A Linear Threshold Model for Optimal Stopping Behavior

Christiane Baumann^{a,1}, Henrik Singmann^b, Samuel J. Gershman^c, and Bettina von Helversen^{d,a}

^a Department of Psychology, University of Zürich, Binzmühlestrasse 14/19, 8050 Zurich, Switzerland; ^bDepartment of Psychology, University of Warwick, University Road, Coventry, CV4 7AL, United Kingdom; ^cDepartment of Psychology, Harvard University, 52 Oxford Street, Cambridge, MA 02138; ^dDepartment of Psychology, University of Bremen, Hochschulring 18, 28213 Bremen, Germany

This manuscript was compiled on April 30, 2020

In many real life decisions, options are distributed in space and time, 2 making it necessary to search sequentially through them, often without a chance to return to a rejected option. The optimal strategy in 3 these tasks is to choose the first option that is above a threshold 4 that depends on the current position in the sequence. The implicit 5 decision making strategies by humans vary but largely diverge from 6 this optimal strategy. The reasons for this divergence remain unknown. We present a new model of human stopping decisions in 8 sequential decision making tasks based on a linear threshold heuris-9 tic. The first two studies demonstrate that the linear threshold model 10 accounts better for sequential decision making than existing models. 11 Moreover, we show that the model accurately predicts participants' 12 search behavior in different environments. In the third study, we con-13 firm that the model generalizes to a real-world problem, thus pro-14 15 viding an important step towards understanding human sequential decision making. 16

decision making.

optimal stopping | cognitive modeling | sequential decision making | adaptive behavior

Decisions that arise in everyday life often have to be made 2 when options are presented sequentially. For example, searching for a parking spot, deciding when to take a vacation day, or 3 finding a partner, all require that the decision maker accepts 4 or rejects an option without knowing if future options will be 5 more attractive. Decisions in such problems involve a trade-off 6 between accepting a possibly suboptimal option prematurely and rejecting the current offer out of false hopes for better 8 options in the future. 9

Despite the importance of such decisions, relatively little work has been made toward characterizing the process by which humans decide to stop searching in natural settings of this task.

Earlier research has focused on a simplified version of opti-14 15 mal stopping problems, the so-called secretary problem, where 16 only the rank of the option relative to those already seen is shown (1-3) and only the overall best alternative is rewarded. 17 In the secretary problem, the optimal strategy is to ascertain 18 the maximum of the first 37% options and choose the next op-19 tion that exceeds this threshold (4). Empirical studies suggest 20 that in general people follow a similar strategy but usually 21 set the cut-off (i.e., from which point on they will accept an 22 option that exceeds the previous options) earlier than the 37%23 prescribed by the optimal solution (1, 5). 24

Some studies have investigated tasks closer to real sequential choice problems by presenting the actual value of the option to the decision makers (6–10). In this version, the optimal is based on calculating the probability of winning on the later positions. From this probability, a threshold is calculated for each option in the sequence as described by Gilbert and Mosteller (4, Section 3). Lee (6) estimated a family of threshold-based models and showed that most participants 32 decreased their choice thresholds as sequences progress. Al-33 though people are overall quite heterogeneous in their search 34 behavior, they tend to cluster around the optimal solution 35 (7, 8). Importantly, these studies still kept the restriction that 36 only the best alternative is rewarded—a payoff function that 37 does not correspond well with everyday experiences. Humans 38 do find a mate, an apartment to live, or a ticket to fly to their 39 vacation destination, and thus receive some payoff, even if that 40 may not be the highest possible payoff. 41

In the present research, we propose a model of human decision making in optimal stopping problems using payoffs that are based on the actual values. In this variant of the search problem, the optimal decision thresholds are calculated based on the expected reward of the remaining options ((4, Section 5b) and SI Appendix, Text A). This leads to a decision threshold that changes notably nonlinear over the sequence.

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In contrast, we propose that people rely on a mental short-49 cut and adapt their thresholds linearly over the sequence. We 50 show that a model with this linearity assumption accurately 51 captures when people stop search and accept an option, even 52 in a real-world setting. Furthermore, this model allows us 53 to predict under which conditions people search more or less 54 than the optimal model, making it a useful tool to understand 55 human sequential decision making. 56

We first sketch a family of cognitive models for describing behavior in optimal stopping problems. We then present results from three behavioral experiments that provide evidence for the validity of the linear model in a laboratory setting as well as in a real-world scenario.

