

PhD Dissertation

# Epidemiology of Representations: An Empirical Approach

—original title may change—

Sébastien Lérique<sup>1</sup>

Supervisor: Jean-Pierre Nadal<sup>2</sup>  
Co-supervisor: Camille Roth<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Centre d'Analyse et de Mathématique Sociales (CAMS, UMR 8557, CNRS-EHESS, Paris). Email: [sebastien.lerique@normalesup.org](mailto:sebastien.lerique@normalesup.org).

<sup>2</sup>CAMS, and Laboratoire de Physique Statistique (LPS, UMR 8550, CNRS-ENS-UPMC-Univ. Paris Diderot, Paris). Email: [nadal@lps.ens.fr](mailto:nadal@lps.ens.fr)

<sup>3</sup>CAMS, Centre Marc Bloch (CMB, UMIFRE 14, CNRS-MAEE-HU, Berlin), and Sciences Po, médialab (Paris). Email: [camille.roth@sciencespo.fr](mailto:camille.roth@sciencespo.fr)



# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Brains Copy Paste</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Gistr</b>	<b>9</b>
3.1	Introduction . . . . .	9
3.2	Related work . . . . .	9
3.3	Methods . . . . .	9
3.3.1	Experiment design principles . . . . .	9
3.3.2	Data quality . . . . .	16
3.3.3	Task difficulty and source complexity fit . . . . .	19
3.4	Results . . . . .	22
3.4.1	Descriptive observations . . . . .	22
3.4.2	Transformation breakdown . . . . .	27
3.4.3	Mechanistic transformation model . . . . .	28
3.4.4	Inner structure . . . . .	28
3.4.5	High-level case studies . . . . .	28
3.4.6	Meaning change . . . . .	28
3.5	Discussion . . . . .	28
<b>4</b>	<b>Discussion</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>31</b>
	<b>References</b>	<b>33</b>



## **Chapter 1**

# **Introduction**



## **Chapter 2**

# **Brains Copy Paste**





# Chapter 3

## Gistr

### 3.1 Introduction

TBD

### 3.2 Related work

TBD

### 3.3 Methods

#### 3.3.1 Experiment design principles

##### Advantages and challenges of transmission chains

An obvious way to address the questions raised in the previous chapter is to use transmission chains in the laboratory to study the evolution of online quotations in a controlled setting: each subject reads, retains, and rewrites sentences that are then passed on to the next subject in a chain of reformulations. Such a setup can reproduce an idealised version of the read-remember-rewrite process which, we hypothesised, participates in the evolution of quotations in blogspace and media outlets. It also provides the information that our previous data set lacked in order to analyse the complete transformations of quotations, as well as the long-term effect of those changes: the links between parent and child sentences are naturally encoded in the data, such that the transformations undergone by each sentence can be studied in full detail. There is no need to restrict ourselves to simpler changes as was necessary for the inference procedure used with digital traces from blogspace. By creating an artificial setting, the experiment design also lets us control the reading and writing conditions as well as the context in which sentences appear, which further removes one of the inevitable uncertainties of the previous protocol (albeit at the cost of less ecological conditions).

The laboratory transmission chain paradigm is not a good fit for our exploratory approach however: we aim to collect data that will allow us to study both the complete set of transformations undergone by short utterances such as online quotations, and the interactions and cumulative effect of such changes; yet we do not know in advance the types of changes that subjects will make, or the extent to which such changes vary according to the type of linguistic content. Transmission chain studies typically start with an a priori hypothesis focused on a well-identified type of content, which is then empirically tested by contrasting the evolutionary outcome of two classes of sentences. Instead, our goal here is to provide first steps in characterising the process by which such evolution of linguistic content arises, and observe how it accumulates in the long term. The setup must thus allow us to collect enough data to extract regularities in successive transformations operated by different subjects on different sentences, and provide a resolving power similar to that of substitutions in online quotations so that we can compare results with the previous chapter. Since our main target is the set of detailed transformations and their interactions, a phenomenon of higher dimensionality than the contrast of accumulated outcomes, it is also crucial to fine-tune the difficulty of the read-write task and the complexity of the source sentences, in order to trigger a set of transformations varied enough that it could approach some of the changes encountered in real life situations. Our progress therefore involves a non-trivial trial-and-error component: indeed, a task made too easy or too difficult, and more so a set of source sentences that are too complex or too straightforward, will lead to either mass deletions or perfect conservation (or the former followed by the latter), none of which can help characterise the more intricate changes that linguistic content undergoes in the ecological setting we aim to simulate.

### Web and smartphone experiments

Complementary to laboratory studies and to approaches using online digital traces, a new empirical approach based on Web browsers and mobile computing is striking a different balance in the trade-offs of experimental work which seems very promising in addressing the problems outlined above. Indeed, browsers (both on desktop and mobile) and smartphones have evolved into powerful, ubiquitous application environments for which one can develop any kind of experiment involving text, graphics, and human interactions. At the cost of increased engineering requirements and a different approach to subject recruitment, Web and smartphone experiments give the designer full control over what data is collected and the way interactions are framed (similar to laboratory experiments), and make it possible to quickly collect data sets at scales comparable to what filtered and cleaned digital traces provide.

This approach makes a number of unusual trade-offs, the benefits of which can be summarised as follows:

- *Control*: similar to laboratory experiments, and unlike digital trace analysis, it is possible to use complex designs where all the interactions of the subjects are framed and observed by the experimenter. This includes for instance the presentation of the experiment (e.g. as a game or a self-improvement aid, aside from being a scientific study) and, more importantly, the ways in which the system mediates the interactions between the subjects.
- *Scale*: if and when needed, the technical platform can scale the number of subjects to the tens of thousands at low marginal cost. Interactions between subjects can also scale to involve synchronous or asynchronous contact between hundreds of people, without having to manage per-subject scheduling.
- *Speed of data collection*: once the initial development is completed (see costs below), the data collection cycle is short. One day can be enough to collect 1000–10,000 usable data points, a

size comparable to the final substitutions set extracted and analysed in the previous chapter. This is especially relevant for exploratory work which is made much easier with shorter trial-and-error cycles.

- *Flexible recruitment*: while also a challenge (see costs below), subject recruitment is more flexible than in the laboratory: services like Prolific Academic<sup>1</sup> let the experimenter recruit at reasonable costs in pools of tens of thousands of subjects with fine-grained demographic filters. Wider audiences can be achieved by offering non-financial rewards, framing the experiment as a self-improvement application, or turning it into a game.

The corresponding costs are the following:

- *Technical challenge*: developing Web and smartphone experiments involves a substantial amount of engineering, and makes use of an array of technologies that most researchers, even technical, are not familiar with. While a couple of all-in-one kits exist,<sup>2</sup> creating an experiment that meets one's research questions requires learning average skills in most of the various technologies at play: a native or cross-platform smartphone development environment, Web application development, backend server programming, and some server administration skills. Most importantly, the paradigms and problems encountered are new to researchers: programming is asynchronous due to network communication and the user interface, and technicalities such as user management or email validation can grow into difficult engineering challenges.
- *Spam-control*: subjects are not constrained or encouraged by the face-to-face interaction of a laboratory experiment, neither are they (in most experiments) in the course of an interaction with friends that provides natural incentives for what they write, as can be the case with digital traces. Participants must have an incentive to perform the experiment's tasks well. If the spam introduced by one subject can be isolated in the design of the experiment, one possibility is to filter it once the data is collected and make payment depend on its prevalence. But if the spam introduced by one subject naturally propagates to data seen by other subjects in the experiment, as is the case for transmission chains, effective anti-spam pressures and motivations need to be factored into the design.
- *Recruitment cost*: while recruiting up to a few hundred subjects is cheaper than the equivalent for a laboratory experiment (not counting the development cost),<sup>3</sup> and is easy to manage for fast prototyping and pilot tests, recruitment cost rises linearly with the number of subjects and the time they spend on the experiment, unless a different strategy is used. Turning an experiment into a playful application or an application useful to the subjects (effectively making them users) involves yet another set of skills, can prove challenging, and must be factored into the development cost.

