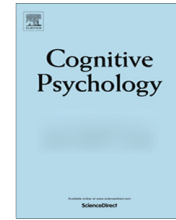




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Sense-making under ignorance

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ABSTRACT

Much of cognition allows us to make sense of things by explaining observable evidence in terms of unobservable explanations, such as category memberships and hidden causes. Yet we must often make such explanatory inferences with incomplete evidence, where we are ignorant about some relevant facts or diagnostic features. In seven experiments, we studied how people make explanatory inferences under these uncertain conditions, testing the possibility that people attempt to *infer* the presence or absence of diagnostic evidence on the basis of other cues such as evidence base rates (even when these cues are normatively irrelevant) and then proceed to make explanatory inferences on the basis of the inferred evidence. Participants followed this strategy in both diagnostic causal reasoning (Experiments 1–4, 7) and in categorization (Experiments 5–6), leading to illusory inferences. Two processing predictions of this account were also confirmed, concerning participants' evidence-seeking behavior (Experiment 4) and their beliefs about the likely presence or absence of the evidence (Experiment 5). These findings reveal deep commonalities between superficially distinct forms of diagnostic reasoning—causal reasoning and classification—and point toward common inferential machinery across explanatory tasks.

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1. Introduction

Across perception and cognition, we fill in details missing from our actual experience. In perception, we see illusory contours and infer continuities of forms; indeed, we fill in unattended elements

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of our visual field so successfully that we fail to appreciate the sharp limits of our conscious awareness. Likewise, in cognition, we fill in narratives, scripts, and schemas almost continuously through our daily lives. Although these acts of filling in can create striking illusions and false memories (Loftus & Palmer, 1974; Simons & Levin, 1997), this filling in tendency is an essential tool for cognition: Sound strategies for inferring unknown information allow us to get by with limited information, while still effectively navigating the world.

Here, we argue that this sort of filling in strategy plays a key role in explanatory reasoning, guiding our inferences about causal explanations and likely categorizations of objects, with people reasoning about such explanations based on both the observed and *inferred* evidence. We show at the same time, however, ways in which this strategy can lead to error when people base these inferences on irrelevant information.

1.1. Sense-making under ignorance

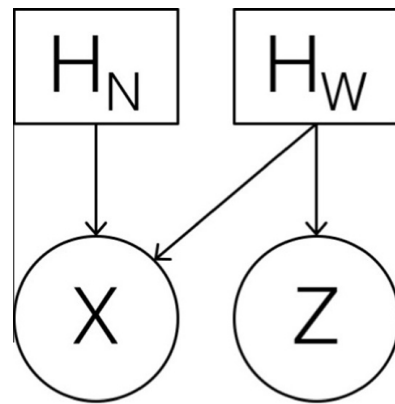
We must often make sense of things in the face of incomplete evidence. For example, doctors diagnose diseases when some test results are unavailable or inconclusive, giving the diagnosis they believe most likely or prudent given the evidence at hand. Juries infer the most likely culprit on the basis of often-sketchy evidence, conflicting testimony, and lawyerly doubletalk. People debate about ultimate explanations (e.g., the existence of God or of multiple universes) in the face of these explanations' intrinsically unverifiable predictions (e.g., an afterlife or the splitting of universes). More mundanely but no less remarkably, we all infer other people's mental states on the basis of just a few clues, infer the categories of objects even when some features are indeterminate, and infer causes when some of their potential effects are unknown. Explanation with incomplete evidence is the norm in everyday cognition.

Consider a simple concrete example. Suppose two trial attorneys are presenting two competing theories of a case to the jury (see Fig. 1). If Professor Plum committed the crime (call this hypothesis H_N , because it makes a single, **n**arrow prediction), then there would be a dent in the candlestick (call this evidence X). Alternatively, if Colonel Mustard committed the crime (hypothesis H_W because it makes two, **w**ider predictions), then there would be a dent in the candlestick (X), as well as mud on the drawing room carpet (Z). The observations posited by each hypothesis are depicted in Fig. 1.

Clearly, if Plum and Mustard are the only potential culprits, then the key question is whether there was mud in the drawing room (Z), because only this evidence would distinguish between the two hypotheses. That is, learning about the dent in the candlestick (X) is not diagnostic, because this observation would be equally consistent with either hypothesis—learning that this effect was present would tend to confirm both hypotheses (equally) and learning that it was absent would tend to disconfirm both hypotheses (equally). But if we find out that the mud was present, this would be powerful evidence in favor of Mustard, and if we find out that the mud was absent, this would be powerful evidence in favor of Plum. More generally, we rely on diagnostic evidence for telling apart competing explanations, whether the explanations are unobservable mental states, object categories, or causal events.

Sometimes, however, this diagnostic evidence is unavailable. If the jury faces a situation in which the evidence unambiguously indicates a dented candlestick (X), but is silent on the issue of the mud (Z)—say, because the floor had been cleaned before the detectives thought to check for it—then the jury faces incomplete evidence. Here, normative probability theory tells us that we should think the explanations equally likely: If we had no reason to think Plum or Mustard was the more likely culprit before gathering evidence, then we still have no reason after learning about X , but remaining ignorant about Z .

However, human judgments do not always obey probability theory (e.g., Kahneman, Slovic, & Tversky, 1982). Instead, we often use simplifying heuristics that perform reasonably well under ecologically realistic conditions but are prone to error. In cases of incomplete evidence, people tend to choose explanations that do not imply unknown evidence (Khemplani, Sussman, & Oppenheimer, 2011; Sussman, Khemplani, & Oppenheimer, 2014)—that is, people think that Professor Plum is the most likely culprit in the above case, against the dictates of probability theory. This error—known as the *latent scope bias*—is surprising both because it seems to deviate so strikingly from normative



Hypotheses:

H_N : Prof. Plum committed the crime

H_W : Col. Mustard committed the crime

Evidence:

X: Dent in the candlestick

Z: Mud on the drawing room carpet

Fig. 1. Example of an explanatory problem where diagnostic evidence might be unavailable (see text for explanation).

102 judgment and because it is precisely the opposite of the strategy recommended by philosophers of
103 science, to select hypotheses that are subject to falsification (e.g., Popper, 1959/1934).

104 People have a latent scope bias both when reasoning about causes and about categories, but the psy-
105 chological mechanisms leading to this bias are unclear. Here, we propose that this bias results, at least
106 in part, because people reason not only using observed evidence, but also *inferred evidence*, which can
107 sometimes be biased in favor of explanations which make fewer predictions. We also contrast this
108 account with several other (not mutually exclusive) mechanisms—*biased priors*, *non-independent evi-*
109 *dence*, *representativeness*, and *pragmatic inference*. Before considering these mechanisms, however,
110 some preliminary concepts are needed to place them in a common theoretical framework.

111 *1.2. Explanatory scope*

112 Explanations vary in their *scope*—that is, the range of observations that would be expected if the
113 explanation were true. In our running example, the scope of the Professor Plum theory (H_N) is a dented
114 candlestick (X), whereas the scope of the Colonel Mustard theory (H_W) is a dented candlestick and mud
115 on the floor (X and Z). However, it is not scope alone, but the consistency of an explanation's scope
116 with the available evidence that determines the relative probability of each explanation.

117 An explanation's scope can be divided into its *positive* scope (confirmed predictions) and *negative*
118 scope (disconfirmed predictions). If we know that the mud was present, then Z is in the positive scope
119 of the Colonel Mustard theory, and provides evidence in favor of that theory because it predicted that
120 effect (whereas its competing theory did not). On the other hand, if we know that the mud was absent,
121 then Z is in the negative scope of the Colonel Mustard theory and provides evidence *against* that the-
122 ory. Consistent with these intuitions, people favor explanations with relatively *wide* positive scope
123 (making many confirmed predictions) and relatively *narrow* negative scope (making few disconfirmed
124 predictions; Johnson, Johnston, Toig, & Keil, 2014; Johnson, Merchant, & Keil, 2015a; Read & Marcus-
125 Newhall, 1993; Samarapungavan, 1992).

126 These preferences are broadly consistent with probability theory. Bayes' theorem allows us to com-
127 pare the relative probabilities of two hypotheses given some evidence, and tells us that our beliefs
128 favoring one hypothesis over the other (our *posterior odds*) should be equal to our previous beliefs

129 about the relative probabilities of the hypotheses (our *prior odds*) times the relative consistency of the
130 evidence with each hypothesis (the *likelihood ratio*), as given by the formula:
131

$$133 \quad \frac{P(H_N|Evidence)}{P(H_W|Evidence)} = \frac{P(H_N)}{P(H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(Evidence|H_N)}{P(Evidence|H_W)} \quad (1)$$

134 On the assumption that we have no reason *a priori* to favor one hypothesis over the other (so that the
135 prior odds equal 1), we are tasked simply with determining which explanation is more consistent with
136 the observed data. Suppose, for example, that the probability of X would be 80% under each hypoth-
137 esis, and the probability of Z would be 1% under H_N (say, because the family dog spreads mud through-
138 out the manor 1% of the time) but 99% under H_W . If the effects occur independently, conditional on
139 their causes (Pearl, 1988), then the likelihood term can be factorized into a likelihood for X and a like-
140 lihood for Z , and the posterior calculated as follows:
141

$$143 \quad \frac{P(H_N|X,Z)}{P(H_W|X,Z)} = \frac{P(H_N)}{P(H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(X|H_N)}{P(X|H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(Z|H_N)}{P(Z|H_W)} = \frac{.5 \cdot .8 \cdot .01}{.5 \cdot .8 \cdot .99} = \frac{1}{99} \quad (2)$$

144 Thus, the evidence favors H_W by a ratio of 99 times, and H_W (given our prior beliefs) is 99 times more
145 likely than H_N . This makes intuitive sense, because H_W has wider positive scope and accounts for more
146 of the data. Conversely, suppose that we observed X , and found that Z was absent ($-Z$)—that is, that Z
147 was in the negative scope of H_W . Since $P(-Z|H_i)$ just equals $[1 - P(Z|H_i)]$, we can straightforwardly
148 compute the posterior odds under this new configuration of evidence:
149

$$151 \quad \frac{P(H_N|X,-Z)}{P(H_W|X,-Z)} = \frac{.5 \cdot .8 \cdot .99}{.5 \cdot .8 \cdot .01} = \frac{99}{1} \quad (3)$$

152 That is, given $\{X, -Z\}$, hypothesis H_N (with narrower negative scope) is 99 times more likely than
153 hypothesis H_W . Once again, this makes intuitive sense, as explanation H_N accounts for all of the
154 observed evidence, but does not go out on a limb in making disconfirmed predictions.

155 People's reasoning about positive and negative scope appears to be at least qualitatively consistent
156 with normative Bayesian reasoning (Read & Marcus-Newhall, 1993), suggesting that positive and neg-
157 ative scope preferences may be useful heuristics deployed to realize complex Bayesian computations,
158 much like the simplicity and complexity heuristics (Johnson, Jin, & Keil, 2014; Lombrozo, 2007). One
159 further reason to suppose that people deploy heuristics in scope-based inferences is that people use
160 positive and negative evidence *asymmetrically*. People count negative evidence against an explanation
161 (using a *negative scope* heuristic) far more dramatically than they count positive evidence in favor of
162 an explanation (using a *positive scope* heuristic). Put differently, disconfirmatory evidence is seen as
163 strongly disconfirmatory, whereas confirmatory evidence is seen as only weakly confirmatory, even
164 when there is no clear normative reason for this pattern (Johnson, Kim, & Keil, 2016; Johnson et al.,
165 2015a). The strength of these heuristics thus appears to be independently calibrated—a fact that
166 would be difficult to explain without further assumptions if people are doing straightforward Bayesian
167 inference.

168 Our main interest in the current article concerns cases where evidence cannot be classified as
169 either belonging to the positive or negative scope of an explanation, but instead is unknown. Obser-
170 vations that would be predicted by an explanation but which are not known to be present or absent
171 fall into that explanation's *latent scope*. If we do not know about the mud one way or the other, then
172 the Colonel Mustard theory has one effect (Z) in its latent scope, whereas the Professor Plum theory
173 has no effects in its latent scope. We would therefore say that the Colonel Mustard theory has a rel-
174 atively *wide* latent scope, whereas the Professor Plum theory has a relatively *narrow* latent scope. Two
175 explanations can differ in latent scope either in making *some* versus *no* latent predictions (e.g., one
176 versus zero unknown effects, as in our crime example), or by making *more* versus *fewer* latent predic-
177 tions (e.g., two versus one unknown effects). People appear to reason about these cases similarly
178 (Khemlani et al., 2011), so we focus here on the simpler case of *some* (wide) versus *no* (narrow) latent
179 scope.

180 As mentioned earlier, people generally prefer explanations with narrow latent scope, in both causal
181 reasoning (Khemlani et al., 2011) and categorization (Sussman et al., 2014). That is, most people would

182 think Professor Plum is the more likely culprit. Unlike the positive and negative scope heuristics that
 183 people use, however, this latent scope bias is *qualitatively* non-normative from a probabilistic stand-
 184 point. Suppose again that the probability of X would be 80% under each hypothesis, and the probability
 185 of Z would be 1% under H_N (say, because there is a background cause of Z that is present 1% of the time)
 186 but 99% under H_W . Given the evidence $\{X\}$, but without knowledge of Z either way, the posterior odds
 187 are equivocal:
 188

$$190 \quad \frac{P(H_N|X)}{P(H_W|X)} = \frac{.5 \cdot .8}{.5 \cdot .8} = 1 \quad (4)$$

191 That is, despite people's preference under these conditions for H_N over H_W , there is no reason to favor
 192 one explanation over the other, normatively speaking. Why then do people show these consistent
 193 preferences?

194 2. Making sense of latent scope

195 2.1. Inferred evidence

196 Our core proposal is that people perform exploratory reasoning using not only the observed evi-
 197 dence, but also *inferred evidence* (Johnson, Rajeev-Kumar, & Keil, 2014). That is, when some evidence
 198 is unavailable but potentially diagnostic, people make a guess as to what that evidence would be, if it
 199 were known. This is analogous to filling in strategies used in other areas of cognition, such as filling in
 200 gaps in perception (Marr, 1982; Simons & Levin, 1997) and in memory (Bartlett, 1932; Loftus &
 201 Palmer, 1974). People might similarly use available information to fill in whether the latent evidence
 202 would have been observed, if they were able to look. The latent scope bias occurs, we claim, because
 203 people generate this inferred evidence in a biased manner.