Significance Statement

Behavioral research has made rapid progress toward revealing the processes by which we make choices between options that are presented simultaneously. Decisions in everyday life are typically more complex. We often encounter choices where options are separated in space and time and therefore the question is: "When is the right time to stop searching?" We suggest that humans use a probabilistic threshold. A model in which this threshold changes linearly over time, where the optimal policy prescribes a non-linear change, provides an excellent account to the data, even in real-life settings.

C.B., B.v.H., H.S. and S.G. designed research; C.B. and B.v.H. performed research; C.B., B.v.H and H.S. contributed analytic tools; C.B. analyzed data; and C.B., B.v.H., H.S. and S.G. wrote the paper.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

¹To whom correspondence should be addressed. E-mail: cbaumann@psychologie.uzh.ch

Computational models. We explain the computational models 62 based on a typical optimal stopping problem that we also 63 used in our first two experiments. The decision maker (here a 64 customer) is planing a vacation and decides to buy the plane 65 66 ticket online. Ticket prices vary randomly from day to day and 67 the customer wants to find the cheapest ticket. The customer checks the ticket price every day and decides if she wants to 68 accept or reject the ticket, without having the option to go 69 back in time to a previously rejected offer. Search time is 70 limited by her vacation schedule (i.e., 10 decisions per trial) 71 and, once accepted, the search ends. 72

⁷³ More formally, we consider a decision maker who encounters ⁷⁴ a sequence of tickets with values denoted by x_1, \ldots, x_{10} and ⁷⁵ she wants to find the minimum value in the sequence. If the ⁷⁶ decision maker accepts ticket x_i , the sequence terminates and ⁷⁷ she has to pay x_i ; otherwise, she continues to the next ticket. ⁷⁸ When the last ticket is reached, it must be accepted.

All models assume that the decision maker relies on a probabilistic threshold to make the decision to accept or reject a ticket—i.e., ticket x_i on position i is compared to a position dependent threshold t_i . This comparison yields an acceptance probability θ_i based on a sigmoid choice function with sensitivity parameter β and

$$\theta_i = \frac{1}{1 + \exp\{\beta(x_i - t_i)\}}.$$
[1]

⁷⁹ Small values of β produce more stochasticity in decisions, ⁸⁰ whereas the policy approaches determinism when $\beta \to \infty$.

81 We examine the setting of thresholds by comparing the 82 performance of four different models.

The Independent Threshold Model (ITM) serves as our 83 baseline. It assumes no dependency between the thresh-84 olds. It entails N independent threshold parameters 85 $t_1, ..., t_N$, one for each position in the sequence, where 86 the decision maker can decide to accept or reject an of-87 fer (at position N + 1 the ticket must be accepted). The 88 thresholds can take any value across positions. The model 89 maintains maximal flexibility and provides an upper limit 90 how well any threshold model can describe a person's 91 decision given the assumption of a probabilistic threshold. 92

• The Linear Threshold Model (LTM) postulates that the thresholds are constrained by a linear relation to each other and therefore are completely defined by the first threshold t_0 and the linear increase δ as the sequence progresses:

$$t_{i+1} = t_i + \delta \cdot i, \tag{2}$$

⁹³ This model entails three free parameters, the first thresh-

old t_0 , the increase of the threshold δ and the choice sensitivity β .

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• The The Biased Optimal Model (BOM) is based on the Bias-from-Optimal threshold model proposed by Guan et al. (8), assuming that humans are using thresholds that deviate systematically from the optimal thresholds.. The optimal thresholds t_i^* for each position *i* are derived by determining the expected reward of the remaining options (derivation in (4, Section 5b) and in SI Appendix, Text A). The model entails a systematic bias parameter γ that reflects the divergence of the human threshold from the optimal one. Additionally, the thresholds depend on a parameter α that determines how much their bias increases or decreases as the sequence progresses.

$$t_i = t_i^* + \gamma + \alpha \cdot i, \qquad [3]$$

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When γ and α are set to 0, the thresholds represent the optimal thresholds that lead to best performance. This model is therefore defined by three free parameters, γ , α and the choice sensitivity β .

