

Logistic regression, the binomial construction, and a hierarchical regression model

Roger Levy
9.19: Computational Psycholinguistics
20 October 2021

Probing binomial ordering preferences

- In each pair, which phrase sounds more natural?

Probing binomial ordering preferences

- In each pair, which phrase sounds more natural?

hit and run

run and hit

Probing binomial ordering preferences

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hit and run

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gold and silver

silver and gold

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chanting and enchanting

enchanting and chanting

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shares and stocks

stocks and shares

chanting and enchanting

enchanting and chanting

quails and felines

felines and quails

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	Count	Count(Rev)
salt and pepper	568,951	32,082
cat and mouse	26,774	367
skirts and sweaters	1,763	1,707
bishops and seamstresses	<40	<40
few and unfavorable	<40	<40
principal and interest	120,034	50,032

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Ordering preferences in binomials

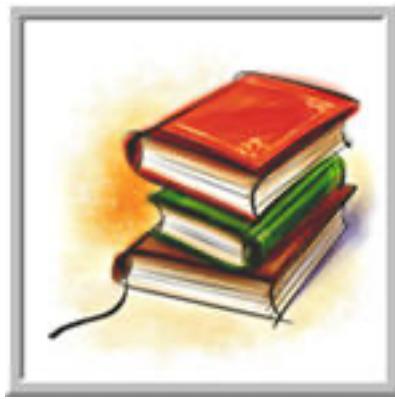
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- What is the representation of these ordering preferences?
- Are these preferences also *productive*?

An n -grams dataset from millions of books

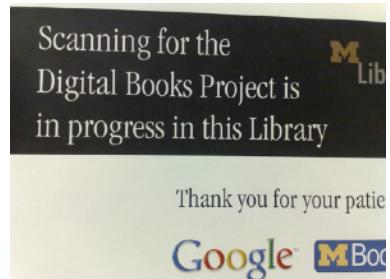


(image credit *Top of the List*)

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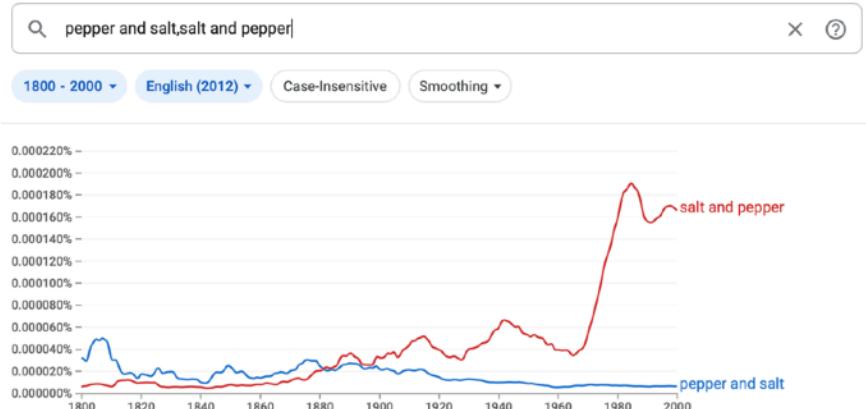
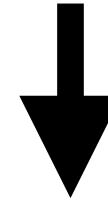
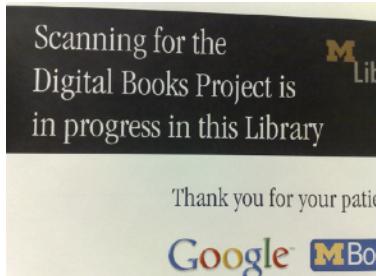
(image credit Top of the List)



An n -grams dataset from millions of books



(image credit Top of the List)



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books

Jean-Baptiste Michel,^{1,2,3,4,5,6,7*} Yuan Kui Shen,^{2,6,7} Aviva Presser Aiden,^{2,6,8} Adrian Veres,^{2,4,9} Matthew C. Gray,¹⁰ The Google Books Team,¹⁰ Joseph P. Pickett,¹¹ Dale Hoiberg,¹² Dan Clancy,¹⁰ Peter Norvig,¹⁰ Jon Orwant,¹⁰ Steven Pinker,³ Martin A. Nowak,^{1,13,14} Erez Lieberman Aiden,^{1,2,6,15,16,17,18}

We constructed a corpus of digitized texts containing about 4% of all books ever printed. Analysis of this corpus enables us to investigate cultural trends quantitatively. We survey the vast terrain of "culturomics," focusing on linguistic and cultural phenomena that were reflected in the English language between 1800 and 2000. We show how this approach can provide insights about fields as diverse as lexicography, the evolution of grammar, collective memory, the adoption of technology, the pursuit of fame, censorship, and historical epidemiology. Culturomics extends the boundaries of rigorous quantitative inquiry to a wide array of new phenomena spanning the social sciences and the humanities.

pages of 1208 books. The corpus contains 386,434,758 words from 1861; thus, the frequency is 5.5×10^{-5} . The use of "slavery" peaked during the Civil War (early 1860s) and then again during the Great Migration (1935–1968) (Fig. 1B).

In contrast, we compare the frequencies of "the Great War" to the frequencies of "World War I" and "World War II." References to "the Great War" peak between 1915 and 1941. But although its frequency drops thereafter, interest in the underlying events had not disappeared; instead, they are referred to as "World War I" (Fig. 1C).

These examples highlight two central factors that contribute to cultural trends. Cultural change guides the concepts we discuss (such as "slavery"). Linguistic change, which, of course, has cultural roots, affects the words we use for those concepts ("the Great War" versus "World War I"). In this paper, we examine both linguistic changes, such as changes in the lexicon and grammar, and cul-

Testing some more intuitions

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boof and kabooft kabooft and boof

Testing some more intuitions

boof and kabooft *kabooft and booft*

Testing some more intuitions

boof and kabooft

kabooft and booft

glagy and gligy

gligy and glagy

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swirp and swirr

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dasby and rasby

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Testing some more intuitions

<i>boof and kabooft</i>	<i>kabooft and booft</i>	Word Length
<i>glagy and gligy</i>	<i>gligy and glagy</i>	Vowel Quality
<i>swirp and swirr</i>	<i>swirr and swirp</i>	# Final Consonants
<i>smates and smats</i>	<i>smats and smates</i>	Vowel Length
<i>rasby and dasby</i>	<i>dasby and rasby</i>	Initial Consonant Obstruency

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fim - *fum*

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fim - *fum*

begroast and *begroat*

fum - *fim*

begroat and *begroast*

Testing some more intuitions

fim - *fum*

begroast and *begroat*

spladilk or *dilk*

fum - *fim*

begroat and *begroast*

dilk or *spladilk*

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<i>begroast</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>begroat</i>
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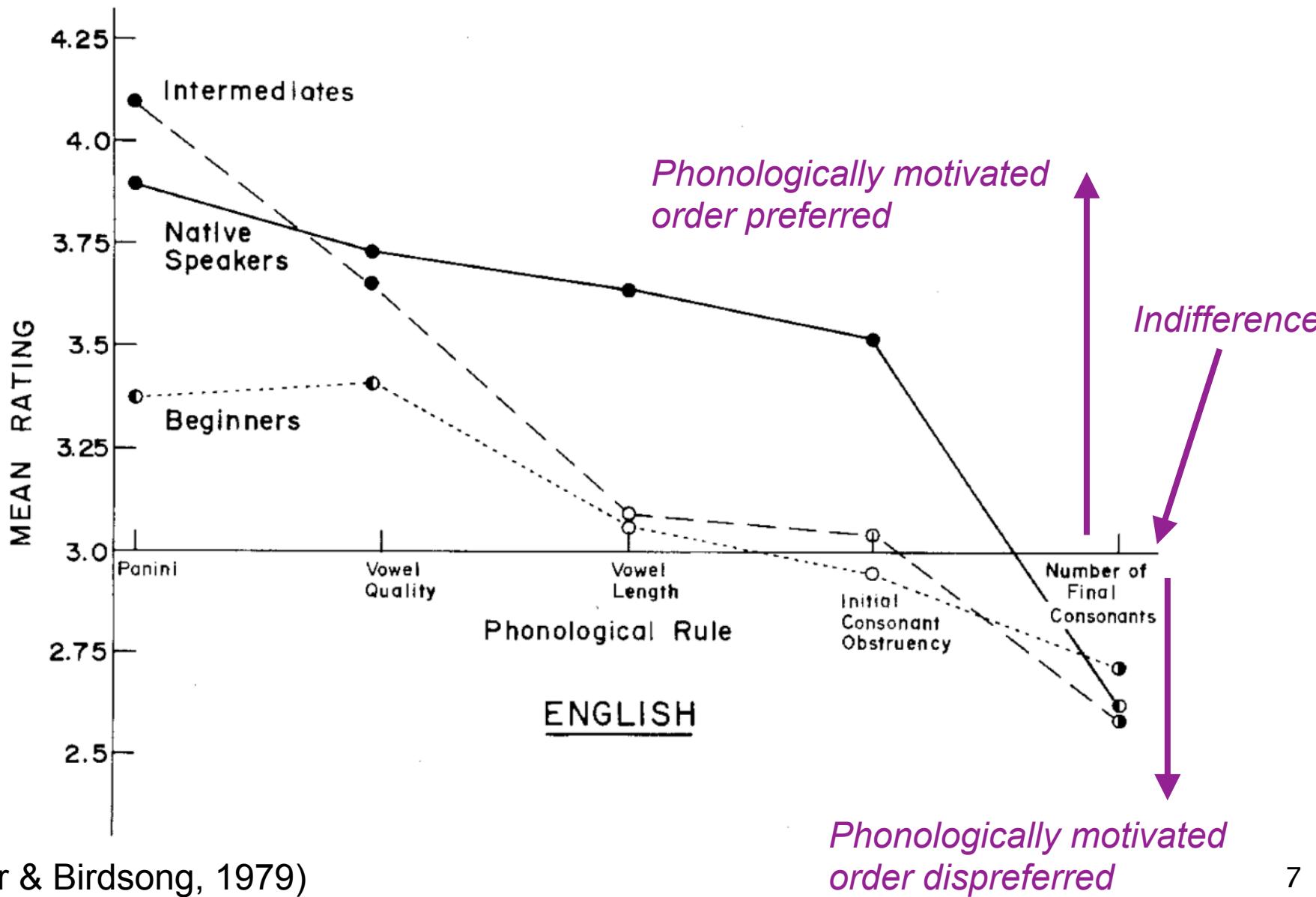
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<i>waf</i>	-	<i>paf</i>
<i>frinning</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>freening</i>

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<i>dilk</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>spladilk</i>
<i>paf</i>	-	<i>waf</i>
<i>freening</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>grinning</i>

Ordering preferences for nonce words



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 - More culturally prioritized or “powerful” word comes first
 - *clergymen and parishioners*; *food and drinks*; **clerks and postmasters*

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The condiment rule
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 - *bride and groom; smile and wink; *psychiatrists and patients*
- Length (“Panini’s Law”)
 - The shorter word comes first (we count in syllables)
 - *ask and answer; tense and irritable; *family and friends*

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$$P("X \text{ and } Y" | \{X, Y\})$$

e.g., $P(\text{"pepper and salt"} | \{\text{salt, pepper}\})$

A dataset of binomial expressions

Binomials are all over in naturalistic use → easy to sample:

ask and answer	right and good
knew and admired	sit-ups and push-ups
medicines and yeast	fits and starts
surprised and dubious	anxiously and eagerly
rank and file	congressional and presidential
thick and brown	toe and fronts
understand and share	startling and skillful
consider and rate	carefully and prudently
commoners and kings	WordPerfect and Lotus
always and everywhere	milk and honey
stained and waxed	improperly and unfairly
officially and publicly	business and government
tear and inflame	playbacks and study
By and large	cold and wet
linguistic and paralinguistic	softly and triumphantly
further and unnecessarily	register and vote
pie and bar	proposed and accepted
anger and anxiety	geographical and socio-economic
follow and understand	welcomed and approved
crime and sports	dwindling and diminishing
poetry and non-poetry	tough and dirty
immediately and directly	eighth and ninth

:

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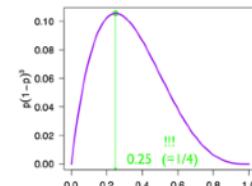
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MLE



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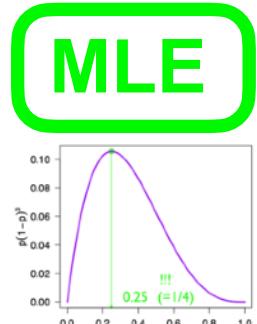
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abused and neglected ✓
bold and entertaining ✓
coughed and chattered ✓
medicines and yeast ✗



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Probabilistic models of binomial ordering preferences

- One-constraint model, e.g.,

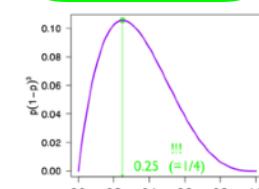
$$P([\text{SHORT}] \text{ and } [\text{LONG}] | \{[\text{short}], [\text{long}]\}) = p$$

- In our dataset, 65% preference when conjuncts differ in number of syllables
 - We set the relative-frequency estimate of p to 0.65
 - Remember: this is the ***maximum likelihood estimate!***

abused and neglected ✓
bold and entertaining ✓
coughed and chattered ✓
medicines and yeast ✗

people and soils ✗
surprised and dubious ✓
sought and received ✓
sharp and rapid ✓

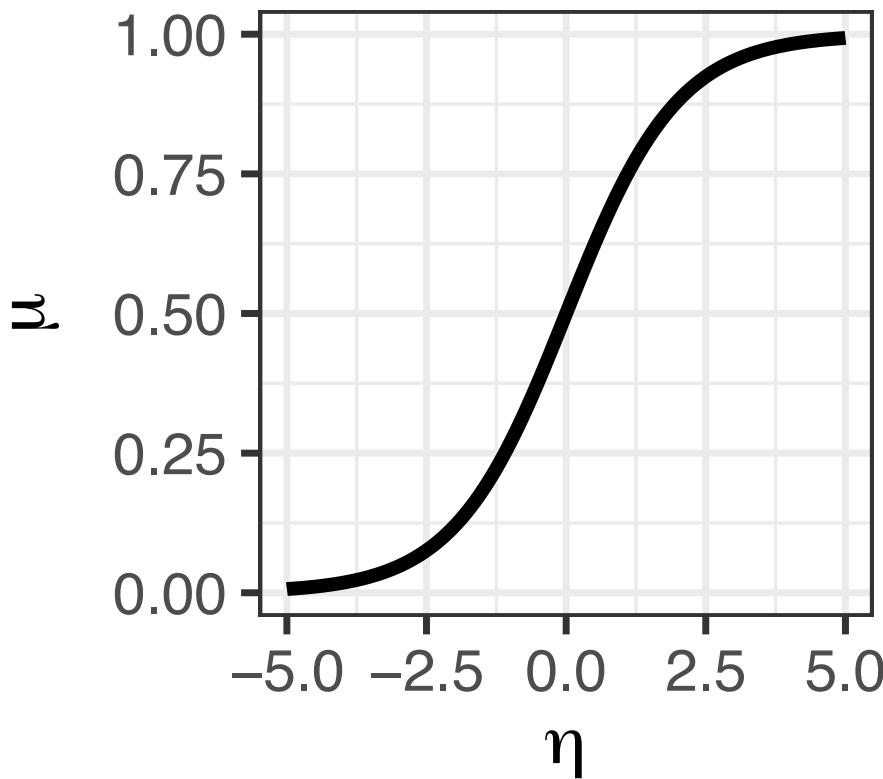
✗ **MLE**



From earlier in
the semester!

Multiple, cross-cutting constraints

- When we have more constraints, we use *logistic regression*

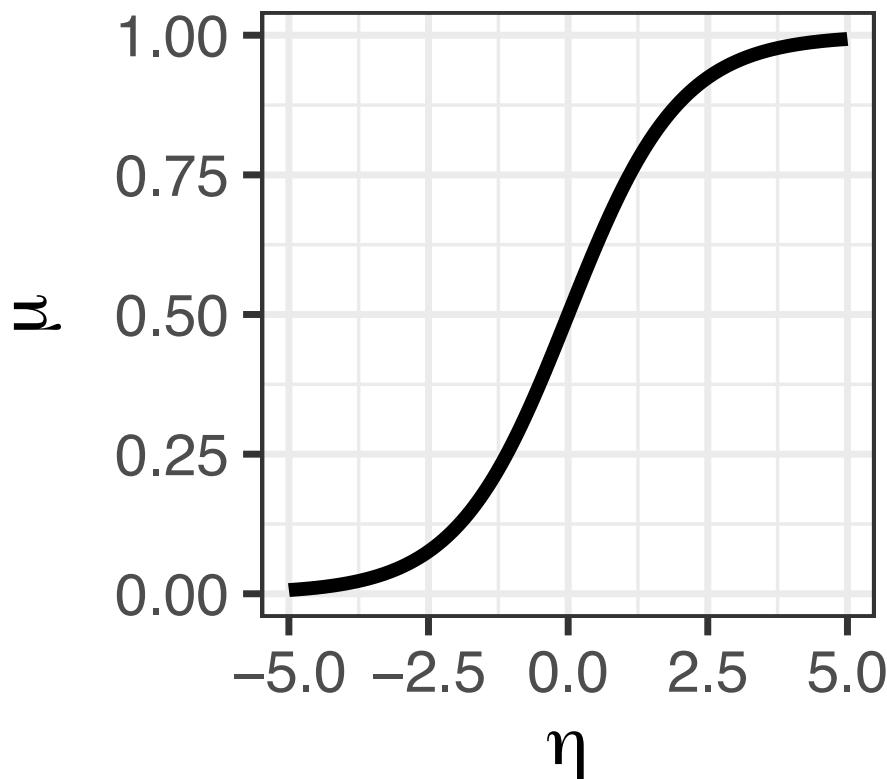


Multiple, cross-cutting constraints

- When we have more constraints, we use ***logistic regression***

$$P(\text{"success"}) = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

$$\eta = \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \cdots + \beta_N X_N$$

