

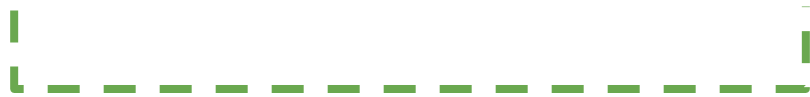
Sources of Bias in Psycholinguistic Data

Utku Turk

Department of Linguistics, UMD

Agreement Attraction

(1) The **key** **was** rusty.



Agreement Attraction

(2) *The **key** **were** rusty.



Agreement Attraction

(3) *The **key** to the *cells* **were** rusty.



Agreement Attraction

(3) *The **key** to the *cells* **were** rusty.



(sometimes)

Agreement Attraction

[An example study]



Journal of Memory and Language

Volume 61, Issue 2, August 2009, Pages 206-237

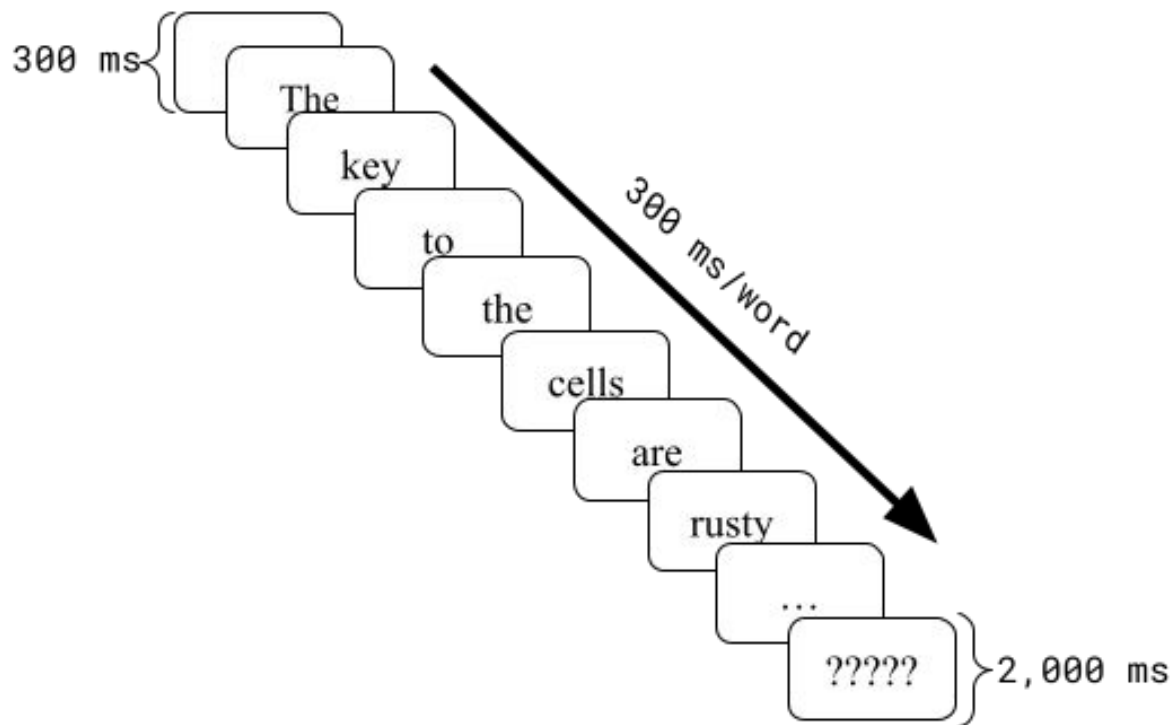


Agreement attraction in comprehension: Representations and processes

Matthew W. Wagers ^a ¹ , Ellen F. Lau ^{b, 1}, Colin Phillips ^{b, c}

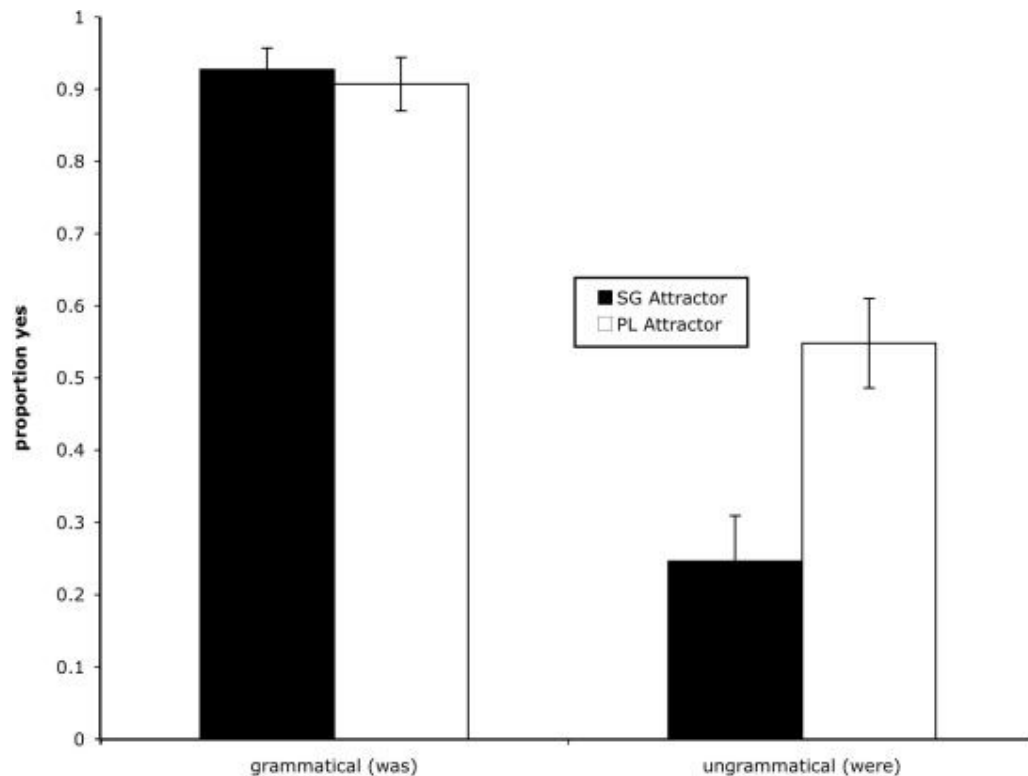
Agreement Attraction

[An example study: Exp7]



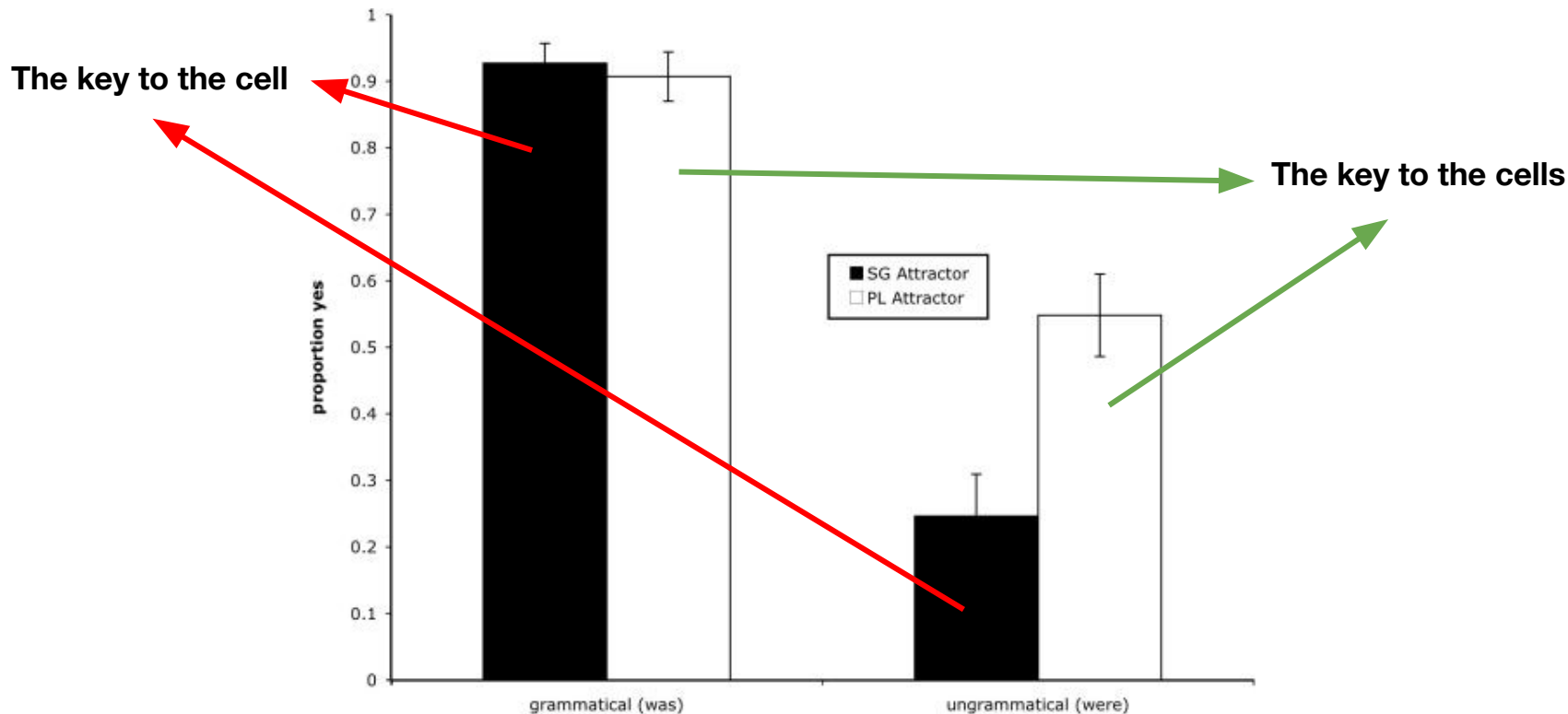
Agreement Attraction

[An example study: Exp7]



Agreement Attraction

[An example study: Exp7]



Agreement Attraction

[Empirical Findings]