The Cut-off Model (CoM) is inspired by the optimal deci-100 sion rule for the rank information version of the secretary 101 problem where the distribution of the prices is unknown. 102 It assumes that the DM has a fixed cut-off value k that 103 determines how long she explores in the beginning of the 104 sequence. The highest value seen in that initial sample 105 of k tickets is then set as her threshold, and the first 106 value that exceeds this threshold in the remainder of the 107 sequence is chosen. This model has two free parameters, 108 the cut-off value k and the sensitivity parameter β . 109

Models were implemented in a *hierarchical-Bayesian statistical framework* using JAGS (11) (SI Appendix, Text B).

Experiment 1. We asked 129 participants to solve a computer-112 based optimal stopping problem following the ticket-shopping 113 task described above. Tickets were normally distributed with 114 a mean value of \$180 and a standard deviation of \$20. In the 115 first phase, subjects learned the distribution using a graphical 116 method proposed by (12) (Methods). SI Appendix, Fig. S1A 117 shows that this procedure was successful in ensuring partici-118 pants learned the distribution. 119

In the second phase, participants performed 200 trials of 120 the ticket-shopping task. In each trial, participants searched 121 through a sequence of ten ticket prices. For each ticket, they 122 could decide to accept or reject it at their own pace. Partici-123 pants were aware that they could see up to 10 tickets in each 124 trial, and they were always informed about the actual position 125 and the number of remaining tickets (SI Appendix, Fig. S2E 126 for a screen shot). It was not possible to go back to an earlier 127 option after it was initially declined. If they reached the last 128 ticket (10th) they were forced to choose this ticket. When 129 participants accepted the ticket, they received feedback about 130 how much they could have saved if they had chosen the best 131 ticket in the sequence. Performance was incentivized based on 132 the value of the chosen ticket (*Methods*). 133

Behavioral results. Subjects earned on average 17.1 points (SD: 134 4.2) in each trial (maximum points = 20), which represents 135 a 6% loss on optimal earnings. Participants' marginal accept 136 probabilities steadily increased as the sequence progressed 137 (Fig. 1A, black line), but differed systematically from the opti-138 mal agent's accept probability (Fig. 1A, yellow line). On the 139 second-to-last (9th) position, participants accepted the ticket 140 only with a 28%, 95%-CI [26%, 29%], probability, whereas 141 following the optimal policy would result in a significantly 142 higher acceptance rate of 50%. 143

Overall, subjects stopped earlier than optimal. The average position at which a ticket was accepted was 4.7 (SD: 2.9), whereas an optimal agent would have stopped at an average stopping position of 5.2 (SD: 2.8). However, a closer look at Fig. 1A reveals that whether subjects accept too early or too late depends on the position: on earlier positions they accept options although they should continue to search, whereas, if



Fig. 1. (A) Probability to accept a ticket on each position across all prices. The dark line represents participant's frequency to accept, the dashed yellow line an optimal agent's probability to accept. (B) Participants' probability to accept. Each line represents ticket prices ranging from the first quantile to the fifth quantile. Q1: Tickets in first quantile, Q2: Tickets ranging from the first to the second quantile etc. The size of circles correspond to the number of data points on each position. (C) Estimated thresholds for the ITM with 9 free threshold parameters (solid blue line), the LTM with 2 free threshold parameters (dashed red line) and the BOM with 2 free threshold parameters (dash-dotted yellow line) (D) Posterior predictive mean and 95% HDI of the LTM (dashed red line) and the BOM (dash-dotted yellow line) for Q1 to Q5, as indicated in (B). Data: solid black lines

they get to position 7, they continue searching even for options
that should be accepted according to the optimal policy.

Fig. 1B shows the accept probabilities conditional on ticket 153 prices, split into the first five quantile ranges Q1 - Q5 (out 154 of a total of ten quantile ranges). Qi is defined as the range 155 of ticket prices from the 0.*i*th to the (0.i - 0.1)th quantile of 156 the ticket price distribution. In this experiment, the ticket 157 distribution corresponds to a Gaussian distribution with mean 158 180 and standard deviation of 20. Accept probabilities for 159 Q4 and Q5 did not reach 50% at position 9, in contrast to 160 the optimal strategy that predicts much higher acceptance 161 probabilities at this position. 162

Our models did not assume any learning over trials. This assumption was supported by an analysis of performance across trials. A linear mixed model on points per trial with trial number as fixed effect and by-participant random intercepts and random slopes for trial number showed no significant effect of trial number, F(1, 64.00) = 0.02, p = 0.88.

