Exploration and recency as the main proximate causes of probability matching: a reinforcement learning analysis\*

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1 Abstract

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Research has not yet reached a consensus on why human participants perform suboptimally and match probabilities instead of maximize in a probability learning task. The most influential explanation is that participants search for patterns in the random sequence of outcomes. Other explanations, such as expectation matching, are plausible, but do not take into account how reinforcement learning shapes people's choices.

This study aimed to quantify how human performance in a probability learning task is affected by pattern search and reinforcement learning. We collected behavioral data from 84 young adult participants who performed a probability learning task wherein the most frequent outcome was rewarded with 0.7 probability. We then analyzed the data using a reinforcement learning model that searches for patterns. Model simulations indicated that pattern search, exploration (making random choices to learn more about the environment), recency (discounting early experiences to account for a changing environment), and forgetting may impair performance in a probability learning task.

Our analysis estimated that 85% (95% HDI [76,94]) of participants searched for patterns and believed that each trial outcome depended on one or two previous ones. The estimated impact of pattern search on performance was, however, only 6%, while those of exploration and recency were 19% and 13% respectively. This suggests that probability matching is caused by uncertainty about how outcomes are generated, which leads to pattern search, exploration, and recency.

Keywords: probability matching, reinforcement learning, wavy effect, exploration-exploitation trade-off.

## 22 1 Introduction

In our lives, we frequently make decisions, some of which have lifelong consequences for our well-being. It is thus essential to identify the environmental and neurobiological factors that promote suboptimal decisions. Accomplishing this goal, however, can be hard. Sometimes decades of research is not enough to produce a consensus on why people often make poor decisions in certain contexts. One example is the binary probability learning task. In this task, participants are asked to choose repeatedly between two options; for instance, in each trial they are asked to predict if a ball will appear on the left or on the right of a computer screen. If their prediction is correct, they receive a reward. In each trial, the rewarded option is determined independently and with fixed probabilities; for instance, the ball may appear on the left with 0.7 probability or on the right with 0.3 probability. Usually one option, called the majority option, has a higher probability of being rewarded than the other. A typical 32 probability learning task consists of hundreds or thousands of trials, and as this scenario repeats itself, all participants must learn is that one option is more frequently rewarded than the other. Indeed, the optimal strategy, called maximizing, is simply choosing the majority option in every trial. Human participants, however, rarely maximize; their behavior is usually described as probability matching, which consists of choosing each option with approximately the same probability it is rewarded (Koehler & James, 2014; Newell & Schulze, 2016; Vulkan, 2000). We would thus expect a participant performing our example task to choose left in about 70% of the trials and right in about 30% of trials, instead of optimally choosing left in all trials. Probability matching is suboptimal in this example because it leads to an expected accuracy of  $30\% \times 30\% + 70\% \times 70\% = 58\%$ , while maximizing leads to an expected accuracy of  $70\%^1$ . Since the 1950s, a huge number of studies have attempted to explain why people make suboptimal decisions in such a simple context, and many plausible causes have been proposed, but no consensus has yet been reached on how much each cause contributes to probability matching (Koehler & James, 2014; Newell & Schulze, 2016; Vulkan, 2000). Perhaps the most influential proposal is that probability matching reflects the well-known human tendency to see patterns in noise (Huettel, Mack, & McCarthy, 2002): people may not realize that each outcome is randomly and independently drawn, but may believe instead that the outcome sequence follows a deterministic pattern, which they will then try to figure out (Feher da Silva & Baldo, 2012; Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008a, 2008b; Gaissmaier, Schooler, & Rieskamp, 2006; Koehler & James, <sup>1</sup>More generally, if the majority option is rewarded with probability 0.5 , maximizing leads to an expected

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>More generally, if the majority option is rewarded with probability 0.5 , maximizing leads to an expected accuracy of <math>p, while probability matching leads to an expected accuracy of  $p^2 + (1-p)^2$ , which is strictly less than p, because  $0.5 implies <math>p^2 + (1-p)^2 = 1 - 2p(1-p) < 1 - (1-p) = p$ .

2014; Unturbe & Corominas, 2007; Wolford, Miller, & Gazzaniga, 2000; Wolford, Newman, Miller, & Wig, 2004). This pattern-search hypothesis is supported by much experimental evidence (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b; Gaissmaier et al., 2006; Unturbe & Corominas, 2007; Wolford et al., 2000, 2004). For instance, when researchers altered the outcome sequence in a probability learning task to make it look more random (by, oddly, making it less random), participants chose the majority option more frequently and consequently performed better (Wolford et al., 2004). Moreover, participants who matched probabilities more closely in the absence of a pattern tended to achieve greater accuracy in the presence of one (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b). It is not clear, however, how pattern search leads to probability matching. Wolford et al. (2004) claimed that "if there were a real pattern in the data, then any successful hypothesis about that pattern would result in frequency matching". This assumes participants search for patterns by making predictions in accordance with plausible patterns. Koehler and James (2014), however, wondered 62 why participants would employ such a strategy if they could, to advantage, maximize until a pattern was actually found. Maximizing while searching for patterns, besides guaranteeing that a majority of rewards would be obtained, is also an effortless strategy (Schulze & Newell, 2016) that allows participants to dedicate most of their cognitive resources to pattern search (Koehler & James, 2014).

#### <sub>67</sub> 1.1 Patterns and Markov chains

Alternatively, Plonsky, Teodorescu, and Erev (2015) argued that searching for complex patterns leads to probability matching by creating a tendency to base decisions on a small sample of previous outcomes. This argument assumes a general model of pattern search that we will now explain in detail, since it was also adopted in our study. Let us first define a temporal pattern as a connection between past events and a future one, so that the latter can be predicted with greater accuracy whenever the former are known. Suppose, for instance, that in each trial of a task, participants are asked to predict if a target will appear on the left or on the right of a computer screen. If the target appears alternately on the left and on the right, participants who have learned this pattern can correctly predict the next location of the target whenever they know its previous location.

An event may be more or less predictable from previous events depending on the probability that links their occurrences. For instance, if the probability is 1 that the target will appear on one side in the next trial given that it was on the other side in the previous trial, the target will always alternate between sides. If this probability is greater than 0.5 but less than 1, the target will generally alternate

between sides but may also appear more than once on the same side sequentially, and participants may make prediction errors even after learning the pattern. In general, the probability that each event will occur may be conditional on the occurrence of the 83  $L \geq 0$  previous events. Formally, this sequence of events constitutes a Markov chain of order L. In a typical probability learning task, for instance, the outcome probabilities do not depend on any previous outcomes (L=0). In an alternating sequence, each outcome depends on the previous one (L=1). As outcomes depend on an increasing number of past ones, more complex patterns are generated. It has 87 been shown that participants can implicitly learn to exploit outcome dependencies at least as remote as three trials (Cleeremans & McClelland, 1991; Reber, 1989). In explicit pattern learning tasks, it is believed that the relevant past events are stored in working memory. To understand how events are selected to enter working memory, a number of highly complex "Gating" models (e.g. O'Reilly & Frank, 2006; Todd, Niv, & Cohen, 2009; Zilli & Hasselmo, 2008) 92 were proposed. They assume that working memory elements are maintained or updated according to reinforcement learning rules. We will, however, simply assume that working memory stores a history of k outcomes, comprising the previous k outcomes, where k depends on the perceived pattern complexity, and that participants try to learn the optimal action after each possible history of k outcomes. For instance, if working memory stores just the previous outcome (k = 1) and the outcome sequence generally alternates between left and right (L=1), participants will eventually learn that left is the optimal prediction after right and right is the optimal prediction after left. In general, participants must store at least the L previous outcomes in working memory to learn the pattern in a Markov chain 100 of order L, i.e., it is necessary that  $k \geq L$ . 101 Based on this general model of pattern search, Plonsky et al. (2015) proposed two specific models: 102 the CAB-k and CAT models. The CAB-k model is the simplest one: In each trial, a simulated CAB-k 103 agent considers the history of k outcomes that just occurred and selects the action with the highest 10 average payoff in the past, but taking into account only the subset of past trials that followed the same 105 history. In the example of the alternating pattern, an agent with k=1 will eventually learn to predict 106 left after right (and vice versa), because predicting left had the highest average payoff in past trials 107 that followed right (and vice versa). 108 In probability learning tasks, the CAB-k model with large k values predicts probability match-109 ing (Plonsky et al., 2015). This is because a large k value generates long histories, which tend to occur 110 more rarely than short ones; for instance, in a sequence of binary digits, 111 is more rare than 11. 111

In this case, a CAB-k agent will base each decision on only the small number of trials that followed 112 the rare past occurrences of the observed history. More generally, making decisions based on only a 113 small number of trials generates a bias toward probability matching. If, for example, participants were 114 always to choose the most frequent outcome of the previous three trials and choosing left is rewarded 115 with 0.7 probability, participants would choose left with 0.784 probability (Plonsky et al., 2015). In-116 deed, perfect probability matching is achieved when an agent adopts a strategy known as "win-stay, 117 lose-shift," which consists of repeating a choice in the next trial if it resulted in a win or switching to 118 the other option if it resulted in a loss. "Win-stay, lose-shift" may be used by participants with low 119 working memory capacity (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b). It results in probability matching because in each trial the agent bases its decisions on only the previous outcome and simply predicts that trial's 121 outcome; thus, its choices and trial outcomes have the same probability distribution. Plonsky et al. (2015) proposed that human participants search for complex patterns and make 123 decisions based on a small number of trials. To support this proposal, they demonstrated that the CAT model can reproduce a novel behavioral effect they detected in a repeated binary choice task, "the 125 wavy effect." They designed a task wherein selecting one of the options, the "action option," resulted in a gain with 0.9 probability and in a loss with 0.1 probability, and selecting the other option always 127 resulted in a zero payoff. They observed that following a loss, the frequency with which participants 128 chose the action option actually increased above the mean for several trials, then decreased below the 129 mean. They reproduced this effect using the CAT model with k = 14. With this k value, the negative 130 effect of a rare loss on response only occurred after the preceding sequence of 14 outcomes recurred. 131 However, the large k values proposed by Plonsky et al. (2015) to explain probability matching and 132 the wavy effect are inconsistent with the estimated storage capacity of the human working memory, 133 which is of about four elements (Cowan, 2010). Plonsky et al. (2015) argued that their estimates 134 are plausible because humans can learn long patterns. For instance, humans can learn the pattern 001010001100 of length 12 (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b). Such a feat, however, does not imply that 136  $k \geq 12$ ; as will be demonstrated in Section 3.2, an agent can perfectly predict this pattern's next digit given the previous five, which merely implies  $k \geq 5$ . Moreover, even if participants can store more 138 digits than the estimated capacity of working memory—by storing sequences of digits as "chunks," for instance—the resulting learning problem may be intractable. The number of histories an agent must 140 learn about increases exponentially with k, and this creates a critical computational problem known 141

as the "curse of dimensionality" (Todd et al., 2009). The value k = 14 generates  $2^{14} = 16384$  distinct

histories of past outcomes for participants to learn about. If each history is equally likely to occur, learning the pattern would only be feasible if participants had tens of thousands of trials to learn from.

