The interpretation of ambiguous trimorphemic words in sentence context

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Many trimorphemic words are structurally and semantically ambiguous. For example, *unlockable* can either be *un-lockable* (cannot be locked) or *unlock-able* (can be unlocked). Which interpretation is preferred and whether the preceding sentence context affects the initial interpretation is not clear from prior research. The present experiment embedded ambiguous trimorphemic words in sentence contexts, manipulated whether or not preceding context disambiguated the meaning, and examined the pattern of fixation durations on the ambiguous word and the remainder of the text. The results indicated that the *unlock-able* interpretation was preferred; moreover, preceding context did not exert a significant effect until the eyes had initially exited from the target word.

Most research on the role of morphology in word recognition has been focused on whether morphemic analysis is involved in visual word identification. We think that the bulk of the evidence indicates that the answer is yes. For example, in isolated word recognition (e.g., Taft, 1988; Taft & Forster, 1975), the frequency of the root of a prefixed or suffixed English word influences lexical decision time (when the frequency of the whole word is controlled). Similarly, in sentence contexts, the frequency of the root of an English prefixed word (Niswander-Klement & Pollatsek, 2006) and the frequencies of both the first and second constituents of a long Finnish compound word influence the gaze duration on the word in sentence context (Hyönä & Pollatsek, 1998; Pollatsek, Hyönä, & Bertram, 2000). Thus, fixation times on disarray are longer than those on disorder (array has a lower frequency than does order), even though the prefixed words themselves are matched on frequency (Niswander-Klement & Pollatsek, 2006). These results thus indicate that morphemic components are influencing the word-identification process.

For words with both a prefix and a suffix, however, there is the additional question of the order in which readers attach the affixes to the root morpheme. For example, for *unlockable*, if one first attaches the prefix to the root morpheme to get the *left-branching* structure *unlock-able*, the word means "can be unlocked," whereas, if one first attaches the suffix to get the *right-branching* structure *unlockable*, it means "cannot be locked" (see Figure 1).

Words of this form (unXable) are unique in English in having two legal structures. In contrast, relockable has only one legal structure: the right-branching relock-able. That is because the prefix re- applies only to verbs, so that re-lockable is an inadmissible structure. In contrast, a word like unsinkable must have the left-branching structure, unsinkable, because one cannot unsink something. However, this still leaves open the question of how people process trimorphemic words. One possibility is that, for structurally unambiguous words like relockable, readers do not

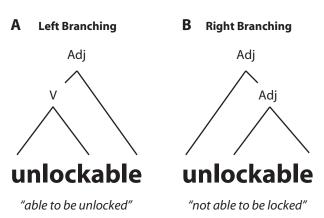


Figure 1. The two possible structural configurations for the ambiguous trimorphemic word *unlockable*.

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initially attach the affixes in the "legal" way but still come up with the appropriate meaning "able to be relocked" because no other combination makes sense. A second possibility is that such polymorphemic words are looked up through their whole form; however, this seems problematical for such trimorphemic words, many of which have zero frequency in many English word corpora.

Libben (2003) explored the issue of how trimorphemic words are analyzed by using a lexical decision task with dashes being placed at one of two morphological boundaries (e.g., re—fillable vs. refill—able). Surprisingly, he found that RTs for both types of unambiguous words (e.g., right- and left-branching) were faster when the dashes appeared between the prefix and the root, even if they produced an ungrammatical parse (e.g., re-fillable). For ambiguous words, such as unlockable, however, the cost of breaking at the prefix and breaking at the suffix was not significantly different. A similar pattern of data was obtained in an offline task (Libben, 2006), in which participants drew a line to mark what they believed to be the major morphological constituent boundary. Participants actually incorrectly parsed left-branching words (e.g., re-lockable) over half the time, whereas their error rate for right-branching stimuli (e.g., unthink-able) was only 7%. The ambiguous stimuli were also segmented at the prefix more than half the time (e.g., un-lockable). These data indicate a strong prefix-root separation preference.

These data indicate that the legality of the structure does not play a dominant role in how people analyze trimorphemic words and suggest that there is quite a strong preference for right-branching structures. They are consistent with an early-stage prefix-stripping mechanism, such as was proposed by Taft and Forster (1975). Presumably, a motivation for such a mechanism is that the prefix is encountered first and can be recognized more easily as a unit than can the suffix.