Modeling results and discussion. First, we checked whether 169 170 the key assumptions of the modeling framework were supported. We calculated, per participant and model, posterior 171 predictive *p*-values (p_{pp}) that compared misfit (i.e., deviance) 172 of the observed data with misfit of synthetic generated data 173 from the model. For the baseline model, ITM, this analysis 174 indicated that the absolute fit was very good, and a proba-175 bilistic threshold adequately describes participants' responses; 176 $p_{\rm PP} < .05$ for only 8% of participants (SI Appendix, Fig. S3A). 177 For the vast majority of participants the observed misfit was 178

consistent with the assumptions of the ITM plus sampling variability.

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The performance of the LTM was almost identical to the 181 ITM, suggesting that the considerably more parsimonious 182 LTM (three free parameters for LTM compared to ten for 183 ITM) adequately describes behaviour in optimal stopping 184 tasks. The distribution of $p_{\rm pp}\text{-values}$ of the LTM was almost 185 identical to the ITM (SI Appendix, Fig. S3A-B). Fig. 1D 186 provides qualitative evidence of the agreement between LTM 187 and data; the LTM adequately predicts accept probabilities 188 for each quantile at every position (see SI Appendix, Fig. S4 189 for agreement between ITM and data). Fig. 1C compares the 190 recovered thresholds of ITM and LTM and shows that the 191 ITM thresholds essentially form a straight line lying exactly 192 on top of the LTM thresholds. 193

The absolute fit of the BOM is clearly worse than for 194 ITM/LTM; $p_{\rm PP} < .05$ for 35% of participants (SI Appendix, 195 Fig. S3C). The source for this increased misfit can be seen 196 in Fig. 1D. Only for Q1 and early positions of Q4 and Q5 197 did the BOM provide an adequate account. Furthermore, the 198 recovered thresholds (Fig. 1C) of the BOM clearly differ from 199 the ITM in almost all positions. Results of the CoM are not 200 shown explicitly as its performance was extremely poor. All 201 $p_{\rm PP} = 0$; there was not a single posterior sample for which the 202 observed misfit of the CoM was smaller than for synthetic data 203 generated from the CoM. Furthermore, choices were essentially 204 random for CoM with $\beta_{CoM} = 0.02 [0.01, 0.06]$ (for the other 205 models, $\beta \approx 0.21$). 206

Participants differed in their first threshold and slope pa- 207



Fig. 2. Results of experiment 2: Empirical data appear in black lines and the posterior predictive means of the LTM in red lines. Bars represent the 95% HDI. The different lines represent the tickets ranging in from the Q1 to Q5. Q1: Tickets in first quantile, Q2: Tickets between the first and second quantile etc. (A) Condition 1: Tickets are left skewed distributed (PERT(40,195,200)) corresponding to a scare environment. (B) Condition 2: Tickets are normally distributed (PERT(90,140,190)). (C) Condition 3: Tickets are right skewed distributed (PERT(120,125,400)) corresponding to a plentiful environment.

rameters estimated by the LTM. However, all slope parameters
are larger than 0 indicating that all participants increased the
thresholds over the sequence (see also SI Appendix, Text C).

These results suggest that humans use a linear threshold 21 when searching for the best option. In the present tests we 212 found that the human performance is only 6% off from the 213 performance of an optimal agent, indicating that the linear 214 strategy performs quite well. Therefore, using linear thresholds 215 could be an ecologically sensible adaptation to sequential 216 choice tasks. However, it could also mean that the LTMs good 217 performance might not generalize to new task environments, 218 in which the linear model performs less well – an ability that 219 would be crucial for the LTM to be a useful model of human 220 behavior. 221

Search behavior in Experiment 1 indicated that people de-222 viate from the optimal model depending on the price structure 223 of the sequence: In trials with good options in the beginning 224 people tended to accept them too early. However, in trials with 225 few or no good options they continued search longer than the 226 optimal model prescribed (SI Appendix, Fig. S5). Accordingly, 227 in tasks with plenty of good options people might search less 228 than optimal. However, in tasks in which good options are 229 rare they might be tempted to search too long. 230