#### 1.2 Expectation matching

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Moreover, both probability matching and the wavy effect can be explained by another proposed mechanism, known as expectation matching (Koehler & James, 2014). According to this proposal, probability 147 matching arises when participants use intuitive expectations about outcome frequencies to guide their choices (Koehler & James, 2014; Kogler & Kühberger, 2007; West & Stanovich, 2003). Participants 149 intuitively understand that if, for example, outcome A occurs with 0.7 probability and outcome B 150 with 0.3 probability, in a sequence of 10 trials outcome A will occur in about 7 trials and outcome 151 B in about 3. Instead of using this understanding to devise a good choice strategy, participants use 152 it directly as a choice heuristics to avoid expending any more mental energy on the problem; that is, they predict A in about 7 of 10 trials and B in about 3. There is compelling evidence that expectation 154 matching arises intuitively to most participants, while maximizing requires deliberation to be recognized as superior. For instance, when undergraduate students were asked which strategy, among a 156 number of provided alternatives, they would choose in a probability learning task, most of them chose 15 probability matching (Koehler & James, 2009; West & Stanovich, 2003). 158 Expectation matching can also explain the wavy effect. In the study by Plonsky et al. (2015), losses 159 occurred with 0.1 probability. If losses were to occur at regular intervals, a loss would be expected 160 to occur 10 trials after the previous loss, and 10 trials after a loss was indeed when participants were 161 least likely to select the action option. It is thus possible that, soon after a loss occurred, participants did not expect another to occur so soon and thought it safe to choose the action option, which caused 163 the initial positive effect on choice frequency; as time went on, though, they might have believed a loss was about to occur again and become more and more afraid of choosing the action option, which 165 caused the delayed negative effect on choice frequency. Most evidence for expectation matching, however, comes from experiments that employed tasks 167 without trial-by-trial reinforcement and whose instructions described the process of outcome generation (Koehler & James, 2014). Participants would, for instance, be asked to guess all at once a color 169 sequence generated by rolling ten times a ten-sided die with seven green faces and three red faces (J. 170 Koehler & James, 2010). In a probability learning task, however, participants do not know how out-171

comes are generated; they have to figure that out. More importantly, the probability learning task is

a reinforcement learning task. Again and again, participants select an action and receive immediate feedback about their choices. When they make a correct choice, they are rewarded with money; otherwise, they fail to win money or, depending on the task, they lose money. Indeed, prediction accuracy improves with longer training and larger monetary rewards (Shanks, Tunney, & McCarthy, 2002) or when participants are both rewarded for their correct choices and punished by their incorrect ones, instead of only one or the other (Bereby-Meyer & Erev, 1998). In reinforcement learning tasks, as responses are reinforced, they tend to become more habitual (Gläscher, Daw, Dayan, & O'Doherty, 2010) and thus less affected by conscious choice heuristics such as expectation matching.

#### 1.3 Reinforcement learning

A better explanation for probability matching in probability learning tasks may thus be one that takes 182 into account how reinforcement learning shapes people's choices. Already in the 1950s, probability learning was tentatively explained by a number of stochastic learning models, with updating rules based on reinforcement, which under some conditions predicted asymptotic probability matching (e.g., Estes & Straughan, 1954; Mosteller, 1958). 186 More recently, reinforcement learning models based on modern reinforcement learning theory (Sut-187 ton & Barto, 1998), such as Q-Learning (Watkins, 1992), SARSA (Rummery & Niranjan, 1994), 188 EVL (Busemeyer & Stout, 2002), PVL (Ahn, Busemeyer, Wagenmakers, & Stout, 2008), and PVL2 (Dai, 189 Kerestes, Upton, Busemeyer, & Stout, 2015), have been used to describe how humans learn in similar 190 tasks, such as the Iowa, Soochow, and Bechara Gambling Tasks (Ahn et al., 2008; Busemeyer & Stout, 191 2002; Dai et al., 2015; Worthy, Hawthorne, & Otto, 2013) and others (e.g. Gläscher et al., 2010; Pessiglione, Seymour, Flandin, Dolan, & Frith, 2006). Reinforcement learning models that incorporate 193 representations of opponent behavior have successfully explained probability matching in competitive choice tasks (Schulze, van Ravenzwaaij, & Newell, 2015). These models do not just describe many 195 behavioral findings accurately but are also biologically realistic in that the signals they predict correspond closely to the responses emitted by the dopamine neurons of the midbrain (see Dolan & Dayan, 197 2013; Glimcher, 2011; Lee, Seo, & Jung, 2012; Niv, 2009 for reviews). Reinforcement learning models (Ahn et al., 2008; Busemeyer & Stout, 2002; Dai et al., 2015) as-199 sume that agents compute the expected utility of each option, not their probabilities. They are thus 200 incapable of explicitly matching probabilities and cannot explain why participants would consciously 201 or unconsciously try to do so. The term "probability matching," however, does not imply that par-202

ticipants are trying to match probabilities as a *strategy*, only that their average *behavior* matches
them approximately. As previously discussed, probability matching is achieved when an agent with no
knowledge of the outcome probabilities adopts the "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy or searches for very
complex patterns. In this work, therefore, we will focus not on why people match probabilities in a
probability learning task, but more broadly on why they fail to perform optimally.

## <sup>208</sup> 1.4 Exploration, fictive learning, recency, and forgetting

Reinforcement learning models suggest many mechanisms that may contribute to a suboptimal per-209 formance in probability learning tasks, such as exploration. For a reinforcement learning agent to 210 maximize its expected reward, it must choose the actions that produce the most reward. But to do 211 so, it must first discover what actions produce the most reward. If the agent can only learn from what 212 it has experienced, it can only discover the best actions by exploring the entire array of actions and trying those it has not tried before. It follows, then, that to find the optimal actions, the agent must 214 not choose the actions that have so far produced the most reward. A dilemma is thus created: on 215 one hand, if the agent only exploits the actions that have so far produced the most reward, it may 216 never learn the optimal actions; on the other hand, if it keeps exploring actions, it may never maximize 217 its expected reward. To find the optimal strategy, then, an agent must explore actions at first but 218 progressively favor those that have produced the most reward (Sutton & Barto, 1998). 219

Moreover, animals are not limited to learning from what they have experienced; they can also learn 220 from what they might have experienced (Montague, King-Casas, & Cohen, 2006). Reinforcement 221 learning models that only learn from what they have experienced are of limited utility in research, and 222 it is often desirable to add to such models "fictive" or "counterfactual" learning signals—the ability 223 to learn from observed, but not experienced situations. Fictive learning can speed up learning and make models more accurate at describing biological learning. Fictive learning signals predict changes 225 in human behavior and correlate with neuroimaging signals in brain regions involved in valuation and choice and with dopamine concentration in the striatum (Boorman, Behrens, Woolrich, & Rushworth, 227 2009; Büchel, Brassen, Yacubian, Kalisch, & Sommer, 2011; Chandrasekhar, Capra, Moore, Noussair, & Berns, 2008; Chiu, Lohrenz, & Montague, 2008; Fischer & Ullsperger, 2013; Hayden, Pearson, & 229 Platt, 2009; Kishida et al., 2016; Lohrenz, McCabe, Camerer, & Montague, 2007; Shimokawa, Suzuki, 230 Misawa, & Miyagawa, 2009). In particular, in a probability learning task, when participants make 231 their choices, they learn both the payoff they got and the payoff they would have gotten if they had 232

chosen the other option. Through fictive learning, they can eliminate the need to explore: they can 233 discover the optimal action while exploiting the action that has been so far the most rewarding. 234 Human learning, however, may include both fictive learning and exploration. Even though fictive 235 learning supersedes exploration in a probability learning task, exploration is a core feature of cognition 236 at various levels since cognition's evolutionary origins (Hills, Todd, Lazer, Redish, & Couzin, 2015). 237 Exploratory behavior may be triggered, perhaps unconsciously, by uncertainty about the environment, 238 even in situations it cannot uncover more rewarding actions. In a probability learning task, even after 239 participants have detected the majority option, they may still believe they can learn more about how 240 outcomes are generated and thus engage in exploration, choosing the minority option and decreasing their performance. This might happen if, for instance, participants believe that there exists a strategy 242 that will allow them to perfectly predict the outcome sequence. As long as they have not achieved perfect prediction, they might keep trying to learn more and explore instead of exploit. And indeed, 244 when participants were frequently told they would not be able to predict all the outcomes, their performance improved (Shanks et al., 2002). The same was observed when the instructions emphasized 246 simply predicting a single trial over predicting an entire sequence of trials (Gao & Corter, 2015). Exploration may thus be a reason why participants do not maximize. 248 The belief that perfect prediction is possible may also lead to the belief that the environment is 249 non-stationary (Newell & Schulze, 2016). As participants try and fail to achieve perfect accuracy, 250 they may assume that the outcome generating process keeps changing. In reinforcement learning, 251 agents adapt to a non-stationary environment by implementing recency, a strategy in which behavior 252 is more influenced by recent experiences than by early ones. Recency is beneficial in a non-stationary 253 environment because early information may no longer be relevant for late decisions (Sutton & Barto, 254 1998). In a probability learning task, payoff probabilities are constant, and early information is relevant 255 for all later decisions, but participants may come to suspect otherwise as they try to predict outcomes and often fail. 257 Another mechanism that impairs performance is forgetting, or learning decay. An agent's knowledge regarding each action may decay with time, which in a stationary environment worsens performance. 259 Forgetting can also interact with pattern search to slow down learning in the short term and impair 260 performance in the long term. An agent that does not search for patterns needs to learn only the utility 261

of each option. In every trial, it may forget some past knowledge, but it also acquire new knowledge

from observing which option has just been rewarded. An agent that searches for patterns, however,

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must store information about each possible history of past outcomes. In a trial, it will only acquire
new information about one of those histories, the one that has just occurred; meanwhile, knowledge
about all the other histories will decay. In particular, if the agent believes that each outcome depends
on many past ones, it must learn the optimal prediction after many long histories. As long histories
occur more rarely than short ones on average, knowledge about them will decay more often than
increase, and the agent will have to constantly relearn what it has forgotten. It may thus never learn
to maximize.