### General setup for Web-based transmission chains

The balance achieved by the Web-based approach is well adapted to the experimental requirements we outlined above. Since no existing system would fit our needs, we chose to develop an in-house Web-based platform that could run all our transmission chains as Web experiments. Once ready, the platform would allow us to gather sufficient amounts of quality data in short cycles. We further decided to implement the simplest possible version of the transmission chain paradigm that is still viable, and leave the exploration of more complex setups for future research: the task we used asks

<sup>1</sup><https://www.prolific.ac/>.

<sup>2</sup>See e.g. <http://funf.org/> and <http://www.epicollect.net/>.

<sup>3</sup>Global competition on online platforms like Prolific Academic drive subject payments down.

subjects to read and memorise a short utterance, wait a few seconds, then rewrite what they have read as accurately as possible. We ran three main experiments using this evolving platform, and many smaller pilots in between to test improvements from the larger runs and adjust task parameters with source complexity, such that the overall quality of the data we gathered gradually increased. In what follows we present the general setup of the experiments, the data quality evaluation along with the changes implemented to improve it, and finally the adjustment of task complexity. Let us start with the architecture common to all experiments.

Subjects' productions are arranged in chains, such that what a given subject produces is used as the source utterance for the subject appearing next in a chain. In particular, the utterances to memorise are presented with no surrounding context, no distraction task is used between the reading and writing phases, and the material incentive for the task is purely monetary (although as we describe below we fine-tuned the interface to strongly encourage subjects to be conscientious). This simple setup lets us quickly gather data sets of several thousand utterance transformations, ensuring our results will be comparable to those from the set of 6177 substitutions we extracted in the previous chapter. Two parameters are left to vary: the reading time for the source utterances, computed as the number of words in an utterance multiplied by a reading factor that is to be adjusted (and may or may not be shortened by the subject), and the set of initial source utterances.

The experiment is available to subjects as a website, and passing it involves the following steps:

- Welcome and sign up (Figs. 3.1a and 3.1b),
- Answering a preliminary questionnaire (Fig. 3.2),<sup>4</sup>
- Subjects then start training for the main task, where they are asked to repeatedly memorise and rewrite short utterances as accurately as possible. As the instructions in Fig. 3.3 indicate, an utterance is presented to the subject and after a short pause they are asked to rewrite it as remembered. The process loops until the subject has completed all the utterances assigned to them (calibrated so that completing the experiment lasts at most one hour). The real trials start after 3 to 5 training trials, depending on the overall experiment length.

Each utterance from the initial set is used to create several parallel chains in order to allow for comparisons across chains with the same initial utterance. The final data thus consists in a set of reformulation trees, where each tree branch is a transmission chain started from the tree root, and continuing until it reaches a target depth defined for the experiment.<sup>5</sup> The number of branches in a tree is also adjusted for each run of the experiment. Except for those who drop out before finishing the experiment, all subjects are exposed exactly once to each tree in random order, such that all the reformulations in a given tree are made by distinct subjects, and nearly all subjects (excluding dropouts) are present in each tree. Satisfying this constraint means that we must always have at least as many subjects as there are reformulations in a tree. Finally, note that when exposed to a tree, subjects are always randomly assigned to the tip of one of the branches that have not yet reached the target depth: subjects are thus randomly distributed across branches, but their depth-ordering loosely corresponds to time of arrival on the tree. In particular, if a subject starts the experiment after most other subjects have completed it, he or she will be mostly exposed to utterances deep in the branches. Due to the chained nature of the data, there is no economical way of countering this ordering bias.<sup>6</sup> Fig. 3.4 shows a representation of the shape of the final trees.

<sup>4</sup>An early version of the experiment also included a word span test at this stage. However, similarly to the age of subjects that we collect in the questionnaire, this data turned out to not be relevant in the analyses. The magnitude of transformations depends far more on the conscientiousness of subjects, and this non-trivial test was later removed during one of the frontend rewrites.

<sup>5</sup>We therefore use the terms "chain" and "branch" interchangeably in what follows.

<sup>6</sup>The following three approaches could be combined to counter ordering bias. (1) Have each subject do a single trial, that is, use as many subjects as there are reformulations in the full experiment; this is extremely expensive as there is a fixed

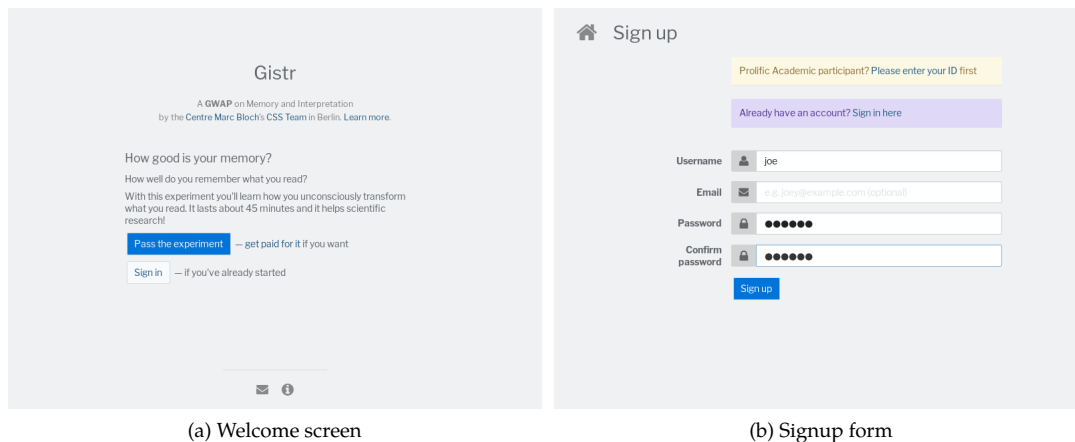


Figure 3.1: Initial steps for a subject entering the experiment.

Technically, the platform is a complete Web application based on current technologies, with accompanying backend server to collect and distribute utterances.<sup>7</sup> The experiment is available at <https://gistr.io> and subject recruitment was done using Prolific Academic, a service analogous to Amazon Mechanical Turk and geared towards academic research.<sup>8</sup>

Using the Prolific Academic service allowed us to select among a pool of over 26,000 subjects, for which we used the following criteria:

- First language English speaker
- At least 18 years old
- Current country of residence and place of most time spent before turning 18 must both be the UK
- Normal or corrected to normal vision
- No diagnosed literary difficulties
- Completed secondary school
- Not having participated in any of the preceding experiments

Only the first two constraints were enforced for the first experiment, and the full set was used for all subsequent runs. The full filter provided over 2300 eligible subjects, from which the service

minimal price for each subject, in order to give time to explore the interface, answer the initial questionnaire, and train for the task. (2) Have each subject wait an adjustable amount of time between each trial, to open the possibility of ordering subjects differently from their time of arrival; this is also expensive, as it means paying subjects for waiting most of the time they spend on the experiment. (3) Optimise the order of tree presentations of each subject so as to spread subjects across depths; while this approach could achieve some level of spread when combined with (2), it is contingent on the starting times of subjects and their synchronisation, which we do not control (subjects find the experiment through Prolific Academic notifications and are free to start whenever they want).

<sup>7</sup>The frontend first used the Ember.js framework (Ember.js contributors 2017), and was later rewritten and extended using the Elm programming language (Czaplicki and Elm contributors 2017). Indeed, the assurance of no runtime exceptions that Elm provides was a strong argument in favour of switching, as was made clear by the trying “customer support” experience of a bug hitting 40 to 50 subjects at once during Experiment 1. The backend is a Python application written on top of the Django REST framework (Christie and Django REST framework contributors 2017). Most of the critical logic in the software is verified using automated tests, and the full source code is available under a Free Software licence at <https://github.com/interpretation-experiment/gistr-app> (frontend), and <https://github.com/interpretation-experiment/spreadr> (backend).

<sup>8</sup>The public url of the experiment was not advertised anywhere else, and checking the subjects’ Prolific Academic ID confirmed that only people from that platform participated in each experiment.

Profile

Signed in as **joe** — [Sign out](#)

Dashboard

Settings

Emails

### General questionnaire

We'd like to know a bit about you before you start the experiment. This will help us understand what influences your results as well as other participants' results.