To find out and further predict how people will adapt to 231 the tasks, we conducted a simulation study comparing the 232 optimal solution with a best performing linear model (using 233 a grid search to find the best performing parameter values 234 for the linear model) and an empirical study manipulating 235 the distributions of ticket prices across three conditions: (1) 236 a left skewed distribution simulating a scarce environment, 237 (2) a normal distribution, (3) a right skewed distribution 238 simulating an environment with plentiful desirable alternatives. 239 As illustrated in SI Appendix, Fig. S6B, the simulation study 240 showed that the optimal model predicts more search in a 241 plentiful environment, whereas a linear model predicts more 242 search in the scarce environment. Furthermore, the linear 243 model predicts a stronger decline in performance in the scarce 244 environment than the optimal model (SI Appendix, Fig. S6A). 245

Experiment 2. To show that the LTM can capture people's
 choice behavior across different tasks and allows us to predict

when people will search too much or too little we conducted 248 a second experiment changing the distribution of options. 249 We manipulated the different task environments by sampling 250 tickets from (1) a left skewed (PERT $^{*}(40,195,200)$), (2) a 251 normal (PERT(90,140,190)) or (3) a right skewed distribution 252 (PERT(120,125,400)), representing a scarce, a normal and a 253 plentiful environment, respectively (SI Appendix, Fig. S1B-D, 254 red lines). Each participant was assigned to only one condition. 255 The final sample included 172 participants. The procedure 256 was identical to Experiment 1, consisting of a learning phase, 257 where participants got acquainted with the distribution (SI 258 Appendix, Fig. S1B-D, participant's estimate in black lines), 259 and a testing phase. In the testing phase, participants had to 260 choose the lowest-priced ticket out of a sequence of 10 tickets 261 with 200 trials (Methods). 262

Behavioral results. Participants' performance increased from the left-skewed (scarce) environment to the right-skewed (plentiful) environment (F(2, 268) = 114, p < .0001). As predicted by the best performing linear model, the loss compared to optimal performance was largest in the left-skewed condition, where only few good tickets occur (SI Appendix, Fig. S6A).

The average search length decreased from the left skewed 269 scarce environment to the right skewed plentiful environment, 270 F(2, 268) = 11.5, p < .0001. This pattern also follows the pre-271 dictions of the best performing linear model in the simulation 272 study but is in contrast to the optimal model's predictions 273 (SI Appendix, Fig. S6B). Specifically, in the left skewed en-274 vironment, where good tickets occur very rarely participants 275 searched too long compared to an optimal agent, whereas in 276 the environment where good tickets are abundant, participants 277 ended their search too early compared to the optimal strategy. 278

Modeling Results and Discussion. Modeling results replicate the results from Experiment 1 and indicate that the LTM but not the BOM performed extremely well ($p_{\rm pp} < .05$ for 7% to 10% of participants across the three conditions for LTM, 282

^{*}The PERT distribution is a special case of the beta distribution defined by the minimum (a), most likely (b) and maximum (c) values that a variable can take and an additional assumption that its expected value is $\mu = \frac{a + 4b + c}{6}$.

but $p_{\rm PP} < .05$ for 20% to 55% of participants for BOM, SI 283 Appendix, Fig. S7). The observed accept probabilities (Fig. 2A-284 C, black lines, where each line represents a ticket price within 285 the specified quantile range) are adequately described by LTM 286 287 predictions (red lines) on almost all positions and in all three 288 environments. Moreover, the threshold parameters for the ITM are again on top of the threshold parameters estimated 289 by the LTM in all the three environmental conditions (SI 290 Appendix, Fig. S8A-C). 291

These results indicate that humans use a linear threshold in optimal stopping problems, independent of the distributional characters of the task. However, this does not mean that people do not adapt to the task at all. Participants are responsive to task features and adapt their first threshold and the slope to the distributional characteristics of the task within the constraints of the linear model (SI Appendix, Fig. S8A-C).

Experiment 1 and 2 show that the linear model reflects a robust psychological process when deciding between sequentially presented options. However, in both experiments deciders were explicitly trained on the distribution of options, something not common in real life decision making. The next experiment tests if the linear strategy can also explain choices in a realistic optimal stopping task where initial learning is omitted.

