



Mixed-effects regression and eye-tracking data

Lecture 2 of advanced regression for linguists

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This lecture

- ▶ Introduction
 - ▶ Gender processing in Dutch
 - ▶ Eye-tracking to reveal gender processing
- ▶ Design
- ▶ Analysis
- ▶ Conclusion

Gender processing in Dutch

- ▶ The goal of this study is to investigate if Dutch people use **grammatical gender** to anticipate upcoming words
 - ▶ This study was conducted together with Hanneke Loerts and is published in the *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* (Loerts, Wieling and Schmid, 2012)
- ▶ What is grammatical gender?
 - ▶ Gender is a property of a noun
 - ▶ Nouns are divided into classes: masculine, feminine, neuter, ...
 - ▶ E.g., *hond* ('dog') = common, *paard* ('horse') = neuter
- ▶ The gender of a noun can be determined from the forms of other elements syntactically related to it (Matthews, 1997: 36)

Gender in Dutch

Gender	Definite article	Adjective in definite NPs	Adjective in Indefinite NPs
Common	De hond	De mooie hond	Een mooie hond
<i>English equivalent</i>	<i>The_{com} dog_{com}</i>	<i>The_{com} beautiful dog_{com}</i>	<i>A beautiful_{com} dog_{com}</i>
Neuter	Het huis	Het mooie huis	Een mooi huis
<i>English equivalent</i>	<i>The_{neu} house_{neu}</i>	<i>The_{neu} beautiful house_{neu}</i>	<i>A beautiful_{neu} house_{neu}</i>

- ▶ Gender in Dutch: 70% common, 30% neuter
 - ▶ When a noun is diminutive it is always neuter
- ▶ Gender is unpredictable from the root noun and hard to learn
 - ▶ Children overgeneralize until the age of 6 (Van der Velde, 2004)

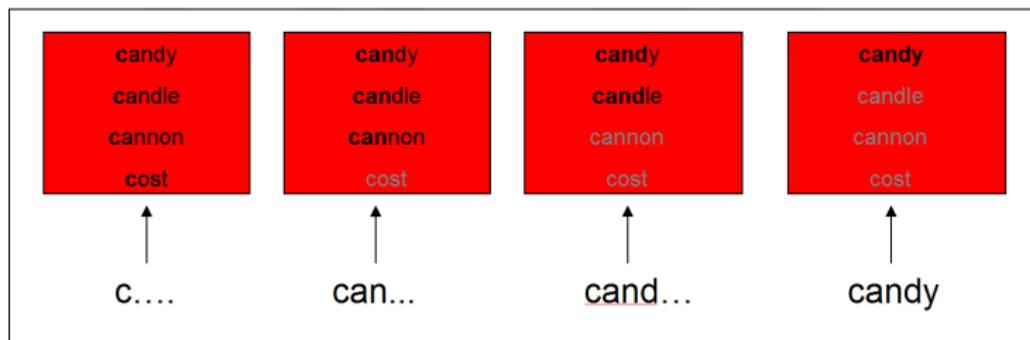


Why use eye tracking?

- ▶ Eye tracking reveals incremental processing of the listener during the time course of the speech signal
- ▶ As people tend to look at what they hear (Cooper, 1974), lexical competition can be tested

Testing lexical competition using eye tracking

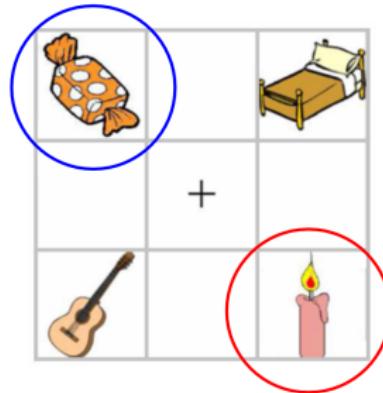
- ▶ Cohort Model (Marslen-Wilson & Welsh, 1978): Competition between words is based on word-initial activation



- ▶ This can be tested using the **visual world paradigm**: following eye movements while participants receive auditory input to click on one of several objects on a screen

Support for the Cohort Model

- ▶ Subjects hear: “Pick up the candy” (Tanenhaus et al., 1995)
- ▶ Fixations towards target (**Candy**) *and* competitor (**Candle**): support for the Cohort Model