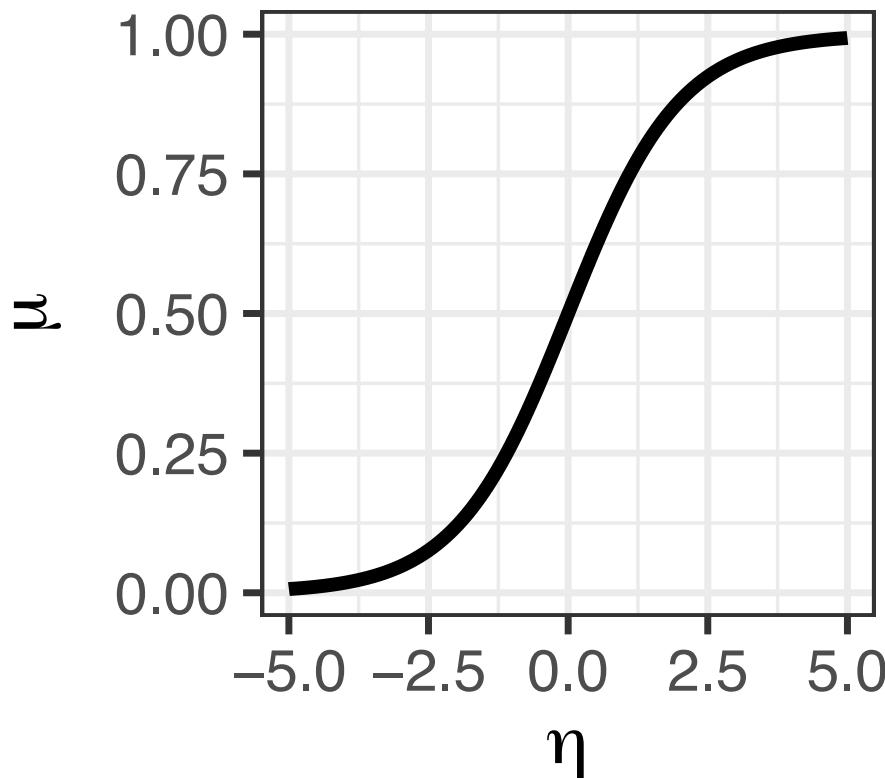


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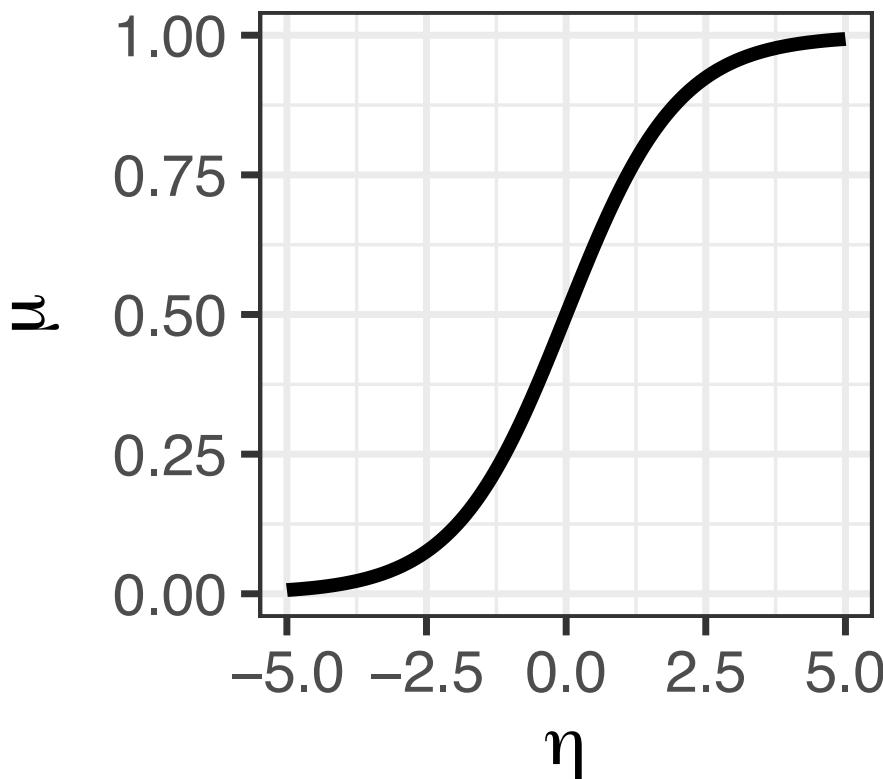
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a "goodness score"



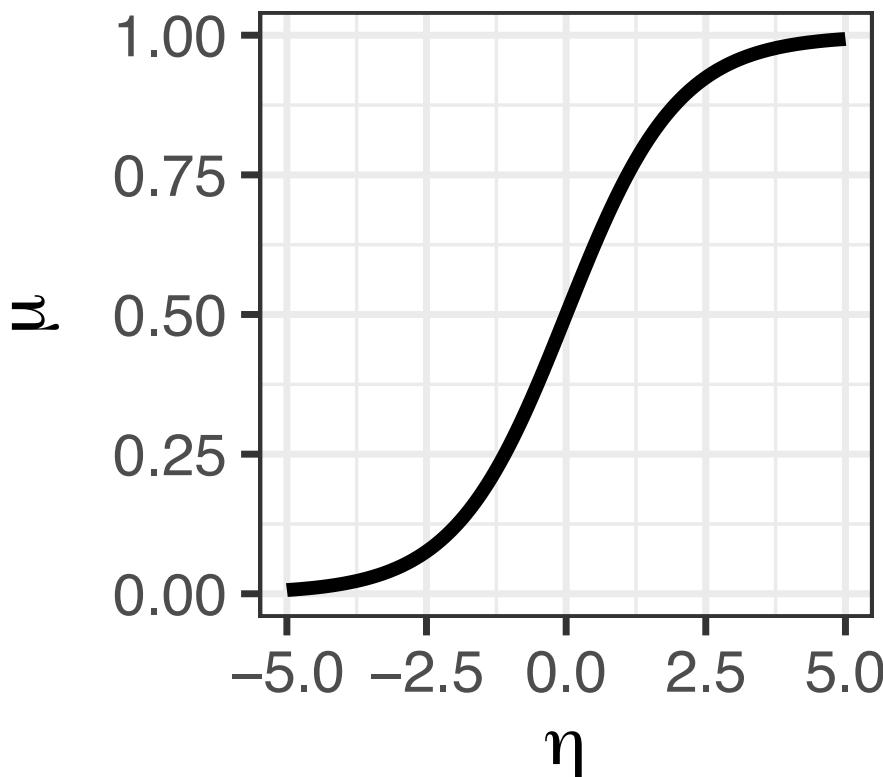
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Logistic (sigmoid)
activation function

Fitting logistic regression via MLE

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- With multiple model parameters, we get a likelihood *surface* on which we want to find the maximum

Fitting logistic regression via MLE

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- 2-constraint example: word **length** and word **frequency**

Fitting logistic regression via MLE

- With multiple model parameters, we get a likelihood surface on which we want to find the maximum
- 2-constraint example: word **length** and word **frequency**

	Short < Long?	Freq < Infreq?
<i>new and modern</i>	✓	✓
<i>correct and acute</i>	n/a	✓
<i>down and out</i>	n/a	✗
<i>cruel and unusual</i>	✓	✗
<i>anger and spite</i>	✗	✓
<i>crochet and knit</i>	✗	✗

Fitting logistic regression via MLE

- With multiple model parameters, we get a likelihood surface on which we want to find the maximum
- 2-constraint example: word **length** and word **frequency**

	Short < Long?	Freq < Infreq?
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<i>anger and spite</i>	✗	✓
<i>crochet and knit</i>	✗	✗

$$\eta = \beta_{Syl} X_{Syl} + \beta_{Freq} X_{Freq}$$

$$P(\text{A and B} | \{A, B\}) = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

Fitting logistic regression via MLE

- With multiple model parameters, we get a likelihood surface on which we want to find the maximum
- 2-constraint example: word **length** and word **frequency**

	Short<Long?	X _{Syl}	Freq<Infreq?
<i>new and modern</i>	✓	1	✓
<i>correct and acute</i>	n/a	0	✓
<i>down and out</i>	n/a	0	✗
<i>cruel and unusual</i>	✓	1	✗
<i>anger and spite</i>	✗	-1	✓
<i>crochet and knit</i>	✗	-1	✗

$$\eta = \beta_{Syl} X_{Syl} + \beta_{Freq} X_{Freq}$$

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Fitting logistic regression via MLE

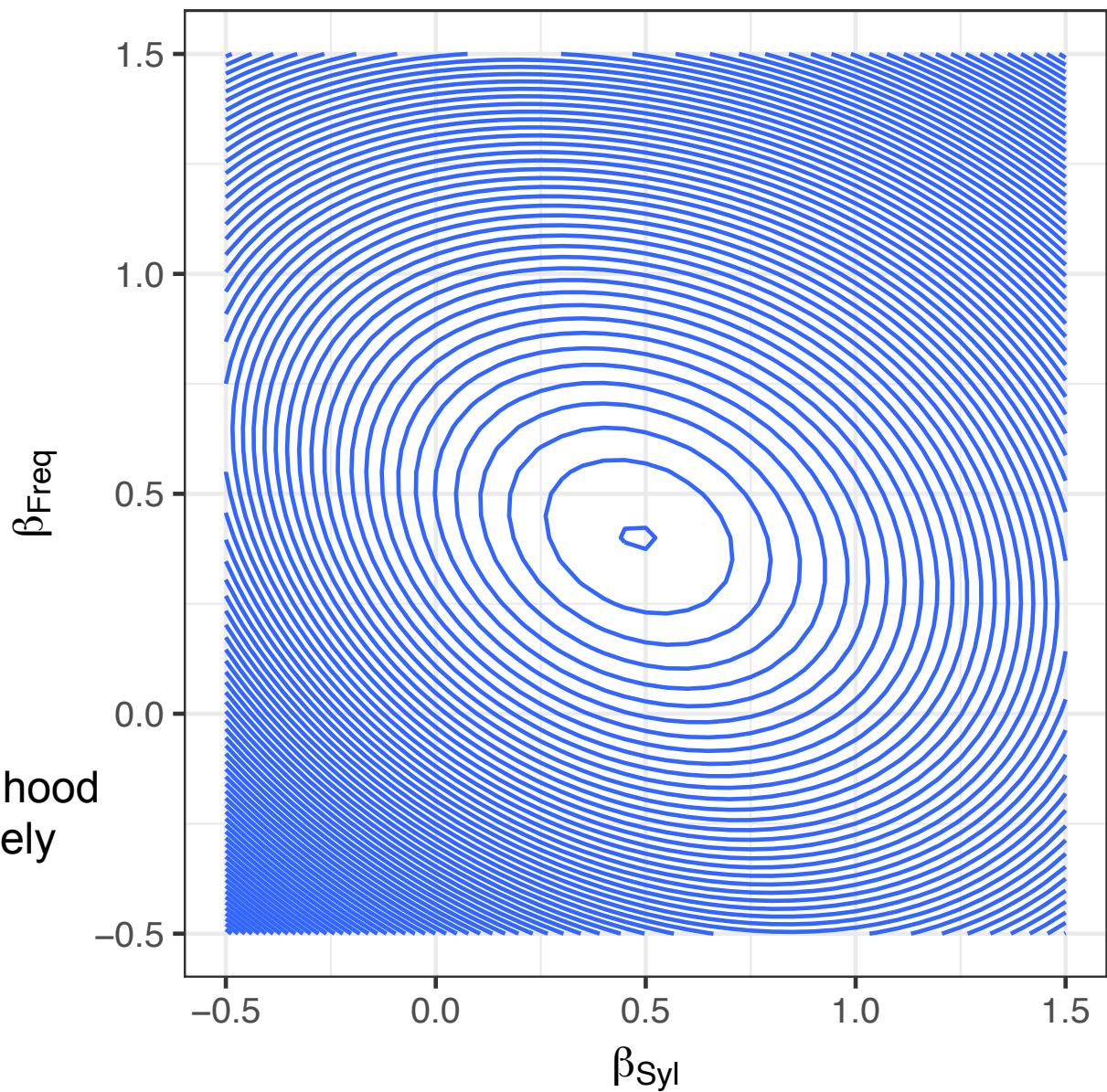
- With multiple model parameters, we get a likelihood surface on which we want to find the maximum
- 2-constraint example: word **length** and word **frequency**

	Short<Long?	X_{Syl}	Freq<Infreq?	X_{Freq}
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<i>down and out</i>	n/a	0	✗	-1
<i>cruel and unusual</i>	✓	1	✗	-1
<i>anger and spite</i>	✗	-1	✓	1
<i>crochet and knit</i>	✗	-1	✗	-1

$$\eta = \beta_{Syl} X_{Syl} + \beta_{Freq} X_{Freq}$$

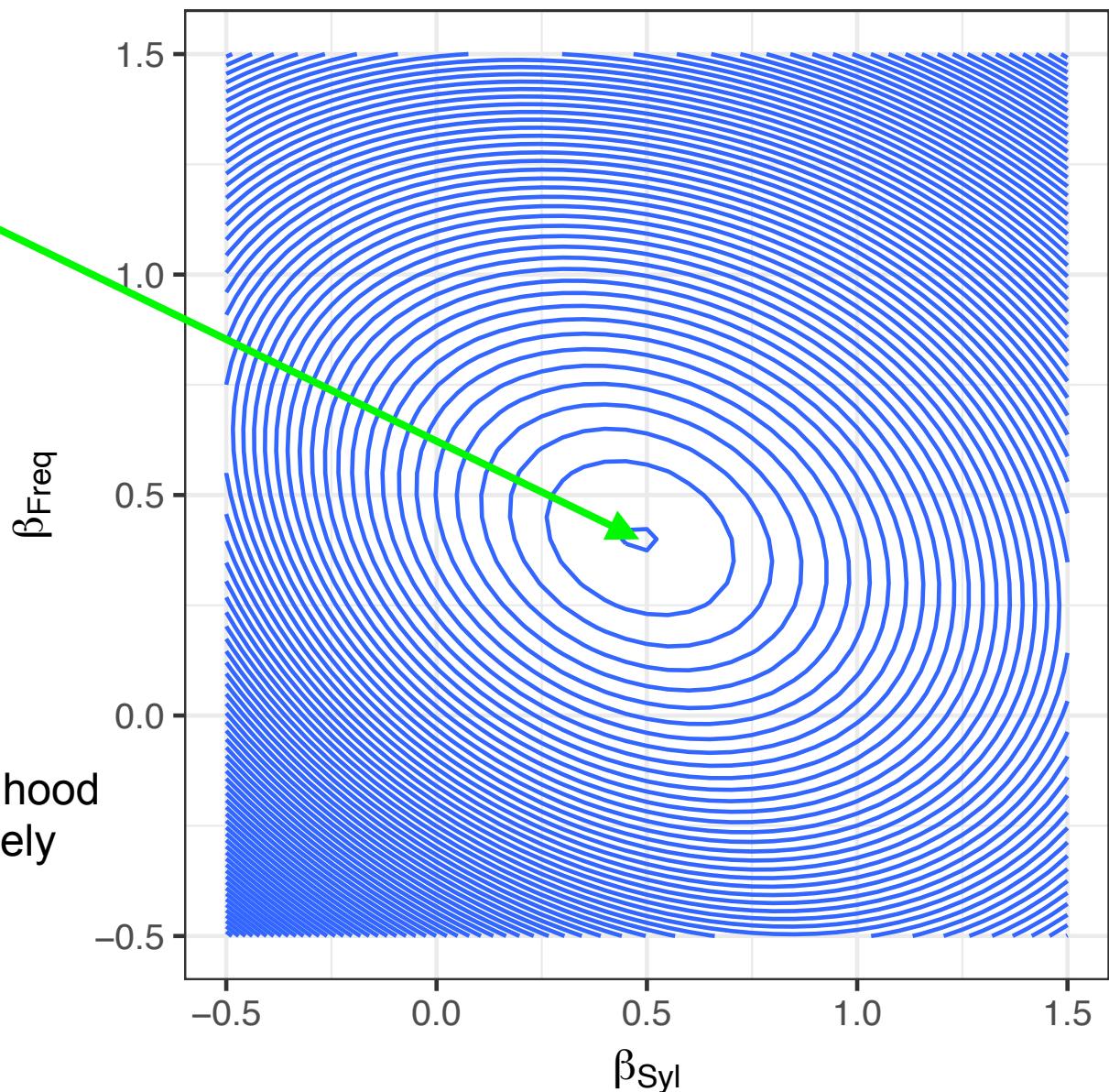
$$P(\text{A and B} | \{A, B\}) = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

Maximum of the likelihood surface



For logistic regression, likelihood surface is **convex** — relatively easy to find optimum

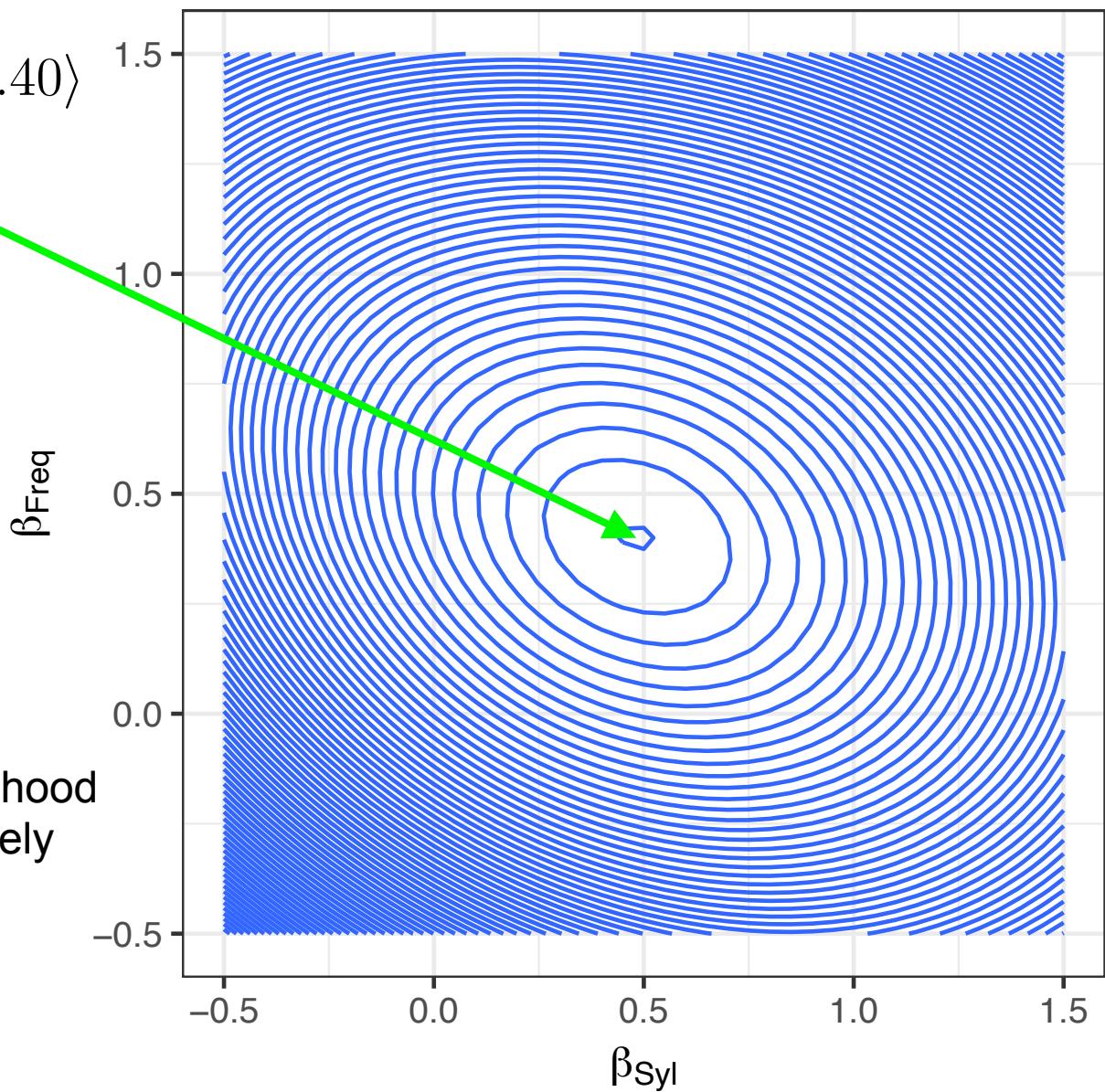
Maximum of the likelihood surface



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Maximum of the likelihood surface

$$\langle \hat{\beta}_{Syl}, \hat{\beta}_{Freq} \rangle = \langle 0.48, 0.40 \rangle$$



