- Predicting pragmatic cue integration in adults' and children's inferences about novel word
- ² meanings
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Abstract

Language is learned in complex social settings where listeners must reconstruct speakers' 12 intentend meanings from context. To navigate this challenge, children can use pragmatic 13 reasoning to learn the meaning of unfamiliar words. One important challenge for pragmatic reasoning is that it requires integrating multiple information sources. Here we study this 15 integration process. We isolate two sources of pragmatic information and, using a 16 probabilistic model of conversational reasoning, formalize both how they should be combined 17 and how this process might develop. We use this model to generate quantitative predictions, 18 which we test against new behavioral data from three- to five-year-old children (N = 243) 19 and adults (N = 694). Results show close numerical alignment between model predictions 20 and data. This work integrates distinct sets of findings regarding early language and 21 suggests that pragmatic reasoning models can provide a quantitative framework for 22 understanding developmental changes in language learning. 23

Keywords: language acquisition, social cognition, pragmatics, Bayesian modeling, common ground

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meanings

Introduction

What someone means by an utterance is oftentimes not reducible to the words they 29 used. It takes pragmatic inference – context-sensitive reasoning about the speaker's intentions - to recover the intended meaning (Grice, 1991; Levinson, 2000; Sperber & Wilson, 31 2001). Contextual information comes in many forms. On the one hand, there is information provided by the utterance¹ itself. Competent language users expect each other to 33 communicate in a cooperative way such that speakers produce utterances that are relevant and informative. Thus, semantic ambiguity can be resolved by reasoning about why the speaker produced this particular utterance (H. H. Clark, 1996; Grice, 1991; Sperber & 36 Wilson, 2001; Tomasello, 2008). On the other hand, there is information provided by 37 common ground (the body of knowledge and beliefs shared between interlocutors) (Bohn & 38 Koymen, 2018; E. V. Clark, 2015; H. H. Clark, 1996). Because utterances are embedded in 39 common ground, pragmatic reasoning in context always requires information integration. 40 But how does integration proceed? And how does it develop? Verbal theories assume that 41 information is integrated and that this process develops but do not specify how. We bridge this gap by formalizing information integration and development in a probabilistic model of pragmatic reasoning.

Children learning their first language make inferences about intended meanings based on utterance-level and common-ground information both for language understanding and language learning (Bohn & Frank, 2019; E. V. Clark, 2009; Tomasello, 2008). Starting very we use the terms utterance, utterance-level information or utterance-level cues to capture all cues that the speaker provides for their intended meaning. This includes direct referential information in the form of pointing or gazing, semantic information in the form of conventional word meanings as well as pragmatic inferences that are licenced by the particular choice of words or actions.

early, infants expect adults to produce utterances in a cooperative way (Behne, Carpenter, & Tomasello, 2005), and expect language to be carrying information (Vouloumanos, Onishi, & Pogue, 2012). By age two, children are sensitive to the informativeness of communication (O'Neill & Topolovec, 2001). By age three children can use this expectation to make pragmatic inferences (Stiller, Goodman, & Frank, 2015; Yoon & Frank, 2019) and to infer novel word meanings (Frank & Goodman, 2014). And although older children continue to struggle with some complex pragmatic inferences until age five and beyond (Noveck, 2001), an emerging consensus identifies these difficulties as stemming from difficulties reasoning about linguistic alternatives rather than pragmatic deficits (Barner, Brooks, & Bale, 2011; Horowitz, Schneider, & Frank, 2018; Skordos & Papafragou, 2016). Thus, children's ability to reason about utterance-level pragmatics is present at least by ages three to five, and possibly substantially younger.

Evidence for the use of common ground information by young children is even stronger:

Common ground information guides how infants produce non-verbal gestures and interpret

ambiguous utterances (Bohn, Zimmermann, Call, & Tomasello, 2018; Saylor, Ganea, &

Vázquez, 2011). For slightly older children, common ground – in the form of knowledge

about discourse novelty, preferences, and even discourse expectations – also facilitates word

learning (Akhtar, Carpenter, & Tomasello, 1996; Saylor, Sabbagh, Fortuna, & Troseth, 2009;

Sullivan, Boucher, Kiefer, Williams, & Barner, 2019).

All of these examples, however, highlight children's use of a single pragmatic information source or cue. Harnessing multiple – potentially competing – cues poses a separate challenge. One aspect of this integration problem is how to balance common ground information that is built up over the course of an interaction against information gleaned from the current utterance. Much less is known about whether and how children – or even adults – combine these types of information. While many theories of pragmatic reasoning presuppose that both information sources are integrated, the nature of their relationship has

74 typically not been specified.

Recent innovations in probabilistic models of pragmatic reasoning provide a
quantitative method for addressing the problem of integrating multiple sources of contextual
information. This class of computational models, which are referred to as Rational Speech
Act (RSA) models (Frank & Goodman, 2012; Goodman & Frank, 2016) formalize the
problem of language understanding as a special case of Bayesian social reasoning. A listener
interprets an utterance by assuming it was produced by a cooperative speaker who had the
goal to be informative. Being informative is defined as providing a message that would
increase the probability of the listener recovering the speaker's intended meaning in context.
This notion of contextual informativeness captures the Gricean idea of cooperation between
speaker and listener, and provides a first approximation to what we have described above as
utterance-level pragmatic information.