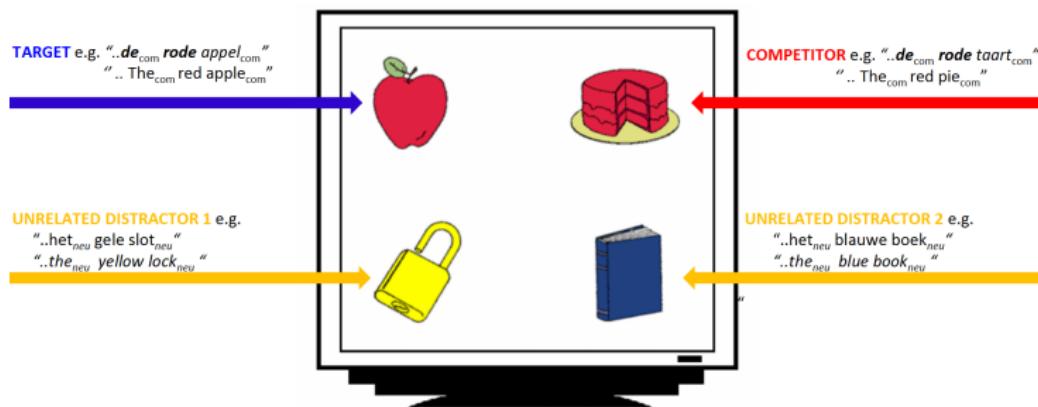


Lexical competition based on syntactic gender

- ▶ Other models of lexical processing state that lexical competition occurs based on **all acoustic input** (e.g., TRACE, Shortlist, NAM)
- ▶ Does gender information restrict the possible set of lexical candidates?
 - ▶ I.e. if you hear *de*, will you focus more on an image of a dog (*de hond*) than on an image of a horse (*het paard*)?
 - ▶ Previous studies (e.g., Dahan et al., 2000 for French) have indicated gender information restricts the possible set of lexical candidates
- ▶ In the following, we will investigate if this also holds for Dutch with its difficult gender system using the visual world paradigm
 - ▶ We analyze the data using mixed-effects regression in R

Experimental design

- ▶ 28 Dutch participants heard sentences like:
 - ▶ *Klik op de rode appel* ('click on the red apple')
 - ▶ *Klik op het plaatje met een blauw boek* ('click on the image of a blue book')
- ▶ They were shown 4 nouns varying in color and gender
 - ▶ Eye movements were tracked with a Tobii eye-tracker (E-Prime extensions)



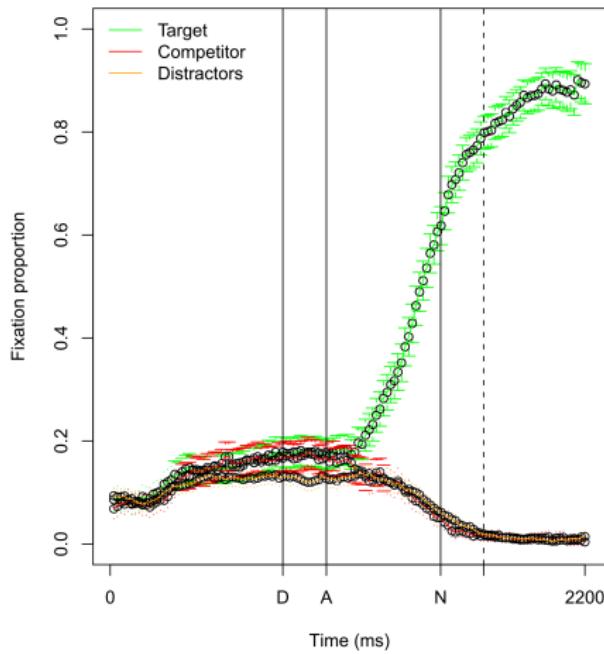
Experimental design: conditions

Target	Competitor	Gender Competitor	Colour Competitor
De _{com} rode appel _{com} The _{com} red apple _{com}	Het _{neu} groene bureau _{neu} The _{neu} green desk _{neu} 	Different	Different
	De _{com} gele zon _{com} The _{com} yellow sun _{com} 	Same	Different
	Het _{neu} rode hart _{neu} The _{neu} red heart _{neu} 	Different	Same
	De _{com} rode taart _{com} The _{com} red cake _{com} 	Same	Same

