The Role of Language Imbalance in Cross-lingual Generalisation: Insights from Cloned Language Experiments

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Abstract

 Multilinguality is crucial for extending recent advancements in language modelling to diverse linguistic communities. To maintain high performance while representing multiple languages, multilingual models ideally align representations, allowing what is learned in one language to generalise to others. Prior research has emphasised the importance of parallel data and shared vocabulary elements as key factors for such alignment. In this study, we investigate an unintuitive novel driver of cross-lingual gen- eralisation: language *imbalance*. In controlled experiments on perfectly equivalent cloned languages, we observe that the existence of a **predominant language during training boosts** the performance of less frequent languages and leads to stronger alignment of model repre- sentations across languages. Furthermore, we find that this trend is amplified with scale: with large enough models or long enough training, we observe that bilingual training data with a 022 ⁹⁰/₁₀ language split yields better performance **both languages than a balanced** ⁵⁰/₅₀ split. Building on these insights, we design training schemes that can improve performance in all cloned languages, even without altering the training data. As we extend our analysis to real languages, we find that infrequent languages still benefit from frequent ones, yet whether language imbalance causes cross-lingual generalisation there is not conclusive.

⁰³² 1 Introduction

 In recent years, autoregressive language models (LMs) pretrained on massive text corpora have advanced the state of the art in NLP tasks across the board [\(Brown et al.,](#page-8-0) [2020;](#page-8-0) [Touvron et al.,](#page-11-0) [2023a,](#page-11-0)[b;](#page-11-1) [Köpf et al.,](#page-9-0) [2023\)](#page-9-0). While most of the leading models are trained on English texts, multilingual capabilities are crucial to make these advances accessible to a broader user base with diverse linguistic backgrounds. Ideally, data in one language should improve these multilingual

models' performance in others. Such multilingual **043** models should thus display cross-lingual generali- **044** sation: by reusing circuits [\(Cammarata et al.,](#page-8-1) [2020;](#page-8-1) 045 [Elhage et al.,](#page-9-1) [2021\)](#page-9-1) and aligning their internal rep- **046** resentations across languages, they may generalise **047** concepts learned in a language to another.^{[1](#page-0-0)}

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How can such cross-lingual generalisation **049** be achieved? This has been a focus of much **050** prior work. One previously identified driver of **051** cross-lingual generalisation is parallel training **052** data; empirical evidence shows that training the **053** [m](#page-10-0)odel on either parallel sentence pairs [\(Lample](#page-10-0) 054 [and Conneau,](#page-10-0) [2019\)](#page-10-0) or on corpora which are **055** comparable across languages [\(Dufter and Schütze,](#page-9-2) **056** [2020\)](#page-9-2) improves generalisation. Another driver **057** of cross-lingual generalisation is the availability **058** of anchor points, i.e., vocabulary elements that **059** are shared between languages; these can be **060** naturally occurring subwords (e.g., *computer* **061** in English and *computador* in Portuguese may **062** [s](#page-12-0)hare the subword *comp*; [Pires et al.,](#page-10-1) [2019;](#page-10-1) [Wu](#page-12-0) 063 [and Dredze,](#page-12-0) [2019\)](#page-12-0), shared special tokens (e.g., **064** mask or bos symbols; [Dufter and Schütze,](#page-9-2) [2020\)](#page-9-2), **065** or even artificially inserted "code-switching" **066** [a](#page-10-2)ugmentations [\(Conneau et al.,](#page-9-3) [2020b;](#page-9-3) [Reid and](#page-10-2) **067** [Artetxe,](#page-10-2) [2022;](#page-10-2) [K et al.,](#page-9-4) [2020;](#page-9-4) [Feng et al.,](#page-9-5) [2022\)](#page-9-5). **068** Beyond these two drivers, limited model capacity **069** [h](#page-9-2)as been found to improve generalisation by [Dufter](#page-9-2) **070** [and Schütze](#page-9-2) [\(2020\)](#page-9-2), but to constrain multilingual **071** capabilities by [Chang et al.](#page-8-2) [\(2023\)](#page-8-2). **072**

In this work, we identify a surprising new **073** factor that can boost cross-lingual generalisation **074** abilities: language imbalance. We first conduct **075**

¹A circuit is typically defined as a subgraph of a neural network which performs a specific computation. E.g., a circuit could be responsible for computing "greater than" comparisons between numbers in English sentences [\(Hanna et al.,](#page-9-6) [2024\)](#page-9-6). If representations are aligned across languages (in terms of how they encode, e.g., numbers) and circuits are reused, a model should be able to apply what it learns in one language (e.g., "greater than" comparisons in English) to perform similar computations in another language (e.g., French).

 experiments in a synthetic setting with perfectly equivalent cloned languages; this allows us to in- vestigate LMs' generalisation abilities in isolation from the effects of languages' dissimilarities, giv- ing us a rough upper bound on the generalisation we should expect to see between real language pairs. In this cloned language setting, we find that having a dominant main language improves gen- eralisation, significantly boosting the performance of less frequent languages. Furthermore, we find 086 that this effect becomes stronger when we either increase our model's size or when we train it for longer. Based on these insights, we design training curricula that improve performance in all cloned languages without any modifications to the training data. In the second part of our paper, we investigate to what extent our insights transfer to real language pairs. While we find that lower resource languages typically do benefit from higher resource ones, the impact of language imbalance on cross-lingual generalisation is much less clear in this more realistic setting. Overall, our results suggest an interesting attribute of model training dynamics: in some settings, having a main language can lead model components to be shared across languages.

¹⁰¹ 2 Cross-lingual Generalisation

 While natural languages differ widely in their typo- logical properties, any pair of languages will share at least a few grammatical and syntactic patterns. Further, as their semantics reflect the underlying processes of our world, language pairs should also have similarities in the types of messages their users typically convey. Intuitively, this suggests **that what is learned about a language** L_A **should** 110 be useful to model another language L_{B} , and vice versa. The extent of such generalisation depends not only on how similar the two languages are, but also on the employed learning algorithm. We anal- yse such generalisation here, with a focus on how language imbalance influences multilingual LMs.