#### 271 1.5 Objectives

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There are thus many plausible mechanisms for probability matching, and it is possible that human performance is affected by more than one. It is still unknown to what extent each of them contributes to behavior. In this study, our primary aim was to quantify the effects of pattern search, forgetting, exploration, and recency on human performance in a probability learning task.

Our secondary aim was to estimate k, a measure of working memory usage in pattern search, which determines how complex are the patterns people search for. This is important because, as discussed above, searching for complex patterns impairs performance by creating a tendency to make decisions based on few past observations (Plonsky et al., 2015) and by interacting with forgetting. To our knowledge, only Plonsky et al. (2015) have attempted to estimate working memory usage in a reinforcement learning task, but, as discussed, they obtained large k estimates that lie beyond working memory capacity and generate extremely hard learning problems.

We collected behavioral data from 84 young adult participants who performed a probability learning 283 task wherein the majority option was rewarded with 0.7 probability. We then analyzed the data using 284 a reinforcement learning model that searches for patterns, the Markov pattern search (MPL) model. We first compared the MPL model to the PVL model, a reinforcement learning model previously 286 shown to perform better than many other models at describing the behavior of healthy and clinical participants in the Iowa and Soochow Gambling Tasks (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et al., 2015). The MPL model generalizes the PVL model, which already includes forgetting and exploration, by adding recency and pattern search. It allowed us to estimate how many participants searched for patterns, 290 how many previous outcomes they stored in working memory, and what was the impact of pattern 291 search, exploration, recency, and forgetting on their performance. We also analyzed our experimental data set for the presence of the wavy effect (Plonsky et al., 2015), as it has been considered an evidence 293

of complex pattern search, and tested whether the MPL could reproduce the observed results.

## 2 Methods

Eighty-four young adult human participants performed 300 trials of a probability learning task wherein
the majority option's probability was 0.7. Two reinforcement learning models were then fitted to the
data: the PVL model, which was previously proposed and validated (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et al., 2015),
and the MPL model, which is proposed here and generalizes the PVL model by adding recency and
pattern search. The two models were compared for their predictive accuracy using cross-validation.
The MPL model was selected and simulated both to check if it can reproduce several aspects of
the participants' behavior and to estimate how pattern search, exploration, forgetting, and recency
influence a participant's decisions in a probability learning task. All experimental data and computer
code used in this study are available at https://github.com/carolfs/mpl\_m0exp

## 305 2.1 Participants

Seventy-two undergraduate dental students at the School of Dentistry of the University of São Paulo 306 performed the task described below for course credit. They were told the amount of credit they would receive would be proportional to their score in the task, but scores were transformed so that all students 308 received nearly the same amount of credit. Twelve additional participants aged 22-26 were recruited at the University of São Paulo via poster advertisement and performed the same task described below, 310 except there was no break between blocks and participants were rewarded with money. Overall, our sample consisted of 84 young adult participants. 312 All participants were healthy and showed no signs of neurological or psychiatric disease. All reported normal or corrected-to-normal color vision. Exclusion criteria were: (1) use of psychoactive drugs, 314 (2) neurological or psychiatric disorders, and (3) incomplete primary school. Participants who did not finish the experiments were also excluded. Written informed consent was obtained from each participant in accordance with directives from the Ethics Committee of the Institute of Biomedical Sciences at the University of São Paulo. 318

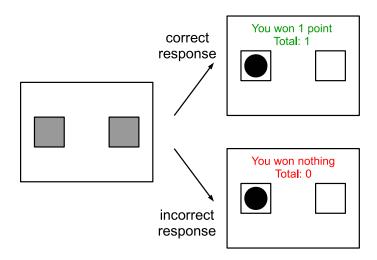


Figure 1: Events in a trial.

Participants performed 300 trials of a probability learning task. In each trial, two identical gray squares

#### • 2.2 Behavioral task

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were presented on a white background and participants were asked to predict if a black ball would appear inside the left or right square (Figure 1). They pressed A to predict that the ball would appear 322 on the left and L to predict that it would appear on the right. Immediately afterward, the ball would 323 appear inside one of the squares along with a feedback message, which was "You won 1 point/5 cents" 324 if the prediction was correct and "You won nothing" otherwise. The message remained on the screen for 500 ms, ending the trial. 326 Trials were divided into 5 blocks of 60 trials with a break between them. The probabilities that 32 the ball would appear on the right or on the left were fixed and independent of previous trials; they 328 were 0.7 and 0.3 respectively for half of the participants and 0.3 and 0.7 for the other half. Before 329 the task started, the experimenter explained the instructions and the participants practiced them in 330 a three-trial block. The participants did not receive any information about the structure of outcome 331 sequences in advance. 332

#### 333 2.2.1 Notation

The following notation will be used below: N is the number of participants (84) or simulated agents;  $t_{max}$  is the number of trials in the task ( $t_{max} = 300$ ); for each trial t,  $1 \le t \le t_{max}$ , the ith participant's prediction is  $y_i(t)$  and the trial outcome  $x_i(t)$ , where 0 and 1 are the possible outcomes ( $x_i(t), y_i(t) \in \{0, 1\}$ );  $x_i$  and  $y_i$  are binary vectors containing all outcomes and predictions respectively for the ith participant. The majority outcome is 1, i.e.,  $Pr(x_i(t) = 1) = 0.7$  and  $Pr(x_i(t) = 0) = 0.3$ , thus 1 corresponded to the left square for half of the participants and to the right square for the other half.

#### o 2.2.2 Analysis

To measure how likely participants were to choose the majority option and thus determine if they adopted a probability matching or maximizing strategy, we calculated the participants' mean response in each trial t, given by  $\frac{1}{N}\sum_{i=1}^{N}y_i(t)$ . The mean response is equal to the frequency of choice of the majority option, since the majority option is 1 and the minority option is 0. We then calculated their 344 mean response in the last 100 trials of the task, after participants had already learned the frequencies of options 0 and 1, given by  $\frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^{N} \left[ \frac{1}{100} \sum_{t=201}^{300} y_i(t) \right]$ . The standard deviation of the mean response in the last 100 trials of the task was also calculated. It has been claimed that in probability learning tasks many participants use a "win-stay, lose-shift" 348 strategy (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b; Worthy et al., 2013). Strict "win-stay, lose-shift" implies that in each trial the agent chooses the outcome of the previous trial, i.e., x(t-1) = y(t) for all t > 1. 350 To check if our participants employed this strategy, we measured the proportion of responses made in 351 accordance with the "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy by calculating the cross-correlation c(x,y) between 352 and x in the last 100 trials of the task, given by: 353

$$c(x,y) = \frac{1}{100} \sum_{t=t_{max}-100+1}^{t_{max}} (2x(t-1)-1)(2y(t)-1).$$
 (1)

The cross-correlation is thus the average of (2x(t-1)-1)(2y(t)-1), which is equal to 1 if x(t-1)=y(t)and equal to -1 if  $x(t-1) \neq y(t)$ . If c(x,y) = 1, all predictions are the same as the previous outcome, 355 which identifies strict "win-stay, lose-shift," and if c(x,y) = -1, all predictions are the opposite of the previous outcome, which identifies strict "win-shift, lose-stay." The cross-correlation is also a function of the proportion r of predictions which replicate the previous outcome: c(x, y) = 2r - 1. We also investigated the "wavy effect" (Plonsky et al., 2015). The task originally employed to 359 investigate the wavy effect had an option that resulted in a rare loss. The task employed here did not, but option 1 resulted in a gain with 0.7 probability and in a relative loss, corresponding to the missed 361 opportunity of obtaining a gain, with 0.3 probability. It was thus possible we would also observe the 362 wavy effect in our data set, and we tested for this possibility. 363 We adapted to our study the analysis proposed by Plonsky et al. (2015): for every participant, trials 364

were grouped according to the number of trials since the most recent x = 0 (rare) outcome; that is, for trial t, if trial t-n, n>0, was the most recent trial with a 0 outcome, the number of trials elapsed since the most recent 0 outcome was n. For each participant i and n,  $c_i^n$  was the number of trials in the 367 group and  $s_i^n$  the sum of all predictions y in those trials. The distribution of  $s_i^n$  was Binomial $(c_i^n, \pi_i^n)$ , where  $\pi_i^n$  was the probability of y=1. For each n, the parameters  $\pi_i^n$  were given a beta distribution with parameters  $a_n$  and  $b_n$ , which were in turn given improper prior uniform distributions. This statistical model was coded in the Stan modeling language (Carpenter et al., 2017; Stan Development 371 Team, 2016b) and fitted to the data using the PyStan interface (Stan Development Team, 2016a) to 372 obtain samples from the posterior distribution of model parameters. Convergence was indicated by  $\dot{R} \leq 1.1$  for all parameters, and at least 10 independent samples per sequence were obtained (Gelman 374 et al., 2013). For each n, the participants' mean response  $a_n/(a_n+b_n)$  was obtained, as well as the 95\% high posterior density interval (HDI). 376 If a wavy effect was present in the data set because of pattern search involving k previous outcomes, the mean response after a 0 outcome in trial t should have increased in trials t+1 to t+k, decreased 378 in trial t + k + 1, then slowly increased (Plonsky et al., 2015). Alternatively, a wavy effect might have been caused by expectation matching. If participants believed that 0 outcomes occurred regularly in 380 the outcome sequence, they would have expected a 0 to occur every 3 to 4 trials (with  $1/3 \approx 0.33$  to 381 1/4 = 0.25 probability), because the probability of 0 was 0.3. Thus, according to this hypothesis, three or four trials after the last 0 outcome should be the point where the mean response decreased. We ran 383 this analysis both in the first 100 trials of the task and in the last 100, because the wavy effect was 384 first detected in a 100-trial task (Plonsky et al., 2015) and, if it is caused by expectation matching, 385 it might exist only in the beginning of the task, since over time reinforced responses are expected to become more habitual and less affected by cognitive biases such as expectation matching. 387

#### 388 2.3 Statistical models

Two reinforcement learning models were fitted to the behavioral data: the PVL model (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et al., 2015) and the MPL model. The MPL model generalizes the PVL model by the addition of recency and pattern search.