These studies, however, may be uncovering shallow, or more form-based, stages of word recognition, because there was no necessity in either experiment for the participants to access the meaning of the trimorphemic word. In an attempt to address this problem, de Almeida and Libben (2005) investigated the role of preceding-sentence context on processing Libben's (2003) ambiguous trimorphemic stimuli. Relevant for our present purposes was Experiment 2: an online cross-modal lexical decision task in which sentences, as in the following example, were presented aurally. Participants had to make a lexical decision for a bimorphemic string, such as *lockable* (compared with an unrelated bimorphemic control), at the offset of the ambiguous word *unlockable*.

- (A) When the zookeeper tried to lock the birdcage he noticed that the birdcage was unlockable (right-branching biasing)
- (B) When the zookeeper tried to unlock the birdcage he noticed that the birdcage was unlockable (left-branching biasing)

De Almeida and Libben (2005) reasoned that, if context determined parsing preferences online, priming to

lockable would be greater in A than in B, because lockable is a constituent of un-lockable but not of unlock-able. However, because there was significant priming in both contexts but no significant difference in priming between the two sentential contexts, their data indicated that context had little effect on parsing preferences. However, the experiment did not clarify the issue of how people interpreted the meaning of the word nor what their final structural preference was. Thus, we think that the issue of whether a left-branching or right-branching hypothesis is preferred for trimorphemic words—when they are read for meaning—is still open, as is the issue of whether preceding context influences such parsing preferences.

The present experiment explored how trimorphemic words are processed in normal sentence context. We employed only ambiguous trimorphemic words of the form unXable, because these are the only ones in which the meaning is ambiguous and thus allow one the best chance both of understanding when a structure is decided upon (because the different structures have different meanings) and whether the preceding sentence context influences the initial computation of the structure on meaning. Our paradigm is a variation of the eyetracking paradigm that Duffy, Morris, and Rayner (1988) employed for monomorphemic lexically ambiguous words (also see Rayner & Duffy, 1986). They employed either biased (e.g., port) or balanced (e.g., coach) ambiguous words. (For the former, one meaning was much more frequent than the other; for the latter, the frequencies of the two meanings were approximately equal.) They also manipulated the sentence context preceding the ambiguous word: either disambiguating (supporting the less frequent meaning of the word) or neutral. When the preceding context was neutral, the succeeding context similarly supported the less frequent meaning.

They observed an interaction between preceding context and the nature of the ambiguity. For the biased words, fixation times on the word were longer when the preceding context disambiguated it; however, there were fewer regressions to the ambiguous word. Thus, disambiguating preceding context apparently forced the reader to access the less frequent meaning (taking more time), whereas with neutral preceding context, the more frequent meaning was typically encoded and had to be repaired when subsequent context made that interpretation untenable. In contrast, disambiguating preceding context shortened fixation time on the balanced words, suggesting that it reduced competition between the two meanings, allowing the meaning consistent with the preceding context to be accessed more quickly.

The present experiment employed preceding contexts that were biasing toward either one meaning of the ambiguous word or the other. However, it differs from Duffy et al. (1988) in one crucial way, in that we employed two sets of biasing contexts: one to the left-branching interpretation (i.e., [unX]able) and the other to the right-branching interpretation (i.e., un[Xable]). This allowed us to determine which structure, if either, was the dominant one. When the preceding biasing context is consistent with the nondominant structure, there should be significant costs in processing the ambiguous word relative to when the

preceding context is neutral, whereas when the preceding context is consistent with the dominant structure, there should be little or no disruption in processing the ambiguous word relative to a neutral preceding context. However, if the subsequent context makes clear that the less preferred meaning was intended, there should be significant disruption in processing when the preceding context is neutral. In sum, we should be able to determine which interpretation is dominant. Moreover, whether context effects occur on fixation times on the target word should allow us to determine whether the context affects the initial encoding of the ambiguous word.

METHOD

Participants

All 28 participants were members of the University of Massachusetts community, were native speakers of English, and had normal or corrected-to-normal vision. They were either given extra course credit or paid \$7 for their participation.

