Generative Linguistics and Generative Al



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University of Arizona

SLAT Proseminar: Cognitive Dimensions.

Saguaro Hall 114. 9am Oct 31st 2025

Slides 1-53/201

Some material here presented earlier at UA Linguistics Colloquium (Oct 2025), Kyoto University (2024), Osaka Kyoiku University (2023)

Generative AI: three topics

- 1. Its impact
- 2. vs. Generative Linguistics
- 3. What's under the hood?

LLM (Large Language Model):

- L = many parameters (knowledge)
- LM = Language Model

Generative Al: *three topics*

- LLM (Large Language Model):
- L = many parameters (*knowledge*)
- LM = Language Model
- LM formally:
 - probability distribution on a word sequence (Markov 1907; 1913)
- think: autocompleter
- GPT (Generative Pre-trained Transformer)
 - unsupervised training, good at next token prediction (better than humans!)
- Beyond the next token: RLHF: Reinforcement Learning (RL) with Human Feedback (HF): reward loss f. (but Mode Collapse)

Al's 'Oppenheimer moment'

(N. Robbins-Early, Guardian, Jul 14 2024)

- Intelligence
 - Al-infused audio tool helped assassinate Ibrahim Biari (+ 125 civilians) in Oct 2023. Special Arabic-language LLM trained on intercepts etc.
 (NYT, Apr 25 2025)
- Dawn of autonomous weapon systems (AWS):
 - Communications can't be jammed.
 - On-board AI to recognize/track targets.

• Example: Russia's Shahed MS001 drone uses a (\$250?) Nvidia Jetson Orin Al module

Buy Now

Al's 'Oppenheimer moment'

(N. Robbins-Early, Guardian, Jul 14 2024)



Transform your passive security systems into early warning and active prevention systems with **Omnilert's patented visual artificial intelligence**.



UNDERSTAND THE COSTS OF INACTION

• Used in US schools

Police swarmed student after Al system mistook bag of chips for gun, officials say

By Khiree Stewart, WBAL via CNN Newsource Published: Oct. 23, 2025 at 11:39 PM MST

Updated: 11 hours ago

A teen says he was searched by police after an Al detector mistook a crumpled chip bag for a gun. (WBAL, OMNILERT, CNN)

BALTIMORE COUNTY, Md. (WBAL) – An artificial intelligence security detector led to a terrifying moment for a Maryland high school student after an empty chip bag stuffed in his pocket set off an alert that dispatched police.

Al's 'Oppenheimer moment'

(N. Robbins-Early, Guardian, Jul 14 2024)

- Big Tech: Google, Microsoft, etc.:
 - when DeepMind was sold to Google, one of the conditions was that the AI would not be used for military purposes. But last January, that condition was removed.
 - now all [AI] companies provide technology to the **US Department of Defense**. And a few days ago, **Google** signed an important agreement with Israel to provide artificial intelligence systems to the armed forces.

(R. Luna in a Corriere Della Sera interview with Geoffrey Hinton, 9/25/2025.)

• rise of **Sovereign Als** (local language; national security; DeepSeek)

Turing Test

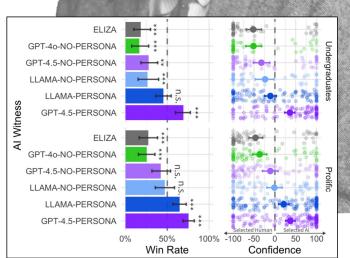
"Can machines think?"

I believe to be too meaningless' to deserve discussion.

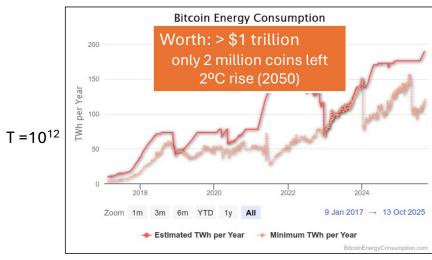
• **GPT** (Generative Pre-trained Transformer)

 unsupervised training, good at next token prediction (better than humans!) (Shlegeris et al. 2024)

- pass the 3-party Turing Test (more human than human!) (Jones & Bergen 2025)
- Turing (1950):
 - 50 year prediction (≤ 70% chance a human can tell the difference)



Environmental Impact



- Power consumption: Thailand
- Carbon footprint: Belgium
- Water use: Switzerland
- disproportionate impact on communities