#### 2.3.1 PVL model

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The PVL and PVL2 reinforcement learning models have been previously evaluated for their abil-393 ity to describe the behavior of healthy and clinical participants in the Iowa and Soochow Gambling Tasks (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et al., 2015). They were compared to and found to perform better than 395 many other reinforcement learning models and a baseline Bernoulli model, which assumed that participants made independent choices with constant probability. In this work, we adapted the PVL model 397 to the probability learning task and used it as a baseline for comparison with the MPL model, which 398 generalizes the PVL model and is described next. The difference between the PVL and PVL2 models 399 is not relevant for our study, since it concerns how participants attribute utility to different amounts 400 of gain and loss. Thus we will refer only to the PVL model. The adapted PVL model combines a 401 simple utility function with the decay-reinforcement rule (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et al., 2015; Erev & 402 Roth, 1998) and a softmax action selection rule (Sutton & Barto, 1998). 403 In every trial t of a probability learning task, a simulated PVL agent predicts the next element of a 404 binary sequence x(t). The agent's prediction y(t) is a function of  $E_0(t-1)$  and  $E_1(t-1)$ , the expected utilities of options 0 and 1. Initially,  $E_j(0) = 0$  for all  $j \in \{0,1\}$ . The probability  $p_j(t)$  that the agent 406 will choose option j in trial t is given by the Boltzmann distribution:

$$p_j(t) = \frac{e^{\theta E(t-1)}}{\sum_{i} e^{\theta E(t-1)}} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\theta [E_j(t-1) - E_{1-j}(t-1)]}},$$
(2)

where  $\theta \geq 0$  is an exploration-exploitation parameter that models the agent's propensity to choose 408 the option with the highest expected utility. When  $\theta = 0$ , the agent is equally likely to choose either option (it explores). Conversely, as  $\theta \to \infty$  the agent is more and more likely to choose the option 410 with the highest expected utility (it exploits). The expected response of a PVL agent in trial t is 411 thus  $\mathbb{E}[y(t)] = 1 \cdot p_1(t) + 0 \cdot p_0(t) = p_1(t)$ , the probability of choosing 1 in trial t. It is, as Equation 2 412 indicates, a logistic function, with steepness  $\theta$ , of  $E_1(t-1) - E_0(t-1)$ , the difference between the 413 expected utilities of 1 and 0. If this difference is 0, the agent is equally likely to choose 1 or 0; if it is 414 positive, the agent is more likely to choose 1 than 0, and if it is negative, the agent is more likely to 415 choose 0 than 1. Also,  $p_0(t) + p_1(t) = 1$ . 416

After the agent makes its prediction and observes the trial outcome x(t), it attributes a utility  $u_i(t)$ 

to each option j, given by:

$$u_j(t) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } x(t) = j, \\ 0 & \text{if } x(t) \neq j. \end{cases}$$
 (3)

All expected utilities are then updated as follows:

$$E_j(t) = AE_j(t-1) + u_j(t)$$

$$\tag{4}$$

where  $0 \le A \le 1$  is a learning decay parameter, combining both forgetting and recency.

In comparison with previous PVL and PVL2 model definitions (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et al., 2015), we have made two changes to adapt this model to our task. The PVL and PVL2 models were previously used to study the Iowa and Soochow Gambling Tasks, in which participants may experience different gains and losses for their choices and only learn the outcome of the choice they actually made. In our task, conversely, participants gained a fixed reward for all their correct predictions and never lost rewards; moreover, since outcomes were mutually exclusive, participants learned both the outcome of the choice they made and the outcome of the choice they could have made. To account for these differences between the tasks, we omitted the PVL features that deal with different gains and losses from the utility function and, following Schulze et al. (2015), added fictive learning to the decay-reinforcement rule.

#### 431 2.3.2 MPL model

The Markov pattern learning (MPL) reinforcement learning model includes the same two parameters per participant as the PVL model, A and  $\theta$ , which measure forgetting and exploration respectively, 433 and adds two more parameters, k and  $\rho$ , which measure working memory usage in pattern search and recency respectively. Indeed, the MPL model with k=0 (no pattern search) and  $\rho=1$  (no recency) is 435 identical to the PVL model; it thus adds pattern search and recency to that model. It is also equivalent 436 to the CAB-k model (Plonsky et al., 2015) with A=1 (no forgetting),  $\rho=1$  (no recency), and  $\theta\to\infty$ (no exploration). 438 In this study, each trial outcome x(t) was independently generated with fixed probabilities for every 439 t and thus the outcome sequence constitutes a Bernoulli process. The MPL model, however, assumes 440 that each outcome depends on the k previous outcomes, i.e., the outcome sequence constitutes a Markov chain of order k. The model's state space is the set of all binary sequences of length k, representing all the possible histories (subsequences) of k outcomes.

The MPL model's utility function is identical to that of the PVL model (see above). For every trial t and history  $\eta$  of k outcomes, the MPL agent computes option j's expected utility  $E_j^{\eta}(t)$ . Thus, for every trial it computes  $2^k$  expected utilities for each option, as there are  $2^k$  distinct histories of k outcomes. For instance, if k = 1, in each trial and for each option the agent computes two expected utilities, one if the previous outcome was 1 and another if it was 0. An option's expected utility is thus conditional on the preceding k outcomes. Initially,  $E_j^{\eta}(0) = 0$  for all j,  $\eta$ .

The agent's next choice y(t) is a function of  $E_0^{\eta}(t-1)$  and  $E_1^{\eta}(t-1)$ , where  $\eta$  is the observed history, i.e., the k previous outcomes  $\{x(t-k), x(t-k+1), \ldots, x(t-1)\}$ . The probability  $p_j(t)$  that the agent will choose option j in trial t is given by the Boltzmann distribution:

$$p_j(t) = \frac{e^{\theta E^{\eta}(t-1)}}{\sum_i e^{\theta E^{\eta}(t-1)}} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\theta [E_j^{\eta}(t-1) - E_{1-j}^{\eta}(t-1)]}},$$

where  $\theta \geq 0$  is the exploration-exploitation parameter.

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After the agent makes its choice, all expected utility estimates are updated as follows:

$$E_j^{\eta}(t) = \begin{cases} A\rho E_j^{\eta}(t-1) + u_j(t) & \text{after history } \eta, \\ AE_j^{\eta}(t-1) & \text{otherwise,} \end{cases}$$
 (5)

where  $0 \le A \le 1$  is a decay (forgetting) parameter and  $0 \le \rho \le 1$  is a recency parameter. The model implies that the agent's knowledge spontaneously decays at rate A, while the  $\rho$  parameter defines how much early experiences are overridden by the most recent information. A low  $\rho$  value is adaptive when 457 the environment is nonstationary and early experiences become irrelevant to future decisions. The Aand  $\rho$  parameters have a distinct effect only if k>0, because if k=0 there is only one possible history 459 (the null history), which precedes every trial, and all expected utilities decay at rate  $0 \le A\rho \le 1$ . 460 Thus, if k = 0, the MPL model is identical to the PVL model with learning decay  $A\rho$ . 461 The value of  $E_j^{\eta}(t)$  may increase only after history  $\eta$  and if j was the outcome. Also, whenever 462 history  $\eta$  does not occur,  $E_j^{\eta}(t)$  decays at rate A, and thus  $E_1^{\eta}(t-1) - E_0^{\eta}(t-1)$  decays at rate A, which decreases the probability of choosing 1 after history  $\eta$ . Thus, large k values, which produce long histories that rarely occur, interact with forgetting (A < 1) to decrease the probability of maximizing. Table 1 demonstrates how an MPL agents learns a repeating pattern for two different parameter 466 sets.

#### 2.3.3 Bayesian hierarchical models

Development Team, 2016b).

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The PVL and MPL models were fitted to each participant as part of larger Bayesian hierarchical (multilevel) models, which included the PVL or MPL distributions of each participant's predictions as well as a population distribution of PVL or MPL model parameters. This allowed us to use data from 471 all participants to improve individual parameter estimates, to estimate the distribution of parameters across participants, and to make inferences about the behavior of additional participants performing the 473 probability learning task. Most of this study's conclusions were based on such inferences. Moreover, a hierarchical model can have more parameters per participant and avoid overfitting, because the 475 population distribution creates a dependence among parameter values for different participants so that 476 they are not free to assume any value (Gelman et al., 2013). This was important for the present study, 477 since the MPL model is more complex than the PVL model, having four parameters per participant 478 instead of two. 479 For each participant i, the PVL model has two parameters  $(A_i, \theta_i)$ . The vectors  $(\log it(A_i), \log(\theta_i))$ 480 were given a multivariate Student's t distribution with mean  $\mu$ , covariance matrix  $\Sigma$ , and four degrees of freedom ( $\nu = 4$ ). This transformation of the parameters A and  $\theta$  was used because the original 482 values are constrained to an interval and the transformed ones are not, which the t distribution requires. The t distribution with four degrees of freedom was used instead of the normal distribution 484 for robustness (Gelman et al., 2013). 485 Based on preliminary simulations, the model's hyperparameters were given weakly informative (regularizing) prior distributions. Each component of  $\mu$  was given a normal prior distribution with 487 mean 0 and variance  $10^4$ , and  $\Sigma$  was decomposed into a diagonal matrix  $\tau$ , whose diagonal components 488 were given a half-normal prior distribution with mean 0 and variance 1, and a correlation matrix  $\Omega$ , 489 which was given an LKJ prior (Lewandowski, Kurowicka, & Joe, 2009) with shape  $\nu = 1$  (Stan

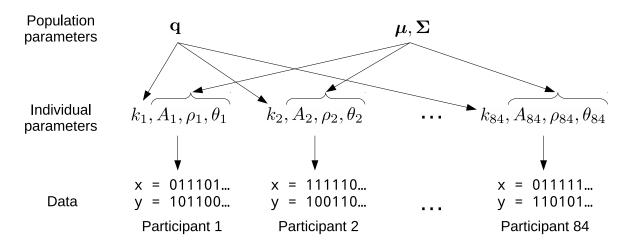


Figure 2: Hierarchical MPL model parameters. For each participant i, four parameters are fitted to the data:  $(k_i, A_i, \rho_i, \theta_i)$ . The population parameter  $\boldsymbol{q}$  tracks the frequency of k values within the population, and the population parameters  $\boldsymbol{\mu}$  and  $\boldsymbol{\Sigma}$  track the mean and covariance of  $(\log \operatorname{it}(A), \log \operatorname{it}(\rho), \log(\theta))$  values within the population. The hierarchical PVL model differs from the MPL model by not having the k and  $\rho$  individual parameters and the  $\boldsymbol{q}$  population parameter.