Apparatus

Eye movements were measured with an SR Research EyeLink 1000 system. Viewing was binocular, but eye movements were recorded from the right eye only. Following calibration, gaze-position error was less than 0.5°. Fixation locations were sampled every millisecond. All sentences were displayed on two or three lines on the screen with a maximum of 85 characters per line. All letters were lowercase (except when capitals were appropriate) and in monospaced Courier font. Participants were seated 61 cm from a 19-inch Vision Master Pro 545 color monitor. At this distance, 3.15 characters equaled 1° of visual angle.

Materials

We created 16 two-sentence passages, each featuring an *unXable* word. Four versions were created for each passage (see Table 1 for an example and Table 5 for the 16 target words). In Version 1, the preceding context biased toward left branching; in Version 2, it biased toward right branching. In both, the trimorphemic word was followed by a context congruent with the same bias. In Versions 3 and 4, the context preceding the trimorphemic word was neutral with regard to biasing toward either parse. However, in Version 3, the ensuing context was compatible with a left-branching parse and, in Version 4, with a right-branching parse. We employed a counterbalanced design in which each of the 16 trimorphemes was read only once by each participant. The 16 experimental passages were embedded in a pseudorandom order within a set containing 64 filler two-sentence passages. (The materials can be downloaded from http://expsy.ugent .be/research/Rdocuments/downloads/trimorphemic.pdf.)

Procedure

Participants were given a description of the experimental procedure and were asked to read sentences on the monitor. They were told that they would be asked questions about the sentences and were instructed to read for comprehension. Participants stopped sentence presentation by pressing a button. The initial calibration of the eyetracking system required about 5 min. Each participant read 10 two-sentence practice passages to become familiar with the procedure. Comprehension questions were asked after 25% of the trials, and the accuracy answering them was 90%. The experiment lasted about 30 min.

RESULTS

For the purpose of the eye-movement analyses, the text was divided into four regions: Region 1 was the first sentence, Region 2 was the part of the second sentence preceding the target word, Region 3 was the target word (including the space before it), and Region 4 was the text after the target word. We will focus on three fixation-duration measures. The first is the duration of the first fixation in a region. The second is gaze duration—the sum of all fixation durations on a region between when the region is first fixated on until the region is exited (either to the right or left). This measure, for regions containing more than one word, is sometimes called first pass time. The third measure is go-past time (also referred to as regression-path duration), which is the sum of all fixation durations on a region until it is exited to the right. It differs from gaze duration by including both regressive fixations to preceding regions and any fixations on the region that occur on the region after these regressions. Thus, go-past time presumably includes not only time to encode the material, but also time to repair misunderstandings.¹

Analyses were carried out using a linear mixed-effects (lme) model specifying participants and items as crossed random effects (e.g., Baayen, 2007). One advantage of these analyses is that they result in considerably less loss of statistical power in unbalanced designs due to missing values than do the traditional ANOVAs across participants and items (i.e., F_1 and F_2 ANOVA analyses; see Baayen, Davidson, & Bates, 2008). The significance values and standard errors (SEs) reported reflect both participant and item variability. The p values were estimated by using posterior distributions for the model parameters obtained by Markov chain Monte Carlo sampling. The regression

Table 1 Sample Sentences Illustrating Each of the Four Conditions in the Experiment

- Ultimate meaning is unX(able)—preceding context biasing
 The zookeeper needed to get the new bird out of its cage.
 As the cage was unlockable, his key quickly opened it and he removed the bird.
- 2. Ultimate meaning is un(Xable)—preceding context biasing
 The zookeeper wanted to make sure the new bird stayed in its cage.
 As the cage was unlockable, he needed to fasten the door with wire instead.
- 3. Ultimate meaning is unX(able)—preceding context neutral The zookeeper inspected the new bird and its cage.

 As the cage was unlockable, his key quickly opened it and he removed the bird.
- 4. Ultimate meaning is un(Xable)—preceding context neutral The zookeeper inspected the new bird and its cage. As the cage was unlockable, he needed to fasten the door with wire instead.

weights can be interpreted as follows: A value of -50 for *context* means that the intercept is 50 msec shorter in the model for biasing context than for neutral context. Likewise, a value of 300 for *use* means that the intercept was 300 msec longer in the model when the correct meaning was *unlock-able* than when it was *un-lockable*. Although we report main effects of the intended meaning of the target word in Tables 2–4, we do not comment on them, because these effects are hard to interpret because the meanings of the sentences were different.

