Zachary Horne

Contact Information	Department of Psychology University of Edinburgh Email: Zachary.Horne@ed.ac.uk Phone: +44 07704486168
Employment	University of Edinburgh
	Lecturer, October 2020 to Present Department of Psychology School of Philosophy, Psychology & Language Sciences
	Arizona State University
	Assistant Professor of Psychology, 2018 to 2020 School of Social and Behavioral Sciences New College
	Navy Center for Applied Research in Artificial Intelligence
	Postdoctoral fellow, 2017 to 2018 (PI: Sunny Khemlani; left postdoc early to start tenure-track position)
Education	
	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
	Ph.D., Psychology, 2017 M.S., Psychology, 2016
	Ph.D., Philosophy of Science, 2015 M.A., Philosophy, 2012
	Arizona State University
	B.A., Philosophy, 2010
	External Grant Funding

Leverhulme Trust £431,897 Weaponised Pasts: The Evolution of Heritage-based Hostility on Social Media (Co-PI; 50% of budget) (2025–2028)

Netflix & LaunchDarkly (Los Gatos / Oakland, CA, USA) \$12,500 (£9,400) How color-coded forest plots mislead end-users (Co-PI; 100% of budget) (2023-2026) Fellowship from the National Research Council of the United States of America \$232,500 (£174,822) Explanatory reasoning in people and machines (2017-2020)

Internal Grant Funding

School of Philosophy, Psychology & Language Sciences, University of Edinburgh Knowledge Exchange and Impact Grant in collaboration from researchers at Apple (Cupertino, USA)

 $\pounds 1,250$ Practical and interpretable data visualizations of treatment effects for the public (PI) (2024–2025)

College of Arts, Humanities, & Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh Knowledge Exchange and Impact Grant in collaboration with the Edinburgh Futures Institute

£4,910 Activating Tolerant Futures in Primary Schools: interventions on ancient and contemporary identities (Co-PI, 50% of budget) (2022)

School of Philosophy, Psychology & Language Sciences, University of Edinburgh Seed grant

Historical and Experimental Evidence for an Inherence Bias in Scientific Explanation (2022)

Research

Articles

 $\pounds 2.550$

Bold indicates lead or senior author †Indicates student is first author *Indicates authors contributed equally

[†]Papakonstantinou, T. Powell, D., Zhiteneva, A., Ma, A. & **Horne, Z.** (2025) Evaluating Large Language Models for Belief Inference: Mapping Belief Networks at Scale. *arXiv*.

†Deligianni, A., Doumas, A., & Horne, Z. (2025). Theoretical consistency in misogyny detection datasets can address generalisation concerns. arXiv.

[†]Line, E. N., Jaramillo, S., Goldwater, M. B., & **Horne**, **Z**. (2024). Anecdotes impact medical decisions even when presented with statistical information or decision aids. *Cognitive Research: Principles and Implications*, 9(51).

[†]Hew, J., Tarighat, A., Corley, M. & **Horne, Z.** (2024). Examining structural and semantic predictors of announced sarcasm on r/AskReddit. *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.*

[†]Vuorio, V. & **Horne, Z.** (2023). A lurking bias: Representativeness of users across social media and its implications for sampling bias in cognitive science *Proceedings of the 45th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.*

[†]Papakonstantinou, T. & **Horne, Z.** (2023). Characteristics of persuasive deltaboard members on Reddit's r/ChangeMyView. *Proceedings of the 45th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.*

Dougherty, M.* & Horne, Z.* (2022). Citation counts and journal impact factors do not capture some indicators of research quality in the behavioral and brain sciences. *Royal Society Open Science*, 9(8), 220334.

[†] Rose, D., Jaramillo, S., Nichols, S. & **Horne, Z.** (2022). Teleological essentialism across development. *Proceedings of the 44th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.*

Muradoğlu, M.*, **Horne, Z**.*, Hammond, M., Leslie, Sarah-Jane, & Cimpian, A. (2021). Women—Particularly Underrepresented Minority Women and Early-Career Academics—Feel Like Impostors in Fields that Value Brilliance. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 114(5), 1086–1100.