For logistic regression, likelihood surface is **convex** — relatively easy to find optimum

Model predictions from fitted parameters

Model predictions from fitted parameters

Logistic Regression Model Structure

$$\eta = \beta_{Syl} X_{Syl} + \beta_{Freq} X_{Freq}$$

$$\frac{P(\text{A and B} | \{A, B\})}{\text{a.k.a. mean } \mu} = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

Model predictions from fitted parameters

Logistic Regression Model Structure

$$\eta = \beta_{Syl} X_{Syl} + \beta_{Freq} X_{Freq}$$

$$P(\text{A and B} | \{A, B\}) = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

a.k.a. mean μ

Fitted model parameters

$$\langle \hat{\beta}_{Syl}, \hat{\beta}_{Freq} \rangle = \langle 0.48, 0.40 \rangle$$

Model predictions from fitted parameters

Logistic Regression Model Structure

$$\eta = \beta_{Syl} X_{Syl} + \beta_{Freq} X_{Freq}$$

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Fitted model parameters

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Model predictions

	Short < Long	Freq < Infreq?
<i>new and modern</i>	✓	✓
<i>correct and acute</i>	n/a	✓
<i>down and out</i>	n/a	✗
<i>cruel and unusual</i>	✓	✗
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Model predictions from fitted parameters

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$$\frac{P(A \text{ and } B | \{A, B\})}{\text{a.k.a. mean } \mu} = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

Fitted model parameters

$$\langle \hat{\beta}_{Syl}, \hat{\beta}_{Freq} \rangle = \langle 0.48, 0.40 \rangle$$

Model predictions

	Short < Long	Freq < Infreq?	$\hat{p} \{A, B\}$
<i>new and modern</i>	✓	✓	0.71
<i>correct and acute</i>	n/a	✓	0.60
<i>down and out</i>	n/a	✗	0.4
<i>cruel and unusual</i>	✓	✗	0.52
<i>anger and spite</i>	✗	✓	0.48
<i>crochet and knit</i>	✗	✗	0.29

Multiple, cross-cutting constraints

Constraint	Example	Strength
Iconic/scalar sequencing	<i>open and read</i>	20
Perceptual markedness	<i>deer and trees</i>	1.7
Formal markedness	<i>change and improve</i>	1.4
Power	<i>food and drink</i>	1
Avoid final stress	<i>confuse and disorient</i>	0.5
Short<Long	<i>cruel and unusual</i>	0.4
Frequent<Infrequent	<i>neatly and sweetly</i>	0.3

Multiple, cross-cutting constraints

{ X_i }

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Iconic/scalar sequencing	<i>open and read</i>	20
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	<i>neatly and sweetly</i>	0.3

Multiple, cross-cutting constraints

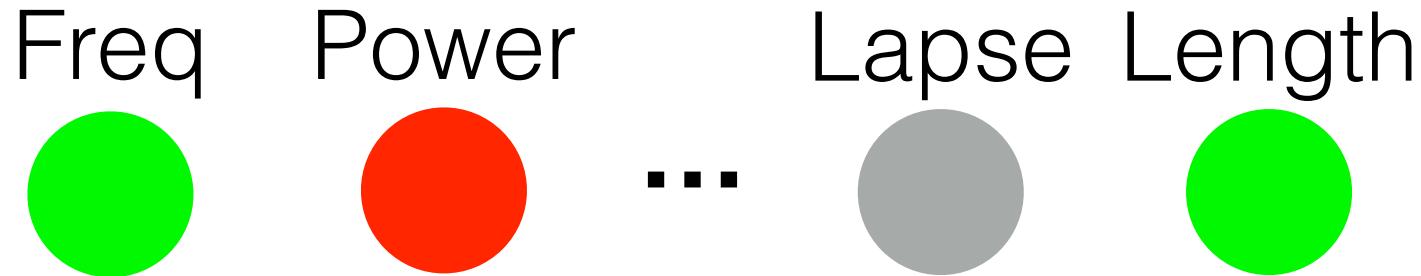
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{ β_i }

As a Bayes Net:

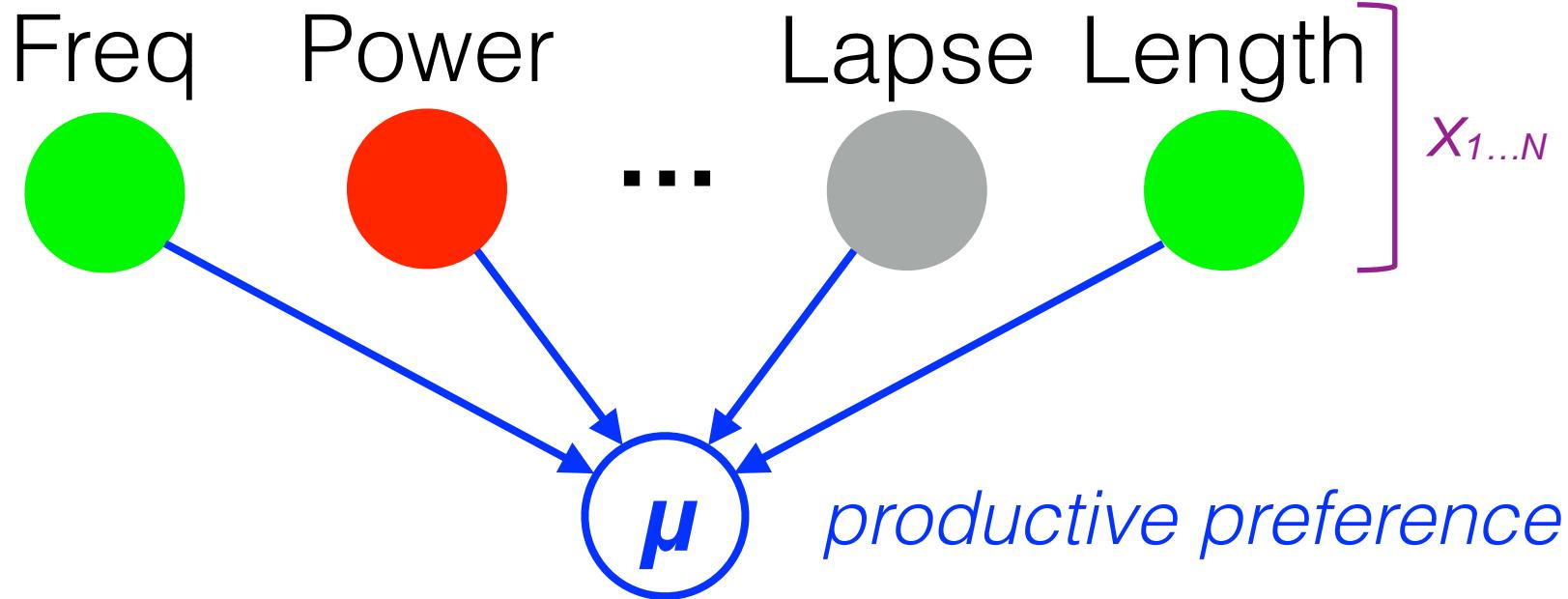
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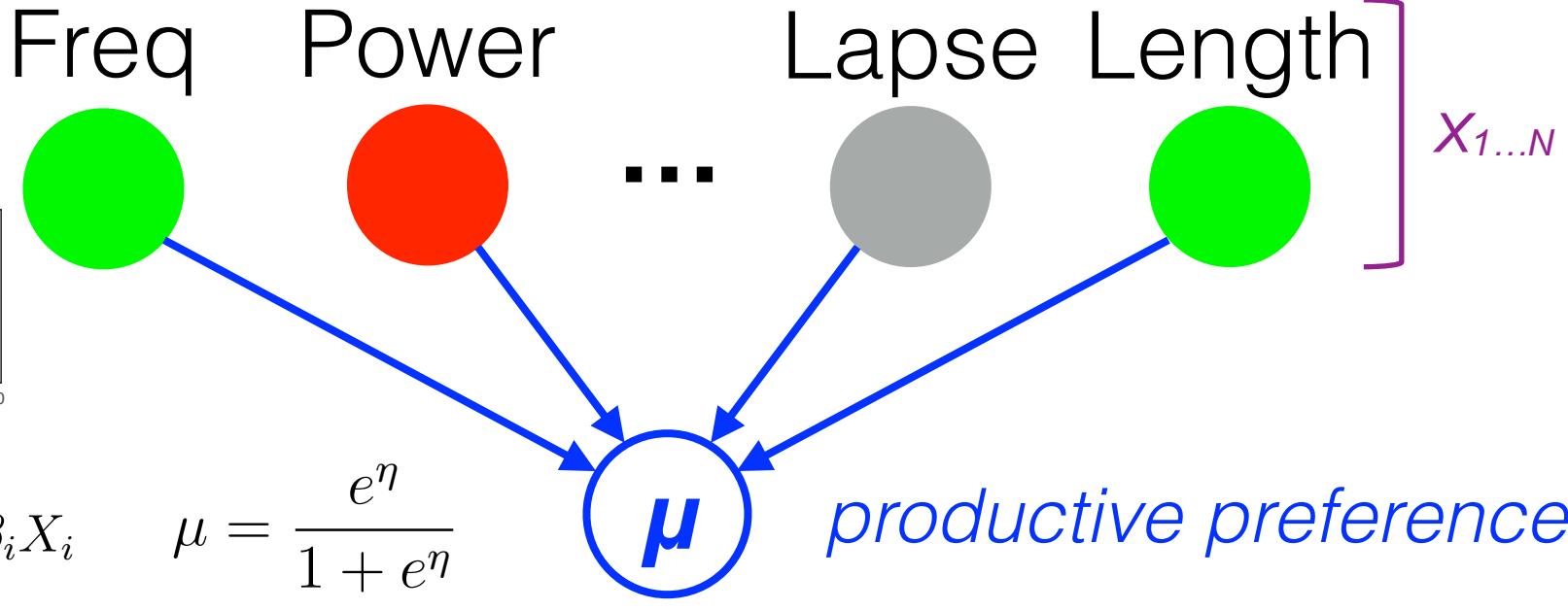
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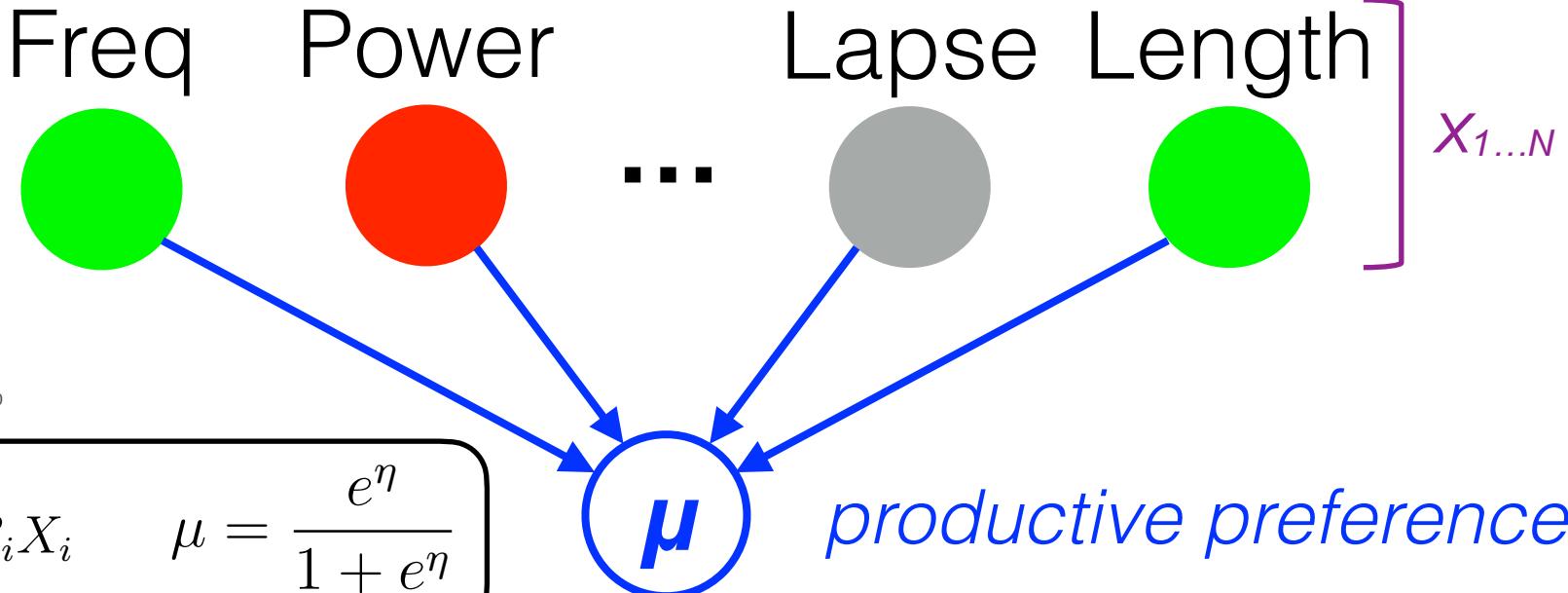
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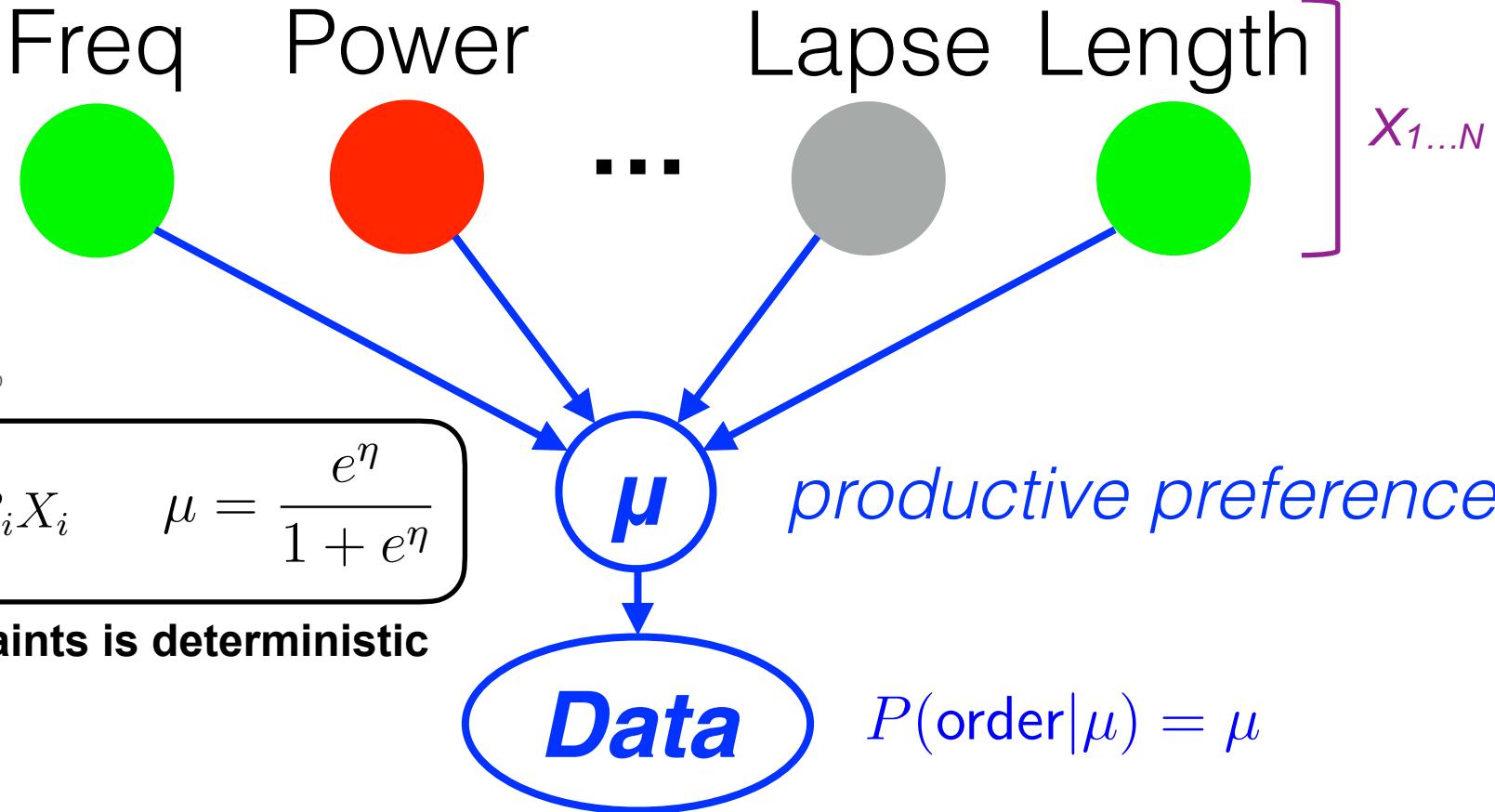


As a Bayes Net:

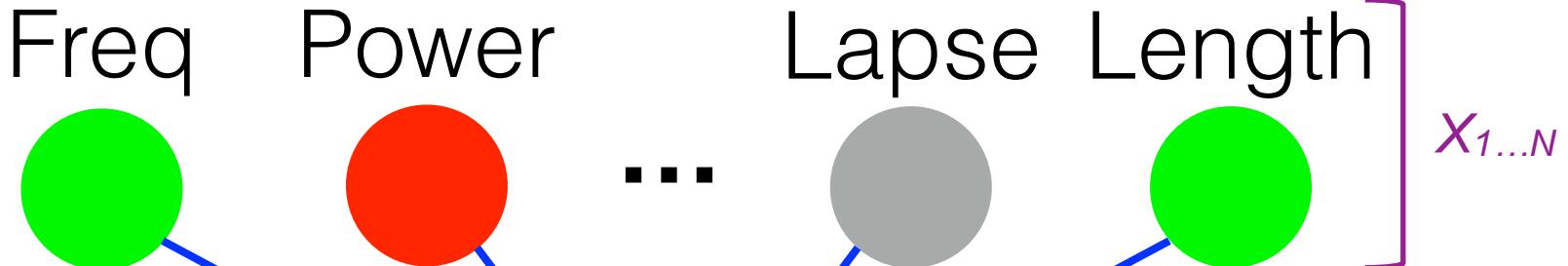


$\mu | \text{Constraints}$ is deterministic

As a Bayes Net:



As a Bayes Net:



$$\eta = \sum_i \beta_i X_i \quad \mu = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

μ |Constraints is deterministic

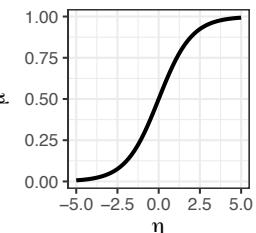
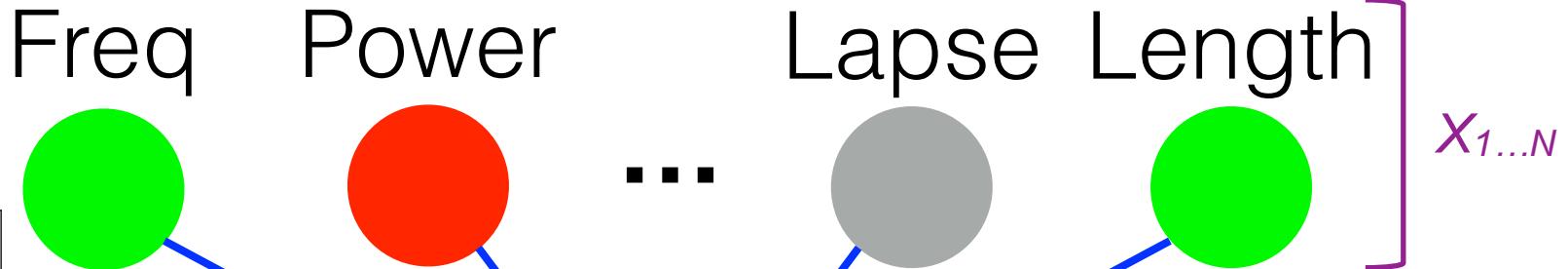


productive preference

$$P(\text{order}|\mu) = \mu$$

Bernoulli (coin-flip)
distribution

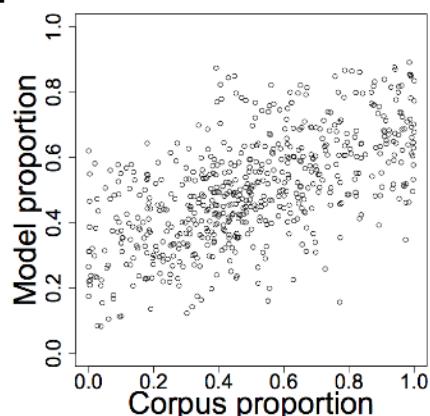
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predictive distribution



productive preference

Data

$$P(\text{order}|\mu) = \mu$$

Bernoulli (coin-flip)
distribution

Another source of knowledge

Another source of knowledge

seamstresses and bishops

OR

bishops and seamstresses

?