Experiment 3. The decision maker's goal is to buy online prod-306 ucts at the lowest rate where prices for this product are pre-307 sented sequentially. We selected commodity products from 308 different categories (e.g food, leisure, kitchen tools) and col-309 lected for each product a set of prices from Amazon.com. Only 310 products with approximately normal price distributions were 311 selected for a final set of 60 products (SI Appendix, Table 312 S1). In the experiment, prices were sampled from a normal 313 distribution, with a mean and standard deviation estimated 314 from the real prices. All participants worked on 120 trials, 315 divided into two blocks of 60 trials. In these two blocks, the 316 60 products were displayed in a random order (each product 317 was encountered twice). Participants were aware that they 318 could see up to 10 prices in each trial, and we indicated the 319 average price of each product on the screen to reflect that 320 people often have an idea of familiar products' prizes and to 321

minimize individual differences in these.

Behavioral Results. Data from 95 participants were analyzed 323 and replicated the results from Experiments 1 and 2 (nor-324 mal distribution condition). Again, participants accepted too 325 early, on average at position 4.6 (SD: 2.9). Comparing the 326 performance in detail to the optimal strategy showed that (SI 327 Appendix, Fig. S9) participants accepted too frequently at 328 the beginning of the sequence (i.e., too low threshold) and 329 searched too long towards the end of the sequence (i.e., too 330 high threshold). We again found no evidence for learning 331 across trials (linear mixed model on points per trial with trial 332 number as fixed effect and by-participant random intercepts 333 and random slopes for trial number showed no significant effect 334 of trial number F(1, 94) = 0.13, p = 0.72). 335

Modeling Results. To deal with the prices' variability we nor-336 malized all values using mean and SD prior to fitting our 337 models. We could replicate the results from Experiment 1 and 338 2, despite the fact that participants did not explicitly learn the 339 product's prices beforehand: The LTM (10% of $p_{\rm PP} < .05$, SI 340 Appendix, Fig. S10A), but not the BOM (31% of $p_{\rm pp} < .05$, SI 341 Appendix, Fig. S10C), was able to capture the observed accept 342 probabilities accurately on each position and for each quantile 343 (Fig. 3B&C). Furthermore, threshold parameters estimated by 344 the LTM were very similar to threshold parameters estimated 345 by the ITM (SI Appendix, Fig. S11). 346

Discussion. In this paper, we designed a variant of an optimal 347 stopping task that allowed us to quantitatively characterize 348 the deviations of human behaviour from optimality. We found 349 that humans apply a simplifying strategy, where thresholds are 350 linearly increased over time. We implemented this assumption 351 in a computational framework and demonstrated that this 352 model not only provided an excellent fit to the data, it also 353 outperformed other models found in the optimal stopping liter-354 ature. Furthermore, the linear threshold assumption makes a 355 non-trivial prediction about search length, which we confirmed 356 experimentally: Humans stop earlier in environments with 357 many desirable alternatives compared to scarce environments. 358



Fig. 3. (A) Screenshot of the product purchasing task. (B and C) Results of experiment 3: (B) Empirical data appear in solid black lines and the posterior predictive means of the LTM in dashed red lines. (C) Empirical data appear in solid black lines and the posterior predictive means of the BOM in dashed yellow lines. Bars represent the 95% HDI. The different lines represent the product prices ranging from the first quantile to the fifth quantile. Q1: Product prices in first quantile, Q2: Product prices between the first and second quantile, Q3: Product prices ranging from second to third quantile, etc.

These results contrast with the prediction from the optimal model. Finally, in a online product purchase paradigm we could show that our model generalizes to real-world sequential choice problems. Understanding how humans make sequential decisions will help quantify the conditions under which people may succeed or fail in such tasks.

But why are humans relying on a linear strategy in adapt-365 ing their thresholds when an optimal policy is nonlinear? For 366 one, our findings correspond well with recent studies demon-367 strating that human choice behavior in related explore-exploit 368 paradigms is well described by a linear threshold rule (13, 14). 369 But a human linearity bias seems to be more general. Indeed, 370 a tendency to assume linear relationships has been reported 371 in a range of domains such as function learning (15, 16) and 372 reasoning (17–19). Crucially, simple strategies do not neces-373 sarily perform badly. In particular in uncertain and complex 374 environments, simple heuristics can be efficient and powerful 375 tools if they are adapted to the structure of the environment 376 (20, 21). In this context, linearity could be considered as an 377 adaptation of the human mind to its environment. 378