In short, the hierarchical PVL model fitted to the experimental data was:

$$egin{aligned} oldsymbol{y_i} &\sim \mathrm{PVL}(oldsymbol{x_i}, A_i, heta_i), orall i \ &(\mathrm{logit}(A_i), \mathrm{log}( heta_i)) \sim t_4(oldsymbol{\mu}, oldsymbol{\Sigma} = oldsymbol{ au} oldsymbol{\Omega} oldsymbol{ au}, orall i \ &oldsymbol{\mu} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 10^4) \ &oldsymbol{ au} \sim \mathrm{Half\text{-}Normal}(0, 1) \ &oldsymbol{\Omega} \sim \mathrm{LKJ}(1) \end{aligned}$$

For each participant i, the MPL model has four parameters  $(k_i, A_i, \rho_i, \theta_i)$ . The vectors  $(\text{logit}(A_i), \text{logit}(\rho_i), \text{log}(\theta_i))$ were given a multivariate Student's t distribution with mean  $\mu$ , covariance matrix  $\Sigma$ , and four degrees
of freedom  $(\nu = 4)$ . The parameter k was constrained to the range 0–5, which is consistent with
current estimates of human working memory capacity (Cowan, 2010). An MPL agent with working
memory k is not limited to learning patterns of length k: it can also learn much longer patterns. An
agent with k = 5, for instance, can learn the pattern 001010001100 of length 12; see Section 3.2 for
a demonstration. The parameter k was given a categorical distribution with  $\Pr(k_i = k) = q_k$  for  $0 \le k \le 5$ .

The model's hyperparameters were given weakly informative prior distributions. Each component

of  $\mu$  was given a normal prior distribution with mean 0 and variance  $10^4$ , and  $\Sigma$  was decomposed into a

diagonal matrix  $\tau$ , whose diagonal components were given a half-normal prior distribution with mean 502 0 and variance 1, and a correlation matrix  $\Omega$ , which was given an LKJ prior with shape  $\nu = 1$ . The 503 hyperparameters  $q_k$  for  $0 \le k \le 5$  were given a joint Dirichlet prior distribution with concentration 504 parameter  $\alpha = (0.001, 0.001, 0.001, 0.001, 0.001, 0.001)$ , implying that the prior probabilities that k =505  $0, 1, \ldots, 5 \text{ were } \frac{1}{6}$ . 506 In this hierarchical model, parameters were estimated for each participant taking into account not 507 only which values fitted that participant's results best, but also which values were the most frequent 508 in the population. If, for instance,  $k_i = 5$  fitted the ith participant's results best, but all the other 509 participants had  $k \leq 3$ , the estimated value of  $k_i$  might be adjusted to, say,  $k_i = 3$ .

In summary, the hierarchical MPL model is:

$$egin{aligned} oldsymbol{y_i} &\sim \mathrm{MPL}(oldsymbol{x_i}, k_i, A_i, 
ho_i, heta_i), orall i \ &k_i \sim \mathrm{Categorical}(\mathbf{q}), orall i \ &(\mathrm{logit}(A_i), \mathrm{logit}(
ho_i), \mathrm{log}( heta_i)) \sim t_4(oldsymbol{\mu}, oldsymbol{\Sigma} = oldsymbol{ au} oldsymbol{\Omega} au), orall i \ &\mathbf{q} \sim \mathrm{Dirichlet}(oldsymbol{lpha}) \ &oldsymbol{\mu} \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 10^4) \ &oldsymbol{ au} \sim \mathrm{Half\text{-}Normal}(0, 1) \ &oldsymbol{\Omega} \sim \mathrm{LKJ}(1) \end{aligned}$$

The model is also shown in Figure 2.

## 512 2.4 Model fitting

Both models were coded in the Stan modeling language (Carpenter et al., 2017; Stan Development Team, 2016b) and fitted to the data using the PyStan interface (Stan Development Team, 2016a) to obtain samples from the posterior distribution of model parameters. Convergence was indicated by  $\hat{R} \leq 1.1$  for all parameters, and at least 10 independent samples per chain were obtained (Gelman et al., 2013). All simulations were run at least twice to check for replicability.

#### 2.5 Model comparison

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The PVL model includes parameters for learning decay and exploration to explain the participants' 519 behavior in the probability learning task. The MPL model additionally includes parameters for pattern search and recency. We determined if pattern search and recency were relevant additions that increased 521 the MPL model's predictive accuracy (its ability to predict future data accurately) by comparing the PVL and MPL models using cross-validation<sup>2</sup>. 523 Statistical models that are fitted to data and summarized by a single point, their maximum likeli-524 hood estimates, can be compared for predictive accuracy using the Akaike information criterion (AIC). 525 In this study, however, the two models were fitted to the data using Bayesian computation and many 526 points of their posterior distributions were obtained, which informed us not only of the best fitting pa-527 rameters but also of the uncertainty in parameter estimation. It would thus be desirable to use all the 528 available points in model comparison rather than a single one. Moreover, the AIC's correction for the 529 number of parameters tends to overestimate overfitting in hierarchical models (Gelman et al., 2013). 530 Another popular criterion for model comparison is the Bayesian information criterion (BIC), but it has the different aim of estimating the data's marginal probability density rather than the model's 532 predictive accuracy (Gelman et al., 2013). We first tried to compare the models using WAIC (Watanabe-Akaike information criterion) and 534 the PSIS-LOO approximation to leave-one-out cross-validation, which estimate predictive accuracy 535 and use the entire posterior distribution (Vehtari, Gelman, & Gabry, 2016), but the loo R package 536 with which we performed the comparison issued a diagnostic warning that the results were likely to 537 have large errors. We then used twelve-fold cross-validation, which is a more computationally intensive, 538 but often more reliable, method to estimate a model's predictive accuracy (Vehtari et al., 2016). Our 539 sample of 84 participants was partitioned into twelve subsets of seven participants and each model was fitted to each subsample of 77 participants obtained by excluding one of the seven-participant subset 541 from the overall sample. One chain of 2,000 samples (warmup 1,000) was obtained for each PVL model fit and one chain of 20,000 samples (warmup 10,000) was obtained for each MPL model fit (as the 543 MPL model converges much more slowly than the PVL model). The results of each fit were then used to predict the results from the excluded participants as follows. For each participant, 1,000 samples were randomly selected from the model's posterior distribution and for each sample a random parameter set  $\phi$  ( $\phi = (A, \theta)$ ) for the PVL model and  $\phi = (k, A, \rho, \theta)$  for <sup>2</sup>Because the CAB-k model (Plonsky et al., 2015) is not a statistical model, it cannot be compared to the PVL and

MPL models using cross-validation and for this reason has not been included in our model comparison.

the MPL model) was generated from the hyperparameter distribution specified by the sample. The probability of the *i*th participant's results  $Pr(y_i|x_i)$  was estimated as

$$\Pr(\boldsymbol{y}_i|\boldsymbol{x}_i) = \sum_{s=1}^{1000} \frac{1}{1000} \left( \prod_{t=1}^{t_{max}} \begin{cases} p_0(t|\boldsymbol{x}_i, \boldsymbol{\phi}^s) & \text{if } y_i(t) = 0 \\ p_1(t|\boldsymbol{x}_i, \boldsymbol{\phi}^s) & \text{if } y_i(t) = 1 \end{cases} \right),$$

where  $p_j(t|\mathbf{x}_i, \boldsymbol{\phi}^s)$  is the probability that the participant would choose option j in trial t, as predicted by the model with parameters  $\boldsymbol{\phi}^s$ . The model's estimated out-of-sample predictive accuracy CV was given by

$$ext{CV} = -2\sum_{i=1}^{N} \log \Pr(oldsymbol{y}_i | oldsymbol{x}_i).$$

A lower CV indicates a higher predictive accuracy. This procedure was repeated twice to check for replicability.

## 2.6 Posterior predictive distributions

We also simulated the MPL model to check its ability to replicate relevant aspects of the experimental data and predict the results of hypothetical experiments. To this end, two chains of 70,000 samples (warmup 10,000) were obtained from the model's posterior distribution given the observed behavioral data. A sample was then repeatedly selected from the posterior distribution of the hyperparameters (the population parameters  $\mu$ ,  $\Sigma$ , and q), random  $(k, A, \rho, \theta)$  vectors were generated from the distribution specified by the sample, and the MPL model was simulated to obtain replicated prediction sequences y using the generated parameters on either random outcome sequences x,  $\Pr(x(t) = 1) = 0.7$ , or the same x sequences our participants were asked to predict. By generating many replicated data, we could estimate the posterior predictive distribution of relevant random variables (Gelman et al., 2013). For instance, would participants maximize if they stopped searching for patterns? To answer this question, we simulated the model with k = 0 and  $(A, \rho, \theta)$  randomly drawn from the posterior distribution, and calculated the mean response. If the mean response was close to 1, the model predicted maximization.

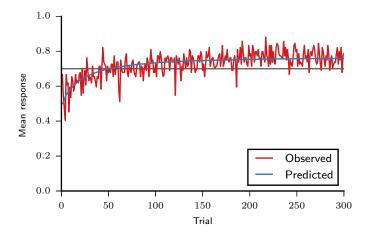


Figure 3: Observed mean response curve of participants and predicted mean response curve, obtained by fitting the MPL model to the experimental data. The line y = 0.7 corresponds to the mean response of an agent that matches probabilities. (Participants: N = 84; MPL simulations:  $N = 10^6$ .)

## 3 Results

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#### 3.1 Behavioral results

For each trial t, we calculated the participants' mean response, equal to the frequency of choice of the majority option. Results are shown in Figure 3. Initially, the mean response was around 0.5, but it promptly increased, indicating that participants learned to choose the majority option more often than the minority option. The line y = 0.7 in Figure 3 is the expected response for probability matching. In the last 100 trials of the task, the mean response curve is generally above probability matching: participants chose the majority outcome with an average frequency of 0.77 (SD = 0.10). The mean response in the last 100 trials was distributed among the 84 participants as shown in Figure 4 (observed distribution).

The cross-correlation of all participants was calculated for the last 100 trials, because in this trial range their mean response was relatively constant, as evidenced by Figure 3. The average cross-correlation was 0.30~(SD=0.19), implying that, on average, 65% of the participants' predictions were equal to the previous outcome and consistent with the "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy. This cross-correlation value, however, can also be produced by pattern search strategies, as shown in Section 3.6 below.

The wavy effect analysis results are shown in Figure 5. They suggest a wavy pattern in trials 1–100, but not in trials 201–300. In the former trials, the mean response increased for three trials after a 0,

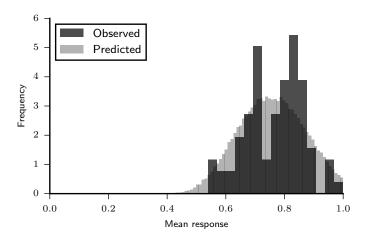


Figure 4: Predictive and observed distributions of mean response in trials 200–300. (Participants: N=84; MPL simulations:  $N=10^5$ .)

