

LLMs set the empirical Pareto front with respect to the PPP–PPL trade-off against prompt-biased LLMs, and in other words, none of the promptconditioned IT-LLMs could outperform the small base LMs with the best PPP, such as GPT-2 small. That is, base LLMs are a strong baseline in reading time modeling.

5 Experiment 3: metalinguistic prompting

Instead of using direct probability measurements, one can also ask IT-LLMs about the processing cost of words via *metalinguistic* prompting (Hu and Levy, 2023), e.g., *Please estimate the cognitive load of this word in context*. We explore such an approach in this section.

Settings: Based on preliminary experiments, asking a model to predict ther eading time for each word via prompting does not work well. Thus, we make the problem simpler: rank words in a sentence in order of processing difficulty—which word in this sentence incurs a higher cognitive load during reading? Please order the words (high to low cost). We ask such a question to the model, then calculate Spearman's rank correlation between the estimated word processing costs and their actual reading time in each sentence.⁹ Then, these correlation scores are averaged across the sentences in the reading time corpus; a high score indicates the model's estimated being more aligned with read-

⁹If the LLMs output a word not in the target sentence, or the output lacks particular words in the targeted sentence, these tokens are excluded in computing the correlation.



Figure 3: The PPL and PPP of LLMs with prompting are plotted at the top of Figure 2. Each point corresponds to a given combination of LLM and prompt, and those with red-edged outlines are IT-LLMs with a particular prompt. The PPP–PPL regression line is estimated by base LLMs, and the colored area presents the 95% confidence interval. IT-LLMs with prompting are poorer than base LLMs at balancing PPL and PPP.

ing time.¹⁰ We employed a 3-shot setting,¹¹ and ran three different runs with different exemplars for prompting. The average and standard deviation scores across the three runs are reported (Table 5). We also calculated the rank correlation between surprisal and reading time as a baseline. LLaMA-2 70B is excluded due to computation resource limitations.

5.1 Results

Direct probability measurements outperform metalinguistic prompting: Table 5 shows the examined prompts and results (see Appendix D for the exact prompts). The standard surprisal-based method yields higher correlations than metalinguistic prompting methods, which yield near-zero correlations. Specifically, correlations from surprisalbased methods were significantly larger than those from metalinguistic prompting (two-sided Mann-Whitney U test, p < 1e - 8) in both corpora. We suspect that the model simply failed in *ordering many items*; thus, we calculated the rank correlation coefficient by only using the first five words

Prompt/method	Model	$DC\uparrow$	NS \uparrow
Suppose humans read the	LMA-27B	0.09±0.02	-0.04 ± 0.06
following sentence:	LMA-2 13B	0.06 ± 0.02	-0.03 ± 0.06
(SENT). List the tokens in	Falcon 7B	$0.12 {\pm} 0.01$	$0.01 {\pm} 0.09$
order of their reading cost	Falcon 40B	0.03 ± 0.04	-0.03 ± 0.11
(high to low) during	GPT3.5 D2	$0.05 {\pm} 0.03$	$0.05 {\pm} 0.03$
sentence processing.	GPT3.5 D3	$0.08{\pm}0.03$	$0.03{\pm}0.02$
C	LMA-27B	0.05±0.06	0.00 ± 0.02
following sentence:	LMA-2 13B	$0.04{\pm}0.03$	$0.06 {\pm} 0.04$
	Falcon 7B	$0.08 {\pm} 0.05$	$0.05 {\pm} 0.02$
	Falcon 40B	$0.02 {\pm} 0.07$	$0.13 {\pm} 0.10$
1 5	GPT3.5 D2	$0.03 {\pm} 0.00$	$0.02 {\pm} 0.00$
in context (low to high).	GPT3.5 D3	-0.01 ± 0.02	$0.06{\pm}0.03$
	LMA-27B	0.28	0.19
	LMA-2 13B	0.27	0.19
Surprisal-based	Falcon 7B	0.32	0.18
estimation	Falcon 40B	0.28	0.17
Suppose you read the following sentence: (SENT). List the tokens in order of their probability in context (low to high). Surprisal-based estimation	GPT3.5 D2	0.28	0.16
	GPT3.5 D3	0.25	0.17

Table 5: Average and standard deviation of rank correlation ρ between estimated cognitive load and reading time of words across three different runs. "LMA-2" denotes the LLaMA-2 family.

listed by the model, but the correlations were again nearly zero. Such inferiority is consistent with the results in grammaticality judgment tasks (Hu and Levy, 2023).

