

# Exploring the contributions of environmental factors in folk categorization

Anonymous CogSci submission

## Abstract

How do we name things? What role does frequency of observation and physical size play in categorization of animals? Here we explore these questions using ideas from anthropology and ethnobiology, and utilizing large-scale citizen science datasets.

**Keywords:** ethnobiology; categorization; bird naming; citizen science

## Introduction

What role does frequency of exposure have in being able to determine the name for a bird or its role in a taxonomy? What about the size of the bird? BIG QUESTION: What contributes to naming data?

More generally, we're interested in exploring computational principles that guide the naming and structuring of categories. Following a tradition of ethnobiological classification (Berlin, Breedlove, & Raven, 1973; Berlin, 2014), we aim to explore what kinds of features influence these behaviors.

What ebird can contribute to the folk biology literature: frequency data.

This connects with the theoretical debate about cognitive vs utilitarian view of classification (E. Hunn, 1982; Lopez, Atran, Coley, Medin, & Smith, 1997). Frequency data provide some new ways to test the utilitarian view. For example, we could use frequencies to address questions like:

- 1) do unnamed species tend to have low frequency?
- 2) if a species is lumped in with another species under the same label – does one of these species have low frequency?
- 3) in cases where nomenclature reveals prototype effects – is the prototype highest in frequency?

The outline for the rest of the paper is as follows. First we describe some of the factors that ethnobiologists have explored and the variables in particular that we will consider. Then we examine some questions using this data. We then discuss the implications of this work and potential future directions. We conclude with a brief summary of the work.

## Environmental factors in ethnobiological classification

Environmental factors have played a major role in scientific classification of species (Amadon, 1943).

Here we talk about the data we use. We show how to utilize publicly available digitized information to explore these questions.

## Language naming data

We focus on a single language for brevity. We use bird-naming data from (E. S. Hunn, 2008), also found online<sup>1</sup>, a Zapotec language spoken in a small village in San Juan Gbëë, Oaxaca Mexico.

Describe the dataset and what we extracted from it (e.g., basic-level, terminal-level names, prototypes, etc.) in more detail here.

## Frequency data

We utilize a citizen-based bird observation network, eBird (Sullivan et al., 2009). We sampled bird observational data from just the region containing the state of Oaxaca, Mexico<sup>2</sup>. This resulted in XXX entries.

## Physical Size

Bird weights as an aid in taxonomy (Amadon, 1943).

We'll also look at bird size as a factor, following (E. Hunn, 1999) and using data from EltonTraits (Wilman et al., 2014). This data set provides information on key attributes for all 9993 and 5400 extant bird and mammal species, derived from key literature sources. Variables include relevance of select diet types and foraging strata, body size, and activity time.

We focus on the body mass data, separately sourced from (Dunning Jr, 2007), which is measured as the geometric mean of average values provided for both sexes.

## Distribution of data

Here we plot the log mass by log frequency of the birds named in Zapotec in Figure 1. We see that smaller birds tend to never have a low frequency.

## What categories are given a name?

We first look at the distributions of birds with and without names in Zapotec, using the two environmental factors, in relation to all birds seen in OAX.

<sup>1</sup><http://faculty.washington.edu/hunn/zapotec/z5.html>

<sup>2</sup>We use eBird observation of frequency from the Basic Dataset (EBD) on <https://ebird.org/data/download>, last accessed January 24, 2020.

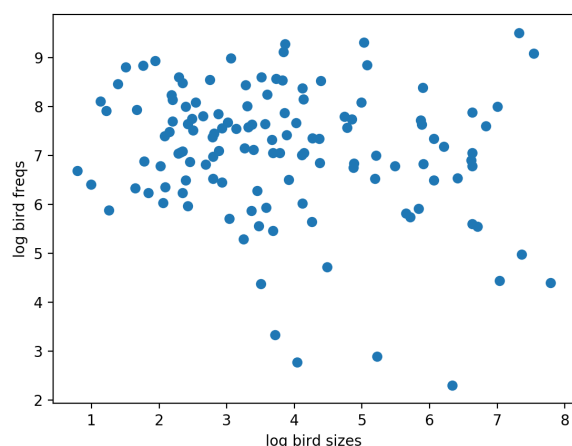


Figure 1: Frequencies and masses of birds named in Zapotec.

## Frequency

Here we analyze the frequencies of birds named in Zapotec. We plot the densities of birds named and unnamed birds, along with all birds observed in the state of Oaxaca in Figure 2.