Al rivals Bitcoin now

- Query cost: ChatGPT vs. Google (10x)
- Microsoft AI: Three Mile Island restart

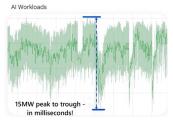


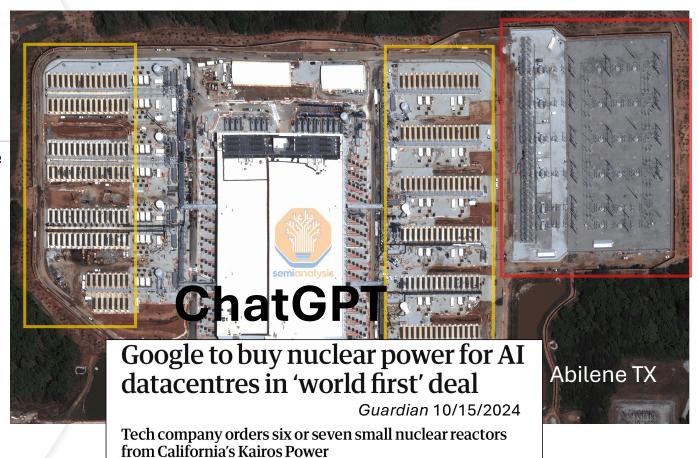
A unit of Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear plant will be restarted as part of a new energy-sharing agreement with Microsoft, which plans to use it to power the data centers it operates as part of its push into artificial intelligence.

Sources: including (Sapra et al. 2024), Digiconomist, aka A. de Vries-Gao (2025)

OpenAl Stargate datacenter

- ~400MW nameplate (2025), GW (mid-2026)
- 210 chillers
- on-site substation
- projected water use?





Locally

"[Pima] County officials have said they are under [NDAs] that kept them from naming the company."



https://www.tucsonaz.gov/Government/Office-of-the-Citv-Manager/Project-Blue-Information

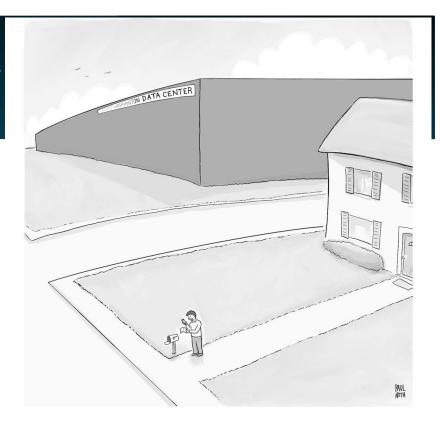
Wholesale cost of electricity

Every day, wholesale electricity prices are measured in real time by Locational Marginal Pricing (LMP) points on the power grid, called nodes. Bloomberg analyzed 25,000 LMP nodes since 2020.

Home > Home Energy & Utilities

The Al Data Center Boom Is Driving Up Electricity Costs, Research Shows

The price of electricity, juiced by demand from powerhungry data centers, is being passed on to residential customers.



"ChatGPT, why is my electric bill so high?"

NIMBY: where to put them?







Big Tech Al push on campus

free (\$7) smoothies!

Sep 9 2025



Funding for ChatGPT on campus



www.ox.ac.uk/news

University-wide access to ChatGPT Edu will support the development of rigorous academic skills and digital literacy
Professor Freya Johnston

NextGenAl Initiative:

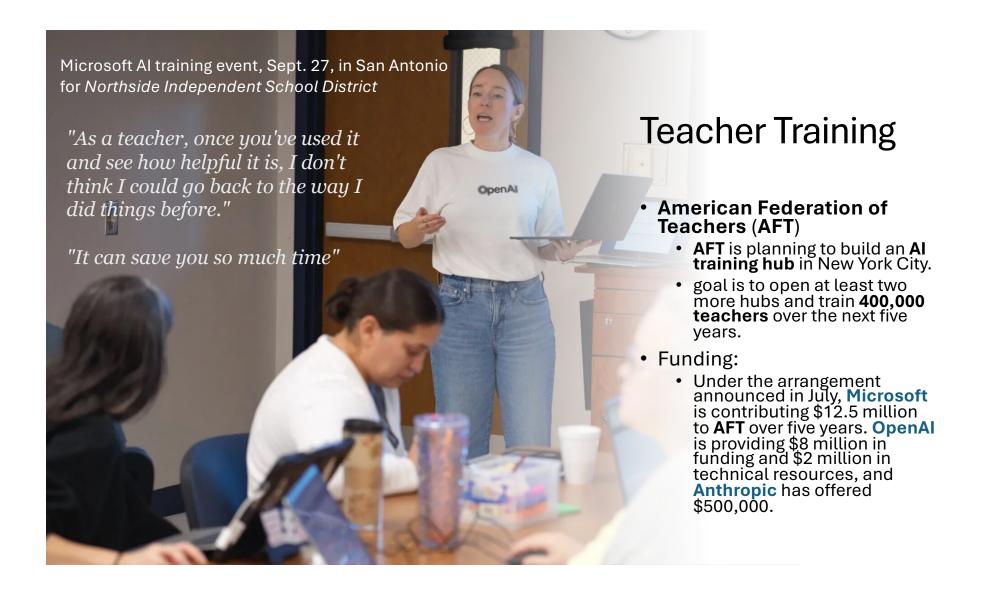
OpenAl is committing \$50M

The Next Generation of Al Leaders

NextGenAl's founding partners are Caltech, the California State University system, Duke University, the University of Georgia, Harvard University, Howard University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Michigan, the University of Mississippi, The Ohio State University, the University of Oxford, Sciences Po, Texas A&M University, as well as Boston Children's Hospital, the Boston Public Library, and OpenAl.