PP > RC Attraction

Linear Distance Effects

Syntactic Distance Effects

Grammaticality Asymmetry

Distributivity Effects

Clause-external attractors

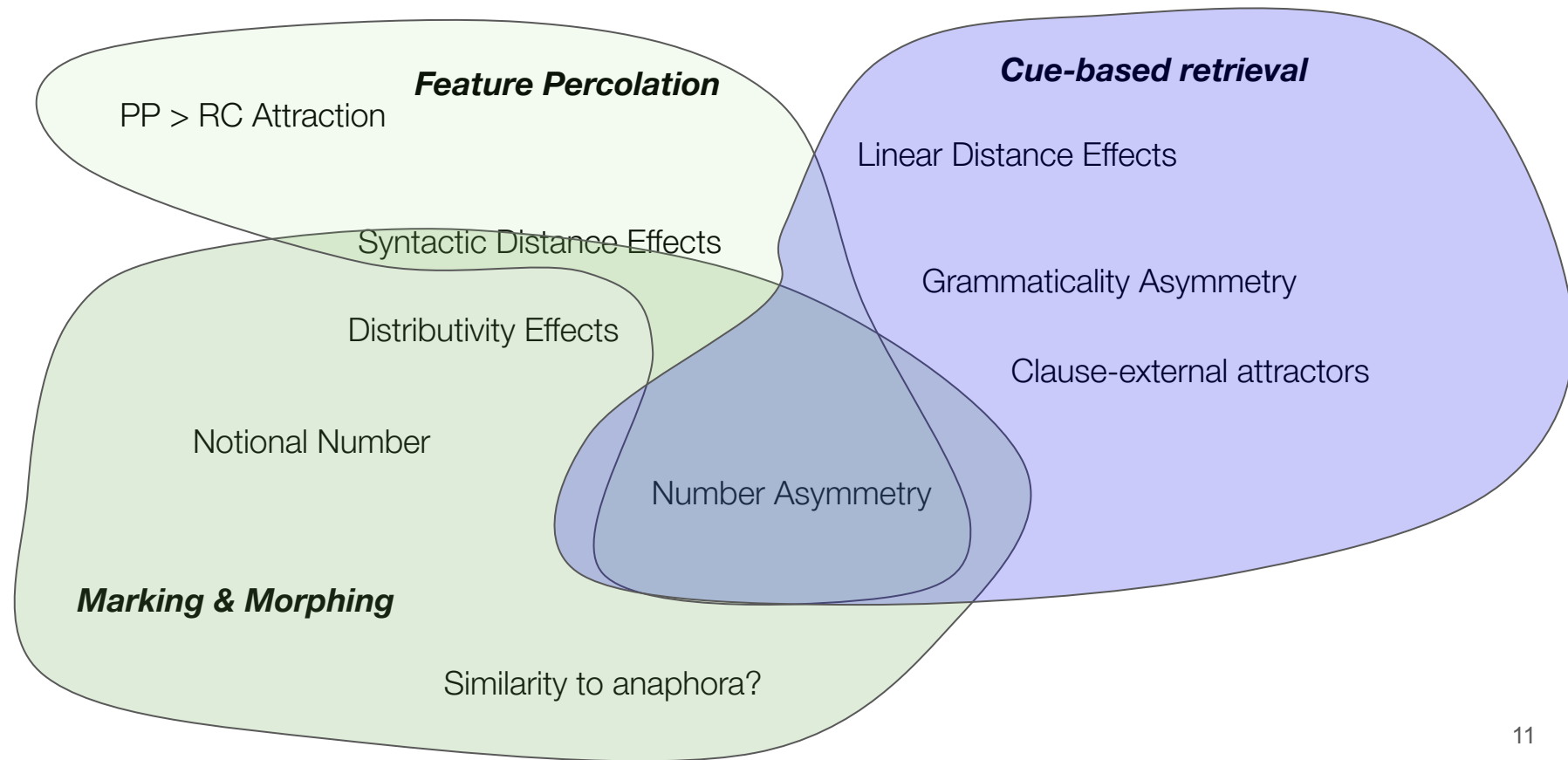
Notional Number

Number Asymmetry

Similarity to anaphora?

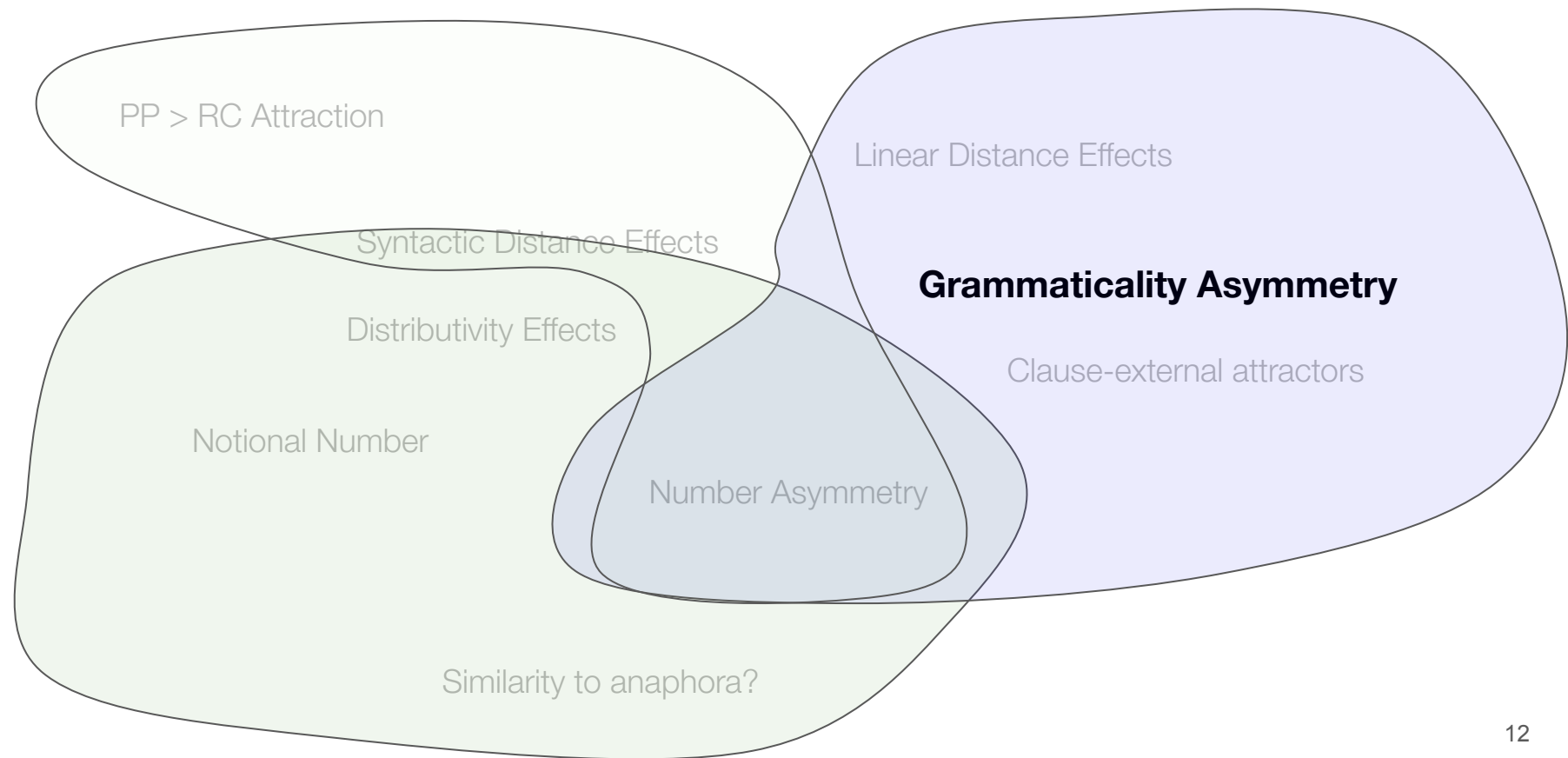
Agreement Attraction

[Empirical Findings]



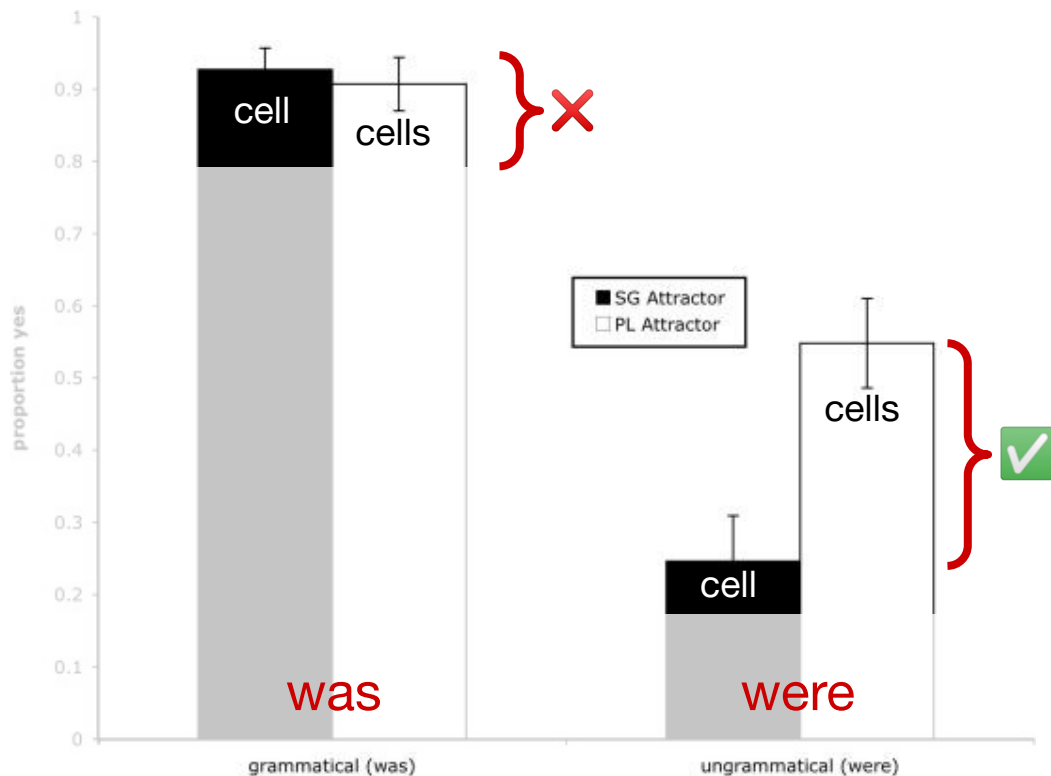
Agreement Attraction

[My Question]



Agreement Attraction

[An example study: Exp7]

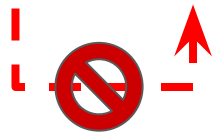


Grammaticality Asymmetry

(4) *The **key** to the **cells** **were** rusty.



(5) The **key** to the **cells** **was** rusty.



Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Theories]

(4) *The **key** to the **cells** **were** rusty.



(5) The **key** to the **cells** **was** rusty.



Retrieval



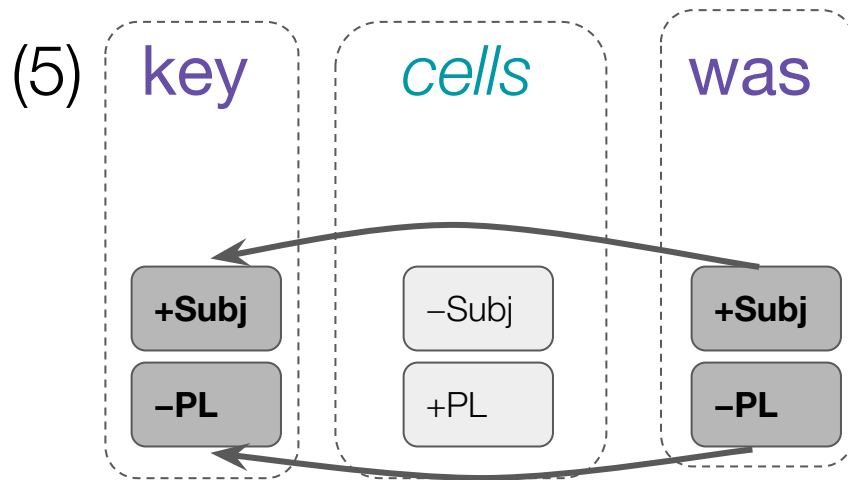
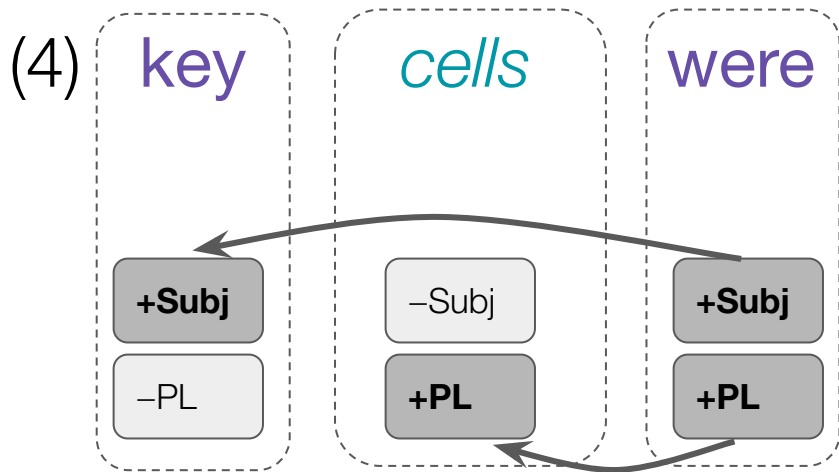
Representational



Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Theories]

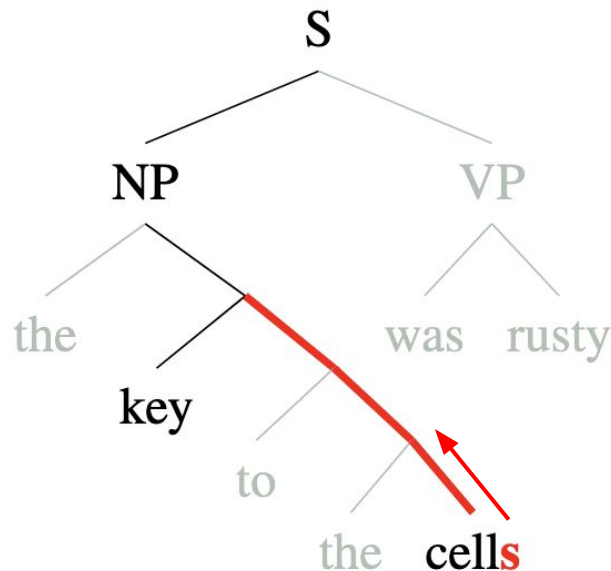
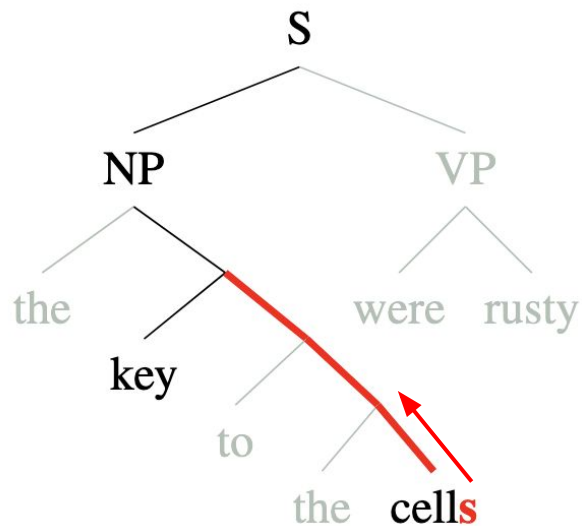
Retrieval



Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Theories]

Representational ❌



Interim Summary

- People do systematic **errors** in **agreement** comprehension
- Errors surface in **only ungrammatical sentences**
- **Retrieval** accounts explains findings better
(*compared to **representational** accounts*)

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]



Cognitive Psychology

Volume 110, May 2019, Pages 70-104



The grammaticality asymmetry in agreement attraction reflects response bias: Experimental and modeling evidence ☆

Christopher Hammerly^a  , Adrian Staub^b, Brian Dillon^a

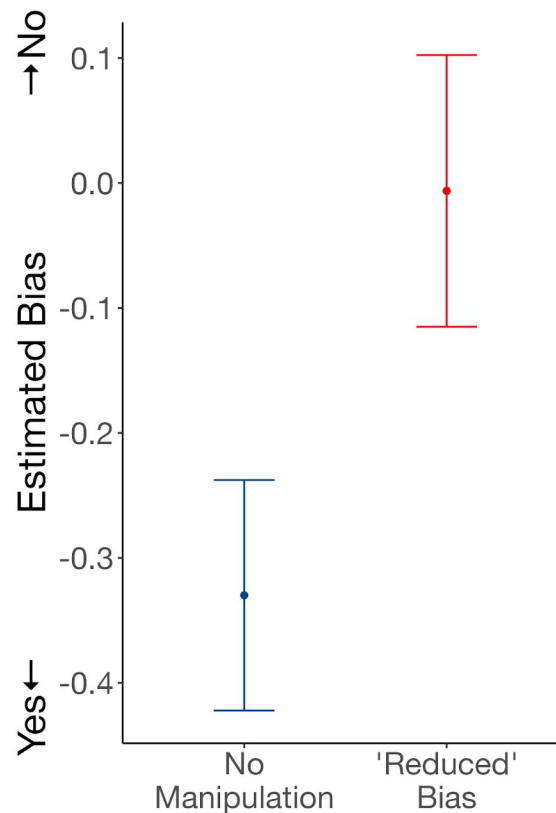
- Grammaticality asymmetry due to response bias
- People have a **a priori bias** to grammaticality

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]

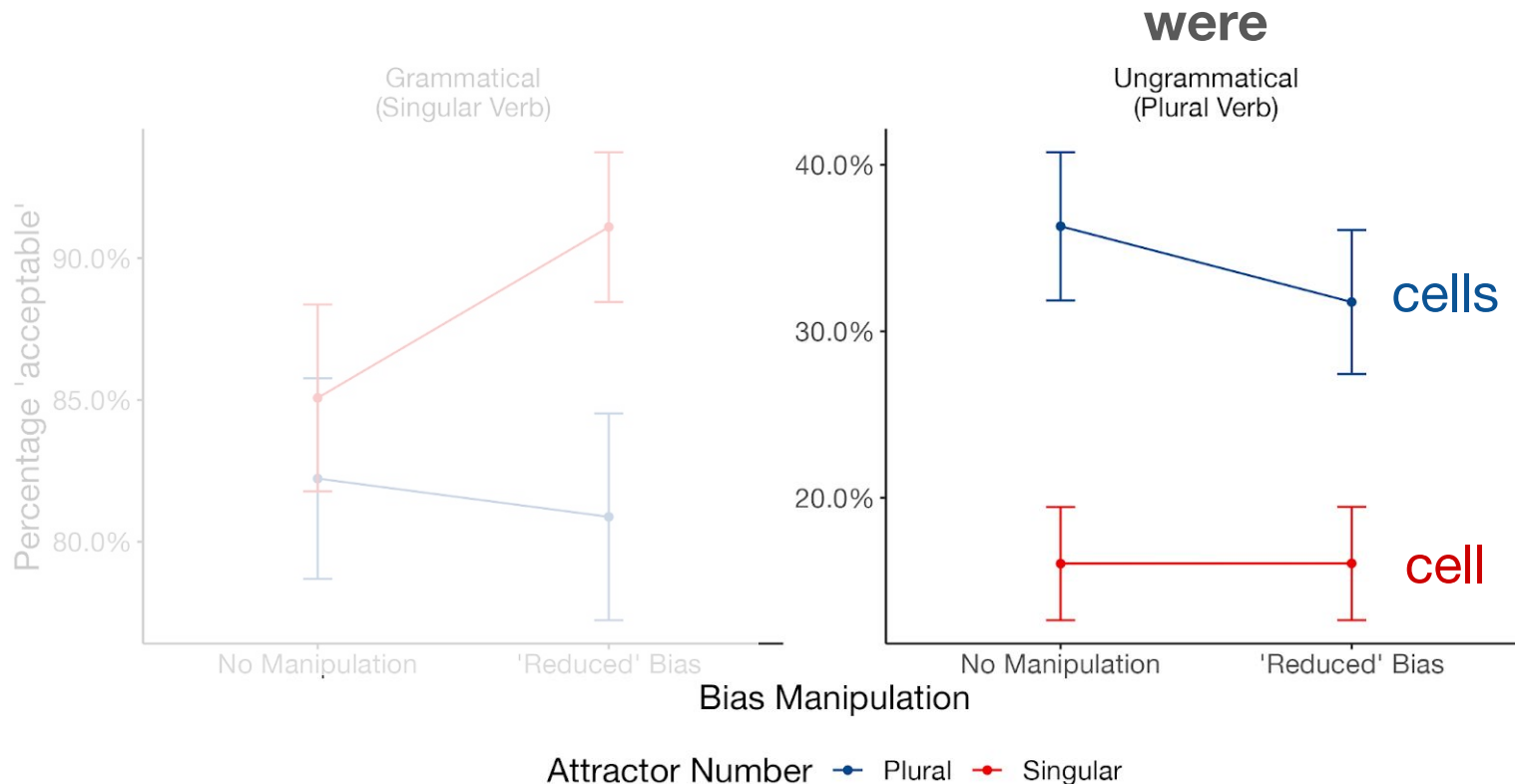
Bias Manipulation

- Manipulating the percentage of ungrammatical fillers
- &
- Using instructions



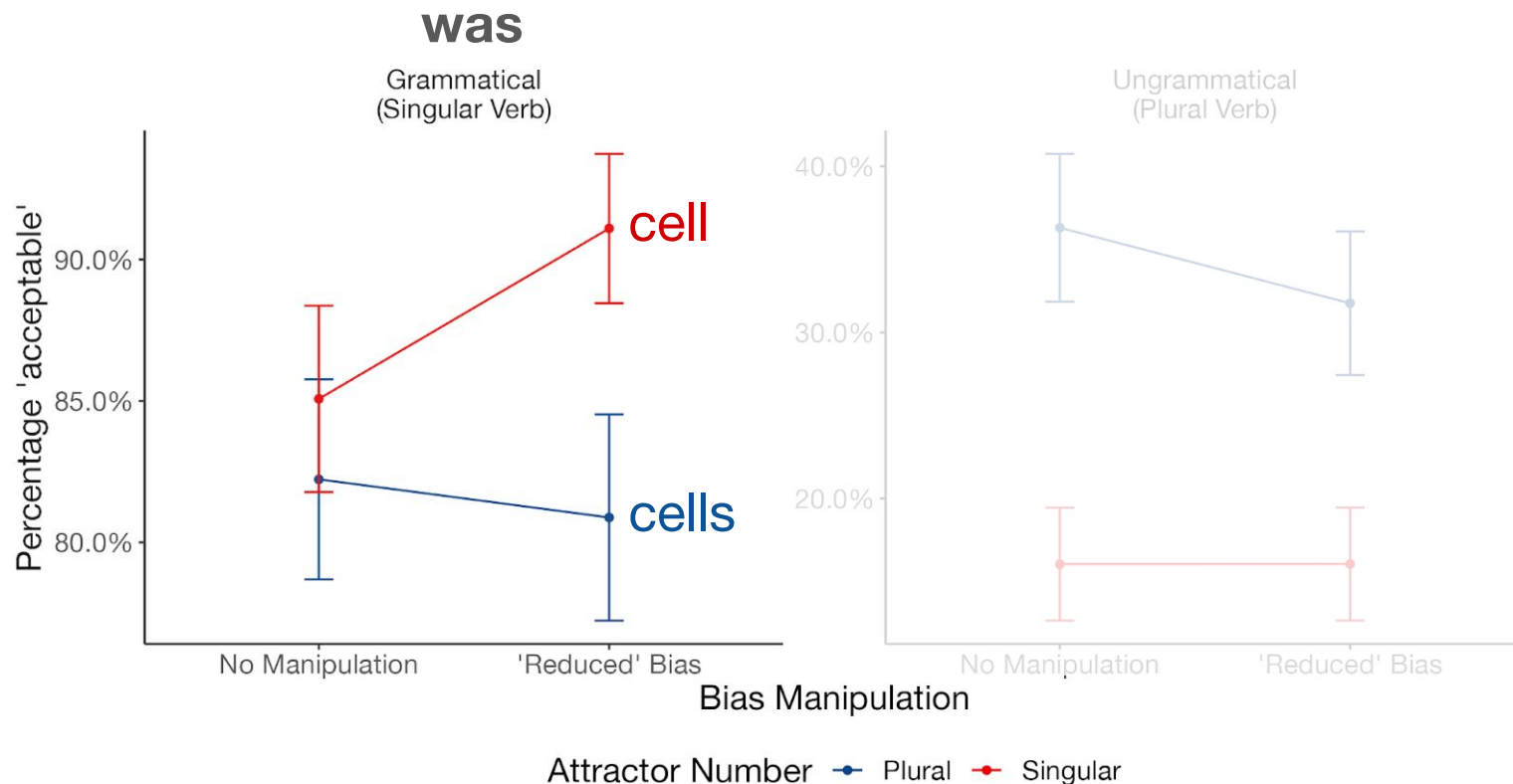
Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]



