

## Can readers resolve semantic illusions?

- The N400 semantic illusion arises when an unexpected word does **not** elicit an N400 relative to an expected word.
- The illusion is typically observed at the underlined verb in role reversal sentences<sup>[1-9]</sup>:

Canonical: The thief that the cop arrested  
 Roles reversed: The cop that the thief arrested

Same N400 amplitude

- The illusion may arise because thematic roles are misassigned and so the verb seems plausible (SG model<sup>[10]</sup>) or because roles have not yet been assigned and verb prediction is delayed (slow prediction hypothesis<sup>[8]</sup>).
- Delaying the verb can resolve the illusion, even when no disambiguating information is presented<sup>[8,9]</sup>:

Canonical: The thief that the cop *yesterday evening* arrested  
 Roles reversed: The cop that the thief *yesterday evening* arrested

Different N400 amplitude

### Our study aims to:

- Replicate the delay finding<sup>[8]</sup> in a language with rich subject/object morphological marking (German).
- Examine the contribution of syntactic and semantic cues in three conditions: **no delay**, **syntactically consistent but semantically neutral delay**, and **syntactically consistent + semantically informative delay**.

### Potential outcomes:

- i) The delay allows syntax to better constrain interpretation and verb predictions, so any delay resolves the illusion, regardless of semantic content.
- ii) The delay allows facilitatory interaction between syntactic and semantic cues to constrain interpretation/prediction, so resolution of the illusion is improved when both types of cues are present.
- iii) Syntactic and semantic cues compete over time, so syntactic cues work towards resolving the illusion, while semantic cues strengthen it so that it reappears.

## Design and methods

### Example item:

Jeder im Zug hat gesehen, ...  
 Everyone in the train has seen...

#### (a) Canonical/no delay

welchen<sub>ACC</sub> Schwarzfahrer der<sub>NOM</sub> Ticketkontrolleur  
 which<sub>ACC</sub> fare evader the<sub>NOM</sub> ticket controller

#### (b) Reversed/no delay

welcher<sub>NOM</sub> Schwarzfahrer den<sub>ACC</sub> Ticketkontrolleur  
 which<sub>NOM</sub> fare evader the<sub>ACC</sub> ticket controller

#### (c) Canonical/ neutral delay

welchen<sub>ACC</sub> Schwarzfahrer der<sub>NOM</sub> Ticketkontrolleur  
 which<sub>ACC</sub> fare evader the<sub>NOM</sub> ticket controller

#### (d) Reversed/ neutral delay

welcher<sub>NOM</sub> Schwarzfahrer den<sub>ACC</sub> Ticketkontrolleur  
 which<sub>NOM</sub> fare evader the<sub>ACC</sub> ticket controller

#### (e) Canonical/ informative delay

welchen<sub>ACC</sub> Schwarzfahrer der<sub>NOM</sub> Ticketkontrolleur  
 which<sub>ACC</sub> fare evader the<sub>NOM</sub> ticket controller

#### (f) Reversed/ informative delay

welcher<sub>NOM</sub> Schwarzfahrer den<sub>ACC</sub> Ticketkontrolleur  
 which<sub>NOM</sub> fare evader the<sub>ACC</sub> ticket controller

Delay	Target	Spillover
	<b>erwischt</b>	hat
	caught	had
	<b>erwischt</b>	hat
	caught	had
<u>weiter vorne</u> further up	<b>erwischt</b>	hat
	caught	had
<u>weiter vorne</u> further up	<b>erwischt</b>	hat
	caught	had
<u>ohne Fahrausweis</u> without a ticket	<b>erwischt</b>	hat
	caught	had
<u>ohne Fahrausweis</u> without a ticket	<b>erwischt</b>	hat
	caught	had

- Sample size determined via Bayesian stopping rule:** Bayes factor  $\geq 6$  for the 2x2 interaction of role order and delay (none/neutral; replication of [8]). **Current sample size: 62.**
- Main analysis:** simple difference contrasts comparing informative vs. neutral and neutral vs. no delay in