Your answers will be kept strictly private and will only be used for the purposes of the experiment.

It takes about 2 minutes to fill the questionnaire. Thanks for participating, and welcome again to Gistr!

#### About you

Age

Gender

☐ Female ☐ Male ☐ Other

☐ Check this if you know what this experiment is about

#### Your schooling and what you do

We'd like to know how much you've studied, as well as what type of job you work in, or what your main daily activity is.

**What is the highest level of education you attained?**

Please select from the list

Please describe, in your own words, the highest level of education you attained. You can use several sentences if necessary.

**What is your general type of profession or main daily activity?**

Please select from the list

Please describe your profession or main daily activity. You can use several sentences if necessary.

[Confirm answers](#)

Is there something wrong with this questionnaire, or a comment you would like to share? Please [tell us about it!](#)

Feedback

Figure 3.2: Initial questionnaire. Subjects can additionally submit feedback on the questionnaire or any other aspect of the experiment on most screens of the website.

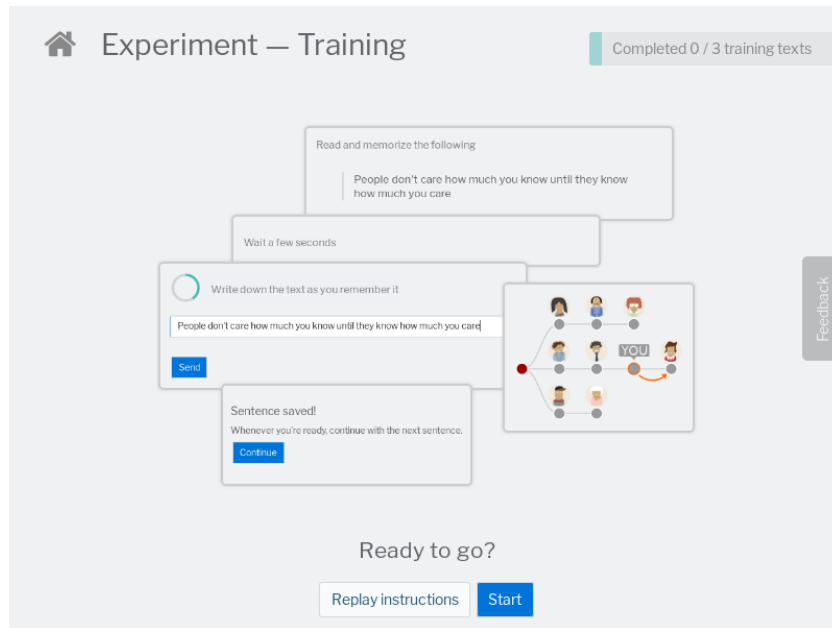


Figure 3.3: Instructions for the main task

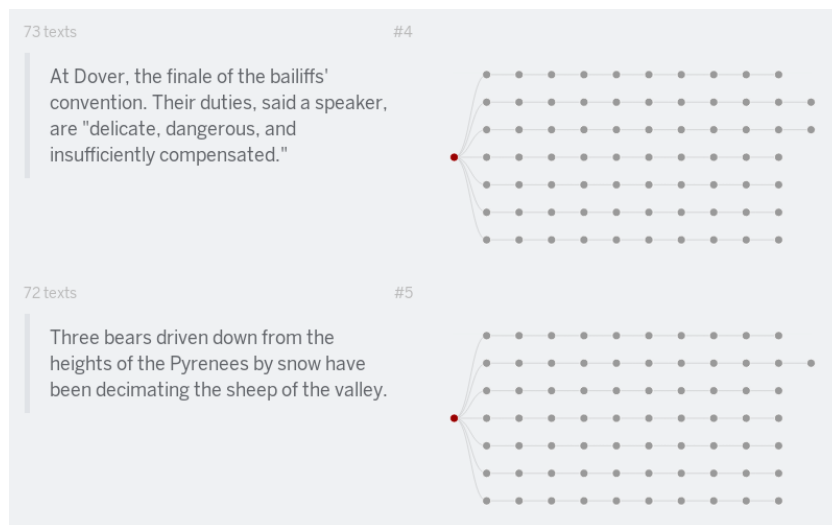


Figure 3.4: Two example reformulation trees generated by the setup, targeted at 7 branches of depth 10: the text on the left is the initial utterance for all branches of a tree, represented by a red dot in the right-hand graph; each grey dot in the graph represents an utterance produced by a subject on the basis of the preceding dot. Most subjects created one reformulation in each tree; however, since subjects from Prolific Academic do not always complete the whole set of utterances assigned to them, we recruit additional subjects to fill the trees that were left incomplete. This leads the other, already complete trees to receive more reformulations than needed, making some of their branches run deeper than the target depth (as is the case for the trees shown here). All branches are cropped to the target depth for analysis.

automatically sampled the number of subjects we requested.

Experiment 1 was the first non-trivial launch of the platform, with an initial 48 subjects, 54 root utterances, and trees targeted for 6 branches of depth 8. Subjects took an average 64 minutes to complete the experiment, and were rewarded with £6.5. A software bug that appeared and had to be fixed halfway through the experiment led the Prolific Academic service to recruit more subjects than was originally asked for, and the final number of participants was 53,<sup>9</sup> gathering a total 2695 utterance reformulations (above the planned  $54 \times 6 \times 8 = 2592$  reformulations). Manual inspection showed that large portions of the data were of poor quality, both linguistically and because of technical inefficiencies leading to badly shaped trees; the sections below provide further details on these questions. Pilots following Experiment 1 were therefore aimed at improving data quality and solving tree shaping issues. Experiment 2 was launched with 49 subjects, 50 root utterances, and trees targeted for 7 branches of depth 7, gathering a total 2450 utterance transformations. Subjects took an average 43 minutes to complete the experiment, and were rewarded with £6. Quality issues in this data set were solved, but the choice of source utterances proved too easy to trigger varied transformations. After pilots exploring different fits of task parameters with source complexity, Experiment 3 took advantage of a more complex set of source utterances. It was launched with two batches of 70 subjects each receiving 25 root utterances, and trees targeted for 7 branches of depth 10, gathering a total 3546 utterances transformations. Subjects took an average 37 minutes to complete the 25 transformations, and were rewarded with £4.25 on average.

We now detail the evaluation of data quality and the measures that were taken to improve it. The section after this will focus on the fit of task parameters and source complexity, before moving on to the analysis and results.

### 3.3.2 Data quality

The choice of a Web-based setup sets the requirements of the interface much higher than for a laboratory experiment. There is no opportunity for a face-to-face walk-through of the experiment or for questions, and subtle changes in the way the interface reacts to actions can lead subjects to interpret a signal where none was intended, or conversely to not notice an important message. The time of the subjects is not booked, and not having to travel to the laboratory or to talk to someone renders the interaction free of any commitment and generally more consumable: subjects can leave whenever they want, without having to feel bad about it (the only cost being the loss of their reward). The lack of human interaction with the experimenter also removes a natural incentive for subjects to take their time and perform according to what the experimenter in front of them explained. Combined together, these factors mean that if the interface is strenuous or ambiguous in any way, subjects will often pick the interpretations that make the process faster and either complete the experiment with minimal engagement or drop out. Redacting detailed textual instructions often makes matters worse. Instead, the interface must lead the subjects through the necessary explanations while remaining enjoyable, and must be unambiguous while still hinting towards the expected behaviour at the right moment, either through subtle interface reactions or through explicit contextual aids.

---

<sup>9</sup>The bug appeared only once a large proportion of trees had reached their target depth, and then affected all the subjects nearing completion of the experiment. The time taken to respond to complaints and realise that the experiment had to be paused led some subjects to exceed the maximum allowed time on Prolific Academic, and the service then sent the experiment out to new subjects. After fixing the bug, most subjects who had started the experiment accepted to finish it, leading the final subject count to be higher than originally requested.