5.2 Analysis: metacognition of own surprisal

Gap between computed probability and response to metalinguistic prompts: Are the estimates of word probability based on metalinguistic

¹⁰100 and 50 sentences are used for the DC and NS experiments, respectively. These are the first five sentences in each document in the respective corpus (DC/NS have 20/10 documents). We partially observed that these limited-scale experiments can approximate the full-scale experiments.

¹¹Three exemplars are from the opposing corpus: the NS sentences were used for the DC experiments, and vice versa.

Model	$\mathrm{DC}\uparrow$	NS \uparrow
LLaMA-2 7B	0.12±0.13	0.15±0.08
LLaMA-2 13B	$0.02 {\pm} 0.10$	$0.06 {\pm} 0.07$
Falcon 7B	$0.15 {\pm} 0.08$	$0.30 {\pm} 0.09$
Falcon 40B	$0.09 {\pm} 0.09$	$0.17 {\pm} 0.00$
GPT3.5 D2	$0.15 {\pm} 0.02$	$0.22 {\pm} 0.07$
GPT3.5 D3	$0.18{\pm}0.05$	$0.24 {\pm} 0.02$

Table 6: Rank correlation ρ between the word probability (rank) estimated by the prompt and the actual surprisal values computed by the corresponding model.

prompting consistent with their actual surprisal? To answer this question, we measure Spearman's rank correlation between the probabilities of words estimated via metalinguistic prompting (the second prompt in Table 5) and their actual surprisal values. The correlations are around 0.1–0.2 (Table 6), suggesting that metalinguistic prompting about word probability is again not an accurate measure of actual surprisal.

6 Related work

Simulating human reading behavior: Expectation-based accounts of human reading have been actively explored based on the linking hypothesis between surprisal and human reading behavior (Levy, 2008; Smith and Levy, 2013). To gain insights into black-box human sentence processing, analysis has been done on which types of models/algorithms better simulate human reading behavior (Hale, 2001; Demberg and Keller, 2008; Frank and Bod, 2011; Goodkind and Bicknell, 2018; Aurnhammer and Frank, 2019; Wilcox et al., 2020; Merkx and Frank, 2021; Kuribayashi et al., 2021; Noji and Oseki, 2021; Oh et al., 2021; Michaelov et al., 2021). It has been reported that those with specific properties, e.g., syntactic operations (Hale et al., 2018; Yoshida et al., 2021), memory limitations (Kuribayashi et al., 2022; Timkey and Linzen, 2023), and/or appropriate input units (Oh et al., 2021; Nair and Resnik, 2023) yield better fit to human reading behavior. Building on this body of work, we show that the current generation of IT-LLMs offers a somewhat poor predictor in cognitive modeling.

Prompt-based analysis of linguistic knowledge in LLMs: Given the rise of the prompting paradigm, testing the linguistic knowledge of LLMs via prompting has gained recent attention (Li et al., 2022; Hu and Levy, 2023; Katzir, 2023; Beguš et al., 2023; Dentella et al., 2023; Blevins et al., 2023). Prior work has pointed out their inferior ability at linguistic judgments under metalinguistic prompting to directly estimate probabilities (Hu and Levy, 2023; Dentella et al., 2023), and specifically Hu and Levy (2023) dubbed this discrepancy the so-called competence–performance distinction (Chomsky, 1965) of LLMs. This problem is also related to the calibration of model outputs (Kadavath et al., 2022). We revealed such degradation of metalinguistic prompting methods in simulating human reading behavior (§5).

Instruction tuning: Starting from the multitask fine-tuning of LMs (Wei et al., 2021; Sanh et al., 2022), *instruction-tuning*—aligning a model with human users—has played a crucial role in developing LLMs (Ouyang et al., 2022; Glaese et al., 2022). The objective of instruction tuning is, for example, making models *helpful*, *honest*, and *harmless* (Askell et al., 2021) in addition to just following the instructions. Notably, researchers may have been aligning LLMs to not the exact model of humans but rather a superhuman chat agent with instruction tuning; our results might reflect the paradox—pursuing human preferences has resulted in creating something different from humans.