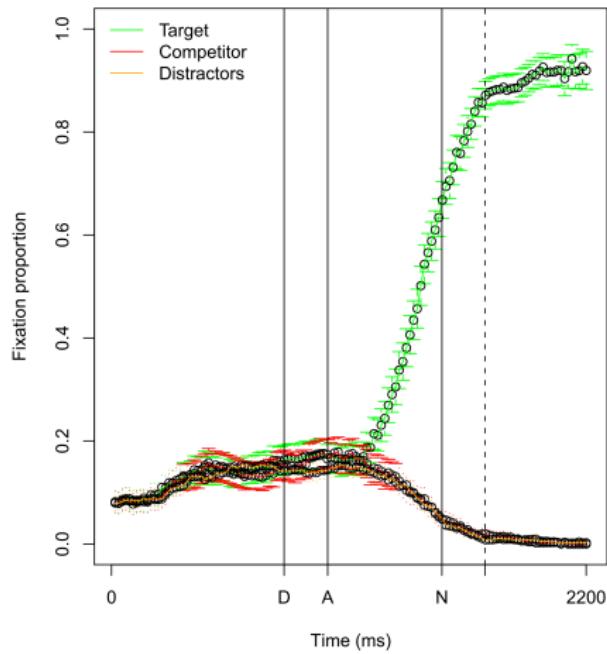
- ▶ Subjects were shown 96 different screens
 - ▶ 48 screens for indefinite sentences (*klik op het plaatje met een rode appel*)
 - ▶ 48 screens for definite sentences (*klik op de rode appel*)

Visualizing fixation proportions: different color

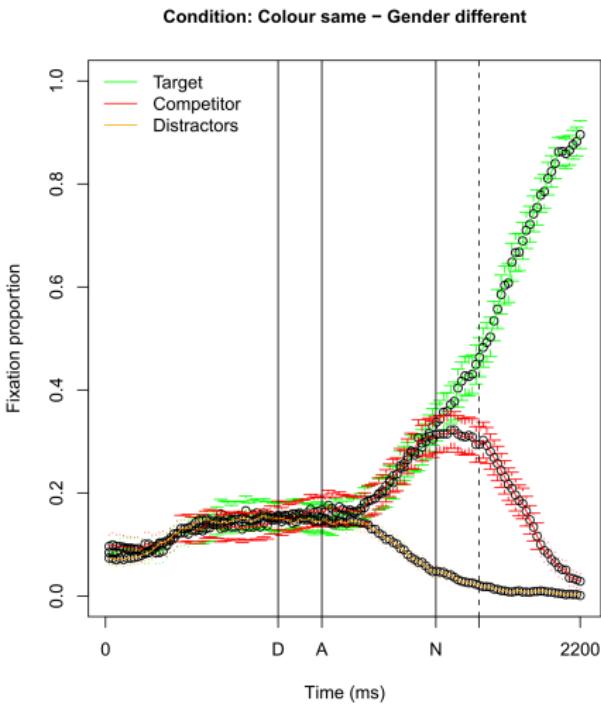
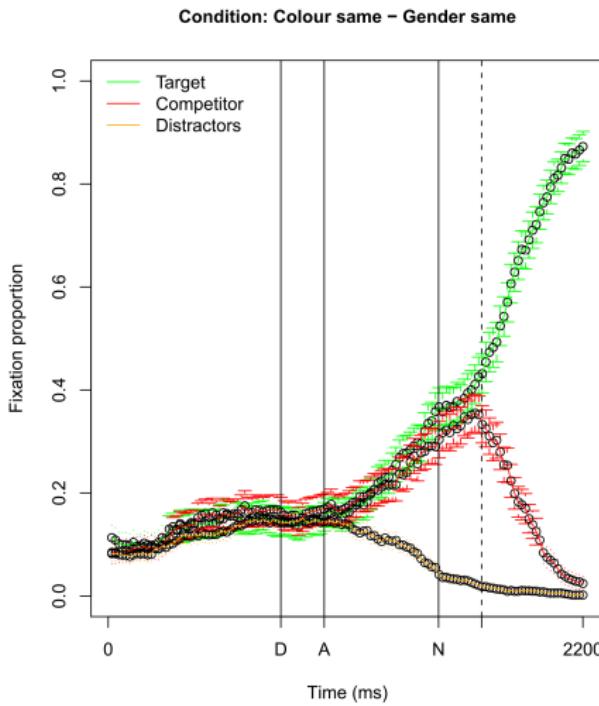
Condition: Colour different – Gender same



Condition: Colour different – Gender different



Visualizing fixation proportions: same color



Which dependent variable?