 Intuitively, if a model generalises well across languages, it should achieve better performance in each language (in terms of, e.g., perplexity) than a monolingual model trained on the same data. Concretely, a model trained on a multi-**lingual dataset** $\mathcal{D}_{\text{multi}} = \mathcal{D}_{\text{A}} \cup \mathcal{D}_{\text{B}}$ containing 122 languages L_A and L_B should perform better than **monolingual models trained only on** \mathcal{D}_A **or** \mathcal{D}_B **.** This becomes clear when using definitions from **information theory:** $\mathcal{D}_{\text{multi}}$ contains at least as 126 much information about L_A as \mathcal{D}_A . However, such a multilingual model could also perform worse. **127** This could happen, for instance, if the data from **128** different languages interfere with each other during **129** optimisation through conflicting gradient update **130** directions [\(Wang et al.,](#page-11-2) [2020\)](#page-11-2). It could also happen **131** if the model has limited capacity: the multilingual **132** model has to represent many languages, which **133** intuitively requires more capacity than a single **134** one, even if some parameters are shared across **135** them [\(Conneau et al.,](#page-9-7) [2020a;](#page-9-7) [Pfeiffer et al.,](#page-10-3) [2022\)](#page-10-3). **136**

In an attempt to make models better across **137** many languages, many multilingual models these **138** [d](#page-10-4)ays are trained on somewhat balanced data [\(Scao](#page-10-4) **139** [et al.,](#page-10-4) [2023;](#page-10-4) [Faysse et al.,](#page-9-8) [2024\)](#page-9-8). In some of these **140** cases, low-resource languages are upsampled **141** to improve their performance under the model. **142** As mentioned above, however, while balancing **143** languages' appearance in a model's training set 144 should intuitively improve performance, this **145** is not necessarily true. In fact, (and perhaps **146** surprisingly) some recent large language models 147 trained in mostly English-focused settings perform **148** reasonably well in a large sample of languages **149** [\(Ahia et al.,](#page-8-3) [2023;](#page-8-3) [Blevins and Zettlemoyer,](#page-8-4) [2022;](#page-8-4) **150** [Briakou et al.,](#page-8-5) [2023\)](#page-8-5). These models' training 151 data is typically highly imbalanced, with only a **152** small fraction being composed of "non-English" **153** languages. It is thus unclear whether multilingual **154** models indeed benefit from training on datasets **155** with balanced languages [\(Ye et al.,](#page-12-1) [2023\)](#page-12-1).

In smaller training scales, the benefits of multi- **157** lingual training are better understood. In general, it **158** has been found that low-resource languages tend to **159** benefit from data in higher-resource languages, but **160** high-resource languages benefit much less from **161** each other [\(Conneau et al.,](#page-9-7) [2020a;](#page-9-7) [Chang et al.,](#page-8-2) **162** [2023\)](#page-8-2). It is, however, unclear what causes cross- **163** lingual generalisation in this case. Is the model **164** in fact able to generalise better in the imbalanced **165** setting? Or does the model generalise equally 166 well in the balanced case, but its capacity bottle- 167 necks performance in higher-resource languages, **168** stopping us from observing performance gains? **169**

We investigate the role of language imbalance in 170 [c](#page-11-3)ross-lingual generalisation here. Notably, [Wendler](#page-11-3) **171** [et al.](#page-11-3) [\(2024\)](#page-11-3) recently showed that LMs seem **172** to perform internal computations in an abstract **173** "concept space" which is closest to their main **174** language (English in this case); representations are **175** then mapped back into the input language only in **176** the models' final layers. [Alabi et al.](#page-8-6) [\(2024\)](#page-8-6) observe **177** a similar trend when using language adapters. **178**

¹⁷⁹ 3 Experimental Setup

 In this section, we provide a brief overview over models, data, and metrics used; for more details, see App. [A.](#page-13-0) Our code will be made available on GitHub. All of our experiments use GPT-2- style decoder-only transformers [\(Radford et al.,](#page-10-5) [2019\)](#page-10-5). We base our implementation on the Lan-186 guini Kitchen codebase (Stanić et al., [2023\)](#page-11-4), and unless otherwise noted, we use the gpt-small con- figuration with 85M non-embedding parameters, training on 1.2B tokens of English or French books. We use separate tokenisers for English and French. For some of our experiments, we treat their vocab- ularies as disjoint and do not merge them. If we merge subwords that occur in both vocabularies, we make this clear with the label anchored.

 As our main evaluation metric, we report our models' perplexity (PPL) on the test set. Further, we define three metrics that allow for easy comparison of monolingual and multilingual 199 models. Let t_A and t_B be the number of tokens a multilingual model is trained on in languages L^A **and** L_{B} **, respectively. We define monolingual token** equivalence (MLTE) as the number of tokens that would be required by a monolingual model, trained 204 only in either language L_A or L_B , to achieve the same perplexity as the multilingual model does in that language. To determine MLTE, we fit a simple scaling law to predict perplexity from the number 208 of training tokens $(e.g., t_A)$ using the results from our trained monolingual models (see App. [B](#page-14-0) for details). Analogously, we define monolingual PPL equivalence (MLPE) as the perplexity a monolingual model would reach when trained on 213 the same number of L_A tokens (i.e., t_A) as a given multilingual model. Finally, we define token effi- ciency (TEff) as the fraction between MLTE and the number of tokens used for multilingual training, e.g., $\text{TEff}_A = \frac{\text{MLTE}_A}{t_A}$ **e.g.,** TEff_A = $\frac{\text{MLTE}_A}{t_A}$. Intuitively, if TEff > 1, performance improves due to multilinguality, while if TEff < 1, multilinguality hurts performance.

²²⁰ 4 Cloned Languages

 In this section, we examine the model's capability to generalise across perfectly equivalent cloned languages. We create a cloned language by duplicating the language model's vocabulary; this allows us to encode each sequence in either the original language (using the original vocabulary) or in the cloned language (using the cloned vocab- ulary). This experimental paradigm was originally [p](#page-9-2)roposed by [K et al.](#page-9-4) [\(2020\)](#page-9-4) and [Dufter and](#page-9-2) [Schütze](#page-9-2) [\(2020\)](#page-9-2).^{[2](#page-2-0)} Formally, let L_{one} be an "original" 230 language with a vocabulary of subword units Σ ; 231 we denote each subword $w \in \Sigma$. This language 232 can be described by a probability distribution **233** $p(\boldsymbol{w}_{\text{orig}})$, where $\boldsymbol{w}_{\text{orig}} \in \Sigma^*$. We clone language L_{orig} 234 by creating multiple instantiations of it: L_1 , L_2 , 235 $\ldots L_N$. These languages have vocabularies Σ_n , 236 each of which has symbols that are equivalent to **237** the original ones.[3](#page-2-1) Furthermore, these languages **²³⁸** define probability distributions which are isometric **239** to the original language. If we denote equivalence **240** as $w_n \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_{\text{orig}}$ for $w_n \in \Sigma_n^*$ and $w_{\text{orig}} \in \Sigma^*$, we 241 have $\boldsymbol{w}_n \stackrel{\circ}{=} \boldsymbol{w}_{\text{orig}} \implies p(\boldsymbol{w}_n) = p(\boldsymbol{w}_{\text{orig}}).$ 242