Concurrent with this study, others have investigated the effects of instruction-tuning on the cognitive plausibility and linguistic knowledge of LLMs (Aw et al., 2023; Kauf et al., 2024). In particular, Aw et al. (2023) suggest that instruction tuning leads to a divergence in brain alignment and behavioral alignment, consistent with our work. The connection with our work requires further exploration.

7 Conclusion

We investigated the PPP of instruction-tuned LLMs, given their popularity in NLP. We found that IT-LLMs yield worse PPP than base LLMs with equivalent perplexity, demonstrating the ineffectiveness of current instruction tuning and (metalinguistic) prompting in simulating human reading behavior. One important area of future work is to explore why the current instruction-tuning paradigm is ineffective for modeling human reading behavior, and we highlighted the direction as *aligning LLMs with the human cognition/perception*, which has historically been a scientific approach to understanding humans, a.k.a. cognitive modeling, as well as with practical chat agents.

Limitations

Revealing why instruction tuning leads to a degradation in PPP is an important open question (§3.2). In particular, ablating reinforcement learning from human feedback (RLHF) via controlled experiments would be an interesting research direction. Unfortunately, the exact resources used in the instruction tuning of GPTs, LLaMA-2, and Falcon are not available, making it difficult to ablate the instruction-tuning scenario. Instead, training and evaluating separate LMs with different instruction tuning scenarios using publicly-available resources for instruction tuning (Conover et al., 2023; Taori et al., 2023) will be needed to further investigate our observation.

The scale of our experiments was limited across at least three dimensions. First, we only targeted the English language, although, to some degree, some language-dependent observations related to reading time have been obtained by prior work (Vasishth et al., 2010; Frank et al., 2016; Kuribayashi et al., 2021; Siegelman et al., 2022; Wilcox et al., 2023b; Pouw et al., 2023). Second, we tested only three families of IT-LLMs. Specifically, at the time of finalizing this paper, the GPT-3.5 models were no longer accessible, and newer versions do not offer the option to output the probability of the generated text; this motivates a focus on open LLMs for this line of research. Third, the variety of examined prompts was somewhat limited. Scaling up experiments with respect to these points is an obvious area for future work. Note that the use of pre-trained LMs poses the possibility of data leakage of source texts. Wilcox et al. (2023a) suggest that such leakage may not be a primary factor in characterizing PPP; thus, we tentatively put this concern aside in this study.

Ethical considerations

We do **not** in any way claim that the superiority of base LLMs in cognitive modeling, which potentially have harmful biases which are mitigated by instruction tuning, entails that human language processing also has inherently harmful biases. All we have shown in practice is a general macro-trend that surprisal from base LLMs has better PPP than instruction-tuned models, and such a potential bias in human language processing should be carefully inspected in separate work, e.g., as per Lior and Stanovsky (2023). We used some writing assistance tools, e.g., ChatGPT and Grammarly, in the writing of this paper, just to fix language errors.

Acknowledgement

We would like to thank Yova Kementchedjhieva, Go Inoue, and Ted Briscoe for their insightful feedback on earlier drafts of this paper. This work was supported in part by JST PRESTO Grant Number JPMJPR21C2, Japan.

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A Models

We used the LLM implementations available via the huggingface transformer library (Wolf et al., 2020). The exact model URLs are listed in Table 7. Some large models are loaded using quantization. We used them for text decoding or probability computation; such usage of models follows their license and intended use. A single NVIDIA A100 GPU (40GB) was used for the experiments.

As of the date we experimented (2023/10/20), we can not get the probability information from recent OpenAI models such as GPT-4 (OpenAI, 2023). Thus, we only used legacy models that can yield probability scores. We also excluded the gpt-3.5-turbo-instruct model since the use of logprobs and echo options is restricted for this model to compute probabilities.

B PPL–PPP relationship with the explicit instruction to complete the sentence

Figure 4 shows the same experiments as §3.2 except for using the prompt: *Please complete the following sentence:*. The results were consistent with §3.2; the IT-LLMs exhibited competitive or worse PPP against the PPP–PPL relationship estimated by base LMs.