204 At the computational level, this idea can be formalized using an alternative formulation of Bayes'
 205 theorem, in which the likelihood term for the unverified prediction Z is broken into likelihood compo-
 206 nents for when Z is confirmed [$P(Z|H_i)$] and for when Z is disconfirmed [$P(-Z|H_i)$]. If I denotes our state
 207 of ignorance about Z and we assume that the evidence is conditionally independent given the causes,
 208 the posterior can be written as:
 209

$$211 \quad \frac{P(H_N|X, I)}{P(H_W|X, I)} = \frac{P(H_N)}{P(H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(X|H_N)}{P(X|H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(Z|H_N) \cdot f^{+Z} + P(-Z|H_N) \cdot f^{-Z}}{P(Z|H_W) \cdot f^{+Z} + P(-Z|H_W) \cdot f^{-Z}} \quad (5)$$

212 Here, f^{+Z} is a parameter reflecting the degree of bias in estimating the base rate of Z , and f^{-Z} reflects the
 213 degree of bias in estimating the base rate of $-Z$. That is, $f^{+Z} = P(Z|I)/P(Z)$ and $f^{-Z} = P(-Z|I)/P(-Z)$, with P
 214 (Z) + $P(-Z)$ = 1. See Appendix A for a derivation of this result.

215 Intuitively, one could think of the posterior calculation as proceeding in the following steps
 216 (though we do not intend these as processing claims). First, one begins with the prior probabilities
 217 (the first term on the right side). These are stipulated to be equal, so there is no bias so far. Second,
 218 one updates according to the likelihood of the observed evidence (X), given each hypothesis (the sec-
 219 ond term on the right side). Since the observed evidence is perfectly consistent with both hypotheses,
 220 this ratio still equals one. Because there is no way to know whether Z or $-Z$ is true, except to rely on
 221 the base rates of the hypotheses (which are equal), a normative reasoner would stop here and con-
 222 clude that the hypotheses are equally likely.

223 However, a reasoner who is motivated to *infer* the state of Z would take two additional steps. Third,
 224 she would calculate the likelihoods of Z and $-Z$, given each hypothesis. Given that H_N causes Z and H_W
 225 does not, $P(Z|H_N) > P(Z|H_W)$ and $P(-Z|H_W) > P(-Z|H_N)$. Finally, one determines how to weight these
 226 likelihoods for Z and $-Z$. If one weights these likelihoods equally (i.e., $f^{+Z} = f^{-Z} = 1$), then the Z likeli-
 227 hood ratio (the term on the far right) collapses to 1 and a normative inference is made. But if one's
 228 estimate of the base rate of Z is too low (i.e., $f^{+Z} < 1$ and $f^{-Z} > 1$), then the right-hand term will be less
 229 than 1, leading to a posterior biased against latent scope explanations. And if one's estimate of the
 230 base rate of Z is too high ($f^{+Z} > 1$), the right-hand term will be greater than 1, leading to a posterior
 231 biased *toward* latent scope explanations.

232 Why would people underestimate the base rate of Z ? In estimating $P(Z)$, one must evaluate this
233 base rate relative to some reference class. That is, if $P(Z) = 20\%$, this means that Z occurs in 20% of
234 the cases considered in the reference class. The appropriate reference class is the set of worlds where
235 either H_N or H_W is true, because we are interested only in the relative probability of these hypotheses.
236 Further, only cases in which Z is caused by H_N or H_W would be relevant, because Z is not diagnostic
237 when explained by alternative causes. More concretely, imagine 50 worlds in which Plum had committed
238 the crime, and 50 worlds in which Mustard had committed it (i.e., the appropriate reference
239 class where H_N and H_W have equal base rates). In half of these worlds, the carpet is muddy due to Mustard's
240 criminal activities. Thus, the correct base rate to use for $P(Z)$ is 50%.

241 Normative reasoning that appropriately limits the reference class may be quite difficult in such
242 cases, because it involves three different processes, each of which is known to be effortful and
243 error-prone. First, it requires *extensional reasoning*, to entertain the question of which reference class
244 is relevant. Second, it requires *counterfactual thinking*, to consider only those possible worlds where
245 the relevant hypotheses are true. Third, it requires *disjunctive logic*, because one must consider the
246 union of the set of possible worlds where H_N is true and where H_W is true. Each of these operations
247 is known to be effortful: Extensional reasoning is notoriously error-prone, especially when problems
248 are framed in terms of individual cases rather than a group of cases (Gigerenzer & Hoffrage, 1995;
249 Tversky & Kahneman, 1983), counterfactual thinking is subject to a host of biases (Kahneman & Miller,
250 1986; Rips, 2010; Rips & Edwards, 2013), and disjunctions are difficult to process (e.g., Bourne, 1970;
251 Shafir, 1994). This strategy is thus likely to be effortful, cognitively unnatural, and highly error-prone.

252 Hence, people may rely on a simpler strategy—considering *all* possible worlds. Instead of asking
253 themselves to simulate equal numbers of worlds where Plum committed the crime and where Mustard
254 committed the crime, and then counting the number of muddy carpets, people may simply rely
255 on their existing knowledge about carpets—and most carpets are not muddy. That is, if people reason
256 according to Eq. (5) above and need to estimate $P(Z)$, they may not appropriately conclude that $P(Z) = P$
257 ($-Z$) = 50%, so that $f^Z = 1$, but instead conclude that $P(Z) < 50\%$ (and $P(-Z) > 50\%$), so that $f^Z < 1$ and
258 $f^{-Z} > 1$. This would lead to a systematic bias against the explanation that predicts Z .

259 This account makes a clear prediction—that varying the base rate of $P(Z)$ in the world should moderate
260 the size of the narrow latent scope bias, and perhaps even reverse it. On this account, the latent
261 scope bias has been so robust in previous research because previous studies have used effects and features
262 which have low base rates—such as magical transformations (Khemlani et al., 2011), medical
263 abnormalities (Khemlani et al., 2011), and various low-probability category features (e.g., tribe members
264 who carry nets; Sussman et al., 2014). Although such studies are ecologically valid in the sense that
265 most effects and features used for reasoning are likely to have low base rates (at least, less than 50%),
266 cases certainly exist where these base rates are higher. For example, a disease might invariably result in
267 high levels of a protein which are *already* high, by default, in most patients; a form of psychopathology
268 might occur only in individuals with IQs greater than 85. We would predict that relatively high base
269 rates should lead to a weaker latent scope effect, and very high base rates could even reverse it.

270 Inferring the absence of low base rate evidence changes the nature of the computation to be performed,
271 effectively pushing Z into the negative scope of H_N . Rather than computing the likelihood of each
272 hypothesis given $\{X\}$, these likelihoods must now be computed relative to $\{X, -Z\}$ —licensing
273 the inference that H_N is the more likely hypothesis, as computed in Section 1.1. Although this inference
274 is non-normative, the error lies not in the heuristics used to realize the probability computations, but
275 rather in the methods used to arrive at the evidence used in those computations. The latent scope bias
276 may not be an aversion to latent scope at all, but instead a symptom of a broader—and often adaptive—
277 reluctance to accept ignorance about latent evidence, instead filling in details as in perception and
278 memory (Bartlett, 1932; Loftus & Palmer, 1974; Marr, 1982; Simons & Levin, 1997).

279 2.2. Other potential mechanisms for a latent scope bias

280 Several other mechanisms, however, could plausibly lead to a latent scope bias. Although we argue
281 that inferred evidence based on base rates contributes over-and-above these other possible mechanisms,
282 it is certainly possible that these mechanisms act in concert. Here, we briefly describe four
283 other potential mechanisms, in terms of the computations postulated in Eq. (5).

284 2.2.1. Biased priors

285 First, people could believe the priors are not truly equal for wide and narrow latent scope explana-
286 tions. For instance, if the latent predictions made by the wide scope cause are particularly implausible,
287 this may lead people to assume it has a low base rate. More generally, a wider latent scope cause
288 would lead to more effects than a narrow latent scope cause, and perhaps these more potent causes
289 are thought to be less frequent in the world; alternatively, more potent causes might actually be
290 thought to be *more* frequent in the world (Lu, Yuille, Liljeholm, Cheng, & Holyoak, 2008). In terms
291 of Eq. (5), this would lead to a bias in the prior odds, which could lead to either a narrow or wide latent
292 scope bias, depending on what assumptions are made.

293 2.2.2. Non-independence of evidence

294 Second, as noted above, Eq. (5) is only valid if the evidence (X and Z) is independent, conditional on
295 its causes. This is what allows the likelihood term to be factorized into a term for each piece of evi-
296 dence (see Appendix A). Violations of this assumption can lead to either a bias for or against narrow
297 latent scope explanations. Intuitively, if X and Z are positively correlated, the observed evidence (X) is
298 then evidence in favor of the latent evidence (Z), so the wide latent scope explanation (which would
299 explain Z) should be preferred; conversely, if X and Z are negatively correlated, this should lead to a
300 bias favoring the *narrow* latent scope explanation, since X is evidence *against* Z . However, such norma-
301 tive inferences are distinct from the non-normative base rate inferences implicated by our own
302 account.

303 2.2.3. Pragmatic inference

304 Third, people could be making pragmatic inferences, assuming that statements such as “We don’t
305 know whether or not the carpet is muddy” communicate something more than mere ignorance, by
306 making assumptions about *why* the speaker does not know. For example, people might reason that
307 if the carpet were muddy, the speaker *should* know, hence the carpet probably is not muddy. Although
308 pragmatic inferences are also a form of “inferred evidence,” the psychological process is rather differ-
309 ent (and potentially normative), relying on reasoners’ assumptions about conversational implicature
310 rather than about base rates. Hence, this account makes different predictions from our own. For
311 instance, justifying the speaker’s ignorance (so that the reasoner believed that ignorance did not com-
312 municate anything about the evidence) should eliminate the latent scope effect if it is caused only by
313 pragmatic effects (e.g., McGarrigle & Donaldson, 1974). If the other accounts contribute to the effect,
314 then an effect should still be observed under these conditions.

315 In terms of Eq. (5), such pragmatic inferences would occur when reasoners do not assume that Z
316 and I are independent, instead using I to make inferences about Z (e.g., I implies $-Z$). Like our inferred
317 evidence account, this can be modeled by using the parameters $f^{+Z} = P(Z|I)/P(Z)$ and $f^{-Z} = P(-Z|I)/P(-Z)$
318 to reflect the reasoner’s greater belief in Z (or $-Z$) given the speaker’s ignorance, relative to the evi-
319 dence base rates implied by the problem.

320 2.2.4. Representativeness

321 Finally, one potential account of the latent scope bias (tentatively offered by Sussman et al., 2014)
322 is *representativeness*. According to this explanation, people simulate what kind of evidence they would
323 expect under each hypothesis, and compare the simulated evidence to the actual evidence. That is, if
324 Professor Plum is culpable, we would expect to observe a dented candlestick, $\{X\}$, and if Colonel Mus-
325 tard is culpable, we would expect to observe a dented candlestick and mud on the carpet (i.e., $\{X, Z\}$).
326 The actual evidence, $\{X\}$, is more similar to the simulated evidence for the narrow scope explanation,¹
327 so we conclude that the evidence is more representative (Kahneman & Tversky, 1972) of the narrow

¹ This account would lead to a narrow latent scope bias, so long as the set of features entered into the similarity computations includes only those features that are observed (in the case of the observed feature set) and only those features that are caused by each explanation (in the case of the hypothetical feature sets for each explanation). That is, the observed evidence should be $\{X\}$, the evidence hypothesized by H_N would be $\{X\}$, and the evidence hypothesized by H_W would be $\{X, Z\}$. Then, a similarity model such as Tversky’s (1977) contrast model would find the observed evidence to be more similar to H_N ’s hypothesized evidence than to H_W ’s.

scope explanation and that Professor Plum is thus the likelier culprit. Formally, this would be equivalent to using the similarity ratio to approximate the likelihood ratio in Eq. (1) (see Gigerenzer & Hoffrage, 1995; Tenenbaum & Griffiths, 2001a).

2.3. Summary of competing accounts

Table 1 compares the five accounts on offer. The biased priors and non-independence accounts both rely on normative Bayesian reasoning, although the bias manifests in different terms of the Bayesian hypothesis comparison (the priors and likelihood, respectively). These accounts can predict either a narrow or wide latent scope bias, depending on the direction of the biased priors or non-independence (a narrow latent scope bias if the priors favor the narrow latent scope explanation or if the evidence is thought to be negatively correlated; and a wide latent scope bias in the opposite cases). We evaluate these approaches most directly in Experiment 2, where we measure reasoners' assumptions about priors and independence.

Pragmatic accounts make less clear predictions, as their implications for the bias depend on what additional assumptions speakers are thought to be conveying. One way to model these inferences is in terms of f^{*Z} and f^{-Z} , which reflect the assumed probability of the latent evidence relative to its true probability. Our empirical approach to the pragmatic account is to provide plausible reasons for the speaker's ignorance, which should undermine the bias to the extent that pragmatic factors play a role (Experiments 2 and 7). We also measure the effects of pragmatic inference directly in Experiment 3.

Finally, the inferred evidence and representativeness approaches both posit heuristic processes. In the case of representativeness, similarity of the actual to predicted evidence is used to heuristically estimate the likelihoods, whereas in the case of inferred evidence, the base rate of the evidence is used to heuristically estimate what evidence itself will be included in the calculation. Although both approaches are heuristic, they differ in *which* process is said to be heuristic (deciding what evidence to evaluate, or evaluating the evidence), and lead to different predictions. Representativeness always predicts a narrow latent scope bias, because the observed evidence $\{X\}$ will always be more similar to narrow scope prediction $\{X\}$ than to wide scope prediction $\{X, Z\}$. The inferred evidence account, in contrast, predicts strongly narrow latent scope effects when the base rate of Z is low, and a weaker or even reversed effect when the base rate of Z is high. This key prediction is tested in several experiments.