- interaction with role order (sum contrast coded).
  - Maximal Bayesian linear mixed effects models.
  - DV: mean N400 amplitude.
  - IVs: role order (canonical/reversed), delay (none/neutral/informative)

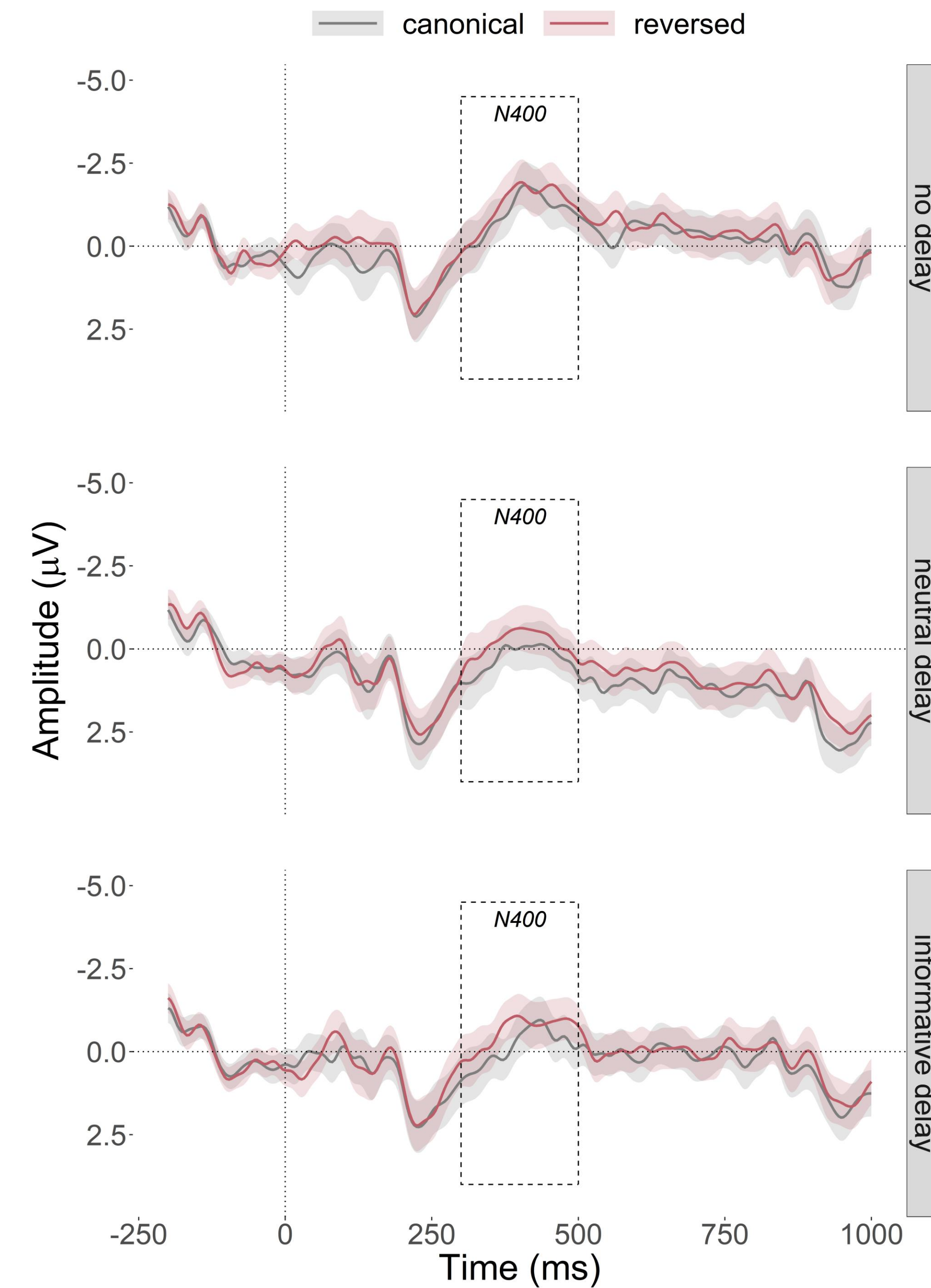


Figure 1. Main analysis. ERPs at the target verb in the canonical (grey) and reversed (red) conditions, split by delay type.