Each institution is using AI to tackle high-impact challenges, from revolutionizing healthcare to reimagining education. Here are just a few examples of their groundbreaking work:

openai.com/index/introducing-nextgenai/



70 Years of Artificial Intelligence (AI) Promises

Neural Network AI hype:

Perceptrons (Rosenblatt 1958)
 Al Winter #1: (Minsky & Papert 1969)

Expert Systems hype:

• 1985 \$1 billion, 2/3rds Fortune 500 Al Winter #2: 1990s

Neural Network AI hype round 2:

1986 backprop
 Al Winter #3?: results plateaued

• rise of Statistical NLP: training datasets

Neural Network AI hype round 3:

- 2017 Transformer invented, 2019 ChatGPT peak Al or bubble when?
- OpenAI: 700 million weekly users
- Training: WWW + synthetic (GPT-5). Superintelligence era has begun (Altman, 2025)
- The end of disease? I think that's within reach. Maybe within the next decade or so, I don't see why not. (60 Minutes. Hassabis, Google/DeepMind, 2025)
- 2024 Nobel Prizes in physics & chemistry went to Al
- **AGI** next 5-10 years run out of data? Keep scaling up!

Questions: Hype = Bubble?

2027 AI

- dot-com bubble / 2008 credit crupubbles/everal cryptocurrency bubbles / 2022
 NFT bubble
- Speculation rules the world. It didn't used to. But from the 1980s through to 2008, something changed. Investors realised that they could get far more return from hype than from any kind of legitimate business.
- In fact, nearly half of the world's private investment is being funnelled into AI, and AI speculation is the main driving force behind the S&P 500's recent growth.

(Will Lockett, Medium 9/14/2025)

Questions: Hype = Bubble?

for cor trainin **DeepMind**

of

 we find further

Training Compute-Optimal Large Language Models

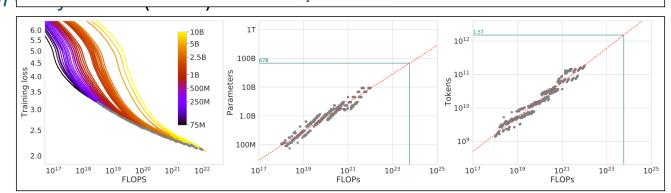
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Jordan Hoffmann*, Sebastian Borgeaud*, Arthur Mensch*, Elena Buchatskaya, Trevor Cai, Eliza Rutherford, Diego de Las Casas, Lisa Anne Hendricks, Johannes Welbl, Aidan Clark, Tom Hennigan, Eric Noland, Katie Millican, George van den Driessche, Bogdan Damoc, Aurelia Guy, Simon Osindero, Karen Simonyan, Erich Elsen, Jack W. Rae, Oriol Vinyals and Laurent Sifre*

No Fre • Floridi

*Equal contributions



Al Companies Reportedly Struggling to Improve Latest Models

⊆ Summarize

Tim Hardwick • Wednesday November 13, 2024 5:30 am PST

Leading artificial intelligence companies including OpenAI, Google, and Anthropic are facing "diminishing returns" from their costly efforts to build newer AI models, according to a new *Bloomberg* report. The stumbling blocks appear to be growing in size as Apple continues a phased rollout of its own AI features through Apple Intelligence.

"The AGI bubble is bursting a little bit," said Margaret Mitchell, chief ethics scientist at AI startup Hugging Face.



difficulty in finding "new, untapped sources of high-quality, human-made training data"

Expensive training

OpenAI Says Its Business irst Half Results: Will Burn \$115 Billion Through 2029

By Sri Muppidi

in Sales, \$2.5 h Burn

rati and Cory Weinberg

tae kim @firstadopter · Aug 16, 2023

Replying to @firstadopter

as Microsoft for \$30,000 each. Photograph: AP

Raymond James estimates it costs Nvidia \$3,320 to make a H100, which is then sold to customers for \$25,000 to \$30,000.



Not just the electricity

 As I write, I see a report that next year Microsoft plans to buy 150,000 Nvidia chips – at \$30,000 a pop. **It's a kind of** madness.