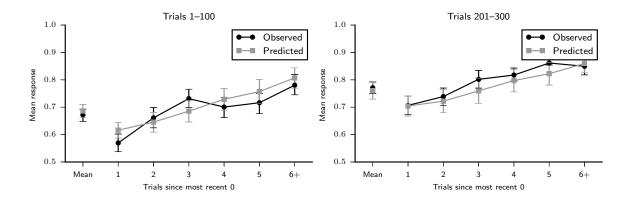


Figure 5: Wavy effect analysis results in trials 1–100 and 201–300 for observed data and predicted data, obtained by fitting the MPL model to the observed data. (Participants: N=84; MPL simulations:  $N=10^5$ . The mean number of observations per participant or simulated agent for points 1 to 5 was 16.3 and for point 6+ was 16.5. The error bars are the 95% HDI.)

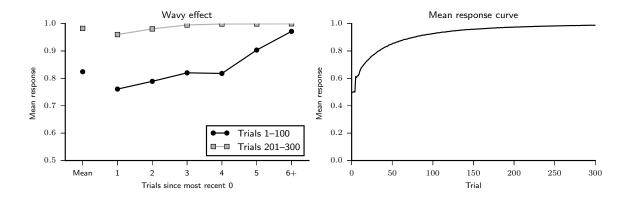


Figure 6: Wavy effect analysis results in trials 1–100 and 201–300 (left) and mean response curve (right) for MPL agents with parameters k = 3, A = 1,  $\rho = 1$ , and  $\theta \to \infty$  ( $N = 10^5$ ).

decreased in the fourth trial, and increased again in subsequent trials. In the latter trials, after a 0 outcome, the mean response always increased. It stayed below the mean for the two subsequent trials 588 after 0, indicating that participants predicted 0 at an above-average frequency in those two trials. From the third trial on, the mean response increased above the mean, indicating that participants predicted 0 at a below-average frequency. According to Plonsky et al. (2015), this result indicates that 591 k=3 in the first 100 trials, because the mean response curve is predicted to decrease in trial k+1 after 592 a 0 outcome. Indeed, a wavy effect similar to the one observed in the first 100 trials can be obtained by simulating the MPL model with  $k=3, A=1, \rho=1$ , and  $\theta\to\infty$ , which makes it equivalent to the CAB-k model with k=3 (Plonsky et al., 2015), but this simulation also predicts maximization rather than probability matching (Figure 6). Alternatively, the observed wavy effect can be explained 596 by expectation matching: since the probability that x = 0 is 0.3, four trials after the last 0 outcome 597 is when one would expect the next 0 outcome to occur if 0 outcomes occurred regularly every four trials, with 1/4 = 0.25 probability. This would also explain why the wavy pattern is only present in 599 the first 100 outcomes: as responses are reinforced, participants make more habitual choices driven by reinforcement learning and fewer choices driven by cognitive biases such as expectation matching. 601

## 3.2 Pattern learning by MPL agents

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In this study we analyzed the behavioral data with the MPL model, a reinforcement model that searches for patterns. In the task we employed, however, participants were asked to predict outcomes whose probabilities were fixed and independent of previous trials, i.e., the outcomes did not follow a pattern. Thus, to demonstrate how the MPL model learns patterns, we must simulate MPL agents

MPL $k = 1, A = 1, \rho = 1, \theta \to \infty$							MPL $k = 1, A = 0.9, \rho = 0.9, \theta = 0.3$						
t	$p_1$	x	$\eta = 0$		$\eta = 1$		t	n.	x	$\eta = 0$		$\eta = 1$	
			$E_0$	$E_1$	$E_0$	$E_1$	'	$p_1$	ı	$E_0$	$E_1$	$E_0$	$E_1$
0			0	0	0	0	0			0	0	0	0
1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5	0	0	0	0	0
2	0.5	1	0	1	0	0	2	0.5	1	0	1	0	0
3	0.5	0	0	1	1	0	3	0.5	0	0	0.9	1	0
4	1	1	0	2	1	0	4	0.57	1	0	1.73	0.9	0
5	0	0	0	2	2	0	5	0.43	0	0	1.56	1.73	0
6	1	1	0	3	2	0	6	0.61	1	0	2.26	1.56	0
7	0	0	0	3	3	0	7	0.39	0	0	2.03	2.26	0
8	1	1	0	4	3	0	8	0.65	1	0	2.65	2.03	0

Table 1: MPL agents learn a sequence of outcomes x generated by alternating deterministically between 0 and 1. The agent's parameters are given in the first row. The  $p_1$  column gives the probability that the agent will respond 1 (it will respond 0 with probability  $1-p_1$ ). From trial t=4 on, the agent with optimal parameters for this task (left) has already learned the pattern and always predicts the next outcome correctly. The agent with suboptimal parameters (right) also learns the alternating pattern, but does not always make correct predictions.

performing a different task, where outcomes actually follow a pattern. In this section we show that the

607

MPL model with appropriate parameters can learn any pattern generated by a Markov chain of any 608 order  $L \geq 0$ . This includes all deterministic patterns, such as the repeating pattern 001010001100, of 609 length 12, employed in a previous study with human participants (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b). 610 When the sequence to be predicted is generated by a fixed binary Markov chain of order L, the 611 optimal strategy is to always choose the most likely outcome after each history  $\eta$  of length L. If 612 an MPL agent is created with parameters  $k \geq L$ , A = 1 (no forgetting),  $\rho = 1$  (no recency), and 613  $\theta \to \infty$  (no exploration), it will eventually learn the optimal strategy by the following argument. In 614 this scenario, each expected utility will be simply a count of how many times that option was observed 615 after the respective history, and the most frequent option will be observed more often than the least 616 frequent one in the long run, which will eventually make its expected utility the highest of the two. 617 The option with the highest expected utility will then be chosen every time, because this agent does 618 not explore. When  $k \geq L$ , the highest possible values for A (A = 1) and  $\theta$   $(\theta \to \infty)$  maximize the agent's expected accuracy. A high A value means that past observations are not forgotten, which is 620 optimal, because the Markov transition matrix that generates the sequence of outcomes is fixed and 621 past observations represent relevant information. In this task, exploration, i.e. making random choices 622 due to  $\theta < \infty$ , does not uncover new information, because the agent always learns the outcomes of both options, regardless of what it actually chose. Thus, a high  $\theta$  value is optimal, as it means that 624 the "greedy" choice (of the option with the highest expected utility) will always be made.

Table 1 demonstrates how two MPL agents learn a deterministic alternating pattern in an eight-626 trial task. First, note that an alternating sequence, 01010101..., is formed by repeating the pattern 627 01 of length 2, but can be generated by a Markov chain of order 1, where 0 transitions to 1 with 1 628 probability and 1 transitions to 0 with 1 probability. The MPL agent therefore only needs k=1 to 629 learn it, and only needs to consider two histories of past outcomes:  $\eta = 0$  and  $\eta = 1$ . Similarly, the 630 repeating pattern 001010001100 of length 12 (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b) can be generated by a 631 Markov chain of order 5, and an MPL agent only needs k = 5 to learn it.<sup>3</sup> 632 The left half of Table 1 demonstrates how the agent with optimal parameters for this task (k = 1,633  $A=1,\,\rho=1,\,\theta\to\infty$ ) learns the pattern. Before the task starts, in trial t=0, the expected utilities of predicting 0 or 1 are 0 for both considered histories. In trial t=1, a history of length 1 has not 635 yet been observed, and the agent just predicts 0 or 1 with 0.5 probability ( $p_1 = 0.5$ ). The outcome in trial t=1 is x=0, the first element of the alternating pattern. In trial t=2, the agent has observed 637 the history  $\eta = 0$ , but it has not learned anything about it yet and thus predicts 0 or 1 with 0.5 probability. It then observes that the outcome alternates to x = 1 and updates the expected utility 639 of making a prediction after 0:  $E_0^{\eta=0}(t=2)=0$  and  $E_1^{\eta=0}(t=2)=1$ . Thus, alternating to 1 after acquires a higher expected utility than repeating 0 after 0. Since A=1 and  $\rho=1$ , this knowledge 641 will not decay, and since  $\theta \to \infty$ , the agent will always exploit and predict 1 after 0. It has thus 642 already learned half of the pattern. In trial t=3, the agent has observed history  $\eta=1$ , but it has not learned anything about it yet and thus predicts 0 or 1 with 0.5 probability. It then observes that the outcome is x=0 and updates the expected utility of making a prediction after 1:  $E_0^{\eta=1}(t=3)=1$ and  $E_1^{\eta=1}(t=3)=0$ . Since A=1 and  $\rho=1$ , this knowledge will not decay, and since  $\theta\to\infty$ , the 646 agent will always exploit and predict 0 after 1. It has thus learned the entire pattern, and from trial = 4 on it will always make a correct prediction. In this example, the  $E_0^{\eta=1}$  and  $E_1^{\eta=0}$  values count how many times the agent has observed 0 after 1 and 1 after 0 respectively. The right half of Table 1 demonstrates how the agent with suboptimal parameters for this task 650  $(k=1,\,A=0.9,\,\rho=0.9,\,\theta=0.3)$  also learns the pattern, but does not always make the correct prediction. Note that the  $E_0^{\eta=1}$  and  $E_1^{\eta=0}$  values decrease if the respective history has not been 652 observed, as A = 0.9, and that even if the history is observed, the expected utility value increases by less than one, because  $A\rho = 0.81$ . Despite the learning decay the agent experiences, though, by t = 4, 654 <sup>3</sup>These rules generate the pattern 001010001100:  $00101 \rightarrow 0$ ,  $01010 \rightarrow 0$ ,  $10100 \rightarrow 0$ ,  $01000 \rightarrow 1$ ,  $10001 \rightarrow 1$ ,  $00011 \rightarrow 0,\ 00110 \rightarrow 0,\ 01100 \rightarrow 0,\ 11000 \rightarrow 0,\ 10000 \rightarrow 1,\ 00001 \rightarrow 0,\ 00010 \rightarrow 1.$  They prove that the pattern can be generated by a Markov chain of order 5.

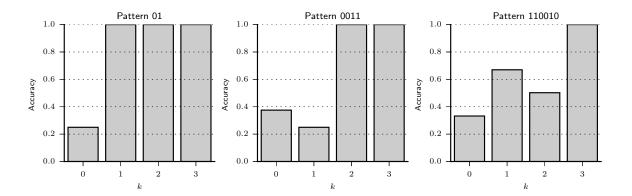


Figure 7: Accuracy of MPL agents with varying working memory usage (k), A = 1,  $\rho = 1$ , and  $\theta \to \infty$  in the last 100 of 300 trials for three different tasks, whose outcomes were generated by repeating the binary pattern strings 01, 0011, or 110010.

it has also learned the alternating pattern. If  $\theta \to \infty$ , it would always exploit and make the correct

prediction, but since  $\theta = 0.3$ , it will frequently, but not always, make the correct prediction, as shown 656 by the  $p_1$  column. 65 Figure 7 shows the results of simulations wherein MPL agents with  $A=1, \rho=1, \theta\to\infty$ , and 658 = 0,1,2,3 attempt to learn patterns of increasing complexity in a 300 trial task. An alternating 659 pattern (left graph of Figure 7) cannot be learned by an agent with k=0. Agents with  $k\geq L$  can learn the pattern, as demonstrated by their perfect accuracy in the last 100 trials of the task, even 661 though learning this pattern only requires k = 1. In general, when k < L, the MPL model does not always learn the optimal strategy. The pattern 0011, of length 4, can be learned by agents with  $k \geq 2$ 663 (middle graph of Figure 7), and the pattern 110010, of length 6, by agents with  $k \geq 3$  (right graph of Figure 7). These results again demonstrate that an agent with working memory usage k may be able 665 to learn patterns of length greater than k.