3. Our empirical approach

Here, we report seven experiments designed to test the hypothesis that inferred evidence plays a role in explanatory inference with incomplete evidence, above and beyond the alternative mechanisms described above. Because latent scope effects have been found in both causal reasoning (Khémilani et al., 2011) and in categorization (Sussman et al., 2014), it is possible that these disparate diagnostic reasoning tasks involve similar heuristic mechanisms. To support this claim, we tested for

Table 1

Comparison of five accounts of the latent scope bias.

Account	Term affected	Psychological process	Predicted direction	Tested in experiments
Biased priors	Priors	Normative Bayesian reasoning	Depends on prior odds	1–3, 5–6
Non-independence	Likelihood	Normative Bayesian reasoning	Depends on direction of non-independence	2
Pragmatics	f^{*Z}, f^{-Z}	Conversational implicature	No directional prediction	2–3, 7
Representativeness	Likelihood	Heuristic estimation of likelihood	Always predicts narrow latent scope bias	1–6
Inferred evidence	f^{*Z}, f^{-Z}	Heuristic estimation of evidence	Depends on base rate of Z	1–7

363 signatures of inferred evidence in both causal reasoning (Experiments 1–4 and 7) and categorization
364 (Experiments 5 and 6).

365 These experiments tested three main sets of predictions made by the inferred evidence account.
366 First, varying the plausibility that a latent effect Z would be observed should modulate the magnitude
367 of the latent scope bias, and perhaps even its direction—when the latent effect is highly plausible in
368 the token case, one might even expect a *wide* latent scope bias. Several experiments tested this pre-
369 diction by varying the base rate of Z in the world, using both artificial (Experiments 1–3, and 5)
370 and naturalistic (Experiment 6) stimuli. Based on the idea that more readily imaginable possibilities
371 are assigned higher probabilities (Koehler, 1996), we also manipulated the reason for ignorance about
372 the latent evidence to test for downstream consequences on the size of the bias (Experiment 7).

373 Second, the inferred evidence account posits the importance of evidence-seeking processes, and
374 predicts in particular that the base rate of the latent effect should be sought after in evaluating expla-
375 nations under ignorance. This stands in contrast to normative probability theory, according to which
376 the base rates of the causes screen off the relevance of the effect base rates, so that, for example, $P(Z)$ is
377 irrelevant once $P(H_N)$ and $P(H_W)$ are known. Further, because the base rates of the wide latent scope
378 causes are informative about the latent effect base rates (since, for example, H_W causes Z in the exam-
379 ple depicted in Fig. 1), the base rates of wide latent scope causes might be seen as more relevant than
380 the base rates of narrow latent scope causes. For example, if $P(H_W)$ is 10%, then $P(Z)$ must be at least
381 9.9% (since H_W causes Z with 99% probability), but $P(H_N)$ places no constraints on $P(Z)$ (since H_N never
382 causes Z). We therefore predicted that the base rates of wide latent scope explanations would be seen
383 as more relevant than the base rates of narrow latent scope explanations. Both of these predictions
384 were tested in Experiment 4.

385 Third, the account makes a further processing prediction, that people should infer that the latent
386 effect is relatively unlikely to be observed in circumstances where they have a narrow latent scope
387 bias, compared to circumstances where they show no such bias. Thus, if a situation leads people to
388 infer that a narrow latent scope explanation is more probable than a wide latent scope explanation,
389 we would expect that, if asked, they should report that the latent effect has a less than 50% chance
390 of being observed; in contrast, if they prefer the wide latent scope explanation, they should report that
391 the latent effect has a more than 50% chance of being observed. We tested this prediction in Experi-
392 ment 5B.

393 Throughout these experiments, we anticipated that in both causal reasoning and categorization,
394 people would seek, infer, and reason on the basis of additional evidence beyond what was given. In
395 Section 11, we consider the normative status of the inferred evidence strategy and the implications
396 of these results for theories of explanatory reasoning.

397 4. Experiment 1

398 As a first test of the inferred evidence account, we varied the base rate of the unknown effect Z , as
399 well as the known effect X . According to probability theory and basic assumptions of graphical causal
400 models (Pearl, 1988, 2000), neither piece of information is relevant if we know the base rates of the
401 causes, $P(H_N)$ and $P(H_W)$. Indeed, for deterministic causal systems such as those described in the cur-
402 rent experiments, the posterior odds favoring H_N over H_W are simply equal to the prior odds, $P(H_N)/P$
403 (H_W) (see Section 1.3).

404 To see why this is the case, imagine as before that we have observed broken glass, that if Prof. Plum
405 were the culprit there would be broken glass, and that if Col. Mustard were the culprit there would be
406 both broken glass and a muddy carpet (Fig. 1). Given that we do not know whether there is a muddy
407 carpet or not, is it important whether muddy carpets are frequently observed in the manor? First,
408 imagine that only on 1 out of 100 occasions is a muddy carpet observed in the manor *in general*. This
409 does *not* suggest that there is only a 1% chance of observing a muddy carpet if we looked *in this case*,
410 because we are assuming that either Plum or Mustard committed the crime, and they have equal
411 chances of having done so—in *this case*, the probability of observing a muddy carpet is 50% (derived
412 from the prior odds). Second, imagine that on *every* occasion a muddy carpet is observed in the manor.
413 May we then infer that the carpet is surely muddy in the current case, therefore Mustard is the prob-

414 able culprit? Indeed, if we could look, the carpet *would* be muddy on the current occasion, but due to
415 an alternative cause, such as a dog that tracks mud into the manor every day. In that event, the muddy
416 carpet is simply not diagnostic of who committed the crime, because it is *always* muddy. Once again,
417 the prior odds, not the evidence base rates, determine who is likeliest to have committed the crime.

418 Even though the use of $P(Z)$ is non-normative, we nonetheless anticipated that people would use
419 this base rate, even when we set $P(H_N) = P(H_W)$ so that the prior odds favor neither hypothesis. This
420 follows from the inferred evidence heuristic, according to which small values of $P(Z)$ would lead peo-
421 ple to infer that Z probably did not occur, and therefore that the narrow latent scope explanation H_N
422 was the better explanation. This would be consistent with previous demonstrations of latent scope
423 biases (Khemlani et al., 2011) that used stimuli involving effects with low base rates and few plausible
424 alternative causes (such as magical changes and biochemical abnormalities). However, as $P(Z)$
425 increases, people would be increasingly likely to infer that Z occurred and therefore to choose the
426 broad latent scope explanation; indeed, when $P(Z) > 50\%$, they might even have a *wide* latent scope
427 preference because they would infer that Z probably did occur. On the other hand, manipulating P
428 (X) would have relatively little effect, because X has already been observed, and therefore the base rate
429 is not needed to infer whether X occurred.

430 4.1. Method

431 Participants in all experiments were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk and were from the
432 United States. Consistent with studies of the demographics of Mechanical Turk (e.g., Buhrmester,
433 Kwang, & Gosling, 2011), participants tended to be somewhat older ($M = 32.2$ years old in Experiment
434 1), more female (59% female), and more educated (77% had completed a four-year degree or higher),
435 compared to traditional samples of undergraduate students. Participants were prevented from com-
436 pleting more than one study reported in this paper.

437 We recruited 100 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk ($N = 50$ and $N = 50$ for Experiment 1A
438 and 1B, respectively); 32 participants ($N = 17$ and $N = 15$ for Experiment 1A and 1B) were excluded
439 because they had missing data ($N = 1$) or failed more than 30% of a set of check questions (see below;
440 $N = 31$). This threshold was adopted based on past studies, where we found this threshold to
441 adequately protect against inattentive participants without discarding too much data. However, the
442 results are qualitatively the same if all participants are included.

443 Participants completed four problems in a random order. These included two biological systems
444 (diagnosing a patient's disease and a tree's condition) and two artifact systems (diagnosing a robot's
445 hardware problem and a spaceship's malfunction) for generalizability. For each item, two possible
446 explanations were given: H_N , which always leads to X , and H_W , which always leads to X and Z . For
447 example:

Generator shock always causes reverberital sonic.

Pulsator damage always causes reverberital sonic and thermal tear.

452

453 The order in which the two causes were listed was randomized for each problem. Participants were
454 told that the base rates of H_N and H_W were equal, but the base rates of Z (in Experiment 1A) and of
455 X (in Experiment 1B) were varied across problems at 5%, 35%, 65%, and 95% using a Latin square. These
456 probabilities were presented in frequency format (e.g., "A study of 200 spaceships found that 70 of
457 them had thermal tear"), and the denominator of the frequency ratio (e.g., 200 in the previous exam-
458 ple) was varied across problems in order to make the manipulation less transparent.

459 Then, participants were told that X was observed but that we did not know whether Z had occurred
460 (e.g., "Spaceship #53 was found to have [X]. We do not know whether or not it has [Z]."). Participants
461 rated how satisfying explanations H_N and H_W would be on a scale from 0 ("Definitely [H_N]") to 10
462 ("Definitely [H_W]"), with the left/right order of H_N and H_W counterbalanced to match the order in
463 which H_N and H_W were listed in the problem.

464 At the end of each experiment, several check questions were used to detect any participants who
465 were not attending to the experimental task. These questions were multiple choice or true/false

466 memory questions concerning the experimental stimuli (e.g., checking off from a list those items that
467 were seen on previous screens). In all experiments, participants incorrectly answering more than 30%
468 of the check questions were excluded from analysis.

469 4.2. Results

470 In reporting explanation judgments for all experiments, scores were centered so that 0 indicates no
471 preference (the scale midpoint), and oriented so that positive scores (between 0 and 5) indicate a
472 broad latent scope preference and negative scores (between 0 and –5) indicate a narrow latent scope
473 preference.

474 As shown in Table 2, manipulating the base rate of the unknown evidence, $P(Z)$, in Experiment 1A
475 had a large effect on explanatory preferences, whereas manipulating the base rate of the known evi-
476 dence, $P(X)$, in Experiment 1B had a much more modest effect.

477 For statistical tests, we computed a linear contrast for each participant in both experiments. The
478 linear effect of $P(Z)$ was very large [$t(32) = 8.76$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.52$, $BF_{10} > 1000$].² Participants had a
479 strong preference for the narrow latent scope explanation (H_N) when $P(Z)$ was 5% ($M = -1.95$,
480 $SD = 2.01$), a weaker preference when $P(Z)$ was 35% ($M = -1.25$, $SD = 1.87$), a weak preference for the
481 broad latent scope explanation (H_W) when $P(Z)$ was 65% ($M = 0.86$, $SD = 2.07$), and a strong preference
482 for H_W when the base rate was 95% ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.96$). Thus, the base rate of Z not only modulated
483 the size of the latent scope bias, but reversed it when $P(Z)$ was very high. This pattern stands in contrast
484 to the normative probability theory (according to which the base rate of Z is irrelevant).

485 In contrast, manipulating $P(X)$ in Experiment 1B had a far more modest linear effect [$t(33) = -2.46$,
486 $p = .019$, $d = -0.42$, $BF_{10} = 2.02$], with an overall narrow latent scope preference in every condition. Fur-
487 ther, the effect of $P(X)$ in Experiment 1B was much smaller than the effect of $P(Z)$ in Experiment 1A [t
488 (65) = -6.63 , $p < .001$, $d = -1.49$, $BF_{10} > 1000$]. This is consistent with the inferred evidence account,
489 since X was already observed and its base rate is uninformative about Z . Thus, to the extent that
490 the effect in Experiment 1B was due to scaling biases or demand characteristics, it is unlikely that
491 these factors could explain the much larger effect in Experiment 1A.

492 4.3. Discussion

493 These results favor the inferred evidence account, from which the non-normative effect of $P(Z)$ was
494 predicted. Might any of the alternative accounts be able to explain these findings? Pragmatic inference
495 triggered by the speaker's supposed ignorance seems an unlikely explanation, as this factor did not
496 vary with $P(Z)$. Likewise, representativeness merely uses the similarity of the observed and predicted
497 evidence to estimate the likelihood term, and the observed evidence did not vary with $P(Z)$. Such
498 accounts would predict only a general bias toward the narrow latent scope explanation, in contrast
499 to the dramatic effect of $P(Z)$, which even led to a wide latent scope preference when $P(Z)$ was very
500 high.

501 Non-independence also seems to be an unlikely explanation. According to this account of latent
502 scope, people tacitly assume that the observed evidence (X) is correlated (positively or negatively)
503 with the unknown evidence (Z), and that X is therefore evidence for Z . Once again, there is no reason
504 to think that the correlation between X and Z would covary with $P(Z)$, so that these variables are neg-
505 atively related when Z is uncommon but positively related when Z is common. We do acknowledge
506 that participants could have tacit beliefs about the interaction of the effects given the current stimuli

² Throughout this article, we supplement all t -tests with Bayes Factors, computed using a default Jeffrey-Zellner-Siow (JZS) prior with a scaling factor of 1, as recommended by Rouder, Speckman, Sun, Morey, and Iverson (2009). Unlike p -values, Bayes Factors quantify evidence either against or in favor of a null hypothesis. When the Bayes Factor favors the null hypothesis, we notate it as BF_{01} , with the value of this factor indicating the probability of the data under the null over its probability under the alternative hypothesis; when the BF favors the alternative, we notate it as BF_{10} and report the reciprocal of BF_{01} , so that higher numbers correspond to greater likelihood of the data under the alternative. For example, $BF_{01} = 3.00$ means that the data is three times likelier under the null than under the alternative hypothesis, whereas $BF_{10} = 6.00$ means that the data is six times likelier under the alternative than under the null hypothesis. For a conceptual comparison of Bayesian versus null hypothesis significance testing, see Dienes (2011), and for computational details, see Rouder et al. (2009).

Table 2
Results of Experiment 1.

Experiment 1A		Experiment 1B	
Condition	Explanatory preference	Condition	Explanatory preference
$P(Z) = 5\%$	-1.95 (2.01)	$P(X) = 5\%$	-0.54 (1.70)
$P(Z) = 35\%$	-1.25 (1.87)	$P(X) = 35\%$	-0.50 (1.90)
$P(Z) = 65\%$	0.86 (2.07)	$P(X) = 65\%$	-0.96 (1.45)
$P(Z) = 95\%$	2.80 (1.96)	$P(X) = 95\%$	-1.18 (1.60)

Note. Scores potentially range from -5 to 5 (SDs in parentheses), with negative scores indicating a preference for H_N and positive scores indicating a preference for H_W .

