

A Bayesian account of the perceptual magnet effect

Roger Levy

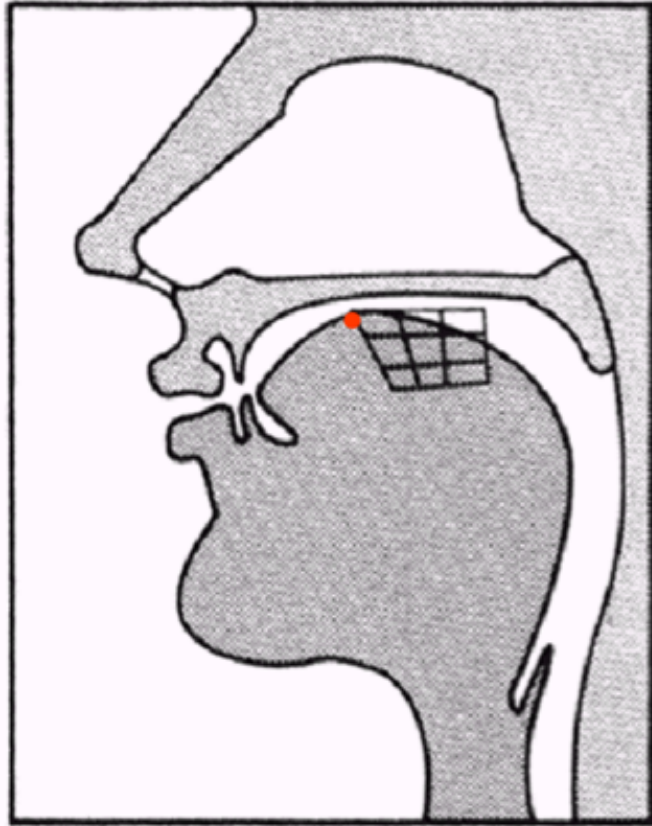
MIT

Department of Brain & Cognitive Sciences

9.19, Fall 2023

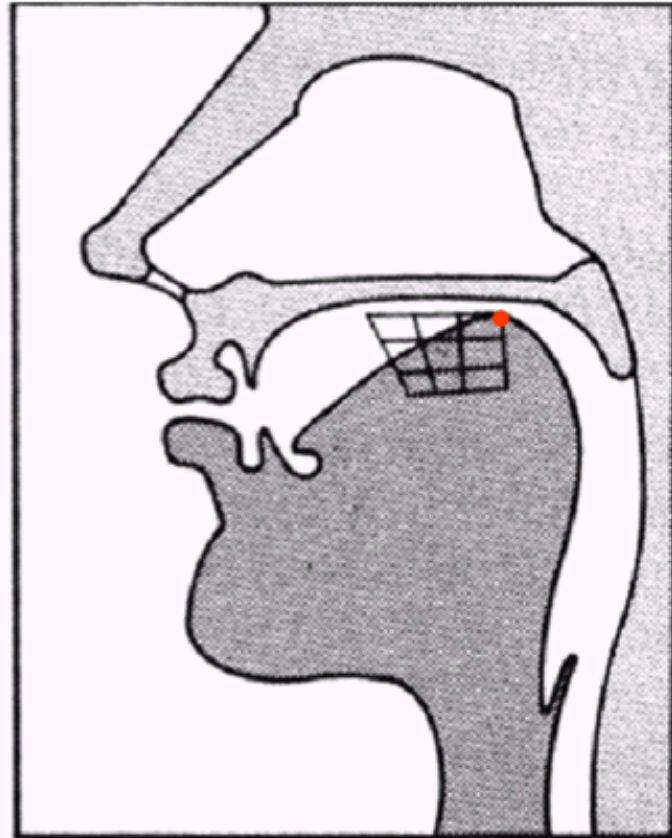
25 October 2023

Producing vowels



/i/

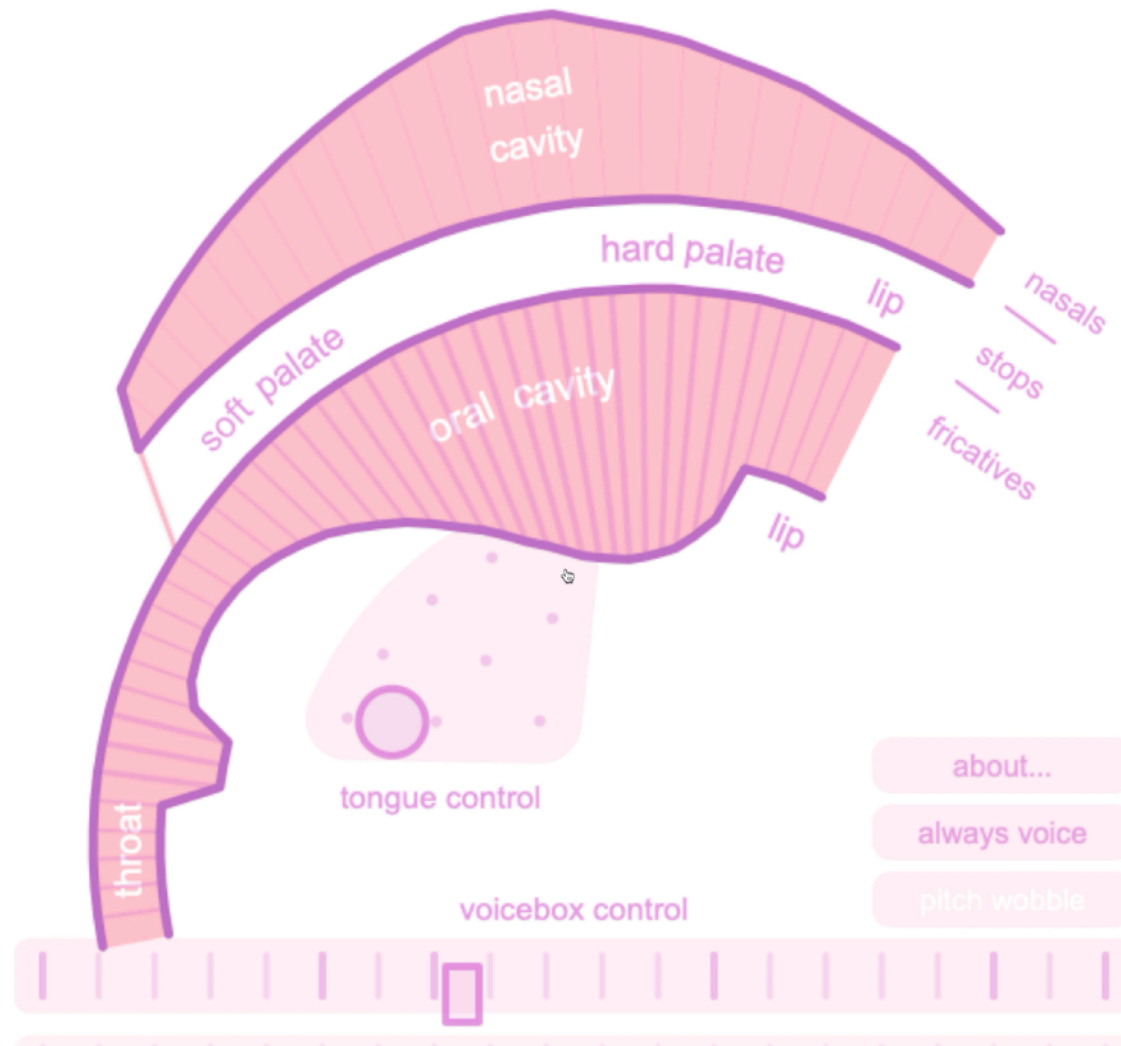
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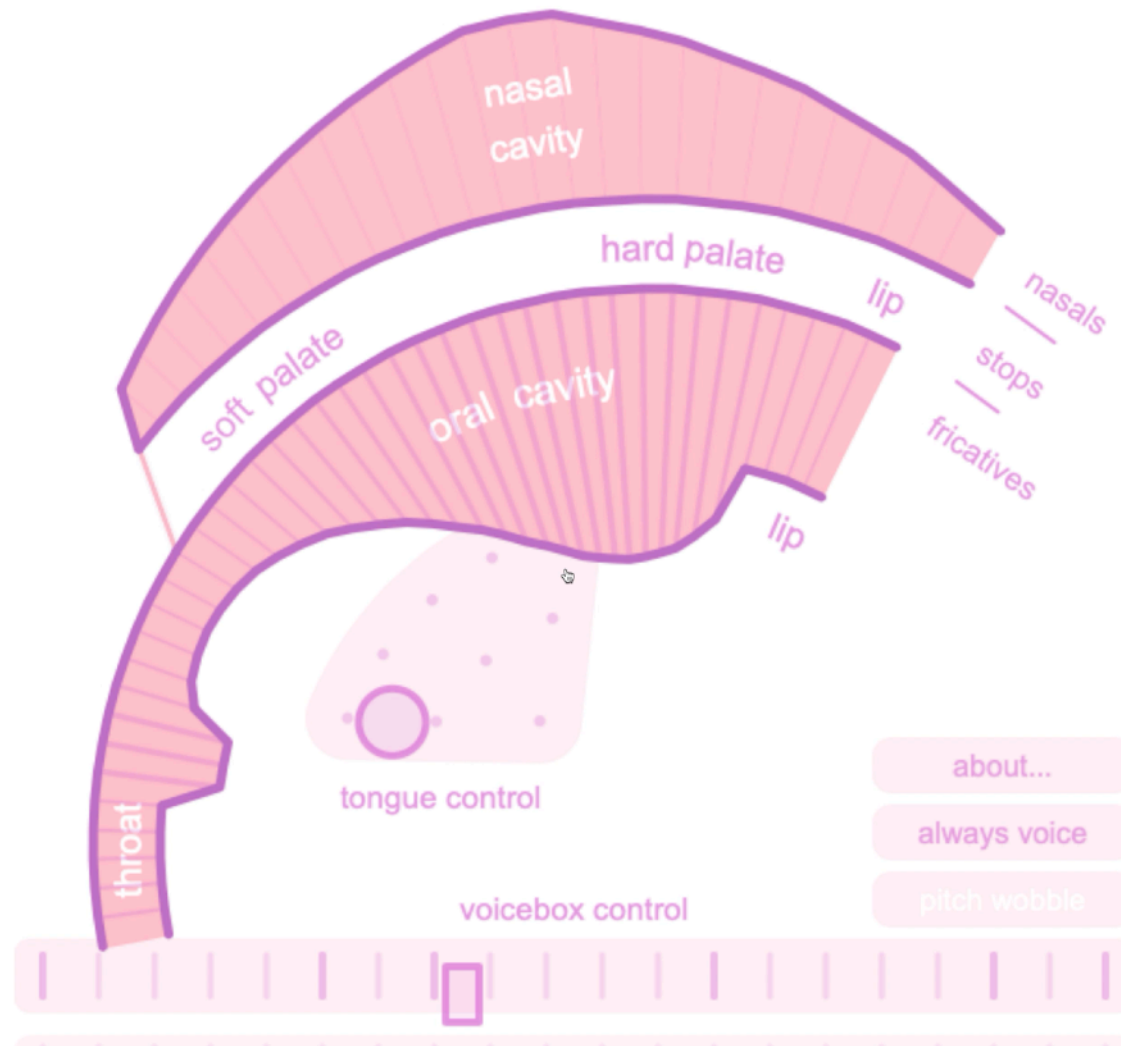
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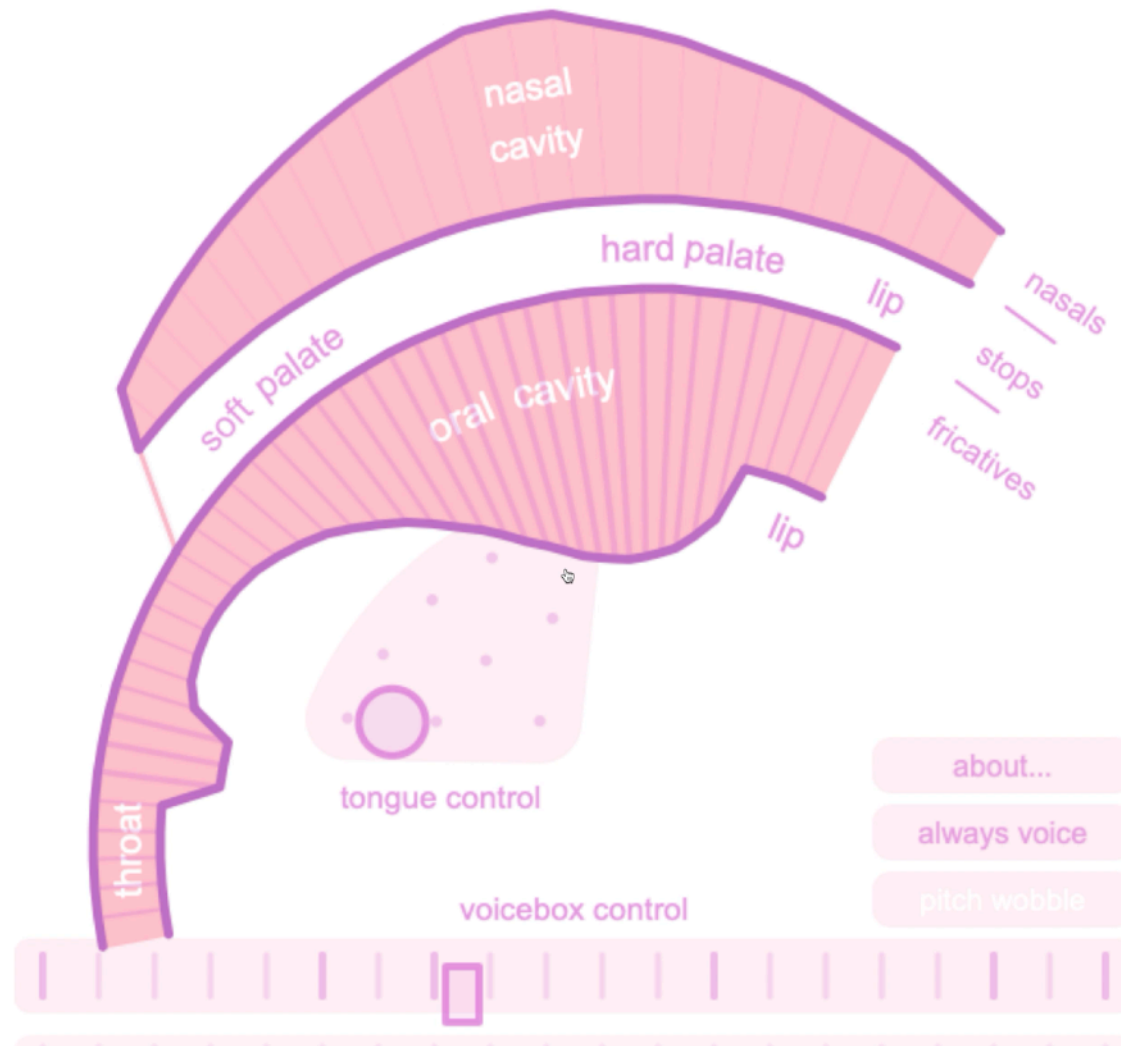
Vocal tract simulator