#### 67 3.3 Model comparison

The PVL and MPL models were compared by cross-validation. The PVL model obtained a cross-validation score of  $2.731 \times 10^4$ , while the MPL model obtained a cross-validation score of  $2.656 \times 10^4$ .

The lower score for the MPL model suggests that the MPL model has a higher predictive accuracy than the PVL model and thus that pattern search and recency, in addition to forgetting and learning decay, improved the reinforcement model's ability to predict the participants' behavior. It also supports our use of the MPL model to predict the results of hypothetical experiments.

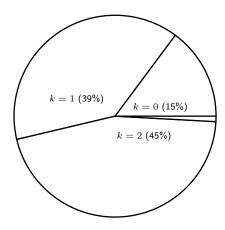


Figure 8: Marginal posterior distribution of k, given by the mean of the q parameter (see Figure 2).

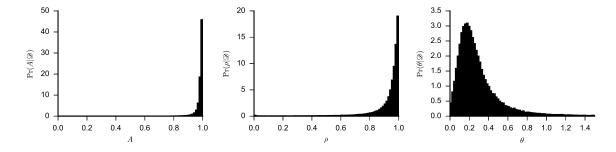


Figure 9: Marginal posterior distributions of A, B, and  $\theta$ , given the observed data  $\mathscr{D}$ . The graphs were obtained by generating random  $(A, \rho, \theta)$  vectors from the posterior distribution of model hyperparameters.

## <sub>674</sub> 3.4 Posterior distribution of MPL model parameters

Figures 8 and 9 show the marginal posterior distributions of the parameters k, A, B, and  $\theta$ . The most frequent k values were 0, 1, and 2, whose posterior probabilities were 0.15 (95% HDI [0.06, 0.24]), 0.39 (95% HDI [0.25, 0.53]), and 0.45 (95% HDI [0.32, 0.59]) respectively. The posterior probability that k = 1 or k = 2 was 0.84 (95% HDI [0.75, 0.93]), the posterior probability that  $k \ge 1$  (i.e., the participant searched for patterns) was 0.85 (95% HDI [0.76, 0.94]), and the posterior probability that  $k \ge 3$  was 0.01 (50% HDI [0.00, 0.00], 95% HDI [0.00, 0.06]). The posterior medians of A,  $\rho$ , and  $\theta$ , given by the transformed  $\mu$  parameter, were 0.99 (95% HDI [0.98, 0.99]), 0.96 (95% HDI [0.95, 0.98]), and 0.23 (95% HDI [0.19, 0.28]) respectively.

## 3.5 MPL model check: mean response

Figure 3 displays the predicted mean response curve. The predicted mean response in the last 100 trials is 0.76 (95% HDI [0.54, 0.96]) for a new participant and 0.76 (95% HDI [0.74, 0.78]) for a new sample of 84 participants and the same x sequences our participants predicted. The latter prediction is consistent with the observed value: 11% of samples are predicted to have a mean response as high or higher than observed (0.77). The predicted standard deviation of the mean response in the last 100 trials for 84 participants is 0.11 (95% HDI [0.09, 0.13]), and 96% of samples are predicted to have a standard deviation as high or higher than observed (0.10). The predicted and observed mean response distributions are shown in Figure 4.

#### <sub>692</sub> 3.6 MPL model check: cross-correlation

A strict "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy implies that in each trial the agent chooses the outcome of the 693 previous trial, i.e., x(t-1) = y(t) for all t > 1. This behavior can be generated by the PVL and MPL models with k=0 (no pattern search) and  $A\rho=0$  (only the most recent outcome influences decisions). This implies that in each trial the expected utility of the previous outcome is 1 and the expected utility of the other option is 0, which creates a tendency for the agent to choose the previous 697 outcome. If  $\theta \to \infty$  (no exploration), the agent will employ a strict "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy; otherwise, it will employ this strategy probabilistically. However, the posterior distribution of parameters we obtained suggests the opposite of "win-stay, 700 lose-shift: k is greater than 0 with 0.85 probability and the medians of A and  $\rho$  are close to 1. Since 701 previous studies that suggest many participants use a "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy (Gaissmaier & 702 Schooler, 2008b; Worthy et al., 2013), this raises the possibility that our analysis is not consistent with the experimental data. To check for this possibility, we calculated the predicted cross-correlation 704 c(x,y) between y and x in the last 100 trials of the task. The predicted cross-correlation for a new sample of 84 participants performing the task with the 706 same x sequences was 0.28 (95% HDI [0.25, 0.32]), and 10% of participant samples are predicted to have an average cross-correlation as high or higher than observed (0.30). The observed cross-correlation is 708 thus consistent with what MPL model predicts, suggesting that it does not reflect a "win-stay, loseshift" strategy; rather, this result indicates that most participants adopted a pattern-search strategy, 710 which also produced many responses that were incidentally equal to the previous outcome. 711

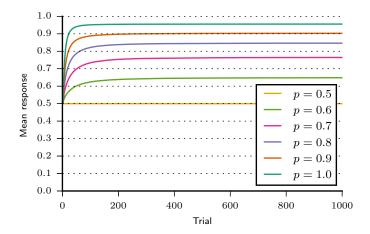


Figure 10: Predicted mean response by trial increases with the probability of the majority option (p). Results were obtained by simulation using the posterior distribution of MPL model parameters.  $(N=10^6 \text{ by } p \text{ value.})$ 

## 712 3.7 MPL model check: wavy effect

Figure 5 displays the predicted wavy effect curve, generated by simulating MPL agents with parameters randomly drawn from the posterior distribution, performing the probability learning task with the same sequences as our participants. The predicted mean response trend, both for the first and the last 100 trials, is increasing rather than wavy. The model thus predicts the observed trend accurately in the last 100 trials, but not in the first 100 trials. This is consistent with the explanation that the wavy effect observed in the first 100 trials is due to expectation matching rather than pattern search. If expectation matching strongly influenced the participants' choices in the first trial range but not in the last one, the MPL model would only be able to predict the results accurately in the latter, since it does not implement expectation matching.

#### 722 3.8 Predicted effect of outcome probabilities

Both the observed and predicted mean responses in the last 100 trials, 0.77 and 0.76 respectively, approximately matched the majority outcome's probability, 0.7. Would probability matching be also predicted if the outcome probabilities were different? Figure 10 shows the predicted mean response curve for different values of the majority outcome's probability p. The predicted mean response increased with p. If  $p = 0.5, 0.6, \ldots, 1.0$ , the predicted mean responses at t = 1000 were 0.50, 0.65, 0.76, 0.85, 0.90, and 0.96 respectively. Thus, the MPL model with fitted parameters predict approximate

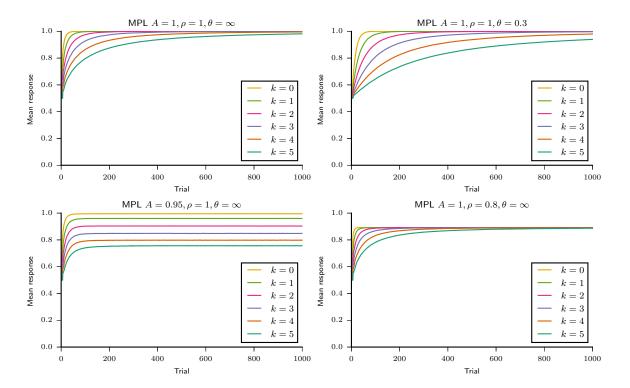


Figure 11: Simulations of the MPL model indicate that pattern search (k > 0) does not necessarily decrease the asymptotic mean response in a 1000-trial probability learning task, but agents who search for patterns are slower to learn the majority option (top). Pattern search combined with forgetting (k > 0, A < 1), as well as recency  $(\rho < 1)$ , decreases the asymptotic mean response (bottom).  $(N = 10^6)$  by parameter set.)

729 probability matching.

# 3.9 Predicted effect of pattern search, exploration, and recency on learning speed and mean response

As demonstrated in Section 3.2, an MPL agent performs optimally in a task without patterns if k=0 (no pattern search), A=1 (no forgetting),  $\rho=1$  (no recency), and  $\theta\to\infty$  (no exploration). Other parameter values, however, do not necessarily lead to a suboptimal performance. In particular, an agent that searches for patterns (k>0) may also maximize. This is shown in the top left graph of Figure 11. If A=1,  $\rho=1$ , and  $\theta\to\infty$ , the mean response eventually reaches 1 (maximization) even if k>0. In fact, as shown in the top right graph of Figure 11, agents will learn to maximize even if  $\theta=0.3$ , which is approximately the median value estimated for our participants. If A<1, however, agents that search for patterns never learn to maximize, as the bottom left graph of Figure 11 demonstrates.

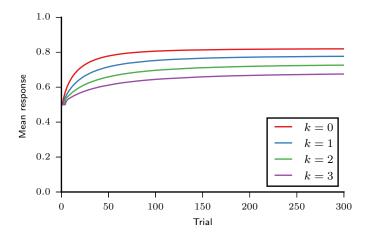


Figure 12: Predicted mean response by trial for k = 0, 1, 2, 3. Results were obtained by simulation using the posterior distribution of MPL model parameters. ( $N = 10^6$  by k value.)

And if  $\rho < 1$ , no agent learns to maximize, as the bottom right graph of Figure 11 demonstrates. Thus, pattern search only decreases long-term performance compared to no pattern search when combined with forgetting. As k increases, however, pattern-searching agents take longer to maximize, especially if  $\theta$  is low. The MPL model thus suggests that pattern search impairs performance by slowing down learning in the short term and, when combined with forgetting, in the long term. The former has already been proposed by Plonsky et al. (2015) using other models of pattern search.

