

The role of working memory in the online realization of scalar inferences

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27th Annual CUNY Conference on Human Sentence Processing (2014)



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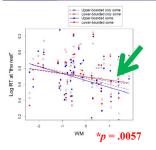
Scalar inferences and working memory

- Previous studies suggest that low working memory and high cognitive load make people less likely to assign an upper-bounded interpretation to some (De Neys & Shaeken, 2007; Dieussaert et al., 2011; Marty et al., 2013; Marty & Chemla, 2013)
 - Making scalar inferences may require extra processing resources
 - But these studies are based on explicit judgments
- •Present study: investigate the role of individual cognitive differences on implicit inferencing in self-paced reading

Methods

- •Materials: 48 target vignettes, contrasting Context (upperbound ["all"] vs. lower-bound ["any"]) and Explicitness (some vs. only some):
- Some vignette: Mary was preparing to throw a party for John's relatives. / She asked John whether (all /any) of them were staying in his apartment. / John said that / (some of them / only some of them) / were. / He added / that / the rest / would be / staying / in a hotel.
 - Faster reading times are usually observed at the rest in upper-bound than lower-bound contexts, because a scalar inference is likely to be realized in the former but not the latter (Breheny et al., 2006; Bergen & Grodner, 2012; Politzer-Ahles & Fiorentino, 2013; Hartshorne & Snedeker, submitted).
- •Fillers: 48 as above but without "the rest"; 48 with "all of" in the critical quantifier position (and without "the rest"); 48 with other quantifiers in the critical quantifier position
- •Procedure: Non-cumulative moving-window self-paced reading, comprehension questions on 33% of trials
- Participants: 48 native English speakers (28 from Politzer-Ahles & Fiorentino, 2013)
- *Last 20 speakers performed half of the trials with concurrent memory load; data from these trials are not reported here

Individual difference results at "the rest"



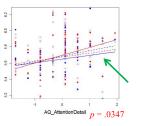
Individual difference measures (m=12) Working memory (WM): average of Reading Span and Count span composite scores

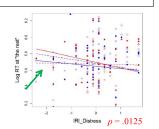
Executive function: flanker effect for incongruent items

Autism-Spectrum Quotient (AQ) subscales Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) subscales

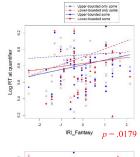
Logical ability: truth-value judgments to informative and underinformative sentences

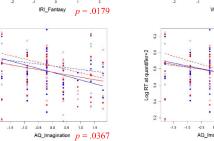
Outliers were replaced with mean +1 IQR*5, and all measures were sphered

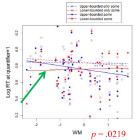


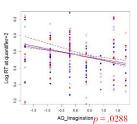


Individual difference results at the quantifier









Discussion

At "the rest"...

- Slowdown for lower-bounded sentences was driven by high-WM participants
- Numerical trend towards contribution from participants with poor scores on AQ-AttentionToDetail and IRI-Distress; there were not a priori predictions about these subscales

At the quantifier...

- While not significant, there was a trend towards high-WM participants slowing down for lower-bounded some (as predicted if inferences are made by default) and low-WM participants slowing down for upper-bounded some (as predicted by context-driven models).
- No other predictors showed this kind of interaction (greater context effect for some than only some).
- These results are exploratory and require cross-validation, but suggest that working memory plays a role in realization of scalar inferences, offering converging evidence with results from explicit judgment tasks.
- Consistent with previous experiments (Hartshorne et al., 2013; Politzer-Ahles & Fiorentino, 2013; Hartshorne & Snedeker, submitted), effects are mainly observed at "the rest" and are difficult to detect at the quantifier.
- (But see our poster in Session II)

References

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Acknowledgements: We thank Kelly Berkson and Natalie Pak for assistance in stimulus development, and Patrick Patterson and Noah Compo for assistance in data collection.