Given dataset $\mathcal{D}_{\text{orig}} = \{w_{\text{orig}}^{(k)}\}_{k=1}^K$ with $w_{\text{orig}}^{(k)} \sim$ 243 $p(\mathbf{w}_{\text{orig}})$, we can now create a multilingual dataset 244 $\mathcal{D}_{\text{multi}}$ by independently mapping each sequence 245 to one of the cloned languages: For each $w^{(k)}$, we first sample a language $L^{(k)} \sim p(L)$ from 247 a categorical distribution over languages, then **248** we map the sequence to $L^{(k)}$ by encoding it using the corresponding vocabulary. We can write **250** $\mathcal{D}_{\text{multi}} = \bigcup_{n=1}^{N} \mathcal{D}_{n}$ where 251

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 $\mathcal{D}_n = \left\{\bm{w}_n^{(k)}~\big|~\bm{w}_n^{(k)} \circeq \bm{w}^{(k)}_\text{orig} \text{ and } L^{(k)} = L_n \right\}$

denotes the subset in language L_n . 253

Importantly, cloned languages are perfectly **254** equivalent, having the same syntax, semantics, and **255** distribution. They differ only in the symbols used **256** to encode their vocabularies. Any generalisation **257** we observe in this setting should thus serve as an **258** upper bound on the potential to generalise across **259** non-identical natural languages.^{[4](#page-2-2)} In other words, 260 if our model cannot generalise across cloned lan- **261** guages, we would have strong reason to believe **262** it shouldn't generalise across distinct languages. **263** If we observe that a model can generalise across **264** cloned languages, however, we may or may not **265** observe the same to happen across non-cloned lan- **266** guages. We'll investigate the latter in Section [5.](#page-5-0) **267**

 2 [K et al.](#page-9-4) [\(2020\)](#page-9-4) perform duplication on the character IDs, i.e., before tokenisation, while [Dufter and Schütze](#page-9-2) [\(2020\)](#page-9-2) adopt an approach equivalent to ours. Both of these works term L_2 a "fake" language. Since there is no distinction between L_1 and L_2 , however, we call them cloned languages instead. Other related studies have investigated the effect of infinitely many cloned languages on LMs' performance [\(Huang et al.,](#page-9-9) [2023;](#page-9-9) [Chen et al.,](#page-9-10) [2023\)](#page-9-10), or employed duplicated vocabularies at the token level to study their impact on LMs' memorisation or performance [\(Kharitonov et al.,](#page-9-11) [2021;](#page-9-11) [Schäfer et al.,](#page-11-5) [2024\)](#page-11-5).

³Unless otherwise noted, these vocabularies are defined as disjoint sets in our experiments, meaning that no anchor points exist across languages.

⁴As for most of our experiments we consider cloned languages' alphabets to be disjoint, in practice our results only upper bound the cross-lingual generalisation of models with no anchor points (i.e., with disjoint vocabularies).

Figure 1: LM performance by imbalance ratio. (top) LM perplexity. (bottom) LM accuracy on GLUE; models were fine-tuned in EN_1 and evaluated on either EN_1 and EN_2 .

268 4.1 Generalisation

 Due to the equivalence of cloned languages, one may expect language models to easily generalise across them. In that case, training a multilingual 272 model on datasets \mathcal{D}_1 and \mathcal{D}_2 would lead to similar performance to training a monolingual model on **the original dataset** $\mathcal{D}_{\text{orig}}$ **(note that** $|\mathcal{D}_{\text{orig}}| = |\mathcal{D}_1| +$ $(275$ $|\mathcal{D}_2|)$. We perform this experiment here, training either monolingual models on English (EN), or 277 multilingual models on cloned English $(EN_1 \text{ and } I)$ 278 EN₂), setting $p(\text{EN}_1) = p(\text{EN}_2) = 0.5$. Perhaps surprisingly, when training in this balanced multi- lingual setting, language modelling performance is significantly worse than in the monolingual setting (see Table [1,](#page-4-0) rows 2 & 4). In fact, one would obtain better performance training two monolingual mod- els for half as many steps than training on this com- bined data. Training data in one language seems to hurt performance in the other language instead of boosting it. This indicates that the model is not able to generalise well across languages in this setting.

289 Takeaway 1. *The model does not generalise well across cloned languages given a ⁵⁰* **290** *⁄⁵⁰ data split.*

291 4.2 Language Imbalance

 How does the balance of the languages' data af- fect generalisation performance? Will the multi- lingual model still underperform its monolingual equivalents when trained on an uneven language 296 distribution? When varying the ratio of EN_1 to 297 EN₂ data shown during training (while keeping the total number of training steps constant), we observe that the rarer "lower resource" language, 300 here always EN_2 , benefits from the presence of a

dominant "main language". Fig. [1](#page-3-0) (left) shows that, **301** under higher imbalance, the model's performance **302** on EN² becomes much better than that of a mono- **³⁰³** lingual model trained on the same amount of $EN₂$ 304 data. For example, when training in the ⁹⁰/₁₀ regime, 305 we obtain a $T \to Eff_{EN_2}$ of over 2 (see Table [1,](#page-4-0) row 306 5). Do these improvements translate to better cross- **307** lingual generalisation on downstream tasks as well? **308** We test this by fine-tuning models on the GLUE 309 **benchmark [\(Wang et al.,](#page-11-6) [2019\)](#page-11-6) in** EN_1 **only, and** 310 evaluating them on EN_1 and EN_2 . We observe that 311 models trained under higher language imbalance in- **312** α deed have significantly better EN_2 zero-shot perfor- β 13 mance (see Fig. [1](#page-3-0) right). Together, these results sug-
314 gest that cross-lingual generalisation is occurring. **315**

Is this generalisation attained due to the model's **316** internal computations being shared across lan- **317** guages? To answer this question, we analyse how **318** language imbalance affects the cross-lingual align- **319** ment of our models' representations. Looking **320** at the cosine similarity of equivalent subwords **321** $w_1 \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_2$ in EN₁ and EN₂, we find that similarity 322 steadily increases with higher imbalance: in the **323** ⁵⁰⁄⁵⁰ setting, embeddings are not aligned (exhibiting **324** an average cosine similarity of 0.02), while, e.g., in **325** the ⁹⁰⁄¹⁰ setting, equivalent subwords are much more **326** aligned, showing a similarity of 0.28 (details in **327** App. [C\)](#page-15-0). Comparing the cosine similarity of hidden **328** states when the LM is given equivalent sequences **329** $w_1 \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_2$, we also observe stronger alignment 330 for a model trained in the imbalanced ⁹⁰⁄¹⁰ regime, **331** compared to the ⁵⁰⁄⁵⁰ counterpart (see App. [F\)](#page-19-0). In- **332** terestingly, the cosine similarity between gradients **333** is also higher in the imbalanced setting: when pro- **334** cessing equivalent sequences, the gradients with **335** respect to w_1 or w_2 have an average cosine similar- $\frac{336}{2}$ ity of 0.53 for the model trained in the $\frac{90}{10}$ setting, $\frac{337}{100}$ compared to 0.07 in the ⁵⁰⁄⁵⁰ setting (see full plots of **338** similarities per model component in App. [G\)](#page-20-0). This 339 suggests that the gradient updates with respect to **340** one language may benefit the optimisation process **341** of that language's cloned counterpart more when **342** training under higher imbalance. **343**