Vocal tract simulator



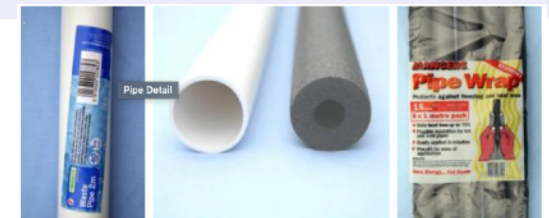
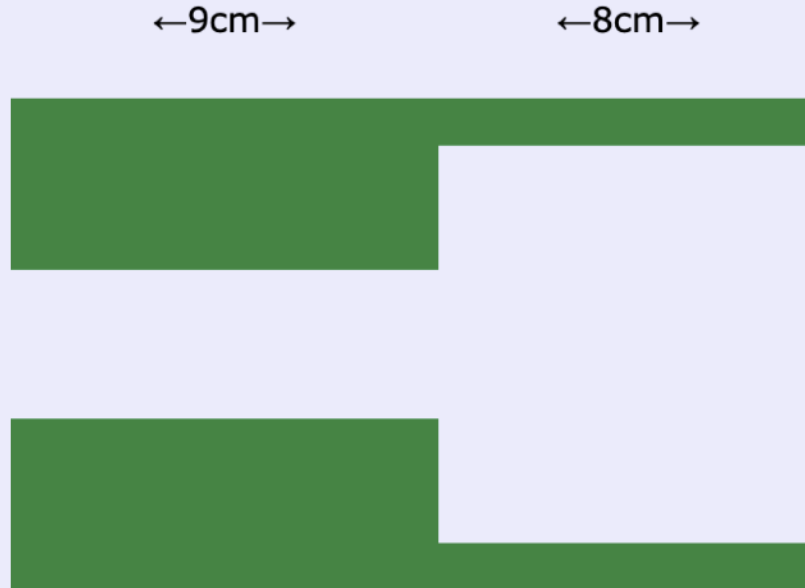
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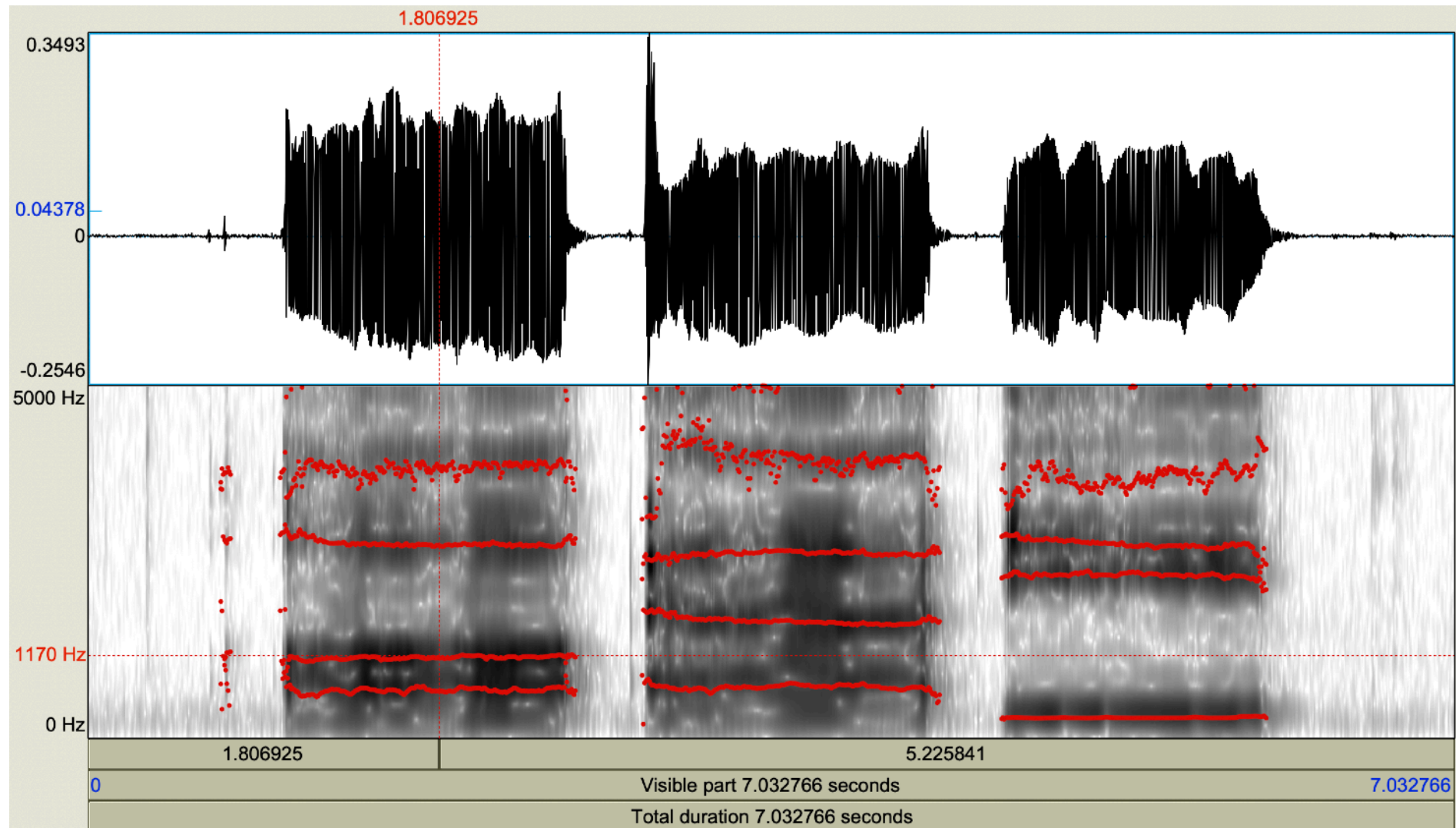
Vocal tract cavity shape → vowel quality

An "AH" vowel resonator

This resonator sounds like the long /A/ vowel that you find in words like "palm". You will need 9cm length of the foam sleeving and 8cm length of pipe. The narrow part of the resonator is analogous to the narrow part of the vocal tract from larynx to the back of the mouth, while the wide part of the resonator is analogous to the oral cavity.

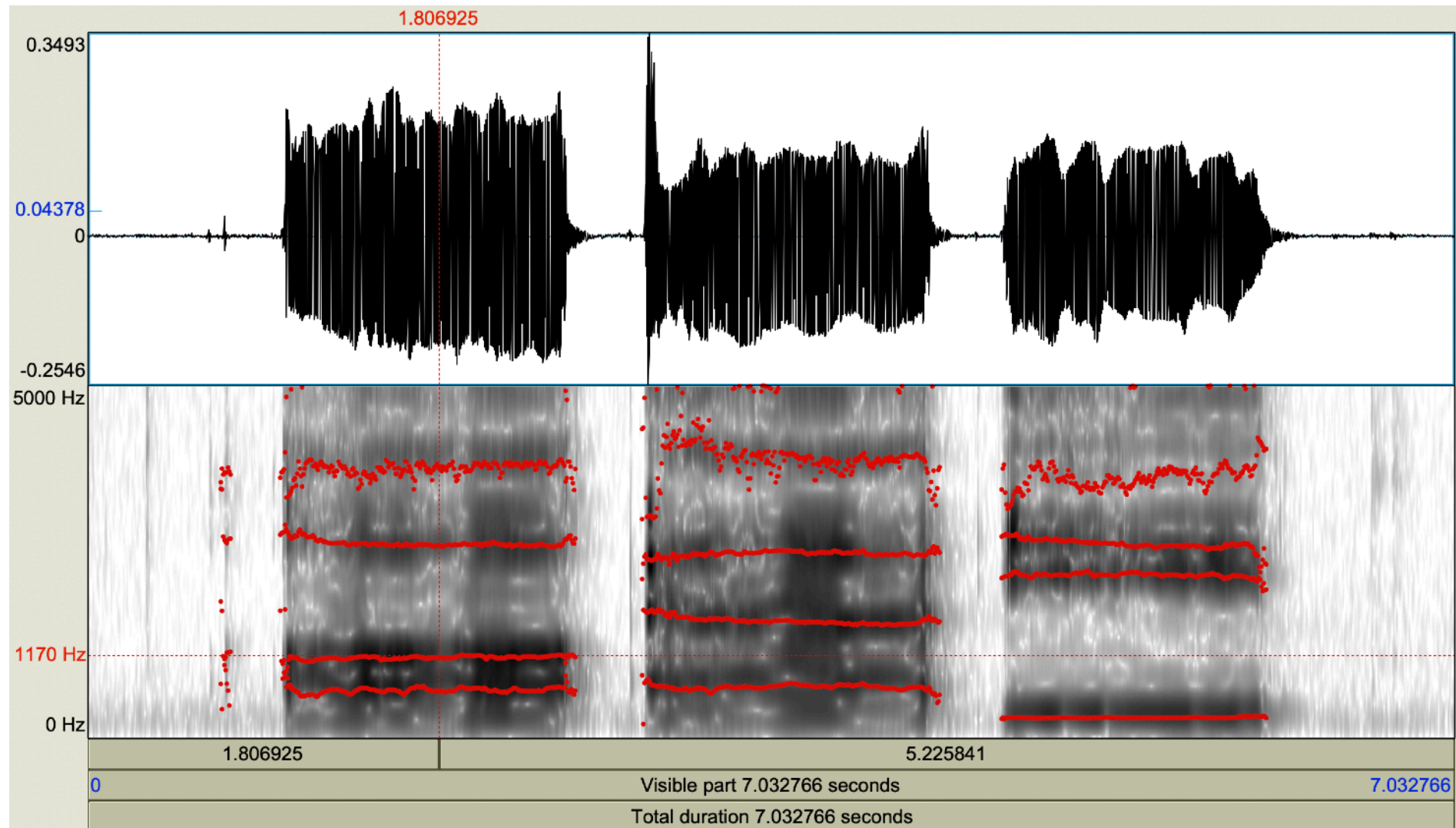


Formants and vowel quality



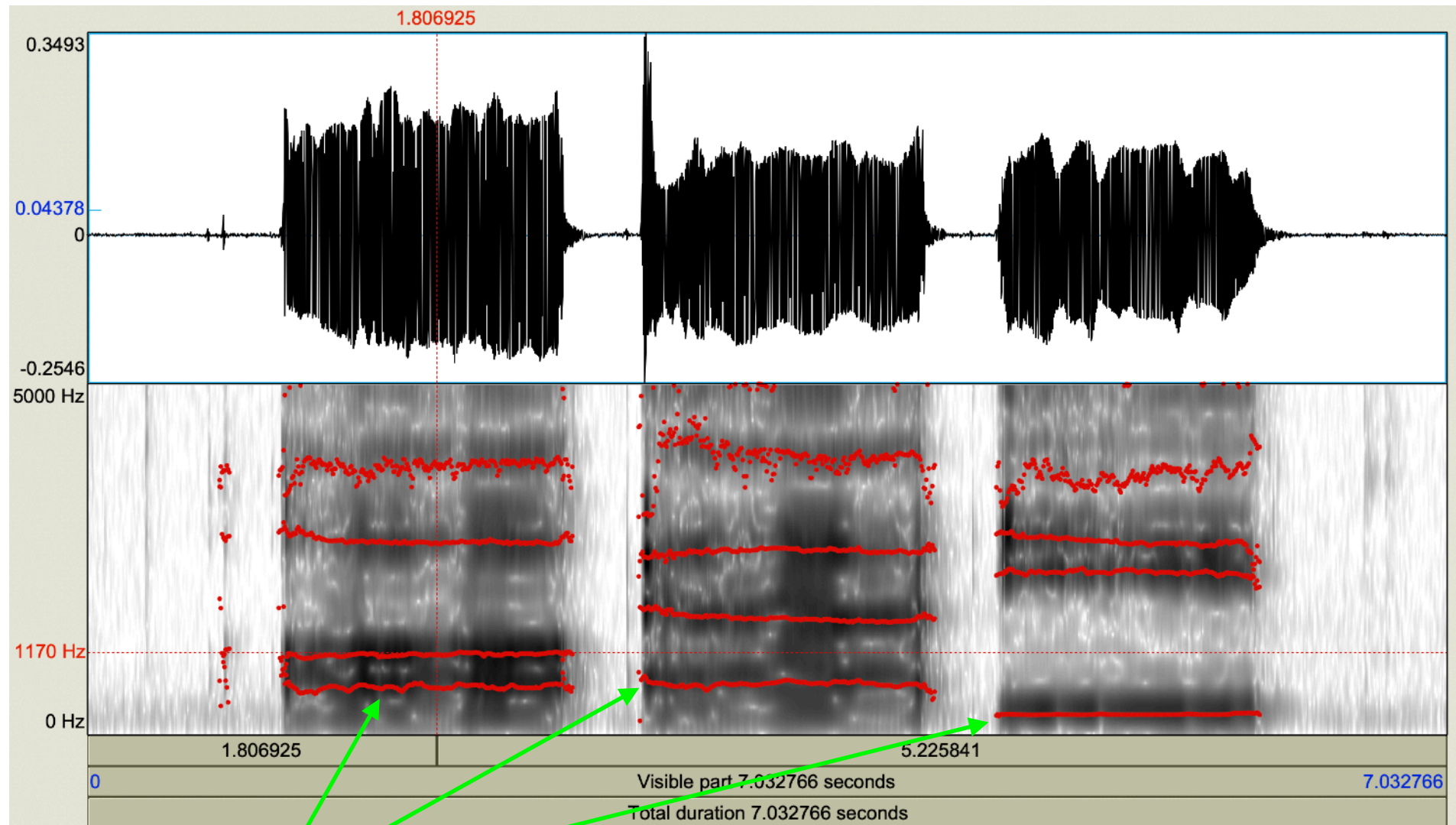
(Recorded and visualized with Praat)

Formants and vowel quality



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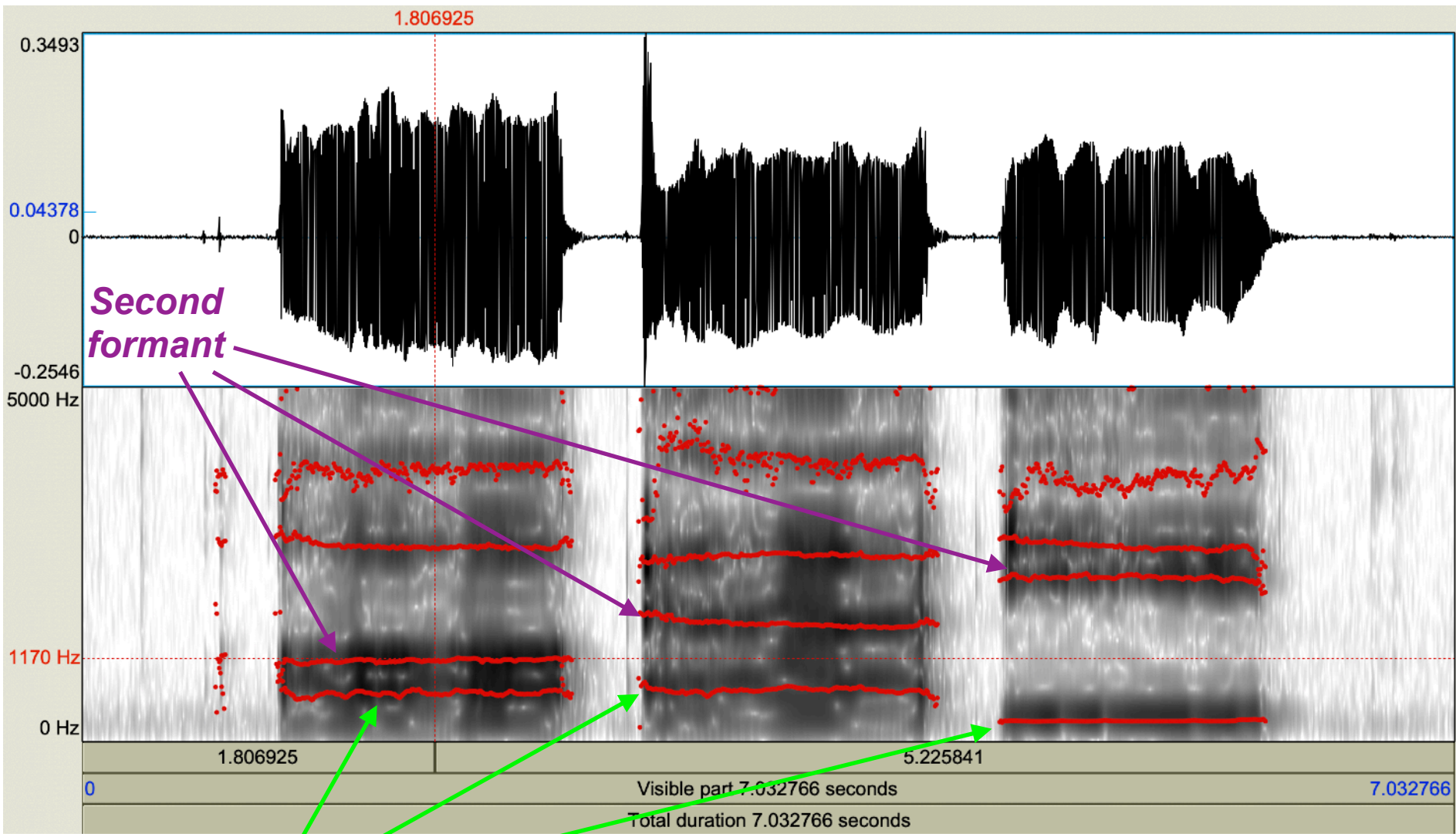
Formants and vowel quality