RSA models capture common ground information as a shared prior distribution over possible intended meanings. Thus, a natural locus for information integration within probabilistic models of pragmatic reasoning is the trade off between the prior probability of a meaning and the informativeness of the utterance. This trade off between contextual factors during word learning is a unique aspect that is not addressed by other computational models of word learning, which have focused on learning from cross-situational, co-occurrence statistics (Fazly, Alishahi, & Stevenson, 2010; Frank, Goodman, & Tenenbaum, 2009) or describing generalizations about word meaning (Xu & Tenenbaum, 2007).

We make use of this framework to study pragmatic cue integration across development.

To this end, we adapt a method used in perceptual cue integration studies (Ernst & Banks,

2002): we make independent measurements of each cue's strength and then combine them

using the RSA model described above to make independent predictions about conditions in

which they either coincide or conflict. Finally, we pre-register these quantitative predictions

and test them against new data from adults and children.

We start by replicating previous findings with adults showing that listeners make 100 pragmatic inferences based on non-linguistic properties of utterances in isolation (experiment 101 1). Then we show that adults make inferences based on common ground information 102 (experiment 2A and 2B). We use data from these experiments as parameters to generate a 103 priori predictions from RSA models about how utterance and common ground information 104 should be integrated. We consider three models that make different assumptions about the 105 integration process: In the *integration model*, the two information sources are integrated with 106 one another. The other two models are lesion models that assume that participants focus on 107 one type of information and disregard the other whenever they are presented together. 108 According to the no common ground model, participants focus only on the utterance 109 information and in the no informativeness model, only common ground information is 110 considered. We compare predictions from these models to new empirical data from experiments in which utterance and common ground information are manipulated 112 simultaneously (Experiment 3 and 4).

After successfully validating this approach with adults in study 1, we apply the same model-driven experimental procedure to children (study 2): We first show that they make pragmatic inferences based on utterance and common ground information separately (experiment 5 and 6). Then we generate a priori model predictions and compare them to data from an experiment in which both information sources have to be integrated (experiment 7).

Taken together, this work makes two primary contributions: first, it shows that both adults and children integrate utterance-level and common-ground information flexibly.

Second, it uses Bayesian data analysis within the RSA framework to provide a model for understanding the multiple loci for developmental change in complex behaviors like contextual communication.

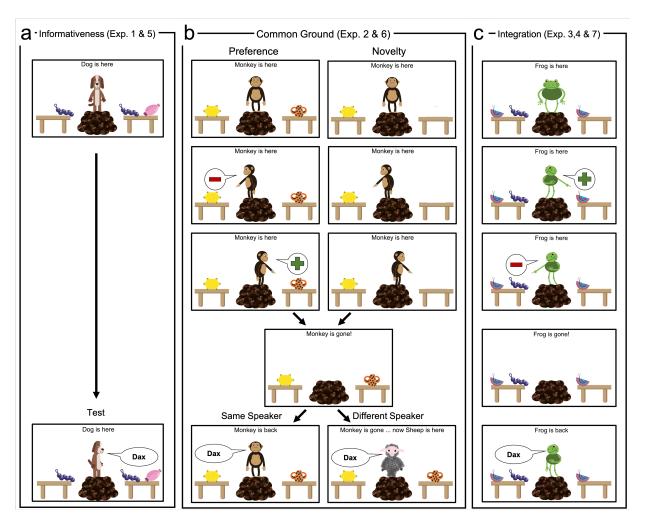


Figure 1. Schematic experimental procedure with screenshots from the adult experiments. In all conditions, at test (bottom), the speaker ambiguously requested an object using a non-word (e.g. "dax"). Participants clicked on the object they thought the speaker referred to. Speech bubbles represent pre-recorded utterances. Informativeness (a) translated to making one object less frequent in context. Common ground (b) was manipulated by making one object preferred by or new to the speaker. Green plus signs represent utterances that expressed preference and red minus signs represent utterances that expressed dispreference (see main text for details). Integration (c) combined informativeness and common ground manipulations. One integration condition is shown here: preference - same speaker - incongruent.

Study 1: Adults

Participants

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Adult participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and received 126 payment equivalent to an hourly wage of \sim \$9. Each participant contributed data to only 127 one experiment. Experiment 1 and each manipulation of experiment 2 had N=40128 participants. Sample size in experiment 3 was N = 121. N = 167 participated in the 129 experiments to measure the strong, medium and weak preference and novelty manipulations 130 that went into experiment 4. Finally, experiment 4 had N=286 participants. Sample sizes 131 in all adult experiments were chosen to yield at least 120 data points per cell. All studies 132 were approved by the Stanford Institutional Review Board (protocol no. 19960). 133

134 Materials

All experimental procedures were pre-registered (see 135 https://osf.io/u7kxe/registrations). Experimental stimuli are freely available in the following 136 online repository: https://github.com/manuelbohn/mcc. All experiments were framed as 137 games in which participants would learn words from animals. They were implemented in 138 HTML/JavaScript as a website. Adults were directed to the website via MTurk and responded by clicking objects. For each animal character, we recorded a set of utterances (one native English speaker per animal) that were used to provide information and make 141 requests. All experiments started with an introduction to the animals and two training trials 142 in which familiar objects were requested (car and ball). Subsequent test trials in each 143 condition were presented in a random order.