Takeaway 2. *Language imbalance improves gen-* **344** *eralisation and leads to representations which are* **345** *more aligned across cloned languages.* **346**

4.3 Many Languages **347**

How does this trend transfer to settings with more **348** than two languages? In such cases, sharing circuits **349** across languages might be even more crucial due **350** to the model's limited capacity. Instead of cloning **351**

			Training Data	PPL		TEff			
Run Type	Row	# Tokens	$p(EN_1)$ $p(EN_2)$		$p(\mathrm{EN}_3), \ldots, p(\mathrm{EN}_{10})$	EN_1	EN ₂	EN_1	EN ₂
		1.2B	100%	0%	0%	21.9	٠		
Monolingual	\overline{c}	$0.5 \times 1.2B$	100%	0%	0%	25.3	$\overline{}$		
	3	$0.1 \times 1.2B$	100%	0%	0%	48.4	٠		
2 languages	4	1.2B	50%	50%	0%	26.1	26.1	0.89	0.89
	5	1.2B	90%	10%	0%	22.5	32.8	1.00	2.08
10 languages	6	1.2B	10%	10%	10% , , 10%	35.5	35.7	1.69	1.67
		1.2B	50%	$\overline{18}$	$\overline{18}, \ldots, \overline{18}$	24.6	33.4	1.15	3.56
Schedule	8	1.2B	$100\% \downarrow 0\%$	$0\% \upharpoonright 100\%$	0%	>1B	31.4	$\overline{}$	0.47
	9	1.2B	$90\% \downarrow 10\%$	$10\% \upharpoonright 90\%$	0%	26.5	24.4	0.83	1.18
$2x$ data	10	$2 \times 1.2B$	50%	50%	0%	23.3	23.3	0.73	0.73
	11	$2 \times 1.2B$	$90\% \downarrow 10\%$	$10\% \upharpoonright 90\%$	0%	22.8	20.4	0.83	1.60
3x data	12	$3 \times 1.2B$	50%	50%	0%	22.2	22.2	0.64	0.64
	13	$3 \times 1.2B$	$90\% \downarrow 10\%$	$10\% \upharpoonright 90\%$	0%	21.5	19.3	0.77	1.63

Table 1: Performance of language models trained on different compositions of EN_1 and EN_2 . $a\% \rightarrow b\%$ indicates an immediate decrease from a% down to b% halfway during training. Analogously, a% \dot{r} b% indicates an immediate increase.

 the language only once, we now clone it nine times, obtaining in total 10 languages. In Table [1](#page-4-0) (rows 6 & 7), we report the performance when sampling the languages in a balanced way and when having a much stronger main language.

 Interestingly, when sampling uniformly, we ob-358 tain TEff ≈ 1.7 ; performance is thus better than with a monolingual model trained on an equiva- lent amount of monolingual data (compare rows 6 & 3). This differs from our observations for the bilingual setting, where uniform language sam- pling performed worse than the equivalent mono- lingual models. Presumably, modelling this many languages effectively with limited model capacity may lead the model to share its circuits, improving cross-lingual generalisation [\(Dufter and Schütze,](#page-9-2) [2020\)](#page-9-2). The limit of infinite languages (in which a model never observes the same language more than once) was analysed by [Huang et al.](#page-9-9) [\(2023\)](#page-9-9); interestingly, LMs still seem to learn the language, to some extent, even in that setting.

 In the imbalanced setting where we sample a stronger "main language" 50% of the time, we observe even stronger performance on all languages. Despite the model seeing only roughly 67M tokens in each of the rarer languages (1/18 of all steps), it achieves better performance in these languages than in the uniform setting with 120M tokens (1/10 of all steps) per language. In fact, on the rarer languages, the model achieves TEff ≈ 3.6, matching the performance of a monolingual model trained on 240M tokens.

384 Takeaway 3. *When training on many cloned lan-***385** *guages, sampling a main language disproportion-***386** *ately improves generalisation.*

Figure 2: TEff as we train LMs with (left) more data, or (right) larger architectures. mini, small and medium denote GPT sizes in Languini (Stanić et al., [2023\)](#page-11-4), with 11M, 85M, and 303M non-embedding parameters.

4.4 Effect of scaling 387

Model and data size are crucial factors for the **388** performance of LMs. Here, we investigate how the **389** previously identified trends are affected by scaling **390** the model architecture or training data. Fig. [2](#page-4-1) (left) **391** shows that the effect of imbalance on cross-lingual 392 generalisation appears to increase when we train **393** on twice as much data (2.4B tokens instead of **394** 1.2B), reaching TEff > 3 ; this corresponds to 395 a "chinchilla-optimal" setup for our GPT small **396** model [\(Hoffmann et al.,](#page-9-12) [2022\)](#page-9-12). At the same time, **397** the TEff of the ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting seems to be decreasing 398 under prolonged training. This might be caused **399** by the heightened importance of model capacity **400** under longer training, which may have a stronger **401** impact on performance when representations **402** are less aligned across languages. Overall, the **403** disparity in effectiveness between the imbalanced **404** and balanced settings grows with longer training. **405** Remarkably, when training for 4.8B tokens, the **406** ⁹⁰⁄¹⁰ setting yields better performance in both **407** languages, compared to the ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting. **408**

When decreasing the model size, we also 409

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 observe higher performance benefits in the imbalanced setting (see Fig. [2](#page-4-1) right), potentially due to the capacity argument described above. Interestingly, however, the effect of imbalance appears to be significantly stronger for larger models as well. When training a larger model with around 300M parameters (GPT medium in **Languini**; Stanić et al., [2023\)](#page-11-4), in the ⁹⁰/₁₀ setting, we achieve better performance on both languages than **419 4** models generally exhibit better generalisation ability than smaller ones [\(Brown et al.,](#page-8-0) [2020\)](#page-8-0).