(e.g., technological failures, disease symptoms), but these correlations seem more likely to be positive than negative (e.g., one disease symptom making another symptom *more* likely; such positive non-independence was found by Rehder & Burnett, 2005), which would lead to a *wide* latent scope bias. We nonetheless measure these correlations empirically in Experiment 2.

The most plausible alternative explanation is that participants could have assigned higher prior probabilities to causes that generate effects with high base rates, which would indeed lead to the current pattern of results. We took measures to avoid this concern by explicitly stating that the two causes were equally frequent in the problem. However, this statement was rather abstract (phrased in terms of proportions), in contrast to our manipulation of the effect base rates, which used a frequency format. To further rule out concerns about biased priors, Experiment 2 measured participants' estimated base rates of the explanations and Experiment 3 used a frequency format to concretize these base rates.

5. Experiment 2

According to the biased priors account, participants in Experiment 1 assumed that judgments of $P(H_W)$ was higher as $P(Z)$ increased across conditions, and this increase in $P(H_W)$ led to the bias toward the wide latent scope explanation H_W for higher levels of $P(Z)$. According to the non-independence account, a negative correlation between the effects, so that the observed effect would make a latent effect appear less probable, leads to the preference for narrow latent scope explanations in general. To test these accounts, we manipulated $P(Z)$, as in Experiment 1, and measured participants' priors and beliefs about non-independence, as well as their explanatory preferences. We did so using a between-subjects design, as a further way to rule out concerns about demand characteristics in Experiment 1, with each participant assigned to a base rate $P(Z)$ of either 25%, 50%, or 75%. Finally, we also added an explanation for why the latent evidence was unavailable (a blood test had not come back from the lab), to block pragmatic interpretations of the speakers' claim to ignorance.

Including a 50% condition also allowed us to test whether there is still a bias for narrow latent scope even when participants cannot use $P(Z)$ to make any inferences about the latent effects. Since we are controlling statistically for effects of biased priors, non-independence, and inferred evidence—and experimentally for pragmatic inferences—any remaining bias in this condition would potentially be due to representativeness, or the use of similarity to estimate the likelihood term.

5.1. Methods

We recruited 300 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk for Experiment 2; 7 participants were excluded because they failed more than 30% of the check questions.

Each participant made three judgments about a scenario similar to those used in Experiment 1, pertaining to the *Priors*, the *Independence* of the evidence, and their preferred *Explanation*. The scenario read:

Imagine that you are a doctor. Below is some information about two diseases.

Vilosa always causes abnormal gludon levels.

Pylum always causes abnormal gludon and lian levels.

Vilosa and Pylum occur equally often.

A study of 1000 people found that [250/500/750] of them had abnormal lian levels.

551

552 The base rate of the unknown effect was varied between-subjects at 25%, 50%, and 75%, as shown in
553 the bracketed text. The participant then completed the *Priors* question:

Imagine that you took a random sample of people, and you found that a certain number of them
had Vilosa. How many would you expect to have Pylum?

557

558 Responses were entered on a scale from –5 to 5, anchored at –5 (“Fewer”), 0 (“An Equal Number”),
559 and 5 (“More”). Thus, negative scores indicate prior odds favoring the narrow latent scope explana-
560 tion, while positive scores indicate prior odds favoring the wide latent scope explanation. Scores of
561 0 indicate equal priors for each explanation.

562 On the next page, the scenario was repeated at the top, and below the participant completed the
563 *Independence* question:

Consider just those people who have neither Vilosa nor Pylum. Some of these people
nonetheless have abnormal levels of gludon, of lian, or of both. Now, consider two groups of
such people:

Group A: A sample of 100 people who have abnormal levels of gludon, but who have neither
Vilosa nor Pylum.

Group B: A sample of 100 people who do not have abnormal levels of gludon, but who have
neither Vilosa nor Pylum.

In which group do you think more people would have abnormal levels of lian?

576

577 This judgment was made on a scale from –5 to 5, anchored at –5 (“Group A has more”), 0 (“Groups
578 have equal numbers”), and 5 (“Group B has more”). These scores were reverse-coded for analysis so
579 that negative scores indicate non-independence of the evidence because the effects are thought to
580 be *negatively* correlated, and positive scores indicate non-independence because the effects are
581 thought to be *positively* correlated (as found by Rehder & Burnett, 2005). Scores of 0 indicate that
582 the evidence is independent, conditional on the causes.

583 On the last page, the scenario was repeated once again, and the participant answered *Explanation*
584 question:

One of your patients, Patient #890, definitely has either Vilosa or Pylum, but you aren’t sure
which. Therefore, you ordered blood tests for the patient. The tests confirmed that the patient
has abnormal levels of gludon. However, the test results for lian levels have not come back
from the lab yet, so you don’t know whether the patient’s lian levels are normal or abnormal.

Which disease do you think Patient #890 is most likely to have?

592

593 This judgment was made on a scale from -5 to 5 , anchored at -5 (“Definitely Vilosa”), 0 (“Equally
594 Likely”), and 5 (“Definitely Pylum”). Thus, negative scores indicate a preference for the narrow latent
595 scope explanation, and positive scores indicate a preference for the wide latent scope explanation.
596 Scores of 0 indicate equal posteriors for each explanation, which is normative assuming equal prior
597 odds and independence of evidence in response to the previous two questions.

598 5.2. Results and discussion

599 As shown in Table 3, explanatory judgments scaled with the base rate of the unknown effect. To
600 test for this effect statistically, while adjusting for the potential confounds of biased priors and inde-
601 pendence violations, we used stepwise multiple regression (see Table 4). In Step 1, we found that base
602 rate condition (.25, .50, or .75) significantly affected explanatory judgments [$b = 1.69$, $SE = 0.49$,
603 $p < .001$], as in Experiment 1A. However, judgments of the priors did differ across condition
604 [$b = 2.60$, $SE = 0.56$, $p < .001$], and the independence assumption was violated on average [$M = -0.72$,
605 $SD = 2.58$; $t(292) = 4.74$, $p < .001$]. Thus, Step 2 capitalized on the variance among participants in their
606 priors and independence judgments to test whether these judgments contributed to explanatory pref-
607 erences. Neither judgment predicted explanatory ratings [for priors, $b = 0.01$, $SE = 0.05$, $p = .87$; for
608 independence, $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.04$, $p = .62$], while base rate condition continued to predict explanatory
609 judgments just as strongly [$b = 1.68$, $SE = 0.51$, $p = .001$]. Indeed, the Step 2 model was not a signifi-
610 cantly better fit than the Step 1 model [$MSE = 2.86$ vs. 2.86 ; $F(2, 289) = 0.13$, $p = .88$]. Thus, evidence
611 base rates affect explanatory preferences above and beyond any possible effect on priors or the inde-
612 pendence of the evidence.

613 The regression model can be used to predict explanatory judgments for a hypothetical participant
614 who had precisely equal priors on the wide and narrow latent scope hypotheses and who believed the
615 evidence to be completely independent, by entering ‘0’ for these terms in the regression equation. The
616 predicted response is -0.62 in the 25% condition, favoring the narrow latent scope explanation, and
617 0.22 in the 75% condition, favoring the wide latent scope explanation, similar to Experiment 1. How-
618 ever, in the 50% condition, a modest preference for the narrow latent scope explanation emerges
619 (-0.20), indicating that factors above and beyond inferred evidence, priors, and independence viola-
620 tions are likely at play in assessing latent scope explanations. Because the cover story makes prag-
621 matic inferences unlikely, the most likely candidate for this additional factor is representativeness.
622 We discuss the relative contribution of all of these possible explanatory factors in Section 11.

623 It is worth noting that the effect of $P(Z)$ was smaller here than it was in Experiment 2; the Exper-
624 iment 2 effect size is also more in keeping with subsequent experiments. Several factors likely con-
625 tributed to the large effect in Experiment 1: That experiment used more extreme base rates
626 (ranging from 5% to 95%); the design was within-subjects rather than between-subjects; it did not
627 include questions probing participants’ priors and independence assumptions (which would tend to
628 focus participants on relevant rather than irrelevant cues); and it tested causal reasoning rather than
629 categorization (see Section 8.2). Nonetheless, although the effect size can be modulated by such con-
630 textual factors, inferred evidence effects show up across experiments varying along all of these dimen-
631 sions, testifying to the robustness of these effects.

632 6. Experiment 3

633 In addition to establishing that inferred evidence plays a role in the latent scope bias over-and-
634 above the other factors, we also aim to quantify the impact of these other factors. Experiment 2 sug-
635 gested a modest effect of representativeness (because there is still a bias in the 50% condition of Exper-
636 iment 2) and little effect of biased priors or non-independence of evidence (because these factors had
637 no effect in the regression model of Experiment 2). However, we experimentally *controlled* for prag-
638 matic inferences, rather than *measuring* their impact. Hence, Experiment 3 directly measured the
639 influence of pragmatic factors on the latent scope bias by varying whether a reason for ignorance
640 was specified (turning off pragmatic inferences) or unspecified (potentially triggering pragmatic
641 inferences).

Table 3
Results of Experiment 2.

Condition	Explanatory preference	Model-adjusted preference
$P(Z) = 25\%$	−0.64 (1.89)	−0.62
$P(Z) = 50\%$	−0.13 (1.48)	−0.20
$P(Z) = 75\%$	0.20 (1.73)	0.22

Note. Scores potentially range from −5 to 5 (*SDs* in parentheses), with negative scores indicating a preference for H_N and positive scores indicating a preference for H_W . The model-adjusted preference column indicates the predicted response for a hypothetical participant with unbiased priors who assumes the evidence to be independent (see main text for model description and Table 4 for coefficients).

Table 4
Multiple regression for Experiment 2, predicting explanatory preferences.

	Step one	Step two
Intercept	−1.03 (0.27)	−1.05 (0.28)
$P(Z)$	1.69 (0.49)***	1.68 (0.51)**
Priors		0.01 (0.05)
Independence		0.02 (0.04)

Note. Entries are unstandardized coefficients (*b*), with standard errors in parentheses, predicting explanatory preferences. For explanatory preferences, higher scores indicate a greater preference for H_W . For priors, higher scores indicate priors biased toward H_W . For independence, higher scores indicate a positive correlation between the observed and inferred evidence (which should lead to a bias toward H_W).

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

642 In addition, Experiment 3 included a condition where the missing evidence is not mentioned at all.
643 In many real-life situations, available evidence will be explicit but missing evidence will simply fail to
644 be observed or mentioned. On the one hand, one might conjecture that the relevance of the missing
645 evidence is not obvious if it is not mentioned, so people may simply ignore it and therefore fail to
646 use an inferred evidence strategy. On the other hand, however, people may automatically see the
647 missing evidence as relevant—it may be the fact that the missing evidence is in fact *missing* that
648 may need to be flagged. In such a case, missing evidence that is not explicitly mentioned may actually
649 trigger inferred evidence even more strongly than missing evidence that is explicitly mentioned.

650 6.1. Methods

651 We recruited 299 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk for Experiment 3; 9 participants were
652 excluded because they failed more than 30% of the check questions.

653 Each participant read a scenario similar to that used in Experiment 2:

Imagine that you are a doctor. Below is some information about two diseases.

Vilosa and Pylum are rare diseases. In the United States population, they each occur in 1 in 1000 people.

Vilosa always causes abnormal gludon levels.

Pylum always causes abnormal gludon and lian levels.

A study was conducted of 1000 people randomly selected from the United States population. In that study, 250 of them had abnormal lian levels.

665

666 The order of listing the diseases was randomized, and the other information was adjusted to match
667 this order. The base rate of the causes was given in frequency format (unlike Experiments 1 and 2),
668 and the base rate of the unknown effect (lian levels) was always 25%. Based on Experiments 1 and
669 2, we would expect this base rate to lead to a modest but reliable bias favoring the narrow latent scope
670 explanation (here, Vilosa).

671 Before answering the explanation question, participants were asked two comprehension questions
672 concerning the base rates of the *causes* and the *effects*, in a random order. For the *cause base rate* ques-
673 tion, participants were asked to “Consider a randomly selected American. Is this person more likely to
674 have Vilosa or Pylum?” (options: “More likely to have Vilosa,” “More likely to have Pylum,” or
675 “Equally likely to have Vilosa or Pylum”). For the *effect base rate* question, participants were asked
676 to “Consider a randomly selected American. What is the probability that this person has abnormal lian
677 levels?” (options: 25%, 50%, or 75%).

678 For the main task, participants diagnosed three patients (individuated by different patient num-
679 bers), one in the *Explanation* condition, one in the *No Explanation* condition, and one in the *No Infor-*
680 *mation* condition. In the *Explanation* condition, the prompt was identical to that of Experiment 2,
681 where the participant was told that “the test results for lian levels have not come back from the lab
682 yet, so you don’t know whether the patient’s lian levels are normal or abnormal.” In the *No Explanation*
683 condition, this information was instead replaced with the sentence “You don’t know whether the
684 patient’s lian levels are normal or abnormal.” In the *No Information* condition, this information was
685 omitted entirely. The three conditions were completed in a random order, and the scale was the same
686 as in Experiment 2.

687 6.2. Results and discussion

688 There were no significant differences in explanation preferences between those who answered the
689 cause base rate question correctly or incorrectly [$t(288) = 0.12, p = .90$] or between those who
690 answered the effect base rate question correctly or incorrectly [$t(288) = 0.36, p = .72$], and there were
691 no significant order effects across conditions [$ts < 1.1, ps > .27$], so we collapse across these factors.

692 To test the effect of pragmatic inference on the latent scope bias, we compared the *Explanation* con-
693 dition, where a reason was given for the speaker’s ignorance, and the *No Explanation* condition, where
694 no reason was given (see Table 5 for means). There was a significant bias toward the narrow latent
695 scope explanation in both conditions [$t(289) = 2.40, p = .017, d = -0.14, BF_{01} = 1.3$ and $t(289) = 2.49,$
696 $p = .013, d = -0.15, BF_{01} = 1.0$]. Most importantly, these conditions did not differ from each other [t
697 $(289) = 0.37, p = .71, d = 0.02$], suggesting that pragmatic inferences play a minimal role in producing
698 the latent scope bias, at least for the type of stimuli used in our experiments.