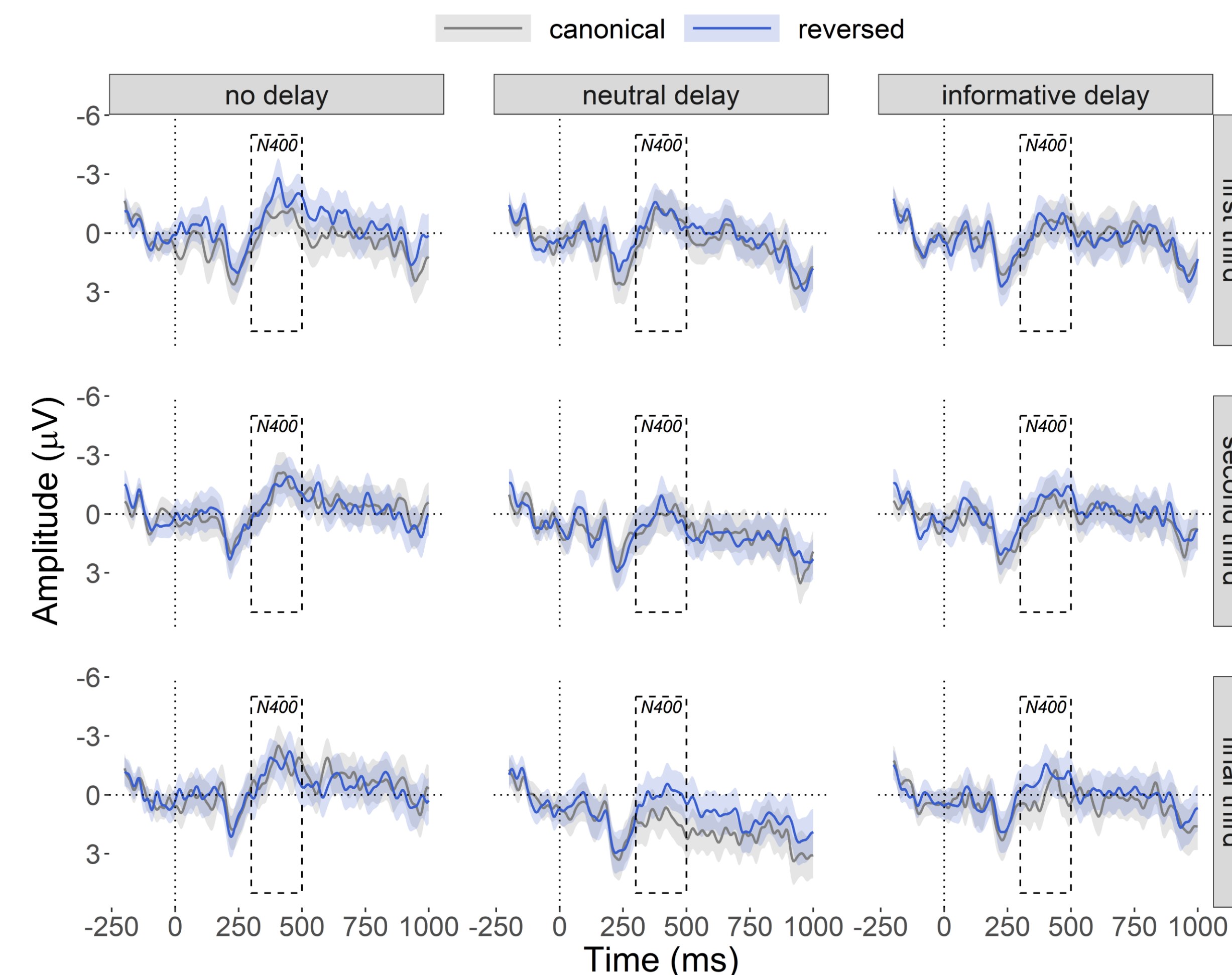


Figure 2. Exploratory analysis: Trial order effects. ERPs at the target verb in the canonical (grey) and reversed (blue) conditions in the neutral condition in the first, second and final thirds of the experiment.