(J. Naughton, The Observer. 12/30/2023)



(2025) Nvidia B200 192GB SXM (**1kW TDP**): \$45,000–\$50,000

"**OpenAI** currently massively subsidizing the cost of AI for the consumer."

"10 gigawatts to power the next era of intelligence."

NVIDIA to put \$100 billion into OpenAI from 2026

"[NVIDIA] acts as a financial backstop to the entire AI supply chain"

- Strategic partnership enables OpenAI to build and deploy at least 10 gigawatts of AI datacenters with NVIDIA systems representing millions of GPUs for OpenAI's nextgeneration AI infrastructure.
- To support the partnership, NVIDIA intends to invest up to \$100 billion in OpenAl progressively as each gigawatt is deployed.
- The first gigawatt of NVIDIA systems will be deployed in the second half of 2026 on NVIDIA's Vera Rubin platform.

San Francisco and Santa Clara—September 22, 2025—NVIDIA and OpenAl today announced a letter of intent for a landmark strategic partnership to deploy at least 10 gigawatts of NVIDIA systems for OpenAl's next-generation Al infrastructure to train and run its next generation of models on the path to deploying superintelligence. To support this deployment including datacenter and power capacity, NVIDIA intends to invest up to \$100 billion in OpenAl as the new NVIDIA systems are deployed. The first phase is targeted to come online in the second half of 2026 using NVIDIA's Vera Rubin platform.

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Ensure Quality: the shadow (human) workforce

- **Gig workers** (up to Ph.D level):
 - censor output (guardrails)
 - correcting mistakes
 - better answers
 - ... her task was to enter details on chemotherapy options for bladder cancer, which haunted her because she wasn't an expert on the subject.
 - "I just want people to know that AI is being sold as this tech magic that's why there's a little sparkle symbol next to an AI response," said Sawyer.
 "But it's not. It's built on the backs of overworked, underpaid human beings."

(Varsha Bansal, Guardian, 9/11/2025)

Cloud Farming in India

- Desicrew, NextWealth: outsourcing AI to the Indian countryside (10/13/2025, BBC)
- Examples: transcribing audio to text, Al annotation (for supervised Al training)
- "Every AI model, from a ChatGPT-like system to facial recognition, needs vast amounts of human-labelled data. That is the backbone of cloud-farming jobs."
- "In the next 3–5 years, AI and GenAI will create close to 100 million jobs in training, validation, and real-time handling. India's small towns can be the backbone of this workforce."



Ensure Quality: the shadow (human) workforce

- Outsourcing Trauma to the Developing World
 - OpenAl Used Kenyan Workers on Less Than \$2 Per Hour to Make ChatGPT Less Toxic (2/14/2022, Time)
 - [Open AI] said labeling harmful images was "a necessary step" in making its AI tools safer.
 - ChatGPT and other generative models are not magic they rely on massive supply chains of human labor and scraped data, much of which is unattributed and used without consent.

UPDATED: FEBRUARY 17, 2022 10:04 AM EST | ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED: FEBRUARY 14, 2022 7:30 AM EST

n a drab office building near a slum on the outskirts of Nairobi, Kenya, nearly 200 young men and women from countries across Africa sit at desks glued to computer monitors, where they must watch videos of murders, rapes, suicides, and child sexual abuse.

Sama employed content moderators for Facebook, whose jobs involved viewing images and videos of executions, rape and child abuse for as little as \$1.50 per hour.

Before we look inside the LLM

Factual Fidelity

The problem is, they have absolutely no commitment to the truth.

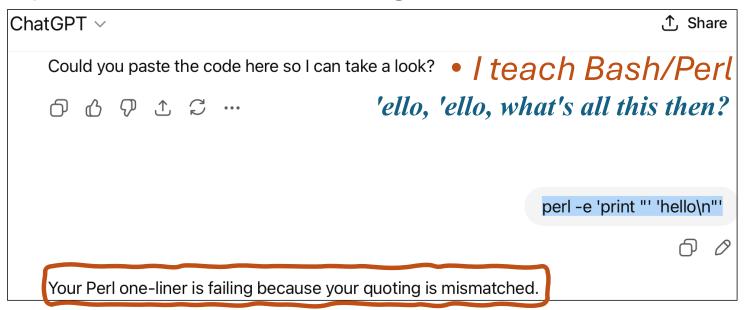
(Emily Bell, Guardian, Mar 3 2023)

Al language models are notorious bullshitters, often presenting falsehoods as facts. They are excellent at predicting the next word in a sentence, but they have no knowledge of what the sentence actually means. That makes it incredibly dangerous to combine them with search, where it's crucial to get the facts straight.

(MIT Technology Review, Feb 14 2023)

How about understanding?

• Explainable AI: chain-of-thought ...