C Prompting

C.1 Prompt lists

Table 8 shows the prompts used in our experiments. We used the format-1 prompts for Falcon and GPT-3.5 models and the format-2 for LLaMA-2 models. That is, the format-2 is used in §4.1. Table 4 in §3 shows the averaged results using the respective formats. Figure 3 shows all the results, including LLaMA-2 with format-1 prompts and Falcon and GPT-3.5 with format-2 prompts.

Why? We observed that LLaMA-2 models tend to generate additional user inquiries when using the format-1 prompts; thus, by format-2 prompts, we made it clear for LLaMA-2 models to play the system roles and special instruction marking symbols [INST].¹² For example, LLaMA-2 completed the format-1 prompt (red words are generated) as follows: *Please complete the following sentence:* \n *They were playing on the ______ when they found the treasure.* \n *A. beach* \n *B. mountain* \n

C. park \n *D. forest* \n *Answer: A. beach.* Conversely, with the format-1 prompt, Falcon and GPT-3.5 models are shown to complete the sentence intendedly and exhibit better PPLs than format-2 results; thus, we used the format-1 prompts for these LLMs.

C.2 Details on prompt biases

Setting details: We appended the first five words in the second sentence in DC's each document to a particular prompt for sampling sentences. When a model generated multiple sentences, the first one was used for the analysis in §4.1. We set top p threshold to 0.95. In the analysis in §4.1, Zipf frequency was computed with the word_freq package (Speer, 2022); here, stopwords were excluded using nltk. Sentence and dependency lengths were computed using the nltk sentence/word tokenizers and spaCy dependency parser (en_core_web_sm version). Notably, some of the statistics (dependency length distribution) form non-normal distribution; reporting the average score (Table 3) would not be suitable. Nevertheless, other statistics, such as skewness, yielded similar results. Thus, we tentatively adopted the report of average values for simplicity. Tables 9 and 10 show the example of completed sentences conditioned by different prompts.

C.3 Detailed results

Tables 11, 12, 13, and 14 present the detailed results shown in §4. The advantage of prompts to use simple vocabulary/grammar demonstrated in §4 is generally reproduced across different models and corpora, but GPT 3.5 models sometimes prefer the instruction to "carefully focus on grammar" rather than use simple grammar.

D Metalinguistic prompting

Tables 15 and 16 show the exact prompts for directly asking LMs about the word's cognitive load or probability. Note that a token ID is attached with respect to the token position in a sentence to distinguish the multiple tokens sharing the same word in a sentence.

¹²Based on the LLaMA-2 format information: https:// github.com/samrawal/llama2_chat_templater

Model	Instruction-tuning	Link	Quant.
GPT-2 117M		https://huggingface.co/gpt2	
GPT-2 355M		https://huggingface.co/gpt2-medium	
GPT-2 774M		https://huggingface.co/gpt2-large	
GPT-2 1.5B		https://huggingface.co/gpt2-xl	
LLaMa2 7B		https://huggingface.co/meta-llama/Llama2-7b-hf	
LLaMa2 7B	\checkmark	https://huggingface.co/meta-llama/Llama2-7b-chat-hf	
LLaMa2 13B		https://huggingface.co/meta-llama/Llama2-13b-hf	8bits
LLaMa2 13B	\checkmark	https://huggingface.co/meta-llama/Llama2-13b-chat-hf	8bits
LLaMa2 70B		https://huggingface.co/meta-llama/Llama2-70b-hf	4bits
LLaMa2 70B	√	https://huggingface.co/meta-llama/Llama2-70b-chat-hf	4bits
Falcon 7B		ttps://huggingface.co/tiiuae/falcon-7b	
Falcon 7B	\checkmark	https://huggingface.co/tiiuae/falcon-7b-instruct	
Falcon 40B		https://huggingface.co/tiiuae/falcon-40b	4bits
Falcon 40B	√	https://huggingface.co/tiiuae/falcon-40b-instruct	4bits
OPT 125M		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-125m	
OPT 350M		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-350m	
OPT 1.3B		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-1.3b	
OPT 2.7B		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-2.7b	
OPT 6.7B		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-6.7b	
OPT 13B		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-13b	
OPT 30B		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-30b	
OPT 66B		https://huggingface.co/facebook/opt-66b	
GPT-3 babbage-002		accessed on 2023/10/20 for §3, and on 2023/11/04 for §4 and §5	
GPT-3 davinci-002		accessed on 2023/10/20 for 3 , and on 2023/11/04 for 4 and 5	
GPT-3.5 text-davinci-003	\checkmark	accessed on 2023/10/20 for §3, and on 2023/11/04 for §4 and §5	
GPT-3.5 text-davinci-002	\checkmark	accessed on 2023/10/20 for §3, and on 2023/11/04 for §4 and §5	

Table 7: Information about the LLMs.