45 Analytic approach

We preregistered sample sizes, inferential statistical analysis and computational models 146 for all experiments. All deviations from the registered analysis plan are explicitly mentioned. 147 All analyses were run in R (R Core Team, 2018). All p-values are based on two sided 148 analysis. Cohen's d (computed via the function cohensD) was used as effect size for t-tests. 149 Frequentist logistic GLMMs were fit via the function glmer from the package lme4 (Bates, 150 Mächler, Bolker, & Walker, 2015) and had a maximal random effect structure conditional on 151 model convergence. Details about GLMMs including model formulas for each experiment 152 can be found in the Supplementary Material available online. Probabilistic models and model comparisons were implemented in WebPPL (Goodman & Stuhlmüller, 2014) using the R package rwebppl (Braginsky, Tessler, & Hawkins, 2019). In experiment 3, 4 and 7, we 155 compared probabilistic models based on Bayes Factors which were calculated from the 156 marginal likelihoods of each model given the data. Details on models, including information 157 about priors for parameter estimation and Markov chain Monte Carlo settings can be found 158 in the Supplementary Material available online. Code to run the models is available in the 159 associated online repository. 160

51 Experiment 1

Methods. In experiment 1, participants could learn which object a novel word referred to by assuming that the speaker communicated in an informative way (Frank & Goodman, 2014). The speaker was located between two tables, one with two novel objects, A and B, and the other with only object A (Fig 1a). At test, the speaker turned and pointed to the table with the two objects (A and B) and used a novel word to request one of them.

The same utterance was used to make a request in all adult studies ("Oh cool, there is a [non-word] on the table, how neat, can you give me the [non-word]?"). Participants could infer that the word referred to object B via the counter-factual inferences that, if the

(informative) speaker had wanted to refer to object A, they would have pointed to the table
with the single object (this being the least ambiguous way to refer to that object). In the
control condition, both tables contained both objects and no inference could be made based
on the speaker's behavior. Participants received six trials, three per condition.

Results. Participants selected object B above chance in the test condition (mean = 0.74, 95% CI of mean = [0.65; 0.83], t(39) = 5.51, p < .001, d = 0.87) and more often compared to the control condition ($\beta = 1.28$, se = 0.29, p < .001, see Fig 2). This finding replicates earlier work showing that adult listeners expect speakers to communicate in an informative way.

Experiment 2

In experiments 2A and 2B, we tested if participants use common ground 180 information that is specific to a speaker to identify the referent of a novel word (Akhtar et 181 al., 1996; Diesendruck, Markson, Akhtar, & Reudor, 2004; Saylor et al., 2009). In experiment 182 2A, the speaker expressed a preference for one of two objects (Fig 1b, left). The animal 183 introduced themselves, then turned to one of the tables and expressed either that they liked 184 ("Oh wow, I really like that one") or disliked ("Oh bleh, I really don't like that one") the 185 object before turning to the other side and expressing the respective other attitude. Next the 186 animal disappeared and, after a short pause, either the same or a different animal returned 187 and requested an object while facing straight ahead. Participants could use the speakers 188 preference to identify the referent when the same speaker returned but not when a different 189 speaker appeared whose preferences were unknown. 190

In experiment 2B, common ground information came in the form of novelty (Fig 1b, right). The animal turned to one of the sides and commented either on the presence ("Aha, look at that") or the absence ("Hm..., nothing there") of an object before turning to the

other side and commenting in a complementary way. Later, a second object appeared on the
previously empty table. Then the speaker used a novel word to request one of the objects.

The referent of the novel word could be identified by assuming that the speaker uses it to
refer to the object that is new to them. This inference was not licensed when a different
speaker returned to whom both objects were equally new. For both novelty and preference,
participants received six trials, three with the same and three with the different speaker.

Results. In experiment 2A, participants selected the preferred object above chance (mean = 0.97, 95% CI of mean = [0.93; 1], t(39) = 29.14, p < .001, d = 4.61) and more so than in the speaker change control condition ($\beta = 2.92$, se = 0.57, p < .001).

In experiment 2B, participants selected the novel object above chance (mean = 0.83, 95% CI of mean = [0.73; 0.93], t(39) = 6.77, p < .001, d = 1.07) when the same speaker made the request and more often compared to when a different speaker made the request (β = 6.27, se = 1.96, p = .001, see Fig 2).

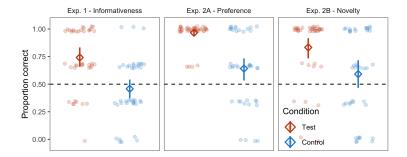


Figure 2. Results from experiments 1, 2A, and 2B for adults. For preference and novelty, control refers to a different speaker (see Fig 1b). Transparent dots show data from individual participants, diamonds represent condition means, error bars are 95% CIs. Dashed line indicates performance expected by chance.