**First
formant**

(Recorded and visualized with Praat)

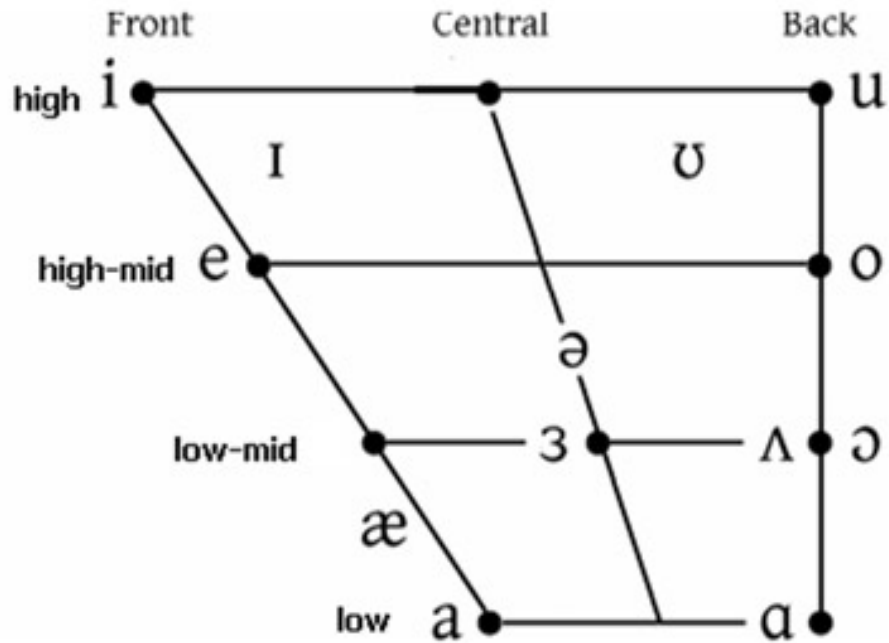
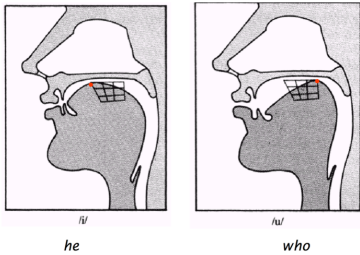
Formants and vowel quality



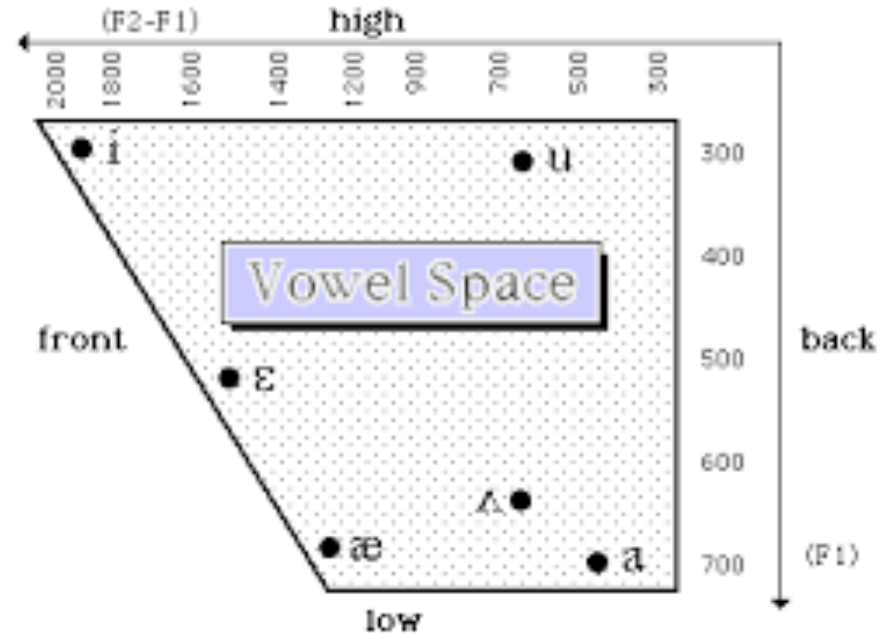
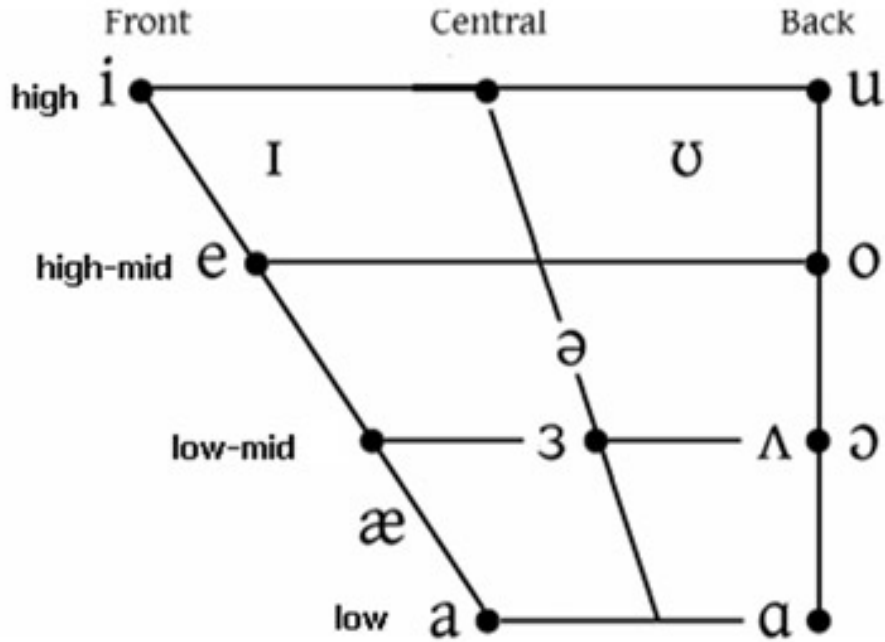
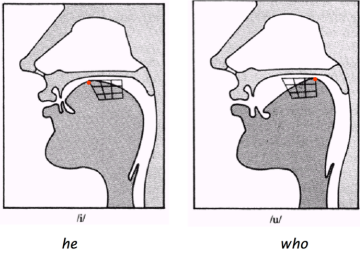
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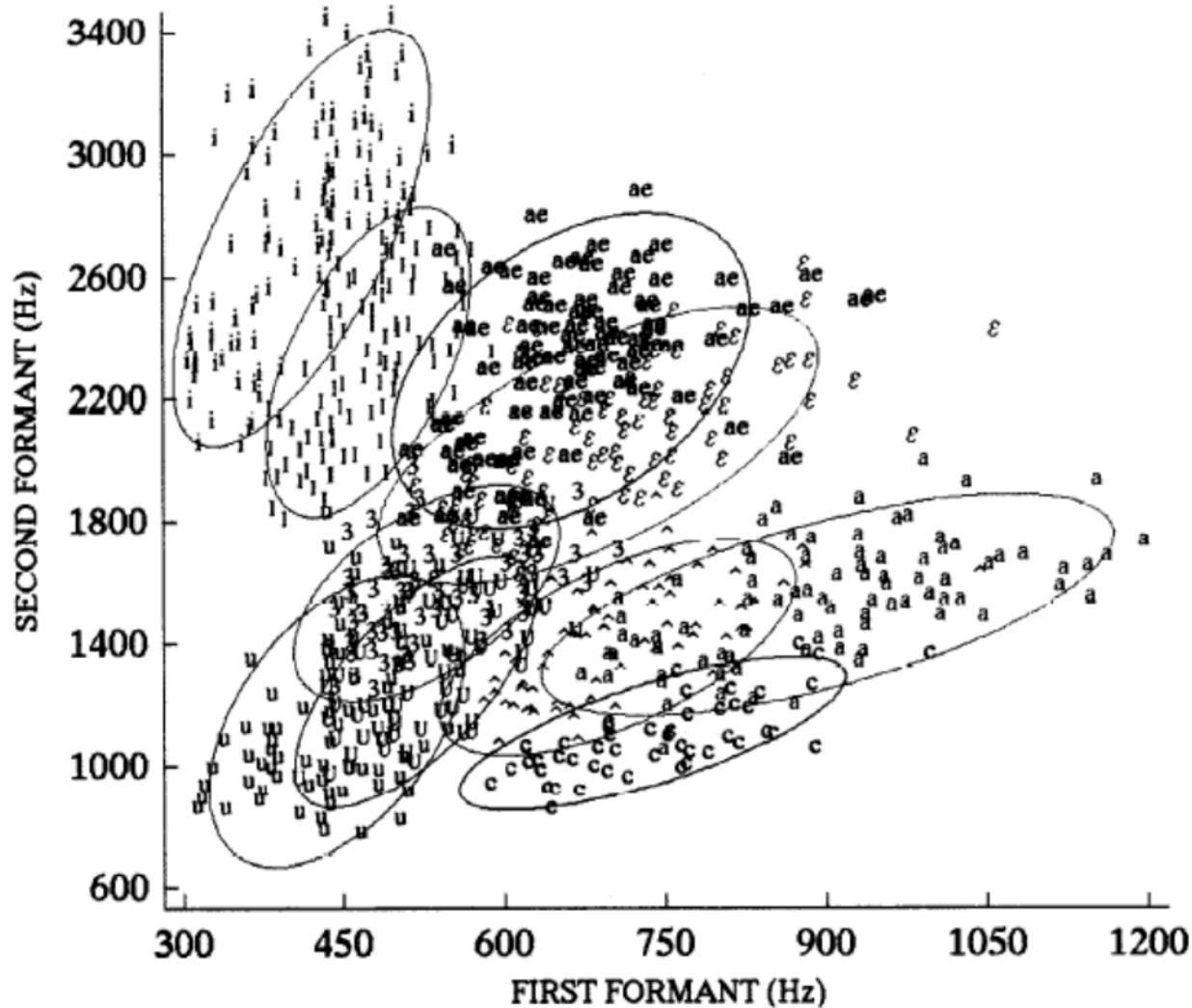
Vowel space, articulatory