Figure 4: The relationship between PPL and PPP when using the prompt: *Please complete the following sentence:*. Each point corresponds to each LLM, and those with black-edged outlines are IT-LLMs. The PPP–PPL regression line is estimated by base LLMs, and the colored area presents a 95% confidence interval. IT-LLMs were relatively poor (below the line) at balancing PPL and PPP.

Format 1 (GPT3.5, Falcon)	Format 2 (LLaMA-2)
Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically simple as possible: $\ln w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$	[INST] Please generate a grammatically simple sentence as much as possible. [/INST] Answer: w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}
Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on grammar $n w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$	[INST] Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on grammar. [/INST] Answer: w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}
Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically complex as possible: $\ln w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$	[INST] Please generate a grammatically complex sentence as much as possible. [/INST] Answer: w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}
Please complete the following sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible: $n w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$	[INST] Please generate a sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible. [/INST] Answer: $\ln w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$
Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on word choice $\ln w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$	[INST] Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on word choice. [/INST] Answer: $\ w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$
Please complete the following sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible: $\operatorname{\backslash n} w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$	[INST] Please generate a sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible. [/INST] Answer: $\ln w_0,\cdots,w_{t-1}$
has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker	[INST] Please generate a sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than , language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. [/INST] Answer: $\ln w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than	[INST] Please generate a sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. [/INST] Answer: $n w_0, \dots, w_{t-1}$
[INST] Please complete the following sentence: $\ln w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$	Please generate a sentence. [/INST] Answer: $\ w_0, \cdots, w_{t-1}$

Table 8: All the prompts we used in our experiments.

Please generate a grammatically simple sentence as much as possible. Answer: At that time he said, "I am going to the store." Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on grammar. Answer: At that time he said he was going to the store, but he went to the park instead. Please generate a grammatically complex sentence as much as possible. Answer: At that time he said that he had seen her not more than once or twice since they had last met, when he had been so struck by her beauty that he had almost lost his breath, and he had not been able to forget her ever since, despite his many attempts Please generate a sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible. Answer: At that time he said, "I can't go." Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on word choice. Answer: At that time he said to himself, "I'm going to go out and do something that will make me feel really good." Please generate a sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible. Answer: At that time he said to himself, "I must needs make an inscrutable and enigmatic allusion to the pervasive and pernicious effects of the miasmic and noxious atmosphere which permeates and pervades this putative Please generate a sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. Answer: At that time he said he would be able to predict the next words but he was wrong. Please generate a sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. Answer:

At that time he said he was going to the store, but he actually went to the library.

Please generate a sentence.

Answer:

At that time he said to me, "My dear friend, I must go to the store."

Table 9: Examples of the completions by LLaMA-2 70B with different prompts.

Please generate a grammatically simple sentence as much as possible. Answer:

The evidence of the annual rings is the most important proof that the tree grows.

Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on grammar. Answer:

The evidence of the annual festival was apparent in the colorful decorations adorning the streets.

Please generate a grammatically complex sentence as much as possible.

Answer:

The evidence of the annual festival's increasing popularity and cultural significance, as demonstrated by the growing number of attendees and the expanding variety of musical performances, food vendors, and artisanal goods on display, has made it imperative for the organiz

Please generate a sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible. Answer:

The evidence of the annual flooding was obvious.

Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on word choice.

Answer:

The evidence of the annual festival was scattered across the grounds, with discarded flyers and abandoned souvenirs littering the once-pristine lawns.

Please generate a sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible. Answer:

The evidence of the annual financial audit conducted by the external accounting firm indicated that the company's fiscal year-end consolidated balance sheet contained several glaring discrepancies, which necessitated a comprehensive reconciliation process to rectify the

Please generate a sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. Answer:

The evidence of the annual performance review was scattered all over the table, making it difficult for the manager to piece together a coherent picture of the employee's strengths and weaknesses.