Another source of knowledge

seamstresses and bishops

OR

bishops and seamstresses

?

You may prefer this because you're biased toward:

- culturally more powerful/central before less powerful/central
- short before long
- frequent before infrequent
- minimizing # consecutive unstressed syllables

Another source of knowledge

Another source of knowledge

meat and potatoes

OR

potatoes and meat

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Productive knowledge

OR, you may prefer it before you've heard it far more often!

Another source of knowledge

meat and potatoes

OR

potatoes and meat

?

corpus prob | {meat, potatoes}≈0.95

corpus prob | {meat, potatoes}≈0.05

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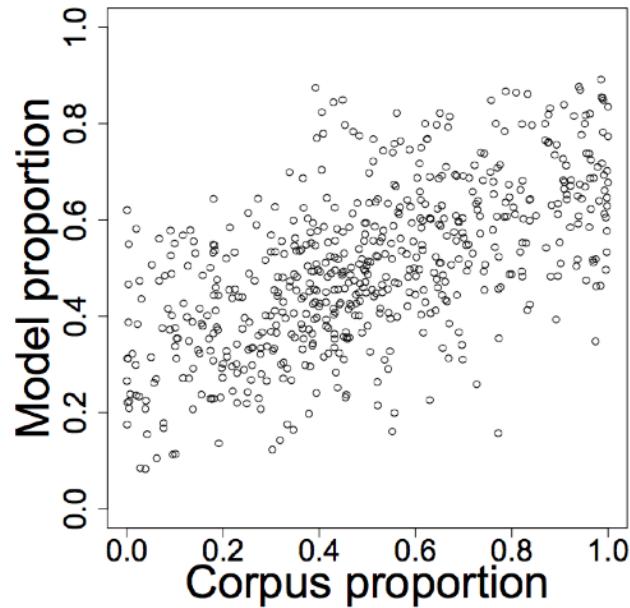
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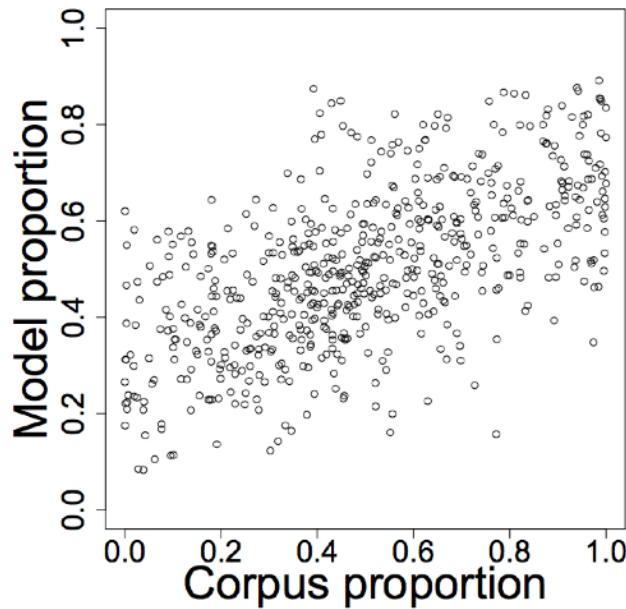
Direct experience

Productive knowledge and direct experience



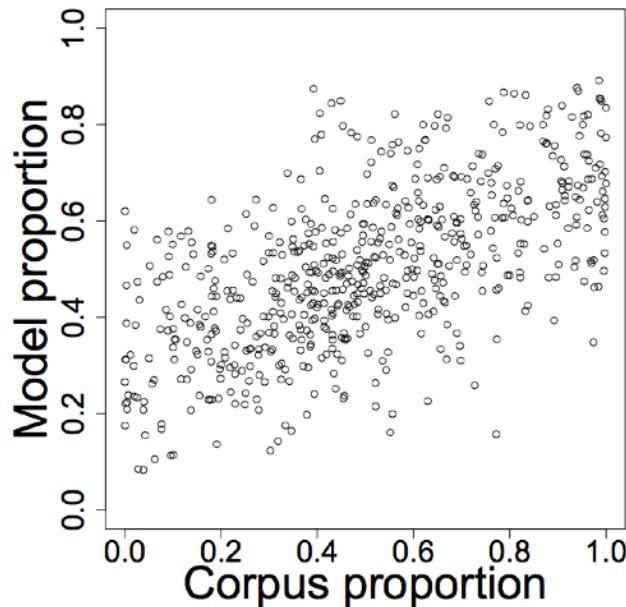
Productive knowledge and direct experience

- Our logistic regression model isn't perfectly predictive



Productive knowledge and direct experience

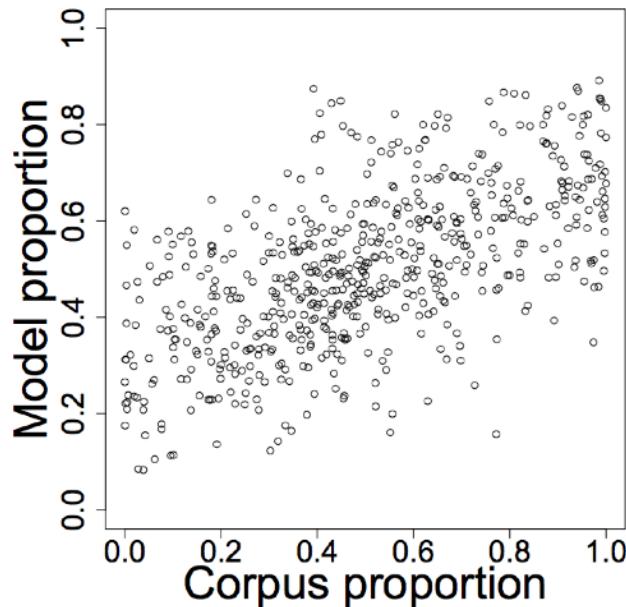
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- Part of this is that it fails to capture idiosyncrasy from direct experience

Productive knowledge and direct experience

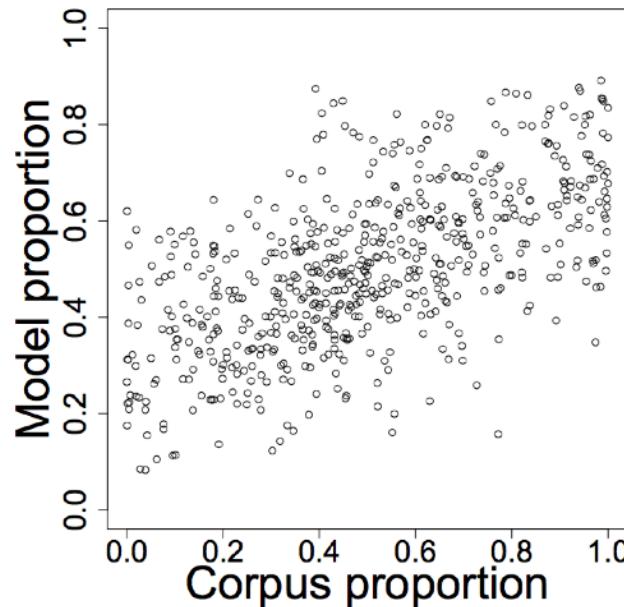
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- A rational learner should...

Productive knowledge and direct experience

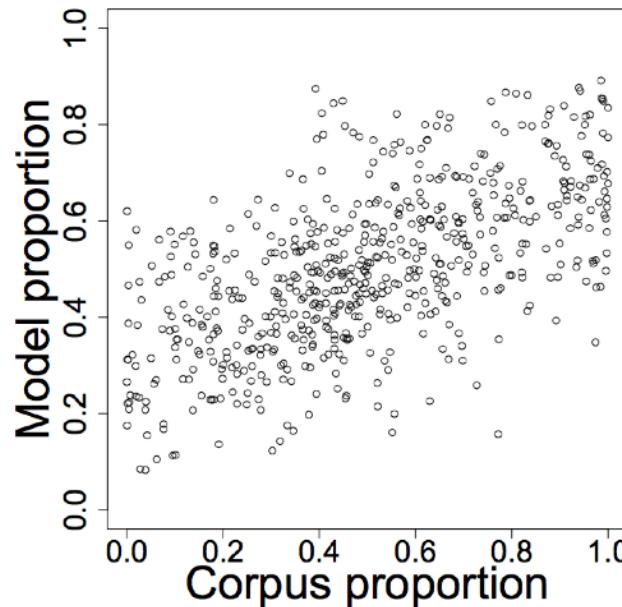
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- A rational learner should...
 - ...apply productive knowledge in novel expressions

Productive knowledge and direct experience

- Our logistic regression model isn't perfectly predictive



- Part of this is that it fails to capture idiosyncrasy from direct experience
- A rational learner should...
 - ...apply productive knowledge in novel expressions
 - ...rely more on direct experience when it's plentiful

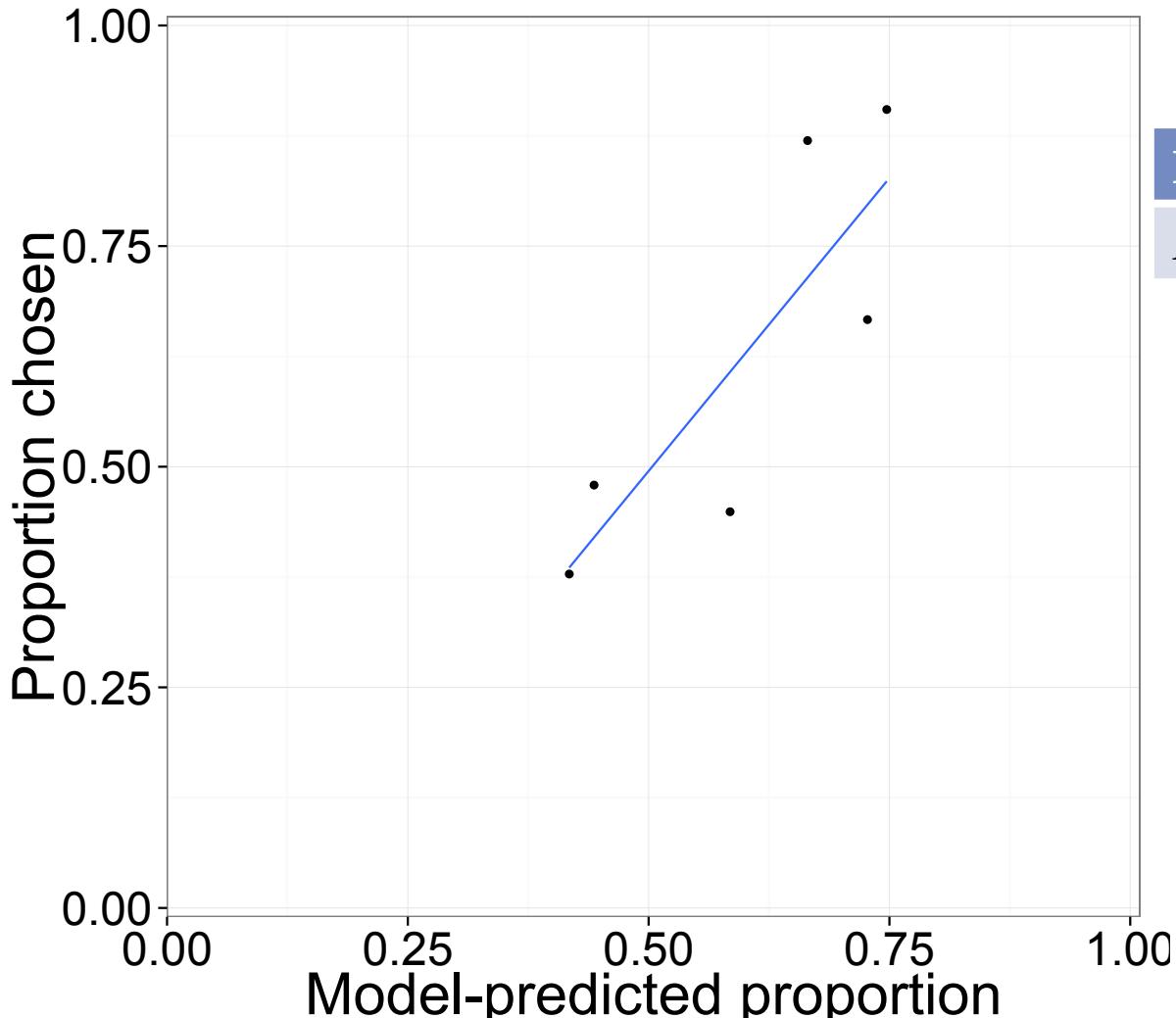
Binary forced-choice experiment

“Which sounds better?”

There were many **bishops and seamstresses** in the small town where I grew up.

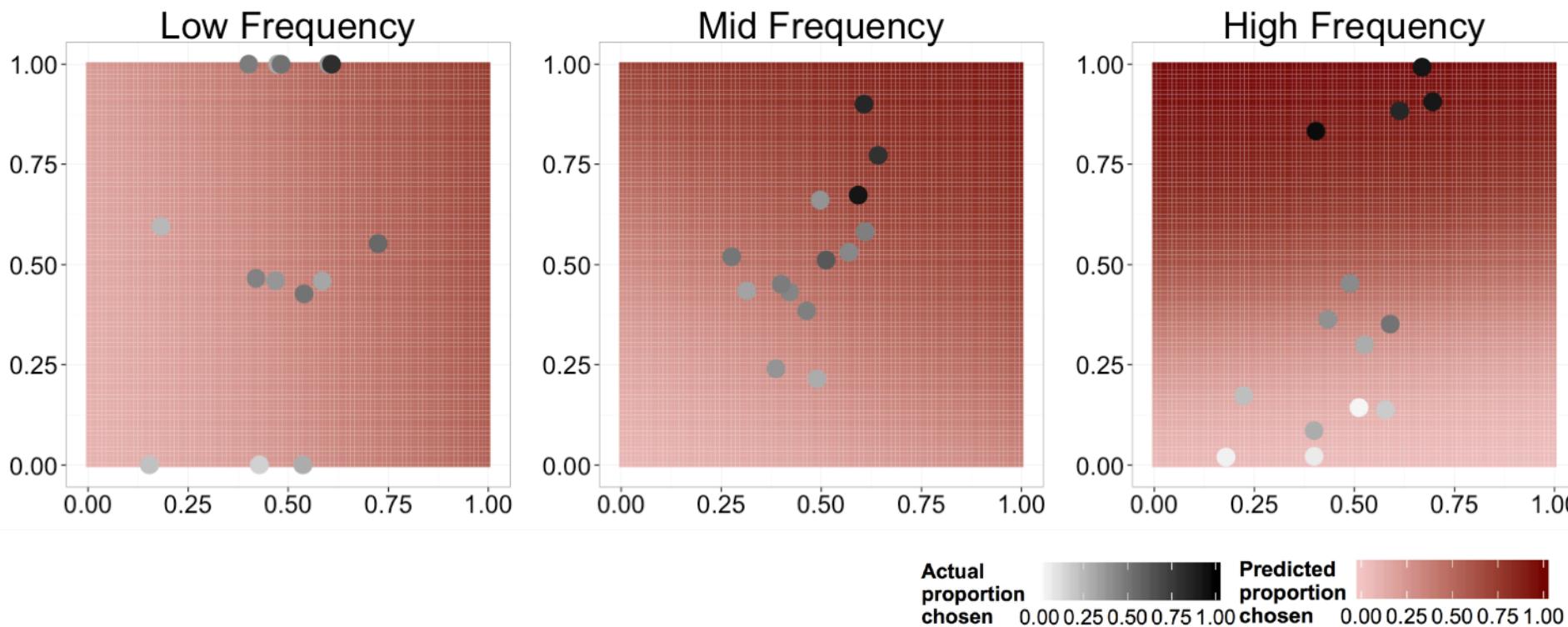
There were many **seamstresses and bishops** in the small town where I grew up.

