Novel analysis of response bias challenges representational accounts in attraction

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Agreement Attraction

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

Agreement Attraction



Agreement Attraction

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

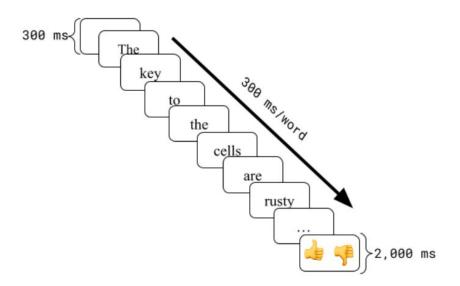
(2) *The **key** were rusty.

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

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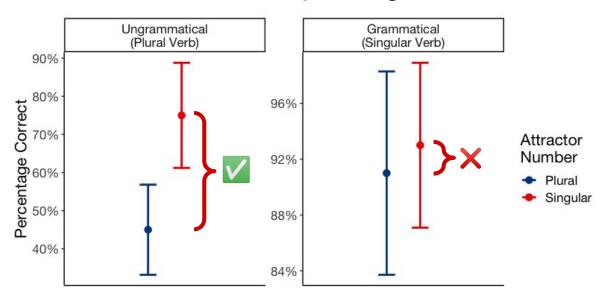
Agreement Attraction: Comprehension

- Word-by-word, speeded acceptability judgment task



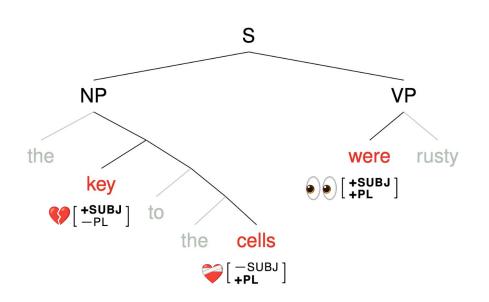
Agreement Attraction: Grammaticality Asymmetry

- Attractor number mattered only in ungrammatical sentences

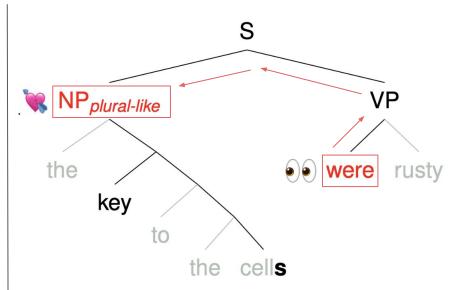


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Agreement Attraction: Accounts

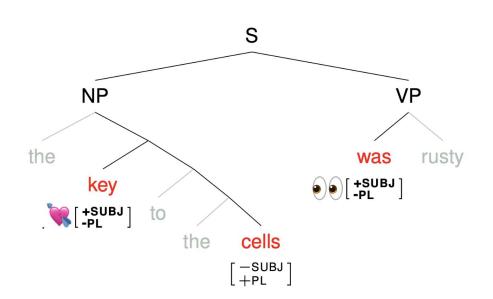


 Retrieval: Partial match may occasionally save the retrieval.

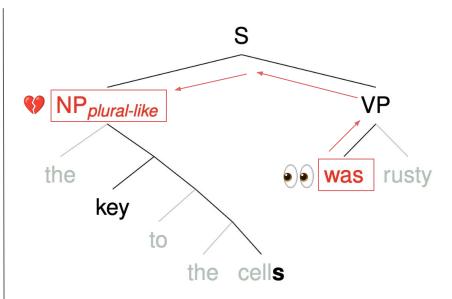


- **Representational:** probing acceptability in ungrammatical sentences

Agreement Attraction: Accounts



- **Retrieval:** Less interference when the true subject is a *perfect match*.



