Carving up the world Semantic typology and cognition

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- So ... nothing to be seen here?
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- Our perspective: There is a universal continuous conceptual similarity structure between entities (objects, events, ...)
- These spaces bias (1) learnability, (2) transferability, and even
 (3) adult categorical structure and hence shape lexica

Asymmetric overextension errors

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- Revealing cases: asymmetric overextension errors
 - General case: a means A and b means B
 - Children use a to refer to B, but not b to refer to A

Asymmetric overextension errors

- Our focus: learnability and developmental pathways of lexical domains
- Revealing cases: asymmetric overextension errors
 - General case: a means A and b means B
 - Children use a to refer to B, but not b to refer to A
- Some known cases
 - Dutch: op 'horizontal, stable support' for 'tenuous support', but not aan 'tenuous support' for 'horizontal stable support',
 - English: *blue* for 'purple', but not *purple* for 'blue'
 - Dutch: *leggen* 'lay' for 'put, set', but not *zetten* 'put, set' but for 'lay'

Our method: inferring maps from cross-linguistic data

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General approach: Typology reveals conceptual space

- Gentner & Bowerman (2009): Typological Prevalence Hypothesis
 - The more languages refer two entities with a single label, the more cognitively similar they are
 - The more similar a group of entities is, the easier it is to learn a category extending over them

General approach: Elicit data

Ask speakers of a sample of languages to describe a series of situations

English



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Tiriyo



Count

| situation | English | Dutch | Tiriyo |
|------------------|---------|-------|--------|
| APPLE IN BOWL | in | in | tao |
| PAINTING ON WALL | on | aan | pëkë |
| RING ON FINGER | on | om | tae |
| PENCIL ON TABLE | on | ор | tae |

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Dutch in the PCA space (components 1 and 3)



Case #1: acquiring spatial prepositions in Dutch and English

- Gentner & Bowerman (2009): naming spatial relations in Dutch and English
 - English children make next to no errors









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• Gentner & Bowerman (2009): naming spatial relations in Dutch and English

- English children make next to no errors
- Dutch children use *in* for IN and *op* for OP correctly
- Dutch children overextend op to AAN and OM situations
- But hardly ever aan or om to OP



English



Dutch

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• General idea of learning

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- General idea of learning
- Model receives pairs of term and situation
 - Sampling term-situation pairs on basis of term distribution in CDS

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- Incrementally integrates into knowledge base
- Various cognitive models give v. similar results

Dutch in the PCA space (components 1 and 3)



Beekhuizen, Fazly & Stevenson (2014): Model simulates asymmetrical overextension errors due to lay-out space

Overextension patterns



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Adult category structure (work with Nick Lester, UCSB)

• Are English speakers insensitive to the 'strange' lay-out of their on category?

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- Task: judge adequacy of description (e.g. *the apple is in the bowl* for 'apple in bowl')
- Prediction: faster judgements for more prototypical situations





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- Preliminary results: distance to cross-linguistic prototype highly predictive of RT



Case #2: acquiring color terms in Russian and English (dissociating crosslinguistic bias from perception)

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• English: Bateman (1915) 6-12yos – 8 color chips

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- English: Bateman (1915) 6-12yos 8 color chips
 - blue for PURPLE, not vice versa
- Russian: Davies et al. (1998) 3-6yos 12 color chips
 - *sinij* 'dark blue' for LIGHT BLUE, not *goluboj* 'light blue' for DARK BLUE
 - *sinij* 'dark blue' for PURPLE, not *fioletovyj* 'purple' for DARK BLUE

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- krasnyj 'red' for PINK, not rozovyj 'pink' for RED
- ...

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 - ...
- Same learning approach
- Contrasting two approaches: using *Lab* space (perceptual space of color) versus crosslinguistic space

Results: Beekhuizen & Stevenson (2015; 2016)

- compare model's rankings of term given chip with observed rankings
- crosslinguistic space (CL) for English: poor fit
- but it is complementary to perceptual for English!

| | Russian | English |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|
| perceptual | .91 | .96 |
| CL | .91 | .91 |
| perceptual+CL | .90 | .98 |
| no-development baseline | .81 | .95 |
| | | |

Fit with child data (Kendall τ_b for term rankings).

Final thoughts

- Deriving semantic space from crosslinguistic data provides novel way of modeling semantic space
- Test case: asymmetric overextension errors
- Space goes beyond mere perception: case of COLOR
- Not just acquisition: organization of adult categories reflects this space too.

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Thank you!

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