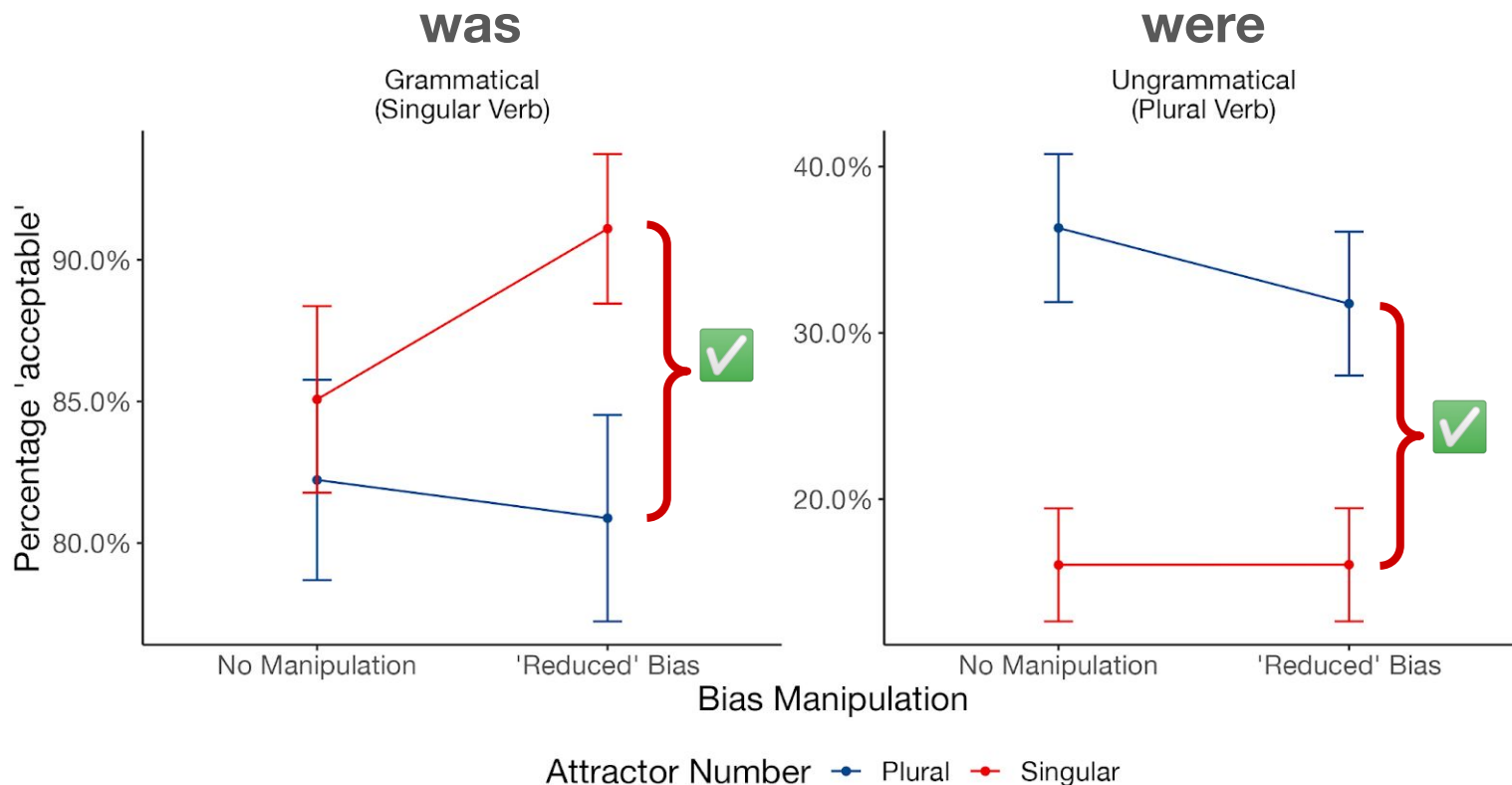
Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]



Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]



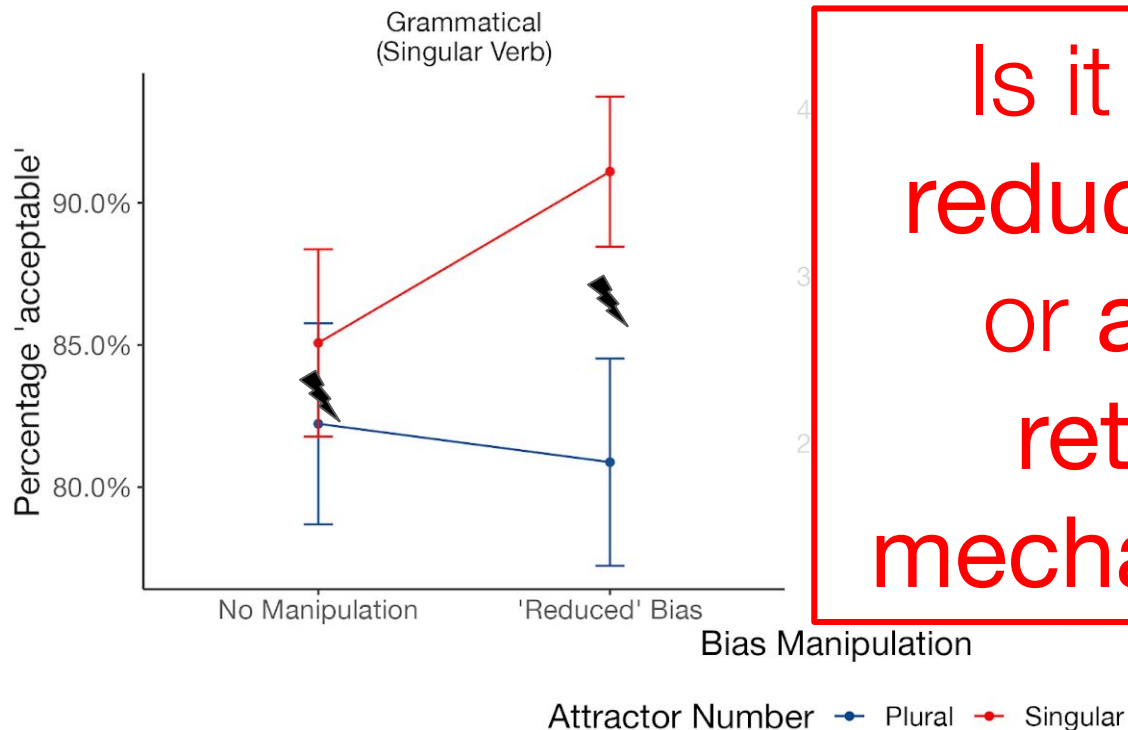
Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]

- Problem: Teasing apart experimental manipulation and response bias.

Grammaticality Asymmetry

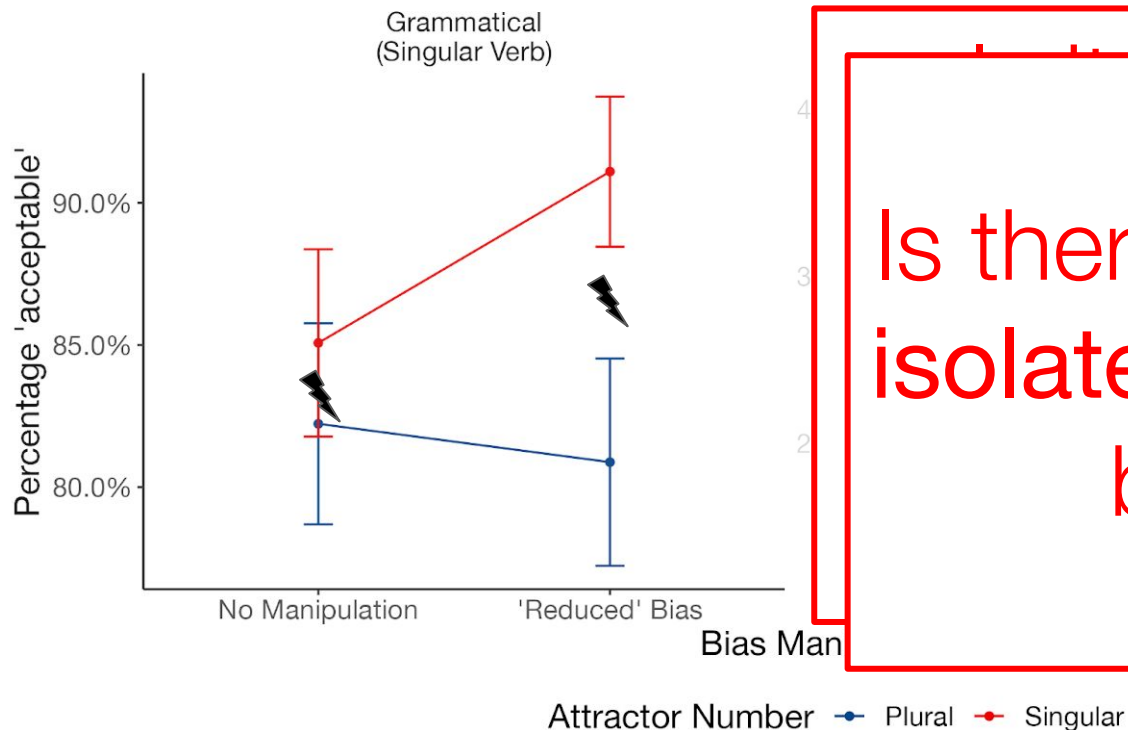
[HSD]



Is it due to
reduced bias
or altered
retrieval
mechanisms ?