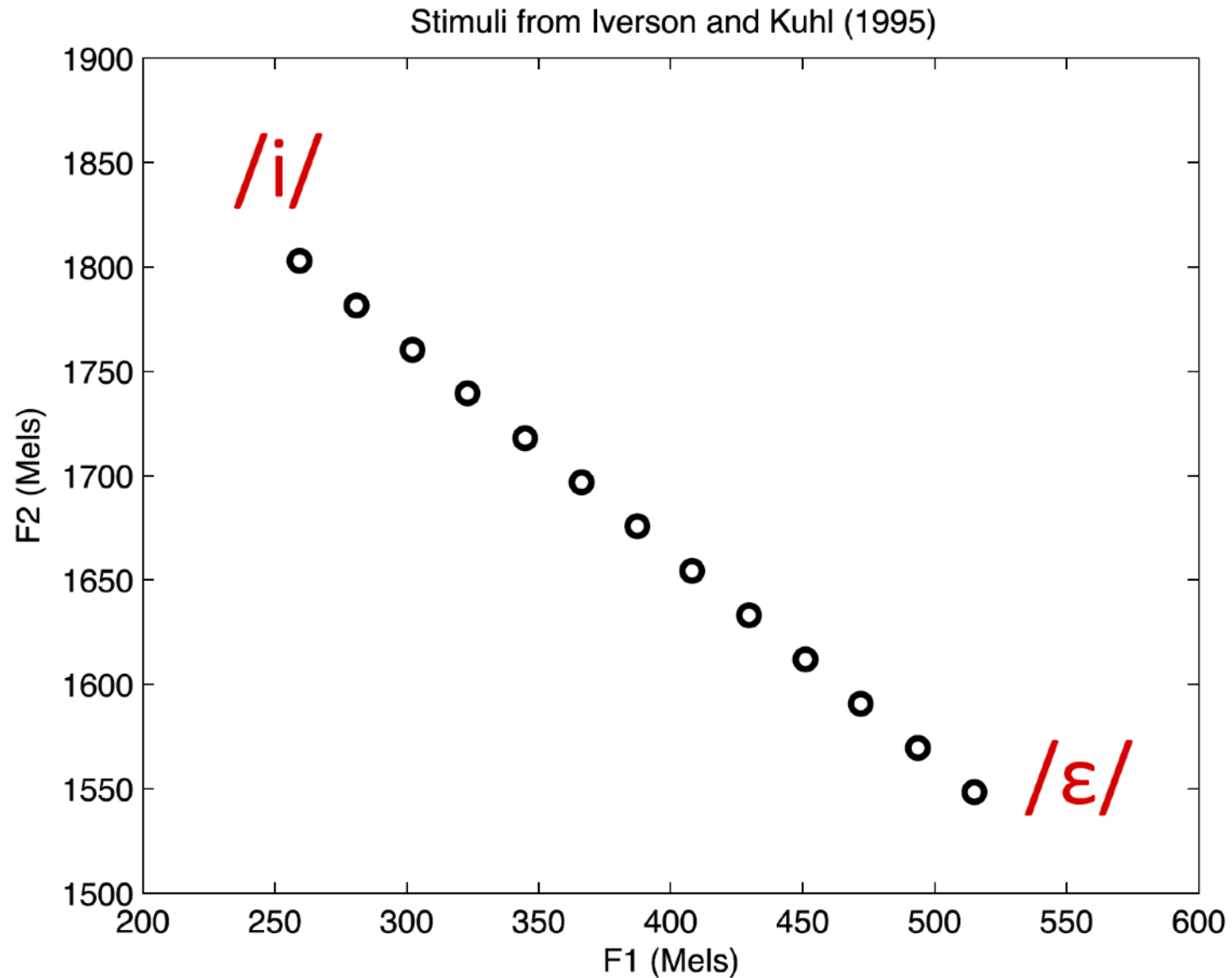
Vowel space, articulatory



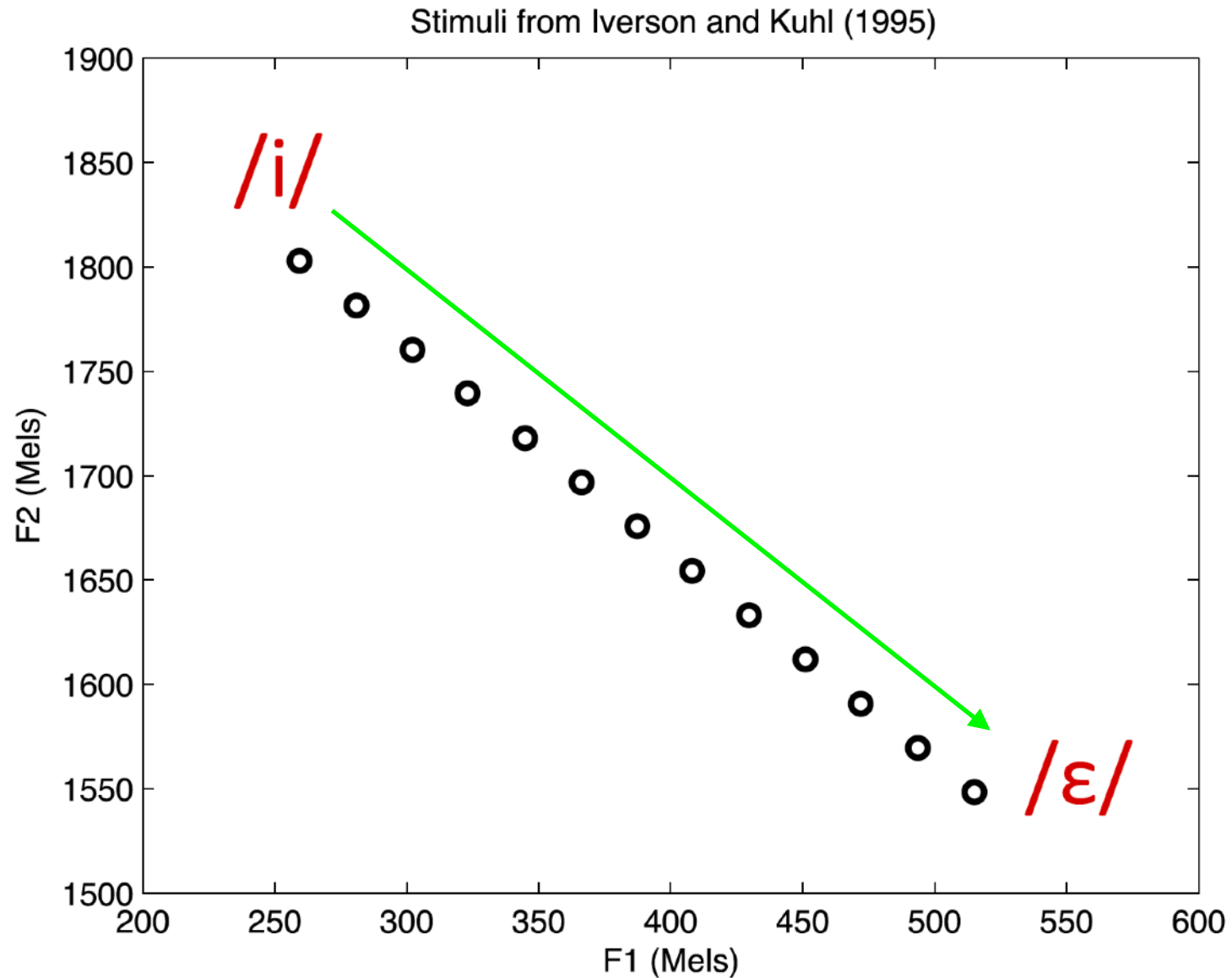
English vowel inventory, in formant space



A vowel continuum



A vowel continuum



Same/different judgments

Percentage of Trials on Which Subjects Responded “Same” for Each Pair of Stimuli in the No-Noise and Noise Conditions

Stimulus no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	No-noise condition												
1	98.8	82.5	82.5	40.0	22.5	7.5	5.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.0	2.5
2		97.5	95.0	70.0	52.5	10.0	5.0	0.0	2.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
3			91.3	97.5	75.0	32.5	12.5	5.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	2.5	0.0
4				97.5	87.5	40.0	12.5	5.0	2.5	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0
5					97.5	77.5	27.5	12.5	5.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
6						92.5	75.0	30.0	15.0	2.5	2.5	2.6	0.0
7							91.3	75.0	42.5	17.5	5.0	5.0	0.0
8								95.0	80.0	50.0	32.5	7.5	5.0
9									93.8	87.5	67.5	27.5	22.5
10										92.5	87.5	76.9	37.5
11											97.5	87.5	65.0
12												96.3	97.5
13													100.0

(Feldman et al., 2009)

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(Feldman et al., 2009)

The perceptual magnet effect

Actual Stimuli:



Perceived Stimuli:

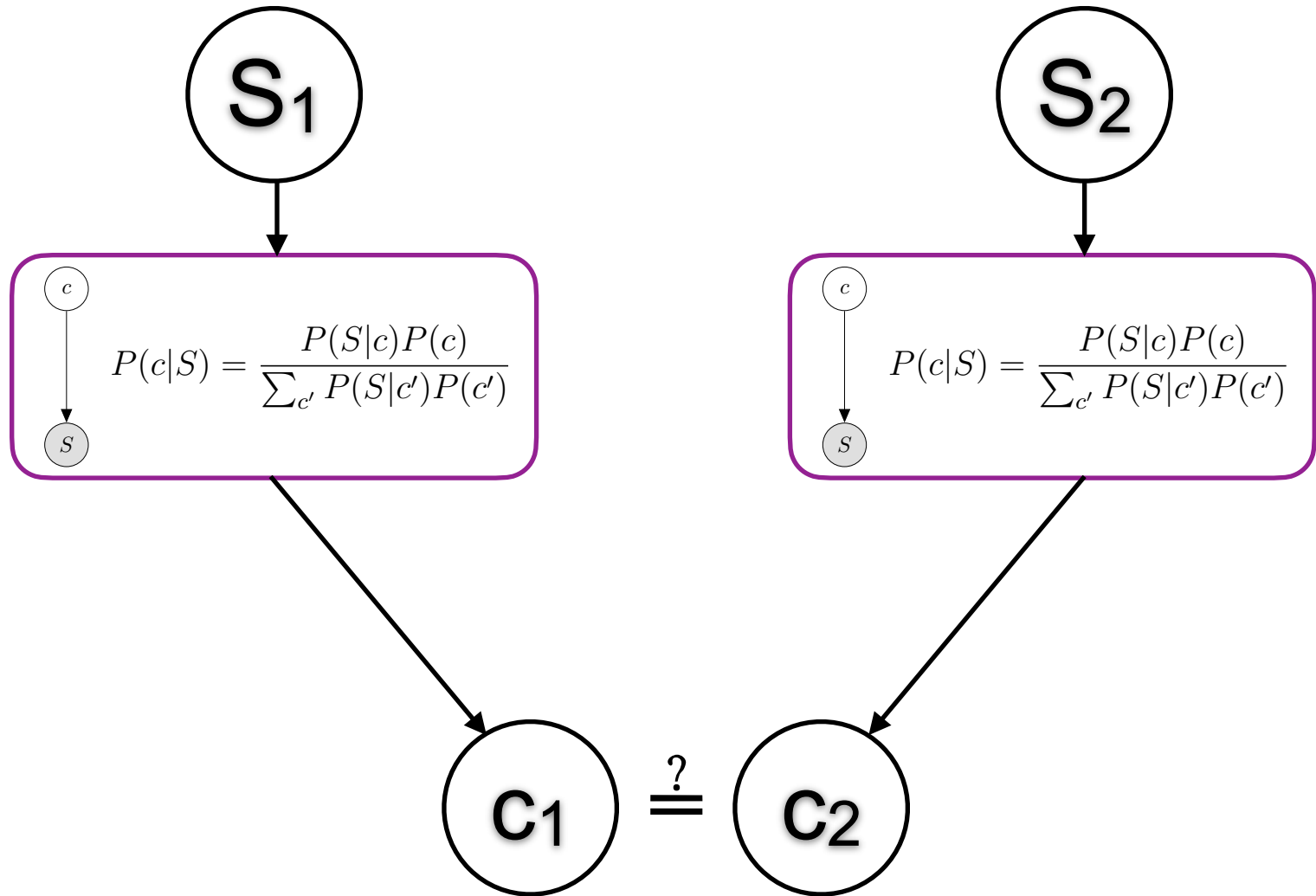


How can we account for this phenomenon?

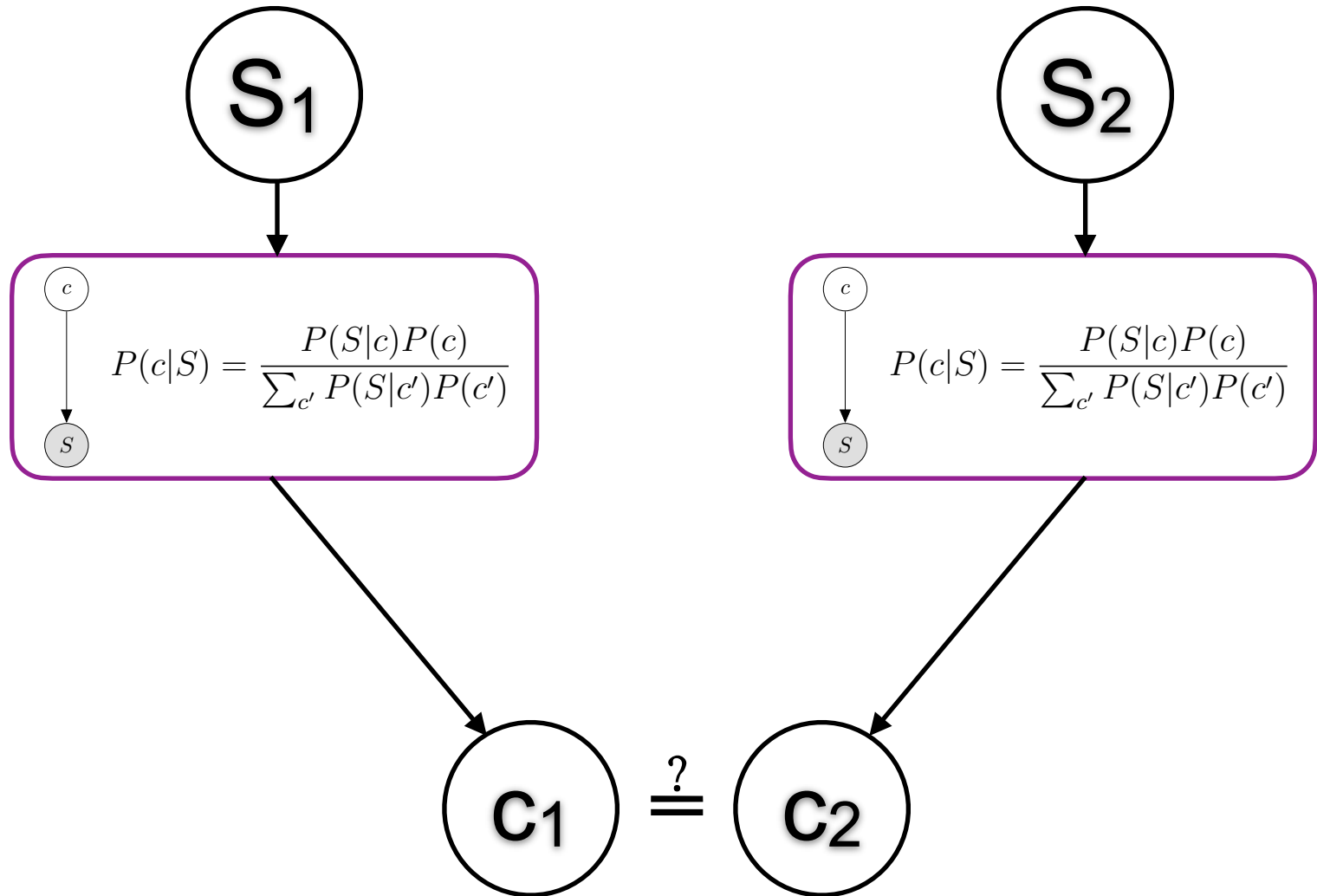
Rational analysis

- Background assumption: cognitive agent is optimized via evolution and learning to solve everyday tasks effectively
 1. Specify precisely the goals of the cognitive system
 2. Formalize model of the environment to which the cognitive system is adapted
 3. Make minimal assumptions re: computational limitations
 4. Derive predicted optimal behavior given 1—3
 5. Compare predictions with empirical data
 6. If necessary, iterate 1—5

Candidate theory: categorize then check match



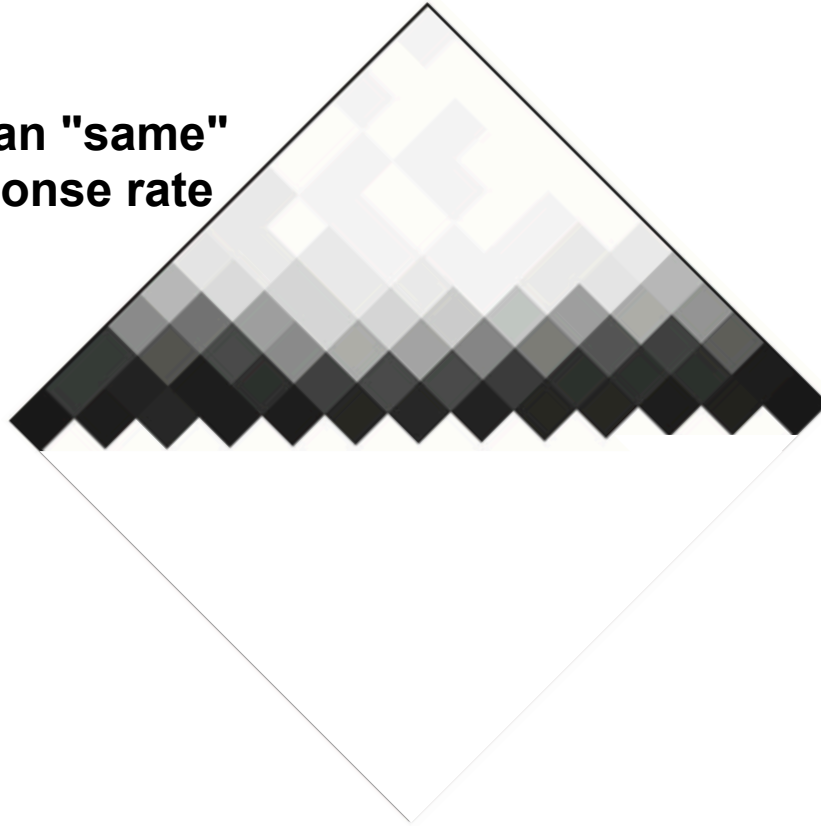
Candidate theory: categorize then check match



Is this adequate?