A simple computer language

- Metacognitive calibration? supreme confidence
- 1. Use double quotes for the Perl code, single quotes inside:
- 2. Use single quotes for the Perl code, escape the single quote inside:
- 3. Concatenate to avoid escaping:

```
$ perl -e 'print "'"'hello";'

> "

Can't find string terminator '"' anywhere before EOF at -e line 1.

perl -e 'print "'"'hello";'

3.1.2.2 Single Quotes

(This is a starts sin  
Enclosing characters in single quotes (''') preserves the literal value of each character within the quotes.

A single quote may not occur between single quotes, even when preceded by a backslash.

This is Edition 5.3, last updated 18 May 2025, of The GNU Bash Reference Manual, for Bash, Version 5.3.
```

ode

Generative Al vs. Generative Linguistics

formal system for generating language expressions

Biological basis for the study of language; brain is a biochemical [computer]: Lenneberg (1967; 1969)

Piantadosi vs. Chomsky

- Modern language models refute Chomsky's approach to language (Piantadosi, lingbuzz 2023; 2024)
- The rise and success of [**LLMs**] undermines virtually every strong claim for the innateness of language that has been proposed by **generative linguistics**.
- Modern machine learning has subverted and bypassed the entire theoretical framework of Chomsky's approach, including its core claims to particular insights, principles, structures, and processes.

sandiway.arizona.edu: Fong (2025) IJL Volume 37, Issue 1, pp. 59-74.

Futrell and Mahowald (2025)

- How Linguistics Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Language Models, *Behavioral & Brain Sciences (BBS)* (2025)
 - Formal linguistics has not presented an alternative model with the demonstrated practical language-learning capabilities of neural models.
 - The direction of developments in machine learning suggests that the gap between human and machine learning is more likely to be closed not through built-in domain-specific formal restrictions, but rather through more powerful domain-general learning algorithms.
 - Finding these internal mechanisms is not a prerequisite for the reality of linguistic structure the mechanisms may be irreducibly complex.
 - It is rare in the history of science for a scientific theory to turn out as disconnected from a corresponding engineering application as formal generative linguistics has turned out to be for language models.

Hinton vs. Chomsky

- Hinton Royal Institution lecture (2025):
 - That's what understanding is when you understand language and when these [LLMs] understand language. We understand in just the same way.
 - And that's a much better model of what language is than anything the linguists ever had.
 - The linguists of course hate it.
 - [Linguists] also thought that knowledge of language was innate, knowledge of syntax was innate, which is just stupid.

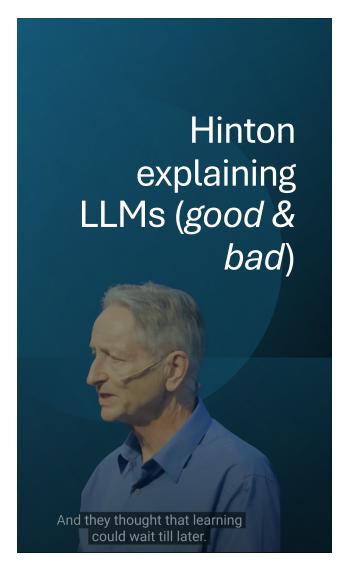
they thought that learning could wait till later.

Hinton vs. Chomsky

• It's the sign of a cult, that in order to join the cult, you have to believe something that is obviously silly, like language isn't learned.

• There's a guy called Chomsky, when they say things like, "These things don't understand anything, they're just a statistical trick," they don't actually have a model of what understanding is, because they never really had a model of what understanding was.

they thought that learning could wait till later.



How it works

- Attention: You can't just associate a feature vector with [a word] that captures the meaning directly. You have to hedge your bets. And then as you go up through layers of the network, you disambiguate it using influences from nearby things.
- Backprop: You're trying to predict the next word.
 [...] it's all done with features and then interactions, when you get it wrong, you back-propagate information that learns all these features and then interactions.
- That's how language works for us, and it's how it works for these large language models. We are basically the same.

Learning and Training

- Human brain: **20W** (oft-quoted figure)
 - training: auto, rapid acquisition (despite Poverty of Stimulus)
 - data: 4,000 ~ 35,000 words/day @ 12 months (Brusche et al. 2020)
 - vocabulary: age 1: 50, 3: 1,000, 5: 10,000 words (Shipley & McAfee 2015)
 - structure dependence: 18 months (Chomsky cites Shi et al. 2020)
- Meta's Llama-3.1-405B LLM
 - 405B parameters ~3,540 years
 - training: 31 million hours on H100-80GB
 - TDP: 350W



Chomsky

Even if LLMs work, they tell us nothing about human language

- Why does human language ignore (simpler) linear order and use structural relations (Basic Property)?
- Why is human language this way and not some other way?
- Fine thoughts that can't be directly externalized (extraction asymmetries)
- Believes in Einstein's Miracle Creed: deep simplicity
- LLMs learn artificial languages just as easily as human languages (but humans can't, e.g. Moro's work)
- More generally:
 - Statistical/artificial NN systems make mistakes interpreting sentences; lack grammaticality distinctions