- ▶ Difficulty 1: choosing the dependent variable
 - ▶ Fixation difference between Target and Competitor
 - ▶ Fixation proportion on Target - requires transformation to empirical logit, to ensure the dependent variable is unbounded: $\log\left(\frac{(y+0.5)}{(N-y+0.5)}\right)$
 - ▶ ...
- ▶ Difficulty 2: selecting a time span
 - ▶ Note that about 200 ms. is needed to plan and launch an eye movement
 - ▶ It is possible (and better) to take every individual sampling point into account, but we will opt for the simpler approach here (in contrast to lecture 4)
- ▶ In this lecture we use:
 - ▶ The difference in fixation time between Target and Competitor
 - ▶ Averaged over the time span starting 200 ms. after the onset of the determiner and ending 200 ms. after the onset of the noun (about 800 ms.)
 - ▶ This ensures that gender information has been heard and processed, both for the definite and indefinite sentences

Independent variables

- ▶ Variable of interest
 - ▶ Competitor gender vs. target gender
- ▶ Variables which could be important
 - ▶ Competitor color vs. target color
 - ▶ Gender of target (common or neuter)
 - ▶ Definiteness of target
- ▶ Participant-related variables
 - ▶ Gender (male/female), age, education level
 - ▶ Trial number
- ▶ Design control variables
 - ▶ Competitor position vs. target position (up-down or down-up)
 - ▶ Color of target
 - ▶ ... (anything else you are not interested in, but potentially problematic)

Some remarks about data preparation

- ▶ Check if variables **correlate** highly
 - ▶ If so: exclude variable / combine variables
(residualization is not OK: Wurm & Fisicaro, 2014)
 - ▶ See Chapter 6.2.2 of Baayen (2008)
- ▶ Check if numerical variables are **normally distributed**
 - ▶ If not: try to make them normal (e.g., logarithmic or inverse transformation)
 - ▶ Note that your dependent variable does not **need** to be normally distributed
(the residuals of your model do!)
- ▶ **Center** your numerical predictors when doing mixed-effects regression
 - ▶ See previous lecture

Our data

```
> head(eye)
```

	Subject	Item	TargetDefinite	TargetNeuter	TargetColor	TargetBrown	TargetPlace	
1	S300	appel		1	0	red	0	1
2	S300	appel		0	0	red	0	2
3	S300	vat		1	1	brown	1	4
4	S300	vat		0	1	brown	1	1
5	S300	boek		1	1	blue	0	4
6	S300	boek		0	1	blue	0	1
	TargetTopRight	CompColor	CompPlace	TupCdown	CupTdown	TrialID	Age	IsMale
1	0	red	2	0	0	44	52	0
2	1	brown	4	1	0	2	52	0
3	0	yellow	2	0	1	14	52	0
4	0	brown	3	1	0	43	52	0
5	0	blue	3	0	0	5	52	0
6	0	yellow	3	1	0	30	52	0
	Edulevel	SameColor	SameGender	TargetPerc	CompPerc	FocusDiff		
1	1	1	1	40.90909	6.818182	34.090909		
2	1	0	0	63.63636	0.000000	63.636364		
3	1	0	0	47.72727	43.181818	4.545455		
4	1	1	0	27.90698	9.302326	18.604651		
5	1	1	0	11.11111	25.000000	-13.888889		
6	1	0	1	23.80952	50.000000	-26.190476		