Results: novel binomials

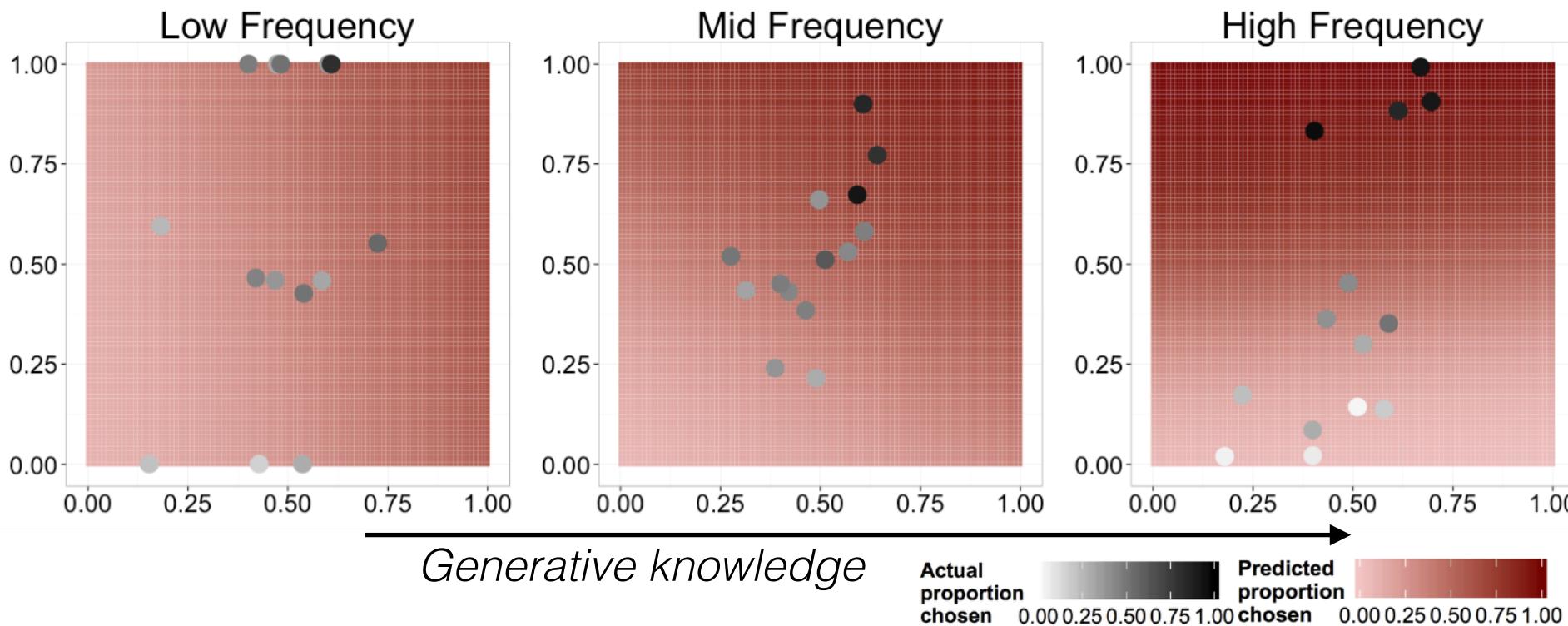


Predictor	Estimate	p
Abs know	6.18	0.003**

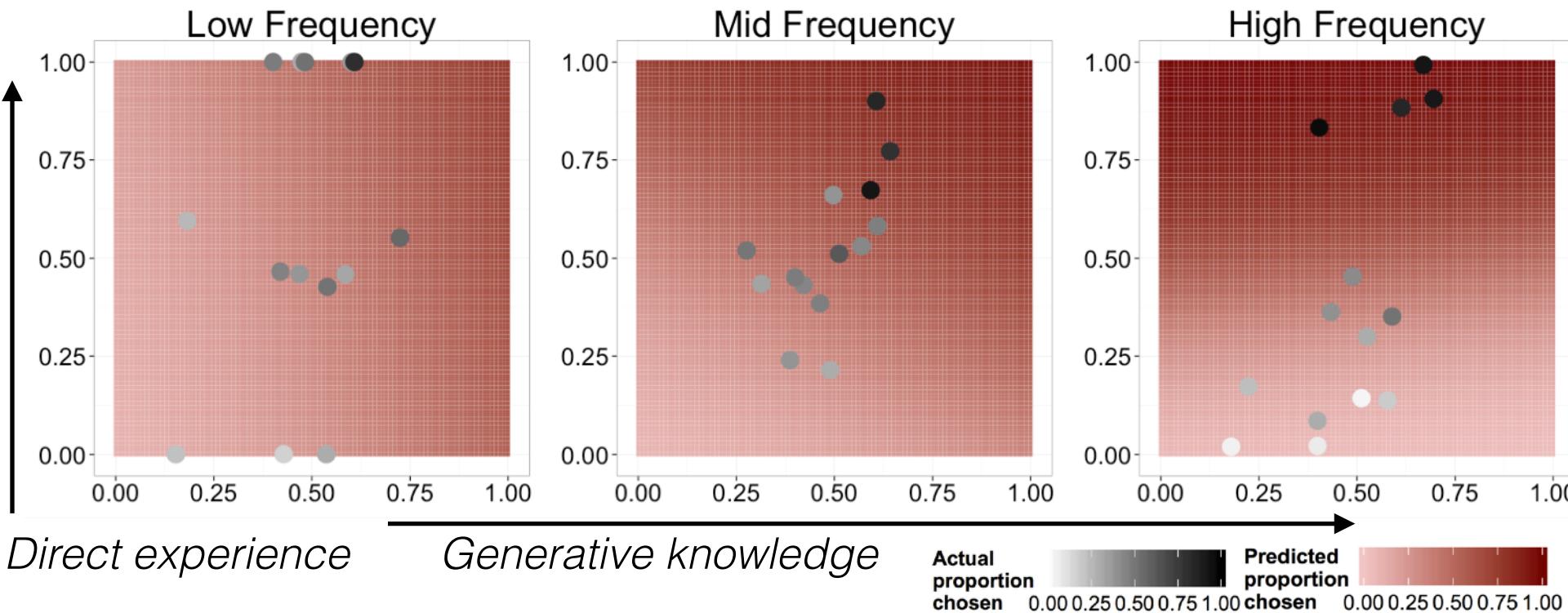
Results: attested binomials



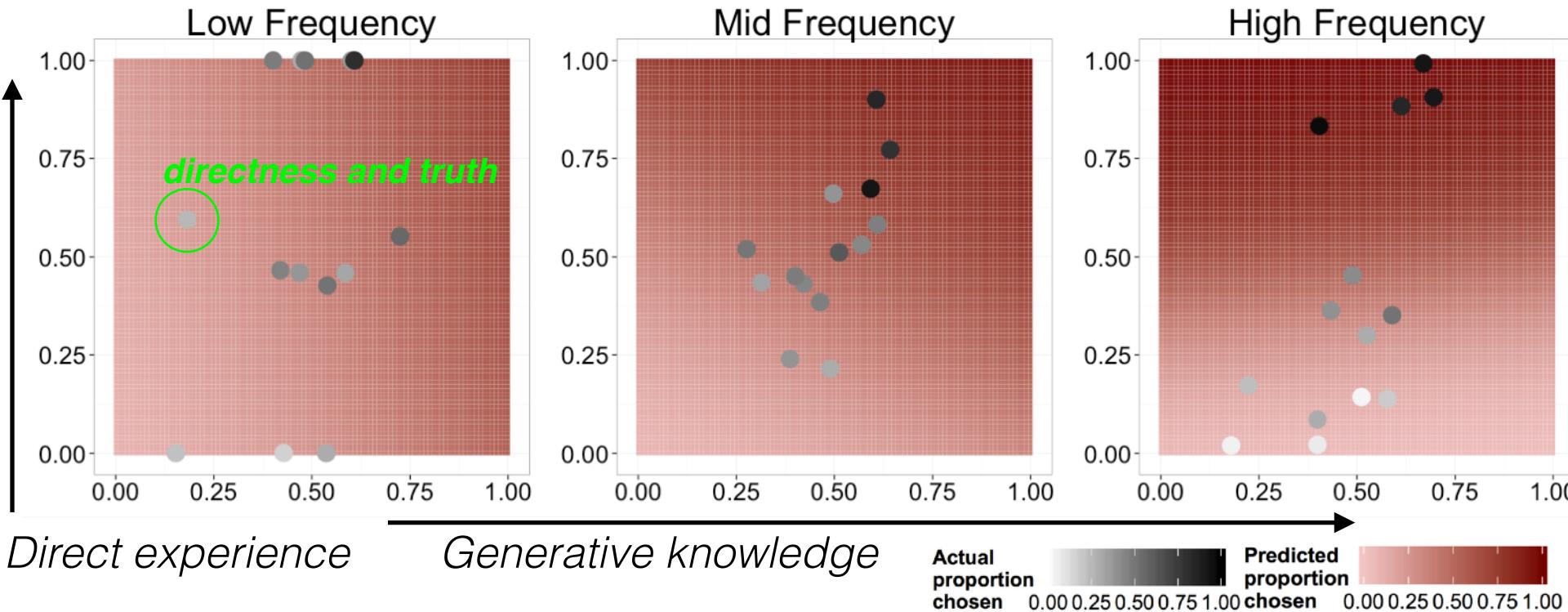
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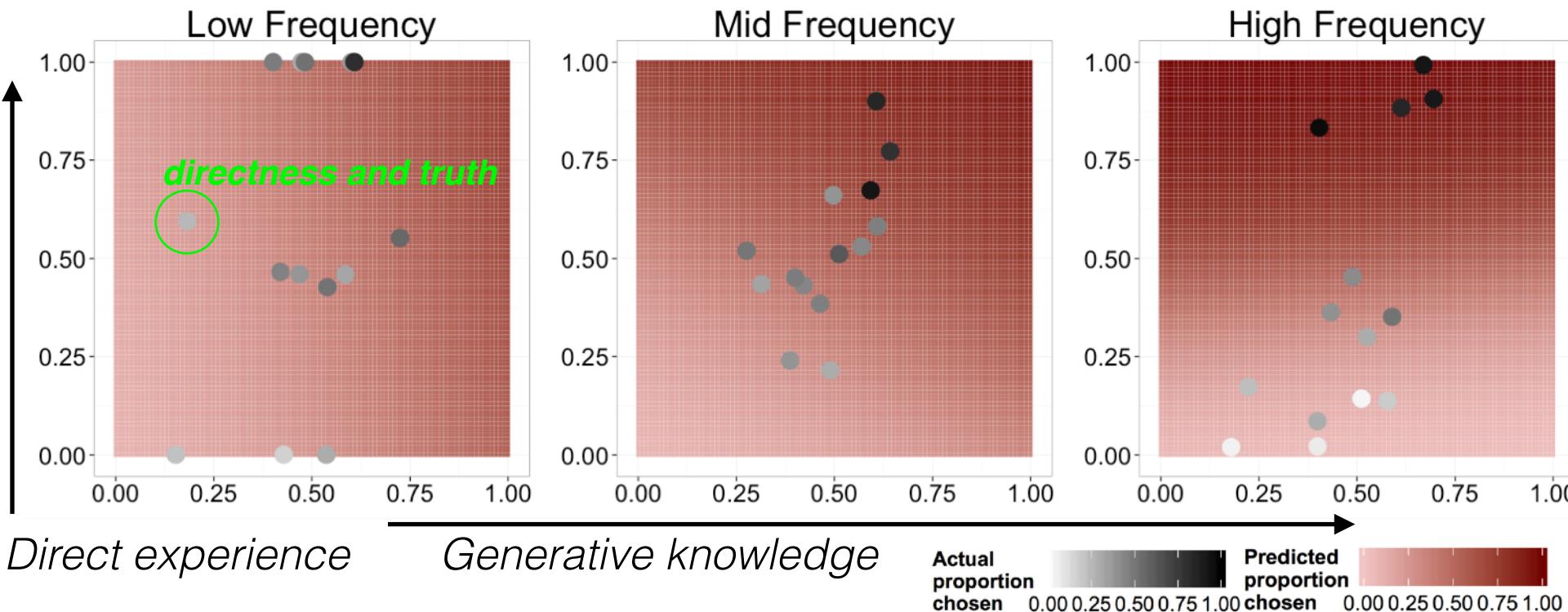


Results: attested binomials



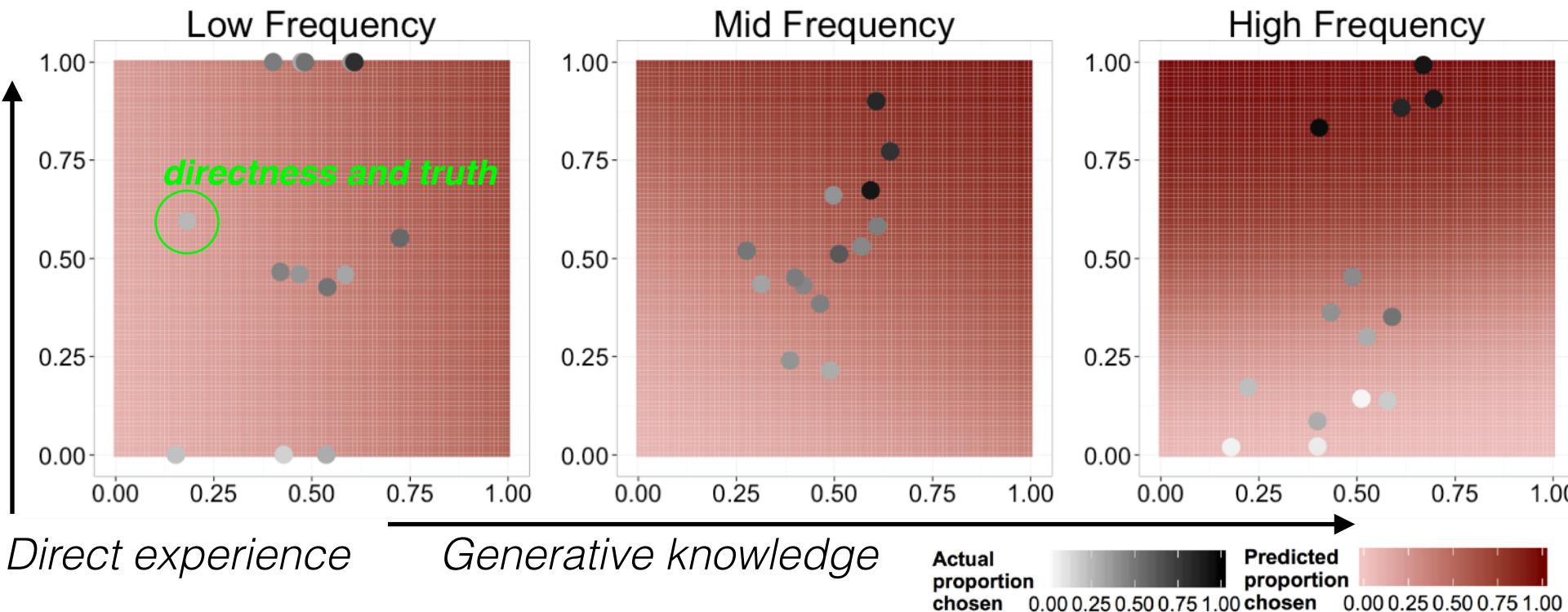
Results: attested binomials

Predictor	Estimate
<i>Direct experience</i>	0.99*
<i>Gen. knowledge</i>	2.36*



Results: attested binomials

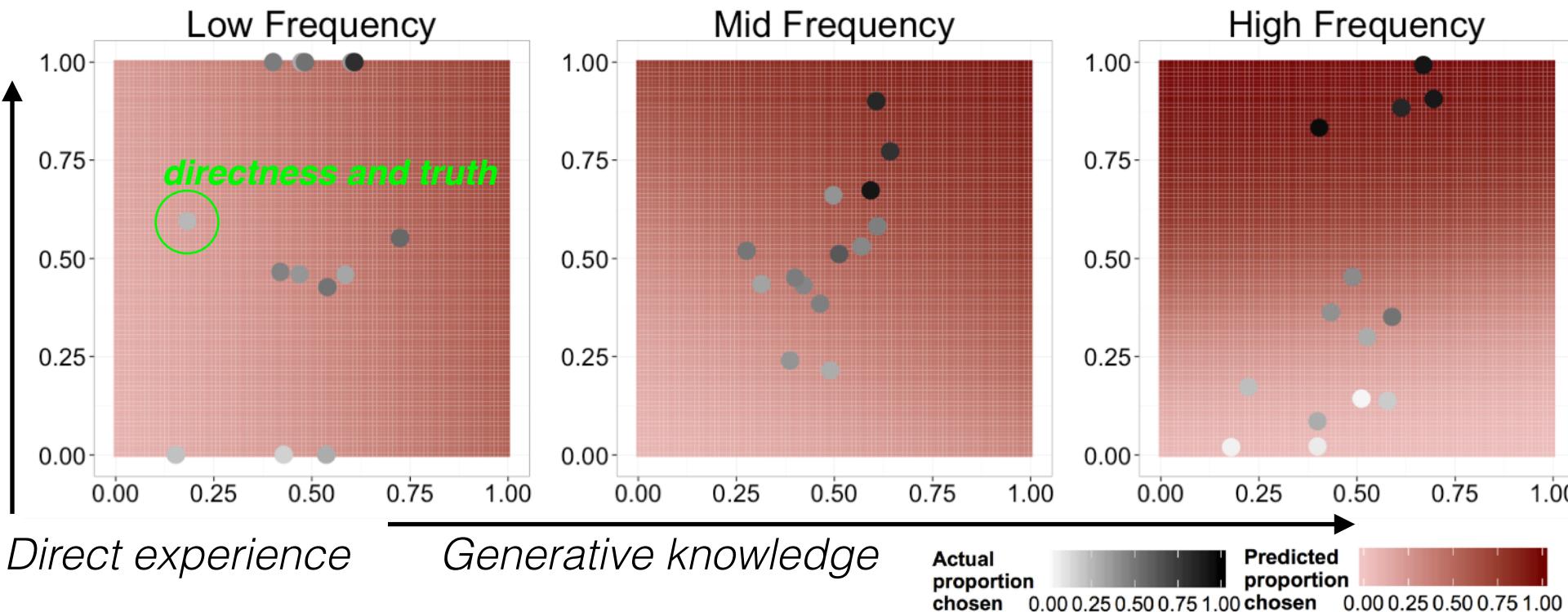
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Results: attested binomials

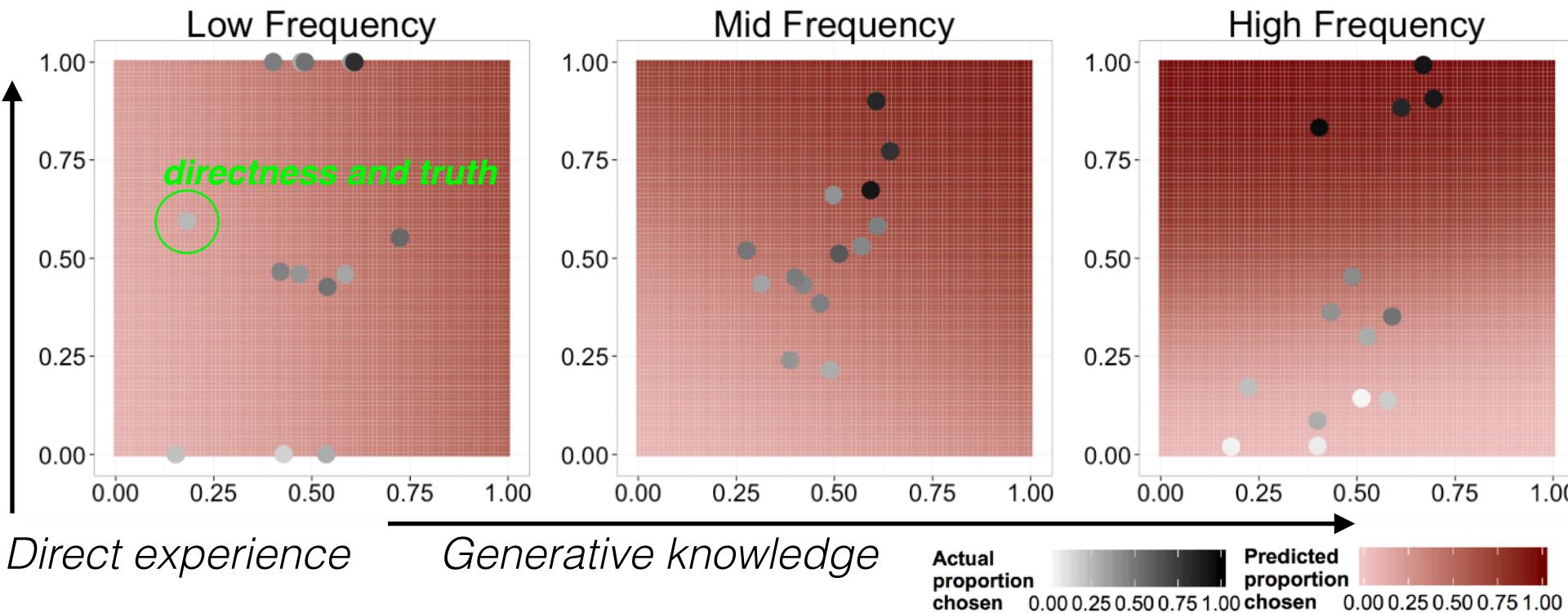
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=statistically significant
(reliably non-zero)