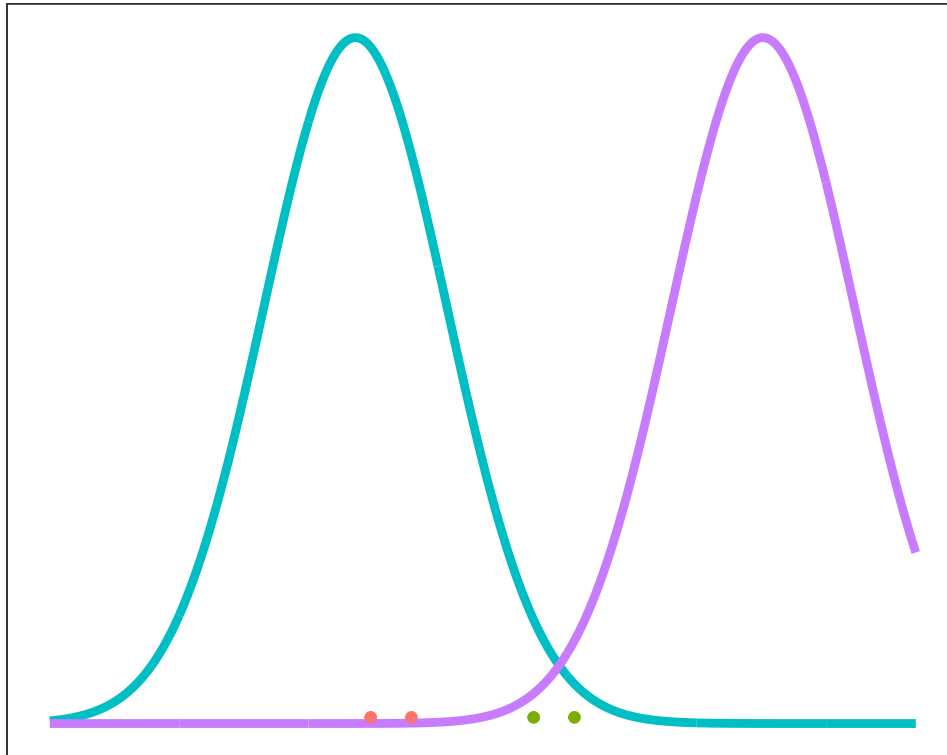
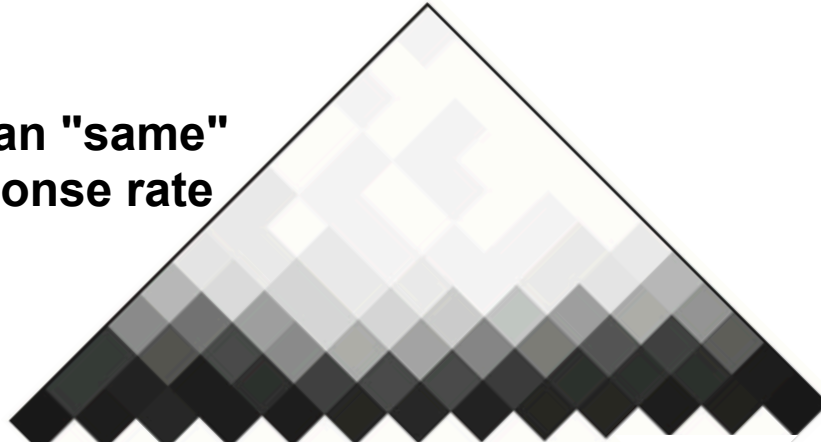
The problem with categorize-then-check

Human "same"
response rate

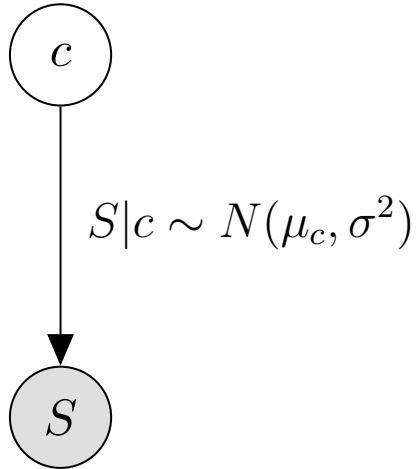


The problem with categorize-then-check

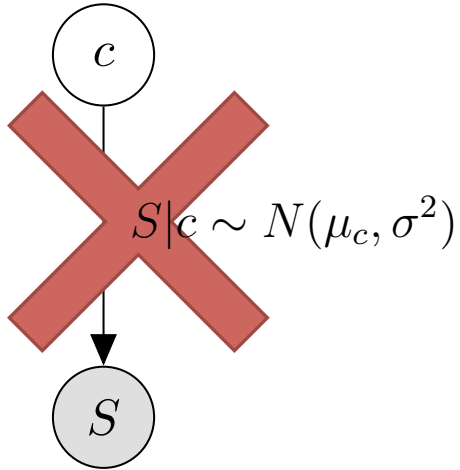
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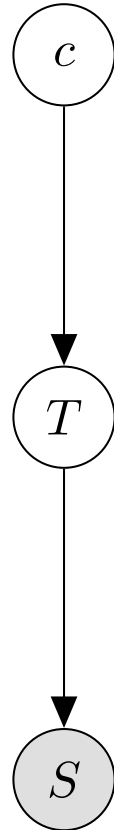
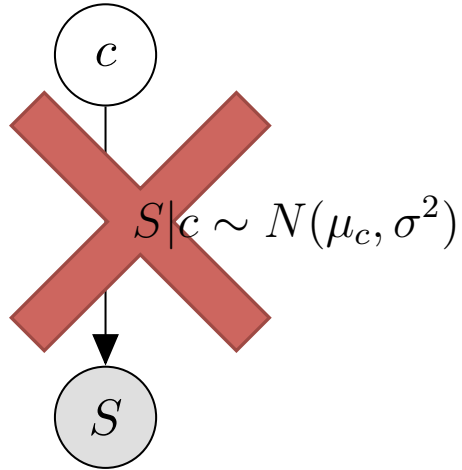
A more complex proposal



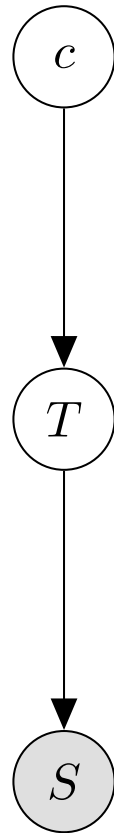
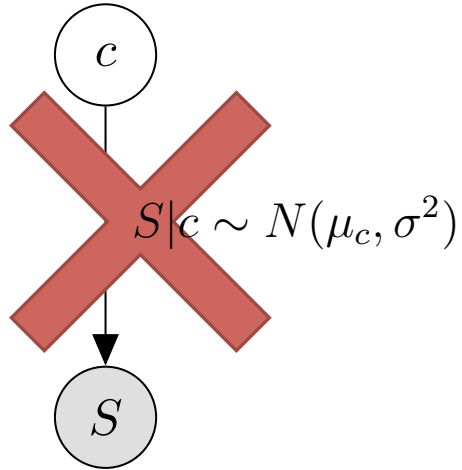
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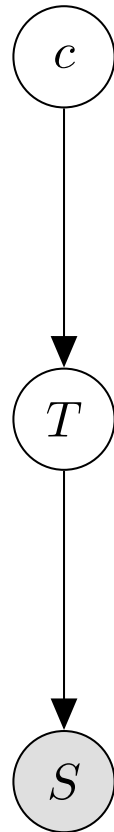
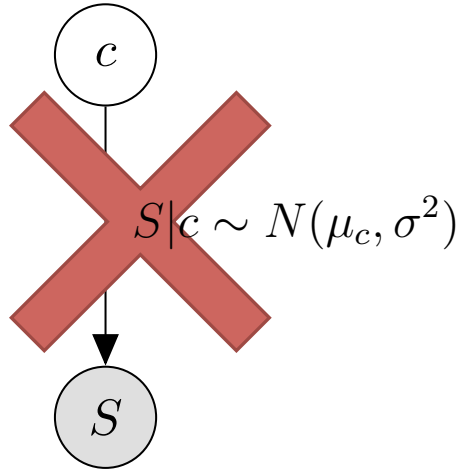


A more complex proposal



$$T|c \sim N(\mu_c, \sigma_T^2)$$

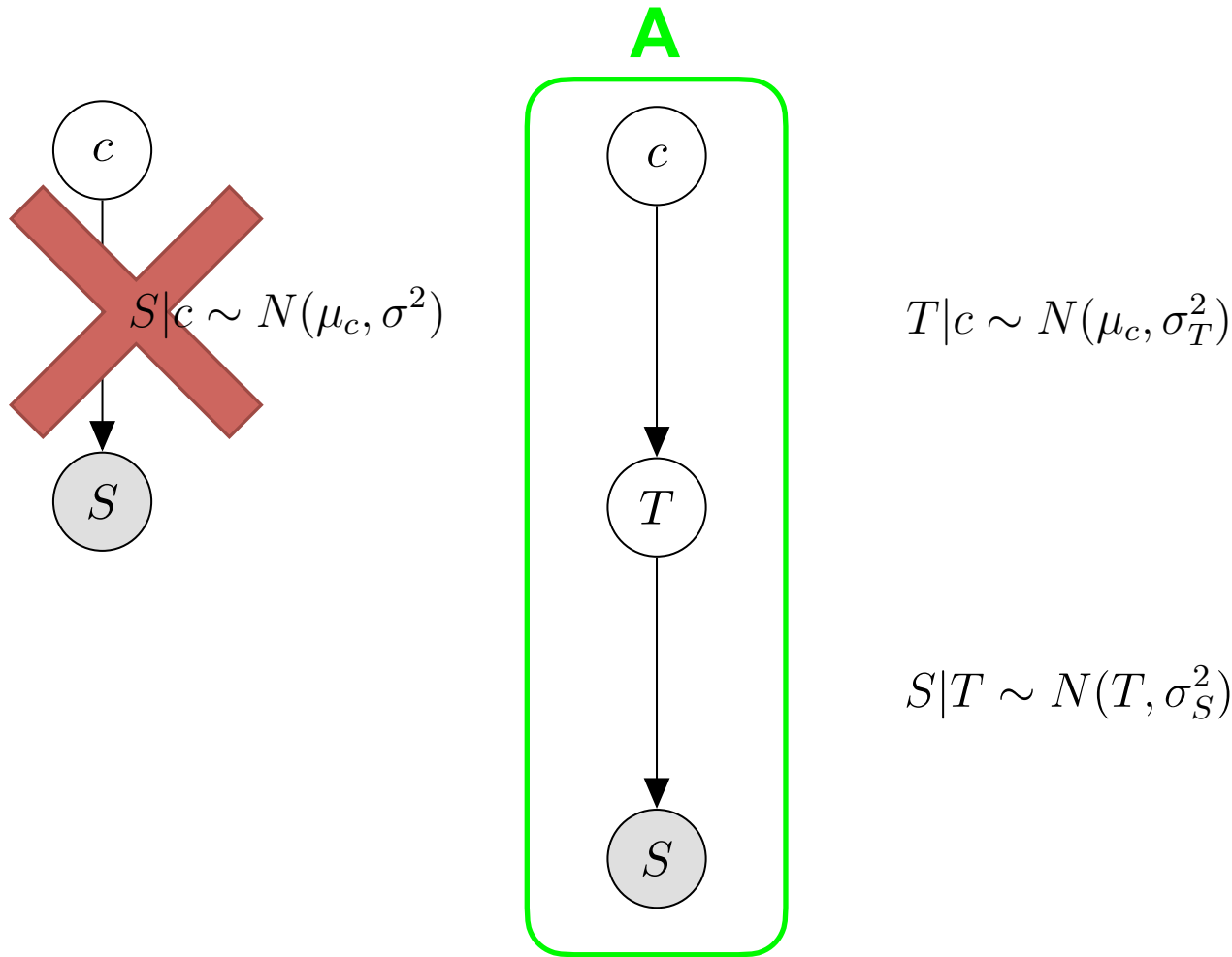
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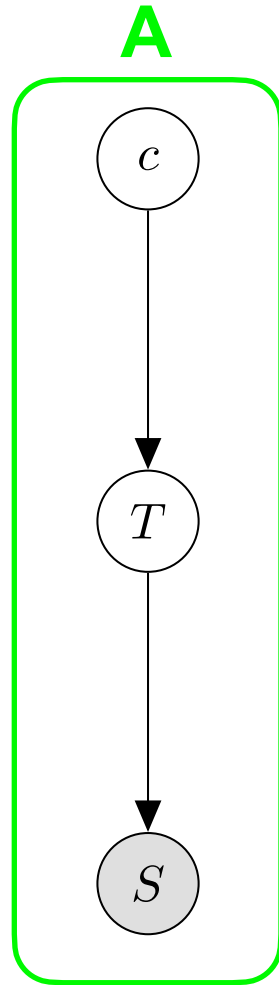
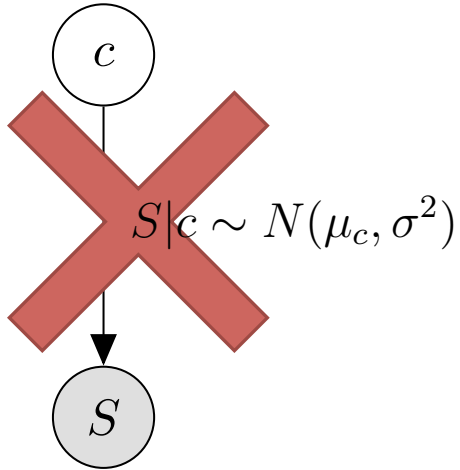
$$T|c \sim N(\mu_c, \sigma_T^2)$$