Modelling information integration

Experiments 1 and 2 confirmed that adults make pragmatic inferences based on 208 information provided by the utterance as well as by common ground and provided 209 quantitative estimates of the strength of these inferences for use in our model. We modeled 210 the integration of utterance informativity and common ground as a process of socially-guided 211 probabilistic inference, using the results of experiments 1 and 2 to inform key parameters of 212 a computational model. The Rational Speech Act (RSA) model architecture introduced by 213 Frank and Goodman (2012) encodes conversational reasoning through the perspective of a 214 listener ("he" pronoun) who is trying to decide on the intended meaning of the utterance he 215 heard from the speaker ("she" pronoun). The basic idea is that the listener combines his 216 uncertainty about the speaker's intended meaning - a prior distribution over referents P(r) -217 with his generative model of how the utterance was produced: a speaker trying to convey 218 information to him. To adapt this model to the word learning context, we enrich this basic architecture with a mechanism for expressing uncertainty about the meanings of words 220 (lexical uncertainty) - a prior distribution over lexica P(L) (Bergen, Levy, & Goodman, 2016).

$$P_L(r, \mathcal{L}|u) \propto P_S(u|r, \mathcal{L}) \cdot P(\mathcal{L}) \cdot P(r)$$

In the above equation, the listener is trying to jointly resolve the speaker's intended referent r and the meaning of words (thus learning the lexicon \mathcal{L}). He does this by imagining what a rational speaker would say, given the referent they are trying to communicate and a lexicon. The speaker is an approximately rational Bayesian actor (with degree of rationality alpha), who produces utterances as a function of their informativity. The space of utterances the speaker could produce depends upon the lexicon $P(u|\mathcal{L})$; simply put, the speaker labels objects with the true labels under a given lexicon L (see Supplementary Material available online for details):

$$P_S(u|r,\mathcal{L}) \propto Informativity(u;r)^{\alpha} \cdot P(u|\mathcal{L})$$

The informativity of an utterance for a referent is taken to be the probability with which a naive listener, who only interprets utterances according to their literal semantics, would select a particular referent given an utterance.

Informativity(u; r) =
$$P(r|u) \propto P(r) \cdot \mathcal{L}_{point}$$

The speaker's possible utterances are pairs of linguistic and non-linguistic signals,
namely labels and points. Because the listener does not know the lexicon, the informativity
of an utterance comes from the speaker's point, the meaning of which is encoded in \mathcal{L}_{point} and is simply a truth-function checking whether or not the referent is at the location picked
out by the speaker's point. Though the speaker makes their communicative decision
assuming the listener does not know the meaning of the labels, we assume that in addition to
a point, the speaker produces a label consistent with their own lexicon \mathcal{L} , described by $P(u|\mathcal{L})$ (see Supplementary Material available online for modeling details).

This computational model provides a natural avenue to formalize quantitatively how 241 informativeness and common ground trade-off during word learning. As mentioned above, 242 the common ground shared between speaker and listener plays the role of the listener's prior 243 distribution over meanings, or types of referents, that the speaker might be referring to and 244 which we posit depends on prior interactions around the referents in the present context (e.g., preference or novelty; experiment 2A and B). We use the results from experiment 2 to specify this distribution. The in-the-moment, contextual informativeness of the utterance is captured in the likelihood term, whose value depends on the rationality parameter α . Assumptions about rationality may change depending on context and we therefore used the 249 data from experiment 1 to specify α (see Supplementary Material available online for details 250

about these parameters).

The model generates predictions for situations in which utterance and common ground 252 expectations are jointly manipulated (Fig 1c - see Supplementary Material available online 253 for additional details and a worked example of how predictions were generated). In addition 254 to the parameters fit to the data from previous experiments, we include an additional noise 255 parameter, which can be thought of as reflecting the cost that comes with handling and 256 integrating multiple information sources. Technically it estimates the proportion of responses 257 better explained by a process of random guessing than by pragmatics; we estimate this 258 parameter from the observed data (experiment 3). Including the noise parameter greatly 259 improved the model fit to the data (see Supplementary Material available online for details). 260 We did not pre-register the inclusion of a noise parameter for experiment 3 but did so for all 261 subsequent experiments. 262

Experiment 3

In experiment 3, we combined the procedures of experiment 1 and 2A or 264 2B. The test setup was identical to experiment 1, however, before making a request, the 265 speaker interacted with the objects so that some of them were preferred by or new to them 266 (Fig 1c). This combination resulted in two ways in which the two information sources could 267 be aligned with one another. In the congruent condition, the object that was the more 268 informative referent was also the one that was preferred by or new to the speaker. In the 269 incongruent condition, the other object was the one that was preferred by or new to the speaker. Taken together, there were 2 (novelty or preference) x 2 (same or different speaker) 271 x = 2 (congruent or incongruent) = 8 conditions in experiment 3. For each of these eight conditions, we generated model predictions using the modelling framework introduced above. The test hypothesis about how information is integrated we compared the three models 274 introduced in the introduction: The integration model in which both information sources are

flexibly combined, the *no common ground model* that focused only on utterance-level information and the the *no informativeness model* that focused only on common ground information.