Please generate a sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. Answer:

The evidence of the annual performance review was overwhelming.

Please generate a sentence.

Answer:

The evidence of the annual rings in the cross section of a tree trunk provides valuable information to dendrochronologists.

Table 10: Examples of the completions by LLaMA-2 70B with different prompts.

Prompt	Model	h	Н	$H_{0.5}$	PPL
Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically simple as possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3		8.37		341.90 184.71 139.97 153.40 106.49 524.09 429.86
Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on grammar	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	10.02	9.07 7.85 6.62 10.48 8.55	12.71 13.10	250.90 169.02 152.12 168.28 103.18 620.67 331.92
Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically complex as possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3		7.39 5.73 10.39	12.98 12.15	315.23 241.85 191.69 143.58 105.21 1.014.37 458.79
Please complete the following sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3		8.63 6.52 10.77		362.27 300.47 214.54 167.87 115.59 638.71 630.27
Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on word choice	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3		7.55	12.90	269.79 175.18 168.91 166.03 105.26 453.51 329.08
Please complete the following sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	7.68 7.23 7.82 9.63 7.99 5.56 5.98		12.76	515.02 376.41 275.86 164.03 112.07 536.87 348.27
Please complete the following sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors		9.88 9.85 9.69 9.20 8.45 5.74 5.34	8.40 6.86 9.20	14.79 14.70 13.17 12.73 11.96	223.11 170.97 175.96 230.78 133.90 1.155.36 612.23
Please complete the following sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors		9.88 9.38 9.70 9.57 8.76 6.26 5.65	8.43 6.84 9.99	11.79	212.73 192.83 166.50 219.45 121.70 1.085.46 613.11
Please complete the following sentence	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	8.71 8.74 8.49 10.52 8.68 6.91 7.05	8.16		307.29 191.69 193.78 141.23 107.46 498.89 308.50

Table 11: Full results of the experiments in §4 on the DC with the format-1 prompts.

Prompt	Model	h	Η	${\rm H}_{0.5}$	PPL
[INST] Please generate a grammatically simple sentence as much as possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	8.35	6.08	12.58	373.04
[INST] Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on grammar. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	8.59	5.75	12.21	307.64
[INST] Please generate a grammatically complex sentence as much as possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	8.35	5.68	11.94	329.54
[INST] Please generate a sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	7.55	6.34	12.75	564.19
[INST] Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on word choice. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	8.00	5.63	11.85	327.15
[INST] Please generate a sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	7.85	5.67	11.99	345.42
[INST] Please generate a sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	8.86	6.23	12.65	288.86
[INST] Please generate a sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	9.26	6.77	13.47	247.37
[INST] Please generate a sentence. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	8.33	5.66	12.28	292.13

Table 12: Full results of the experiments in §4 on the DC with the format-2 prompts.

Prompt	Model	h	Η	$H_{0.5}$	PPL
Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically simple as possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	6.42 5.63 8.74	3.04 1.19 6.20	10.68 7.61 16.48 10.11	84.31 64.20
Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on grammar	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	5.32 4.88 9.05 5.87 4.57	3.20 2.29 6.32	10.39 9.65 16.20 9.82	84.06 74.86
Please complete the following sentence to make it as grammatically complex as possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	5.72 4.79 8.51	3.46 1.54 5.36	10.54 7.73 15.12 9.58	89.93 75.42
Please complete the following sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible		5.48 4.83 7.92	5.46 2.93 6.51	13.99 10.67 16.49 10.03	133.04 94.71
Please complete the following sentence with a careful focus on word choice	Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B	4.74	3.32 2.71 5.53	10.52 10.29 15.58 9.93	
Please complete the following sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	4.44 3.62	3.26 2.90 5.08	9.83 9.70 14.56 8.50	193.86 148.45 124.40 67.20 53.00 172.35 110.72
Please complete the following sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors		$5.16 \\ 4.44 \\ 6.26 \\ 4.66 \\ 3.21$	3.64 3.01 5.27	10.76 11.42 15.28 11.56	80.88 88.02
Please complete the following sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors	Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2	4.95 4.42 6.98	3.83 3.19 6.40	10.83 10.90 15.73 11.35	81.96
Please complete the following sentence	Llama-2 7B Llama-2 13B Llama-2 70B Falcon 7B Falcon 40B GPT-3.5 D2 GPT-3.5 D3	5.32 4.33 8.39 5.86	3.60 3.34 6.42	11.34 11.09 16.09 10.96	95.65

Table 13: Full results of the experiments in §4 on the NS with the format-1 prompts.