Results: attested binomials

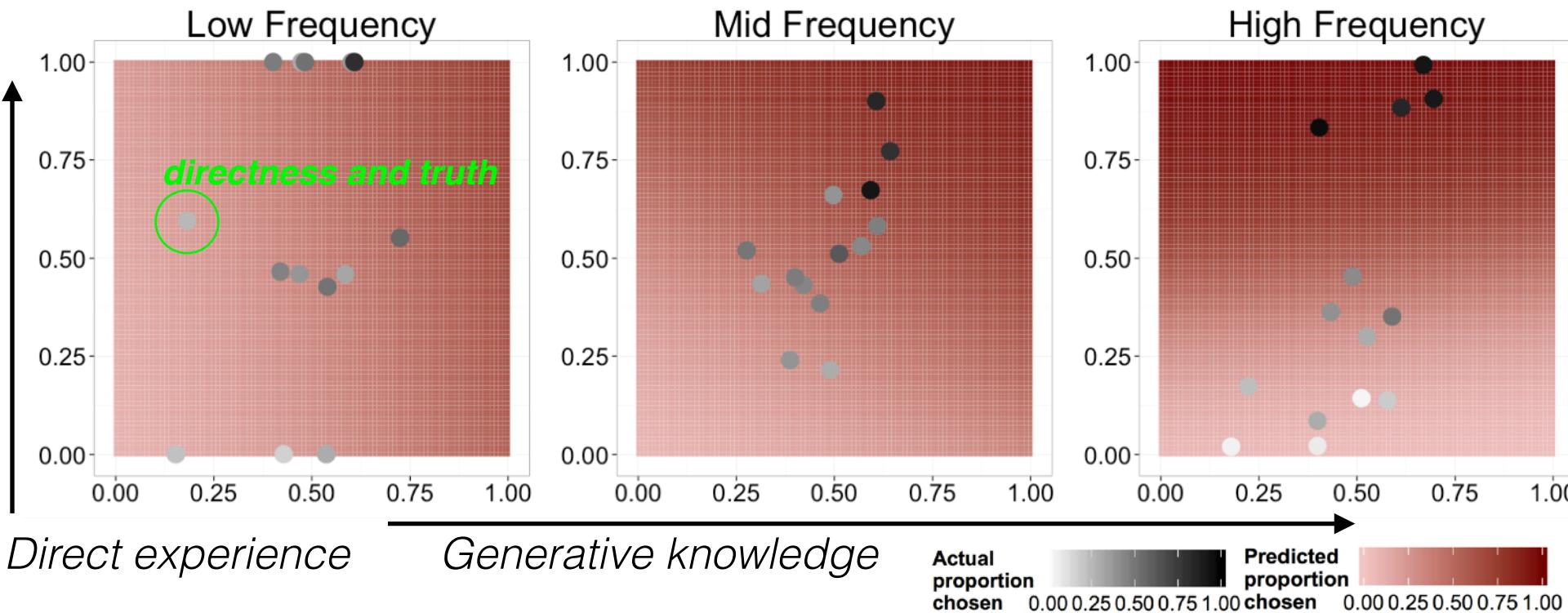
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Results: attested binomials

Predictor	Estimate
<i>Direct experience</i>	0.99*
<i>Gen. knowledge</i>	2.36*

Predictor	Estimate
<i>Direct experience</i>	3.32**
<i>Gen. knowledge</i>	1.73

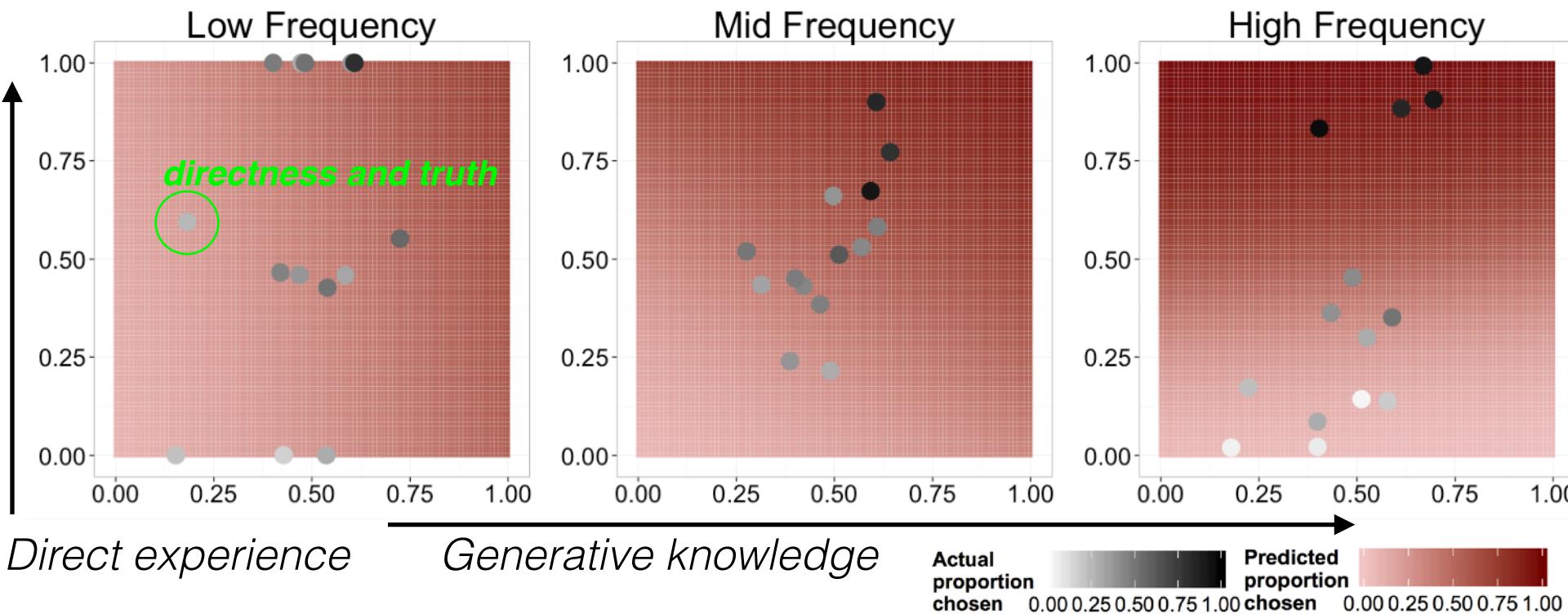


Results: attested binomials

Predictor	Estimate
<i>Direct experience</i>	0.99*
<i>Gen. knowledge</i>	2.36*

Predictor	Estimate
<i>Direct experience</i>	3.32**
<i>Gen. knowledge</i>	1.73

Predictor	Estimate
<i>Direct experience</i>	6.71***
<i>Gen. knowledge</i>	-0.61



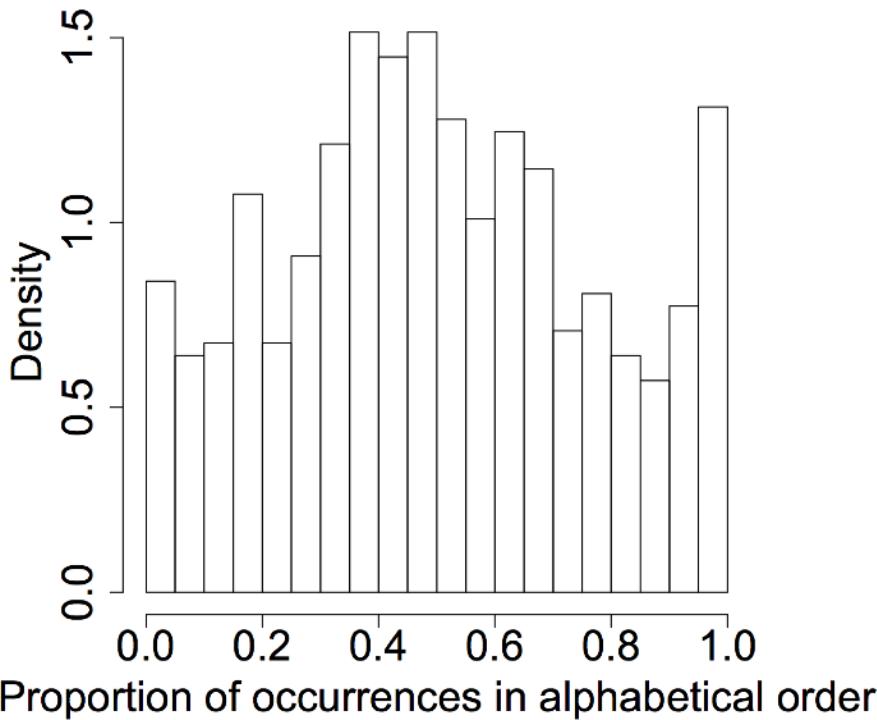
The idiosyncratic and the general

- We've seen evidence that binomial-specific ordering preferences have cognitive reality for speakers
- How dramatically do these preferences depart from the overall generative knowledge?
- How can we model both the generative knowledge and the idiosyncratic preferences simultaneously?

Distribution of ordering preference

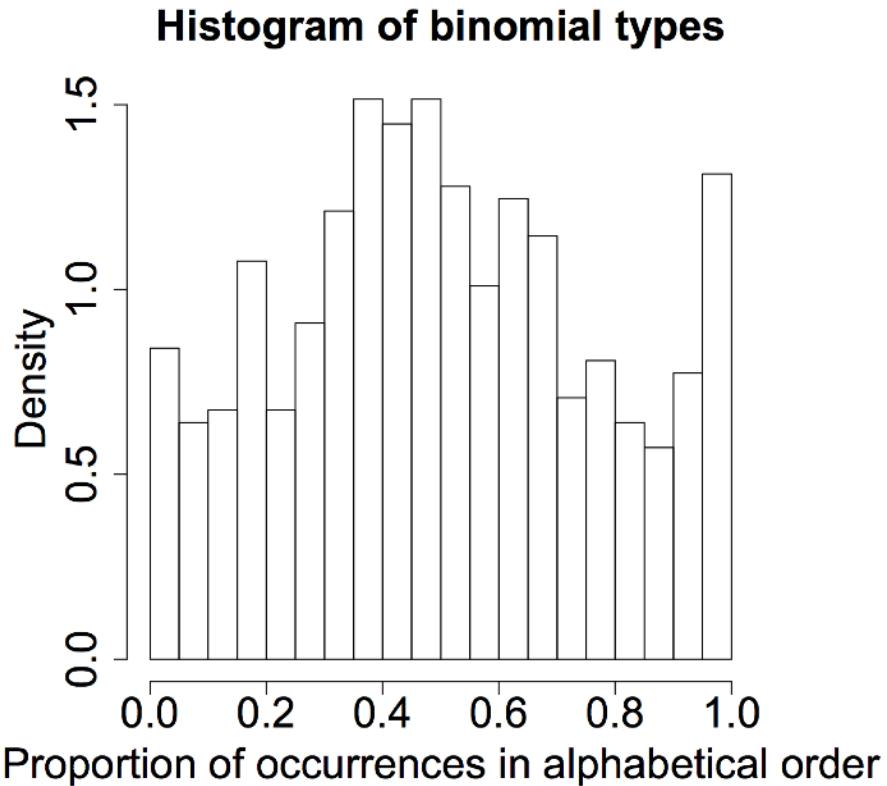
Reality

Histogram of binomial types

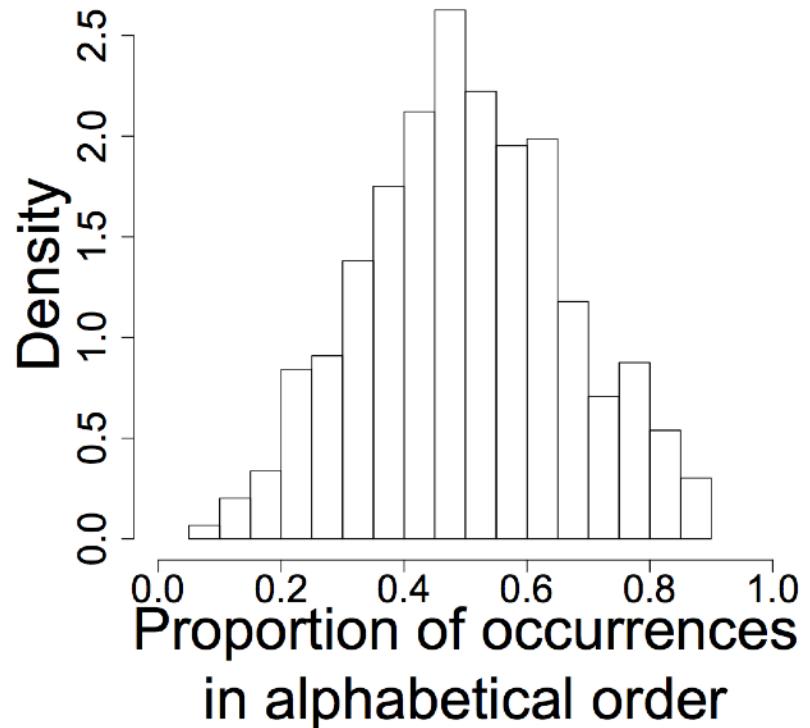


Distribution of ordering preference

Reality

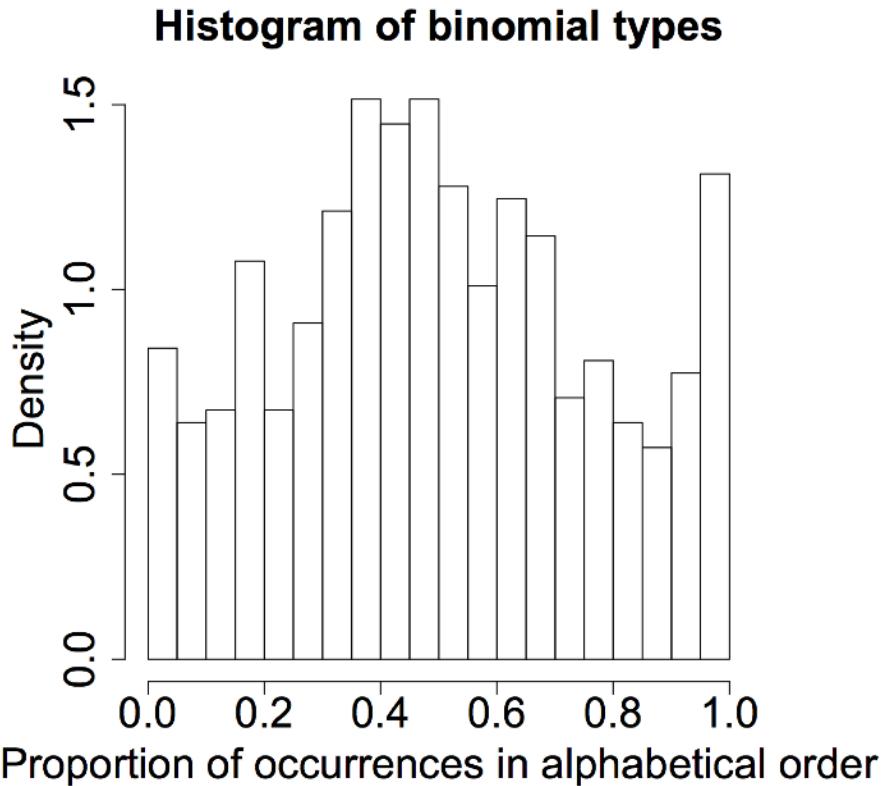


Our model

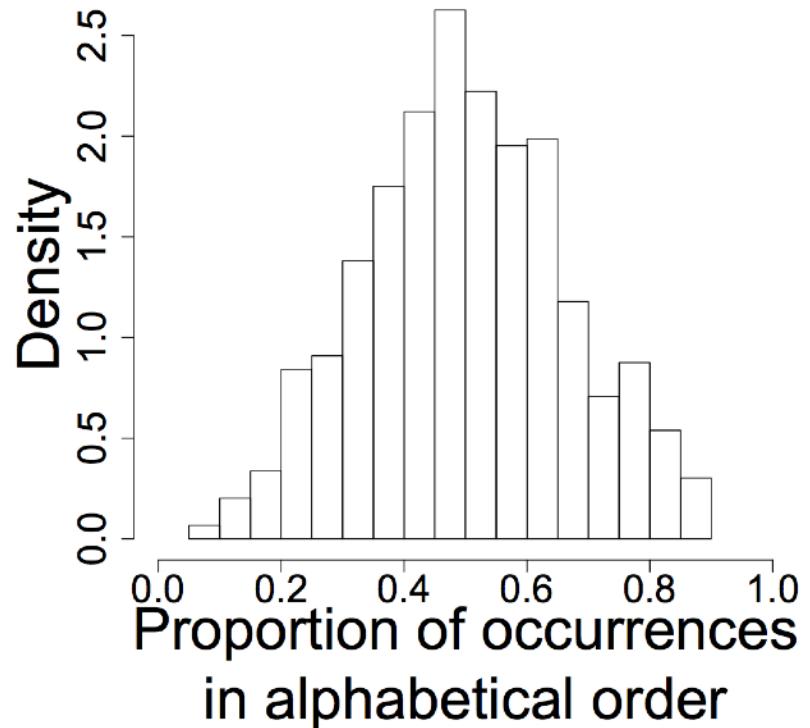


Distribution of ordering preference

Reality



Our model



Ordering preferences depart dramatically from generative knowledge!