Recent Human Evolution

- Explosion of symbolic works in the fossil record
 - coincides with the appearance of modern humans (200-300 tya)
 - ... until the emergence of behaviorally modern *H. sapiens*: in general, technological innovations have been sporadic and rare. The most-striking evidence for a distinct cognitive contrast between modern humans and all their predecessors, however, comes from Europe. *H. sapiens* came late to this continent and brought a new kind of stone tool based on striking long thin "blades" from a carefully prepared long core. In short order these Europeans, the so-called <u>Cro-Magnons</u>, left a dazzling variety of symbolic works of prehistoric art. (Tattersall in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) Last Updated: Aug. 29, 2025

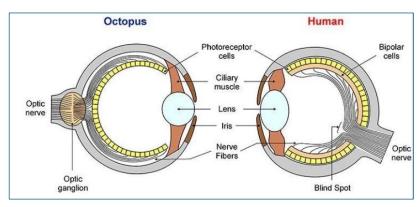
• we can fashion tools that amplify these inherent abilities that we have to spectacular magnitudes, e.g. wrt. locomotion, computation, medicine

Recent Human Evolution

- (Berwick & Chomsky 2016)
 - Vocal learning and production aspect of [EXT] is not human-specific (ancient)
- (Chomsky 2021)
 - Language/thought, **I-Language**, an authentic species property (recent)
 - Our closest relatives, otherwise intelligent apes, cannot begin to grasp the most elementary rudiments of language even with intensive training. They have about the same auditory system as humans, but acquire nothing from the sounds that lead a human infant, almost reflexively, to develop complex systems for constructing and expressing thought.
- Basic structure of I-Language should be simple (Merge):
 - the result of some [...] small rewiring of the brain [...] and has not changed [...] since.
- Modern human ~20K protein coding genes (1.5% human genome)
 - Neanderthal/Modern human Y-chromosome divergence ~588 tya (Mendez et al. 2016)
 - 14,042 regions of archaic DNA (Neanderthal/Denisovans) (Weiss et al. 2021)
 - 407 [...] drove differential expression between the modern and archaic alleles

Motivation for I-Language

- Nature adapts/optimizes what it has to work with ...
- Disruptive event: new entity/functionality (I-Language)
- Reconstruction: put together a simplest system new/old



Example of convergent evolution

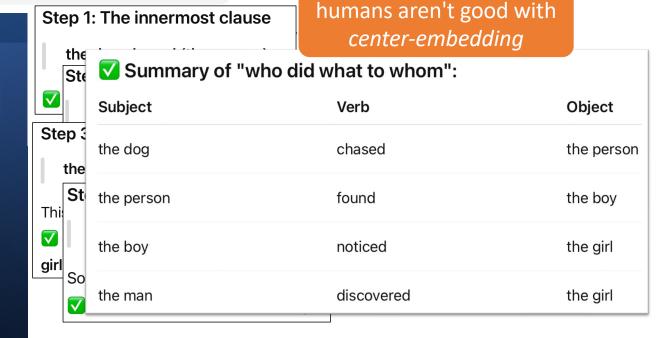
- 750-570 mya: LCA
- 530 mya: high-res camera eyes (*re-invented many times*) (Land & Fernald 1992) (Land & Nilsson 2012)
- 500 mya: first nervous system
- 100 mya: we lost tetrachromatic vision (cone cells)
- 3-4 mya: first human-like brain
- 1-0.2 mya: modern brain
- octopus: "colorblind" (only 1 type of photoreceptor), but employ color (camouflage)

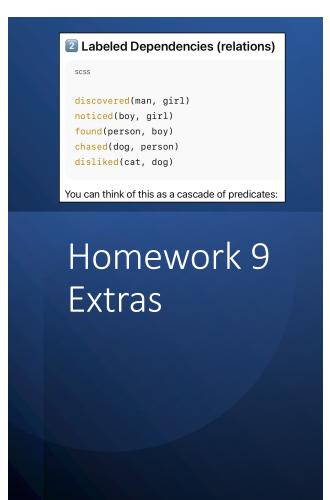
The man discovered the girl whom the boy whom the person whom the dog chased found noticed. Who noticed whom?

The man discovered the girl the boy the person the dog chased found noticed. Who noticed/chased whom?