Participants completed eight trials for one of the common ground manipulations with two trials per condition (same/different speaker x congruent/incongruent). Conditions were presented in a random order. We discuss and visualize the results as the proportion with which participants chose the more informative object (i.e., the object that would be the more informative referent when only utterance information is considered).

Results. As a first step, we used a GLMM to test whether participants were sensitive to the different ways in which information could be aligned. We found that participants distinguished between congruent and incongruent trials when the speaker remained the same (model term: alignment x speaker; $\beta = -2.64$, se = 0.48, p < .001). Thus, participants were sensitive to the different combinations of manipulations.

As a second step, we compared the model predictions to the data. Participants'
average responses were highly correlated with the predictions from the *integration model* in
each condition (Fig 3b). When comparing model, we found that model fit was considerably
better for the* integration model* compared to the *no common ground model* (Bayes Factor
(BF) = 4.2e+53) or the *no informativeness model* (BF = 2.5e+34), suggesting that
participants considered and integrated both sources of information.

Finally, we examined the noise parameter for each model. The estimated proportion of random responses according to the *integration model* was 0.30 (95% Highest Density Interval (HDI): 0.23 - 0.36). This parameter was substantially lower for the *integration model* compared to the alternative models (no common ground model: 0.60 [0.46 - 0.72]; no informativeness model: 0.41 [0.33 - 0.51]), lending additional support to the conclusion that the *integration model* better captured the behavioral data. Rather than explaining

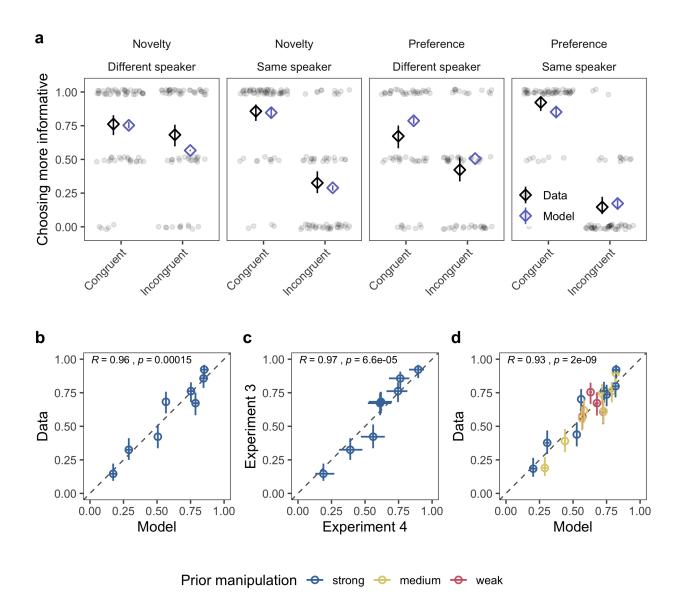


Figure 3. Results from experiment 3 and 4 for adults. Data and model predictions by condition for experiment 3 (a). Transparent dots show data from individual participants, diamonds represent condition means. Correlation between model predictions and data in Experiment 3 (b), between data in Experiment 3 and the direct replication in experiment 4 (c) and between model predictions and data in experiment 4 (d). Coefficients and p-values are based on Pearson correlation statistics. Error bars represent 95% HDIs.

systematic structure in the data, the alternative models achieved their best fit only by assuming a very high level of noise.

Experiment 4

To test if the *integration model* makes accurate predictions for different 304 combinations, we first replicated and then extended the results of experiment 3 to a broader 305 range of experimental conditions. Specifically, we manipulated the strength of the common 306 ground information (3 levels - strong, medium and weak - for preference and 2 levels - strong 307 and medium - for novelty) by changing the way the speaker interacted with the objects prior 308 to the request. The procedural details and statistical analysis for these these manipulations 309 are described in the Supplementary Material available online. For experiment 4, we paired 310 each level of prior strength manipulation with the informativeness inference in the same way 311 as in experiment 3. This resulted in a total of 20 conditions, for which we generated a priori 312 model predictions in the same way as in experiment 3. The strong prior manipulation in 313 experiment 4 was a direct replication of experiment 3 (see Fig 3c). Each participant was 314 randomly assigned to a common ground manipulation and a level of prior strength and 315 completed eight trials in total, two in each unique condition in that combination. 316

The direct replication of experiment 3 within experiment 4 showed a very 317 close correspondence between the two rounds of data collection (see Fig 3c). GLMM results 318 for experiment 4 can be found in the Supplementary Material available online. Here we focus 319 on the analysis based on the probabilistic models. Model predictions from the *integration* 320 model were again highly correlated with the average response in each condition (see Fig 3d). 321 We evaluated model fit for the same models as in experiment 3 and found again that the integration model fit the data much better compared to the no common ground (BF = 323 4.7e+71) or the no informativeness model (BF = 8.9e+82). The inferred level of noise based on the data for the integration model was 0.36 (95% HDI: 0.31 - 0.41), which was similar to 325 experiment 3 and again lower compared to the alternative models (no common ground model: 326 0.53 [0.46 - 0.62]; no informativeness model: 0.67 [0.59 - 0.74]).