Our first mixed-effects regression model

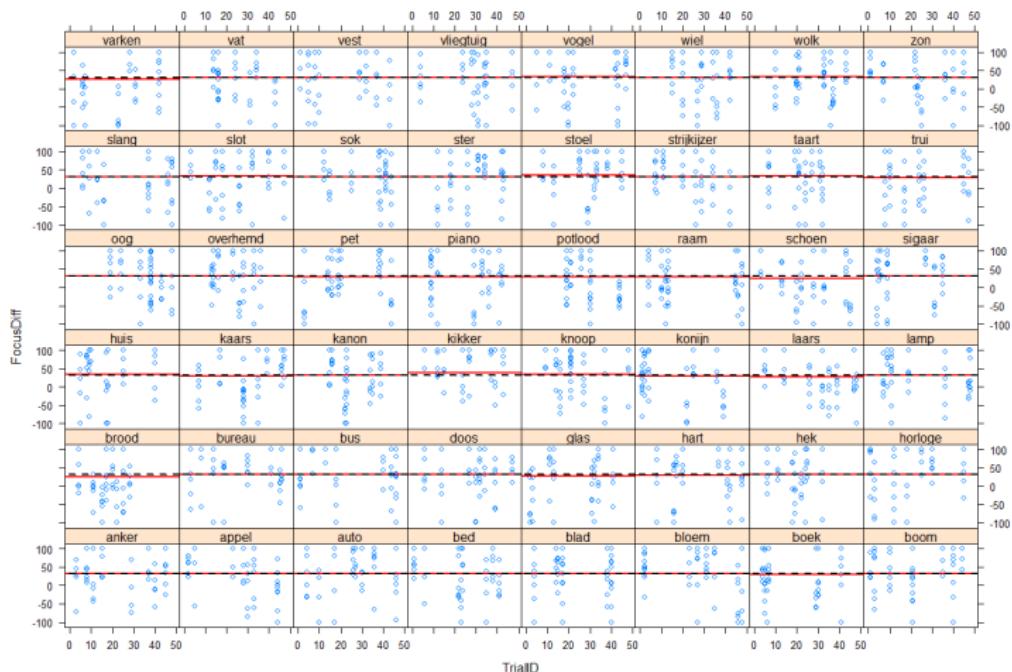
```
# A model having only random intercepts for Subject and Item
> library(lme4) # version 1.1.7
> model = lmer( FocusDiff ~ (1|Subject) + (1|Item) , data=eye )

# Show results of the model
> summary( model )
...
Random effects:
 Groups   Name        Variance Std.Dev.
 Item     (Intercept) 33.5    5.788
 Subject  (Intercept) 294.3   17.156
 Residual           3294.0   57.393
Number of obs: 2266, groups: Item, 48; Subject, 28

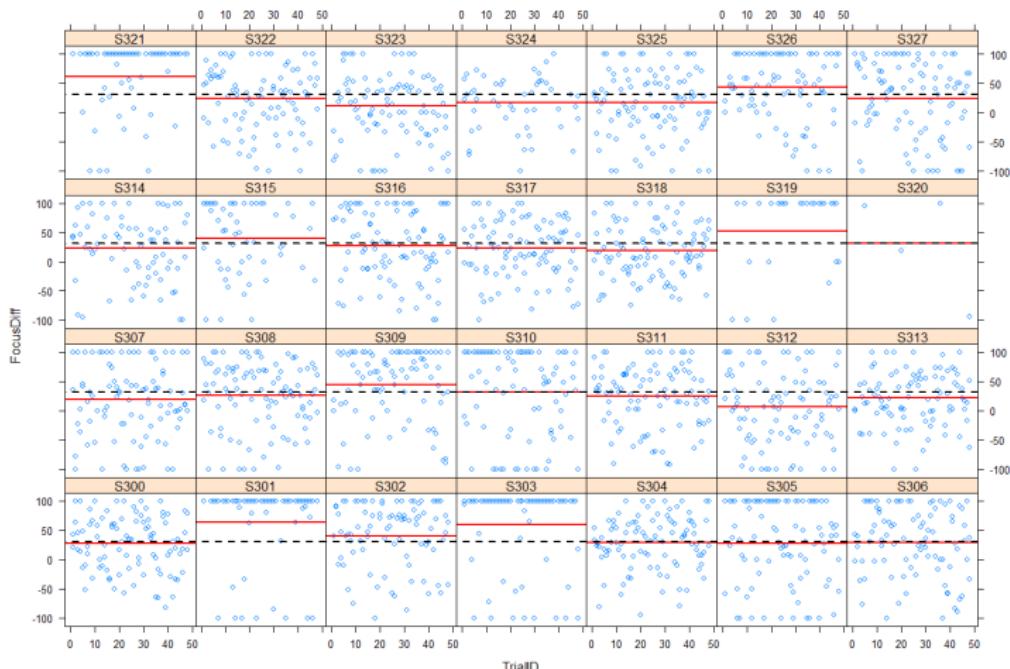
Fixed effects:
            Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept) 28.826     3.608   7.989
...

```

By-item random intercepts



By-subject random intercepts



Is a by-item analysis necessary?

```
# comparing two models (REML=T for random effect comparison: default)
> model1 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ (1|Subject), data=eye)
> model2 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ (1|Subject) + (1|Item), data=eye)
> AIC(model1) - AIC(model2)
[1] 1.965797
```

- ▶ the AIC value is lower than 2, so we can exclude the by-item random intercept
 - ▶ This indicates that the different conditions were well-controlled in the research design

Adding a fixed-effect factor

```
# model with fixed effects, but no random-effect factor for Item
> model3 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + (1|Subject), data=eye)
> summary(model3)

...
Random effects:
 Groups   Name        Variance Std.Dev.
 Subject  (Intercept) 233.9    15.29
 Residual           2866.4   53.54
Number of obs: 2266, groups: Subject, 28

Fixed effects:
            Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept) 49.655     3.331   14.91
SameColor   -43.305    2.260  -19.16
...
```

- ▶ SameColor is highly important as $|t| > 2$
 - ▶ Negative estimate: more difficult to distinguish target from competitor
- ▶ We need to test if the effect of SameColor varies per subject
 - ▶ If there is much between-subject variation, this will influence the significance of the variable in the fixed effects