699 To test whether the latent scope bias would still be found in the absence of information explicitly
700 flagging the unknown effect as unknown, we compared the *No Information* condition to the mean of
701 the other two conditions. Not only did we find a significant bias toward the narrow latent scope expla-
702 nation in this condition [$t(289) = -7.19, p < .001, d = -0.42, BF_{10} > 1000$], but this bias was larger than
703 in the other conditions [$t(289) = 5.35, p < .001, d = 0.32, BF_{10} > 1000$]. This suggests that even in the
704 absence of explicit flagging, people view the unknown information as relevant. The bias is likely larger
705 at least in part due to pragmatic influences, though more research would be necessary to tease apart
706 potential causal factors.

707 Altogether, Experiments 1–3 quantify the impact of the factors listed in Table 1 in producing the
708 bias toward narrow latent scope explanations. Biased priors (Experiment 2), non-independence of evi-
709 dence (Experiment 2), and pragmatic inferences (Experiment 3) seem to have modest influences at
710 most, for the stimuli used in these experiments. In contrast, inferred evidence seems to play the star-
711 ring role (Experiments 1 and 2), affecting the size of the bias most dramatically (and even reversing
712 the direction). Since there is still a residual bias even when the evidence base rate is 50% (Experiment
713 2), some additional influences seem to account for some of the variance, which could be representa-
714 tiveness or some as-yet-unidentified factor.

715 In the remaining experiments, we turn to additional predictions made by the inferred
716 evidence account, including influences on evidence-seeking (Experiment 4), probabilistic inference

Table 5
Results of Experiment 3.

Condition	Explanatory preference
Explanation	−0.18 (1.32)
No explanation	−0.20 (1.40)
No information	−0.85 (2.02)

Note. Scores potentially range from −5 to 5 (SDs in parentheses), with negative scores indicating a preference for H_N and positive scores indicating a preference for H_W .

717 (Experiment 5), and categorization (Experiments 5 and 6), as well as the role of the future knowability
718 of the unknown evidence (Experiment 7).

719 7. Experiment 4

720 According to the inferred evidence account, when faced with a latent scope explanation, people try
721 to infer whether or not the unknown effect occurred in the case at hand. Because the base rate of the
722 unknown effect, $P(Z)$, can be used in making this inference, people should find $P(Z)$ more relevant than
723 the base rate of the known effect, $P(X)$.

724 To test this possibility, participants were told about structurally similar situations to Experiments
725 1–3 (see Fig. 1), where they knew about one effect (X) but not another (Z), and were deciding between
726 a narrow latent scope explanation (H_N , which would only account for the observed X) and a broad
727 latent scope explanation (H_W , which would account for both the observed X and the unknown Z). Partic-
728 ipants were asked to rank the base rates of each cause and effect in terms of “how useful” they
729 would be for determining the best explanation—that is, to rank the relevance of $P(X)$, $P(Z)$, $P(H_N)$,
730 and $P(H_W)$.

731 We anticipated that $P(Z)$ would be seen as more relevant for determining the best explanation com-
732 pared to $P(X)$, since participants would use $P(Z)$ to assess whether Z occurred in the case at hand. In
733 addition, we anticipated that $P(H_W)$ would be seen as more diagnostic than $P(H_N)$. This is because P
734 (H_W) is informative about $P(X)$ and also $P(Z)$, whereas H_N is informative only about $P(X)$. That is, if P
735 (H_W) is high, then both $P(X)$ and $P(Z)$ must also be high because H_W causes both effects. But if $P(H_N)$
736 is high, this implies only that $P(X)$ is high, but is not informative about $P(Z)$. Since we expected that
737 $P(Z)$ would be seen as more relevant than $P(X)$, we would expect that likewise $P(H_W)$ would be seen
738 as more relevant than $P(H_N)$. Both of these predictions stand in contrast to normative responding, since
739 it is the prior odds ratio [$P(H_N)/P(H_W)$] that determines the posterior odds favoring H_N over H_W .

740 7.1. Method

741 We recruited 200 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk; 42 were excluded because they
742 failed more than 30% of the check questions ($N = 18$) or had missing data ($N = 24$). The results are qual-
743 itatively the same if all participants are included.

744 Participants completed four problems in a random order, similar to those used in Experiment 1, but
745 modified to elicit rankings of how useful each base rate would be for deciding between the explana-
746 tions. For example, for the robot item, participants read the same causal information as in Experiment
747 1 (with the causes listed in a random order), and were told that “Spaceship #53 was found to have [X].
748 We do not know whether or not it has [Z]” and that “A study of 200 other spaceships was recently
749 conducted, in which researchers collected measurements of several properties.”

750 They then ranked each base rate in terms of how useful it “would be for determining what mal-
751 function Spaceship #53 has, where ‘1’ is the most useful and ‘4’ is the least useful.” The base rates were
752 listed in a random order and worded in the format, “How many out of the 200 spaceships had [Y],”
753 where [Y] was replaced with H_N , H_W , X , or Z .

754 7.2. Results and discussion

755 The proportion of times that participants ranked H_N , H_W , X , and Z in each position are shown in
756 Table 6. In absolute terms, the base rate of Z was ranked first more frequently (32%) than any other
757 base rate, and the base rate of X was ranked last more frequently (38%) than any other base rate. Thus,
758 our prediction that $P(Z)$ would be seen as more relevant than $P(X)$ has qualitative support. In addition,
759 $P(H_W)$ was ranked first much more frequently than $P(H_N)$ (29% vs. 15%) and was ranked last less fre-
760 quently (16% vs. 23%). Again, this is qualitatively consistent with our prediction that $P(H_W)$ would be
761 seen as more relevant than $P(H_N)$.

762 Statistical analyses confirmed these patterns, both in terms of the overall rank of each base rate,
763 and the frequency of each base rate at the top and bottom ranks. First, we calculated the mean rank
764 of H_N , H_W , X , and Z across all four items for each participant, with '1' representing the first ranked
765 choice and '4' representing the last ranked choice for each item. The mean rank for Z was higher than
766 for X [$M = 2.36$, $SD = 0.91$ vs. $M = 2.69$, $SD = 0.99$; $t(157) = -2.55$, $p = .012$, $d = -0.20$, $BF_{10} = 1.51$], and
767 the mean rank for H_W was higher than for H_N [$M = 2.32$, $SD = 0.81$ vs. $M = 2.63$, $SD = 0.70$; $t(157)$
768 $= -3.43$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.27$, $BF_{10} = 17.8$]. Thus, Z was seen as more relevant than X and H_W was seen
769 as more relevant than H_N , as predicted.

770 Second, we performed a series of Chi-squared tests on the frequencies with which each base rate
771 was ranked at each position, to investigate the prevalence of each base rate at the top and bottom
772 rankings. Overall, the frequencies of the first-ranked choices (i.e., the top row of Table 6) differed from
773 chance responding [$\chi^2(3, N = 632) = 39.66$, $p < .001$]. In particular, $P(Z)$ was ranked first more often
774 than $P(X)$ [$\chi^2(1, N = 356) = 5.44$, $p = .020$], and $P(H_W)$ was ranked first more often than $P(H_N)$ [$\chi^2(1,$
775 $N = 248) = 26.80$, $p < .001$]. The distribution of last-ranked choices (i.e., the bottom row of Table 6) also
776 differed from chance [$\chi^2(3, N = 632) = 59.96$, $p < .001$], and showed precisely the opposite pattern of
777 the first-ranked choices. That is, $P(X)$ was ranked last more often than $P(Z)$ [$\chi^2(1, N = 384) = 21.09$,
778 $p < .001$] and $P(H_N)$ was ranked last more often than $P(H_W)$ [$\chi^2(1, N = 248) = 6.45$, $p = .011$].

779 Taken together, these results underscore Experiments 1 and 2, where $P(Z)$ was used more strongly
780 than $P(X)$. In Experiment 4, these base rates were also sought out more readily when determining the
781 best explanation. This pattern shows that people actively seek the information they believe to be nec-
782 essary for inferring unavailable evidence. In addition, Experiment 4 confirmed an additional, novel
783 prediction of the inferred evidence account—that the base rate of the broad latent scope cause (H_W)
784 would be seen as more relevant than the base rate of the narrow latent scope cause (H_N). This overall
785 response pattern—ranking $P(H_N)$ and $P(H_W)$ differentially and $P(Z)$ highest most often—stands in stark
786 contrast to normative responding, since only the ratio of $P(H_N)$ to $P(H_W)$ is relevant to assessing the
787 probability of each explanation.

788 8. Experiment 5

789 People are averse to latent scope explanations not only in causal reasoning, but also in categoriza-
790 tion (Sussman et al., 2014). When deciding whether an exemplar belongs in one category that predicts
791 an unknown feature (the wide latent scope category H_W) or in another that does not predict that fea-
792 ture (the narrow latent scope category H_N), people prefer to categorize the exemplar in the narrow cat-
793 egory. If the inferred evidence strategy is a domain-general aspect of explanatory logic, as we are
794 claiming, then it should explain the latent scope bias not only in causal explanation but also in cate-
795 gorization. Experiments 5 and 6 test this possibility.

796 As for causal explanation, probability theory tells us that the base rates of unknown features are
797 irrelevant to determining which category it belongs to. When an effect or feature has a higher base
798 rate than its cause, this implies that some alternative causes or categories must exist. For example,
799 suppose that colds cause sneezing and 5% of people have colds at any given time. Then if 10% of people
800 are sneezing, there must be some people who are sneezing even though they do not have colds—that
801 is, there must be alternative causes of sneezing. Similarly, suppose that cheetahs have spots and 8% of
802 African land mammals are cheetahs. Then if 20% of African land mammals have spots, there must be
803 some African land mammals that have spots even though they are not cheetahs—there are alternative
804 categories of African land mammals that have spots. This is why evidence about effect or feature base

Table 6
Results of Experiment 4.

	Base rate (%)			
	$P(H_N)$	$P(H_W)$	$P(X)$	$P(Z)$
First ranked	15	29	25	32
Second ranked	29	27	19	24
Third ranked	33	28	19	21
Fourth ranked	23	16	38	23

Note. Entries indicate the total proportion of times each base rate was ranked in each position across the four problems completed by each participant. Rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

805 rates is irrelevant once the cause or category base rates are known—to the extent that these effect or
806 feature base rates are higher than the cause or category base rate, this simply indicates that a *different*
807 cause or categorization is likely.

808 In Experiments 1 and 2, people violated this principle in evaluating causal explanations. Even
809 though they knew that two potential causes H_N and H_W had equal base rates, they used the base rate
810 of Z —a latent effect of H_W —in their judgments. When Z had a 5% base rate, participants appear to have
811 reasoned that Z was unlikely to have occurred in the case at hand, so the explanation that did not posit
812 Z was more likely than the explanation that did. Normatively, to the extent that Z is rare, this just
813 means that both H_W and H_N are relatively rare, since they have equal base rates, or that there are pre-
814 ventive causes of Z that mask the relationship between H_W and Z —in neither case does this informa-
815 tion help to distinguish the relative probability of H_N and H_W . Similarly, when Z had a 95% base rate,
816 participants appear to have reasoned that Z was very likely to have occurred, so they preferred the
817 explanation that accommodated Z . However, to the extent that Z is very common, this just means that
818 either H_N and H_W are both very common, or that there are other causes of Z .

819 It is unclear whether participants committed these errors because they failed to notice that high
820 base rates of Z imply alternative causes that are uninformative for distinguishing between H_N and
821 H_W , or whether they might instead have noticed this fact but nonetheless used the inferred presence
822 of Z for distinguishing between the hypotheses. In Experiment 5A, we used a categorization task and
823 highlighted this fact, to see whether participants still used the Z base rate for making explanatory
824 inferences. In a categorization task (with a structure analogous to Fig. 1), participants read about sit-
825 uations like the following:

You come across a deer in a meadow, but you are not sure whether it belongs to
species *trocosiens* or species *myronisus*. The meadow contains equal numbers
of *trocosiens* and *myronisus* deer, and also contains many other deer. Below is some
information you can use to decide which it might belong to:

Deer of the *trocosiens* species have white spots.
Deer of the *myronisus* species have white spots and semi-hollow antlers.
Most other species of deer also have semi-hollow antlers.

You know that the deer has white spots, but you do not know whether it has semi-hollow
antlers.

838

839 Some participants read a version of this item, like the above, where feature Z was *common* among
840 other categories of deer (“Most other species of deer also have semi-hollow antlers”), and other par-
841 ticipants read a version of this item where feature Z was instead *uncommon* among other categories of
842 deer (“No other species of deer has semi-hollow antlers”).

843 We would expect to find a narrow latent scope preference when the latent feature is rare. This fol-
844 lows from the idea that people use the base rate of the latent feature to infer the probability of that
845 feature in the case at hand, and is consistent with previous findings of narrow latent scope preferences
846 when the features are likely to have low implicit base rates (Sussman et al., 2014). However, we antic-

847 ipated that participants would be more likely to endorse the wide latent scope category when the fea-
848 ture had a high base rate due to its prevalence among *other* species of deer. This stands in contrast to
849 the dictates of probability theory: Since participants were categorizing this exemplar as belonging to
850 one or the other species (H_N or H_W), facts about the prevalence of semi-hollow antlers among *other*
851 species of deer are irrelevant to interpreting the current evidence. However, it is consistent with
852 the use of inferred evidence: Given an arbitrary deer belonging to any category, it is more likely to
853 have the latent feature if that feature is common among all types of deer.

854 In addition to testing this prediction of inferred evidence, we tested a further processing prediction:
855 That to the extent that people were more inclined toward the narrow latent scope category, it would
856 be due to their inference that the latent feature was unlikely in the case at hand. In Experiment 5B, we
857 asked participants to rate the probability of observing the latent feature in an exemplar (given that the
858 exemplar belonged to either H_N or H_W) when that feature was either common or uncommon among
859 other categories. We expected that participants would rate the feature more probable when it had a
860 high base rate among other categories, even though they were explicitly told that the exemplar
861 belonged to either H_N or H_W .