Prompt	Model	h	Η	${\rm H}_{0.5}$	PPL
[INST] Please generate a grammatically simple sentence as much as possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	3.70	3.10	10.44	
[INST] Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on grammar. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	3.88	2.19	7.92	100.95 128.30 140.79
[INST] Please generate a grammatically complex sentence as much as possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	4.72	1.28	7.07	113.33 115.80 130.95
[INST] Please generate a sentence using the simplest vocabulary possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	3.39	2.32	9.64	166.33 270.99 233.22
[INST] Please generate a sentence with a careful focus on word choice. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	3.75	1.52	6.74	115.81 146.38 138.90
[INST] Please generate a sentence using the most difficult vocabulary possible. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	4.04	1.00	6.02	151.10 143.37 221.19
[INST] Please generate a sentence in a human-like manner. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	4.57	2.90	10.93	117.23
[INST] Please generate a sentence. We are trying to reproduce human reading times with the word prediction probabilities you calculate, so please predict the next word like a human. It has been reported that human ability to predict next words is weaker than language models and that humans often make noisy predictions, such as careless grammatical errors. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	4.28	3.11	10.63	106.47
[INST] Please generate a sentence. [/INST] Answer:	LLaMA-2 7B LLaMA-2 13B LLaMA-2 70B	5.10	1.73	8.74	91.26 115.99 121.74

Table 14: Full results of the experiments in §4 on the NS with the format-2 prompts.

Suppose humans read the following sentence: "'No, it's fine. I love it,' said Lucy knowing that affording the phone had been no small thing for her mother."

List the tokens and their IDs in order of their reading cost (high to low) during sentence processing. Token ID:

0: 'No, 1: it's, 2: fine., 3: I, 4: love, 5: it,', 6: said, 7: Lucy, 8: knowing, 9: that, 10: affording, 11: the, 12: phone, 13: had, 14: been, 15: no, 16: small, 17: thing, 18: for, 19: her, 20: mother.,

Answer:

20: mother., 10: affording, 6: said, 11: the, 0: 'No,, 7: Lucy, 1: it's, 9: that, 17: thing, 5: it,', 2: fine., 15: no, 14: been, 3: I, 13: had, 8: knowing, 12: phone, 19: her, 16: small, 4: love, 18: for,

Suppose humans read the following sentence: "A clear and joyous day it was and out on the wide open sea, thousands upon thousands of sparkling water drops, excited by getting to play in the ocean, danced all around."

List the tokens and their IDs in order of their reading cost (high to low) during sentence processing.

Token ID:

0: A, 1: clear, 2: and, 3: joyous, 4: day, 5: it, 6: was, 7: and, 8: out, 9: on, 10: the, 11: wide, 12: open, 13: sea,, 14: thousands, 15: upon, 16: thousands, 17: of, 18: sparkling, 19: water, 20: drops,, 21: excited, 22: by, 23: getting, 24: to, 25: play, 26: in, 27: the, 28: ocean,, 29: danced, 30: all, 31: around.,

Answer:

13: sea, 20: drops, 28: ocean, 21: excited, 0: A, 2: and, 22: by, 12: open, 7: and, 31: around., 19: water, 27: the, 3: joyous, 29: danced, 6: was, 23: getting, 11: wide, 18: sparkling, 30: all, 17: of, 14: thousands, 24: to, 15: upon, 4: day, 25: play, 1: clear, 8: out, 16: thousands, 5: it, 26: in, 9: on, 10: the,

Suppose humans read the following sentence: "By the handsome reward many felt tempted, but the thought of the boar with its deadly tusks and face like thunder soon put an end to their ambitions."