Testing for a random slope

```
# as SameColor is a binary predictor (contrasting it with the intercept),  
# it needs to be correlated with the random intercept  
> model4 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye)  
> AIC(model3) - AIC(model4)  
[1] 9.81883  
  
> summary(model4)  
...  
Random effects:  
 Groups Name Variance Std.Dev. Corr  
 Subject (Intercept) 371.6 19.28  
 SameColor 143.7 11.99 -0.86  
 Residual 2837.1 53.26  
Number of obs: 2266, groups: Subject, 28  
  
Fixed effects:  
 Estimate Std. Error t value  
(Intercept) 49.576 4.030 12.30  
SameColor -44.197 3.234 -13.66
```

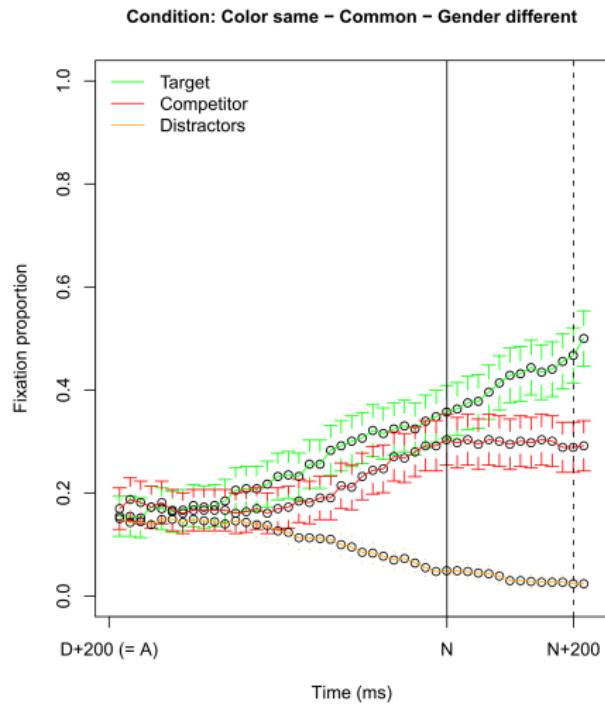
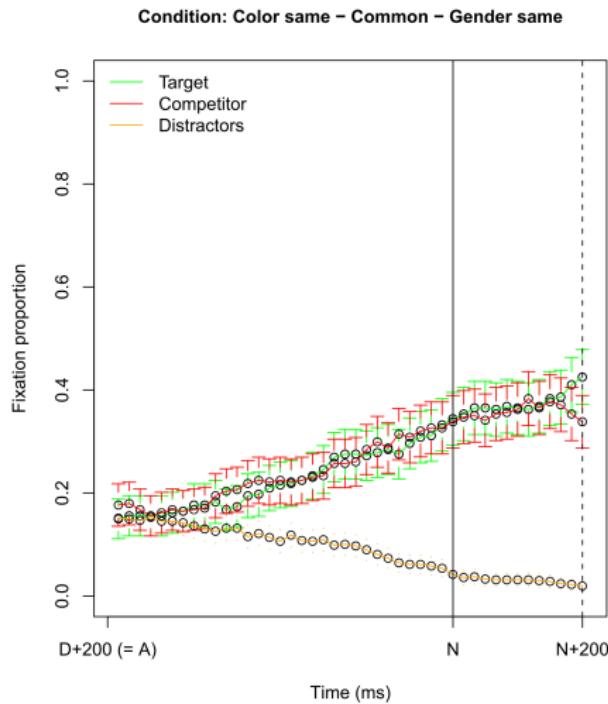
- ▶ Note SameColor is still highly significant as $|t| > 2$ (absolute value)