### Manual spam-coding

Failure to properly encourage and wherever possible enforce the experiment's expectations led to data riddled with spurious transformations. Indeed, manual inspection of the data collected through Experiment 1, for which a substantial effort on instructions and for the overall interface had already been made, showed that large portions of the data was not usable as such. We therefore spam-coded all the utterances from this and subsequent experiments by hand. An utterance with any of the following properties was coded as spam:

- An ellipsis ("...") or other special characters (e.g. ">", "<") are present
- The utterance is partly or completely addressed to the experimenter (e.g. "Sorry, I can't remember")
- Over half the words are misspelled
- The utterance has no relationship to its parent utterance (i.e. it is an entirely new utterance)
- The utterance doesn't stand as an autonomous sentence, either because it is truncated or because so many words are garbled it becomes nonsense

Note that the last two criteria are not sharp, and several borderline cases had to be decided for the last one in particular. In Experiment 1 for instance, a subtle misunderstanding allowed by the interface led subjects to submit some sentences truncated at exactly 10 words, without regard to their meaning (see the details below); such utterances were unambiguously incomplete, and were thus coded as spam. In subsequent experiments however, utterances that could be made complete with the addition or the deletion of a single, sometimes unimportant word, were questioned by the same criterion. For instance the simple sentence "Mr Jones was robbed during" can be completed by adding the word "dinner" at the end, or by removing the word "during". Such sentences do not seem tied to a misunderstanding of the task, and are arguably attributable to temporary distraction whose effects are relevant to our analysis. The benefit of the doubt was given to such utterances, and they were not coded as spam.

Spam in transmission chains has the additional property of invalidating all the utterances that are made after it, such that the total number of utterances to discard is more than the spam introduced by subjects. Coded this way, Experiment 1 showed an accumulated spam rate of 22.4%. Combined with an initial technical oversight that led a small portion of utterances to be misplaced in the chains,<sup>10</sup> a total of 25.9% of the utterances generated by Experiment 1 were discarded. Apart from reducing the size of the usable data, spam also leads to uneven chains across trees, a heterogeneity that complicates the analysis. Accepting this level of spam was therefore not an option.

The main tool we used to reduce the level of spam is the user interface. As explained above, minor changes in the way the interface reacts to the subjects' actions combined with relevant context-dependent information can have a comparatively large impact on the spam rate.

---

<sup>10</sup>Ensuring that no two subjects are creating reformulations for the same chain tip at the same time, while not blocking other subjects from moving on with the experiment, is a non-trivial technical hurdle. Not solving it leads the chains to have "forks", that is, utterances with several children (possibly sub-branches) instead of a single one. One of the children must then be chosen to form the main chain, and the others discarded. Solutions to the problem are difficult to test in practice, as they involve simulating dozens of subjects concurrently sending utterances to the platform. The approach adopted in Experiment 1 relied on client-side randomisation, but proved insufficient: 3.5% of the utterances posted by subjects were forks deep in the chains. Experiments 2 and 3 relied on a mix of client-side randomisation and server-side locking to solve the problem.

### User interface improvements

The situation is similar to that of surveys, where much effort is put into mitigating the risk of users engaging the minimum possible effort to complete the survey (Krosnick 2000). Successfully tuning the user interface is therefore a crucial factor in the quality of the data collected: what the interface might lead subjects to see as acceptable can easily be spam for the experimenter, and both perspectives must be aligned as much as possible. Interface design problems appeared repeatedly throughout the development of the platform and the pilots. The most important points can be summed up as follows:

- *Preventing digital copy-paste*: an obvious workaround to the task that most subjects will try in the first few trials.
- *Constraining the input*: a well-known behaviour in transmission chains of linguistic content is the rapid reduction in size of the content that is transmitted (Maxwell 1936; Bangerter 2000; Mesoudi and Whiten 2004). In order to encourage subjects to rely on what they remember, and prevent them from quickly reaching empty sentences, an early version of the experiment would disable the “send” button if the subject’s input was shorter than 10 words (Experiments 2 and 3 later relaxed this constraint to 5 words). However, some subjects interpreted the button becoming active after 10 words as a signal that their input was ready to be sent as is, even if it was only a partial sentence. This ambiguity, corrected in later versions, is responsible for a large part of the spam found in Experiment 1.
- *Improving input quality*: Experiment 1 and subsequent pilots showed the need for strong incentives to write well-edited meaningful text. Indeed when pressed for time, some subjects will tend to write misspelled, poorly punctuated, or even meaningless utterances, which invalidate all the sentences that follow in the branch. Countering this tendency involved several changes to Experiments 2 and 3: emphasis was added to the fact that subjects’ productions are later sent to other subjects, encouraging a more conscientious behaviour; a bonus was associated with high-fidelity trials, and the top 5 subjects with lowest transformation rates (as defined below in the analysis) received increased payment; most importantly, input from the subjects was also checked for repeated or inadequate punctuation, and for correct spelling against a combined British and American English dictionary. The interface asked subjects to correct any input that failed those tests, and presented them with a short explanation that emphasised the faulty behaviour and recalled the chain structure of the experiment. Inspecting the platform logs showed that this last measure led subjects to often correct their utterances, a fact that was also confirmed by the increased average writing time.
- *Relaxing the time pressure*: the interface of Experiment 1 made several mistakes that worsened the inherent pressure on subjects to complete the study as fast as possible (indeed, payment on Prolific Academic is per experiment, not per time spent – which, conversely, would encourage subjects to be very slow). First, subjects could terminate the reading time of an utterance at will: while this provided a measure of the effective reading time used by subjects, it also opened the possibility of speeding through the trials. Indeed over a third of the transformations of Experiment 1 were done by using less than half the allotted reading time. This pressure was increased by the presence of a “remaining time” clock in the reading and waiting phases, similar to the green clock shown on Fig. 3.3 for the writing phase. By removing superfluous clocks, keeping the reading time fixed, and proposing a break after each utterance, Experiments 2 and 3 relaxed the time pressure on the subjects and improved the final data quality.
- *Feedback channel*: survey design handbooks regularly insist on the importance of providing a channel for subjects to comment on the questions they were asked, and encourage the use of debriefing sessions to deepen that understanding (de Leeuw, Hox, and Dillman 2008). Such

feedback channels have also become a norm in online services, and we therefore chose to give the possibility for subjects to comment on most screens of the experiment (excluding the read-write screens) through a side-ribbon which, when clicked, would overlay a comment box (see Fig. 3.5). It seems, however, that a more interactive option would be more effective, as only a handful of subjects entered comments over the course of Experiments 2 and 3.

- *Instructions*: finally, a continuous effort was invested into fine-tuning the exact phrasing of instructions, and making the interface for instructions palatable using a now common pattern: for the instructions pictured in Fig. 3.3 for instance, different elements or images are successively foregrounded and highlighted, and a tooltip with short explanations appears next to the active element.<sup>11</sup> Here too, Experiment 1 and subsequent pilots allowed users to skip these instructions, leading a portion of the subjects to effectively never read them. Experiments 2 and 3 made navigating the complete list of instructions mandatory in order to start the trials.

These changes reduced the spam rate drastically. On the same criteria as Experiment 1, Experiment 2 showed an accumulated spam rate of .8%, which combined with misplaced utterances led to a total 1.4% of utterances discarded. Experiment 3 showed an accumulated spam rate of 1.0%, and with misplaced utterances had to discard a total 1.1% of the data.