Because the first sentence (Region 1) was different across conditions, the eye-movement measures on it are irrelevant. There were no differences across the conditions approaching significance in Region 2 (the second sentence preceding the target word). The fitted means and regression weights of the lme models for the fixation durations are reported in Table 2. Because the text was identical in all conditions, the lack of any significant effect in Region 2 indicates that there was no parsing or assignment of meaning to the target word before fixation of the target word.

The first meaningful differences occurred in Region 3; however, as shown in Table 3, they did not occur early, indicating that the process of assigning structure and meaning to these ambiguous trimorphemic words takes appreciable time. The eye-movement measure that reflects the earliest effects is the first-fixation duration on the word, and the only effect on this measure that was close to significant was a 22-msec (facilitative) main effect of having a prior biasing context (SE = 12). However, because this (and all other effects) disappeared in the gaze-duration measure, this first-fixation effect probably reflects Type I error (see Table 3).

In contrast, the somewhat later measure, go-past duration, indicated quite large effects of prior context on processing time. As was indicated earlier, go-past time includes both durations of regressions back from the re-

gion of interest and possible refixations on the region after a regression. The 101-msec interaction between context and intended meaning was significant (SE = 46, p < .05). The 68-msec inhibiting effect of prior context for the apparently nondominant un(Xable) meaning was significant (SE = 32), but the facilitating 32-msec effect of preceding context for the apparently dominant (unX)able meaning was not (SE = 33).

As can be seen in Table 3, the effects in go-past time² were closely mirrored by the pattern of regressions to preceding regions of the text. However, although the main effect of context on regression probability was marginally significant (with more regressions to preceding text when that text constrained the meaning of the target word; b = .51, SE = .28, p < .10), the interaction of constraint and preceding context was not. This suggests that the significant go-past effect was not only due to readers regressing more, but also to spending somewhat more time when they did.

To summarize, there was little, if any, effect of either the intended meaning or the preceding context on either first-fixation or gaze duration on the trimorphemic word. However, substantial effects occurred slightly later that were consistent with the pattern observed by Duffy et al. (1988). First, when the meaning consistent with the entire passage is the apparently nondominant un(Xable)meaning, having a preceding context consistent only with this meaning slowed processing soon after the word was encountered. That is, with a neutral preceding context, the apparently dominant (unX)able meaning was apparently encoded by the reader, but when the prior context made this meaning unlikely, it took extra time to get to the nondominant un(Xable) meaning. In contrast, when the meaning consistent with the passage was the apparently dominant (unX)able meaning, this meaning was the one encoded, regardless of whether the preceding context was biasing or neutral; however, when the prior context supported this dominant meaning, it may have attenuated

Table 2

Eye-Movement Measures (in Milliseconds) on Region 2 (the Second Sentence Preceding the Trimorphemic Word)

	Ultimate Meaning Is un(Xable)			Ultimate Meaning Is (unX)able			
Eye- Movement Measure	Preceding Biasing Context	Preceding Neutral Context	Difference	Preceding Biasing Context	Preceding Neutral Context	Difference	
First-fixation duration Gaze duration Go-past time	190 486 488	202 488 495	+12 +2 +7	193 501 502	194 466 487	+1 -45 -15	

Table 3
Eye-Movement Measures on Region 3 (the Trimorphemic Word)

	Ultimate Meaning Is un(Xable)			Ultimate Meaning Is (unX)able			
Eye-Movement Measure	Preceding Biasing Context	Preceding Neutral Context	Difference	Preceding Biasing Context	Preceding Neutral Context	Difference	
First-fixation duration	247	269	+22°	250	246	-4	
Gaze duration	337	338	+1	322	343	+21	
Go-past time	457	388	-69*	378	410	+32	
Probability of regressing from region	.22	.12	10*	.15	.15	.00	

 $^{^{\}circ}p < .10. \quad ^{*}p < .05.$

Eye-Movement Measures on Region 4 (the Subsequent Text)							
	Ultimate Meaning Is un(Xable)			Ultimate Meaning Is (unX)able			
Eye-Movement Measure	Preceding Biasing Context	Preceding Neutral Context	Difference	Preceding Biasing Context	Preceding Neutral Context	Difference	
First-fixation duration	248	229	-19	246	241	-5	
Gaze duration	1,635	1,774	+139	1,620	1,650	+30	
Go-past time	1,952	2,250	+298**	2,298	2,274	-24	
Probability of regressing from region	.19	.25	+.06	.40	.35	05	

Table 4
Eye-Movement Measures on Region 4 (the Subsequent Text)

conflict between accessing the two meanings and speeded processing a bit.