862 8.1. Methods

863 We recruited 200 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk ($N = 100$ and $N = 100$ for Experiment
864 5A and 5B, respectively); 21 participants ($N = 10$ and $N = 11$ for Experiment 5A and 5B) were excluded
865 because they failed more than 30% of the check questions.

866 In Experiment 5A, participants made categorization judgments based on incomplete information,
867 using items phrased similar to the above deer example. For some items, the latent feature was *com-*
868 *mon* among other categories (i.e., had a high base rate) and for other items, the latent feature was
869 *uncommon* among other categories (i.e., had a low base rate). Participants made categorization judg-
870 ments (e.g., “Which species do you think the deer belongs to?”) on a scale from 0 (“Definitely *tro-*
871 *cosiens*”) to 10 (“Definitely *myronisus*”).

872 In Experiment 5B, participants read the same items, but rather than making categorization judg-
873 ments, they rated the probability of the latent feature being present. Because it was critical that par-
874 ticipants know that the exemplar belonged to either H_N or H_W rather than to an alternative category,
875 the first sentence of each item was slightly modified (e.g., “You come across a deer in a meadow,
876 which belongs to either species *trocosiens* or species *myronisus*”). The information was otherwise iden-
877 tical, with the same *common* versus *uncommon* manipulation as in Experiment 5A. Participants were
878 asked to rate the probability that the exemplar had the latent feature on a scale from 0% to 100%.

879 In both experiments, eight biological categories were used in total, with each participant seeing
880 four items in the *common* version and four in the *uncommon* version (counterbalanced across partic-
881 ipants). Items were completed in a random order.

882 8.2. Results and discussion

883 Participants in Experiment 5A used the feature base rates in their categorizations, even though
884 these base rates explicitly referred to the prevalence of features in *other* categories (see Table 7). In
885 the *uncommon* condition, participants had a narrow latent scope bias [$M = -0.56$, $SD = 1.06$; $t(89)$
886 $= 4.97$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.52$, $BF_{10} > 1000$], consistent with Sussman et al.’s (2014) finding of a narrow
887 latent scope bias in categorization, which used low base rate features. However, in the *common*
888 condition, participants had no preference one way or the other [$M = 0.03$, $SD = 1.13$; $t(89) = 0.27$, $p = .78$,
889 $d = 0.03$, $BF_{01} = 11.6$]. This led to a significant difference between conditions [$t(89) = 3.79$, $p < .001$,
890 $d = 0.40$, $BF_{10} = 59.3$], suggesting that participants used the feature base rates in a non-normative
891 way to infer the probability of the feature being present in exemplar being categorized.

892 Direct evidence for this interpretation came from Experiment 5B, where participants rated the
893 probability of the latent feature being present to be higher when that feature was prevalent in other
894 categories, even though participants were told that the exemplar did not belong to those categories.
895 Participants inferred on average that the exemplar had a 35.8% ($SD = 14.9\%$) chance of having the prop-
896 erty in the *uncommon* condition, which is significantly lower than the normative response of 50%

Table 7
Results of Experiment 5.

Condition	Experiment 5A Explanatory preference	Experiment 5B Probability judgment
Uncommon	−0.56 (1.06)	35.8% (14.9%)
Common	0.03 (1.13)	62.7% (17.9%)

Note. For Experiment 5A, scores potentially range from −5 to 5 (*SDs* in parentheses), with negative scores indicating a preference for H_N and positive scores indicating a preference for H_W . For Experiment 5B, probability judgments potentially range from 0% to 100% (*SDs* in parentheses).

897 [$t(88) = -9.04, p < .001, d = -0.96, BF_{10} > 1000$]. But in the *common* condition, participants inferred
898 that the exemplar had a 62.7% ($SD = 17.9\%$) chance of having the property, which is significantly *higher*
899 than the normative response of 50% [$t(88) = 6.68, p < .001, d = 0.71, BF_{10} > 1000$].

900 Overall, these results accord with the inferred evidence account. Participants in Experiment 5B
901 used the base rate of the latent feature both to infer the probability of the feature's presence in an
902 exemplar, even though the feature base rate was manipulated by altering its frequency in categories
903 that the exemplar did not belong to. As predicted by the inferred evidence account, this had down-
904 stream consequences for participants' explanatory inferences, with a narrow latent scope preference
905 only when the feature was rare among other categories.

906 One aspect of these results worth noting is the lack of a *wide* latent scope bias in the *common* con-
907 dition of Experiment 5A. One possible explanation of this result is that the irrelevance of high feature
908 base rates in categorization is more transparent than the irrelevance of high effect base rates in causal
909 reasoning. When a cause does not produce an effect (e.g., H_N not producing Z in Fig. 1), Z can still occur
910 if some alternative background cause is present. For example, suppose a person has one of two equally
911 rare diseases, one of which causes a person's hair to turn brown. Because many people already have
912 brown hair, there is a more than 50% chance that this person will have brown hair, even if she has a
913 50/50 chance of having each disease—that is, multiple causes can occur simultaneously (a person
914 could have a gene for brown hair *and* one of the diseases). In contrast, when an exemplar's category
915 fails to have a feature (e.g., a category H_N does not have the feature Z), this usually implies that the
916 exemplar *does not have* that feature. For example, suppose that an animal belongs to one of two
917 equally rare subspecies of deer, one of which has brown fur and one of which has white fur. Because
918 most other subspecies of deer have brown fur, it is likely that an arbitrary deer will have brown fur;
919 however, for a deer that definitely belongs to one of the two subspecies with a 50/50 chance, it has
920 precisely a 50% chance of having brown fur. That is, the deer does not belong to multiple subspecies
921 of deer, so the prevalence of brown fur among other subspecies is not relevant. This task difference
922 may make the irrelevance of the latent effect/feature base rate more transparent.

923 9. Experiment 6

924 In Experiment 6, we aimed to replicate the effect of latent feature base rates using a more natural-
925 istic task. Here, we asked a group of pretest participants to produce base rates for a range of features
926 for several categories (e.g., “having protruding eyes” was seen as a very prevalent property among
927 frogs, whereas “having a tail” was seen as a less prevalent property). We then used these tacit base
928 rates to test for latent scope biases in a new group of participants, using a task similar to Experiment
929 5. We anticipated a greater preference for the narrow latent scope category when the latent feature
930 was relatively rare, compared to when the latent feature was relatively common.

931 9.1. Pretest

932 We recruited 30 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk to participate in the norming pretest;
933 no participant incorrectly answered more than 30% of the check questions, so all were included in the
934 data analysis.

935 Participants made judgments about eight categories, covering a variety of natural kinds and
936 artifacts. For each category, participants rated the frequency of features that we expected to have rel-
937 atively high or relatively low base rates in that category. For example, participants were asked to
938 “think of 100 clocks. Out of those 100 clocks, how many would have the following properties?” and
939 rated properties such as “has a manual setting,” “uses roman numerals on the display,” “has a pendu-
940 lum,” etc., on separate 0–100 scales. For seven of these items, we were able to select a property with a
941 relatively high base rate (for the clock item, “requires battery”) or a relatively low base rate (e.g., “is
942 red in color”). The *high base rate* properties for each category had a mean rating of 80.4 ($SD = 10.5$) and
943 the *low base rate* properties had a mean rating of 13.5 ($SD = 5.3$). These items are listed in Table 8.

944 9.2. Methods

945 We recruited 100 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk for the main experiment; 13 partic-
946 ipants were excluded because they failed more than 30% of the check questions.

947 For each of the seven items, participants were randomly assigned to the *high base rate* or the *low*
948 *base rate* version. The only difference between these versions was whether the latent property
949 possessed by H_W had a high or low implicit base rate in the pretest. For example, the clock item read
950 (differences between conditions in brackets):

You come across a clock in an office, but you are not sure whether it belongs to type *Vermiller* or
type *Pomerantz*. The office has equal numbers of clocks of each type. Below is some
information you can use to decide which type it might belong to:

Clocks of the *Vermiller* type are rectangular in shape.

Clocks of the *Pomerantz* type are rectangular in shape and [require batteries/red in color].

You know that the clock is rectangular in shape, but you do not know whether it requires
batteries.

Which type do you think the clock belongs to?

963

964 Participants then made categorization judgments on a scale from 0 (“Definitely Vermiller”) to 10
965 (“Definitely Pomerantz”). The order of listing H_N and H_W was randomized for each item, and the
966 left/right order of the response scale matched this order.

967 9.3. Results and discussion

968 Participants used their implicit base rates of the latent effects in making their categorizations. As
969 shown in Table 8, for the *low base rate* versions of each item, participants had a strong preference
970 for the narrow latent scope category [$M = -0.63$, $SD = 0.24$; $t(6) = -12.49$, $p < .001$, $d = -4.74$,
971 $BF_{10} > 1000$]. But for the *high base rate* versions, participants had a comparatively weak preference
972 [$M = -0.25$, $SD = 0.19$; $t(6) = -3.49$, $p = .013$, $d = -1.32$, $BF_{10} = 5.74$], leading to a significant difference
973 between conditions [$t(6) = 4.22$, $p = .006$, $d = 1.60$, $BF_{10} = 11.75$]. Moreover, the pretest ratings of $P(Z)$
974 were highly correlated with explanatory preferences in the main experiment [$r(12) = .83$, $p < .001$];
975 this correlation is also of sizable magnitude looking just within the *high base rate* versions [$r(5) =$
976 $.44$, $p = .33$] and just within the *low base rate* versions [$r(5) = .58$, $p = .17$]. Thus, when evaluating expla-
977 nations with unknown feature values, participants not only relied on explicit information about evi-
978 dence base rates, as in our previous experiments, but also on their tacit knowledge about the
979 distribution of features over natural categories. These results suggest that the use of inferred evidence
980 may extend to everyday explanatory reasoning, where explicit base rates are often unavailable.

981 These effects, though highly consistent (see Table 8), were smaller than those in previous experi-
982 ments with more explicit manipulations. It is not altogether surprising that our tacit manipulation of
983 base rates here was weaker, since this manipulation requires participants to recruit their prior knowl-

Table 8
Results of Experiment 6.

Category	High base rate version			Low base rate version		
	Feature	Estimated prevalence (%)	Explanatory preference	Feature	Estimated prevalence (%)	Explanatory preference
Fish	Has a jaw	67.4	−0.43	Orange scales	19.7	−0.60
Mushroom	Has a cap	81.3	−0.27	Blue with yellow spots	8.4	−0.52
Frog	Protruding eyes	80.2	−0.38	Has a tail	7.4	−0.84
Bird	Ability to fly	91.7	−0.37	Has teeth	21.2	−0.43
Coat	Full sleeves	90.2	−0.08	Made of silk	10.3	−0.65
Bike	Metal frame	86.6	0.09	Transparent frame	13.3	−0.66
Clock	Requires batteries	65.3	−0.27	Red in color	13.8	−0.71

Note. Prevalence estimates are the mean estimate of category members having each property in the norming pretest. For explanatory preferences from the main experiment, scores potentially range from −5 to 5, with negative scores indicating a narrow latent scope preference and positive scores indicating a wide latent scope preference.

984 edge and since disagreements among participants' tacit base rates will cause regression to the mean.
 985 Further, the same differences between categorization and causal reasoning that we highlighted earlier
 986 would also be at work here—multiple causes often occur simultaneously (so they are not mutually
 987 exclusive) but exemplars usually do not belong to multiple categories at the same taxonomic level
 988 (so they *are* mutually exclusive). As we explained in discussing Experiment 5, this could lead to the
 989 irrelevance of feature base rates being more transparent than the irrelevance of effect base rates,
 990 resulting in relatively smaller effects of evidence base rates in categorization.

991 It is more surprising that a narrow latent scope preference was still found for the *high base rate* ver-
 992 sions, however, given a *wide* latent scope preference for the high base rate conditions of Experiment 2.
 993 This suggests that some other factors contribute to the latent scope effect, over and above inferred evi-
 994 dence. We parse the relative contribution of the five potential mechanisms—inferred evidence, biased
 995 priors, non-independence, pragmatic inference, and representativeness—in Section 11.

996 10. Experiment 7

997 In several of the previous experiments, participants were provided with *reasons* that the evidence
 998 was unavailable, which would tend to block pragmatic inferences about the speaker's intentions.
 999 Experiment 3 specifically measured the effects of such inferences by varying the availability of rea-
 1000 sons, and found that pragmatic inference does not play a significant role in the latent scope bias, at
 1001 least for our experimental materials.

1002 However, the *nature* of the reason for ignorance may have an effect over-and-above pragmatic
 1003 inferences, if these different reasons lead to inferences about the evidence base rates that differ in
 1004 strength. In Experiment 7, we contrasted reasons that led to the latent predictions being unknown
 1005 but *verifiable*, or unknown and *unverifiable*. For example, a *verifiable* reason that test results would
 1006 be unavailable is that the lab technician's handwriting is illegible. In this case, the lab technician could
 1007 be contacted or the test could be rerun, so the evidence can be resolved one way or the other in the
 1008 future. In contrast, an *unverifiable* reason that test results would be unverifiable is that no blood test
 1009 exists for a particular biochemical. In that case, it is unlikely that the levels of that biochemical could
 1010 ever be determined, so the predictions of competing diagnoses cannot be verified.

1011 In terms of the inferred evidence account, the verifiability of a prediction may influence inferences
 1012 about that prediction because people use ease-of-imagining as a heuristic for truth (Koehler, 1991).
 1013 One way to think about this heuristic formally is in terms of simulation-based mechanisms for esti-
 1014 mating probabilities (Bonawitz, Denison, Gopnik, & Griffiths, 2014; Griffiths, Vul, & Sanborn, 2012).
 1015 According to simulation-based models, hypotheses or evidence are sampled in order to estimate prob-

abilities, and this sampling process can lead to systematic biases (Bonawitz et al., 2014). If ease-of-imagining influences the probability of sampling a particular possibility, then less easily imagined possibilities would be deemed less probable than more easily imagined possibilities, consistent with empirical results (Koehler, 1991). In terms of the inferred evidence model (see Eq. (5)), the weight $f^Z = P(Z|I)/P(Z)$ would be smaller when Z is hard-to-imagine than when Z is easy-to-imagine. This places a larger weight on how well the explanations fare in the event that Z is false, which favors H_N . Since it is easy to imagine finding out that a verifiable prediction is true and difficult to imagine finding out that an unverifiable prediction is true, the bias for H_N should be stronger for unverifiable than for verifiable predictions.