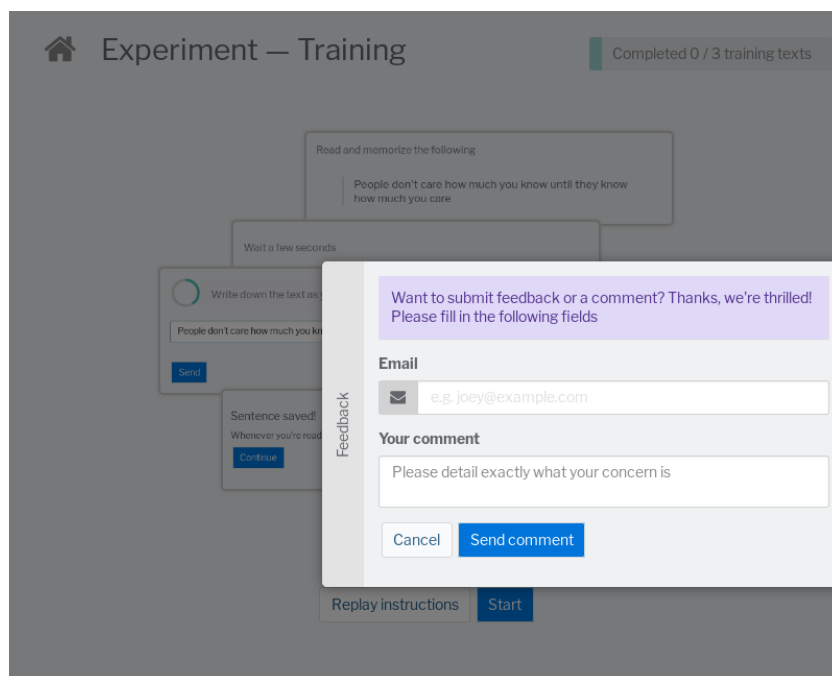


Figure 3.5: Overlay feedback box opened in the instructions screen from Fig. 3.3. The box is available in most screens of Experiments 2 and 3.

### 3.3.3 Task difficulty and source complexity fit

Given the simple task we used, difficulty is controlled by the reading time allotted to subjects and by the selection of source utterances. In order to unify reading times across utterances we decided

<sup>11</sup>The pattern was popularised by software libraries such as Intro.js (<http://introjs.com/>).

that reading time would be proportional to the number of words in the utterance presented: for an utterance  $u$ , its number of words is noted  $|u|_w$  and its reading time is defined as  $|u|_w \cdot r$ . We call  $r$  the *reading factor*. Average reading speeds for university students are usually between 200 and 300 words per minute, that is between 3.33 and 5 words per second (see Rayner, Slattery, and Bélanger 2010, where fast readers average at 330 wpm and slow readers average at 207 wpm). A reading factor of  $r = 1$  therefore gives fast readers the time to read utterances more than 5 times, and slow readers about 3 to 4 times. A reading factor of  $r = .3$  gives fast readers one or two readings, and slow readers at least one.  $r = .2$  gives some readers one reading and others less than one, and  $r = .1$  lets readers simply glance at the utterances without being able to read them completely.

Pilots and manual exploration indicated that the difficulty of the task is not linear with  $r$ . Whatever the value of  $r$ , longer utterances (more than 25 words) are often more transformed, relative to their length, than shorter utterances; longer utterances also give more space for the subjects to reformulate, leading to more changes in style and permutations in the words. Changing  $r$  has less effect on shorter utterances than on longer utterances, and on utterances in oral versus written style. For short utterances in an oral style, pilots indicated that there is an abrupt transition between a low transformation regime when subjects can read the sentence at least once, and an extremely noisy regime when the subjects do not have the time to read the utterances entirely at their normal speed. Conversely, the transition is smoother for longer utterances or utterances with a more formal written style. Choosing an adequate set of source utterances is therefore an integral factor in adjusting the difficulty of the task.

Changing the source utterances also affects the sampling bias in ways that are difficult to measure given the multidimensionality of text. Contrasting minimally different utterances in different domains has resulted in domain-specific outcomes on for instance stereotypes, information hierarchy, and counter-intuitiveness (Kashima 2000; Mesoudi, Whiten, and Dunbar 2006; Barrett and Nyhof 2001; Mesoudi and Whiten 2008), and authors have suggested that these outcomes are related to domain-specific biases in transformations (although to our knowledge these effects have not yet been studied jointly). In spite of this, we hypothesise that the low-level cognitive mechanisms underlying utterance transformation, that is the mechanisms that give rise to such accumulated outcomes, do not fundamentally change because of the type or the style of an utterance. If using news quotes instead of movie quotes or stories is likely to affect parameters of the observed transformations, it is less likely to affect the structure of the underlying cognitive mechanism, and therefore the general structure of transformations. Making this hypothesis lets us use utterance selection as an exploratory tool: by altering both the sampling of the transformations and the task difficulty, the exploration of different styles and types can help (1) improve data quality and (2) make general structure more visible, thus easier to measure and characterise. If this exploration yields insights about the structure of transformations and their effects in the long term, and if such insights are consistent with the previous chapter, then it will make sense to ask to what extent the uncovered structure is applicable to or varies with other types of utterances. Throughout pilots and experiments, our goal was therefore to find a set of utterances which would trigger varied transformations whose structure we could analyse and model, while at the same time helping the subjects to produce quality data by not creating too much pressure with reading time.

The set of sources used in Experiment 1 covered a broad spectrum of utterance types sampled from the following categories:

- Quotes from the MemeTracker data set used in the previous chapter,
- Famous compelling quotes from Wikisource<sup>12</sup> such as “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world, it is the only thing that ever has”

<sup>12</sup><https://en.wikisource.org/>.

- Quotes extracted from the movie *12 Angry Men* such as “If you ask me I’d slap those tough kids down before they start any trouble, it saves a lot of time and money”,
- Excerpts from news stories on controversial subjects (such as “How will the cultural and religious aspects of so many migrants impact E.U. society?”) or risk-related subjects such as stories about the risks of Triclosan (used by Moussaïd, Brighton, and Gaissmaier 2015 in their study of the amplification of risk perception),
- The tale “War of the Ghosts” used by Bartlett ([1932] 1995) in his original studies,<sup>13</sup> as well as excerpts from other tales,
- A small number of hand-crafted sentences such as surprising statements (e.g. “Don’t forget to leave the door open when you leave the office”) or stereotype incongruent statements (e.g. “The young boy was suddenly hit by the little girl”).

Each of these categories, we thought, could encourage the triggering of transformations. The spam level of Experiment 1, and especially the amount of misspelled words, made the exploration of the detailed transformations impossible and shifted the focus towards improving data quality through the interface. Nonetheless, it became clear that using such a heterogeneous set of utterances could surprise subjects, and was not be the best approach to elicit regularities in transformations. Experiments 2 and 3 relied on a more thorough exploration of possible source data sets. Pilots explored utterances extracted from previous studies (Bangerter 2000 on personification and increased stereotypes; Heath, Bell, and Sternberg 2001 on the role of disgust; Maxwell 1936 on incoherent stories; Mesoudi, Whiten, and Dunbar 2006 for the role of social information).

Two larger and more homogeneous sets of utterances were also reconstituted and finally used in Experiments 2 and 3. First, a set of movie quotes provided by Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil et al. (2012). This data set contains about 2200 pairs of quotes extracted from 1000 movie scripts; each pair is made of a quote that was marked as memorable by users of the Internet Movie Database, coupled with the closest quote in the same movie script that is spoken by the same character, has the same number of words, but is not marked as memorable on the Internet Movie Database. The 2200 pairs of quotes were filtered to keep only those which passed the spelling and punctuation quality tests from the previous section, and for which the number of words was strictly matched when excluding punctuation (this left 505 pairs). Second, a set of short stories from Fénéon and Sante ([1906] 2007) was used. These stories are productions from Félix Fénéon originally anonymously published in the French newspaper *Le Matin* in 1906. They describe facts from everyday life such as accidents, suicides, or trials, in a terse and sometimes humorous style. A sample of 60 stories was extracted from the English version, for which French names and places were replaced with names and places more familiar to British subjects. Pilots explored these sets of utterances with reading factors of .1, .2, .3, .75 and 1. Finally, tests were also made using these utterances with content words replaced with pseudo-words, in order to restrict effects to the grammatical dimension only.<sup>14</sup> The pseudo-word tests were inconclusive, as the task became too confusing and subjects often replaced unknown words with real words.

Experiment 2 used 25 of the 27 pairs of movie quotes that had exactly 15 or 16 words, providing a homogeneous set of 50 utterances in oral style, with a reading factor of .75. Experiment 3 used 43 of the 60 short stories by Fénéon (average number of words 21.2) coupled with 4 utterances extracted from Mesoudi, Whiten, and Dunbar (2006) (average number of words 60.3) and 3 utterances extracted from the story used by Maxwell (1936) (average number of words 40.7), with a reading factor of 1.