Grammaticality Asymmetry

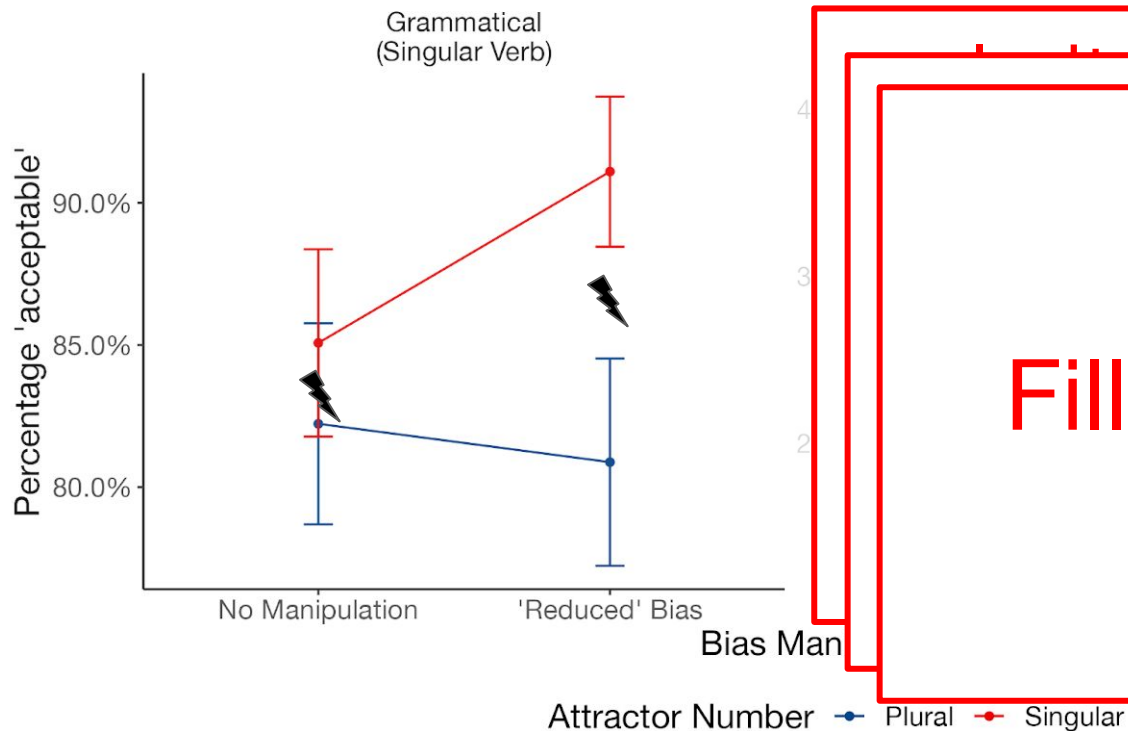
[HSD]



Is there a way to isolate response bias?

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]



Filler items!

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[HSD]

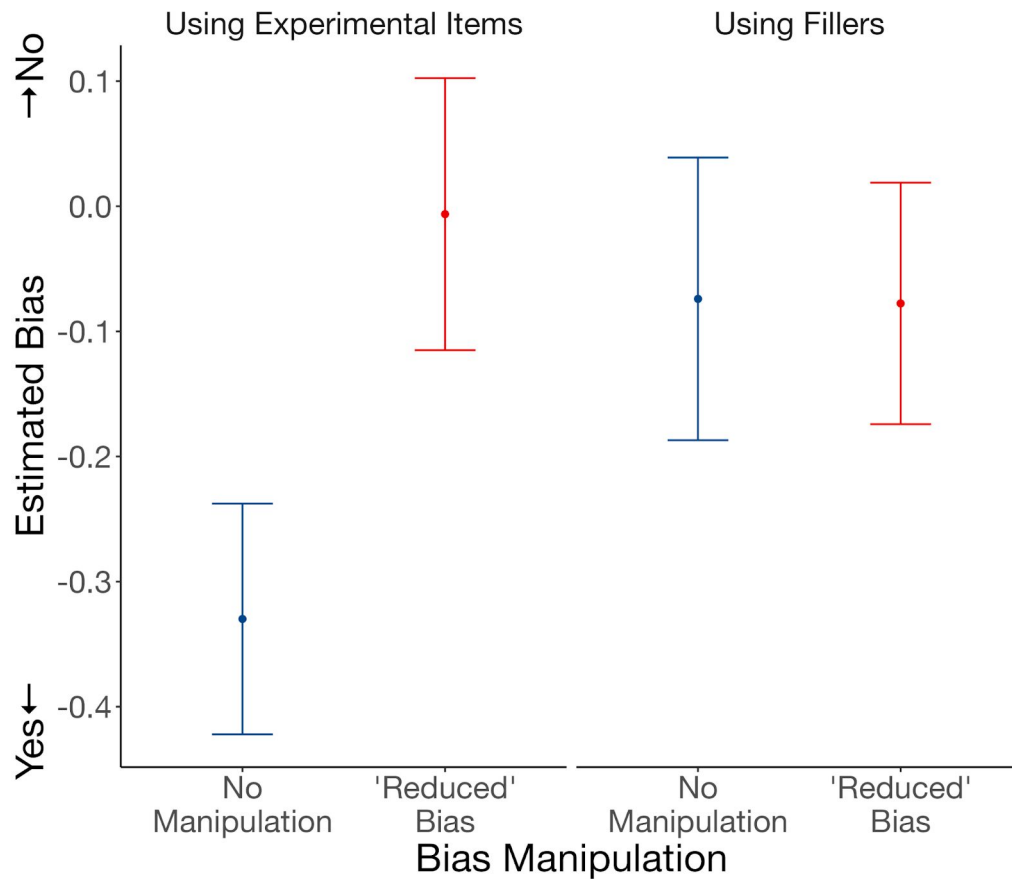
Wait?

...

What?

...

What?



Our Goal: Replicate Hammerly et al.'s findings in another language with another construction and verify bias-related findings

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Replication: Method]

Our Goal: Replicate Hammerly et al.'s findings in another language with another construction and verify bias-related findings

- Speeded Acceptability Judgment, $N = 114$
- Within-subject factors: *Verb x Attractor number*
- Between-subject factor: *Bias*

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Replication: Method]

Our Goal: Replicate Hammerly et al.'s findings in another language with another construction and verify bias-related findings

- Speeded Acceptability Judgment, N = 114
- Within-subject factors: *Verb x Attractor number*
- Between-subject factor: *Bias*

- (10) a. * [*Milyoner-ler-in terzi-si*] tamamen gereksizce kov-ul-du-lar.
millionaire-PL-GEN tailor-POSS completely without_reason fire-PASS-PST-PL
*The tailor of the millionaires were fired for no reason at all.
- b. * *Milyonerin terzisi* tamamen gereksizce kovuldular.
- c. *Milyonerlerin terzisi* tamamen gereksizce kovuldu.
- d. *Milyonerin terzisi* tamamen gereksizce kovuldu.

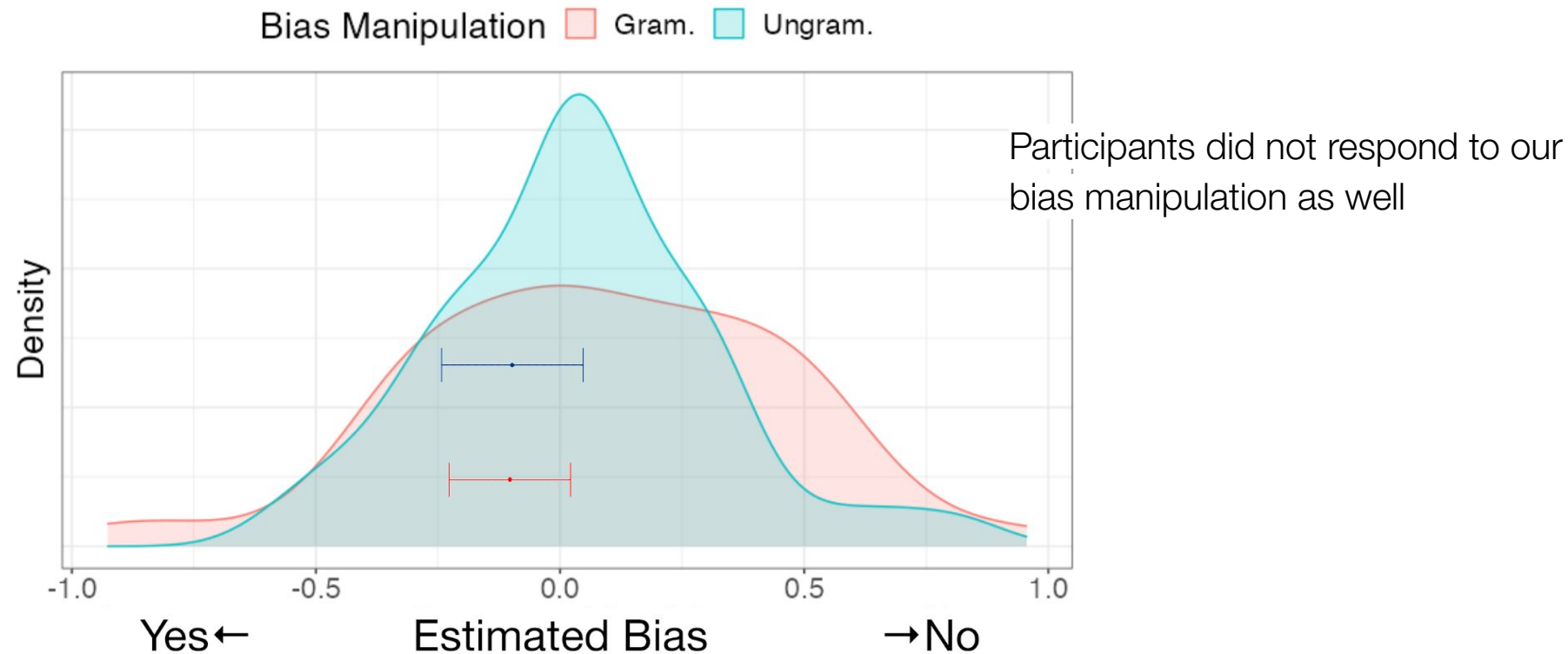
Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Replication: Bias]

Participants did not respond to our bias manipulation as well

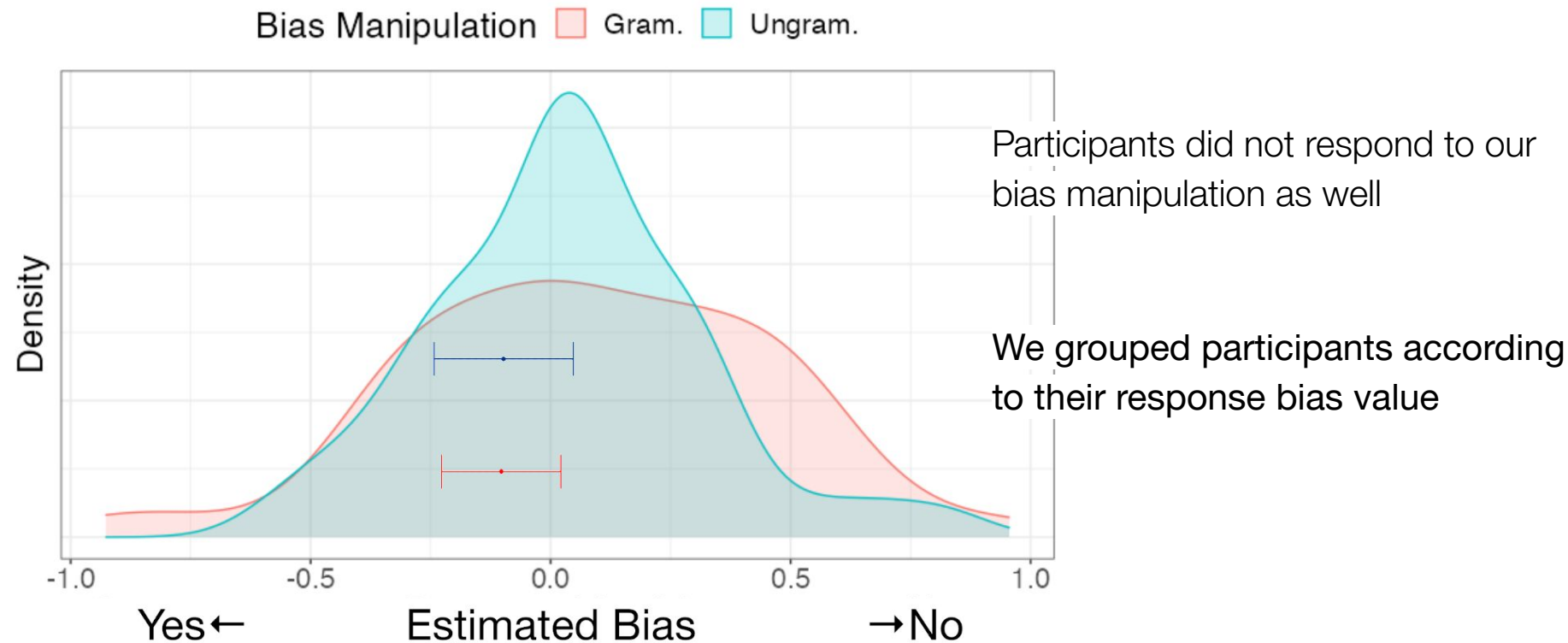
Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Replication: Bias]