422 Takeaway 4. *Longer training and larger models* **423** *lead to stronger performance benefits due to lan-***424** *guage imbalance.*

425 4.5 Language Sampling Schedule

 Knowing that language imbalance boosts general- isation, how can we use this insight to train better models? Is there a way to leverage our insights in order to improve performance on two languages, even with the same training data? In Table [1](#page-4-0) (rows 8, 9, 11, and 13), we report results when training with a language sampling schedule that ensures a language imbalance throughout all of training, **but which still leads to an overall ⁵⁰/₅₀ split between** 435 EN₁ and EN₂ data seen by the model. We sample 436 EN₁ with a higher probability during the first half 437 of training. Then, we sample $EN₂$ more often to **achieve a marginal split of** $\frac{50}{50}$ **.**

439 When showing exclusively EN_1 at first, and then **showing only** EN_2 ($^{100 \text{ L} \cdot 0}$ / $_{0 \text{ P}}$ 100; row 8), we observe bad overall performance. By the end of training, perplexity on EN_1 is very high, presumably due to catastrophic forgetting [\(McCloskey and Cohen,](#page-10-6) [1989;](#page-10-6) [French,](#page-9-13) [1999\)](#page-9-13). Further, EN_2 does not seem 445 to benefit from the EN_1 data, achieving very low performance, which might be due to the lower learning rate in the second half of training.^{[5](#page-5-1)}

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 On the other hand, if we avoid catastrophic for- getting, making sure that the model encounters at least some samples of both languages at every point **in training, via a ^{90 \} ¹⁰/10 r 90 split (first sampling lan-**452 guages with ratio ⁹⁰/₁₀, and then switching to ¹⁰/₉₀ after half of training), we can mitigate these issues. On our standard training set (1.2B tokens, row 9), we observe almost equivalent performance to uniform language sampling on EN_1 , but significantly 456 improved performance on $EN₂$. Under longer train- 457 ing, these benefits become more pronounced: this **458** language schedule improves performance on both **459** languages compared to the simple ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting (com- 460 pare row 10 vs 11 and row 12 vs 13). **461**

Takeaway 5. *Compared to uniform language* **462** *sampling, an imbalanced ratio throughout training* **463** *can lead to better results on all languages, even* **464** *if the overall language split remains balanced.* **465**

5 Real Languages **⁴⁶⁶**

To verify whether the insights from our cloned- **467** language experiments hold in a more natural 468 setting, we now run experiments with multilingual 469 models on English (EN) and French (FR). **470**

5.1 Generalisation 471

In the cloned setting, we observed no significant **472** generalisation when training on a balanced **473** language mix (i.e., TEff < 1, representations were **474** unaligned, and zero-shot GLUE accuracy on $EN₂$ 475 was bad). Similarly, when sampling EN and FR 476 data uniformly, we also obtain TEff < 1 . A multilingual model's performance is thus worse than a **478** monolingual model trained only in the same EN or **479** FR data (see Table [2,](#page-6-0) row 7). Notably, prior work **480** has identified anchors (shared vocabulary items **481** [a](#page-9-2)cross languages) help generalisation [\(Dufter and](#page-9-2) **482** [Schütze,](#page-9-2) [2020;](#page-9-2) [Pires et al.,](#page-10-1) [2019;](#page-10-1) [Wu and Dredze,](#page-12-0) **483** [2019\)](#page-12-0). We thus experiment with similarly merging **484** vocabulary items shared between EN and FR, and **485** confirm this helps performance (compare Table [2,](#page-6-0) **486** row 7 vs 11). We run more experiments analysing **487** the impact of anchor points in both cloned and real **488** languages, see App. [D.](#page-16-0) Note that, with an anchored **489** vocabulary, generalisation across EN and FR is **490** not necessarily upper bounded by our results on **491** disjoint cloned languages. In fact, in the ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting, 492 we observe a marginally higher TEff for EN–FR 493 models with an anchored vocabulary than for EN_{1-} 494 EN₂ models where we used disjoint vocabularies 495 (compare Table [1](#page-4-0) row 4 and Table [2](#page-6-0) row 11). **496**

5.2 Language Imbalance **497**

Analogous to the cloned setting, we observe that **498** an imbalanced EN/FR ratio leads to improved **499** performance (TEff > 1), on the rarer language 500 (see Table [2,](#page-6-0) rows $7-9 \& 11-13$). This is the case 501 for both, a $\frac{90}{10}$ and a $\frac{10}{90}$ EN/FR ratio. Fig. [3](#page-6-1) shows 502 PPL and TEff in EN and FR as a function of **503** the language imbalance. We observe that large **504**

 5 [Chen et al.](#page-9-10) [\(2023\)](#page-9-10) find that an equivalent setting can still be beneficial when using many more languages: they periodically reinitialise the learned embeddings (which is equivalent to switching to a new cloned language) and obtain models that are better adaptable to new languages.

Table 2: Performance of language models trained on different compositions of EN and FR. a% \rightarrow b% \rightarrow c% \rightarrow d% indicates a four stage language schedule, switching immediately between, e.g., $c\%$ and $d\%$ after 75% of training.

 imbalances generally seem to yield TEff > 1; the worst TEff is reached with a balanced EN/FR ratio. These trends are in line with our findings in the cloned setting. However, especially with disjoint vocabularies, the observed performance benefits due to generalisation are less significant. Presum- ably, this is due to EN and FR not being equivalent and thus generally allowing less generalisation.

 Does imbalance again improve generalisation due to a better alignment of the model's represen- tations in the two languages? As in the cloned lan- guage setting, we investigate the cosine similarity between the models' hidden states when process- ing "equivalent" sequences in the two languages. For real languages, however, we do not have ac- cess to perfectly equivalent sequences. Instead, we mimick this scenario using parallel translated sequences in the two languages, which should con- tain roughly similar properties. Differently from the cloned language setting, we do not observe higher hidden state similarities for models trained on imbalanced data (see App. [F\)](#page-19-0). Further, we find that gradient similarities barely differ across bal- anced and imbalanced settings when using disjoint vocabularies. For the anchored vocabulary they are even marginally higher in the balanced set- ting (see App. [G\)](#page-20-0). We thus do not find evidence that the improved TEff in the imbalanced setting is caused by a stronger alignment of model up- dates across languages in this setting. A possible reason for this discrepancy could be that, at the scales of our experiments, LMs tend to rely on

Figure 3: LM performance on EN and FR by imbalance ratio.

language specific surface-level features (which are **537** shared by cloned languages, but not by distinct real **538** languages) and show less understanding of com- **539** plex semantics which might be more generalisable. **540** Future research might thus consider investigating **541** these trends at larger scales. **542**

Takeaway 6. *Imbalanced multilinguality boosts* **543** *the performance of real low-resource languages.* **544** *However, this effect is weaker here than for cloned* **545** *languages. Further, for real languages, we do not* **546** *find evidence of language imbalance leading to* **547** *representations which are more cross-lingually* **548** *aligned.* **549**

550 5.3 Effect of Scaling

 In the cloned setting, we observed that prolonging training significantly decreased TEff in the ⁵⁰/₅₀ set- ting. We hypothesised that this might be caused by a stronger influence of the limited model ca- pacity with longer training, and poor sharing of representations between languages. As EN and FR are distinct languages that require at least some language specific representations, we might expect this trend to be even more pronounced for these languages. However, compared to the cloned set- ting, prolonging training leads to a smaller decline **in TEff in the ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting here. Presumably, the** anchored vocabulary allows for better generalisa- tion compared to the cloned setting, despite the languages being distinct.