# ADD: clean counts.

<sup>13</sup> Available online at <http://penta.ufrgs.br/edu/telelab/2/war-of-t.htm>.

<sup>14</sup> Pseudo-words were generate using the Wuggy library (Keuleers and Brysbaert 2010).

# ADD: misspelling proportion in exp 1

# ADD: a few example sentences for each experiment

## 3.4 Results

### 3.4.1 Descriptive observations

We begin the analysis of our three data sets by examining the evolution of aggregate measures as a function of depth in the trees. Here and in what follows, the analyses are made on the data cleaned of spam, and chains truncated at their target depth: the data from Experiment 1 is truncated at depth 8, Experiment 2 at depth 7, and Experiment 3 at depth 10, and all plots are aligned to the same depth axis to facilitate comparisons.

#### Utterance length

A well-known effect in transmission chains with linguistic content is the quick reduction of utterance length. These experiments are no exception: Fig. 3.6a shows a scatter plot of the number of words of an utterance  $|u|_w$  versus depth in a tree. The insets show the data restricted to trees for which root utterances have 30 words or less (thus most utterances in those trees also have 30 words or less); this boundary keeps all the Fénéon root utterances in Experiment 3, and we use it to separate longer from shorter utterances for the purposes of this figure. The plots confirm that word length quickly decreases as subjects read and rewrite utterances, and indicates that the reduction depends on the size of what is being transformed: very long utterances (above 100 words) don't last more than 2 reformulations, whereas root utterances with up to 28 content words can survive to the end of the branches of Experiment 3. Note that comparing this measure across experiments is not reliable, as the distributions of word counts and stopword proportions in root utterances are different for each experiment (word counts are disjoint between Experiments 2 and 3), two variables we will show are tied to transformation rate. # TODO: do that. The higher slopes in Experiments 1 and 3 compared to Experiment 2 are thus tied to the the larger word counts and larger proportion of stopwords in the root utterances.

Next, we eliminate stopwords from the utterances and focus on the reduction in number of content words (notice however that stopword recognition is less reliable in Experiment 1 than in Experiments 2 and 3, because of spelling mistakes). For a given utterance  $u$ , the list of its content words is noted  $c(u)$ , and the number of content words is therefore  $|c(u)|_w$ , where  $|\cdot|_w$  is extended to provide the length of a list of words (aside from counting words in a string). Fig. 3.6b plots the content word counts for the same utterances as those in Fig. 3.6a (in particular, insets show the same utterances in both figures), and shows a similar reduction in counts across all experiments. Here too, comparisons of regression values across data sets or between the two figures are unreliable, as the distributions of root content word counts and the proportion of content words for each utterance type all differ. Instead, these figures provide a feel for the strength of the size reduction effect given the root utterances of each experiment.

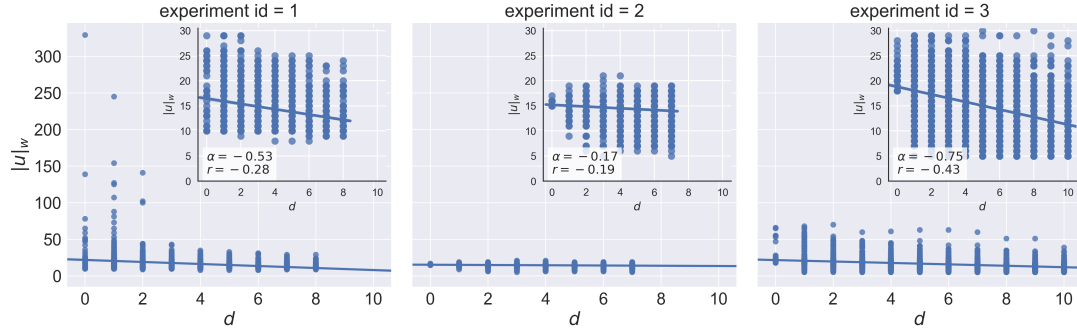
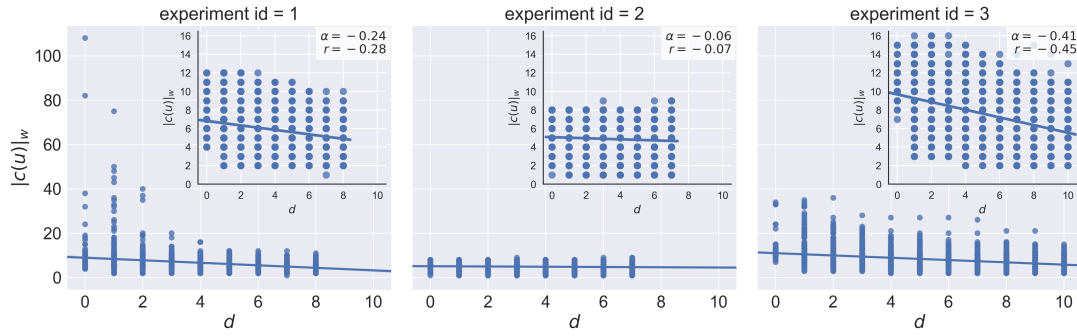
(a) Numbers of words,  $|u|_w$ (b) Numbers of content words,  $|c(u)|_w$ 

Figure 3.6: Reduction in utterance word count and content word count as a function of depth ( $d$ ) in the three experiments. The insets show the data for root utterances with 30 or less words ( $|u_{\text{root}}|_w \leq 30$ ), with linear regression slope and correlation coefficient. All slopes are non-zero with  $p < .001$ .



### Utterance to utterance distance

As a first approximation of the magnitude of transformations, we introduce a measure of the distance between two utterances  $u$  and  $u'$ , which we define as the Levenshtein distance<sup>15</sup> between the lemmas of the content words of  $u$  and  $u'$ :

$$\lambda(u, u') = \text{levenshtein}(\text{lemmatize}(c(u)), \text{lemmatize}(c(u')))$$

For example, consider the three following utterances taken from Experiment 1 (in a tree whose root is from the MemeTracker data set):

- $u_a$ : "This crisis did not develop overnight and it will not be solved overnight"
- $u_b$ : "the crisis did not developed overnight, and it will be not solved overnight"
- $u_c$ : "The crisis didn't happen today won't be solved by midnight."

After removing the punctuation and converting all words to lowercase, the lemmas of the content words of these utterances are as follows:

- $\text{lemmas}(c(u_a))$ : "crisis", "develop", "overnight", "solve", "overnight"
- $\text{lemmas}(c(u_b))$ : "crisis", "develop", "overnight", "solve", "overnight"
- $\text{lemmas}(c(u_c))$ : "crisis", "happen", "today", "solve", "midnight"

Such that  $\lambda(u_a, u_b) = 0$  and  $\lambda(u_a, u_c) = \lambda(u_b, u_c) = 3$ . In order to make these quantities comparable across utterances of different lengths, we define the *transformation rate*  $\rho$  as the normalised distance between two utterances:

$$\rho(u, u') = \frac{\lambda(u, u')}{\max(|c(u)|_w, |c(u')|_w)}$$

$\rho$  thus measures the magnitude of the transformation between the contents of  $u$  and  $u'$ , relative to the size of the contents of those utterances. It takes its values between 0 and 1:  $\rho(u, u') = 0$  if and only if  $u$  and  $u'$  have exactly the same content words in the same order, and  $\rho(u, u') = 1$  means that the content words of  $u$  and  $u'$  have so little in common that rewriting from scratch is quicker than changing one into the other with word insertions, deletions, or replacements. Here,  $\rho(u_a, u_b) = 0$  and  $\rho(u_a, u_c) = \rho(u_b, u_c) = .6$ . A major caveat of this measure is that it does not know about synonyms or expressions with similar meaning, such that two sentences separated by a transformation rate of 1 can have the same meaning at a higher level. For instance with the following sentences,

- $u_d$ : "Will you investigate the gravest crimes of the Bush administration, including torture and warrantless wiretapping?" (from Experiment 1, originally from the MemeTracker data set)
- $u_e$ : "Will you research the worst problems of the 2004 mandate, like its surveillance?" (hand-crafted for this comparison)
- $u_f$ : "Don't forget to leave the door open when you leave the office" (from Experiment 1)

we have  $\rho(u_d, u_e) = \rho(u_d, u_f) = 1$ . The measure misrepresents the changes between these utterances, as  $u_d$  and  $u_e$  can easily be considered to have similar meanings at a high level, and their difference is far less important than the difference between  $u_d$  and  $u_f$ . The measure performs reasonably

<sup>15</sup>The Levenshtein distance (also known as the edit distance) is defined between two lists of items, and counts the minimal number of insertions, deletions, and replacements that are needed to transform the first list of items into the second. It has all the properties of a metric (non-negativity, identity of indiscernibles, symmetry, and subadditivity).



well on utterances inside the same tree however: in that context all utterances come from the same source and have therefore some level of meaning in common, and there is no need to differentiate between the types of transformations that  $u_d \rightarrow u_e$  and  $u_d \rightarrow u_f$  represent.