- **Representational:** probing *unacceptability* even in grammatical sentences

Roadmap

- ☐ 1. Hammerly et al. (2019) and Bias Calculation Problem
- 2. Turkish Experiment
- 3. Re-analysis of Hammerly et al. (2019)
- 4. Meta-analysis

Hammerly et al. (2019)

- Grammaticality asymmetry does not have to favor Retrieval

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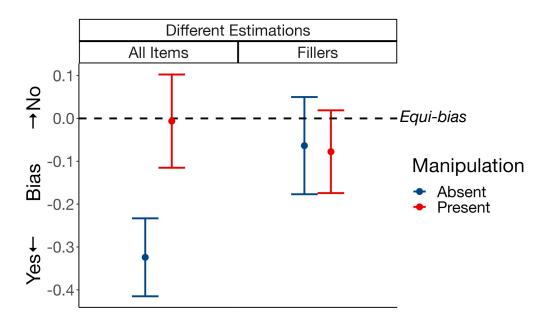
- Grammaticality asymmetry does not have to favor Retrieval
- People have a priori 'yes' bias

- Grammaticality asymmetry does not have to favor Retrieval
- People have a priori 'yes' bias
- When bias is reduced, both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences will show attraction effects

- Manipulated bias through
 - instructions
 - ungrammatical to grammatical filler ratios

- Manipulated bias through
 - instructions
 - ungrammatical to grammatical filler ratios
- Results: Symmetrical effects independent of well-formedness.
 - Thus, asymmetry is a residue of a response bias.

- Problem: They used all items in bias estimation.



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- Bias in experimental items may tap into different mechanisms
- Fillers are constant between participants
- More conservative test of the hypothesis
- Indifferent to experimental manipulations

Roadmap

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Our Study (N_{subject} = 114)

Goal: to test Hammerly et al. theoretical findings and verify bias results.

Our Study: **Experimental Items**

- Used Genitive modifier DPs as attractors (Lago et al., 2019)

```
(4) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Milyoner-ler-in ] terzi-si ]
millionaire-PL-GEN tailor-POSS
"the tailor of the millionaires"
```

Our Study: **Experimental Items**

- Ungrammaticality due to singular head and plural verb.

```
(5) * [DP [DP Milyoner-ler-in] terzi-si] kov-ul-du-lar.
millionaire-PL-GEN tailor-POSS fire-PASS-PST-PL
"the tailor of the millionaires were fired."
```

Our Study: **Experimental Items**

- Within-subject factors: Verb x Attractor number
- (6) a. * [DP [DP Milyoner-ler-in terzi-si] tamamen gereksizce kov-ul-du-lar.

 millionaire-PL-GEN tailor-POSS completely without_reason fire-PASS-PST-PL

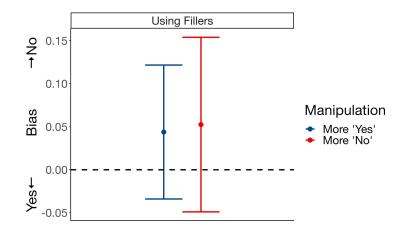
 "The tailor of the millionaires were fired for no reason at all."
 - b. * *Milyonerin* terzisi tamamen gereksizce kovuldular.
 - c. *Milyonerlerin* terzisi tamamen gereksizce kovuldu.
 - d. *Milyonerin* terzisi tamamen gereksizce kovuldu.

- Between subjects factor: Bias.
- Manipulated bias through
 - instructions
 - ungrammatical to grammatical filler ratios

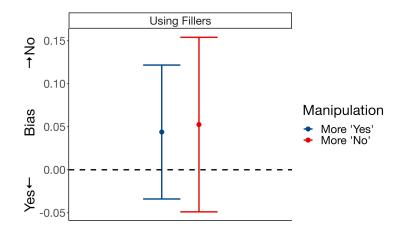
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- Between subjects factor: Bias.
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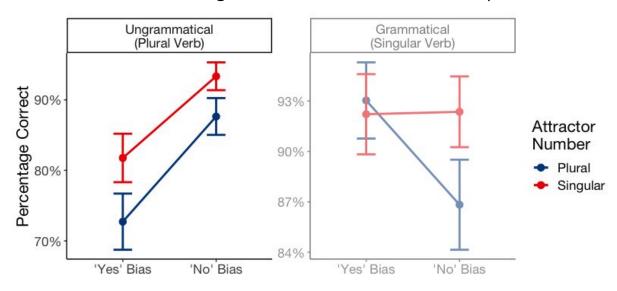