†Line, E., Roberts, S. & Horne, Z. (2021). Memory for syntactic differences in mental illness descriptions. *Memory & Cognition*, 50(2), 407-424.

Horne, Z., Rottman, J., & Lawrence, C. (2021). Can coherence-based interventions change dogged moral beliefs about meat-eating? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 96, 104160.

Horne, Z.*, Muradoğlu, M.*, & Cimpian, A. (2019). Explanation as a Cognitive Process. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 23(3), 187-199.

Horne, Z. & Cimpian, A. (2019). Intuitions about personal identity are rooted in essentialist thinking across development. *Cognition*, 191, 103981.

[†]Priniski, H. & **Horne**, **Z**. (2019). Crowdsourcing effective educational interventions. Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.

[†]Jaramillo, S., Horne, Z, & Goldwater, M. (2019). The impact of anecdotal information on medical decision-making. *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.*

[†]Mirabile, P. & Horne, Z. (2019). Explanatory Virtues and Belief in Conspiracy Theories. *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.*

Pinillos, N. A., Jaramillo, S. & **Horne, Z**. (2019). Asymmetrical belief sensitivity and justification explains the Wells Effect. *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*.

[†]Miske, O., Schweitzer, N. & **Horne, Z**. (2019). What shapes and shifts attitudes about the death penalty. *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.*

Horne, Z., Cimpian, A. (2018). Subtle syntactic cues affect intuitions about knowledge: Methodological and theoretical implications. In T. Lombrozo, J. Knobe, S. Nichols (Eds.), Oxford Studies in Experimental Philosophy, Vol. 2 (pp. 7–37). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bekele, E., Lawson, W. E., Horne, Z. & Khemlani, S. (2018). Implementing a Robust Explanatory Bias in a Person Re-identification Network. *IEEE:CVPR*, 2278-2285.

Horne, Z. & Khemlani, S. (2018). Conceptual constraints on generating explanations. *Proceedings of 40th Annual Cognitive Science Society.*

[†]Priniski, J. H., & **Horne**, **Z**. (2018). Attitude Change on Reddit's Change My View. *Proceedings of 40th Annual Cognitive Science Society.*

Powell, D. & Horne, Z. (2018). Expectations bias judgments of harm against others. Proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.

Horne, Z. & Livengood, J. (2017). Ordering effects, updating effects, and the specter of global skepticism. *Synthese*, 194(4), 1189-1218. (This is a leading journal in Philosophy of Science)

Powell, D. & Horne, Z. (2017). Moral severity is represented as a domain-general magnitude. *Experimental Psychology*, 64, 142-147.

Horne, Z. & Powell, D. (2016). How large is the role of emotion in judgments of moral dilemmas? *PloS ONE*, *11*(7), e0154780.

[†] Pritschet, L., Powell, D., & **Horne, Z**. (2016). Marginally significant effects as evidence for hypotheses: Changing attitudes over four decades. *Psychological Science*, 27(7), 1036-1042.

Storage, D.*, **Horne**, Z.*, Cimpian, A., & Leslie, S. (2016). The Frequency of Genius and Brilliant in RateMyProfessor reviews predicts gender representation across academia. *PloS ONE*, *11*(3), e0150194.

Harmon, I. & Horne, Z. (2016). Evidence for anti-intellectualism about know-how from a sentence recognition task. *Synthese*, 193(9), 2929-2947. (This is a leading journal in Philosophy of Science)

Horne, Z.*, Powell, D.*, Hummel, J. & Holyoak, K. (2015). Countering Anti-Vaccination Attitudes. *PNAS*, 112(33), 10321-10324.

Horne, Z., Powell, D., & Hummel, J.E. (2015). A single counter-example leads to moral belief revision. *Cognitive Science*, 39(8), 1950-1964.