10.1. Method

We recruited 100 participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk; 18 were excluded from data analysis because they failed more than 30% of the check questions.

Participants completed seven items in which they took the role of a doctor diagnosing patients, where the diagnosis options (H_N and H_W) had symptoms corresponding to the causal structure in Fig. 1 (i.e., H_N causes X , and H_W causes X and Z). For each item, a different name was given to the patient, to the symptoms (fictitious names for X and Z), and to the diagnosis options (fictitious names for H_N and H_W). Five of the items consisted of an “excerpt from a medical reference book,” stating that one disease (H_N) always caused one biochemical to have abnormal levels (X), while a second disease (H_W) always caused two biochemicals to have abnormal levels (X and Z) but that nothing else was known to lead to those abnormal biochemical levels. Participants then read a “note from the lab,” confirming result X but giving various reasons why the value of Z was unknown. Three of these reasons led to Z being unknown but potentially knowable (the *knowable* conditions): (1) the lab technician’s handwriting was illegible; (2) the results were misplaced; and (3) the test could not be conducted due to equipment failure. The other two reasons led to Z being unknown and unknowable (the *unknowable* conditions): (4) a blood test for that biochemical has not been developed; and (5) that biochemical is too small to be detected in principle. Two additional problems were used as controls, where Z was known, and was either confirmed or disconfirmed (i.e., was in the positive or negative scope of H_W). Each participant also completed a parallel ‘magic diagnosis’ scenario. There was no main effect or interaction with scenario, so we collapsed across this variable in our analyses.

For each scenario, a Latin square was used to assign the seven different patients and symptom sets to the seven different problem structures, consisting of the five latent scope problems varying the reason for ignorance, and the two control problems. For each item, participants were asked which explanation they found most satisfying on a scale from 0 (“Definitely [H_N]”) to 10 (“Definitely [H_W]”). The order in which participants completed the medical and magic scenarios was counterbalanced, and the order of the seven items was randomized within each scenario.

10.2. Results and discussion

As shown in Table 9, these items led to a robust preference for H_N across every condition. This provides further evidence against pragmatic accounts, since the reasons given for the speaker’s ignorance should block participants from making pragmatic inferences.

However, the *magnitude* of the latent scope bias differed across conditions. In cases where the latent effect was potentially *verifiable* (illegible handwriting, misplaced results, equipment failure), the latent scope effect was relatively weak [$M = -0.48$, $SD = 0.85$; $t(81) = -5.04$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.56$, $BF_{10} > 1000$], and did not differ among these reasons [$ts < 1.8$, $ps > .075$, $BF_{01} > 2.4$]. In cases where the latent effect was *unverifiable* (no diagnostic test, unobservable in principle), the latent scope effect was relatively strong [$M = -0.89$, $SD = 1.27$; $t(81) = -6.35$, $p < .001$, $d = -0.70$, $BF_{10} > 1000$], and did not differ between these reasons [$t(81) = 0.38$, $p = .71$, $d = 0.04$, $BF_{01} = 10.7$]. This led to a significant difference between the verifiable and unverifiable reasons [$t(81) = 3.75$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.41$, $BF_{10} = 53.3$].

This sensitivity to ease-of-imagination is consistent with the use of inferred evidence. When Z is unknown and unknowable, it is more difficult to imagine that Z is true (Koehler, 1991), causing an aversion to the broad latent scope explanation (H_W) that predicts Z . In contrast, when Z is unknown

Table 9
Results of Experiment 7.

Reason type	Reason for ignorance	Explanatory preference
Knowable	Illegible handwriting	−0.33 (1.21)
	Misplaced results	−0.53 (1.13)
	Equipment failure	−0.57 (1.11)
Unknowable	No diagnostic test	−0.92 (1.36)
	Unobservable in principle	−0.87 (1.52)

Note. Scores potentially range from −5 to 5 (SDs in parentheses), with negative scores indicating a preference for H_N and positive scores indicating a preference for H_W .

1066 but potentially knowable, it is easier to imagine observing Z in the future, shifting people relatively
1067 more toward the broad latent scope explanation (H_N) that predicts Z .

1068 Two alternative possibilities merit consideration. First, participants could be using the reasons for
1069 ignorance as a way to estimate their priors on each cause, rather than to evaluate the evidence itself.
1070 For example, participants could find diseases with unverifiable symptoms to be implausible. However,
1071 this explanation is at best strained for the magic items (diagnosing various ‘magical traces’ using ‘de-
1072 tector spells’). Since the pattern was identical across the medical and magic items, this explanation
1073 seems unlikely. Second, participants could think that an effect that is impossible to *detect* also cannot
1074 *happen*. However, this interpretation seems unlikely even for the medical items. The *unverifiable* rea-
1075 sons in the medical scenario have plausible and clear physical interpretations (the biomolecule is too
1076 small to be detected by any existing test, or that no diagnostic test has been developed for that bio-
1077 molecule), and we see no reason for participants to think that such molecules could not exist.

1078 11. General discussion

1079 We often must make sense of things with incomplete evidence. Here, we showed that people use
1080 *inferred evidence* in both causal reasoning and categorization to try to minimize these unknowns.
1081 Although such ‘filling in’ strategies are broadly adaptive across many areas of cognition (e.g.,
1082 [Bartlett, 1932](#); [Marr, 1982](#); [Simons & Levin, 1997](#)), participants in the current studies used norma-
1083 tively irrelevant cues to make these inferences, such as the base rates of unknown effects or features.
1084 Thus, the ‘filling in’ or inferred evidence strategy can lead to illusory inferences such as the latent
1085 scope bias ([Khemlani et al., 2011](#)).

1086 We presented two broad kinds of evidence for this thesis. The first kind of evidence concerned the
1087 *output* of reasoning processes. Most critically, we expected that people would use the base rate of
1088 latent evidence to infer whether the evidence would be present in the case at hand. This would be
1089 non-normative, because knowledge of the explanations’ base rates screens off information about
1090 the base rate of the evidence. Nonetheless, people did use these irrelevant base rates in three exper-
1091 iments, across quite different paradigms and manipulations. In Experiment 1A, participants used the
1092 base rates of latent effects in diagnostic causal reasoning, leading to a preference for the wide latent
1093 scope cause (i.e., the cause that posits the unknown effect)—a reversal of the many previous findings of
1094 narrow latent scope preferences ([Khemlani et al., 2011](#); [Sussman et al., 2014](#)). In Experiment 5A, par-
1095 ticipants preferred a narrower over a wider latent scope categorization when no *other* category posited
1096 the latent feature, yet had no preference between the narrow and wide categories when many other
1097 categories had that feature. This result is strikingly non-normative given that the problems empha-
1098 sized the fact that the feature’s base rate was driven by categories other than those under considera-
1099 tion as potential categorizations of the exemplar. Finally, Experiment 6 relied on participants’ tacit
1100 beliefs about the base rates of natural category features, and found a stronger preference for a narrow
1101 latent scope categorization when the latent feature had a low tacit base rate (e.g., a clock having the
1102 feature “being red in color”) rather than a high tacit base rate (e.g., a clock having the feature “requires
1103 batteries”). In addition, Experiment 7 found that a completely different manipulation affecting the
1104 tendency to infer evidence (verifiable versus unverifiable reasons for ignorance) led to a similar pat-
1105 tern of results.

1106 The second kind of evidence concerned the processing implications of inferred evidence. In Exper-
1107 iment 4, we tested the prediction that people would be especially motivated to seek information about
1108 latent effect base rates, and less motivated to seek out information about known effect base rates. This
1109 stands in contrast to the laws of probability, according to which neither of these base rates is diagnos-
1110 tic if the base rates of the causes are known. Indeed, we found not only that the latent effect base rate
1111 was the most sought-after piece of information, but that the base rate of the wide latent scope cause
1112 was also more sought-after than the base rate of the narrow latent scope cause. This latter finding is
1113 particularly distinct from normative responding, where it is the *ratio* of the cause base rates that is
1114 relevant. However, the wide latent scope cause base rate provides information about the latent effect
1115 base rate (since it causes this effect), whereas the narrow latent scope cause base rate provides no
1116 such information. Thus, participants' interest in the latent effect base rate appears to trickle up to
1117 the wide scope explanation base rate.

1118 Finally, our account predicts that participants should produce inferences about latent observations
1119 as they make their explanatory inferences. Experiment 5B found evidence for this prediction, with par-
1120 ticipants being more likely to infer a feature's presence, given that an exemplar belonged to a wide or
1121 narrow latent scope category, when the feature was prevalent in *other* categories, compared to when it
1122 was not. This result complements Experiment 5A's finding of a narrow latent scope bias only when the
1123 feature was not prevalent among other categories: One would expect a stronger preference for the
1124 narrow latent scope explanation when the latent feature was thought unlikely to be present, just as
1125 we found.

1126 11.1. Alternative accounts

1127 Taken together, these results support the role of inferred evidence in explanatory reasoning. How-
1128 ever, several alternative (in some cases, normative) processes could lead to a bias for narrow latent
1129 scope (Table 1). Here, we reconsider these accounts in light of the current findings. Although the cur-
1130 rent results demonstrate that inferred evidence contributes to the latent scope bias over and above
1131 these other accounts, there is reason to think that some of them may play a role.

1132 First, people could have prior probabilities that favor narrow over wide latent scope explanations,
1133 and their priors might favor narrow scope explanations more when their predictions have low prior
1134 probabilities. In general, adults and even young children are both sensitive to prior probabilities in
1135 their explanatory reasoning (Bonawitz & Lombrozo, 2012; Johnston, Johnson, Koven, & Keil, 2015,
1136 in preparation; Lombrozo, 2007). It is therefore somewhat surprising that in Experiment 2, partici-
1137 pants indicated that their priors *did* favor the narrow latent scope explanation more when the latent
1138 prediction had a low base rate, yet these biased priors were not associated with their explanatory
1139 judgments. Most critically for the inferred evidence account, the latent scope bias and effect of evi-
1140 dence base rates held up even after adjusting statistically for participants' priors. Although the effect
1141 of priors seems to have been swamped by the effect of evidence base rates in this particular experi-
1142 ment, it is certainly possible that biased priors can accentuate or attenuate the latent scope bias,
1143 and future work might explore this possibility.

1144 Second, people could believe that the independence assumption is violated—that the observed and
1145 latent evidence may be correlated, conditioned on which explanation is true. If the evidence is nega-
1146 tively correlated, then the observed evidence counts as evidence *against* the latent prediction, whereas
1147 if it is positively correlated, then the observed evidence counts as evidence *for* the latent prediction.
1148 Thus, a negative correlation would lead to a narrow latent scope bias and a positive correlation would
1149 lead to a wide latent scope bias. Experiment 2 tested this issue directly, and found *positive* violations of
1150 independence, which ought to lead toward a *wide* latent scope bias—against our hypothesis. However,
1151 as with the effect of biased priors, this non-independence did not appear to affect judgments in Exper-
1152 iment 2, and the effect of evidence base rates held up after adjusting for violations of independence.

1153 Third, people might be using inferred evidence of a different sort, based not on base rates but on
1154 *conversational* implicature. For example, “we don't know about Z” could be interpreted to mean “we
1155 don't know about Z, but we probably would have observed Z if it existed, so Z is probably false.” In that
1156 case, pragmatic inferences could lead to a bias favoring narrow latent scope. Alternatively, “we don't
1157 know about Z” could be interpreted to mean that the speaker is hiding relevant information from the

1158 participant. That inference would lead to a bias favoring *wide* latent scope. However, neither of these
1159 inferences appears to be a primary factor driving the results. Several experiments included plausible
1160 reasons for the speaker's ignorance, and Experiment 3 directly compared cases with and without such
1161 reasons. These studies did not support an important role for pragmatic inference in the latent scope
1162 bias.

1163 Finally, the observed evidence $\{X\}$ might be seen as more similar to (or representative of) the
1164 hypothesized evidence under the narrow scope explanation, $\{X\}$, than to the hypothesized evidence
1165 under the wide scope explanation, $\{X, Z\}$. If people use similarity or representativeness to estimate
1166 the fit between data and hypothesis (Tenenbaum & Griffiths, 2001a), then such a mechanism could
1167 lead to a bias toward the narrow latent scope explanation. However, this cannot be a full explanation
1168 because it would not predict any effect of $P(Z)$, since Z is not known to be present in the case at hand
1169 regardless of its base rate (cf. Experiments 1–6).

1170 We do not necessarily claim, however, that inferred evidence captures all of the variation in judg-
1171 ments. The regression model in Experiment 2 adjusted for the effects of $P(Z)$, as well as biased priors
1172 and non-independence, in an experimental setting that would minimize pragmatic inferences. There
1173 was still a slight bias toward the narrow latent scope explanation even when $P(Z) = .5$, suggesting that
1174 some factor is at play above and beyond these others. Likewise, Experiment 5 found that there was no
1175 bias even when the base rate of Z was high, and Experiment 6 even found a slight bias toward the nar-
1176 row latent scope explanation even when participants had high tacit base rates of Z . One possibility is
1177 that representativeness plays a key role in these biases, since it was the only factor not controlled in
1178 Experiment 2. A second, not mutually exclusive, possibility is that even when the base rate of Z is 50%,
1179 and participants think that they would be equally likely to observe positive and negative evidence,
1180 that they overweight the *importance* of the negative evidence. As noted in the introduction, an expla-
1181 nation's negative scope (or disconfirmed predictions) counts against an explanation more than its posi-
1182 tive scope (or confirmed predictions) counts in its favor (Johnson et al., 2015a, 2016). It could be that
1183 when scope is ambiguous, the possibility of disconfirmation looms larger than the possibility of con-
1184 firmation, leading to a narrow latent scope bias that can be reversed only with very strong inferred
1185 positive evidence (as in Experiment 2). We regard this as an interesting direction for future work.

1186 11.2. *The adaptive value of inferred evidence*

1187 Our participants' judgments violated the laws of probability in striking and consistent ways. Yet,
1188 explanation with incomplete evidence is ubiquitous in everyday cognition: Are our inferences really
1189 so maladaptive as the violations suggest?

