

Evidence of accurate logical reasoning in online sentence comprehension

Maksymilian Dąbkowski (University of California, Berkeley), Roman Feiman (Brown University)
From Wason's (1968) selection task to dual-process theories of cognition (Evans & Stanovich, 2013; Kahneman, 2011), a rich psychological literature has argued that fast and automatic reasoning is not normatively accurate. On the other hand, linguistic theories that seek to explain reliable patterns of judgments attribute a high degree of logical sophistication to all linguistic humans. For example, most accounts of the distribution of negative polarity items (NPIs) invoke *entailment directionality* (e.g. Ladusaw, 1983), presupposing that this logical property can be computed automatically and accurately without logical training. However, outside of acceptability judgements, which have alternative interpretations (c.f. Hoeksema, 2012), there is little evidence that speakers compute this logical property during sentence comprehension (see Agmon et al., 2019).

Two novel self-paced reading experiments tested for signatures of accurate inferences made during sentence comprehension. Experiment 1 (N = 400) tested whether speakers detect logical contradictions. Participants read 12 target items displayed line by line, with line breaks at clausal boundaries. They pressed [SPACE] to advance the next line. Each item contained a "premise" in line 4 and a "conclusion" in line 5, which began with *now that they knew that ...*, presupposing that what comes next appeared earlier in the discourse. (see Figure 1). Otherwise, the two lines differed only in the quantifiers they used (*some, all, none, not all*). There were two conditions where the premise with *QUANT1* was identical to the conclusion with *QUANT2*, two conditions where it differed from but entailed the conclusion, and two conditions where it contradicted it (Figure 2). Participants took significantly longer to advance the conclusion line when it contradicted the premise than when it was entailed by the premise (Figure 5, LMER effect of condition: $\chi^2 = 161.31$, $p < 0.001$), consistent with rapid, normatively accurate sensitivity to the logical relations between these clauses.

Experiment 2 (N = 400) used the same paradigm to test for the capacity to detect subtler unlicensed inferences, even in the absence of strict contradictions. We manipulated the quantifiers (*QUANT*) in both the premise and the conclusion as well as the noun phrase (NP) in the premise (Figure 3). The quantifier was kept constant between the premise and the conclusion. The premise NP appeared with two modifiers (e.g. *male spotted rats*), one modifier (e.g. *spotted rats*), or no modifiers (e.g. *rats*). The conclusion NP always appeared with one modifier. Thus, the premise NP was a subset (*male spotted rats* \subset *spotted rats*), identical to (*spotted rats* = *spotted rats*), or a superset (*rats* \supset *spotted rats*) of the conclusion NP. Four quantifiers and three containment relations (*IDENTITY, SUBSET, SUPERSET*) yielded $4 \times 3 = 12$ experimental conditions in total. Depending on the combination of the quantifier and containment, there were four conditions where the premise was identical to the conclusion, four conditions where it differed from but entailed the conclusion, and four where it did not entail the conclusion (Figure 4). A significant interaction of containment by direction of entailment (Figure 6, $\chi^2 = 10.9$, $p < 0.001$) revealed that participants took longer to advance the conclusion line when it was not entailed by the premise, again consistent with rapid sensitivity to logical relations between clauses.

Our findings suggest that language processing involves automatic, accurate, and spontaneous logical computations, even in the absence of a question that requires making these inferences to verify text comprehension (Tiemann, 2014). We discuss our findings in relation to decades of psychological research on dual-process theories which argues the opposite, as well as to more sympathetic accounts of 'natural logic' in reasoning (e.g. Braine & O'Brien, 1998) and in grammar (e.g. Gajewski, 2002). We argue that logical competence is inherent in language comprehension, which can reveal the human capacity for reasoning more reliably than puzzle-solving tasks.

- (1) A group of scientists wanted to know whether spotted rats,
 - (2) who are pickier eaters than other rats, liked a new kind of food.
 - (3) They tested white, black, and spotted rats of both sexes.
 - (4) The scientists discovered that QUANT1 of the rats loved the food.
 - (5) Now that they knew that QUANT2 of the rats loved the food,
 - (6) they decided to issue a recommendation based on their findings.
- Figure 1: An example item in Experiment 1. The conclusion line is boxed.