- Between subjects factor: Bias.
- Manipulated bias through
 - instructions
 - ungrammatical to grammatical filler ratios
- No bias difference between groups
- Exploited the individual bias differences



Our Study: Results

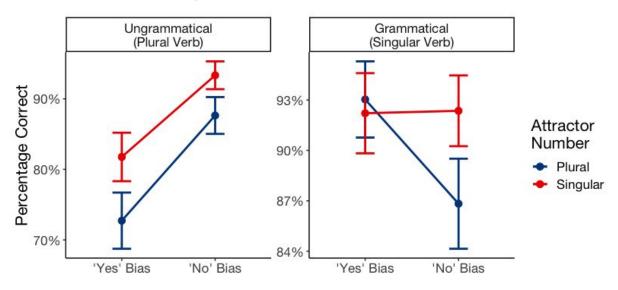
- Attraction in ungrammatical sentences independent of response bias



Participants

Our Study: Results

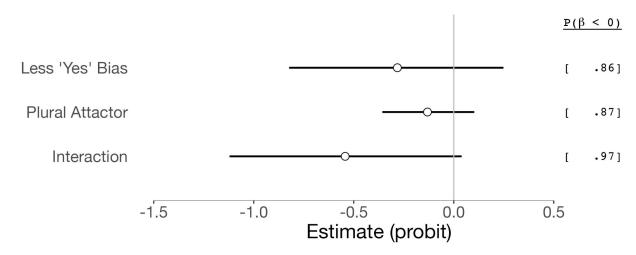
- Attraction in **grammatical** sentences as a function of bias



Participants

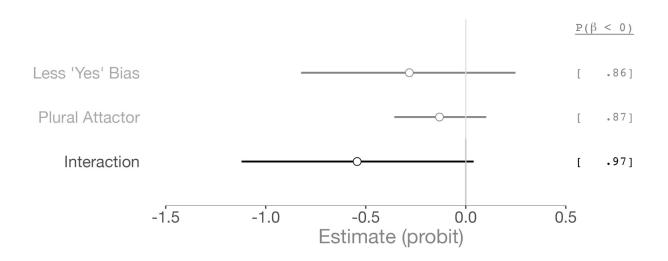
Our Study: Bayesian Model

- Verified our results with a maximal Bayesian GLM.
 - Fitted to **grammatical** sentences
 - No main effect of Plural Attractor
 - P(INTERACTION < 0) = 0.97



Our Study: Bayesian Model

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



Our Study: Findings

- Replicated theoretically significant findings of Hammerly et al.

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- Grammaticality asymmetry can be explained via response bias

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- Replicated theoretically significant findings of Hammerly et al.
- Grammaticality asymmetry can be explained via response bias
- No need for a strong preference of retrieval accounts

Roadmap

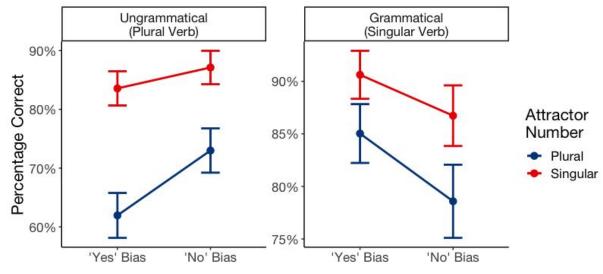
- ✓ 1. Hammerly et al. (2019) and Bias Calculation Problem
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Reanalysis of Hammerly et al. (2019)

- Grouped participants according to their bias in fillers

Reanalysis of Hammerly et al. (2019): Results

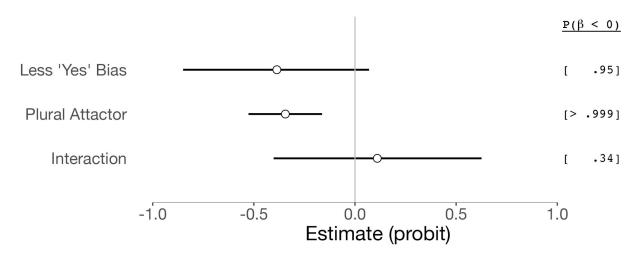
- Grouped participants according to their bias in fillers
- Attraction in both grammatical and ungrammatical sentences independent of response bias