 Further, unlike in the cloned setting, longer training significantly decreases the TEff of the lower-resource language in the imbalanced setting **here (see Fig. [4\)](#page-7-0).** In fact, the $\frac{90}{10}$ TEff even falls **below 1, approaching the TEff of the ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting.** This suggests that language imbalance might not improve generalisation across distinct real languages. Still, when scaling up the model, we observe an increase of almost 2x in the TEff of the lower-resource language (see Fig. [4\)](#page-7-0). This is in line with our cloned languages observations, although the effect is weaker.

 Takeaway 7. *Performance benefits for real low- resource languages tend to decrease or vanish with longer training. Larger models, however, appear to yield higher performance benefits in both the balanced and imbalanced setting.*

583 5.4 Language Sampling Schedule

 For equivalent cloned languages, we found that an imbalanced language sampling schedule can lead to improvements upon simple uniform sampling. If this held for real languages as well, it could have important practical implications for future multilin-**gual LM training. However, whereas a** $90 \frac{1}{10} 10/10 r$ 90 schedule yielded strong performance on cloned lan-**guages, matching or outperforming the ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting,** this is not the case for EN and FR (see Table [2,](#page-6-0) row 10 vs 7 and row 14 vs 11). Furthermore, in line with the observations above, longer training does not make this schedule more effective, but instead increases its gap to the performance of the 597 ⁵⁰/₅₀ setting (see rows 17-20).

598 The discrepancy between these results and the **599** ones in cloned languages might be explained by

Figure 4: TEff of models on EN and FR with anchored vocab as we train them with (left) more data, or (right) larger architectures.

the reduced effect of imbalance on the generalisa- **600** tion and representation alignment in real languages. **601** The schedules may be enough to force LMs to share **602** circuits across cloned languages, but not across real **603** ones. To investigate if this negative result was a **604** particular property of our chosen schedule, we ex- **605** plore other more complex scheduling options. [6](#page-7-1) In general, none of the tested schedules appears **607** to outperform the $\frac{50}{50}$ setting (see rows 15, 16) on 608 both languages. However, more complex 4-stage **609** schedules, can obtain better performance on one **610** language while incurring a slight performance drop **611** in the other. Intriguingly, this allows trading off the **612** performance of different languages without altering **613** the training data. 614

606

Takeaway 8. *For real languages, we do not find* **615** *improvements on all languages due to the tested* **616** *language schedules. However, they allow for trad-* **617** *ing off performance in different languages.* **618**

6 Conclusion 619

We ran experiments to measure cross-lingual **620** generalisation in both a controlled setting with **621** cloned English languages, as well as with English **622** and French. In both settings, we find that, without **623** vocabulary overlap, our models do not show strong **624** cross-lingual generalisation when trained on a **625** balanced language set. However, when training **626** on an imbalanced mix of languages, we observe **627** increased performance compared to monolingual **628** settings. For cloned languages, we find that this can **629** be explained by a higher alignment of the model's **630** representations across languages, which indicates **631** circuit reuse and improved cross-lingual generali- **632** sation. Yet, at the scales of our experiments, such a **633** correlation is less evident in real languages. While **634** our findings allow us to design an imbalanced lan- **635** guage schedule that yields improved performance **636** in the cloned setting, further research is required to **637** extend these improvements to real-world settings. **638**

⁶ Future research might design these more carefully, also analysing the interplay of language- and learning rate schedule

⁶³⁹ Limitations

640 There are several limitations of our work, many of **641** which present opportunities for future research.

 Data and model size. While we conduct exper- iments with varying data (up to 4.8B tokens) and model size (up to 336M parameters), it is uncertain whether the identified trends also apply at the scale of modern large language models. Additionally, for more capable models, cross-lingual generalisation might be relevant in different aspects, with, e.g., semantics playing a larger role. As the semantic content communicated in different languages might be easily transferable, this might impact generali-sation dynamics.

 Languages. We only run experiments on English and French, two Indo-European languages. Further work could consider more languages and investi- gate the impact of language similarity in results more broadly.

 Model architecture. We run most of our exper- iments on a Transformer decoder (we also mea- sure embedding alignment for simpler Word2Vec models). Future research could analyse the effects of architecture in more depth to better understand [t](#page-9-3)he drivers of representation alignment. [Conneau](#page-9-3) [et al.](#page-9-3) [\(2020b\)](#page-9-3), e.g., find that shared parameters in the top layers lead to better cross-lingual transfer. In our Word2Vec experiments, we do not observe improvements in representation alignment due to language imbalance (see Fig. [6\)](#page-15-1), presumably due to no parameters being shared between the two lan- guages. Would this change when adding a shared layer to the Word2Vec model?

 Downstream performance. In our evaluation we mainly rely on perplexity as a metric, with a sin- gle experiment on GLUE accuracy. It might be insightful to analyze effects on downstream task performance more broadly.

 Quantifying generalisation. In this work, we mainly measure cross-lingual generalisation by comparing the performance of multilingual mod- els with that of monolingual models trained on the same amount of data in the given language. 682 If a multilingual model on languages L_A and L_B requires fewer L_A tokens to reach a given perplex- ity on L_A than a monolingual model, we speak of cross-lingual generalisation, knowing that per-formance on L^A must have been boosted by data

in language $L_{\rm B}$. Future work could formalise this 687 measure and aim to model/quantify the relationship **688** between the number of training tokens seen in a lan- **689** guage L_B and performance in another language L_A , 690 depending on model size, language imbalance, lan- **691** guage similarity, anchor points, and other factors. **692** An accurate model of these relationships could be **693** of substantial practical value. **694**

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A Experimental Setup

Model. We use a GPT-2-style decoder-only transformer architecture in our experiments [\(Radford et al.,](#page-10-5) [2019\)](#page-10-5). Unless otherwise noted, we instantiate our model with 12 layers and a hidden size of 768, which results in 85M non-embedding parameters; this corresponds to Languini's gpt-small configuration. We follow previous work and train our models with sequence length 512, batch size 128, the Adam optimiser [\(Kingma and Ba,](#page-9-14) [2015\)](#page-9-14), and a cosine learning rate schedule from 6e-4 to 6e-6 with 500 warmup steps.