Powell, D., Horne, Z., Pinillos, A., & Holyoak, K. (2015). A Bayesian Framework for Knowledge Attribution: Evidence from Semantic Integration. *Cognition*, 139, 92-104.

Waskan, J., Harmon, I., Horne, Z., Spino, J. & Clevenger, J. (2014). Explanatory Anti-Psychologism Overturned by Lay and Scientific Case Classifications. *Synthese*, 191(5), 1013-1035. (This is a leading journal in Philosophy of Science)

Powell, D., Horne, Z., & Pinillos, A. (2014). Semantic Integration as a method for investigating concepts. Beebe, J. (ed.) Advances in Experimental Epistemology. (pp. 119-144) Continuum Press.

Horne, Z., Powell, D., & Spino, J. (2013). Belief Updating in Moral Dilemmas. *Review of Philosophy and Psychology*, 4(4), 705-714.

Horne, Z., & Powell, D. (2013). More than a feeling: When Emotional Reactions Don't Predict Moral Judgments. *Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*.

Powell, D., Horne, Z., Pinillos, A. & Holyoak, K. (2013, August). Justified True Belief Triggers False Recall of Knowing. *Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.*

Braverman, M., Clevenger, J., Harmon, I., Higgins, A., Horne, Z., Spino, J., & Waskan, J. (2012, August). Intellig-ability is Necessary for Explanation but Accuracy May Not Be. *Proceedings of the 34th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.*

Other funding, fellowships, and awards

Arizona State University Institute for Social Science Research Seed Grant (2019) University of Illinois, J. McVicker Hunt Award for excellence in research (2016) University of Illinois, Beckman Institute Cognitive Science Award (2013, 2014) University of Illinois, Smalley Fellowship (2013) University of Illinois, Caton Prize - Best Philosophy Graduate Student Paper (2012) Arizona State University - Best Undergraduate Philosophy Paper (2010)

Presentations

Invited Talks

Using Large Language Models to synthesize implicit beliefs. University College London, 2025.

Leveraging social media to understand and crowdsource belief change interventions. University of Warwick, 2025.

Explanatory biases in practicing scientists. Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, 2025.

Color-coded forest plots mislead users. LaunchDarkly, 2023.

Persuasion in the digital age. Uehiro Centre for Practical Ethics, Oxford University, 2023.

Biases in hypothesis generation. Luminate Group, 2022.

Correcting misconceptions using Reddit ChangeMyView. DeepMind – Beneficial Reinforcement Learning, 2022. Correcting scientific misconceptions. Stanford University – Cognitive Science Seminar Series, 2022.

Correcting scientific misconceptions. University of Pittsburgh – Department Seminar Series, 2022.

Attitude change in the lab and in the wild. Pint of Science – Edinburgh, 2022.

Attitude change in the wild. University of Stirling – Psychology Symposium, 2020.

Mining arguments from social media to change moral beliefs. Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology – Moral Psychology Symposium, 2020.

Correcting scientific misconceptions. University of Edinburgh – Psychology Department Speaker Series, 2020.

The formation and correction of scientific misconceptions. University of California, Berkeley – Psychology Department Speaker Series, 2020.

Immutable Morality: Even God could not change some moral facts. Columbia University – Heiphetz Developmental Colloquium, 2019.

Belief updating in adults and children. University of California, Los Angeles – Developmental Psychology Colloquium, 2019.

Attitude change on Reddit's ChangeMyView. Duke University – Moral Psychology Colloquium, 2018.

The influence of cognitive biases on scientific explanation. Arizona State University – Center for Biology & Society Conversation Series, 2018.

A domain-general inherence bias in explanatory reasoning. University of Chicago – Conference on Analogical Reasoning, Paris, FR. 2017.

Expectations influence evaluations of moral actions. University of Maryland – Psychology Department Colloquium, 2016.

Scientific explanation in adults and children. U.S. Naval Research Laboratory – Artificial Intelligence Colloquium, 2016.