379 Materials and Methods

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Participants. We recruited 438 participants (272 females; age range: 381 18-62; N1 = 144, $N2_{\text{left}} = 92$, $N2_{\text{normal}} = 110$, $N2_{\text{right}} = 92$, 382 N3 = 100 in Experiments 1, 2 and 3, respectively) on Amazon 383 Mechanical Turk to participate in the experiments. Participants 384 gave informed consent, and the Harvard Committee on the Use 385 of Human Subjects approved the experiments. Participants were 386 excluded from analysis if they accepted the first option in a trial 387 in more than 95% of the trials. After applying these criteria, we 388 included data from 499 participants in the subsequent analysis 389 $(N1 = 129, N2_{left} = 86, N2_{normal} = 102, N2_{right} = 84, N3 = 95).$ 390

Task. In Exp. 1 and 2, participants performed the same online ticket 391 392 shopping task that consisted of a learning and a testing phase. In the learning phase, participants experienced the distribution from which 393 the ticket prices were drawn. In Exp. 1, the distribution from which 394 the values were sampled was normal with $\mathcal{N}(\mu = 180, \sigma = 20)$. The 395 procedure was as follows (SI Appendix, Fig. S2A-D): Participants 396 encountered sequentially 50 ticket prices drawn from the predefined 397 distribution. After every ten tickets, participants had to guess the 398 average value of the tickets seen so far. After each guess, participants 399 were told the correct response. At the end of the learning phase 400 participants were asked to complete a histogram (by dragging the 401 bars) for an additional 100 tickets that were drawn from the same 402 predefined distribution. Participants received feedback by observing 403 the correct distribution superimposed over their estimate (12). 404

In Exp. 2, we used three conditions to realize three dif-405 ferent distributional environments, a left skewed distribution, 406 PERT(40,195,200), a normal distribution, PERT(90,140,190), and 407 a right skewed distribution, PERT(120,125,400). The procedure of 408 the learning phase was identical to Exp. 1, except that we removed 409 the section about reporting the mean for the skewed distributions 410 (SI Appendix, Fig. S2B). Visual inspection of the performance in 411 the histogram task suggested that participants learned the target 412 distributions well (SI Appendix, Fig. S1). 413

In the second phase of Exp. 1 and 2, participants performed the 414 ticket-shopping task. It started with a practice trial followed by 200 415 test trials. In each trial participants searched through a sequence of 416 10 ticket prices randomly drawn from the predefined distribution. 417 For each ticket, they could decide to accept or reject it at their own 418 speed. People were aware that they could see up to 10 tickets in 419 each trial and they were always informed about the actual position 420 and the number of remaining tickets (SI Appendix, Fig. S2E). It 421 422 was not possible to go back to an earlier option after it was initially declined. If they reached the last (10^{th}) ticket they were forced 423 to accept this ticket. When participants accepted the ticket, they 424 received explicit feedback about how much they could have saved 425

by choosing the lowest-priced ticket in the sequence (SI Appendix, Fig. S2F). 426

Participants were paid according to their performance. In each of the 200 trials there was a maximum of 20 points to earn. The participants received the maximum number of 20 points if they chose the lowest-priced ticket and 0 points for the worst ticket in the sequence. The payoff for a ticket that lied between the lowest-priced and the highest-priced was calculated proportional to the distance to the lowest-priced ticket in the sequence. The exact calculation for the points in each trial *i* was as follows:

$$nts_i = \frac{20 \cdot (ticket_{max} - ticket_{chosen})}{ticket_{max} - ticket_{min}},$$
[4]

where $ticket_{max}$ represents the most expensive ticket in the sequence and $ticket_{min}$ the cheapest ticket in the sequence. Participants received a base payment of \$4 and earned between \$0 and \$4 additionally depending on their performance. 431

In Exp. 3, participants performed an online product shopping 432 task that started with a practice trial followed by 120 test trials 433 divided into two blocks containing the same sixty products. In each 434 trial, they encountered a product and searched trough a sequence of 435 ten prices. Prices were randomly drawn from a normal distribution 436 with a mean and standard deviation estimated from realistic prices 437 collected from Amazon.com. Participants received a base payment 438 of \$2 and a performance contingent bonus between \$0 and \$4. 439

 Data Availability.
 Data and modeling scripts are available on the
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 Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/wqth3/.
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. We thank Michael Lee and Peter Todd for helpful reviews and are grateful to Vassilios Kaxiras for helping with data collection. CB was supported by Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) (168889). HS was supported by SNSF (100014_179121). SJG was supported by the Office of Naval Research (N00014-17-1-2984). BvH was supported by SNSF (157432). 444

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