Data. For the English settings, we use Languini's default datasets to train and evaluate our models. These are English books from a filtered version of the books3 subset from the Pile [\(Gao et al.,](#page-9-15) [2020\)](#page-9-15). The train set consists of a total of 23.9B tokens, while the test set contains i.i.d. books, with a total of roughly 11M tokens. This data is tokenised into a vocabulary of size 16k, obtained using a BPE tokeniser trained with SentencePiece [\(Gage,](#page-9-16) [1994;](#page-9-16) [Sennrich et al.,](#page-11-7) [2016;](#page-11-7) [Kudo and Richardson,](#page-10-7) [2018\)](#page-10-7). For our experiments in French, we use the French-PD-Books dataset [\(PleIAs,](#page-10-8) [2024\)](#page-10-8), to which we apply the preprocessing pipeline of the Languini Kitchen, but for French. We train a separate BPE tokeniser on this French dataset, using a 16k-sized vocabulary. Depending on the experiment, the French and English vocabularies are either kept separate (disjoint) or merged (anchored). Unless otherwise noted, we train our models for 18,265 steps—i.e., the first 1.2B tokens in our dataset; this corresponds to a GPT small 1125 model trained for 6h on an RTX 3090 GPU, the Languini GPT small 6h setting [\(Stanic et al.](#page-11-4), [2023\)](#page-11-4). For experiments where we compare hidden representations or gradients on parallel French–English or cloned English sequences, we use data from the Europarl parallel corpus [\(Koehn,](#page-9-17) [2005\)](#page-9-17).

 Evaluation. When evaluating PPL (from which we also compute MLPE, MLTE and TEff) on the held-out test set, we want to ensure sufficient context for all predictions. To this end, we use a sliding window with steps of 128: we fill in a 512 tokens context, ignore the model's outputs on the initial 384, and evaluate it only using the last 128 tokens.

B Fitted Scaling Laws **1132**

To predict the performance of monolingual models depending on the amount of tokens they are trained on, **1133** we fit a power law curve to predict the relationship between number of training tokens and perplexity for 1134 models of all three sizes and for both languages (see Fig. [5\)](#page-14-1).

Figure 5: Fitted power laws curves predicting perplexity depending on the fraction of training tokens (compared to our standard 1.2B tokens) for different languages and model sizes.

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1136 C Alignment of EN_1 and EN_2 Representations

 While, under balanced language sampling, embeddings of corresponding subwords are not much more aligned than embeddings of random pairs, we observe an increase in cosine similarity with increasing language imbalance: from 0.02 for ⁵⁰/₅₀ to 0.28 for ⁹⁵/₅ (see Fig. [6\)](#page-15-1). Fig. [7](#page-15-2) shows that this alignment is higher for frequent subwords. This seems natural: at initialisation, subword embeddings are random and not aligned. Then, they become more and more aligned over the course of training.

1142 Interestingly, the embeddings of a simple word2vec [\(Mikolov et al.,](#page-10-9) [2013\)](#page-10-9) model do not show stronger **1143** alignment under higher imbalance. This might be due to a lack of shared parameters between the languages **1144** [\(Conneau et al.,](#page-9-3) [2020b\)](#page-9-3).

Figure 6: Embedding cosine similarity of corresponding duplicate subwords from EN_1 and EN_2 and random pairs to control for anisotropy. Left: our GPT model. Right: Word2vec embeddings trained on the same data (computed with Gensim).

Figure 7: Embedding cosine similarity of corresponding cloned subwords $w_1 \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_2$ from EN₁ and EN₂, by frequency.

D Anchor Points **1145**

D.1 Anchors on Cloned Languages **1146**

As described earlier, previous works found that anchor points—i.e., lexical items which overlap between **1147** languages—can lead to better generalisation and alignment of representations [\(Dufter and Schütze,](#page-9-2) [2020;](#page-9-2) **1148** [Pires et al.,](#page-10-1) [2019;](#page-10-1) [Wu and Dredze,](#page-12-0) [2019\)](#page-12-0). In our cloned setting, we can investigate this in a controlled 1149 manner by varying the number of vocabulary elements we duplicate. While in the experiments described **1150** above we created EN_2 by duplicating the entire vocabulary, we now duplicate only a fraction. The 1151 remaining vocabulary is shared between EN_1 and EN_2 . In this experiment, we observe that a small 1152 number of anchor points already significantly boosts model performance (see Fig. [8\)](#page-16-1), which indicates **1153** improved generalisation. **1154 1154**

Figure 8: Perplexity by percentage of anchor points, i.e., overlap between EN_1 and EN_2 vocabularies. Models trained on balanced EN_1/EN_2 split.

D.2 Anchors on Real Languages **1155**

English and French vocabularies naturally overlap, having common subwords. These shared elements **1156** potentially act as anchors, facilitating better cross-lingual generalisation. However, the effectiveness of **1157** such anchor points may be moderated by semantic differences; for instance, a shared subword might carry **1158** a different meaning or connotations in English and French, affecting its utility as an anchor. Despite these **1159** nuances, anchor points appear to boost generalisation between real languages: when we merge the EN 1160 and FR vocabularies, we obtain better performance on both languages (compare Table [2,](#page-6-0) row 7 vs 11) as 1161 well as higher alignment of gradients (see App. [G\)](#page-20-0). This aligns with our findings from the cloned language 1162 setting (see App. [D.1\)](#page-16-2). Given these benefits, it is natural to use an anchored (i.e., merged) vocabulary 1163 when possible. $⁷$ $⁷$ $⁷$ </sup> **1164**

 7 In practice, this is usually achieved by training a tokeniser on multilingual data, instead of merging monolingually trained vocabularies.

1165 E Larger Models and More Data

1166 Fig. [9](#page-17-0) and Fig. [10](#page-18-0) contain results for the full array of model- and dataset size combinations we ran for cloned languages and for English and French, respectively.

Figure 9: Performance with balanced and imbalanced EN_1 and EN_2 data for different configurations of model- and dataset size

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Figure 10: Performance with balanced and imbalanced EN and FR data for different configurations of model- and dataset size. Using anchored vocabulary.