The influence of an inherence heuristic on scientific explanation. University of California, Los Angeles – Cognitive Psychology Colloquium, 2014.

Intuitions about personal identity are rooted in essentialist thinking across development. Northwestern University – Cognitive Psychology Colloquium, 2014

The link between intuitions about personal identity and essentialist beliefs about objects. Indiana University – Cognitive Psychology Colloquium, 2014

Anti-intellectualism about know-how: Evidence from a sentence recognition task. University of Buffalo – Experimental Philosophy Colloquium, 2014 Order Effects, Evidence Effects, and the Specter of Global Skepticism. University of Bristol – UK Experimental Philosophy Colloquium, 2013

Emotional Arousal and Moral Judgment. University of London – Workshop on Moral Dilemmas, 2012

Experimental Philosophy of Free Will. Yale University – Cognitive Science Workshop, 2011

The Empirical Implications of Pure Expressivism. University of Auckland – Naturalism in Ethics Talk Series, 2011

Selected Conference Talks

[†]Hew, J., Tarighat, A., Corley, M. & **Horne, Z.** (2024). Examining structural and semantic predictors of announced sarcasm on r/AskReddit. Proceedings of the 46th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.

[†]Rose, D., Jaramillo, S., Nichols, S. & **Horne, Z.** (July, 2022). Teleological essentialism across development. *Proceedings of the 44th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.*

[†]Line, E.,Jaramillo, S., Neal, T.M.S., & **Horne, Z.** (2020, March). Using Bayesian Models to Assess Juror Decision-Making in Ecologically Valid Contexts. *American Psychology and Law Society Conference*. New Orleans, LA.

Dougherty, M. & **Horne**, Z. (2019, November). Citation counts and impact factors do not predict key aspects of research quality. *Annual Meeting of the Psychonomics Society*. Montreal, CA.

[†]Miske, O., Schweitzer, N. & **Horne, Z**. (2019, June). What shifts information shifts attitudes about capital punishment. *Society for Philosophy and Psychology*. San Diego, CA.

[†]Jaramillo, S., **Horne, Z**, & Goldwater, M. (2019, July). The impact of anecdotal information on medical decision-making. *The 41st Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.* Montreal, CA.

[†]Miske, O., Schweitzer, N. & **Horne, Z**. (2019, July). What shapes and shifts attitudes about the death penalty. *The 41st Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*. Montreal, CA.

[†]Miske, O., Schweitzer, N. & **Horne**, Z. (2019, March). What shapes and shifts attitudes about the death penalty. *American Psychology and Law Society Conference*. Portland, OR.

Horne, Z., Rottman, J. & Lawrence, C. (2017, July). Relational Matching Induces Coherence Shifts in Moral Attitudes about Meat. *Society for Philosophy and Psychology*. San Diego, CA.

Horne, Z. & Khemlani, S. (2017, July). Principled connections and the inherence bias in explanatory reasoning. *London Reasoning Workshop*. London, UK.

Horne, Z. & Cimpian, A. (2017, March). Intuitions about personal identity are underlain by essentialist thinking in adults and children. *Society for Research on Child Development*. Austin, TX.

Horne, Z. & Livengood, J. (2015, June). Ordering Effects, Updating Effects, and the Specter of Global Skepticism. Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Munich, DE.

Horne, Z. & Livengood, J. (2015, June). Ordering Effects, Updating Effects, and the Specter of Global Skepticism. *Society for Philosophy and Psychology*, Durham, NC.

Horne, Z. & Powell, D. More than a feeling: When Emotional Reactions Don't Predict Moral Judgments. (2014, July). 35th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society. Berlin, DE.

Horne, Z., Powell, D., Pinillos, N.A., & Holyoak, K. (2014, July). Justified True Belief Triggers False Recall of Knowing. 35th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society. Berlin, DE.

Horne, Z., Powell, D., Pinillos, N.A., & Holyoak, K. (2013, July). Justified True Belief Triggers False Recall of Knowing. *Society for Philosophy and Psychology*. Providence, RI.