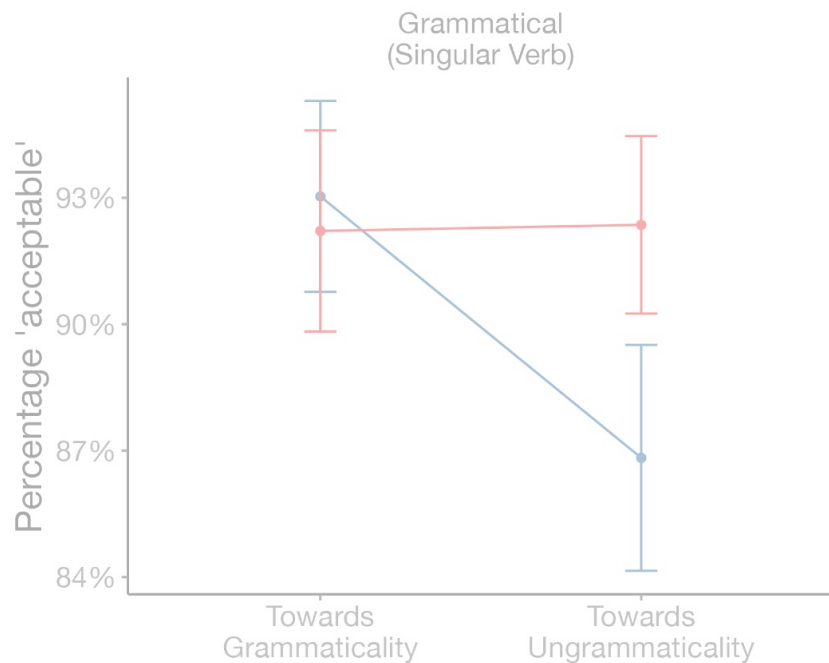


Grammaticality Asymmetry

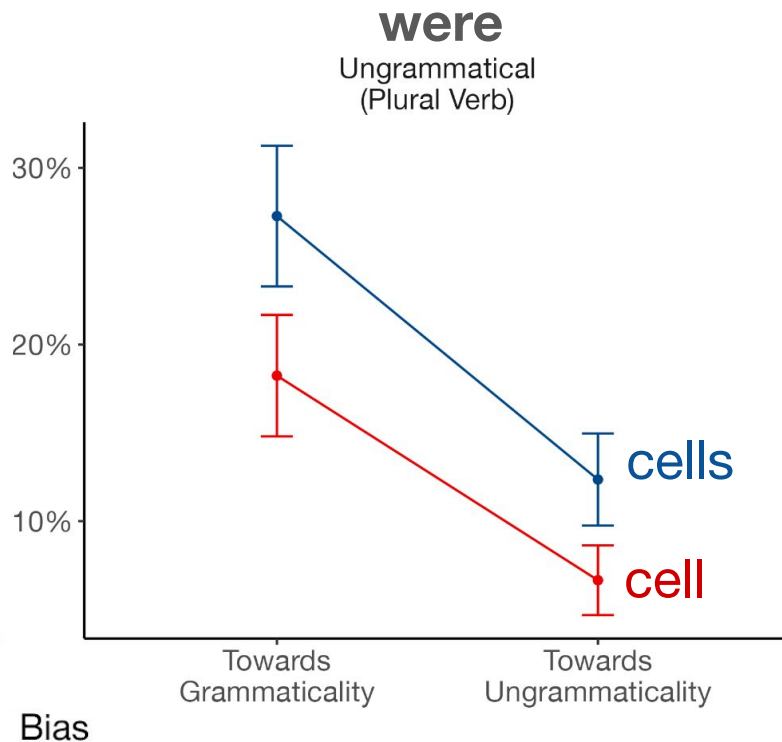
[Replication: Bias]



Grammaticality Asymmetry

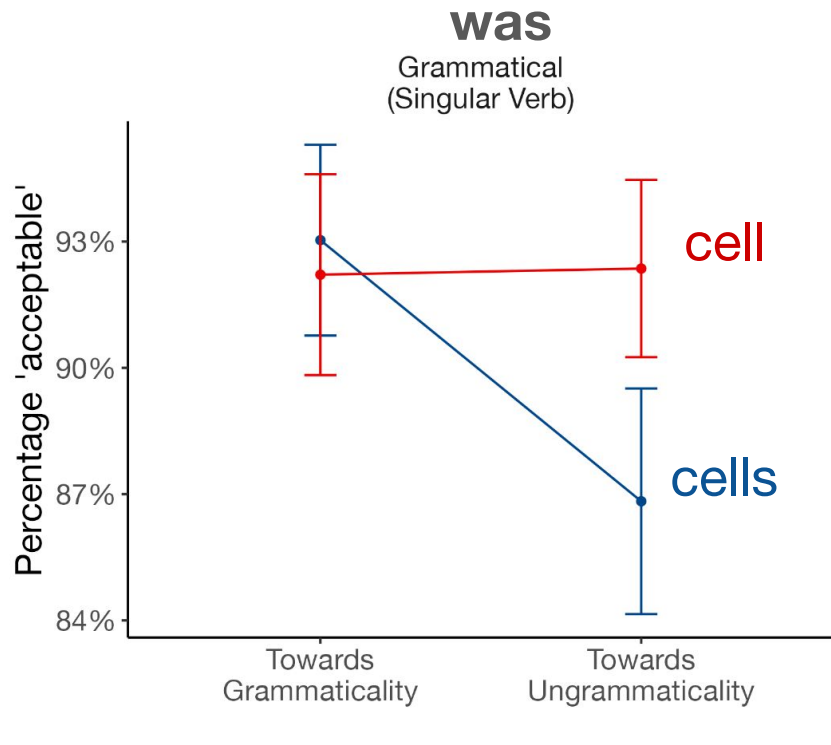


[Replication: Results]

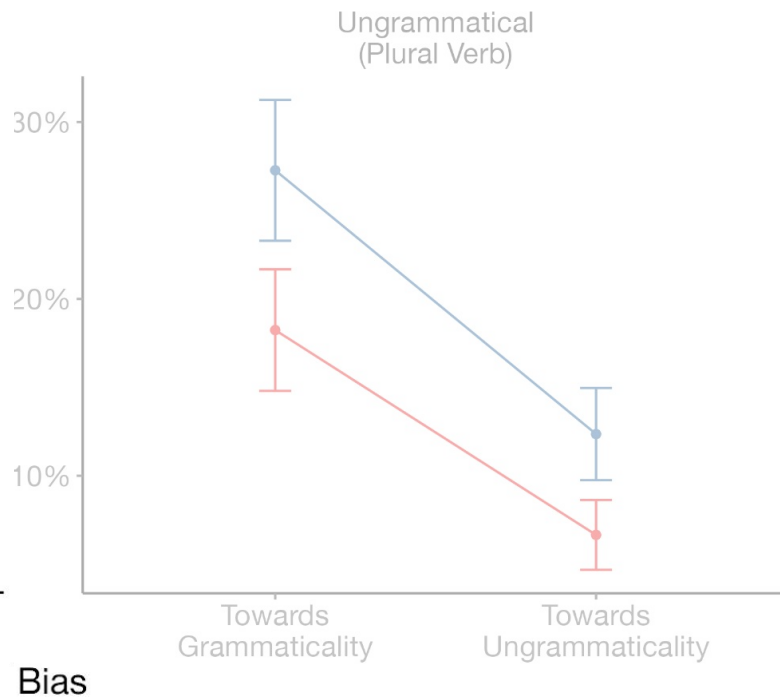


Attractor Number — Plural — Singular

Grammaticality Asymmetry



[Replication: Results]



Attractor Number — Plural — Singular

Grammaticality Asymmetry

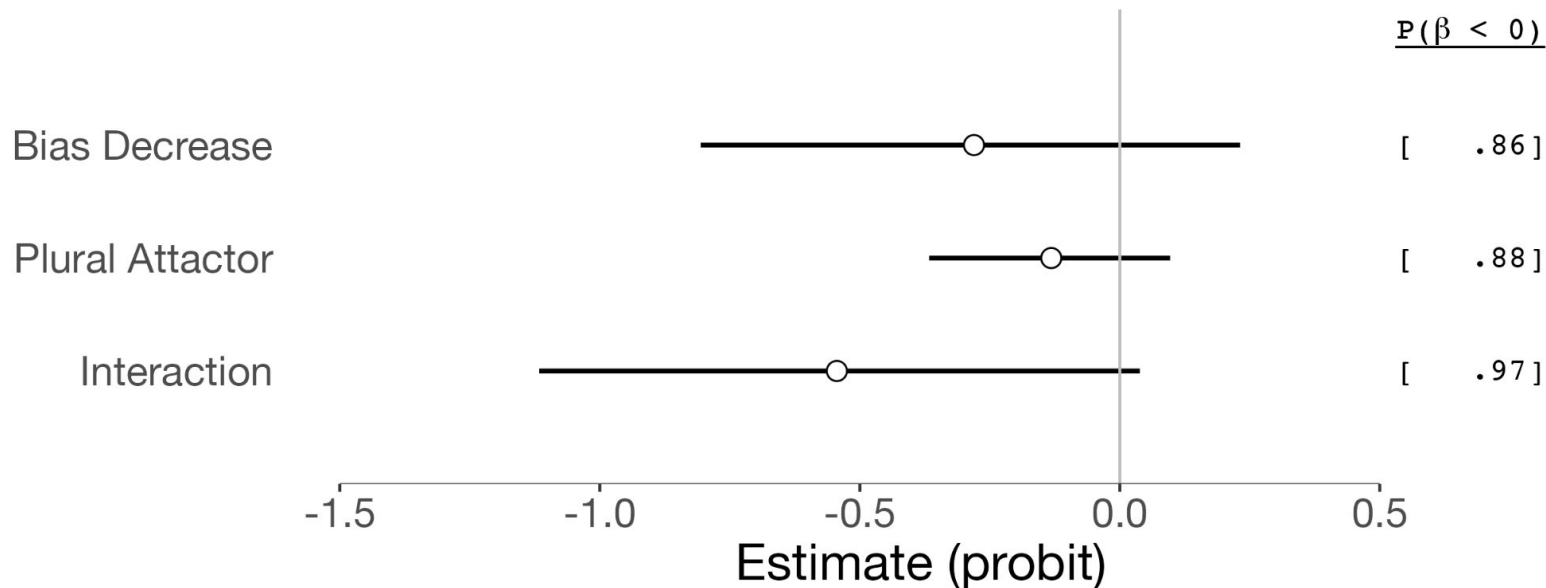
[Replication: Modeling]