$$S|T \sim N(T, \sigma_S^2)$$

A more complex proposal

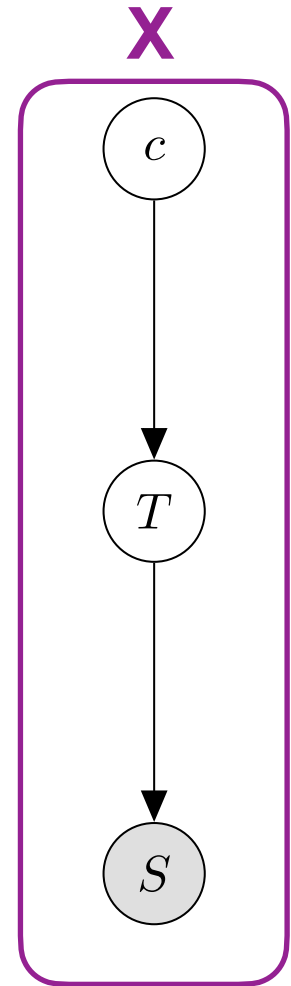


A more complex proposal

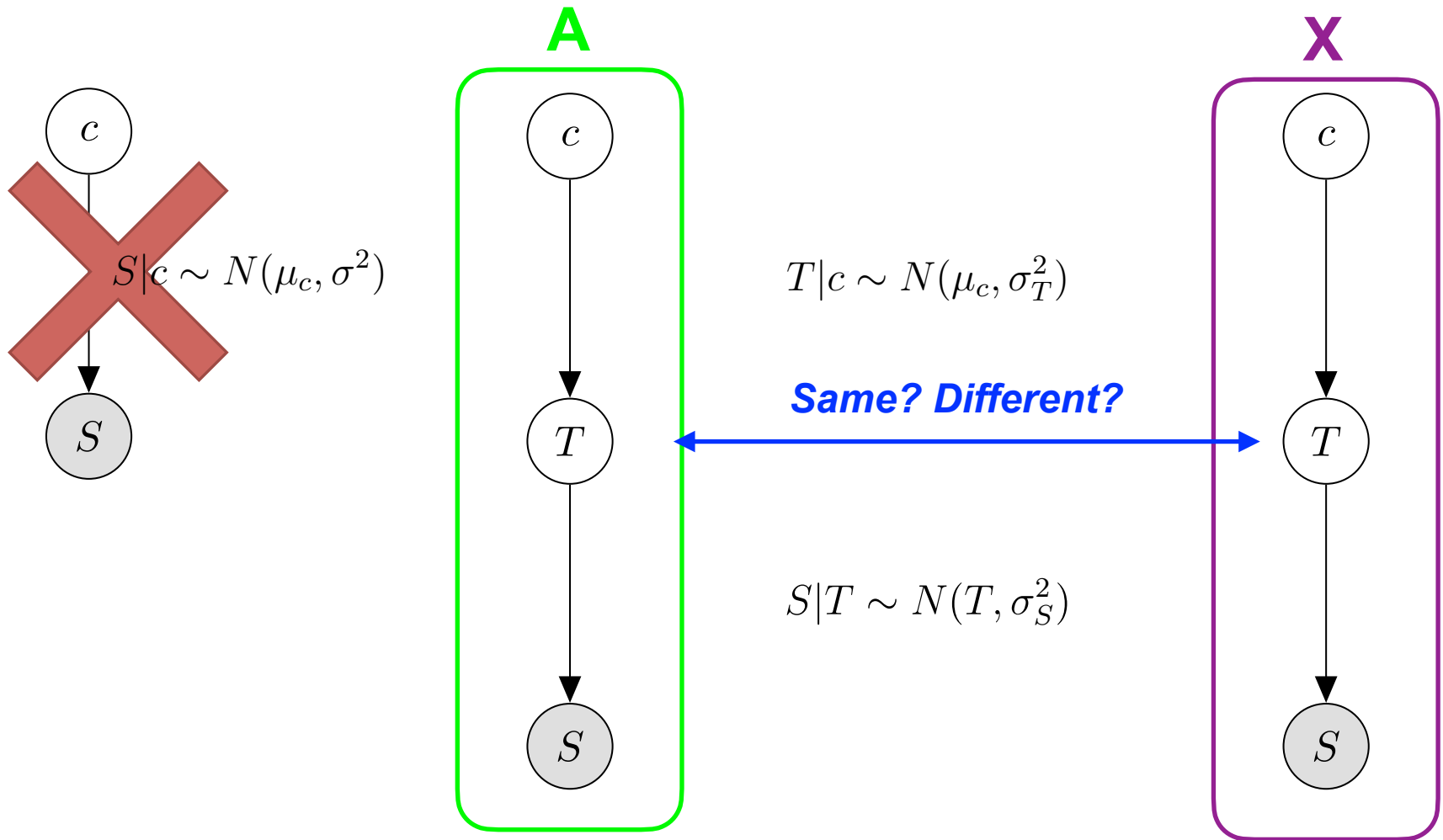


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A more complex proposal



Noisy-channel models

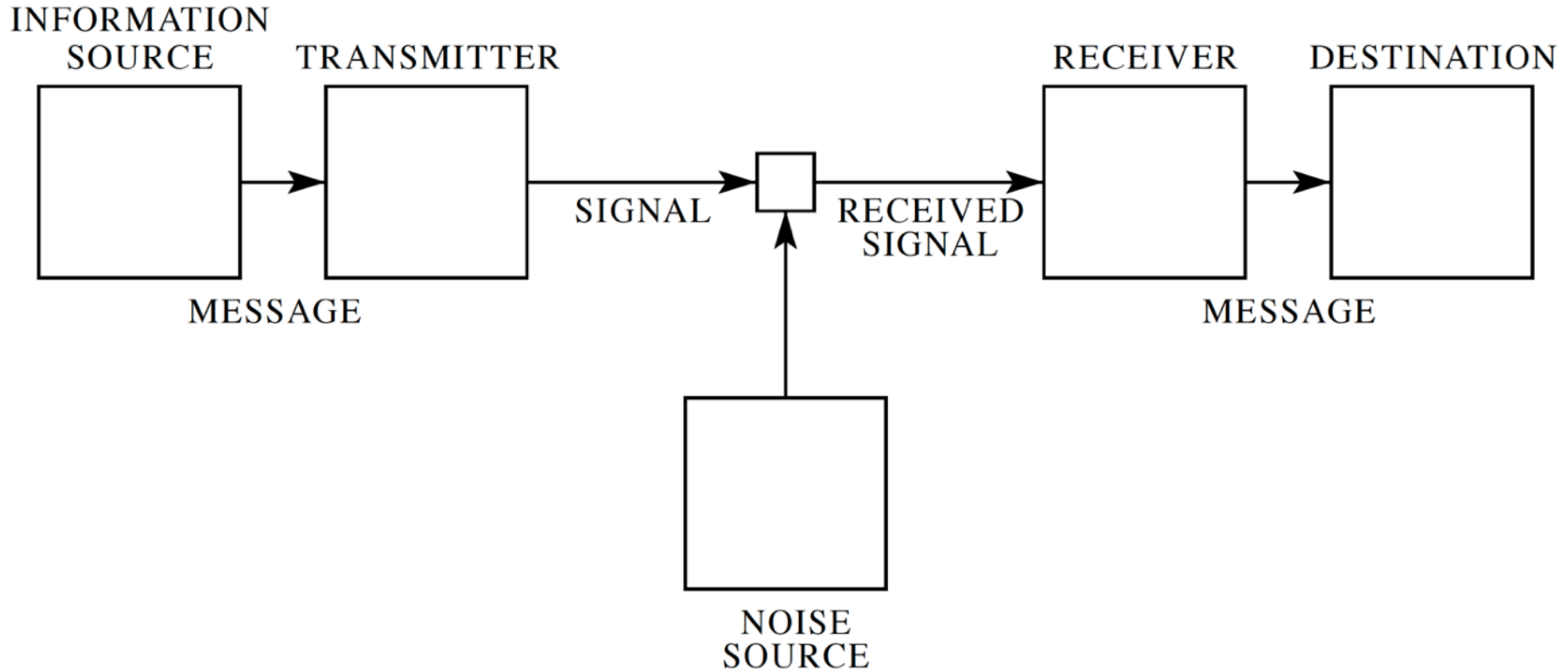
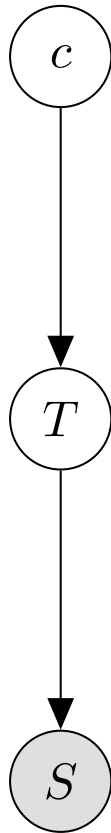
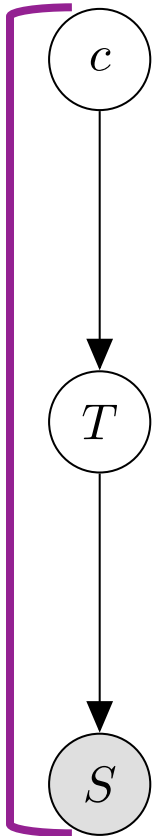


Fig. 1 — Schematic diagram of a general communication system.

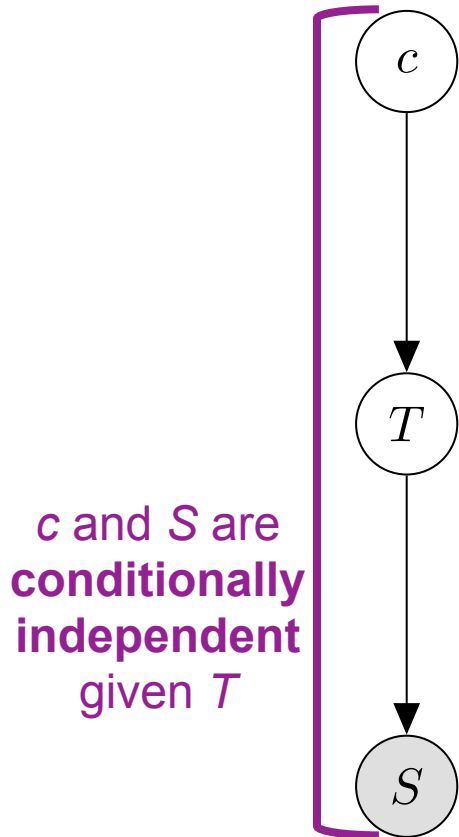
Noisy-channel model of target production



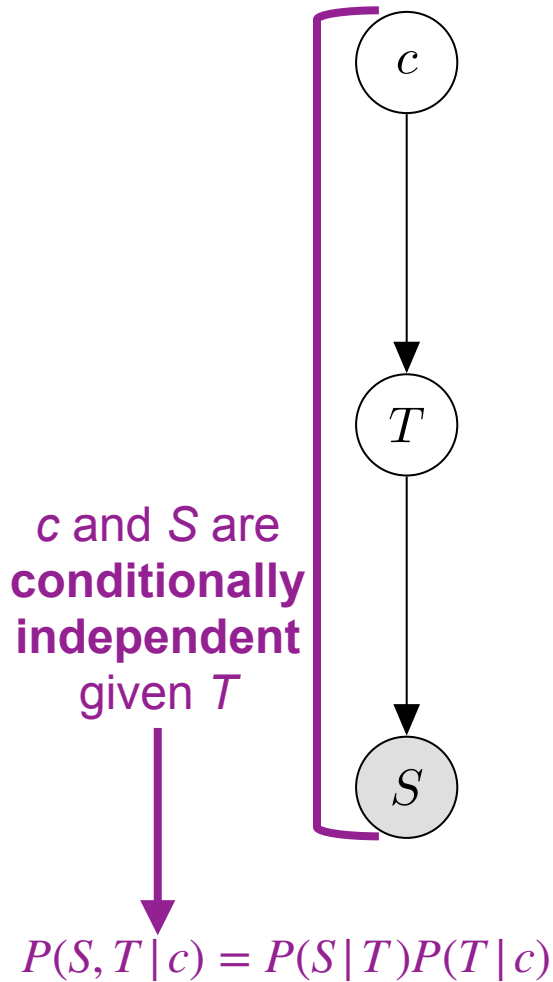
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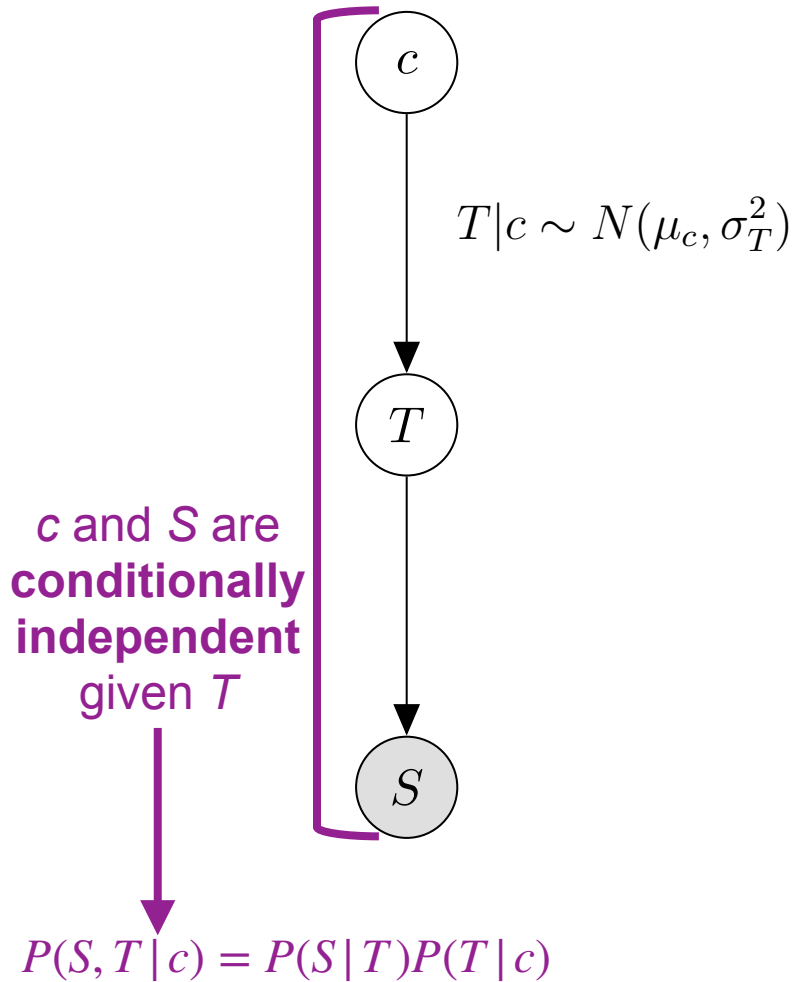
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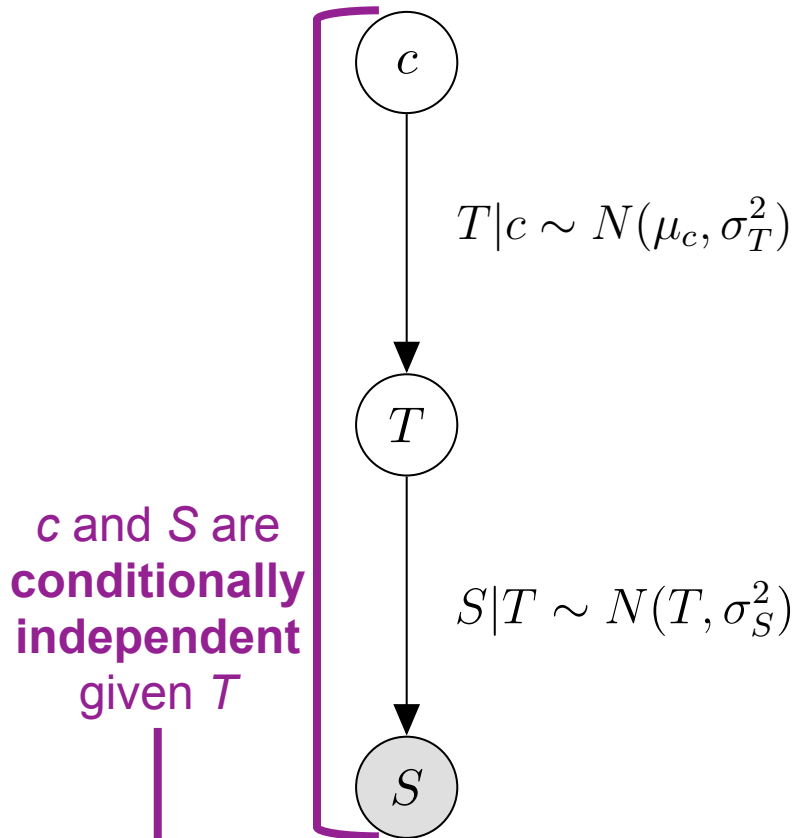
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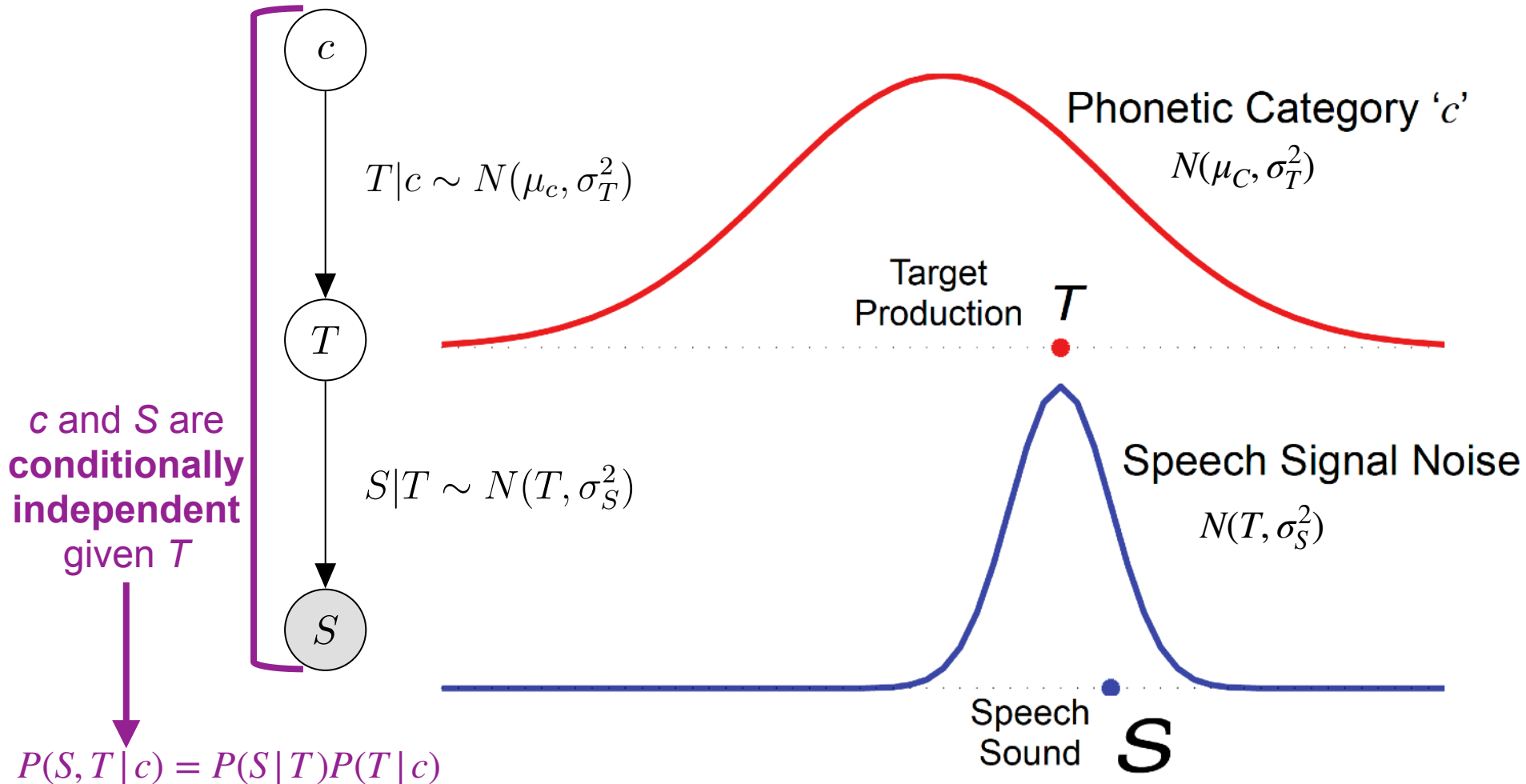