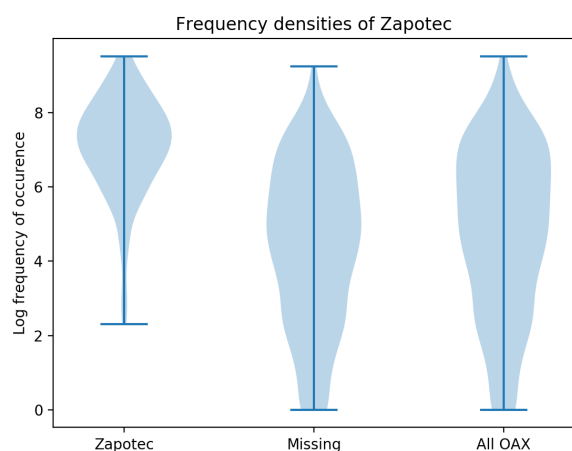


Figure 2: Frequency densities of birds named in Zapotec and those observed in the state of OAX.

## Size

Here we analyze the masses of birds named in Zapotec. We plot the densities of birds named and unnamed birds, along with all birds observed in the state of Oaxaca in Figure 3.

We see here that frequency is more informative than mass in predicting which birds in OAX are given a name in Zapotec. In the next section, we will find a different set of results.

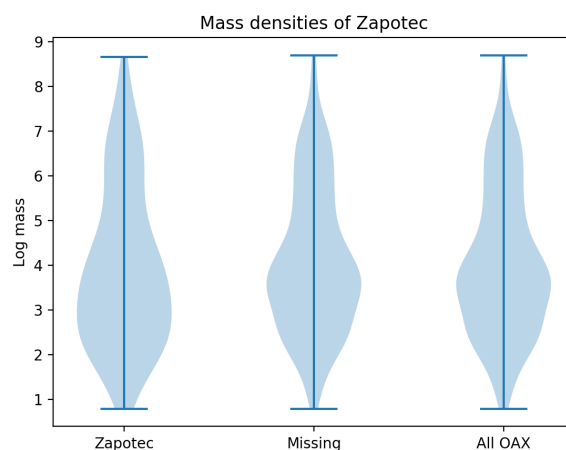


Figure 3: Mass densities of birds named in Zapotec and those observed in the state of OAX.

## Hunn Analysis

Here we re-explore Hunn's analysis of how size affects the perceptual salience for folk biological classification, following the chapter (E. Hunn, 1999). In sum, he demonstrates a positive correlation between the groupings of named categories, and the average size of those organisms in those categories.

For example, the folk-generic name for hummingbirds is *dzǐng*, which covers 13 birds in Zapotec. Of these 13 birds, there are 3 other labels besides *dzǐng*, there are folk-specifics *dzǐng-dán-yǎ-guì*, *dzǐng-gué*, and *dzǐng-yǎ-guì*. Thus the SSRR of hummingbirds for folk-generic analyses would be 1/13, and 4/13 for folk-specific analyses.

For our sample groups, we use the eBird species group, which is standardized using the Clements taxonomy (Clements, 2007).

We analyze both folk-generic and folk-specific names using both mass and frequency as predictors.

Here we find that mass rather than frequency is a better predictor, opposite of the results in the previous section.

## Analysis of name-forms

### Compound names

Here we further examine names based on whether the Zapotec label is a single word (a monomial) or a compound of multiple words. First we examine frequencies, in Figure 5. Here we see that the monomials tend to be more frequently observed than compounds. The raw mean frequency counts are mono = 2465 and compound = 1715, for monomials and compound names, respectively.

We also explore how masses are distributed based on name form. See Figure 6. Here we see a similar trend as before, with raw mean masses of mono = 375g and compound = 152g.