Investigating the gender effect

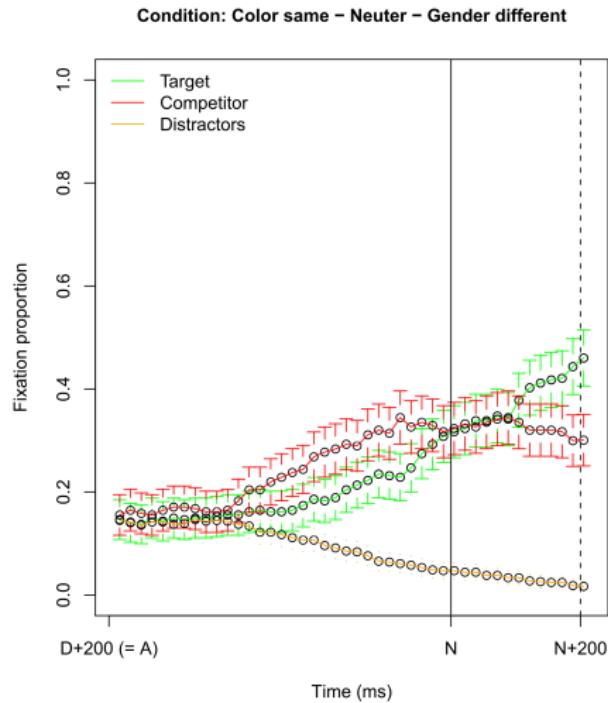
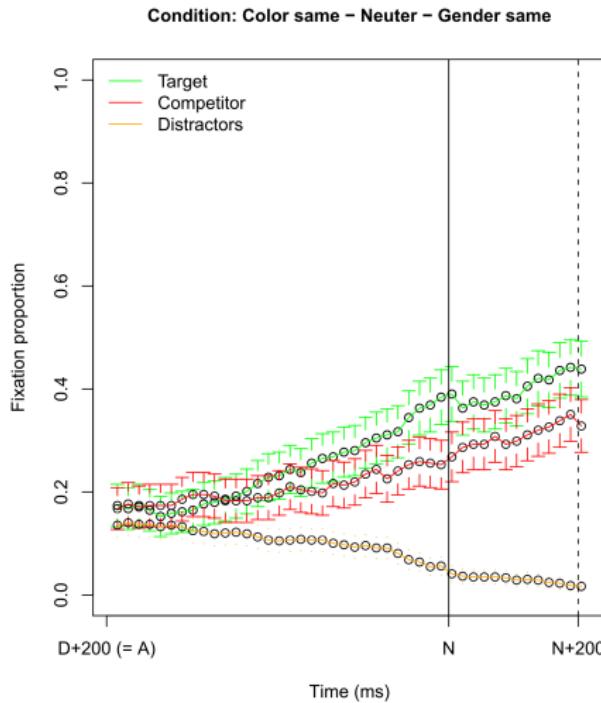
```
> model5 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender +
                  (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye)
> summary(model5)
...
Fixed effects:
            Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept)  49.015     4.177 11.735
SameColor    -44.212     3.237 -13.657
SameGender    1.149     2.241   0.513
...
...
```

- ▶ It seems there is no gender effect...
- ▶ Perhaps there is an effect of common vs. neuter gender?

Visualizing fixation proportions: target common



Visualizing fixation proportions: target neuter



Testing the interaction

```
> model6 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender * TargetNeuter +
                  (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye)
> summary(model6)
...
Fixed effects:
                                         Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept)                      54.342     4.470 12.158
SameColor                         -44.323     3.232 -13.712
SameGender                        -5.918     3.144 -1.882
TargetNeuter                       -10.650    3.153 -3.377
SameGender:TargetNeuter          14.286     4.469  3.197
...
```

- ▶ There is clear support for an interaction (the t 's are all close to 2)
- ▶ These results are in line with the previous fixation proportion graphs

Testing if the interaction yields an improved model

```
# To compare models differing in fixed effects, we specify REML=F.  
# We compare to the best model we had before, and include TargetNeuter as  
# it is also significant by itself.
```

```
> model6a = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender + TargetNeuter +  
+ (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye, REML=F)  
> model6b = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender * TargetNeuter +  
+ (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye, REML=F)  
> AIC(model6a) - AIC(model6b)  
[1] 8.211918
```

- ▶ The interaction improves the model significantly
 - ▶ Unfortunately, we do not have an explanation for the strange neuter pattern
- ▶ Note that we still need to test the variables for inclusion as random slopes (we do this in the lab session)

Adding a factor to the model

```
# set a reference level for the factor
> eye$TargetColor = relevel( eye$TargetColor, "brown" )
> model7 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender * TargetNeuter +
                  TargetColor + (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye)
> summary(model7)
...
Fixed effects:
                                         Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept)                      41.364     5.097   8.116
SameColor                         -44.464     3.208 -13.861
SameGender                        -5.778     3.125  -1.849
TargetNeuter                      -10.799     3.134  -3.445
TargetColorblue                   11.545     3.660   3.154
TargetColorgreen                  16.135     3.648   4.423
TargetColored                     16.673     3.646   4.572
TargetColoryellow                 18.290     3.649   5.013
SameGender:TargetNeuter          14.227     4.442   3.203
...
```

Comparing different factor levels

```
> library(multcomp)
> summary(glht(model7, linfct=mcp(TargetColor = "Tukey")))
```