How much did pattern search actually affect our participants' performance, though? Figure 12 shows the predicted mean response curve for participants with k from 0 to 3. Participants with low k are expected to perform better than participants with high k, especially in the beginning, although, since  $\rho < 1$ , even participants with k = 0 (no pattern search) should not maximize. In the last 100 of 300 trials, a participant with k = 0, 1, 2, 3 is predicted to have a mean response of 0.82 (95% HDI [0.60, 1.00]), 0.77 (95% HDI [0.56, 0.96]), 0.72 (95% HDI [0.52, 0.89]), and 0.67 (95% HDI [0.49, 0.82]) respectively. Note that the model predicts that mean response variability is high for each k and thus that k is a weak predictor of mean response.

The difference between the k=0 and k=2 mean response curves is largest (0.11 on average) in the 100-trial range that spans trials 18-117. To check if this difference in mean response could be detected in our experimental results, a linear regression was performed in the logit scale between the participants' mean k estimates and their observed mean responses in the trial ranges 18-117 and 201-300, using ordinary least squares. The results are shown in Figure 13. In both trial ranges, the

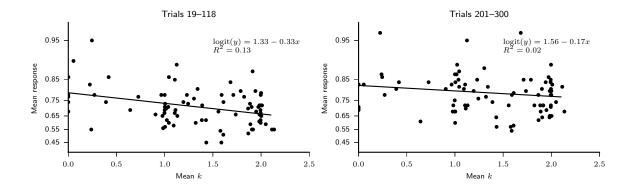


Figure 13: Mean response of participants (N = 84) in trials 18–117 (left) and 201–300 (right) as a function of their mean k.

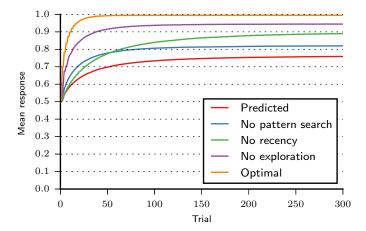


Figure 14: Predicted mean response by trial for a replication of this experiment (predicted) and for hypothetical experiments in which participants engaged in no pattern search or no recency or no exploration or neither (optimal). Results were obtained by simulation using the posterior distribution of MPL model parameters. ( $N=10^6$  by curve.)

mean response decreased with the mean k, as indicated by the negative slopes, but in trials 201-300,

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as expected, this trend was smaller. Moreover, in both trial ranges the small  $R^2$  indicates that the mean k is a weak predictor of mean response.

To predict the effect of pattern search (k > 0), exploration  $(\theta < \infty)$ , and recency  $(\rho < 1)$  on our participants' performance, we simulated hypothetical experiments in which participants did not engage in one of those behaviors. We did not simulate an experiment in which participants did not forget what they had learned (A = 1) because we assumed that forgetting was not affected by our participants' beliefs and strategies. In the last 100 of 300 trials, the predicted mean response was 0.82 for a "no pattern search" experiment, 0.89 for a "no recency" experiment, and 0.94 for a "no exploration"

experiment (Figure 14). Thus, "no exploration" has the largest impact on mean response, followed by

"no recency," and lastly by "no pattern search."

In this study, 84 young adults performed a probability learning task in which they were asked to

## 4 Discussion

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repeatedly predict the next element of a binary sequence. The majority option, coded as 1, had 0.7 772 probability of being rewarded, while the minority option, coded as 0, had 0.3 probability of being rewarded. The optimal strategy—maximizing—consisted of always choosing 1, i.e., having a mean 774 response of 1. Our participants' mean response in the last 100 of 300 trials was 0.77. This is consistent with numerous previous findings, which show that human participants generally do not maximize; 776 instead, they approximately match probabilities (Koehler & James, 2014; Newell & Schulze, 2016; Vulkan, 2000). Previous research also suggests that participants search for patterns in the outcome sequence (Feher da Silva & Baldo, 2012; Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008a, 2008b; Gaissmaier et al., 2006; 779 Koehler & James, 2014; Unturbe & Corominas, 2007; Wolford et al., 2000, 2004). For this reason, we modeled our data with a reinforcement learning model that searches for patterns, the Markov pattern 781 learning (MPL) model. In a model comparison using cross-validation, the MPL model had a higher predictive accuracy than the PVL model, which does not search for patterns (Ahn et al., 2008; Dai et 783 al., 2015). This is additional evidence that participants indeed search for patterns. The fitted MPL model could also predict accurately all the features of the behavioral data set that we examined in 785 the last 100 trials: the participants' mean response and mean response standard deviation, the cross-786 correlation between the sequences of outcomes and predictions, and the mean response as a function of the number of trials since the last minority outcome (the "wavy effect" analysis). As discussed in the Introduction, the model does not estimate, and thus cannot explicitly match, the 789 outcome probabilities; nevertheless its average behavior, after being fitted to the data, approximately 790 matched them, even in simulations in which the outcome probabilities were different from 0.7/0.3. Similarly, our human participants may not have been trying to match probabilities, even though they 792 did. This justifies switching our focus from why participants matched probabilities to why they simply failed to perform optimally. 794 Our analysis indicates that 85% (95% HDI [76, 94]) of participants searched for patterns and took 795 into account one or two previous outcomes—k=1 or k=2—to predict the next one. This finding challenges the common claim that many participants use the "win-stay, lose-shift" strategy (Gaissmaier

& Schooler, 2008b; Worthy et al., 2013), since this strategy implies k=0. In one study (Gaissmaier & Schooler, 2008b), more than 30% of participants in one experiment and more than 50% of participants in another were classified as users of "win-stay, lose-shift." Based on our analysis, we would claim 800 instead that no more than 15% (95% HDI [6, 24]) of participants (those with k=0) could have 801 used "win-stay, lose-shift." We checked this claim by calculating the observed and predicted cross-802 correlations between the sequences of outcomes and predictions, since "win-stay, lose-shift" creates 803 a high cross-correlation. The observed cross-correlation, which indicated that about two thirds of 804 predictions were consistent with "win-stay, lose-shift," was also consistent with what the MPL model 805 predicted, providing evidence that our analysis is accurate and that pattern search can also produce the observed cross-correlation. 807 Our results, which suggest that  $k \leq 2$  for 99% of participants (95% HDI [94, 100]), also disagree with the results obtained by Plonsky et al. (2015), which suggest that participants performing a 100-809 trial reinforcement learning task employed much higher k values, such as k = 14. To check our results 810 against those of Plonsky et al. (2015), we adapted to our study design the wavy effect analysis proposed 811 by them. Our data set exhibited a wavy effect in the first 100 trials of the task, but not in the last 100 812 trials, where the mean response always increased after a loss. Simulated data using the MPL model 813 with fitted parameters displayed an increasing trend instead of a wavy pattern in both the first and 814 the last 100 trials. If the interpretation of the wavy effect presented by Plonsky et al. (2015) is correct, 815 i.e., the wavy effect is caused by pattern search, then our data analysis indicates that k=3 in the first 816 100 trials, and our simulated MPL agents with fitted parameters did not exhibit a similar wavy effect 817 because  $k \leq 2$ . Indeed, simulated MPL agents with k=3 (equivalent to CAB-k agents with k=3) 818 did exhibit a wavy effect like the observed one. However, the same agents also maximized instead of matched probabilities. This is because while pattern search impairs performance, as demonstrated by 820 Plonsky et al. (2015) and the present study, it is necessary to employ large k values such as k = 14 to impair performance to the level of probability matching. Thus, pattern search with k=3 explains the 822 wavy effect observed in the first 100 trials of the task, but it does not explain probability matching. 823 The same observations are, however, compatible with our alternative proposal that the wavy effect 824 is caused by expectation matching. In this scenario, we would expect a wavy pattern in which the 825 lowest mean response occurs three to four trials after a loss, since the probability that x = 0 is 0.3. This 826 was observed in the first 100 trials of the task, and explains why the MPL model with fitted parameters 827 was not able to predict those results accurately—the model does not include expectation matching. As

responses were reinforced along the task, participants might have learned to make more choices driven by reinforcement learning and fewer choices driven by expectation matching, which explains why the wavy effect was not found in the last 100 trials and why the MPL model with fitted parameters could predict those results accurately. We conclude that the wavy effect found in the first 100 trials does not contradict our analysis suggesting  $k \leq 2$ . This estimate is consistent with the estimated capacity of working memory (about four elements), while large k values such as k = 14, required to explain probability matching, are not (Cowan, 2010).

Our MPL simulations agree with the basic premise in Plonsky et al. (2015) that the search for 836 complex patterns, employing large k values, leads to a suboptimal performance because of the "curse 837 of dimensionality." Since, however, participants seem to have searched only for simple patterns, the 838 suboptimal performance observed in the last 100 trials could not have been caused by this effect. It might still have been caused, in principle, by the interaction between pattern with forgetting (Fig-840 ure 12). Because of forgetting, participants with k=0, who do not search for patterns, are predicted to achieve a mean response in the last 100 trials 10% higher than participants with k=2, and 6% 842 above average. But this is only a small improvement. It indicates that even participants who did not search for patterns were on average still far from maximizing. Indeed, in our experimental data, a lower mean k was associated with an only slightly higher mean response and mean k was a weak predictor of mean response. This suggests that pattern search is not the main behavior that impairs performance.

The main behaviors that decreased performance the most, according to our analysis, were exploration and recency. Exploration in the MPL model is a tendency for choosing an option at random 849 when both options have similar expected utilities. Exploration is adaptive in environments where agents can only learn an option's utility by selecting it and observing the outcome. In our task, how-851 ever, participants did not have to select an option to learn its utility; they could use fictive learning to do so. Nevertheless, our simulations suggest that participants did explore, and that if they had 853 not explored, their mean response in the last 100 trials would increase by 19%. In comparison, if they had not searched for patterns, their mean response would increase by only 6%. Our analysis 855 also revealed that recency, the behavior of discounting early experiences, also had a large impact on 856 performance; it predicted that by eliminating recency participants would increase their mean response 857 by 13%. Together, the predicted high impact of exploration and recency on mean response suggests 858 that participants were unsure about how outcomes were generated and tried to learn more about them.

Exploration points to this drive to learn more about the environment, and recency indicates that participants believed the environment was nonstationary, which may have resulted from their failing to
find a consistent pattern.

Our work has thus made novel quantitative and conceptual contributions to the study of human
decision making. It confirmed that in a probability learning task the vast majority of participants
search for patterns in the outcome sequence, and made the novel estimation that participants believe
that each outcome depends on one or two previous ones. But our analysis also indicated that pattern
search was not the main cause of suboptimal behavior: recency and especially exploration had a
larger impact on performance. We conclude that suboptimal behavior in a probability learning task
is ultimately caused by participants being unsure of how outcomes are generated, possibly because
they cannot find a strategy that results in perfect accuracy. This uncertainty drives them to search
for patterns, assume that their environment is changing, and explore.

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