Selected Conference Posters

[†]Line, E., Jaramillo, S., Neal, T.M.S., & **Horne, Z.** (2020, July). Prior Beliefs About the Evidentiary Weight of Crime Scene Data Impacts Juror Verdicts. *The 42nd Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.* Toronto, Canada.

[†]Priniski, J.H. & **Horne, Z.** (2019, July). Crowdsourcing effective educational interventions. *The 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society.* Montreal, CA.

[†]Lobo, N. & **Horne**, **Z.** (2019, October). Reasoning about Arguments by Analogy. *Cognitive Developmental Society*. Louisville, KY.

[†]Lobo, N. & **Horne, Z.** (2019, July). Understanding of Arguments by Analogy. *The* 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society. Montreal, CA.

[†]Priniski, J.H. & **Horne, Z.** (2019, February). Crowdsourcing Attitude Change from Reddit's Change My View. *The Society for Personality and Social Psychology Intervention Science Preconference*. Portland, OR.

[†]Mirabile, P. & **Horne, Z**. (2019, July). Explanatory Virtues and Belief in Conspiracy Theories. *The 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*. Montreal, CA.

[†]Mirabile, P. & **Horne, Z**. (2019, July). Reasoning about abductive, inductive and deductive conditionals across development. *The 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*. Montreal, CA.

Pinillos, N. A., Jaramillo, S. & **Horne, Z**. (2019, July). Asymmetrical belief sensitivity and justification explains the Wells Effect. *The 41st Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*. Montreal, CA.

[†]Priniski, J.H. & **Horne, Z.** (2018, July). Attitude Change on Reddit's Change My View. *The 40th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science*. Madison, WI.

[†]Solanki, P. & **Horne**, **Z.** (2018, November). Evidence assimilation in a repeated judgment task. *Annual Meeting of the Psychonomics Society*. Madison, WI.

Bekele, E., Lawson, W. E., **Horne, Z**. & Khemlani, S. (2018, July). Implementing a Robust Explanatory Bias in a Person Re-identification Network. *IEEE:CVPR*. Salt Lake City, UT.

Horne, Z. & Khemlani, S. (2018, July). Conceptual constraints on generating explanations. *The 40th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society.* Madison, WI.

[†]Priniski, J. H., & **Horne**, **Z**. (2018, July). Attitude Change on Reddit's Change My View. *The 40th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*. Madison, WI.

[†]Roberts, S. & **Horne**, **Z**. (2018, July). The effect of trait labels on the perception of clinical disorders. *The 40th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*. Madison, WI.

Powell, D. & Horne, Z. (2018, July). Expectations bias judgments of harm against others. The 40th Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society. Madison, WI.

[†]Muradoğlu, M., **Horne, Z.**, Hammond, M.D., Leslie, S.J., & Cimpian, A. (2018, March). Mechanisms underlying women's underrepresentation in fields that prize brilliance. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, Atlanta, GA.

[†]Muradoğlu, M., **Horne, Z.**, Hammond, M.D., Leslie, S.J., Cimpian, A. (2018, March). Mechanisms underlying women's underrepresentation in fields that prize brilliance. *Illinois Summit on Diversity in Psychological Science*, Urbana-Champaign, IL.

Horne, Z. & Cimpian, A. (2015, October). The influence of an inherence heuristic on scientific explanation. *Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Development Society*. Columbus, OH.

Horne, Z. & Cimpian, A. (2015, July). The influence of an inherence heuristic on scientific explanation. *The 34th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*. Pasadena, CA.

Horne, Z. & Powell, D. (2015, March). Once More With a Measure of Feeling: Examining the Role of Emotion in Moral Judgment. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*, Austin, TX.

Horne, Z. & Cimpian, A. (2014, November). The influence of an inherence heuristic on scientific explanation. *Annual Meeting of the Psychonomic Society*. Minneapolis, MN.