Simultaneous Tests for General Linear Hypotheses

Multiple Comparisons of Means: Tukey Contrasts

Fit: **lmer**(formula = FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender * TargetNeuter + TargetColor + (1 + SameColor | Subject), data = eye)

Linear Hypotheses:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
blue - brown == 0	11.5449	3.6601	3.154	0.014 *
green - brown == 0	16.1354	3.6478	4.423	<0.001 ***
red - brown == 0	16.6728	3.6465	4.572	<0.001 ***
yellow - brown == 0	18.2902	3.6486	5.013	<0.001 ***
green - blue == 0	4.5905	3.4466	1.332	0.671
red - blue == 0	5.1279	3.4468	1.488	0.570
yellow - blue == 0	6.7453	3.4484	1.956	0.288
red - green == 0	0.5374	3.4329	0.157	1.000
yellow - green == 0	2.1548	3.4361	0.627	0.971
yellow - red == 0	1.6174	3.4347	0.471	0.990

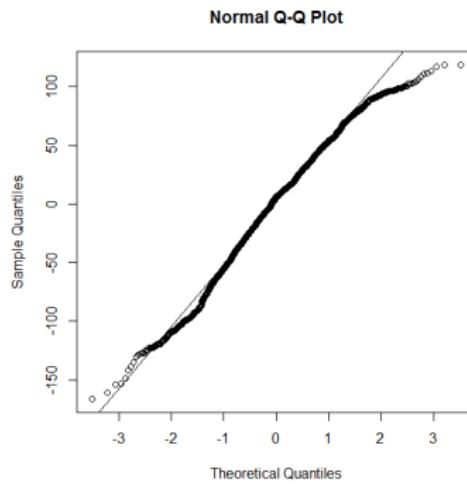
Simplifying the factor in a contrast

```
> eye$TargetBrown = (eye$TargetColor == "brown")*1
> model8 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender * TargetNeuter +
+                 TargetBrown + (1+SameColor|Subject), data=eye)
> summary(model8)
...
Fixed effects:
Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept)      57.075     4.498 12.689
SameColor        -44.500     3.216 -13.837
SameGender       -5.809     3.126 -1.858
TargetNeuter     -10.822     3.135 -3.452
TargetBrown      -15.677     2.982 -5.257
SameGender:TargetNeuter 14.259     4.443  3.210
...
# model7b and model8b: REML=F instead of the default (TRUE)
> AIC(model8b) - AIC(model7b) # N.B. model7b is more complex
[1] -1.770693
```

How well does the model fit?

```
# "explained variance" of the model (r-squared)
> cor( eye$FocusDiff , fitted( model18 ) )^2
[1] 0.2295258

> qqnorm( resid( model18 ) )
> qqline( resid( model18 ) )
```



Model criticism

```
# remove items which the model has trouble fitting
> eye2 = eye[abs(scale(resid(model8))) < 2.5,]

> 1 - (nrow(eye2) / nrow(eye))
[1] 0.00353045 # 0.35% of the data removed

> model9 = lmer(FocusDiff ~ SameColor + SameGender * TargetNeuter +
+                 TargetBrown + (1+SameColor|Subject),
+                 data=eye2)

> cor( eye2$FocusDiff , fitted( model9 ) )^2
[1] 0.2425514 # improved explained variance (was 0.23)

> summary(model9) # all variables significant
...
Fixed effects:
Estimate Std. Error t value
(Intercept)      58.091     4.552 12.761
SameColor        -45.556     3.339 -13.644
SameGender       -6.321     3.086 -2.049
TargetNeuter     -10.517     3.099 -3.394
TargetBrown      -15.792     2.945 -5.362
SameGender:TargetNeuter 14.815     4.390  3.375
...
```

Many more things to do...

- ▶ We need to see if the significant fixed effects remain significant when adding these variables as random slopes per subject
- ▶ There are other variables we should test (e.g., education level)
- ▶ **Model criticism** should be applied *after* these steps
- ▶ We will experiment with these issues in the lab session after the break!
 - ▶ We use a subset of the data (only same color)
 - ▶ Simple R-functions are used to generate all plots

What you should remember...

- ▶ Mixed-effects regression offers an easy-to-use approach to obtain generalizable results even when your design is not completely balanced
- ▶ Mixed-effects regression models allow a fine-grained inspection of the variability of the random effects, which may provide additional insight in your data
- ▶ Mixed-effects regression models are easy to construct in R!
- ▶ We analyzed this data in a *non-optimal* way: rather than averaging over a timespan, it is better to predict the focus for every individual timepoint using **generalized additive modeling** (lecture 4 will illustrate this)

Thank you for your attention!



Any questions?