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Study 2: Children

The previous section showed that competent language users flexibly integrate 329 information during pragmatic word learning. Do children make use of multiple information 330 sources during word learning as well? When does this integration emerge developmentally? 331 While many verbal theories of language learning imply that this integration takes place, the 332 actual process has neither been described nor tested in detail. Here we provide an 333 explanation in the form of our *integration model* and test if it is able to capture children's 334 word learning. Embedded in the assumptions of the model is the idea that developmental change is change in the strength of the individual inferences, leading to a change in the strength of the integrated inference. As a starting point, our model assumes developmental 337 continuity in the integration process itself (Bohn & Frank, 2019), though this assumption 338 could be called into question by a poor model fit. The study for children followed the same 339 general pattern as the one for adults. We generated model predictions for how information 340 should be integrated by first measuring children's ability to use utterance (informativeness) 341 and common ground (preference) information in isolation when making pragmatic inferences. 342 We then adapted our model to study developmental change: We sampled children 343 continuously between 3.0 and 5.0 years of age – a time in which children have been found to 344 make the kind of pragmatic inferences we studied here (Bohn & Frank, 2019; Frank & 345 Goodman, 2014) - and generated model predictions for the average developmental trajectory 346 in each condition.

348 Participants

Children were recruited from the floor of the Children's Discovery Museum in San Jose,
California, USA. Parents gave informed consent and provided demographic information.
Each child contributed data to only one experiment. We collected data from a total of 243
children between 3.0 and 5.0 years of age. We excluded 15 children due to less than 75% of

reported exposure to English, five because they responded incorrectly on 2/2 training trials, 353 three because of equipment malfunction, and two because they quit before half of the test 354 trials were completed. The final sample size in each experiment was as follows: N=62 (41) 355 girls, mean age = 4) in experiment 5, N = 61 (28 girls, mean age = 3.99) in experiment 6 356 and N = 96 (54 girls, mean age = 3.96) in experiment 7. For experiment 5 and 6, we also 357 tested two-year-olds but did not find sufficient evidence that they use utterance and/or 358 common ground information in the tasks we used to justify investigating their ability to 359 integrate the two. Sample sizes in all experiments were chosen to yield at least 80 data points in each cell for each age group. 361

362 Materials

Experiments were implemented in the same general way as for adults. Children were guided through the games by an experimenter and responded by touching objects on the screen of an iPad tablet (Frank, Sugarman, Horowitz, Lewis, & Yurovsky, 2016).

Experiment 5

Experiment 5 for children was modeled after Frank and Goodman (2014). 367 Instead of on tables, objects were presented as hanging in trees (to facilitate showing points 368 to distinct locations). After introducing themselves, the animal turned to the tree with two 369 objects and said: "This is a tree with a [non-word], how neat, a tree with a [non-word]"). 370 Next, the trees and the objects in them disappeared and new trees replaced them. The two objects from the tree the animal turned to previously were now spread across the two trees 372 (one object per tree, position counterbalanced). While facing straight, the animal first said 373 "Here are some more trees" and then asked the child to pick the tree with the object that corresponded to the novel word ("Which of these trees has a [non-word]?"). Children 375 received six trials in a single test condition. 376

To compare children's performance to chance level, we binned age by year. 377 Four-year-olds selected the more informative object (i.e. the object that was unique to the 378 location the speaker turned to) above chance (mean = 0.62, 95% CI of mean = [0.53; 0.71],379 t(29) = 2.80, p = .009, d = 0.51). Three-year-olds, on the other hand, did not (mean = 0.46, 380 95% CI of mean = [0.41; 0.52], t(31) = -1.31, p = .198, d = 0.23). Consequently, when we fit 381 a GLMM to the data with age as a continuous predictor, performance increased with age (β 382 = 0.38, se = 0.11, p < .001, see Fig 4). Thus, children's ability to use utterance information 383 in a word learning context increased with age. 384

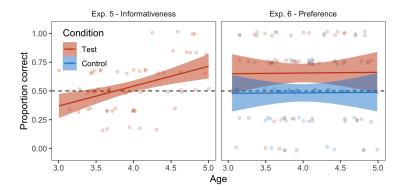


Figure 4. Results from experiment 5 and 6 for children. For preference, control refers to to the different speaker condition (see Fig. 1B). Transparent dots show data from individual participants, regression lines show fitted linear models with 95% CIs. Dashed line indicates performance expected by chance.

Experiment 6

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Methods. In experiment 6, we assessed whether children use common ground information to identify the referent of a novel word. We tested children only with the preference manipulation². The procedure for children was identical to the preference

²We initially tested children with the novelty as well as the preference manipulation. We found that children made the basic inference in that they selected the object that was preferred by or new to the speaker, but found little evidence that children distinguished between requests made by the same speaker or a different

manipulation for adults. Children received eight trials, four with the same and four with a different speaker.