### Transmissibility and transformation rate

Together with transformation rate, we examine a measure derived from it: the *transmissibility* of utterances, defined as the proportion of utterances at a given depth whose content words are perfectly transmitted to their child, computed over all the branches of all the trees of an experiment (this measure was introduced as ‘average success’ in Claidière et al. 2014). If we note  $\mathbb{1}_{\lambda(u,u')=0}$  the success of a subject in transmitting an utterance’s content (it equals 1 if the content words of  $u$  and  $u'$  match perfectly, and 0 if there was any change in content words), the transmissibility of utterances at depth  $d$  can be expressed as:

$$\eta(d) = \langle \mathbb{1}_{\lambda(u,u')=0} \rangle_{u \text{ at depth } d, u' \text{ child of } u}$$

Transmissibility provides a coarser measure of the evolution of transmission success than transformation rate (a change in transmissibility implies a change of transformation rates), but lets us better differentiate between the two important alternatives: perfect transmission, and transformation. A classic effect of transmission chains for various types of content is that transmissibility increases with depth in the chains.

Fig. 3.7 shows the transmissibility and one minus the transformation rates ( $1 - \rho$ ) for the three experiments, both overall and grouped by content length of the utterances. Fig. 3.7a shows an increase in transmissibility with respect to depth (from .40 to .67), when considering the whole data set from Experiment 1. However, the plots on the right show only a slight increase in transmissibility (or even no increase at all for  $|c(u)|_w \notin [7, 10]$ ) for utterances of a given content length. The right-hand side also indicates that transmissibility depends on content length, as the transmissibility lines become gradually lower when content length increases (average .92 for 2 content words, .20 for 12 content words). Together, these trends indicate that the overall increase in transmissibility with respect to depth could be mostly due to the rarefaction of utterances with long content length: as depth increases, the proportion of shorter utterances increases; shorter utterances are better transmitted, and global transmissibility thus increases too.

Fig. 3.7b shows the same analysis for Experiment 2. Contrary to the previous case, transmissibility here is stable at .82-.88 with respect to depth, both for the whole data set and at fixed content length. It also depends less on content length than in Experiment 1, as utterances with 2 content words have an average transmissibility .95, and utterances with 8 content words an average transmissibility of .69.

Experiment 3 (Fig. 3.7c) features an increase in transmissibility with respect to depth both globally (from .18 to .71) and at long fixed content length, similar to Experiment 1. This indicates that long utterances in this data set become slightly easier to transmit as they are transformed. As noted previously, utterances found at the end of a chain will often come from much longer utterances at the start, such that improved transmission success along a single branch is always mixed with the shortening of content. However, for long utterances (content lengths 8 and above), utterances found at the end of all chains are on average better transmitted than utterances of the same content length at the start of all chains, meaning that transmission along the chains has an effect on transmissibility of long utterances beyond the shortening of the content.

The different behaviours across experiments are, here again, not separated from the differences in word count and stopword proportion distributions in the root utterances. The purpose of these figures remains that of giving an overview of the shape and aggregate behaviour of the chains, and we will come back to the detailed effects of word count, stopword proportion and other sentence-level features in Section 3.4.4.

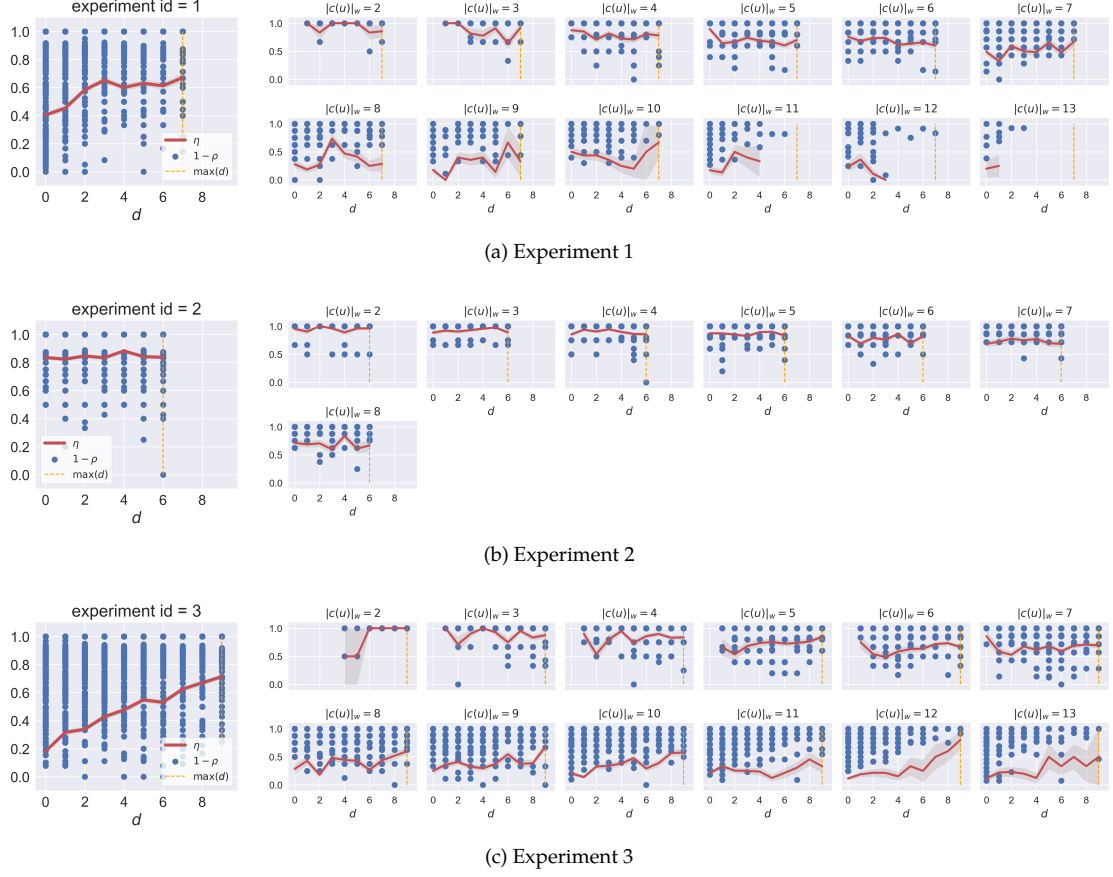


Figure 3.7: Transmissibility and conservation rate for each experiment. Each individual graph shows both transmissibility (red line, with 95% confidence intervals) and one minus the transformation rate (blue dots) for a subset of all utterances. A blue dot at  $y = 1$  is an instance of perfect transmission ( $\rho = 0$ ), and pulls transmissibility upwards; a blue dot anywhere below is a transformation instance ( $\rho > 0$ ), and pulls transmissibility downwards. The large plot on the left shows both measures for all the sentences of an experiment. The small plots on the right show both measures for utterances that have a given number of content words (up to 13 content words, after which the data is nonexistent or very sparse in all experiments). The orange dashed line marks the maximum depth in the experiment, so as to differentiate content lengths reaching the limit from content lengths disappearing before the limit.