## Preliminary conclusions

- N400 semantic illusion in no-delay condition consistent with readers making quick, surface-based semantic interpretations and predictions (see Fig. 1).
- Unclear whether the illusion is resolved by delaying the verb, although the interaction coefficient in the neutral condition was numerically consistent with the effect observed in a previous experiment<sup>[8]</sup> (see Fig. 1).
  - Hypothesis: Experience with the experiment allows use of syntactic cues to resolve the illusion, but competition from semantic cues blocks this effect?
- Interestingly, readers appeared to get better at using the *neutral* delay to resolve the illusion as the experiment progressed, but not the informative delay (see Fig. 2).
  - The delay effect may be true but small: A design analysis suggested that even hundreds of participants would not yield conclusive evidence either for or against the effect.

## Results

### Sample size determination

- Current ratio of evidence  $H_1:H_0$  ( $BF_{10}$ ) is 1:1, recruitment is ongoing.

### Main analysis

- Inconclusive evidence for the interaction of role order and delay type for neutral vs. none,  $\hat{\beta} = -0.16$ , 95%  $CrI = [-0.43, -0.01]$ ,  $BF_{10} = 1$ , and for informative vs. neutral,  $\hat{\beta} = -0.29$ , 95%  $CrI = [-0.83, -0.01]$ ,  $BF_{10} = 1$  (see Fig. 1).

### Meta-analysis

- We fit the 2x2 model to the combined data from the current and published study [8], increasing sample size to 86. The interaction effect was larger but more variable and evidence was still inconclusive,  $\hat{\beta} = -0.40$ , 95%  $CrI = [-0.96, -0.03]$ ,  $BF_{10} = 1$ .

### Design analysis

- Assuming the current data adequately represent true values, we used them to simulate new datasets with 100, 150, 200 and 300 participants. None of the simulated datasets yielded a conclusive Bayes factor for either the null or alternative hypotheses.

### Exploratory analysis: Trial order effects

- Most participants noticed the role reversals and reported a change in strategy over the experiment. The interaction of role order and neutral delay differed significantly as trials progressed,  $\hat{\beta} = -0.90$ ,  $SE = 0.44$ ,  $t = -2.03$  (see Fig. 2). Pairwise comparisons indicated a significant difference in amplitude for reversals vs. canonical sentences in the neutral condition of the final third of the experiment,  $\hat{\beta} = -1.25$ ,  $SE = 0.51$ ,  $t = -2.45$ .

## Bibliography

- [1] Chow et al. (2015) *Lang, Cog, Neurosci* [2] Chow et al. (2016) *Lang, Cog, Neurosci* [3] Kuperberg et al. (2003) *Cog Brain Res* [4] Kim & Osterhout (2005) *JML* [5] Hoeks et al. (2004) *Cog Brain Res* [6] Kolk et al. (2003) *Brain & Lang* [7] Van Herten et al. (2005) *Cog Brain Res* [8] Chow et al. (2018) *Lang, Cog, Neurosci* [9] Momma et al. (2015) *CUNY Conference* [10] Rabovsky et al. (2018) *Nat Hum Behav* [11] Kim & Osterhout (2005) *JML* [12] Kuperberg et al. (2003) *Cog Brain Res* [13] Brouwer et al. (2017) *Cog Science* [14] Bornkessel-Schlesewsky & Schlewsky (2008) *Brain Res Rev*