Participants

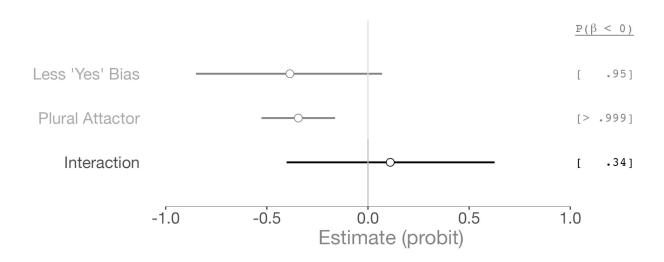
Reanalysis of Hammerly et al. (2019): Bayesian Model

- Verified lack of bias effect with a maximal Bayesian GLM.
 - Fitted to **grammatical** sentences
 - Clear main effect of Plural Attractor, $P(\beta < 0) > 0.999$
 - No interaction, P(Interaction < 0) = 0.34



Reanalysis of Hammerly et al. (2019): Bayesian Model

→ Having weaker "yes" bias did not affect the contribution of the plural attractor



Reanalysis of Hammerly et al. (2019): Findings

- Attraction in grammatical sentences surfaces even with "yes" bias
- Bias in filler was not reflected in experimental items
- Original findings does not reflect participants' a priori bias

Roadmap

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Meta-analysis

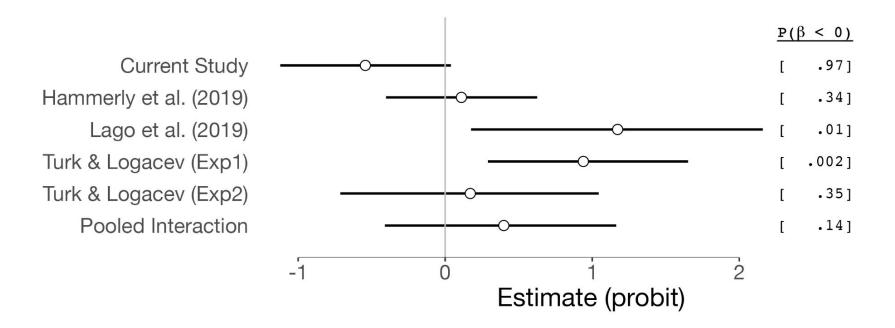
 What about other experiments that does not have bias manipulation?

Meta-analysis: Bayesian Model Details

- What about other experiments without bias manipulation?

- Conducted a multilevel Bayesian meta-analysis
- Fitted to correct responses to **grammatical** sentences
- Predictors:
 - Experiments, subjects, and items as random effects
 - Bias Value (calculated using fillers)
 - Attractor Number
 - The interaction
 - Trial number

Meta-analysis: By-experiment Interaction Posteriors

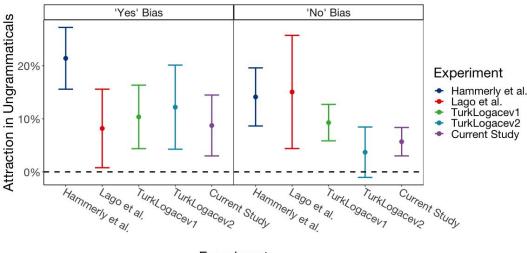


→ Cannot say grammaticality asymmetry reflects response bias, it sometimes does.

Roadmap

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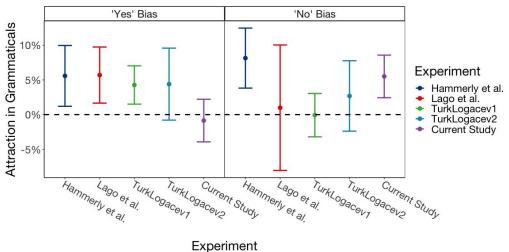
The effect in ungrammatical sentences: <u>Persistent</u>



Experiment

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- The effect in ungrammatical sentences: <u>Persistent</u>
- The effect in grammatical sentences? <u>Finicky</u>



- The effect in ungrammatical sentences: Persistent
- ❖ The effect in grammatical sentences? <u>Finicky</u>
- Asymmetry is still important.