### Variability

# TODO: remove this?

We add a final aggregate measure to the overall picture of these experiments: the variability of utterances at a given tree depth. For a given tree  $t$ , the variability  $\kappa(t, d)$  measures the average transformation rate between all pairs of utterances at depth  $d$  in  $t$  (also called the *slice* of  $t$  at depth  $d$ ).

$$\kappa(t, d) = \langle \rho(u, u') \rangle_{\{u, u'\} \subset \{u \text{ at depth } d \text{ in } t\}}$$

This measure gives a sense of how fast branches diverge between each other. For each experiment, Fig. 3.8 plots the variability of all slices of all trees, and the average variability averaged across trees. All three increase significantly, although at different rates, here again tied to the differences in root utterances.

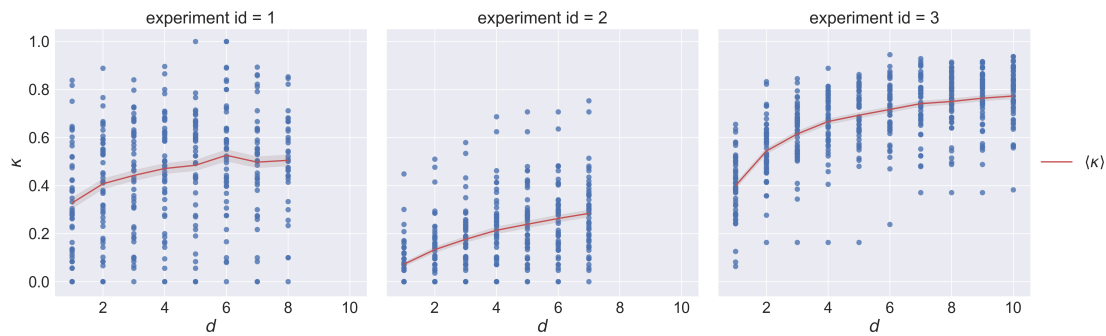


Figure 3.8: Slice variabilities in the three experiments. Each plot shows the variabilities of each slice of each tree (blue dots), as well as the average variability across slices of all trees at a given depth (red line with 95% confidence interval).

We now wish to provide a much finer view of the process at work in this evolution by decomposing the transformation operations into smaller blocks. Indeed our goal is not so much to describe the outer shape of the evolution, as it is to reach a more synthetic and parsimonious understanding of the process at work.

### 3.4.2 Transformation breakdown

#### Sequence alignments

Our first step towards a finer view of transformations is to take advantage of existing generalisations of the Levenshtein distance that underlies our measure of transformation rate  $\rho$ . Recall that the Levenshtein distance between two sequences of items  $s$  and  $s'$  computes the minimal number of insertions, deletions, and replacements necessary to turn  $s$  into  $s'$  (and vice-versa). The algorithm for this computation can also return the list of minimal sequences of operations that achieve that count. Furthermore it has also been generalised in several ways, and applied extensively to the problem of aligning DNA sequences, in order to detect similarities that could indicate evolutionary or structural relationships between genomes.

We use the Needleman–Wunsch generalisation (Needleman and Wunsch 1970)

### **3.4.3 Mechanistic transformation model**

### **3.4.4 Inner structure**

### **3.4.5 High-level case studies**

### **3.4.6 Meaning change**

## **3.5 Discussion**

TBD

## **Chapter 4**

# **Discussion**



## **Chapter 5**

## **Conclusion**





# References

- Bangerter, Adrian. 2000. 'Transformation Between Scientific and Social Representations of Conception: The Method of Serial Reproduction'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 39 (4): 521–35. doi:[10.1348/014466600164615](https://doi.org/10.1348/014466600164615).
- Barrett, Justin L., and Melanie A. Nyhof. 2001. 'Spreading Non-Natural Concepts: The Role of Intuitive Conceptual Structures in Memory and Transmission of Cultural Materials'. *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 1 (1): 69–100. doi:[10.1163/156853701300063589](https://doi.org/10.1163/156853701300063589).
- Bartlett, Sir Frederic Charles. (1932) 1995. *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Christie, Tom, and Django REST framework contributors. 2017. 'Django REST Framework'. <http://www.django-rest-framework.org/>.
- Claidière, Nicolas, Kenny Smith, Simon Kirby, and Joël Fagot. 2014. 'Cultural Evolution of Systematically Structured Behaviour in a Non-Human Primate'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences* 281 (1797): 20141541. doi:[10.1098/rspb.2014.1541](https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2014.1541).
- Czaplicki, Evan, and Elm contributors. 2017. 'Elm: A Delightful Language for Reliable Webapps'. <http://elm-lang.org/>.
- Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, Cristian, Justin Cheng, Jon Kleinberg, and Lillian Lee. 2012. 'You Had Me at Hello: How Phrasing Affects Memorability'. In *ACL '12 Proceedings of the 50th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Long Papers*, edited by Haizhou Li, Chin-Yew Lin, and Miles Osborne, 1:892–901. Stroudsburg, PA: ACM. <http://arxiv.org/abs/1203.6360>.
- Ember.js contributors. 2017. 'Ember.js: A Framework for Creating Ambitious Web Applications'. <https://emberjs.com/>.
- Fénéon, Félix, and Luc Sante. (1906) 2007. *Novels in Three Lines*. New York, NY, USA: New York Review Books.
- Heath, Chip, Chris Bell, and Emily Sternberg. 2001. 'Emotional Selection in Memes: The Case of Urban Legends'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 81 (6): 1028–41. doi:[10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.1028](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.1028).
- Kashima, Yoshihisa. 2000. 'Maintaining Cultural Stereotypes in the Serial Reproduction of Narratives'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 26 (5): 594–604. doi:[10.1177/0146167200267007](https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167200267007).
- Keuleers, Emmanuel, and Marc Brysbaert. 2010. 'Wuggy: A Multilingual Pseudoword Generator'. *Behavior Research Methods* 42 (3): 627–33. doi:[10.3758/BRM.42.3.627](https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.42.3.627).
- Krosnick, Jon A. 2000. 'The Threat of Satisficing in Surveys: The Shortcuts Respondents Take in

Answering Questions'. *Survey Methods Newsletter* 20 (1): 4–8.

Leeuw, Edith D. de, Joop J. Hox, and Don A. Dillman. 2008. *International Handbook of Survey Methodology*. New York, NY, USA ; London, UK: Taylor & Francis.

Maxwell, R. S. 1936. 'Remembering in Different Social Groups'. *British Journal of Psychology. General Section* 27 (1): 30–40. doi:[10.1111/j.2044-8295.1936.tb00814.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8295.1936.tb00814.x).

Mesoudi, Alex, and Andrew Whiten. 2004. 'The Hierarchical Transformation of Event Knowledge in Human Cultural Transmission'. *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 4 (1): 1–24. doi:[10.1163/156853704323074732](https://doi.org/10.1163/156853704323074732).

———. 2008. 'The Multiple Roles of Cultural Transmission Experiments in Understanding Human Cultural Evolution'. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London B: Biological Sciences* 363 (1509): 3489–3501. doi:[10.1098/rstb.2008.0129](https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2008.0129).

Mesoudi, Alex, Andrew Whiten, and Robin Dunbar. 2006. 'A Bias for Social Information in Human Cultural Transmission'. *British Journal of Psychology* 97 (3): 405–23. doi:[10.1348/000712605X85871](https://doi.org/10.1348/000712605X85871).

Moussaïd, Mehdi, Henry Brighton, and Wolfgang Gaissmaier. 2015. 'The Amplification of Risk in Experimental Diffusion Chains'. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112 (18): 5631–6. doi:[10.1073/pnas.1421883112](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1421883112).

Needleman, Saul B., and Christian D. Wunsch. 1970. 'A General Method Applicable to the Search for Similarities in the Amino Acid Sequence of Two Proteins'. *Journal of Molecular Biology* 48 (3): 443–53. doi:[10.1016/0022-2836\(70\)90057-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-2836(70)90057-4).

Rayner, Keith, Timothy J. Slattery, and Nathalie N. Bélanger. 2010. 'Eye Movements, the Perceptual Span, and Reading Speed'. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 17 (6): 834–39. doi:[10.3758/PBR.17.6.834](https://doi.org/10.3758/PBR.17.6.834).