List the tokens and their IDs in order of their reading cost (high to low) during sentence processing. Token ID:

0: By, 1: the, 2: handsome, 3: reward, 4: many, 5: felt, 6: tempted,, 7: but, 8: the, 9: thought, 10: of, 11: the, 12: boar, 13: with, 14: its, 15: deadly, 16: tusks, 17: and, 18: face, 19: like, 20: thunder, 21: soon, 22: put, 23: an, 24: end, 25: to, 26: their, 27: ambitions., Answer:

4: many, 27: ambitions., 3: reward, 5: felt, 2: handsome, 8: the, 6: tempted,, 26: their, 7: but, 21: soon, 1: the, 16: tusks, 12: boar, 19: like, 20: thunder, 13: with, 17: and, 14: its, 15: deadly, 22: put, 0: By, 10: of, 11: the, 18: face, 9: thought, 23: an, 24: end, 25: to,

Suppose humans read the following sentence: <TARGET SENT> List the tokens and their IDs in order of their reading cost (high to low) during sentence processing. Token ID:

<TOKENS FROM TARGET SENT> Answer:

Table 15: An example of a prompt for asking about the processing cost of words.

Suppose you read the following sentence: "'No, it's fine. I love it,' said Lucy knowing that affording the phone had been no small thing for her mother."

List the tokens and their IDs in order of their probability in context (low to high). Token ID:

0: 'No., 1: it's, 2: fine., 3: I, 4: love, 5: it,', 6: said, 7: Lucy, 8: knowing, 9: that, 10: affording, 11: the, 12: phone, 13: had, 14: been, 15: no, 16: small, 17: thing, 18: for, 19: her, 20: mother.,

Answer:

0: 'No., 10: affording, 8: knowing, 12: phone, 4: love, 5: it,', 7: Lucy, 15: no, 13: had, 17: thing, 1: it's, 6: said, 2: fine., 20: mother., 11: the, 18: for, 16: small, 9: that, 19: her, 3: I, 14: been,

Suppose you read the following sentence: "A clear and joyous day it was and out on the wide open sea, thousands upon thousands of sparkling water drops, excited by getting to play in the ocean, danced all around."

List the tokens and their IDs in order of their probability in context (low to high).

Token ID:

0: A, 1: clear, 2: and, 3: joyous, 4: day, 5: it, 6: was, 7: and, 8: out, 9: on, 10: the, 11: wide, 12: open, 13: sea,, 14: thousands, 15: upon, 16: thousands, 17: of, 18: sparkling, 19: water, 20: drops,, 21: excited, 22: by, 23: getting, 24: to, 25: play, 26: in, 27: the, 28: ocean,, 29: danced, 30: all, 31: around.,

Answer:

3: joyous, 21: excited, 14: thousands, 23: getting, 0: A, 8: out, 18: sparkling, 20: drops,, 1: clear, 5: it, 11: wide, 19: water, 30: all, 7: and, 15: upon, 28: ocean,, 29: danced, 13: sea,, 4: day, 9: on, 25: play, 31: around., 22: by, 24: to, 12: open, 2: and, 26: in, 6: was, 27: the, 10: the, 17: of, 16: thousands,

Suppose you read the following sentence: "By the handsome reward many felt tempted, but the thought of the boar with its deadly tusks and face like thunder soon put an end to their ambitions."

List the tokens and their IDs in order of their probability in context (low to high).

Token ID:

0: By, 1: the, 2: handsome, 3: reward, 4: many, 5: felt, 6: tempted,, 7: but, 8: the, 9: thought, 10: of, 11: the, 12: boar, 13: with, 14: its, 15: deadly, 16: tusks, 17: and, 18: face, 19: like, 20: thunder, 21: soon, 22: put, 23: an, 24: end, 25: to, 26: their, 27: ambitions., Answer:

2: handsome, 3: reward, 12: boar, 4: many, 18: face, 5: felt, 0: By, 6: tempted,, 21: soon, 9: thought, 20: thunder, 13: with, 15: deadly, 27: ambitions., 23: an, 7: but, 19: like, 1: the, 8: the, 17: and, 26: their, 11: the, 14: its, 22: put, 16: tusks, 10: of, 24: end, 25: to,

Suppose you read the following sentence: <TARGET SENT> List the tokens and their IDs in order of their probability in context (low to high). Token ID: <TOKENS FROM TARGET SENT> Answer:

Table 16: An example of a prompt for asking about the word probability.