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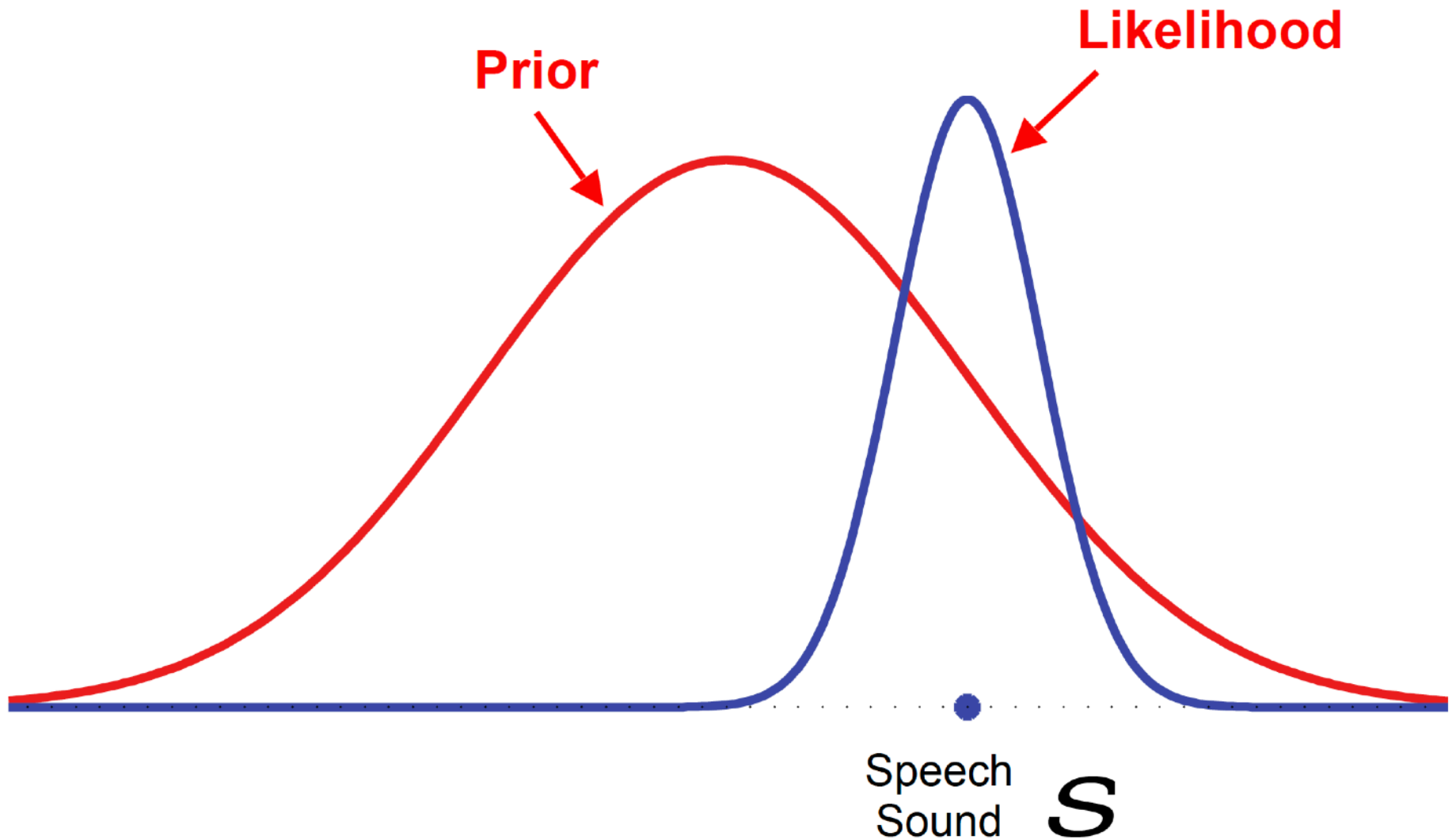


$$P(S, T | c) = P(S | T)P(T | c)$$

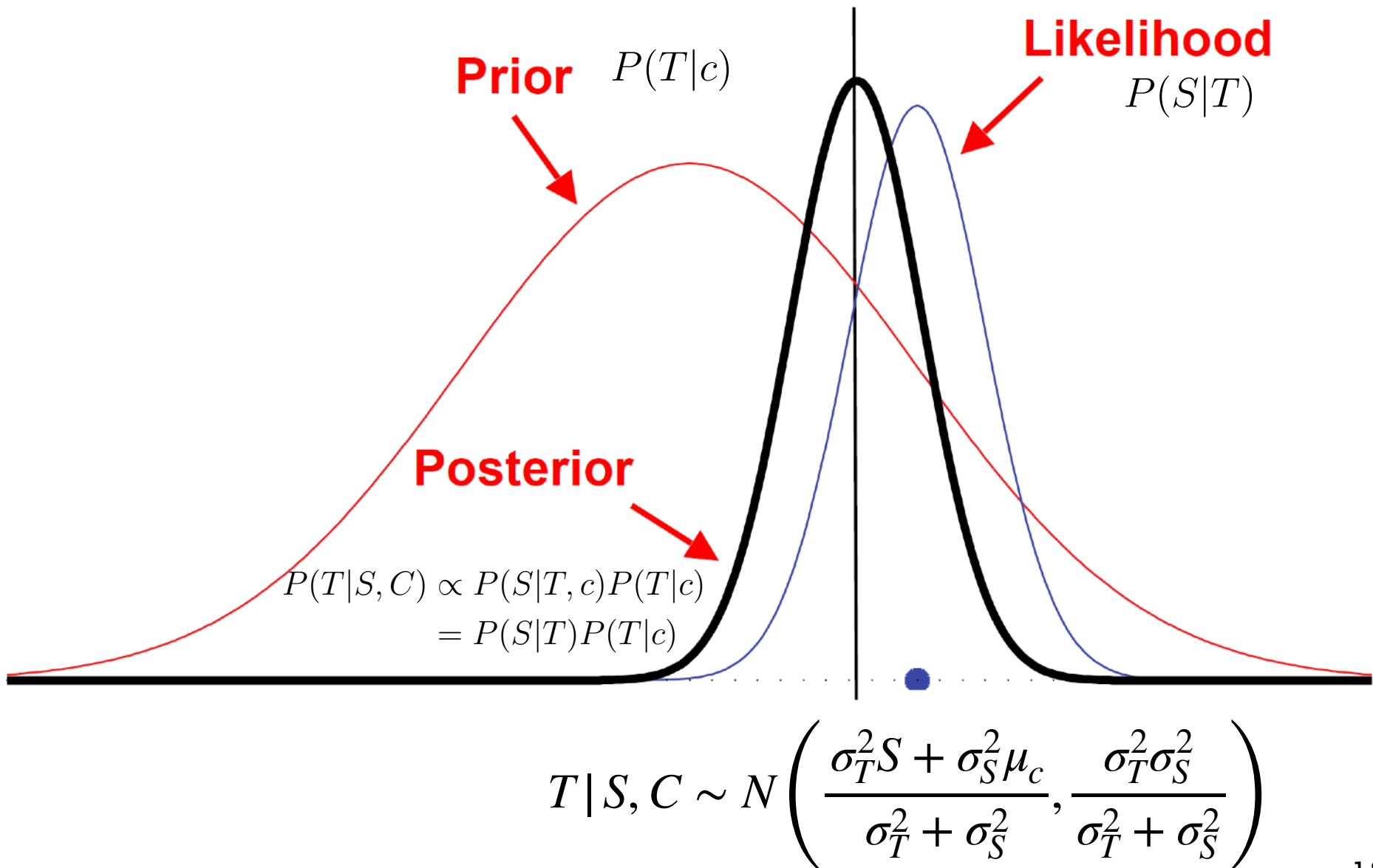
Noisy-channel model of target production



Inferring target production (1 category)

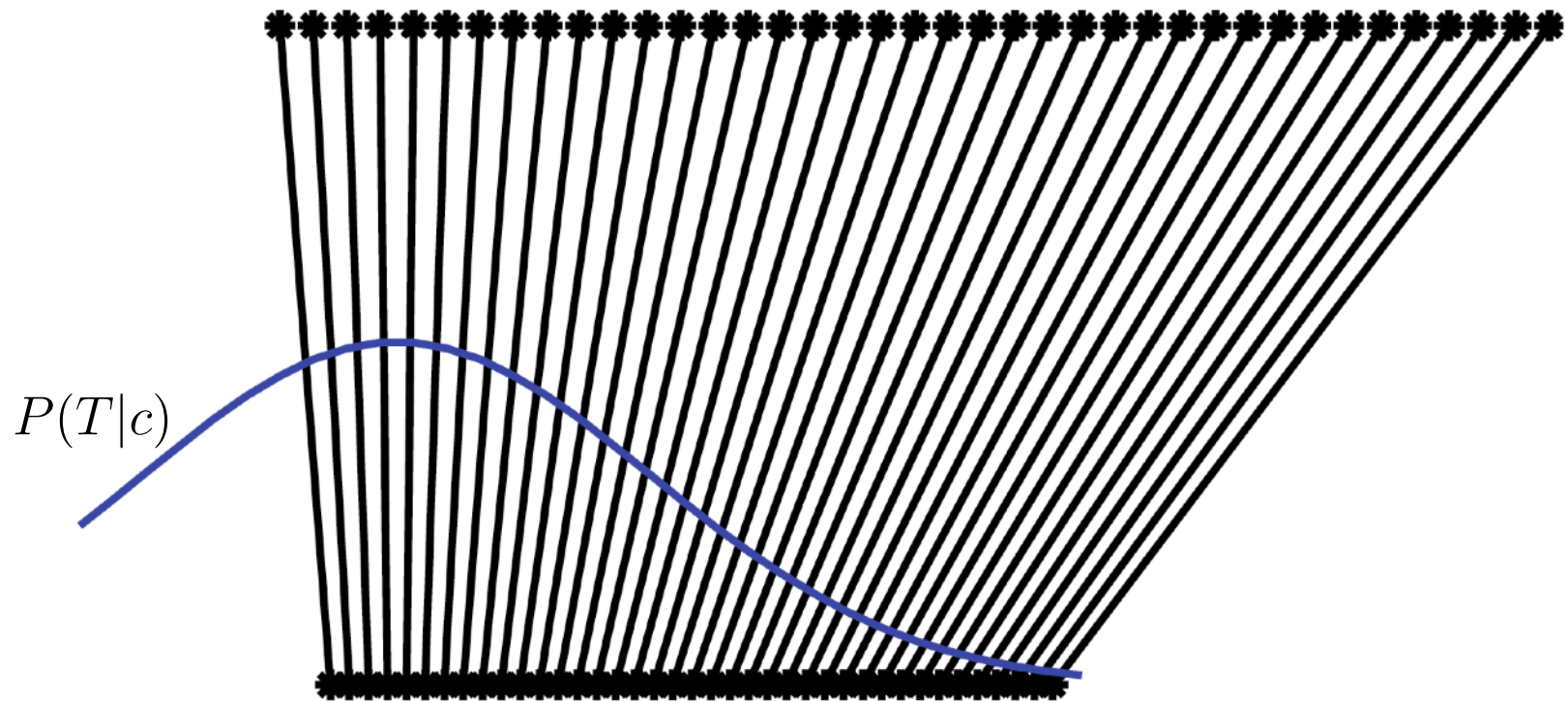


Inferring target production (1 category)



Perceptual warping

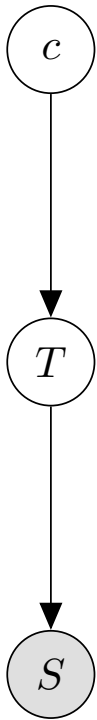
Actual Stimulus (S)



Perceived Stimulus ($\mu_{T|S,c}$)

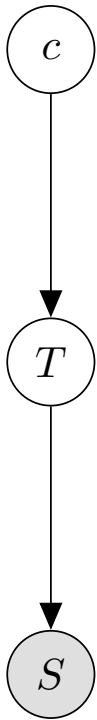
Warping with multiple categories

- We want to compute $P(T|S,c)$, but we don't know c
- Solution: **marginalization!**



Warping with multiple categories

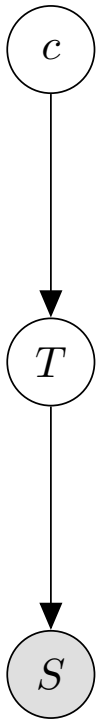
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$$P(T|S) = \sum_c P(T|S, c)P(c)$$

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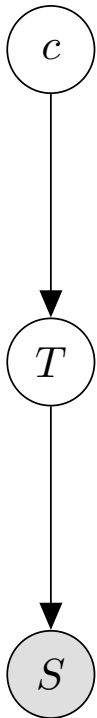
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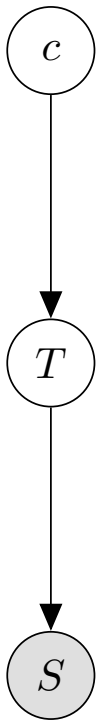
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Bayes Rule!

$$P(X|Y, I) = \frac{P(Y|X, I)P(X|I)}{P(Y|I)}$$

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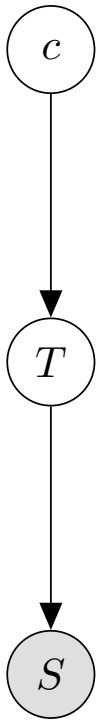
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$$= \sum_c \frac{P(S|T)P(T|c)}{P(S|c)} P(c)$$

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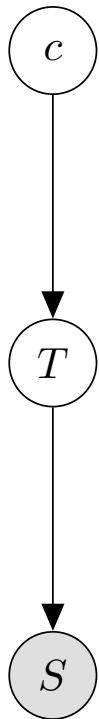
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Likelihood