	QUANT1	QUANT2
CONTR	none	some
CONTR	all	not all
ENTAIL	all	some
ENTAIL	none	not all
IDENT	some	some
IDENT	not all	not all

- (1) A group of scientists wanted to know whether spotted rats,
 - (2) who are pickier eaters than other rats, liked a new kind of food.
 - (3) They tested white, black, and spotted rats of both sexes.
 - (4) The scientists discovered that QUANT of the ((male) spotted) rats loved the food.
 - (5) Now that they knew that QUANT of the spotted rats loved the food,
 - (6) they decided to issue a recommendation based on their findings.
- Figure 3: An example item in Experiment 2. The conclusion line is boxed.

Figure 2: Exp 1 conditions.

	ID	SUB	SUP
all	ID	¬ENT	ENT
none	ID	¬ENT	ENT
not all	ID	ENT	¬ENT
some	ID	ENT	¬ENT

Figure 4: Exp 2 conditions.

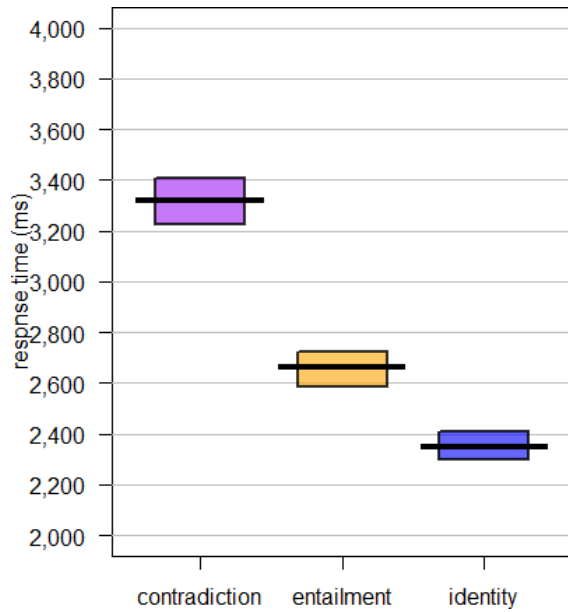


Figure 5: Experiment 1 results.

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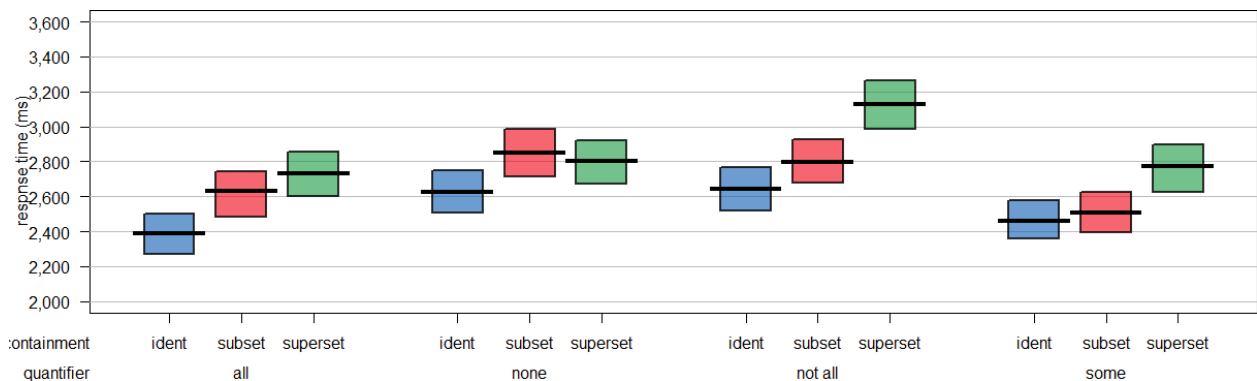


Figure 6: Experiment 2 results. The y-axis shows RT for the conclusion line in each condition.