Modeling idiosyncrasy

$$P(\text{"success"}) = \frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}$$

$$\eta = \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \cdots + \beta_N X_N$$

Modeling idiosyncrasy

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- We revise it to include a ***beta-binomial component***

$$P(\text{"success"}) = p$$

$$p \sim \text{Beta} \left(\frac{e^\eta}{1 + e^\eta}, \nu \right)$$

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Frequency-sensitivity of binomial idiosyncrasy

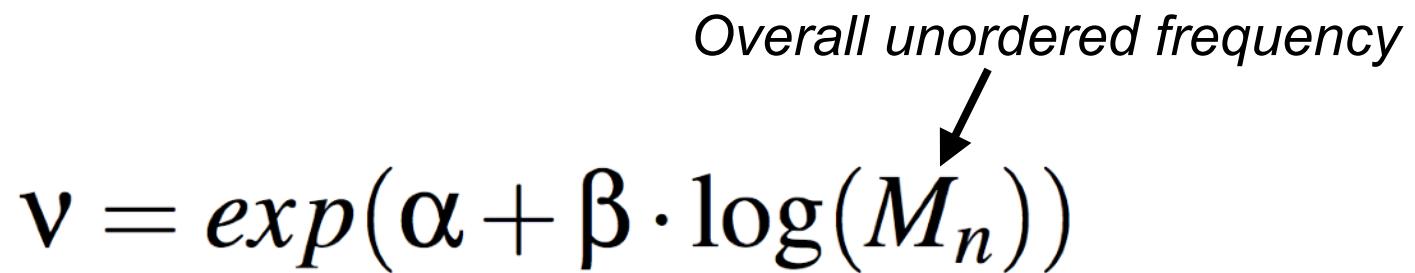
Frequency-sensitivity of binomial idiosyncrasy

$$v = \exp(\alpha + \beta \cdot \log(M_n))$$

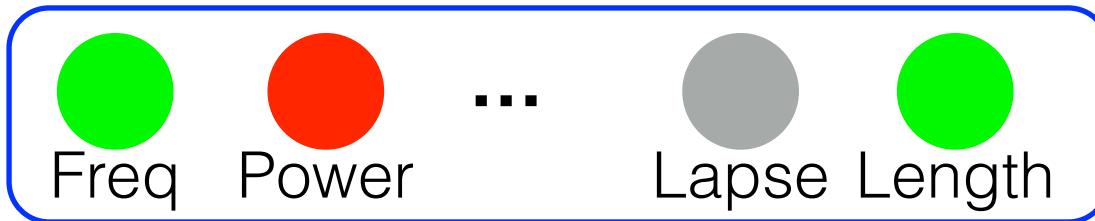
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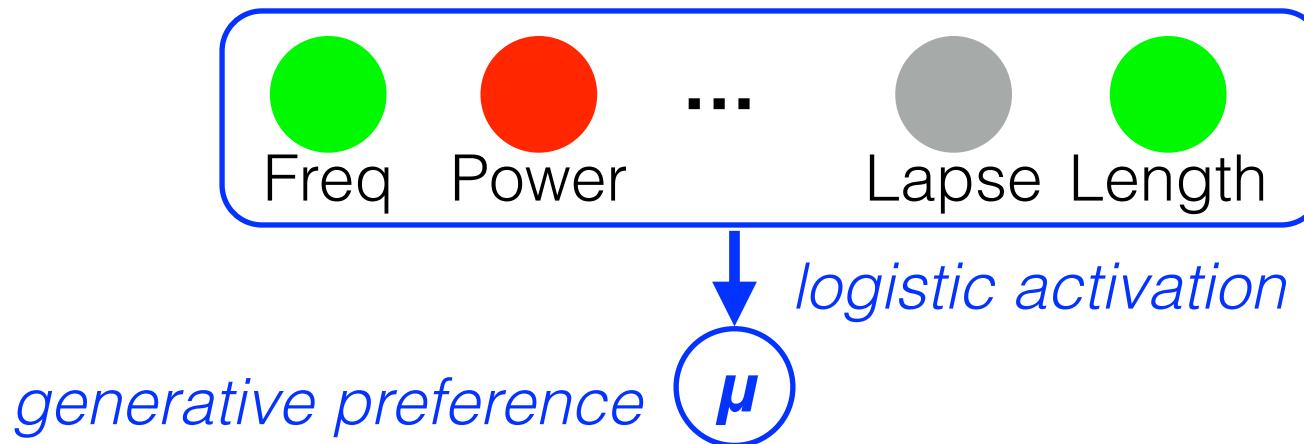
Overall unordered frequency