Do LLMs work like humans?

adapted from my 438/548 class slides (HW9) 10/9/2025



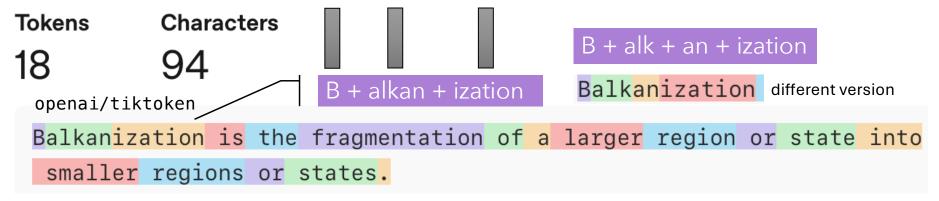


```
csharp
                                                                Copy code
[S
  [NP The man]
  [VP discovered
    [NP the girl
      [RelClause
        (the boy
          [RelClause
            (the person
              [RelClause
                (the dog
                   [RelClause
                     (the cat disliked)
                  ] chased
                ) found
              ] noticed
               The man discovered the girl the boy the person the dog the
               cat disliked chased found noticed. Who
               noticed/chased/dislked whom?
```

A quick peek under the hood

Embeddings: vectors for tokens

- How does an LLM know the meaning of unknown words?
- Answer: it can't
- Tokenization: sub-word (~4 characters) (OpenAl's BPE)



Note: not a bag-of-words scheme: a unique position vector is added to each token vector;
 e.g. GPT-2: 1024 token context size

(from my 438/538 class slides 9/9/2025)

Language: infinite employment of finite means

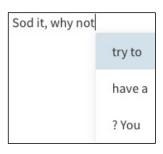
(von Humboldt, cited by Chomsky)

 Galileo expressed his amazement at what is, in fact, an astonishing fact; with a finite number of symbols one can construct in the mind an infinite number of linguistically formulated thoughts and can even go on to reveal to others who have no access to our minds their innermost workings.

2023 Keio Lecture 2 (00:36) (Chomsky)



- Sod it, why not? (take a chance)
- He chested the ball down, swivelled and cracked a sod-it-why-not shot that took a slight deflection off Evans and beat the diving Onana at the near post. (Guardian 9/3/2023)



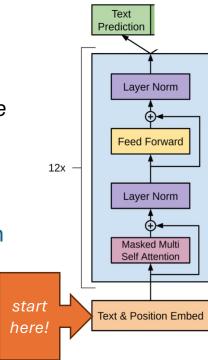


Generative Pre-Training Transformer (GPT)

- Transformer (encoder/decoder)
 - Attention is all you need. Vaswani et al. (2017)
 - training is fully parallel: enormous speed-up
 - generation is still sequential: one token at a time

• GPT:

- Improving Language Understanding by Generative Pre-Training. Radford et al. (2018)
- unsupervised pre-training: next token prediction
- multi-layer Transformer decoder:
 - multi-headed masked self-attention + feedforward layer



Subject Verb Agreement and Attention

Example (Chomsky 2021):

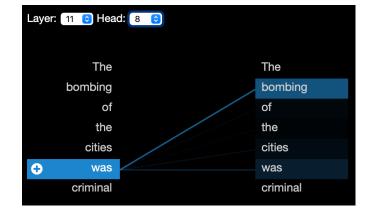
The bombing of the cities was criminal



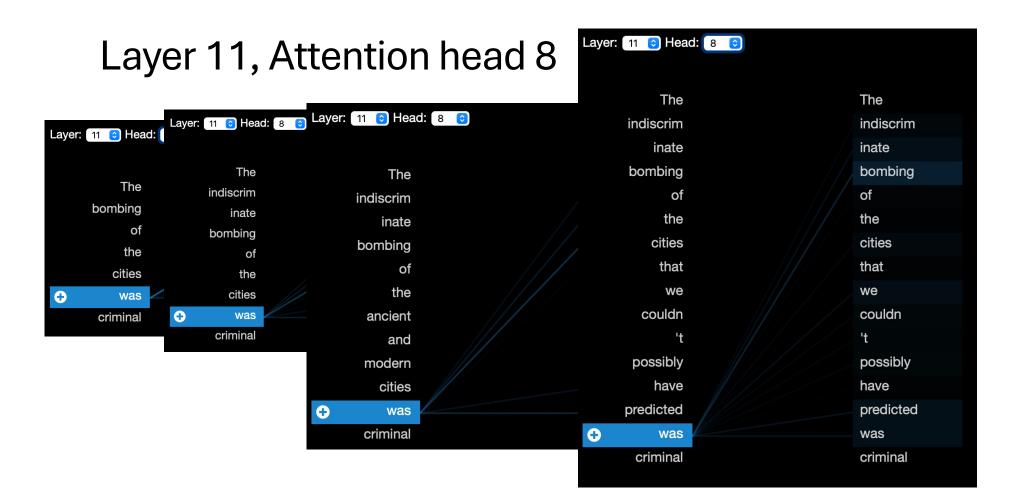
Adapted Examples:

- The *indiscriminate* bombing₃ of the *cities* was₇ criminal
- The *indiscriminate bombing*₃ of the *ancient and modern cities*₉ *was* criminal
- * The *indiscriminate bombing*₃ of the *ancient and modern cities*₉ *were* criminal

• GPT-2 small (12 levels; 12 heads)



• The indiscriminate bombing, of the cities that we couldn't possibly have predicted was 13 criminal



Adverb-Verb Construal and Attention

- The mechanic who carefully fixed the car packed his tools
- adapted from (Chomsky 2021)
- The mechanic who fixed the car carefully packed his tools
- Carefully, the mechanic who fixed the car packed his tools

5.3.2 Dependency Relations Vig & Belinkov (2019)

Figure 8 shows the dependency alignment scores (Eq. 4) broken out by layer. Attention aligns with dependency relations most strongly in the middle layers, consistent with recent syntactic probing analyses (Liu et al., 2019; Tenney et al., 2019).

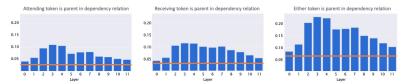
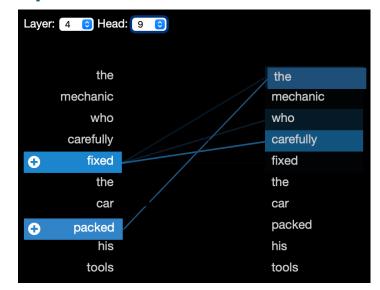
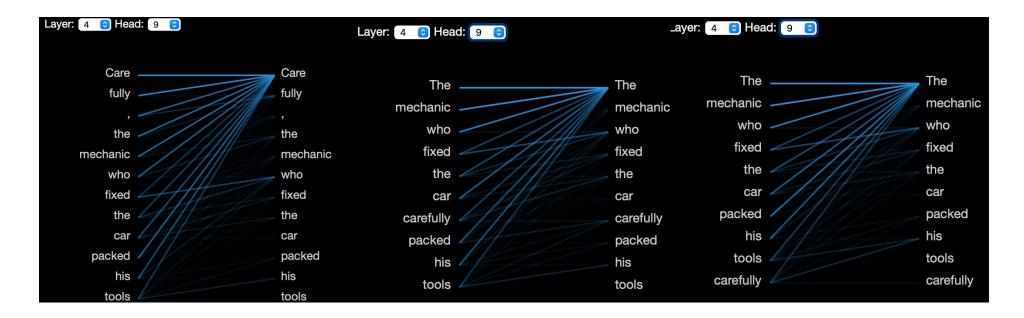


Figure 8: Proportion of attention that is aligned with dependency relations, aggregated by layer. The orange line shows the baseline proportion of token pairs that share a dependency relationship, independent of attention.



Adverb-verb construal

• Head 9: no sign of dependency relation



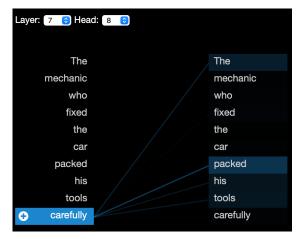
5.2.3 Filtering Null Attention

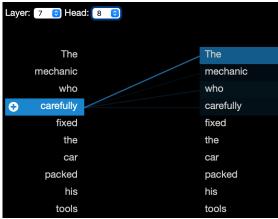
We excluded attention focused on the first token of each sentence from the analysis because it was not informative; other tokens appeared to focus on this token by default when no relevant tokens were found elsewhere in the sequence. On average, 57% of attention was directed to the first token. Some heads focused over 97% of attention to this token on average (Figure 5), which is consistent with recent work showing that individual attention heads may have little impact on overall model performance (Voita et al., 2019; Michel et al., 2019).

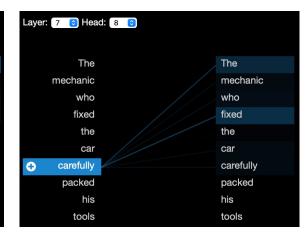


Adverb-verb construal

• Layer 7 Head 8









- Joke works because of two particular senses of badly
- 1. so badly: desperately/intensely/acutely
- 2. badly: poorly/incompetently/ineffectively

Hinton on Attention (Royal Institution Lecture): You can't just associate a feature vector with [a word] that captures the meaning directly. You have to hedge your bets. And then as you go up through layers of the network, you disambiguate it using influences from nearby things.

[†] Sentence #	Single clause	+ Context
1. desperately/poorly	0.722/0.596	0.778/0.566
2. desperately/poorly	0.565/0.920	0.589/0.909

^{†(}prelim.) see next slide

• special thanks to Braa Oudeh (previous slide), Masayuki Oishi