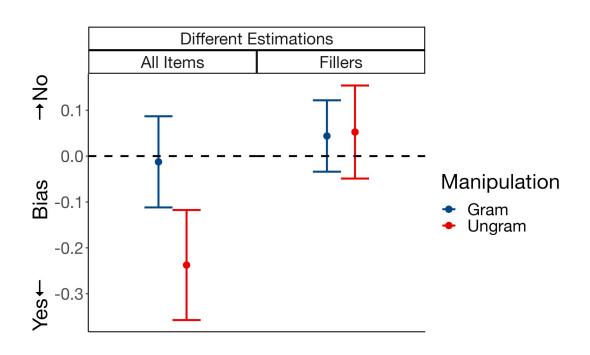
- The effect in ungrammatical sentences: <u>Persistent</u>
- The effect in grammatical sentences? <u>Finicky</u>
- Asymmetry is still important.
- Grammaticality impacts attraction effects' variability.

Selected References

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- 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.

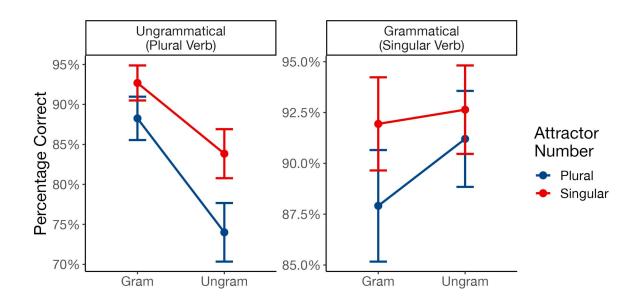
Appendix A: Our Exp with Different Bias Estimations

- In "Towards Ungrammatical" Bias, we had more 'yes' bias.



Appendix B: Our Exp with Original Manipulation Grouping

- Even when we look at "Ungram" as more 'yes' bias, and "Gram" as equi-bias, our results do not follow from bias-informed theories



Appendix C: Model Specifications

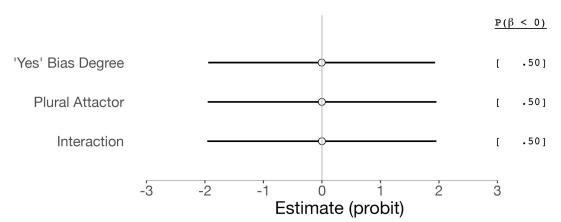
- Packages: cmdstanr and brms
- Priors: Reasonable Agnostic Priors

```
Intercept ~ Normal(0,1)

\beta \sim Normal(0,1)

\sigma \sim Normal(0,1)

\rho \sim LKJ(2)
```



- Sum contrast coding

Bias is continuous, no coding. +0.5 for Plural Attractor -0.5 for Singular Attractor (+0.5 for Ungrammatical) (-0.5 for Grammatical)

Appendix C: Model Specifications

- Formula & Predictors:
 - Continuous Response Bias Value
 - Attractor Number
 - The interaction
 - Trial Number (log)

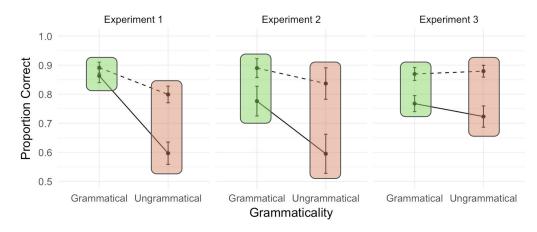
```
response_yes ~ bias * attractor_number + log_trial + (bias * attractor_number + 1 | subject) + (attractor_number + log_trial + 1 | item)
```

Appendix D: Bias Estimations

- How to calculate bias?

$$-\frac{Z(Hit Rate) + Z(False Alarms)}{2}$$

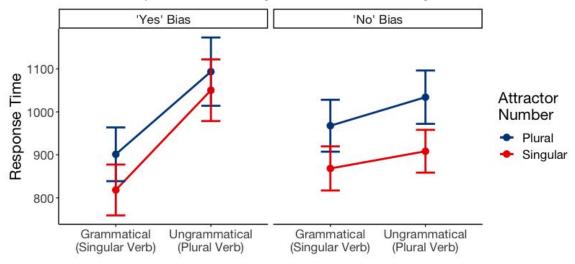
What happens when we use ALL Items?