- Fit a maximal Bayesian GLM to 'yes' responses to **grammatical** sentences
 - Predictors:
 - Continuous Response Bias Value
 - Attractor Number
 - The interaction
 - (Trial number) & (Word Frequency)
 - All models were maximal

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Replication: Modeling]

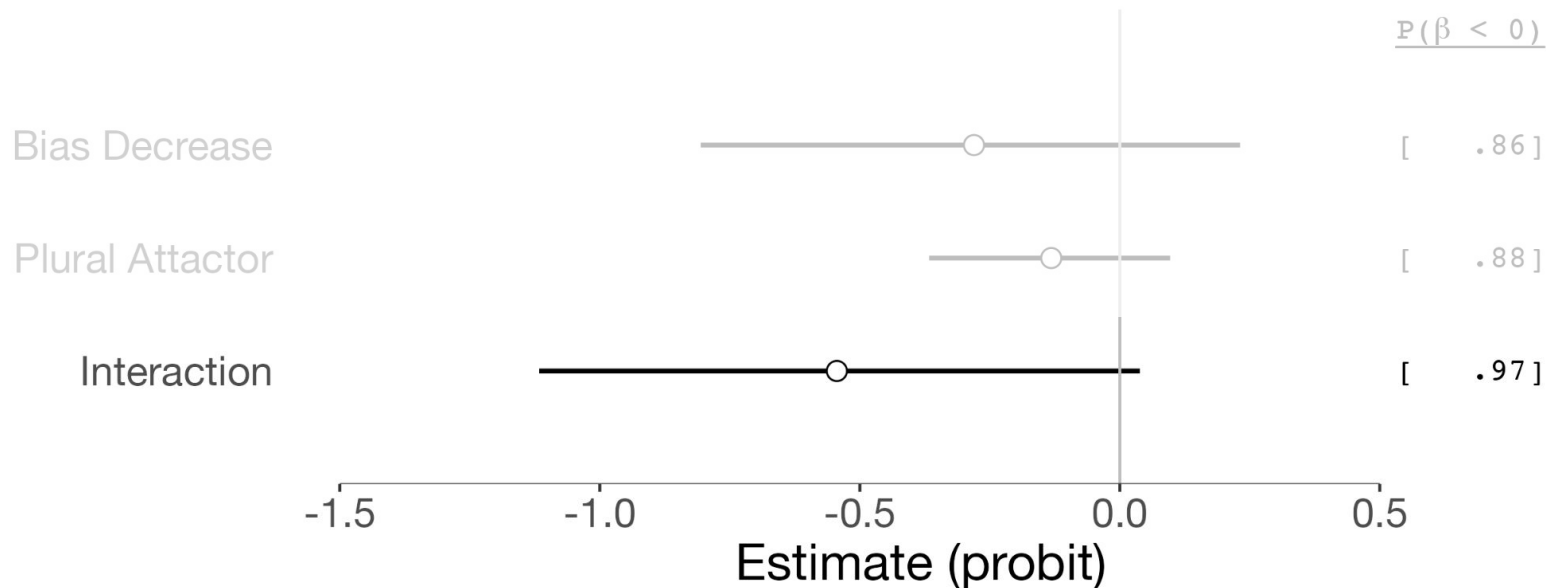
- Fit a maximal Bayesian GLM to 'yes' responses to **grammatical** sentences



Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Replication: Modeling]

- Fit a maximal Bayesian GLM to 'yes' responses to **grammatical** sentences



→ The effect of plural attractor is more pronounced in people with less “yes” bias in grammatical sentences

∴ Replicated theoretically significant findings of HSD

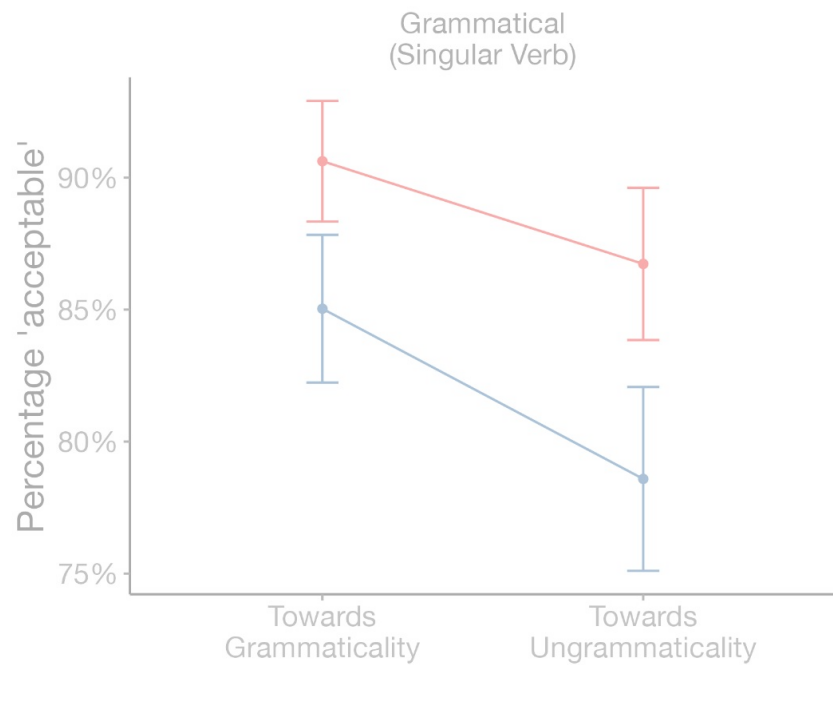
∴ Replicated theoretically significant findings of HSD

∴ Grammaticality asymmetry due to response bias

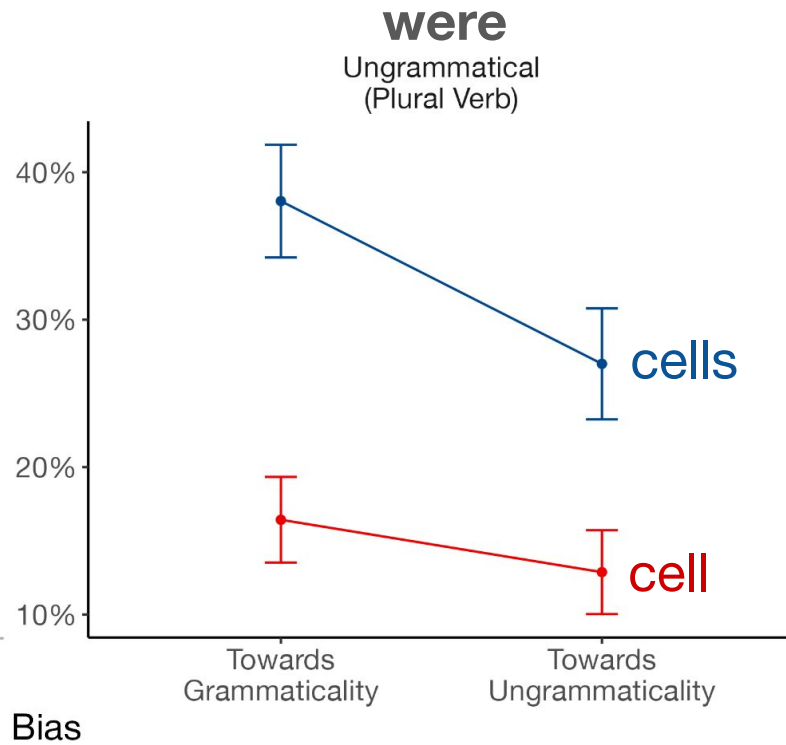
- ∴ Replicated theoretically significant findings of HSD
- ∴ Grammaticality asymmetry due to response bias
- ∴ Retrieval models cannot predict these results

Remember funky HSD biases?

Grammaticality Asymmetry



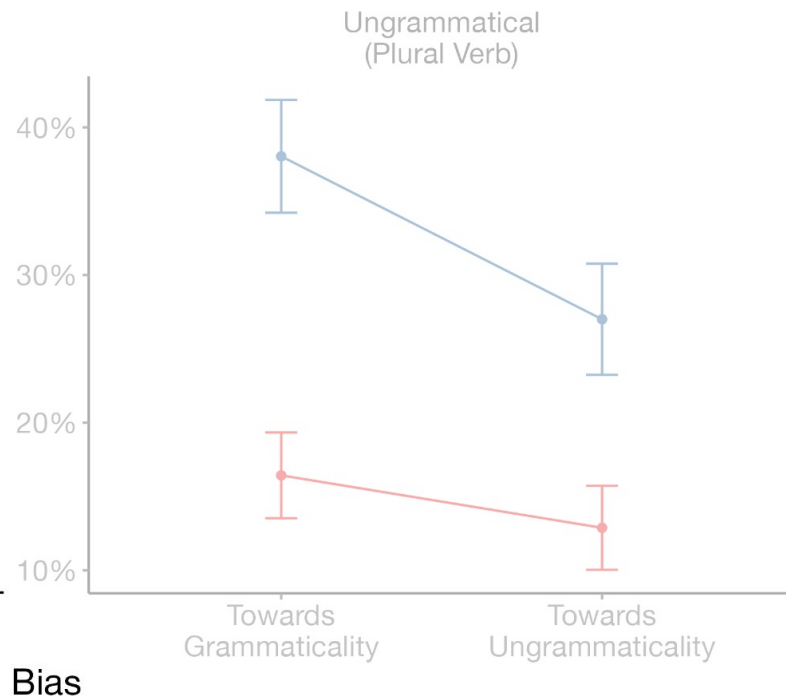
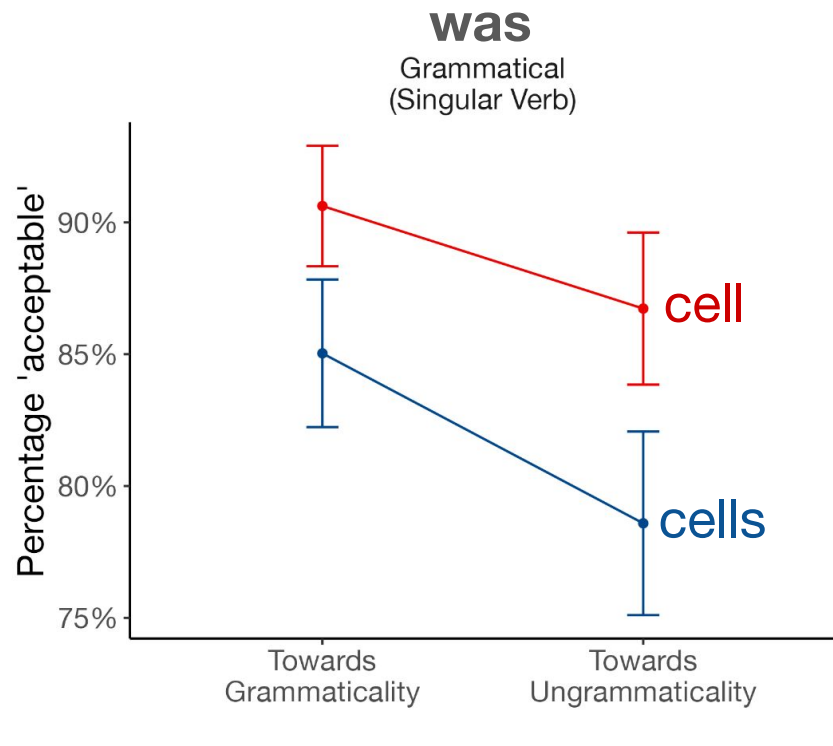
[Reanalysis of HSD]



Attractor Number — Plural — Singular

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Reanalysis of HSD]