Four-year-olds selected the preferred object above chance when the same 391 speaker made the request (mean = 0.71, 95% CI of mean = [0.61; 0.81], t(30) = 4.14, p <392 .001, d = 0.74), whereas three-year-olds did not (mean = 0.60, 95% CI of mean = [0.47]; 393 [0.73], [t(29) = 1.62], [p = .117], [d = 0.30]. However, when we fit a GLMM to the data with age 394 as a continuous predictor, we found an effect of speaker identity ($\beta = 0.89$, se = 0.24, p < 395 .001) but no effect of age ($\beta = 0.02$, se = 0.16, p = .92) or interaction between speaker 396 identity and age ($\beta = -0.01$, se = 0.23, p = .97, see Fig 4). Thus, children across the age 397 range used common ground information to infer the referent of a novel word. 398

Modelling information integration in children

Model predictions for children were generated using the same model described above for adults. However, to incorporate developmental change in the model, we allowed the rationality parameter α and the prior distribution over objects to change with age. That is, instead of a single value, we inferred the intercept and slope for each parameter that best described the developmental trajectory in the data of experiment 5 and 6. These parameter settings were then used to generate age sensitive model predictions in 2 (same or different speaker) x 2 (congruent or incongruent) = 4 conditions. As for adults, all models included a noise parameter, which was estimated based on the data of experiment 7.

$_{408}$ Experiment 7

speaker in the case of novelty. This finding contrasts with earlier work (Diesendruck et al., 2004). However, since our focus was on how children integrate informativeness and common ground, we did not follow up on this finding but dropped the novelty manipulation and focused on preference for the remainder of the study

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Methods. In experiment 7, we combined the procedures of experiment 5 and 6 and 409 collected new data from children between 3.0 and 5.0 years of age in each of the four 410 conditions (Fig 1c). We again inserted the preference manipulation into the setup of 411 experiment 5. After greeting the child, the animal turned to one of the trees, pointed to an 412 object (object was temporarily enlarged and moved closer to the animal) and expressed 413 liking or disliking. Then the animal turned to the other tree and expressed the other 414 attitude for the other kind of object. Next, the animal disappeared and either the same or a 415 different animal returned. The rest of the trial was identical to the request phase of 416 experiment 5. Children received eight trials, two per condition (same/different speaker x 417 congruent/incongruent) in a randomized order. 418

Results. As a first step, we used a GLMM to test whether children were sensitive to the different ways in which information could be aligned. Children's propensity to differentiate between congruent and incongruent trials for the same or a different speaker increased with age (model term: age x alignment x speaker; $\beta = -0.89$, se = 0.36, p = 0.013).

Analyses comparing the model predictions from the probabilistic models to the data 424 suggest that children flexibly integrate both common ground and informativity information. Furthermore, this integration process is accurately captured by the *integration model* at least 426 for four-year-olds. For the correlational analysis, we binned model predictions and data by year. There was a substantial correlation between the predicted and measured average response for four-year-olds, but less so for three-year-olds (Fig 5b). One of the reasons for 429 the latter was the low variation between conditions. For the model comparison, we treated 430 age continuously. As with adults, we found a much better model fit for the integration model 431 compared to the no common ground (BF = 577) or the no informativeness model (BF = 432 10560). 433

The inferred level of noise based on the data for the integration model was 0.51 (95%

HDI: 0.26 - 0.77), which was lower compared to the alternative models considered (no common ground model: 0.81 [0.44 - 1.00]; no informativeness model: 0.99 [0.88 - 1.00]) but numerically higher than that of adults.

The high level of inferred noise moved the model predictions for children in all 438 conditions close to chance level. We therefore compared two additional sets of models with 439 different parameterizations of the noise parameter that emphasized differences between 440 conditions in the model predictions more (see Supplementary Material available online and 441 Fig 5a). This analysis was not pre-registered. Parameter free models did not include a noise 442 parameter and developmental noise models allowed the noise parameter to change with age. 443 In each case, the *integration model* provided a better fit compared to the alternative models 444 (no common ground: parameter free BF = 334, developmental noise BF = 16361; no 445 informativeness: parameter free BF = 20, developmental noise BF = 1e+06). The 446 developmental noise parameter for the integration model decreased with age, suggesting that older children behaved more in line with model predictions compared to younger children (see Fig. S13 in Supplementary Material available online).

450 Discussion

Integrating multiple sources of information is an integral part of human communication
(Tanenhaus, Spivey-Knowlton, Eberhard, & Sedivy, 1995). To infer the intended meaning of
an utterance, listeners must combine their knowledge of communicative conventions
(semantics and syntax) with social expectations about their interlocutor. This integration is
especially vital in early language learning, and the different varieties of pragmatic
information are among the most important sources (Bohn & Frank, 2019). But how are
pragmatic cues integrated during word learning? Here we used a Bayesian cognitive model to
formalize this integration process. We studied how utterance-level (Gricean) expectations
about informative communication are integrated with common ground information. Adults'

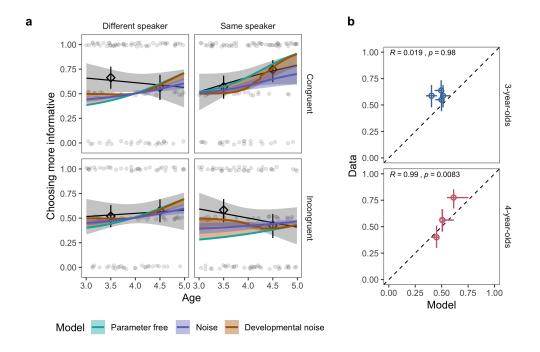


Figure 5. Results from experiment 7 for children. Model predictions and data across age in the four conditions (a). Transparent black dots show data from individual participants and black lines show conditional means of the data with 95% CI. Black diamonds show the mean of the data for age bins by year and error bars show 95% CIs. Correlation between model predictions (with noise parameter) and condition means binned by year (b). Coefficients and p-values are based on Pearson correlation statistic. Error bars and shaded regions represent 95% HDIs. For 4-year-olds, two conditions yielded the same data means and model predictions and are thus plotted on top of each other.

and children's learning was best predicted by a model in which both sources of information traded-off flexibly. Alternative models that considered only one source of information made substantially worse predictions.