There were clear differences in Region 4 consistent with the above analysis. As was the case with Region 3, there were no significant effects on either the first-fixation or gaze duration. Instead the differences are most clearly reflected in the most global measure, the go-past time, which, in this case, was equal to the time spent on the passage after first fixating Region 4. As can be seen in Table 4, there were large facilitative effects of biasing preceding context, and the 322-msec interaction with intended meaning was significant (SE = 149, p < .05). Contrast analyses showed a significant 298-msec facilitating effect of preceding context for the apparently nondominant un(Xable) meaning (SE = 106, p < .01), and a nonsignificant inhibiting 22-msec effect of prior context for the apparently dominant (unX)able meaning (SE = 107, p > .05). As was the case with Region 3, we examined the probability of regressing from Region 4 to preceding regions, but only the 80-msec main effect of intended meaning was significant (SE = .22, p < .001). Thus, although the difference between gaze on the region and go-past time is dependent on a regression to the preceding text, this pattern of data indicates that the effects on go-past time are due largely to more time being spent trying to sort out the meaning when one has regressed rather than to more regressions to the preceding text.

We did not report total fixation time on Regions 3 and 4 because they added little of interest. The pattern for Re-

gion 4 was the same as for go-past but a bit smaller because it does not include regressions to Region 3; the interaction was 180 msec (t = 1.57, SE = 114, p = .12). There was virtually no interaction effect (18 msec, t < 1) on total time on Region 3; however, this measure is hard to interpret because it includes refixations on the target word after regressing from the target word and refixations from Region 4.

We conducted further analyses to explore why there was considerable variability among items. One hypothesis is that, although the (unX)able meaning is generally the dominant meaning, the unX word may sometimes be fairly infrequent and thus neither meaning may be dominant for those words. Frequency counts from standard databases seemed quite unreliable (e.g., unwrap was not a word in a major corpus), so instead we used the number of Google hits as the frequency measure (Blair, Urland, & Ma, 2002); the median value for the unX words was 842,000, and they ranged from 34,800 to 33,500,000 (see Table 5). The log of this frequency explained a sizeable amount of the variability between items in the gopast measures. For go-past3, it correlated -.09 with the difference in the (unX)able condition, .60 with the difference in the un(Xable) condition, and -.42 with the interaction term. Conversely, for go-past4, it correlated -.05 with the difference in the (unX)able condition, -.48 with the difference in the un(Xable) condition, and .29 with the interaction term. Thus, a low frequency for unX had only a slight effect on go-past3 when (unX)able was the ultimate meaning, but a large effect in attenu-

Table 5
Google Frequency Counts for the Target Words and Their Constituents

			0		
	Log(Google	IIV	Log(Google	Xable	Log(Google
unXable	Hits)	UnX	Hits)	Aabie	Hits)
unbendable	4.662	unbend	5.149	bendable	5.960
unbuttonable	2.688	unbutton	5.621	buttonable	3.190
uncoilable	2.671	uncoil	4.994	coilable	4.009
uncorkeable	1.820	uncork	5.279	corkable	1.863
undressable	3.037	undress	6.427	dressable	4.037
unfastenable	3.021	unfasten	5.410	fastenable	4.283
unfoldable	4.352	unfold	6.965	foldable	6.571
unglueable	1.740	unglue	4.542	glueable	3.594
unhookable	2.880	unhook	5.646	hookable	4.382
unleashable	2.782	unleash	6.179	leashable	2.542
unlockable	6.076	unlock	6.898	lockable	1.863
unpackable	3.668	unpack	7.525	packable	6.334
unrollable	3.644	unroll	6.620	rollable	5.664
untieable	3.093	untie	6.843	tieable	2.639
unwindable	3.658	unwind	5.728	windable	5.004
unwrappable	3.312	unwrap	6.061	wrapable	2.516

^{**}p < .01.

ating the negative difference in the un(Xable) condition (i.e., making the preceding biasing context easier to understand). Conversely, on go-past4, when un(Xable) was the ultimate meaning, a low-frequency unX reduced the interference effect in the neutral condition by making it more likely that the un(Xable) meaning was taken as the meaning originally.