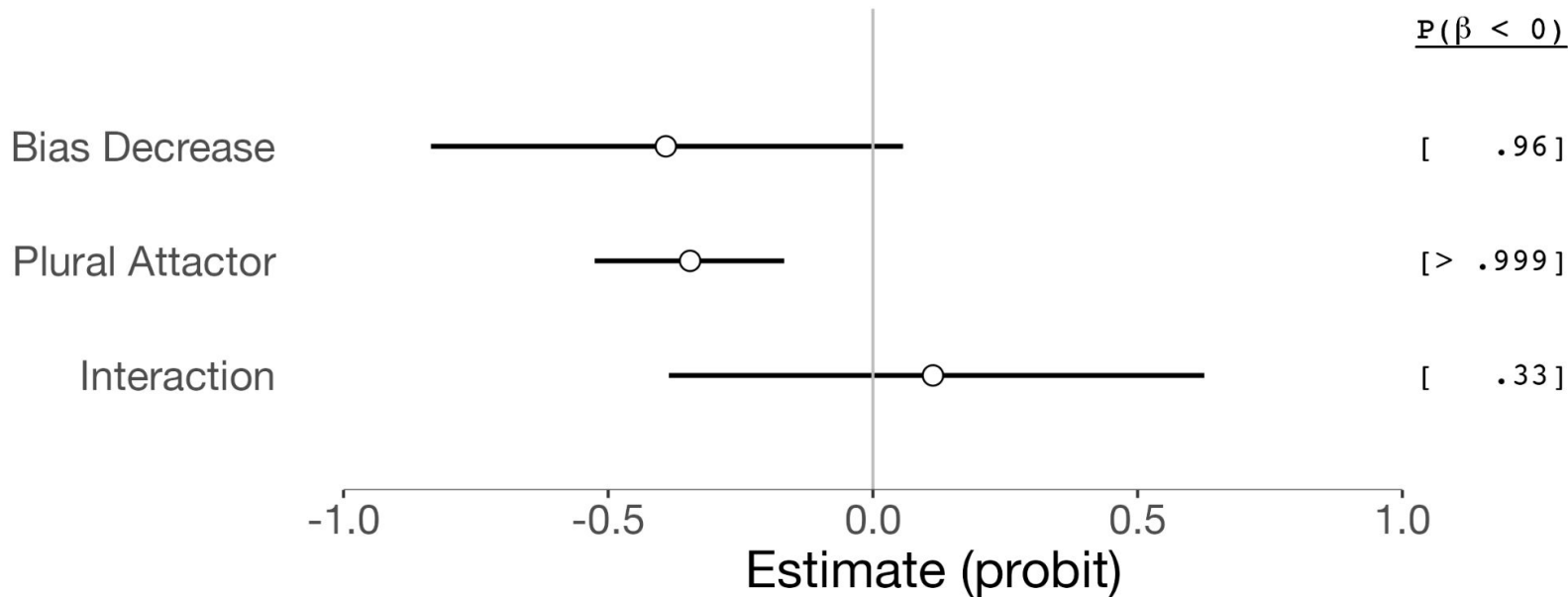


Attractor Number — Plural — Singular

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Reanalysis of HSD]

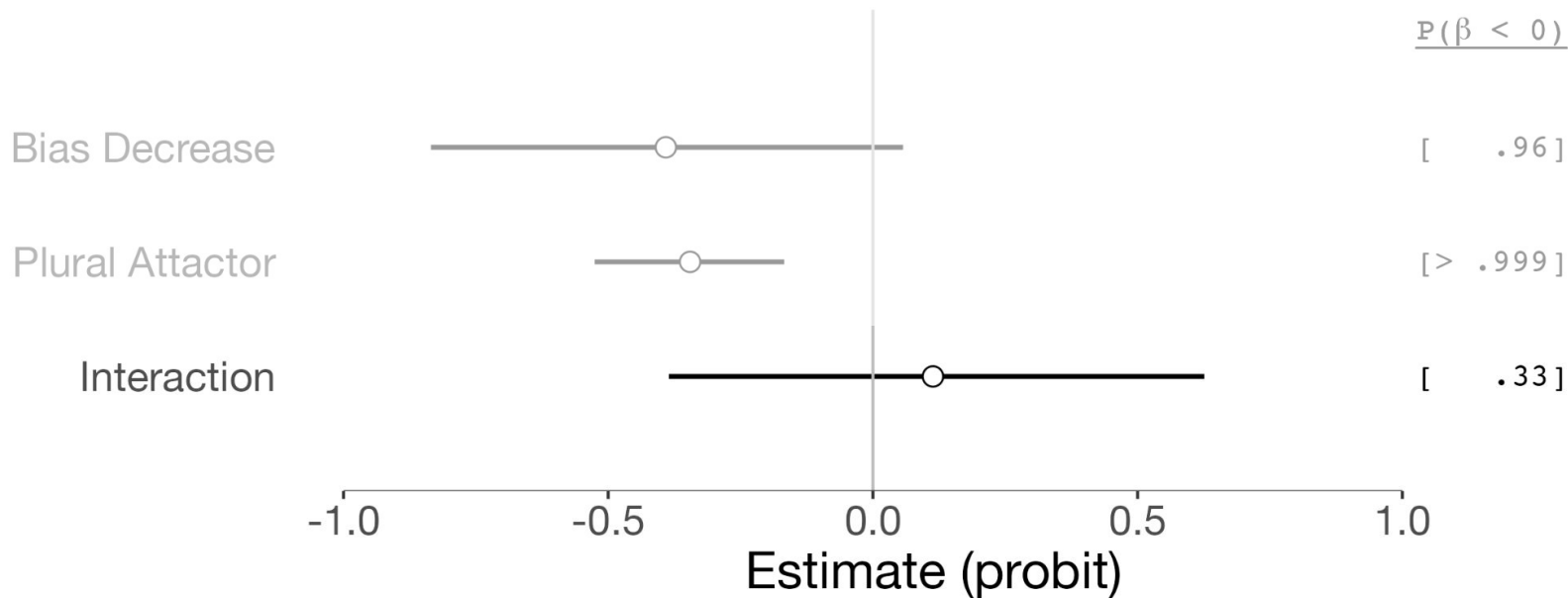
- Fit a maximal Bayesian GLM to 'yes' responses to **grammatical** sentences



Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Reanalysis of HSD]

- Fit a maximal Bayesian GLM to 'yes' responses to **grammatical** sentences



→ Reducing Bias did not affect the contribution of the plural attractor

- ∴ They were not able to manipulate bias
- ∴ Attraction in grammatical sentences surfaces with “yes” bias

- ∴ They were not able to manipulate bias
- ∴ Attraction in grammatical sentences surfaces with “yes” bias
- ∴ Retrieval accounts are still problematic

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Meta-Analysis]

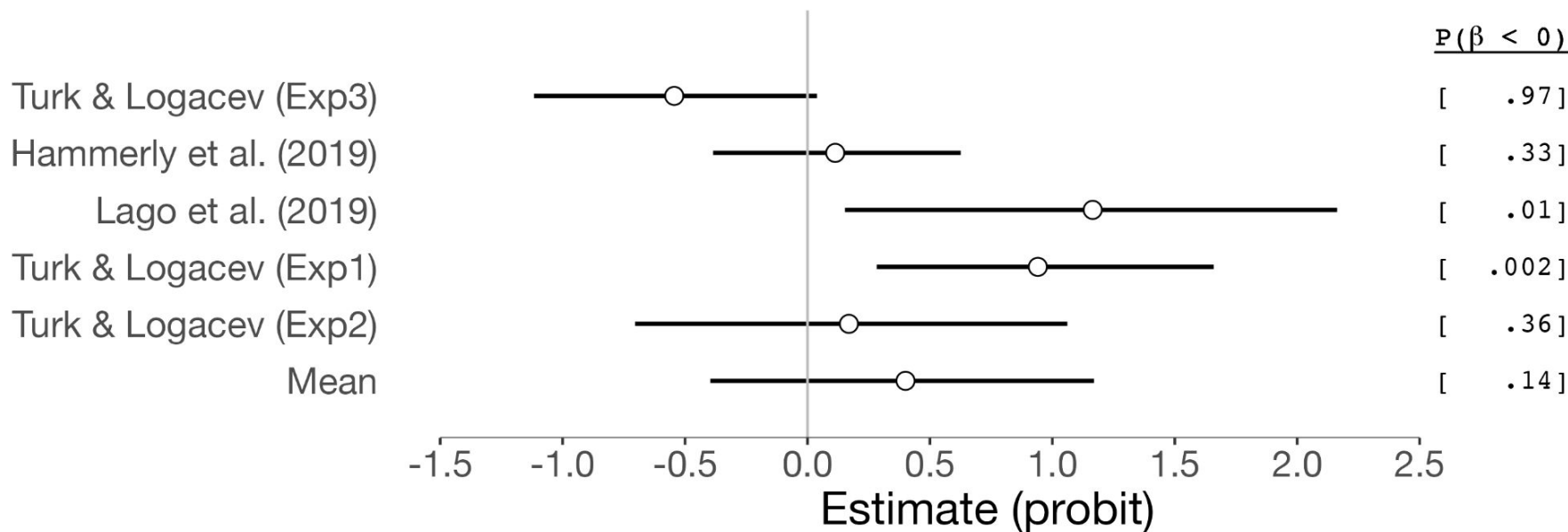
- What about other experiments without bias manipulation?

Grammaticality Asymmetry

[Meta-Analysis]

- What about other experiments without bias manipulation?

Interaction Posteriors



∴ Reduced “yes” bias  Attraction in grammatical sentences

- ∴ Reduced “yes” bias $\rightarrow \times \rightarrow$ Attraction in grammatical sentences
- ∴ Retrieval accounts, as it is, does not support these findings

- ∴ Reduced “yes” bias $\rightarrow \times \rightarrow$ Attraction in grammatical sentences
- ∴ Retrieval accounts, as it is, does not support these findings

A way out: Properties of retrieval are prone to bias manipulation

joint work with Pavel Logačev



@ Bogazici University

for my MA thesis

github.com/utkuturk/attraction_meta



Thank you!

Selected References

- Bock, K., & Miller, C. A. (1991). Broken agreement. *Cognitive Psychology*, 23(1), 45–93.
- Eberhard, K. M., Cutting, J. C., & Bock, K. (2005). Making syntax of sense: Number agreement in sentence production. *Psychological Review*, 112(3), 531–559.
- Gelman, A., & Hill, J. (2007). *Data analysis using regression and multilevel/hierarchical models*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hammerly, C., Staub, A., & Dillon, B. (2019). The grammaticality asymmetry in agreement attraction reflects response bias: Experimental and modeling evidence. *Cognitive Psychology*, 110, 70–104.
- Jäger, L. A., Mertzen, D., Van Dyke, J. A., & Vasishth, S. (2020). Interference patterns in subject-verb agreement and reflexives revisited: A large-sample study. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 111, 104063.
- Lago, S., Gračanin–Yuksek, M., Şafak, D. F., Demir, O., Kirkıcı, B., & Felser, C. (2019). Straight from the horse’s mouth: Agreement attraction effects with Turkish possessors. In *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism* (Vol. 9, Issue 3, pp. 398–426). John Benjamins.
- Morey, R. D. (2008). Confidence intervals from normalized data: A correction to Cousineau (2005). *Reason*, 4(2), 61–64.
- Nicenboim, B., & Vasishth, S. (2016). Statistical methods for linguistic research: Foundational ideas—Part II. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 10(11), 591–613.
- Wagers, M. W., Lau, E. F., & Phillips, C. (2009). Agreement attraction in comprehension: Representations and processes. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 61(2), 206–237.