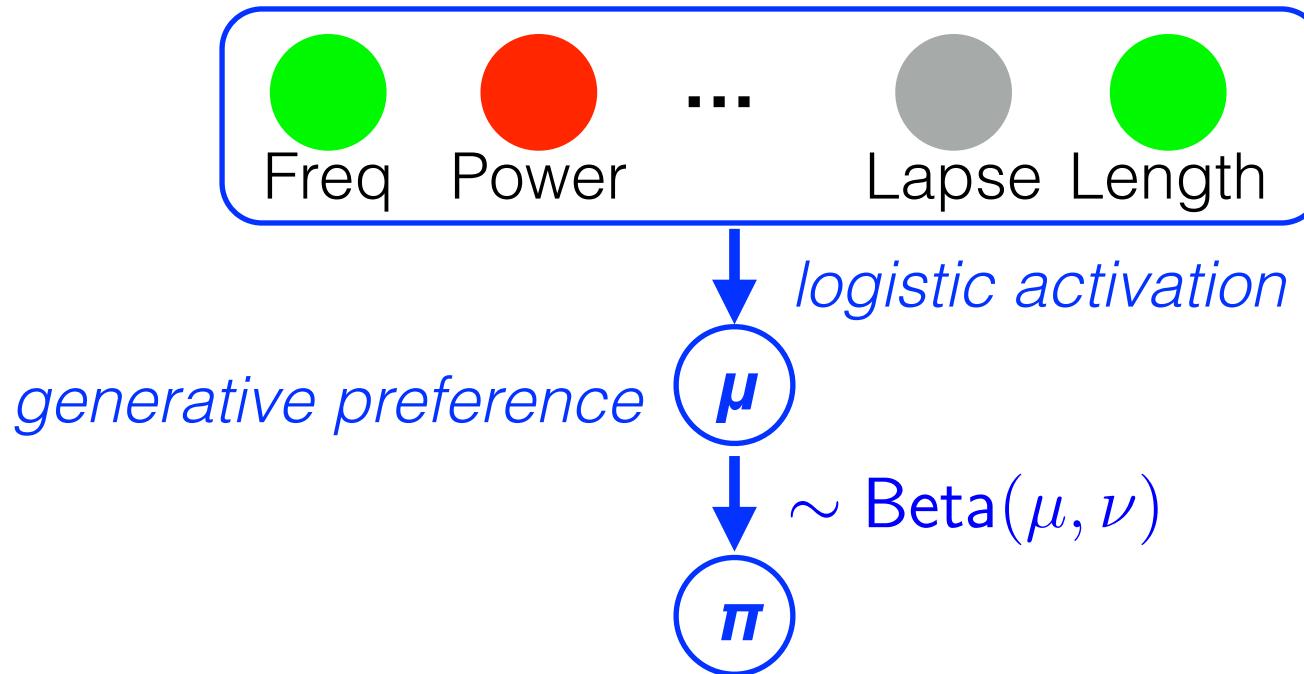
Our complete model



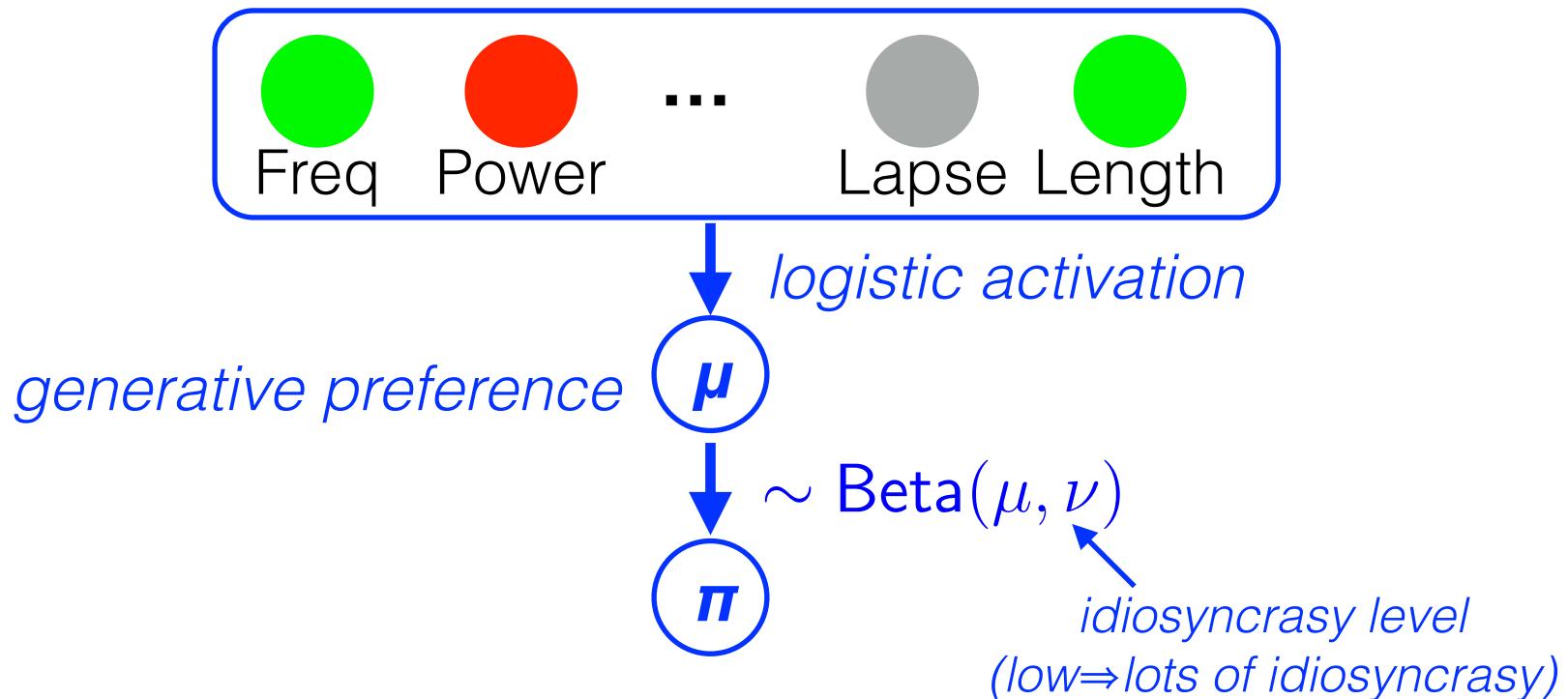
Our complete model



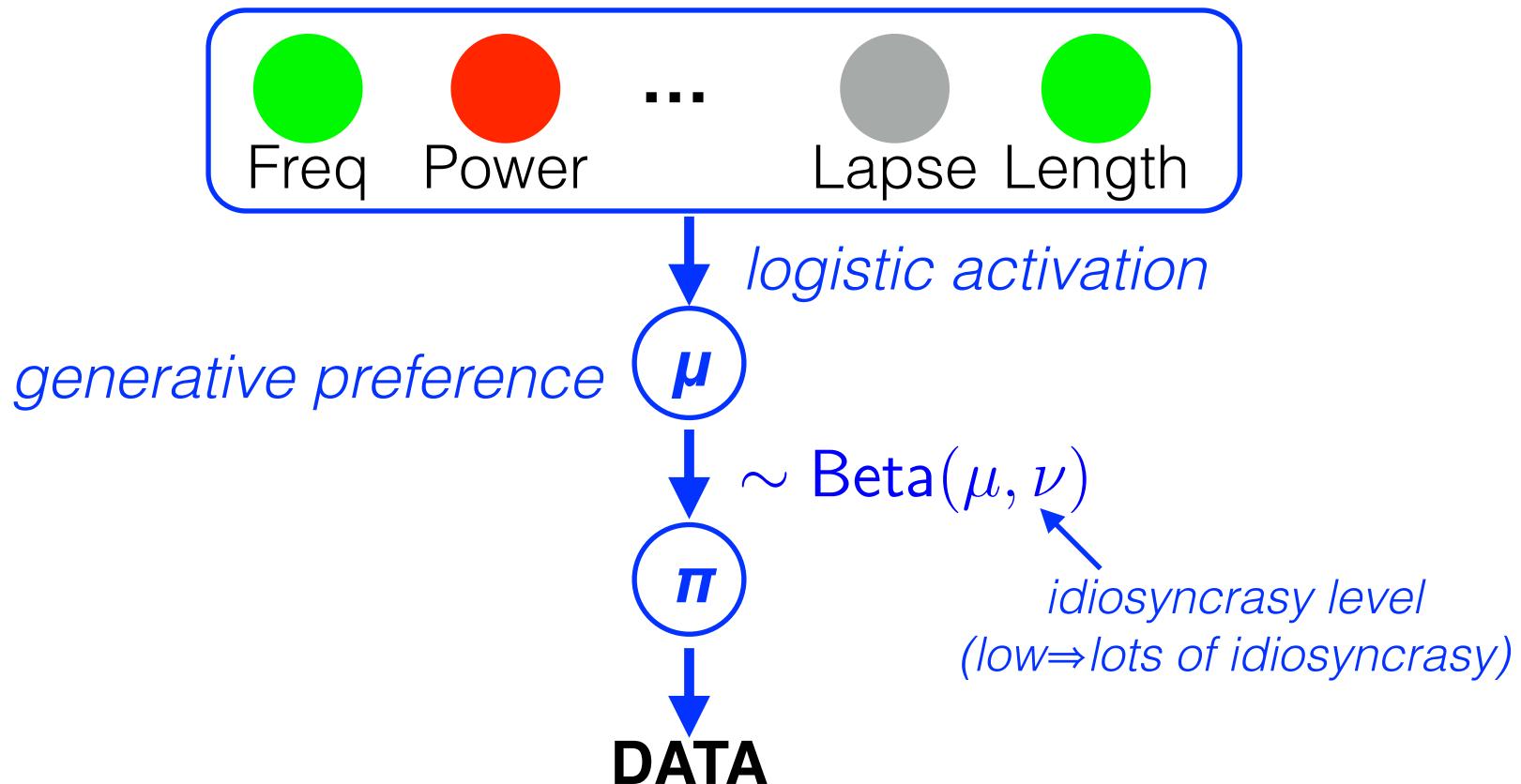
Our complete model



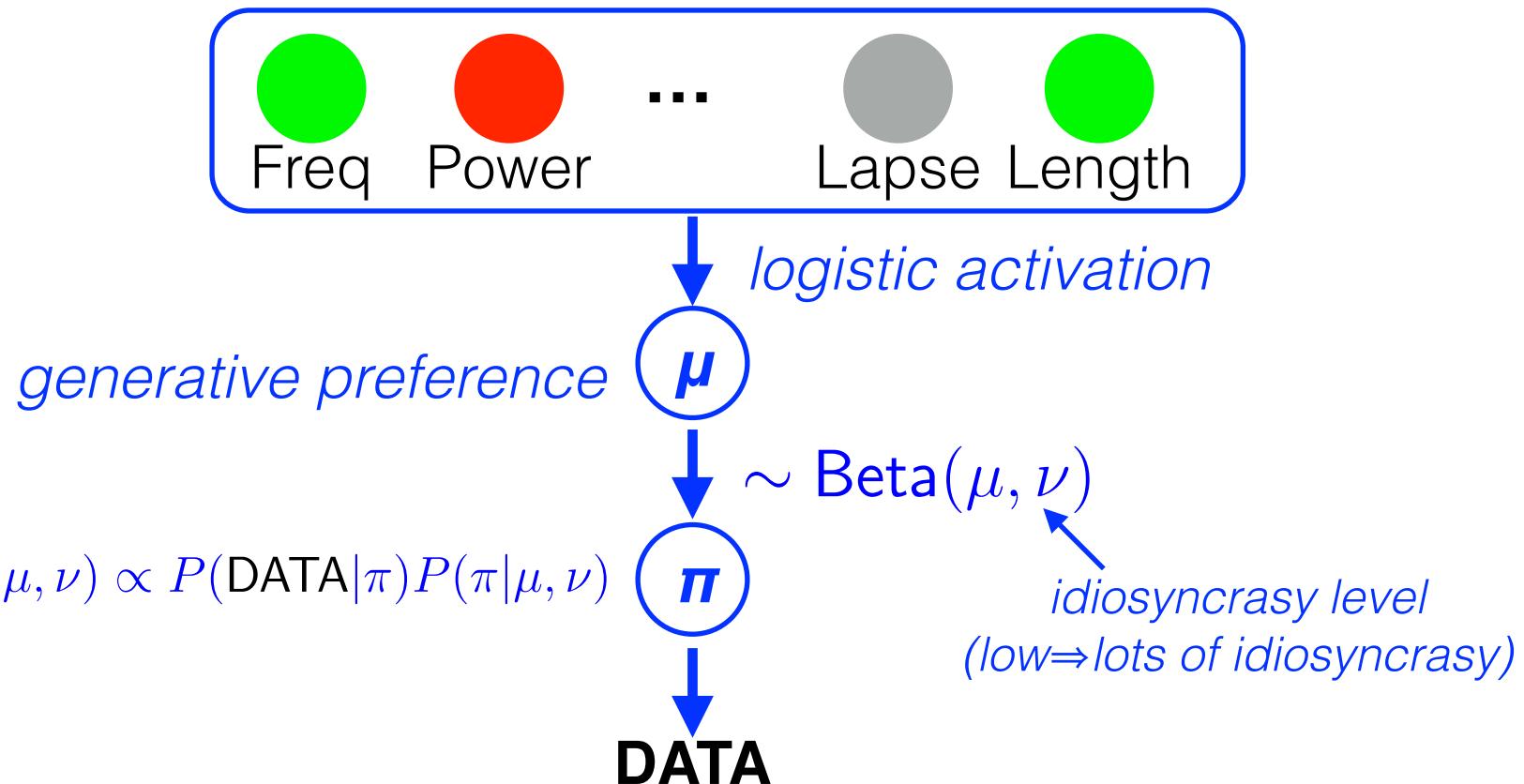
Our complete model



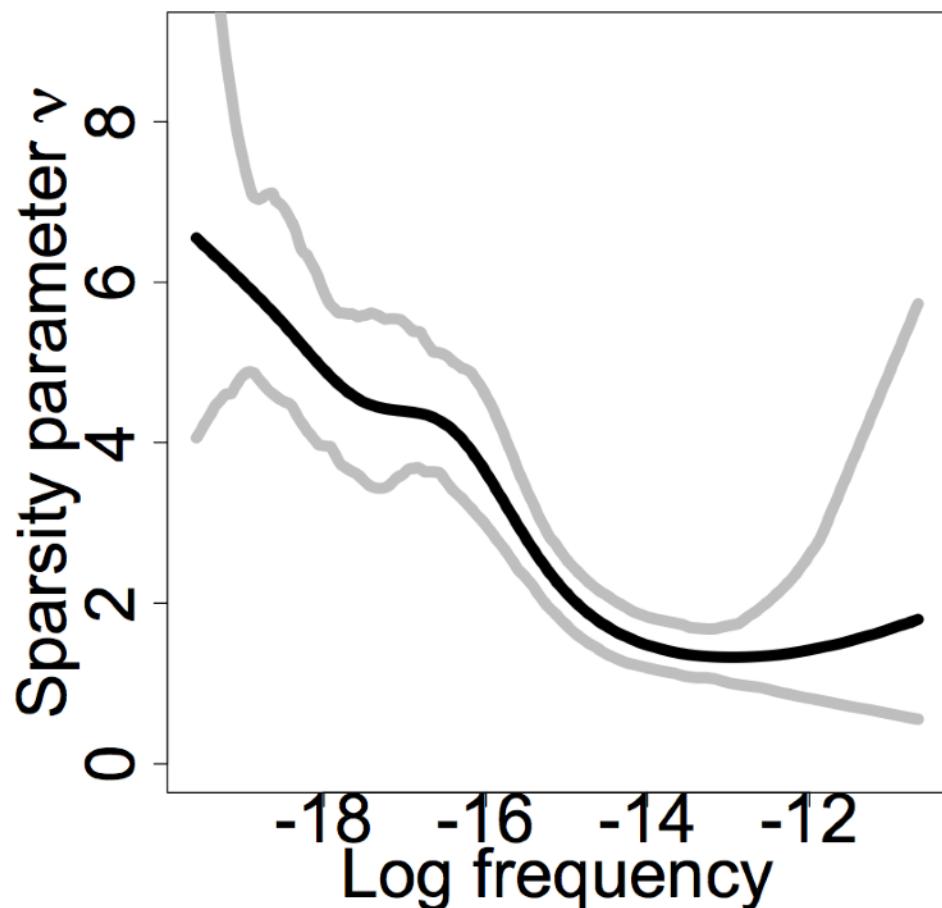
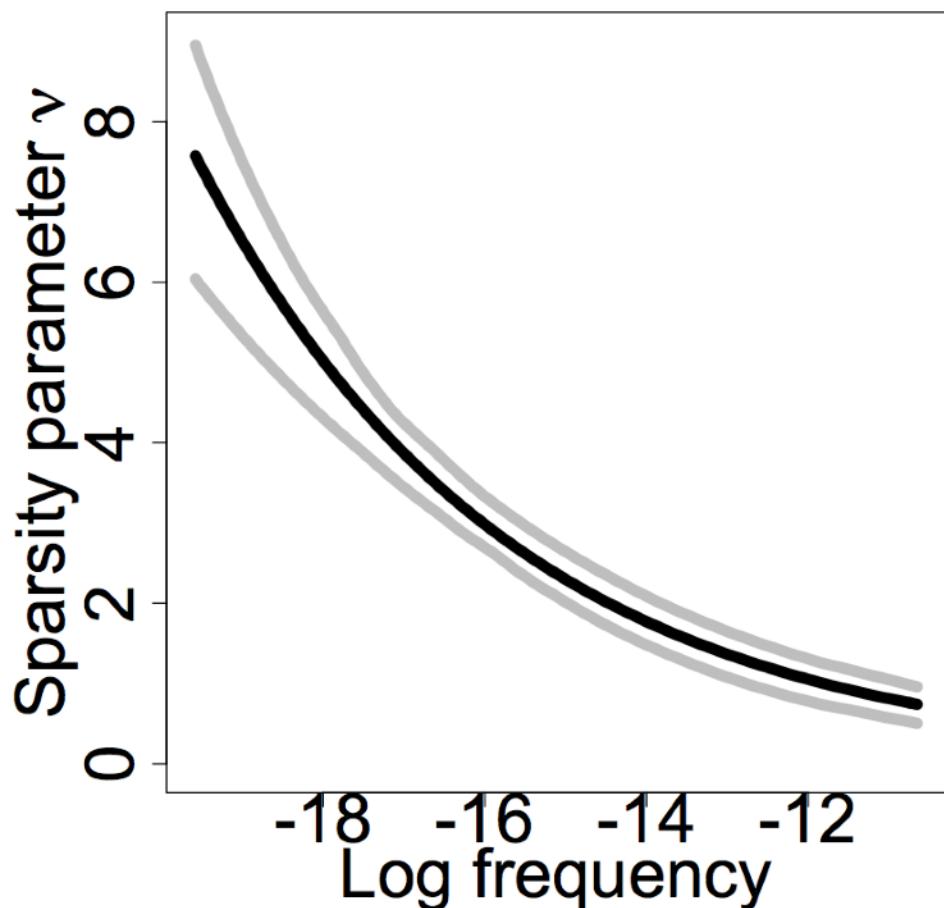
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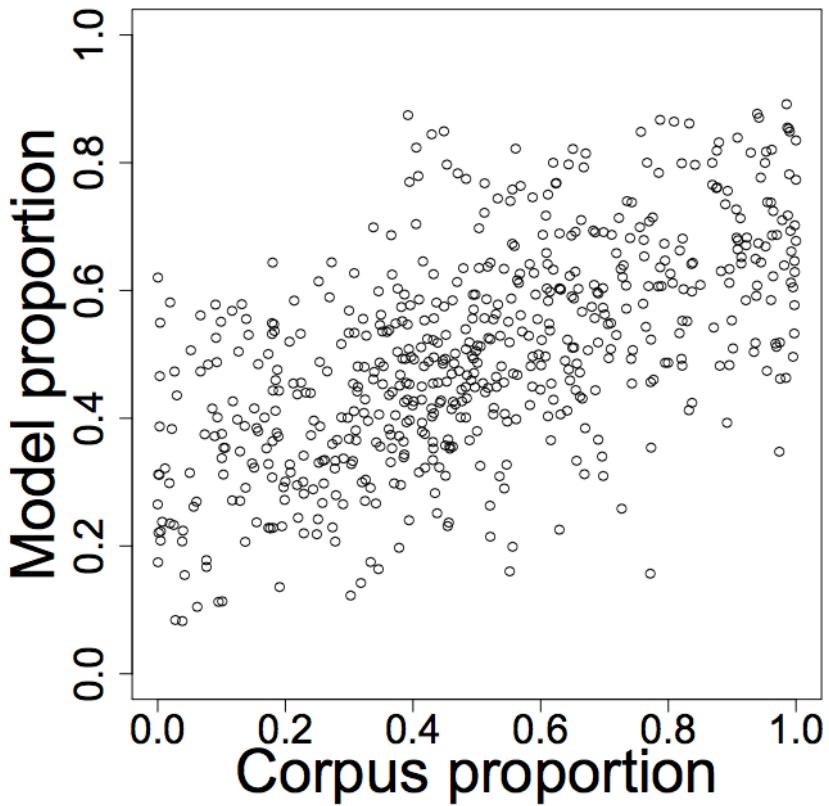
Results: frequency sensitivity of ν



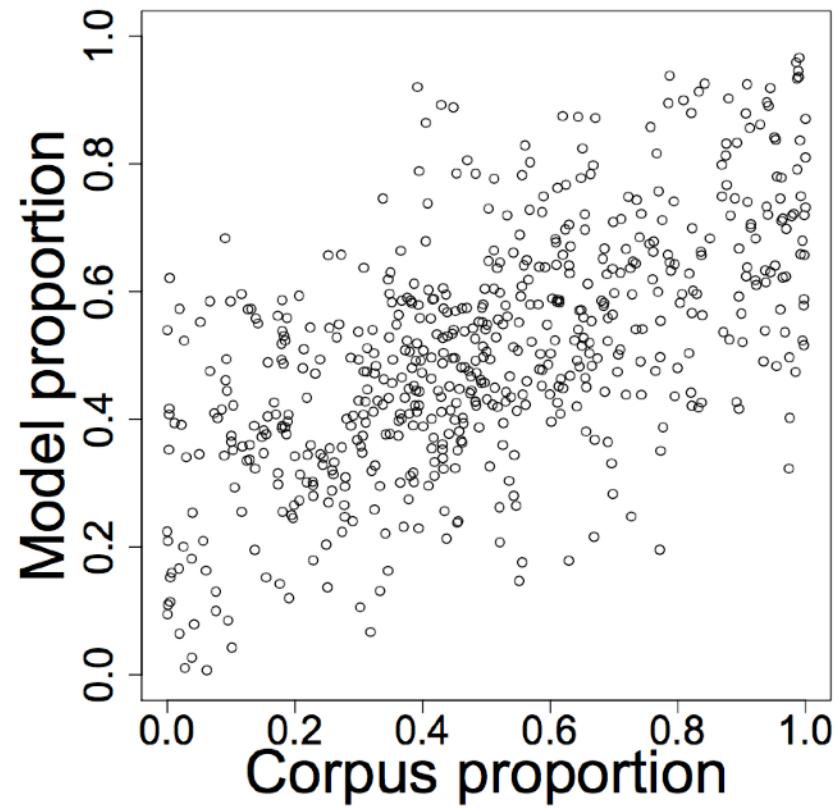
We call this ***frequency-sensitive regularization***
of binomial ordering preference

Results: “best-guess” of preferences

Our OLD model

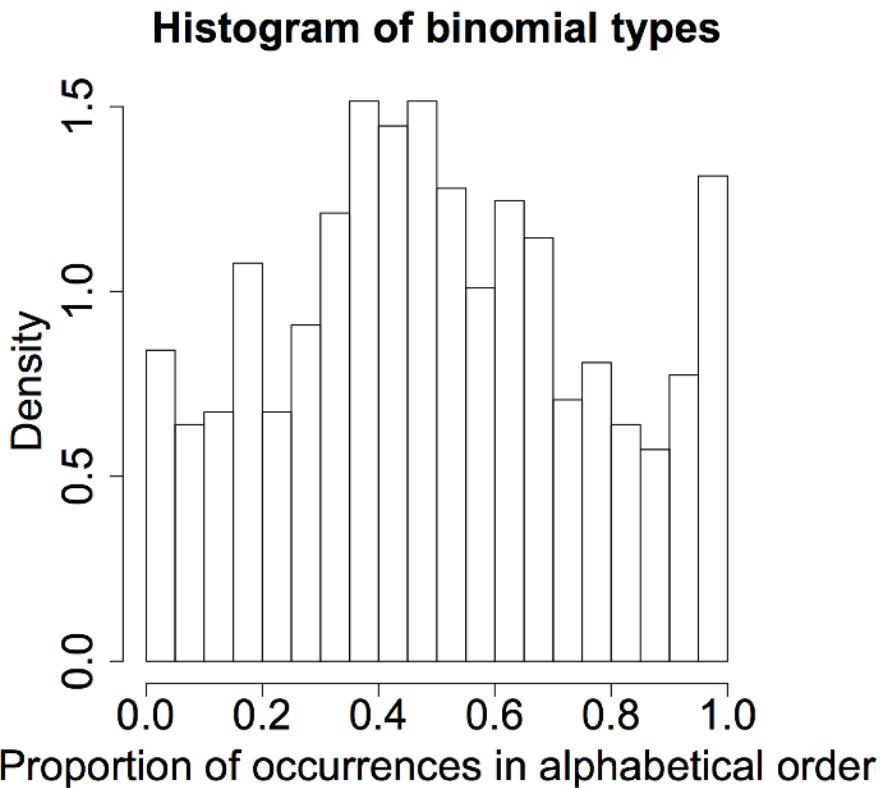


Our NEW model

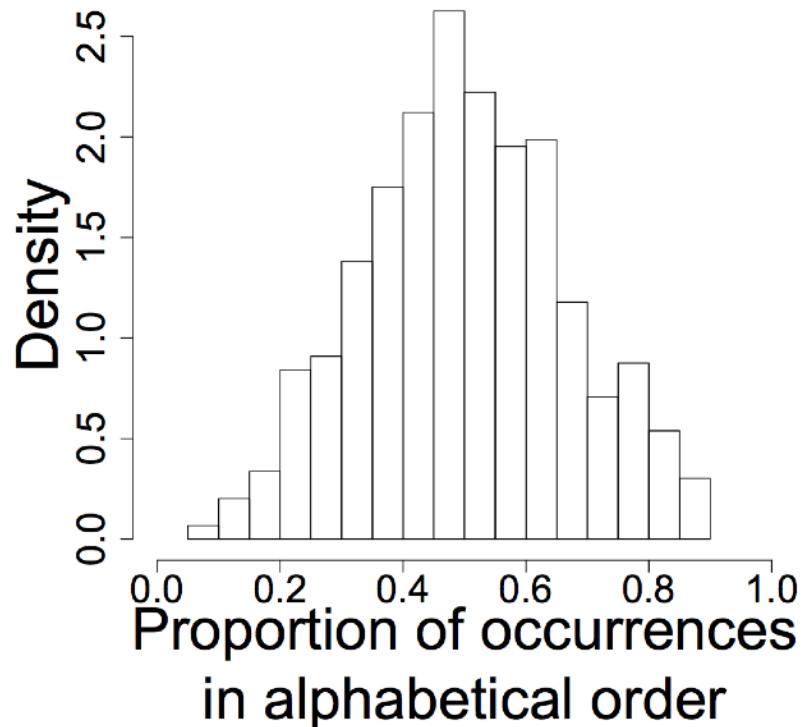


Results: distribution of binomial prefs.

Reality



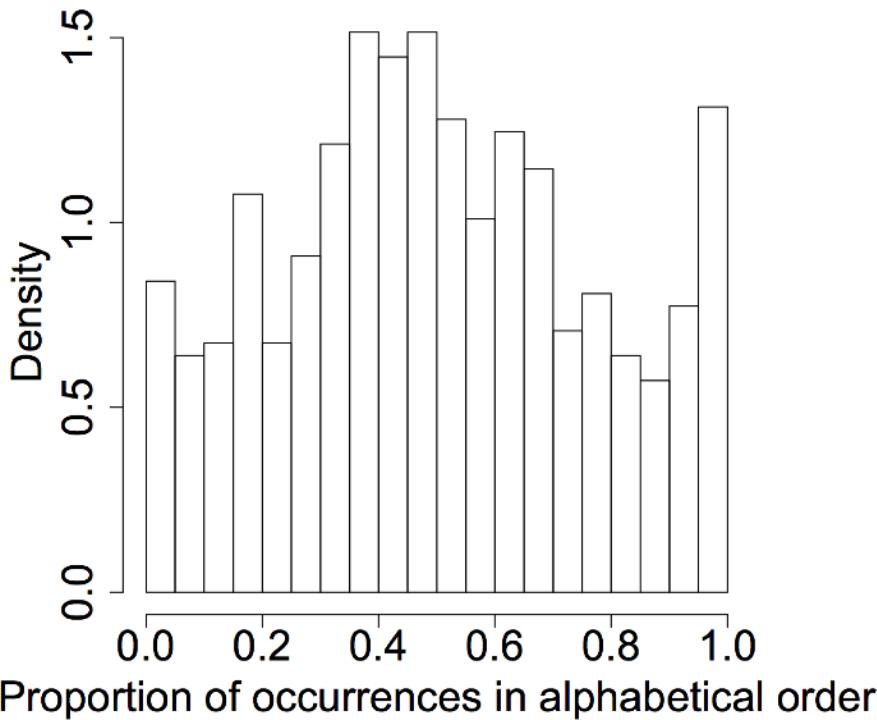
Our OLD model



Results: distribution of binomial prefs.

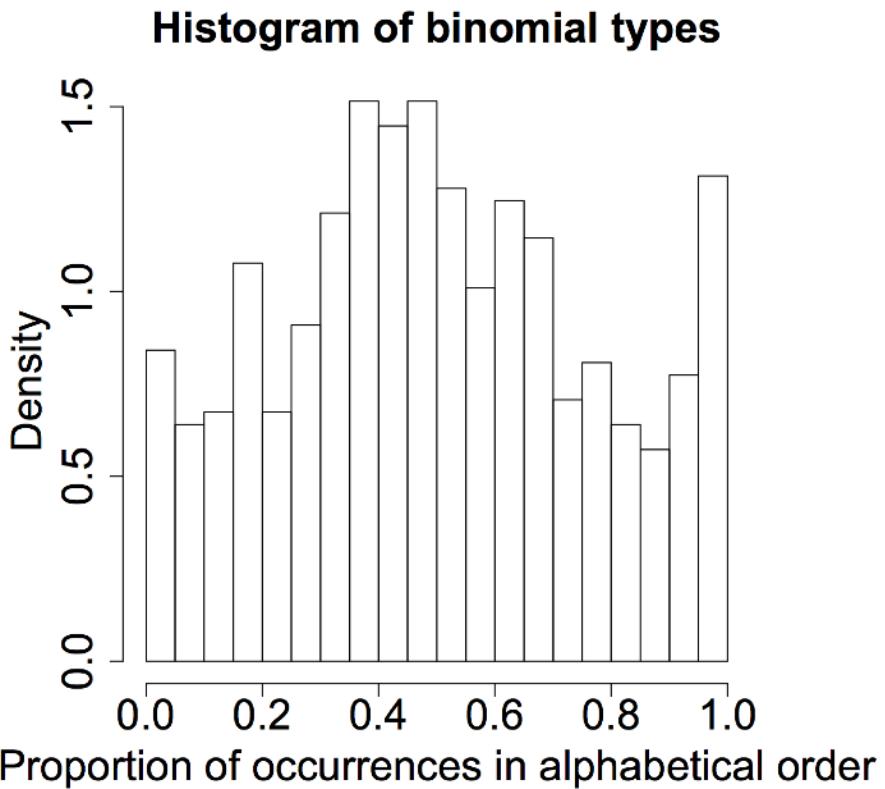
Reality

Histogram of binomial types

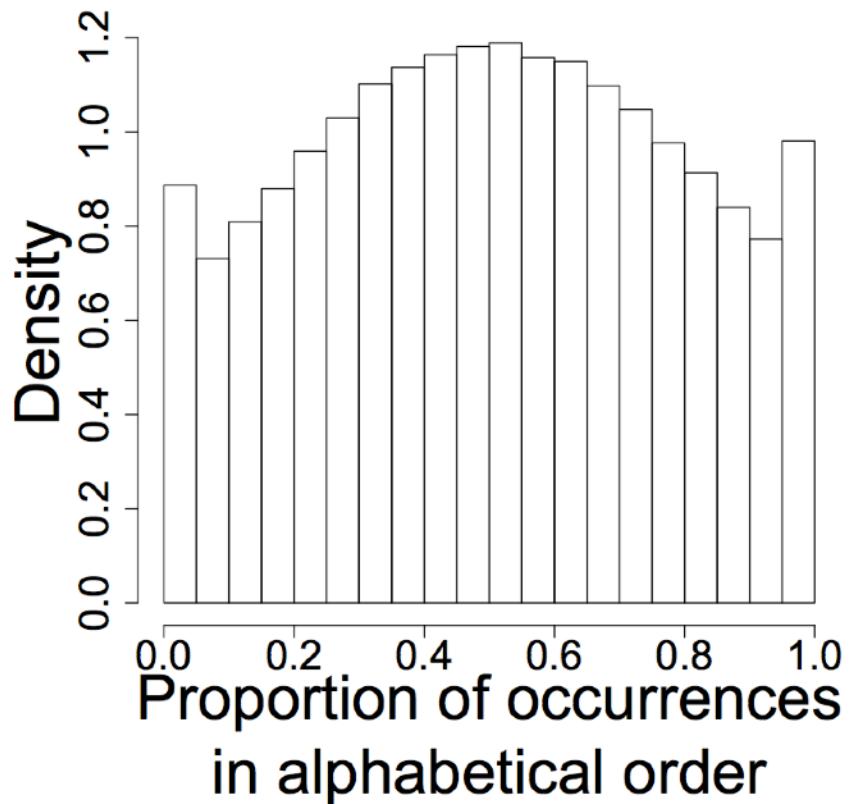


Results: distribution of binomial prefs.

Reality



Our NEW model



Summary for today

- In language we must often model **multiple, overlapping, defeasible** constraints that drive preferences
 - One example: linear **ordering preferences**
 - e.g., linear ordering preferences in the **binomial construction**
- We can do this with **logistic regression**
- Viewed as a **Bayes Net**, logistic regression imposes a **parametric form** on $P(\text{outcome} | X_1 \dots m)$
- Logistic regression is extendable with a **hierarchical** component to handle item-specific idiosyncrasies
 - One version of this: **beta-binomial regression**

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