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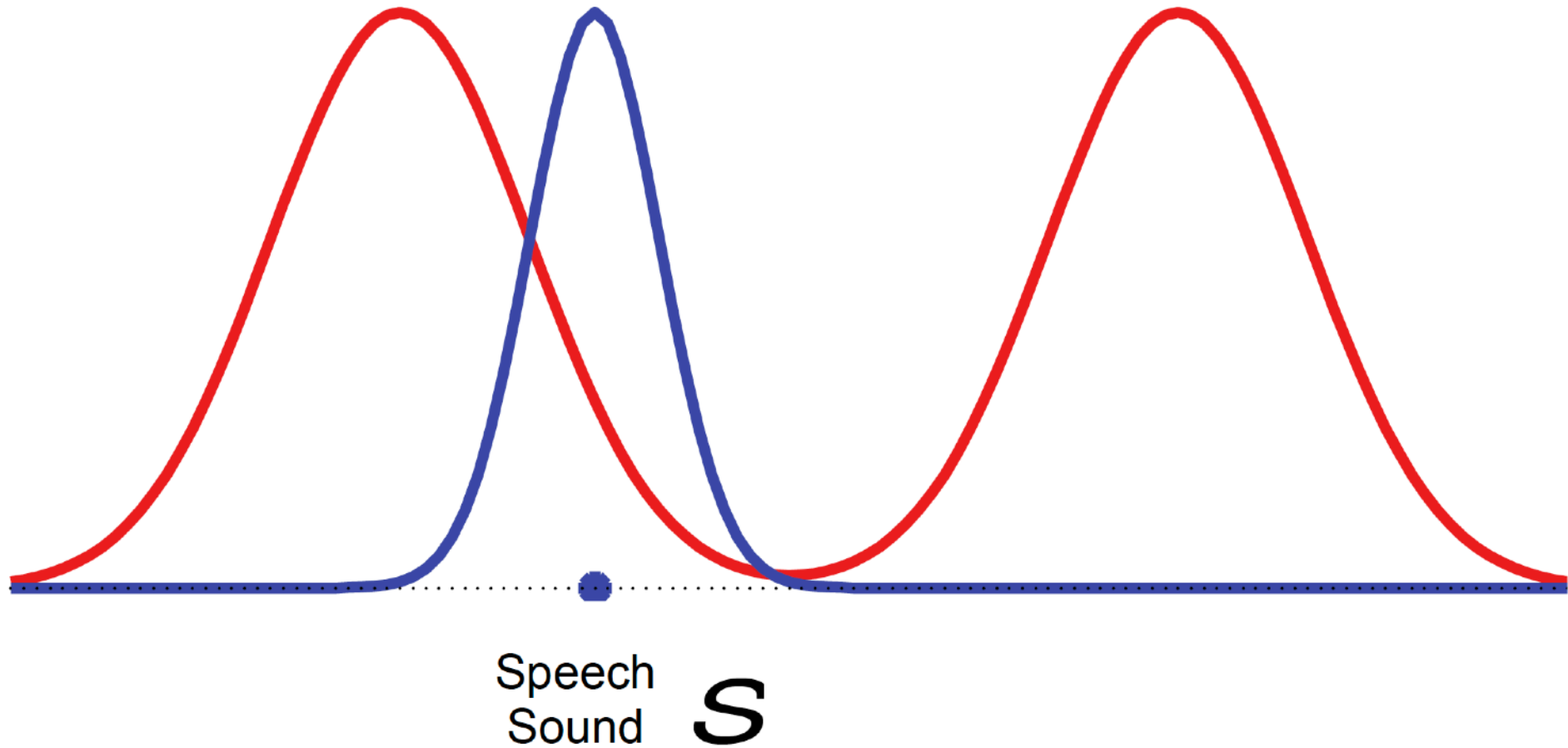
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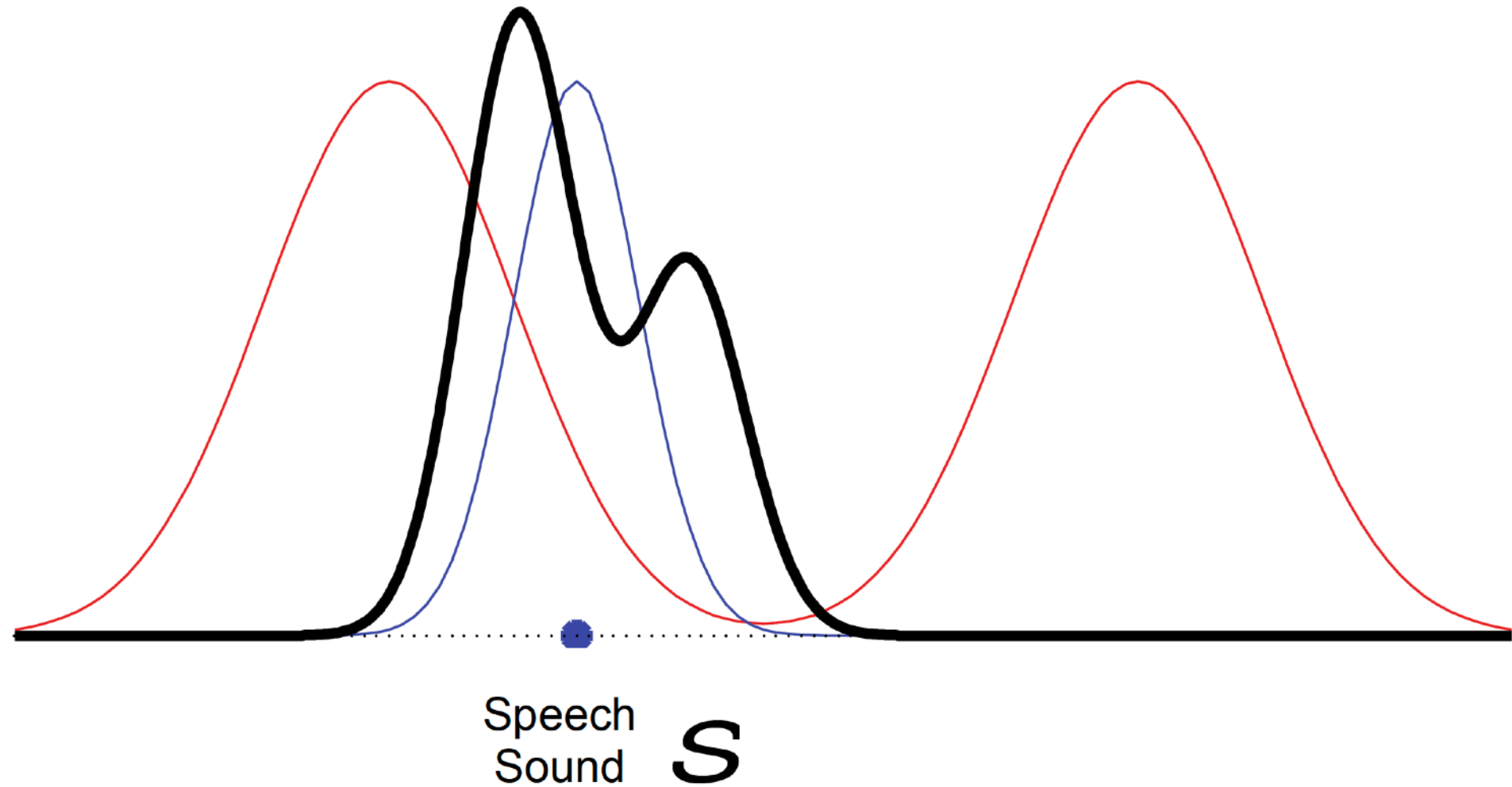
Likelihood Prior

$$= \sum_c \frac{P(S|T)P(T|c)}{P(S|c)} P(c)$$

Warping with multiple categories



Warping with multiple categories



Summarizing the posterior

- We'll compare the *posterior mean* to human responses
- Mathematically, this is the **expectation**
 - Case for a discrete random variable:

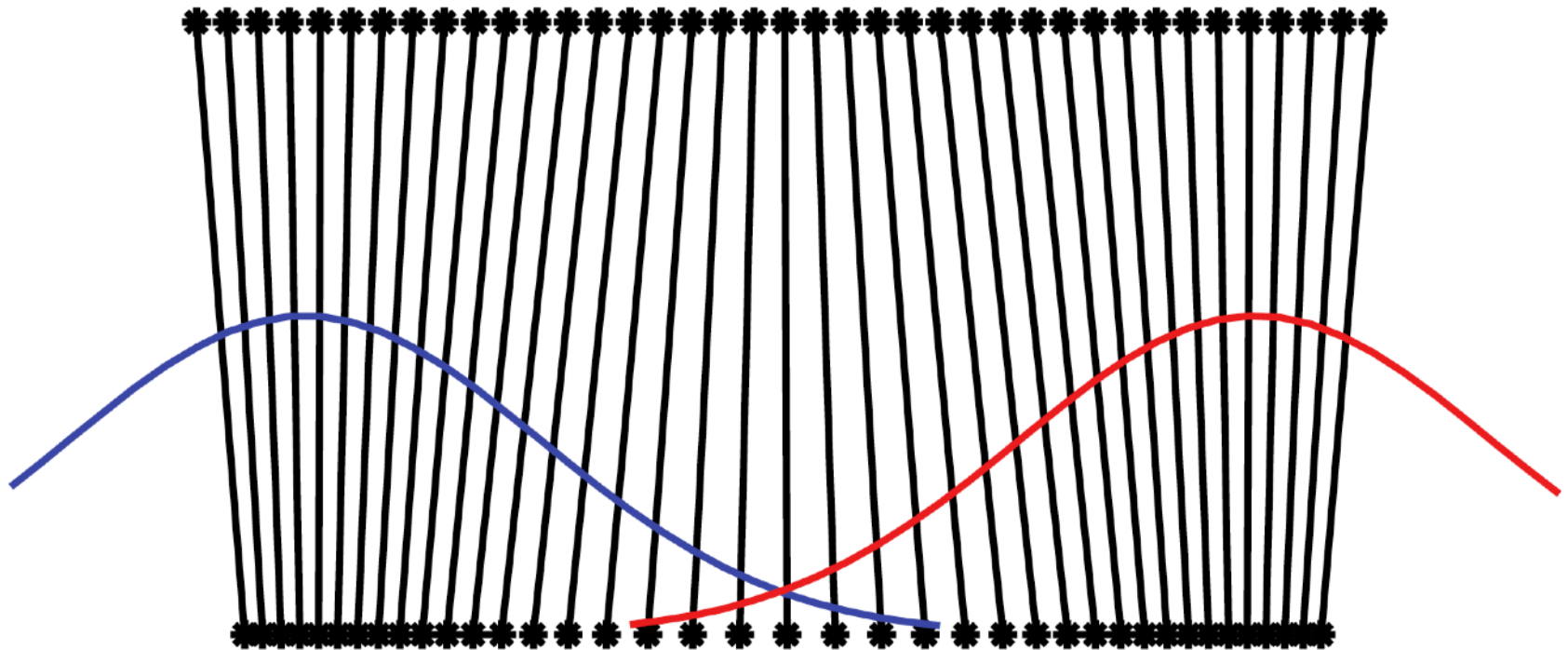
$$E(X) = \sum_x x P(X = x)$$

- Case for a continuous random variable:

$$E(X) = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} x p(X = x) dx$$

Warping with multiple categories

Actual Stimulus (**S**)



Perceived Stimulus (**E(T|S)**)

Comparing with human data

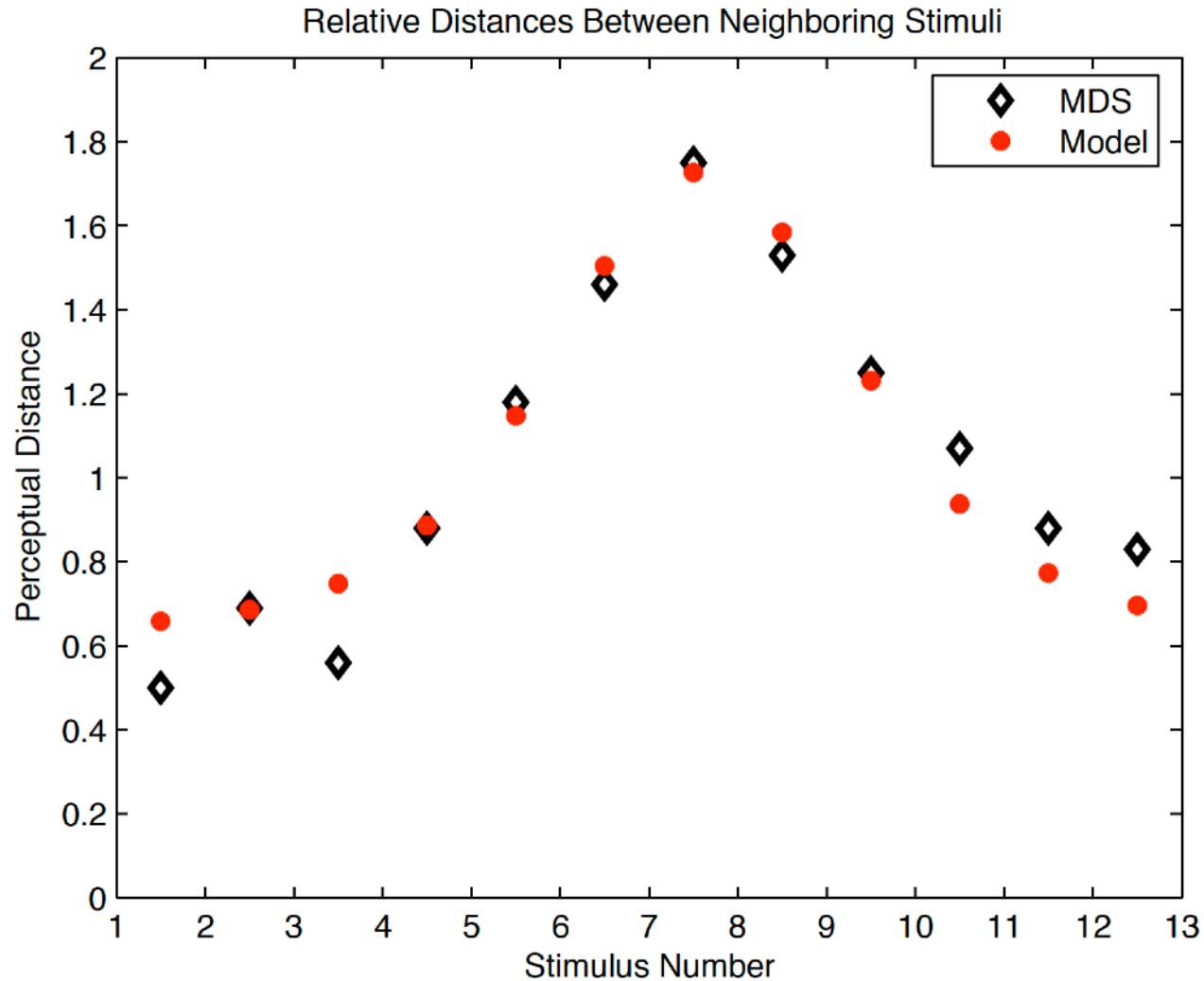
To compare model to humans

- we have a 13-step continuum



- estimate perceptual distance between each adjacent pair in humans and model

Comparing with human data



Summary

- Our subjective experience of phonetic similarity is *warped* relative to acoustic space by phonetic categories
- A simple directed graphical model offers a *noisy-channel* account of this *perceptual magnet effect*
- This is another example of successful application of *rational analysis* to human language understanding

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