¹¹⁶⁸ F Hidden State Similarity

 Here, we compare the hidden states of our model when processing parallel sequences, both in cloned languages (see Table [3\)](#page-19-1) and in English and French (see Table [4\)](#page-19-2). I.e., for a given trained model and parallel sequences w_a and w_b , we first feed w_a through the model, then w_b , and finally compute the 1172 cosine similarities for the hidden states of pairs of corresponding tokens from w_a and w_b (see App. [H](#page-22-0) for details on how these pairs are determined). We use 500 parallel sequences obtained from the Europarl parallel corpus [\(Koehn,](#page-9-17) [2005\)](#page-9-17). For cloned languages, we observe that hidden states of the model trained under higher language imbalance generally have higher cosine similarity than the those of the model trained in a balanced setting. For English and French such a trend is less clear. Interestingly, however, an **anchored vocabulary seems to lead to slightly higher similarities of the hidden states.**

Training Data		Layer											
	$p(EN_1)$ $p(EN_2)$		$\overline{\mathbf{c}}$	3		4 5		6 7	8	9	10	11	
50%	50%	0.55	0.79	0.83	0.88	0.85 0.83 0.78					0.66 0.56 0.46 0.25		-0.21
90%	10%	0.86	0.93	0.96		0.96 0.96 0.96 0.96			0.95	0.94	0.90	0.67	0.11
		0.31	() 14	0.13	0.09	0.11	0.14	0.18	0.28	0.38	0.44	0.42	0.32

Table 3: Hidden states' cosine similarity when LM is fed equivalent inputs in cloned languages. Similarity is computed per token (i.e., comparing pairs of equivalent tokens).

Table 4: Hidden states' cosine similarity for parallel inputs in EN and FR for anchored and disjoint vocabularies. We first match which tokens correspond to each other in the two languages, and then compare their representations (see App. [H\)](#page-22-0).

G Gradient Similarity **¹¹⁷⁸**

Here, we compare the cosine similarity of trained models' gradients with respect to parallel sequences 1179 in two different (possibly cloned) languages. For cloned languages, the alignment between gradients is **1180** significantly higher for the model trained in the imbalanced $\frac{90}{10}$ setting (see Fig. [11\)](#page-20-1). For EN and FR 1181 data, this does not seem to be the case, whether the vocabulary is anchored (see Fig. [12\)](#page-21-0) or disjoint (see **1182** Fig. [13\)](#page-21-1). However, under the anchored vocabulary, the gradient similarities appear to be generally higher, **1183** suggesting better cross-lingual representation alignment. **1184** 1184

Figure 11: Similarity of gradients with respect to parallel sequences in EN_1 and EN_2 for models trained in balanced and imbalanced settings. Macro average for $5\frac{6}{50}$: 0.07. Macro average for $\frac{90}{10}$: 0.53.

Figure 12: Similarity of gradients with respect to parallel sequences in EN and FR for models with anchored (i.e., merged) vocabulary, trained in balanced and imbalanced settings. Macro average for ⁵⁰/₅₀: 0.17. Macro average for $90/10$: 0.14.

Figure 13: Similarity of gradients with respect to parallel sequences in EN and FR for models with disjoint vocabularies, trained in balanced and imbalanced settings. Macro average for $\frac{50}{50}$: 0.04. Macro average for $\frac{90}{10}$: 0.05.

H Matching Corresponding Tokens **¹¹⁸⁵**

In our experiments in [§5.2,](#page-5-2) we employ parallel sequences in different languages and compare both their **1186** hidden states' and their gradients' similarity. **1187** 1187

When comparing gradients (see App. [G\)](#page-20-0), we adopt a setup that is analogous to the training process as **1188** we aim to understand how one language might affect optimisation of the other: we compute gradients **1189** with respect to a full sequence in each language, and then compare these sequence-level aggregated 1190 gradients. Analogously, during training, gradient updates are also aggregated for entire sequences. (In **1191** fact, during training, these updates are also aggregated for an entire batch, but we use a batch size of 1 for **1192** this evaluation.) **1193**

However, when comparing hidden states, we compare the individual representations of corresponding **1194** tokens in the two sequences. We first compute the cosine similarity of each equivalent token pair, and only **1195** then average over the sequence dimension; this provides us with a more informative signal. For parallel **1196** sequences $w_{EN_1} \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_{EN_2}$ in cloned languages, it is clear which token corresponds to which: At each given 1197 position t, we know that $w_{EN_1,t} \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_{EN_2,t}$ so we can simply compare the hidden states position by position 1198 (see Table [3\)](#page-19-1). **1199**

Yet, this might not be the case for real languages EN and FR, e.g., due to differing word order or **1200** tokenisation. To ensure that we still compare the hidden states of tokens that approximately correspond to **1201** each other in the respective languages, we match them based on their cosine similarity scores. Concretely, **1202** we create a bipartite graph where the nodes consist of the tokens of the two sequences. For every pair 1203 of tokens $w_{EN,t}$ and $w_{FR,t'}$ we add an edge which is weighed by the mean cosine similarity of their 1204 hidden states across all layers. We then compute a maximum weight full matching in this graph.^{[8](#page-22-1)} Such a 1205 matching maximises the average similarity across all token pairs. Indeed, the resulting token pairs appear **1206** to approximately correspond to each other (see Fig. [14\)](#page-22-2). We can then compare the hidden states of these **1207** pairs (see Table [4\)](#page-19-2). **1208**

Notably, the cosine similarities of hidden states of corresponding EN and FR tokens $w_{EN,t}$ and $w_{FR,t'}$ 1209 computed in this way generally appear to be slightly higher than for corresponding tokens $w_{EN_1,t} \stackrel{\circ}{=} w_{EN_2,t}$ 1210 of cloned languages (compare Table [4](#page-19-2) (disjoint) and Table [3\)](#page-19-1). This might seem unexpected, given that **1211** $w_{EN_1,t}$ and $w_{EN_2,t}$ are perfectly equivalent but $w_{EN,t}$ and $w_{FR,t'}$ are generally not. Could this be an artifact 1212 of the employed matching strategy which always maximises the average similarity, potentially matching **1213** tokens that have very high similarity but are completely unrelated? If this is the case, we should also **1214** obtain higher similarity scores in the cloned setting when using the described matching strategy instead of **1215** comparing position by position. After running this experiment, we find that using the matching strategy **1216** the similarities under the 50/50 cloned language split are indeed marginally higher, although only in the **1217** last layers. Under the 90/10 split, however, we observe no notable changes. It thus seems that the proposed **1218** matching strategy does not artificially inflate similarity scores too strongly. 1219

Figure 14: Computed matching for an example sentence using a model trained under 50% split with anchored vocabulary. Pointers to "..." denote a match with a token earlier or later in the sequence.

 $8W$ e compute the matching using the NetworkX [\(Hagberg et al.,](#page-9-18) [2008\)](#page-9-18) implementation of the algorithm proposed by [Karp](#page-9-19) [\(1978\)](#page-9-19).