Horne, Z., Powell, D. & Hummel, J. (2014, July). Moral Belief Updating. *The 35th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*. Berlin, DE.

Horne, Z. & Cimpian, A. (2014, March). The link between intuitions about personal identity and essentialist beliefs about objects. *Society for Personality and Social Psychology*. Austin, TX.

Journal Refereeing

Psychological Review, PNAS, Cognitive Development, Psychological Science, Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, Science Advances, Pediatrics, Vaccine, Cognition, Cognitive Science, Cognitive Psychology, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, Cognitive Development, Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology, Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, Oxford Studies in Philosophy, Mind and Language, Synthese, Journal of Philosophy, Topics in Cognitive Science, Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press

Conference Proceedings Editing

International Conference on Computational Social Science, Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society

Grant Refereeing

National Science Foundation – Decision, Risk, and Management Sciences, 2018; Swiss National Science Foundation, 2022

AT UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Service

- 2025 Present Psychology department study abroad coordinator
- 2025 Lecturer in statistics shortlisting committee
- 2024 Lecturer in quantitative social psychology shortlisting committee
- 2023 2025 Marketing Director Undergraduate Recruitment
- 2022 Present Organizer of Edinburgh Computational Cognitive Science Summer Workshop
- 2021 Founder of Computational Cognitive Science Research Area
- 2021-2 Organizer of Computational Cognitive Science Reading Group
- 2021-2 Organizer of Computational Cognitive Science Talk Series

Teaching

Natural Language Processing for Psychologists (2025 – Present) Data Analysis for Psychology in R 2 (2021 – Present) Introduction to Cognitive science (2023 – 2024) Big data and Psychological science (2022 – 2024) Psychological Research Skills (Course Organizer) (2021 – 2023) Mini-Dissertation Seminar (2021 – Present)

Current PhD and MSc supervision

Artemis Deligianni (Natural Language Processing, Informatics) Mert Kobas (Developmental Psychology – New York University) Triseugeni Papakonstantinou (Psychology - University College London) Eddie Ungless (Natural Language Processing, Informatics) Elizabeth Rzepczynski (MSc Psychological Research) Jasmair Singh (MSc Psychological Research)

AT ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Service

2021 – Organizer of Arizona State University Machine Learning Day

2020 – Organizer of Behavioral Data Science Colloquium

2020 – Graduate student interviewing workshop

2019 – Executive Member and Founder, Behavioral Data Science Research Initiative

2019 – 2020 Member, Search Committee for Advanced Assistant Professor (Psychology) 2019 – 2020 Member, Search Committee for Assistant Professor (Behavioral Data Science)

2019 – 2020 Member, Search Committee for Postdoctoral Scholar (Behavioral Data Science)

2019 – Director, Undergraduate Psychology Program, School of Social and Behavioral Sciences

2019 - Faculty and graduate student statistics consultant

2019 – Organizer of Bayesian Data Analysis Summer Workshop

Teaching

PSY 434: Cognitive Psychology (Spring 2020)

PSY 598: Data Visualization and Analysis in R (Fall 2019)

PSY 341: Developmental Psychology (Fall 2019)

PSY 320: Learning and Motivation (Spring 2019)

PSY 500: Research Methods (Spring and Fall 2018)

PhD Committee

Christopher Gonzales (PhD student in developmental psychology) Adi Weizel (PhD student in social psychology)

Community Outreach

2022 – Pint of Science 2018 – Project aimed at improving gender representation at the Herberger Young Scholar's Academy
2018 – Research partnership with the Children's Museum of Phoenix

Technical	Languages: R (Proficient), Python (Novice), Julia (Novice)
Professional Affiliations	Cognitive Science Society Psychonomics Society (Fellow)
References	Andrei Cimpian – Professor of Psychology – New York University andrei.cimpian@nyu.edu Martin Pickering – Professor of Psychology – University of Edinburgh martin.pickering@ed.ac.uk Keith Holyoak – Distinguished Professor of Psychology – University of California, Los Angeles holyoak@psych.ucla.edu