Attractor - Mismatch - - Match

Appendix E: RTs?

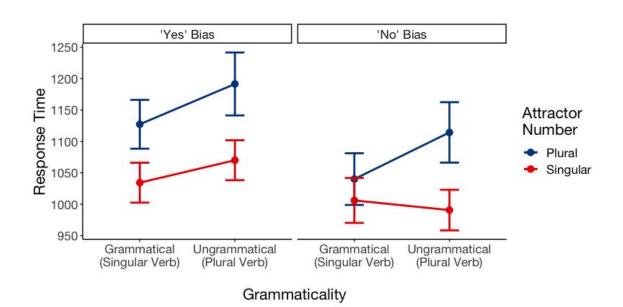
- What do we see in vanilla attraction experiments?
 - Overall slowdown for ungrammaticals
 - Additional slowdown for plurals in ungrammaticals
- What does bias-informed analysis expect?
 - No slowdown for ungrammaticals
 - Same contribution from plurals in both grammatical and ungrammatical



Grammaticality

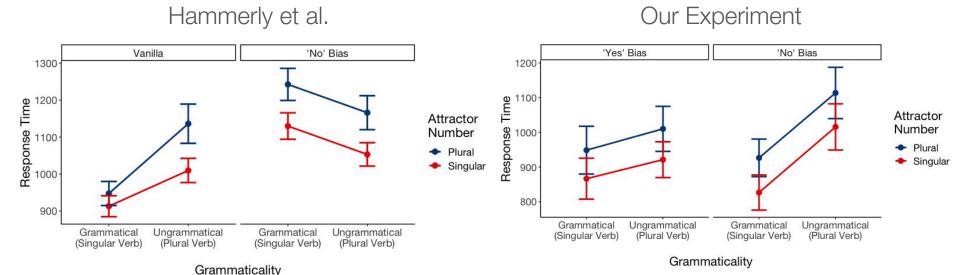
Appendix E: RTs?

- Our experiment RTs close to prediction, but not quite.
- Hammerly et al's? RTs look close to the prediction as well.



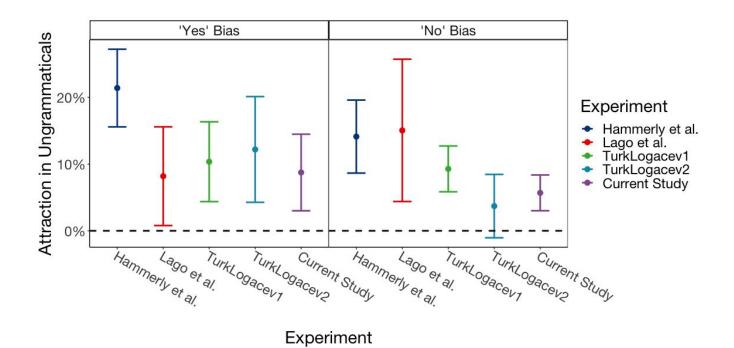
Appendix E: RTs?

- Maybe our bias estimation is actually not good?
 - Hammerly bias(all) predictions 🗸
 - Our bias(all) predictions X
- Their bias estimation: Their Acceptability & RT 🗸, Our Acceptability & RT 🗶
- Our bias estimation: Their Acceptability & RT X, Our Acceptability & RT V



Appendix F: Stable Attraction in Ungrammaticals

- Attraction effects are persistent in ungrammatical sentences.
 - independent of response bias and experiment.



Appendix G: Finicky Attraction in Grammaticals

- Attraction effects vary in grammatical sentences.