All of the models we compared here integrated some explicit structure, rather than (for example) simply weighing information sources by some ratio. We made this decision because we wanted to make predictions within a framework in which the models were models of the task, rather than simply models of the data. That is, inferences are not computed separately

by the modeler and specified as inputs to a regression model, but instead are the results of an integrated process that operates over a (schematic) representation of the experimental stimuli. Further, our models are variants derived from the broader RSA framework, which has been integrated into larger systems for language learning in context (Cohn-Gordon, Goodman, & Potts, 2018; Monroe, Hawkins, Goodman, & Potts, 2017; Wang, Liang, & Manning, 2016).

How is information integrated in this context in this context? The integration model 473 assumes that the informativeness of an utterance depends on the common ground shared between interlocutors. That is, the listener assumes that the speaker takes the common ground shared between the speaker and the (naive) listener as a starting point when computing the effect of each utterance. As a consequence, when prior interactions strongly 477 implicate one object as the more likely referent (for example in the preference - same speaker 478 conditions in experiment 3, 4 and 7), the speaker reasons that this object will be the inferred 479 referent of any semantically plausible utterance, even when the same utterance would point 480 to a different object in the absence of common ground. Taken together, this model provides 481 an explicit and formal description of the integration process, thereby offering an answer to 482 the question of how information may be integrated during pragmatic word learning. 483 Predictions generated based on this process accurately captured adults' inferences across a 484 wide range of conditions. 485

The integration model also predicted information integration in four-year-olds.

However, the model did not successfully describe three-year-olds' inferences; thus, it is

possible that they were not able to integrate information sources. But our findings are also

consistent with a simpler explanation, namely that the overall weaker responses we observed

in the independent measurement experiments (experiments 5 and 6), combined with some

noise in responding, led the younger children to appear relatively random in their responses.

As a consequence, there was not much variation in three-year-old's responses for the model

to explain.

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The primary source of developmental change in our model is age related changes in the propensity to make the individual inferences. As they get older, children expect speakers to be more informative and to be more likely to follow common ground, but the process by which the two information sources are integrated at any given age is assumed to be the same. Other developmental models are also worth exploring in future work; one possible candidate would be a model in which the integration process itself changes with age.

The developmental noise model reported for experiment 7 offers another way to 500 address the question of what changes with development. This model estimates a 501 developmental trajectory for the proportion of responses that are better explained by 502 random guessing than by the model structure. If such a model would find that model fit is 503 comparable for younger and older children but that the noise parameter through which this 504 fit is achieved decreases with age, we might conclude that cognitive abilities that have to do 505 with task demands are the major locus of change rather than abilities that have to do with 506 integrating information. In the developmental noise model in experiment 7, we found that 507 noise decreased with age but, at the same time, that the resulting model fit was substantially 508 worse for younger children. However, rather than a difference in how information is integrated, we think that a lack of variation in children's responses is the reason for this poor 510 model fit. The strongest evidence for developmental changes in integration would come in a 511 case where younger children showed evidence of above/below-chance judgment in the 512 combined task that was distinct from that predicted by the two above/below-chance 513 component tasks. Such a comparison would require more precision (either via more trials or 514 more participants) than our current experiment affords, however. 515

Studying how multiple types of pragmatic cues are balanced contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of word learning. In the current study, participants inferred the referent by integrating non-linguistic cues (speakers pointing to a table) with

assumptions about speaker informativeness and common ground information, going beyond 519 previous experimental work in measuring how these information sources were combined. The 520 real learning environment is far richer than what we captured in our experimental design, 521 however. For example, in addition to multiple layers of social information, children can rely 522 on semantic and syntactic features of the utterances as cues to meaning (E. V. Clark, 1973; 523 Gleitman, 1990). Across development, children learn to recruit these different sources of 524 information and integrate them. RSA models allow for the inclusion of semantic information 525 as part of the utterance (Bergen et al., 2016) and it will be a fruitful avenue for future 526 research to model the integration of linguistic and pragmatic information across development. 527 To conclude, our work here shows how computational models of language comprehension can 528 be used as powerful tools to explicate and test hypotheses about information integration 529 across development.

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Declarations of interest

None.

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Author Contributions

M. Bohn and M.C. Frank conceptualized the study, M. Merrick collected the data, M. Bohn and M.H. Tessler analyzed the data, M. Bohn, M. H. Tessler and M.C. Frank wrote the manuscript, all authors approved the final version of the manuscript.

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