1190 We are often confronted both with too little and too much information—too little in the sense that
1191 useful information is often unavailable, and too much in the sense that much of the available informa-
1192 tion is irrelevant or beyond our computational capacity to analyze. To the extent that we can selec-
1193 tively infer diagnostic evidence, such strategies can assist with both horns of this informational
1194 dilemma: We can single out those pieces of evidence for inference that are unavailable from the envi-
1195 ronment but that are especially diagnostic.

1196 Inferred evidence is commonly used in adaptive ways in perception, such as when people infer con-
1197 tours (Kanizsa, 1976) and continuities of objects (Michotte, Thinès, & Crabbé, 1964), and more gener-
1198 ally when we infer the three-dimensional world from a two-dimensional retinal array (Marr, 1982).
1199 But such strategies are just as ubiquitous—and usually, just as adaptive—in higher-level cognitive
1200 tasks, even though we have focused here on non-normative strategies that people use. For example,
1201 if Detective Colombo is trying to distinguish between Professor Plum (who just came from his ivory
1202 tower office) and Colonel Mustard (who just came from a muddy battlefield) as culprits, then it is per-
1203 fectly rational to reason from the observed evidence (e.g., chemical signatures of dirt on the carpet) to
1204 inferences rendered likely by that evidence (e.g., the carpet was muddy at the time of the crime), and
1205 to use those inferences for distinguishing among perpetrators. Colombo might reason, “I know that
1206 there is a positive chemical test for mud, so there was likely to have been mud on the floor at the time
1207 of the crime. Since Colonel Mustard had muddy shoes, he is the more likely culprit.” This reasoning is
1208 perfectly valid—that is, people can safely make inferences from observed evidence, to make educated
1209 guesses about other diagnostic evidence. Indeed, this reasoning is more than valid: Such inferences are

1210 needed to solve the mind's informational dilemma. Were it not for such reasoning, we would be hope-
1211 lessly bound to the observed.

1212 Our participants, however, appear to have overgeneralized this ordinarily useful heuristic. Instead
1213 of making inferences from one piece of evidence to another, they made inferences from the evidence
1214 *base rates* to the evidence itself. They behaved more like Inspector Clouseau, who does not know about
1215 the chemical signatures of mud, but does know that the family dog often spreads mud throughout the
1216 house. He might reason, "I know that the dog often has muddy paws, so there was likely to have been
1217 mud on the floor at the time of the crime. Since Colonel Mustard had muddy shoes, he is the more
1218 likely culprit." The error here is subtle, because Clouseau's first inference is valid—the carpet probably
1219 was muddy. The argument goes wrong, however, in failing to recognize this fact as irrelevant to deter-
1220 mining the culprit.

1221 In both of these cases, both Colombo and Clouseau correctly inferred an unobservable fact from the
1222 information available—the fact that the carpet was probably muddy at the time of the crime. If it came
1223 from evidence base rates, it will not be diagnostic after all—and it is participants' failure to recognize
1224 this fact that makes their inferences non-normative. It is not the inferred evidence strategy itself, then,
1225 but its indiscriminate application that is at fault.

1226 11.3. Implications for theories of explanation

1227 The need to make sense of the world drives much of cognition. Categories allow us to bundle fea-
1228 tures together coherently to support inference, pragmatic inference allows us to interpret others'
1229 utterances, theory of mind allows us to infer others' mental states, and causal reasoning allows us
1230 to understand present events in terms of the past. These various sense-making capacities can be
1231 referred to, collectively, as *abductive cognition* (Peirce, 1997/1903; see Lombrozo, 2012). To what
1232 extent do these abductive faculties rely on distinct psychological mechanisms, and to what extent
1233 do they share a common logic? Our own view, consistent with the current results, can be contrasted
1234 with two other possible positions.

1235 First, one could take a more fine-grained view of abductive cognition—a view that seems to be
1236 implicit in the division of labor of cognitive science (see Danks, 2014 for related discussion). For exam-
1237 ple, categorization has long been an object of intense scrutiny by the cognitive science community
1238 (Murphy, 2002; Smith & Medin, 1981). After waves of research ruled by various theoretical traditions
1239 (e.g., the classical view of concepts, prototype theories, exemplar theories), many researchers came to
1240 adopt the view that concepts are linked to reasoners' tacit theories (Murphy & Medin, 1985)—that our
1241 categorizations of objects are intimately linked to our explanatory models. Similar conclusions have
1242 been reached independently in many other abductive domains—in theory of mind (Gopnik &
1243 Wellman, 1992), pragmatics (Grice, 1989), causal reasoning (Kelley, 1973), perception (Von
1244 Helmholtz, 2005/1867), memory (Bartlett, 1932), and even emotion (Schachter & Singer, 1962).
1245 Despite these acknowledged links between sense-making and these various domains, their study
1246 has proceeded in relative isolation, signaling little confidence that they share an underlying logic. If
1247 these diverse faculties make sense of experience in diverse ways, then abductive cognition is highly
1248 fine-grained, justifying the intellectual isolationism of their study.

1249 More recently, a much more general, Bayesian view has emerged. This view captures the key
1250 insight that these abductive processes have a common informational structure—inferring hypotheses
1251 from observations. Many inferential tasks can be understood as modifying beliefs based on new infor-
1252 mation according to the normative principles of Bayes' theorem. Rational probabilistic models have
1253 been applied to such diverse phenomena as causal reasoning (Griffiths & Tenenbaum, 2005), catego-
1254 rization (Tenenbaum & Griffiths, 2001b), language acquisition (Xu & Tenenbaum, 2007), visual percep-
1255 tion (Kersten, Mamassian, & Yuille, 2004), and even motor control (Körding & Wolpert, 2004),
1256 speaking to the broad applicability of this framework. Although much of the work in these models
1257 comes from the specification of the prior probabilities and the likelihood functions, the inference
1258 mechanism always relies on the same Bayesian updating principles—not just a single set of principles
1259 across abductive tasks, but a single *principle* across these tasks.

1260 Here, we advocate a third approach that falls between these extremes. Whereas we argue, along-
1261 side the Bayesians, that abductive cognition is likely to share a set of common mechanisms, we sus-

1262 pect that they rely more on heuristic machinery rather than normative probabilistic inference as such.
1263 For example, people use a simplicity heuristic (Lombrozo, 2007) and a complexity heuristic (Johnson
1264 et al., 2014) to approximate normative Bayesian inference in evaluating explanations. Specifically,
1265 simpler explanations are assigned higher prior probabilities, whereas more complex explanations
1266 are assigned higher likelihoods. On the one hand, these heuristics appear to be used quite generally
1267 (in causal explanation and categorization, as well as some visual tasks; Johnson et al., 2014, 2016;
1268 Lombrozo, 2007). Yet both principles can lead to illusory inferences, suggesting that they are heuris-
1269 tics rather than emergent principles from normative Bayesian calculations.

1270 The current results contribute to this larger project of understanding the inferential machinery of
1271 explanation, and underscore in particular the overlaps between the inferential processes involved in
1272 categorization and in causal reasoning. For example, people seem to adopt beliefs in an all-or-none
1273 manner in both categorization (Malt, Ross, & Murphy, 1995) and causal diagnosis (Johnson,
1274 Merchant, & Keil, 2015b). Teleological or function-based reasoning is widespread in both causal expla-
1275 nation (Lombrozo & Carey, 2006) and classification (German & Johnson, 2002; Lombrozo & Rehder,
1276 2012). And people evaluate both putative categorizations and causes using common principles such
1277 as simplicity (Johnson, Kim, & Keil, 2016; Lombrozo, 2007; Pothos & Chater, 2002), diversity (Kim &
1278 Keil, 2003; Osherson, Smith, Wilkie, López, & Shafir, 1990), and belief utility (Johnson, Rajeev-
1279 Kumar, & Keil, 2015). The current findings further make the case for common inferential processes
1280 in categorization and causal reasoning, documenting a non-normative use of inferred evidence consis-
1281 tent across these superficially distinct cognitive processes. Although the differing task demands of
1282 causal reasoning and categorization led to different magnitudes of the effect (e.g., wide scope prefer-
1283 ences were found in causal reasoning but not in categorization), the underlying mechanism was strik-
1284 ingly similar across these processes. This suggests that, given the abstract similarities in data-to-
1285 hypothesis reasoning between categorization and causal reasoning, other sorts of data-to-
1286 hypothesis inferences may likewise rely on analogous computations.

1287 Although our approach differs from the Bayesian approach, these two frameworks are not inher-
1288 ently in tension. Bayesian theories are generally posed at the computational level, aiming to charac-
1289 terize the problem that people are solving on the assumption that people solve it in an optimal
1290 manner given the laws of probability. Although our view—and the current empirical findings—speak
1291 against any theory on which people behave in a fully optimal way in local contexts, heuristic strategies
1292 such as inferred evidence can be broadly adaptive, and thus potentially rational from a wider point of
1293 view. In fact, Bayesian models have had great success in explaining apparently non-normative behav-
1294 ior, given that participants understand their task differently from the experimenters or are adopting
1295 strategies that work at a more global level (e.g., Griffiths & Tenenbaum, 2005; Oaksford & Chater,
1296 2007). We look forward to the possibility that such models might help to clarify the rational basis
1297 of the inferred evidence strategy, perhaps building on our own formalization of the reasoning pro-
1298 cesses involved (see Section 2.1 and Appendix A).

1299 12. Conclusion

1300 Both in science and in everyday life, we must weigh explanations consistent with untested predic-
1301 tions, and we often cannot verify more than a small subset of these predictions. In this sense, *most*
1302 explanations are latent scope explanations. Here, we showed that rather than accepting ignorance
1303 about diagnostic evidence, people attempt to infer what they would observe if they were able to look.
1304 Although it may often be possible to make educated guesses from background knowledge, the present
1305 results show that people will also use irrelevant information in the service of inferring evidence: We
1306 do not settle for ignorance when apparent truth is within reach.

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1313 **Appendix A. Derivation of Eq. (5)**

1314 First, we apply Bayes' theorem to calculate the posterior odds of H_L (a cause which leads to X) over
1315 H_W (a cause which leads to both X and Z), given that X is observed and Z is not observed (call this state
1316 of ignorance I):
1317

1319
$$\frac{P(H_N|X, I)}{P(H_W|X, I)} = \frac{P(H_N)}{P(H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(X, I|H_N)}{P(X, I|H_W)} \quad (\text{A.1})$$

1320 By the causal Markov assumption—a standard assumption in graphical causal models (Pearl, 1988,
1321 2000; Spirtes et al., 1993)—we assume that X and I are conditionally independent, given H_i . This means
1322 that knowing about X does not tell us anything further about I (and vice versa), assuming that we
1323 know whether H_L or H_W is true. Therefore, the likelihood term can be factorized into:
1324

1326
$$\frac{P(H_N|X, I)}{P(H_W|X, I)} = \frac{P(H_N)}{P(H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(X|H_N)}{P(X|H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(I|H_N)}{P(I|H_W)} \quad (\text{A.2})$$

1327 If we assume that ignorance (I) is equally likely given either hypothesis, then the rightmost term
1328 should collapse to 1, and the reasoner would have no bias. (Assuming that this ratio is different from
1329 1 is one way to model pragmatic inferences.)

1330 However, to explore the possibility of inferred evidence, we break down this rightmost likelihood
1331 term:
1332

1334
$$\frac{P(I|H_N)}{P(I|H_W)} = \frac{P(I, Z|H_N) + P(I, -Z|H_N)}{P(I, Z|H_W) + P(I, -Z|H_W)} \quad (\text{A.3})$$

1335 We now assume that I is conditionally independent of H_i , given the state of Z . That is, given that Z is
1336 stipulated to be either true or false, our ignorance I has no bearing on whether H_1 or H_2 is the correct
1337 hypothesis (and vice versa). This seems intuitive, since I is typically relevant only insofar as it helps us
1338 to determine whether or not Z is true.³ This assumption allows us to rewrite the likelihood term for I as:
1339

1341
$$\frac{P(I|H_N)}{P(I|H_W)} = \frac{P(I|Z) \cdot P(Z|H_N) + P(I|-Z) \cdot P(-Z|H_N)}{P(I|Z) \cdot P(Z|H_W) + P(I|-Z) \cdot P(-Z|H_W)} \quad (\text{A.4})$$

1342 By Bayes' theorem:
1343

1345
$$P(I|Z) = \frac{P(Z|I) \cdot P(I)}{P(Z)} \quad (\text{A.5})$$

1346 Inserting this expression into Eq. (A.4) along with the corresponding expression for $-Z$, we find that:
1347

1349
$$\frac{P(I|H_N)}{P(I|H_W)} = \frac{\frac{P(Z|I) \cdot P(I)}{P(Z)} \cdot P(Z|H_N) + \frac{P(-Z|I) \cdot P(I)}{P(-Z)} \cdot P(-Z|H_N)}{\frac{P(Z|I) \cdot P(I)}{P(Z)} \cdot P(Z|H_W) + \frac{P(-Z|I) \cdot P(I)}{P(-Z)} \cdot P(-Z|H_W)} \quad (\text{A.6})$$

1350 Substituting $f^{+Z} = P(Z|I)/P(Z)$ and $f^{-Z} = P(-Z|I)/P(-Z)$ and replacing this likelihood term into Eq. (A.2), we
1351 derive the final result, Eq. (5) from the main text:
1352

1354
$$\frac{P(H_N|X, I)}{P(H_W|X, I)} = \frac{P(H_N)}{P(H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(X|H_N)}{P(X|H_W)} \cdot \frac{P(Z|H_N) \cdot f^{+Z} + P(-Z|H_N) \cdot f^{-Z}}{P(Z|H_W) \cdot f^{+Z} + P(-Z|H_W) \cdot f^{-Z}}$$

³ There are some cases where this assumption might not hold, particularly if one hypothesis implies that the evidence is more likely to be absent than the other (e.g., if one suspect but not another is capable of tampering with the evidence). That said, these sorts of cases reflect a somewhat different causal structure from that considered here, in that the ignorance is itself evidence favoring one hypothesis over the other.

1355 **Appendix B. Supplementary material**

1356 Supplementary data associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cogpsych.2016.06.004>.

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