DISCUSSION

The present results are evidence for a preference toward a left-branching structural interpretation for ambiguous trimorphemic words in normal reading. Moreover, our analyses indicate that this preference likely is due to the generally higher frequency of unX than of Xable. This hypothesis is consistent with earlier studies that have demonstrated reliable component-frequency effects on fixation times on longer compound and prefixed words (e.g., Hyönä & Pollatsek, 1998; Niswander-Klement & Pollatsek, 2006). That is, these earlier studies indicate that components of such words are active before full recognition of the word and that the frequency components influence the eventual identification of the word. Although one cannot automatically extend these findings to nonambiguous multimorphemic words, there is a plausibility argument for why the same processes would be at work in processing in many of those words. That is, for a word like *unsinkable*, *unsink* would be less frequent than is *sinkable* and thus would lead to the correct parse; and for a word like relockable, relock (like unlock) is of a higher frequency than is lockable, also leading to the correct interpretation. However, the details of how these unambiguous trimorphemic words are processed in context will need to be settled by future experiments.

The pattern we observed is contrary to the right-branching preference observed by Libben (2003, 2006) with isolated words. There are two possible explanations for the difference. One is that the right-branching preference that Libben observed was an artifact of the tasks employed (which did not require the word to be processed for meaning). The other is that these tasks were dominated by an early stage of processing, which is, for the most part, outweighed by a later stage that favors a left-branching structure in normal reading.

It is important to note, however, that the left-branching preference we observed is almost certainly probabilistic bias rather than the result of an algorithm being employed by the word-processing system that, by default, always generates the left-branching interpretation. First, although the effect sizes on go-past times consistent with a bias toward a left-branching interpretation were quite large, they were also quite variable. Second, the post hoc analyses suggested that the strength of the bias was related to the frequency of the *un-X* component. Furthermore, because this frequency is fairly low, it is likely to be quite variable, across both items and people. However, this pattern could be consistent with either (1) a model in which both interpretations are computed and then there is a competition between them that is influenced by factors

such as the frequency of the possible components or (2) a model in which factors such as the frequency of components guide the selection of a single interpretation.

We feel that the time course of the context effects in the present experiment (i.e., the first significant effects were on go-past times) favors the latter hypothesis. In Duffy et al. (1988), preceding context chiefly affected gaze durations and even first-fixation durations on their monomorphemic ambiguous target words. Thus, their data suggest a process in which context affected the initial selection of meaning and did so in a way that either lengthened or facilitated the process (for biased and balanced ambiguous words, respectively). In contrast, we found that preceding context had virtually no effect on gaze duration on the target word; instead, it influenced go-past time, which indexes further processing initiated by a regression to preceding text. This is more consistent with an effect in which the initial decision on the meaning of the word has been computed solely on the basis of properties of the word itself, and then it is realized that this is inconsistent with prior text and the problem needs to be corrected. Our effect on go-past time is crucially different from spillover effects in that it occurs early enough to prevent the reader from progressing to the next word.

Obviously, the conclusion that one context effect is on the process of lexical access and the other is "postlexical" on the basis of timing has to be tentative. For example, the frequency of a word influences fixation time on the content word immediately following the frequency-manipulated word, suggesting that some of the initial encoding of a word's meaning continues after it has been left. In addition, it is possible that the prior contexts of Duffy et al. (1988) were more constraining than ours were, which was why they had an earlier effect. However, we think that the most parsimonious explanation for our later acting effects of prior context is that the morphological parsing system operates independently of the prior context of the utterance. Moreover, this conclusion is consistent with de Almeida and Libben's (2005) data, which also indicated that the initial interpretation of ambiguous trimorphemic words was not influenced by prior context.

AUTHOR NOTE

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NOTES

- 1. These three measures are conditional on the region being fixated on the first pass through the text. Thus, a trial is not counted in the average if the region is skipped over on the first pass through the text.
- 2. The lme on the regression probability involved a logistic transformation. To increase interpretability, the inverse logistic transformation of the parameters is reported.

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