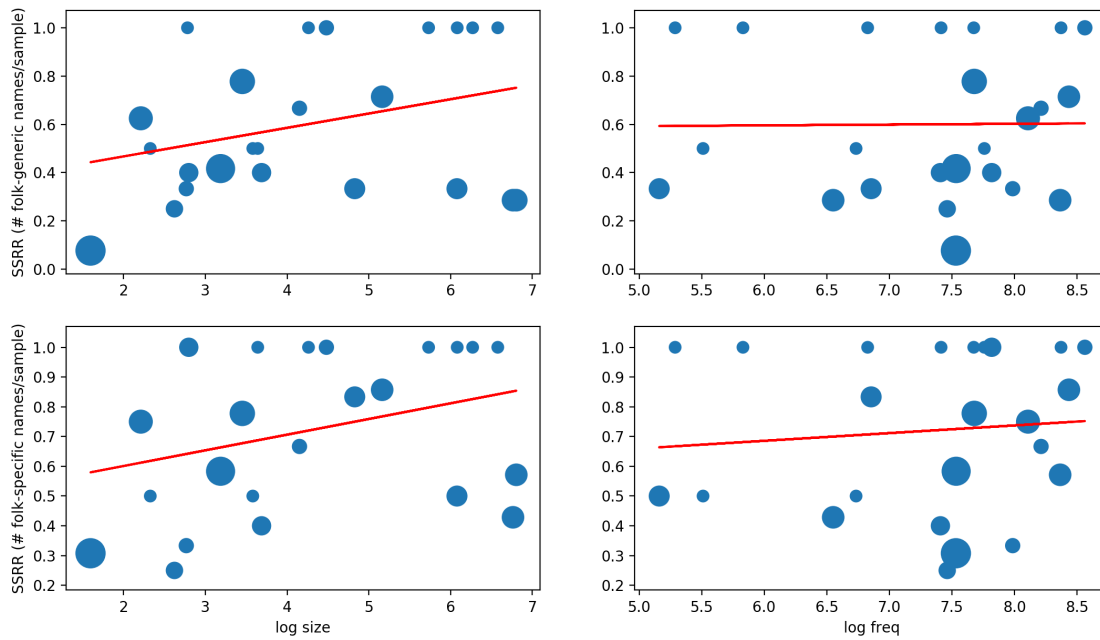


Figure 4: SSRR plots of folk-generic names (top row) and folk-specific names (bottom row) for both mass (left column) and frequency (right column).

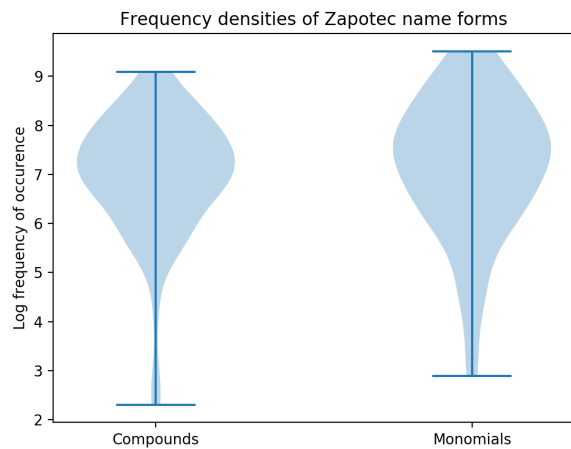


Figure 5: Frequency densities of birds named in Zapotec as a function of name form.

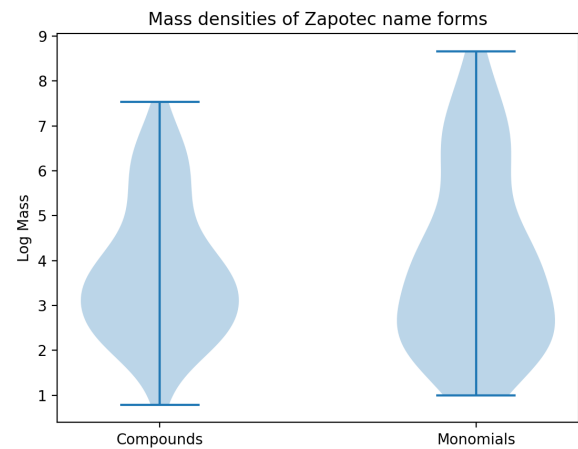


Figure 6: Mass densities of birds named in Zapotec as a function of name form.

## Prototypes

Here we look at unmarked-prototypes in Hunn's data on Zapotec bird-naming. These are words that Hunn determined were XXX based on the criteria XYZ (E. S. Hunn, 2008).

We can address (Berlin, 2014): "Taxa of generic and sub-generic rank exhibit a specifiable internal structure where

some members of a taxon,  $x$ , are thought of as being more prototypical of that taxon than others (i.e., are the best examples of the taxon). Taxa of intermediate and life-form rank may also show prototypicality effects. Prototypicality may be due to a number of factors, the most important of which appear to be taxonomic distinctiveness (as inferred from the

scientific classification of the organisms in any local habitat), frequency of occurrence, and cultural importance (i.e., salience).”

In addition, we note (Berlin, 1972) for some speculation on prototypes and binomial labels: “A highly regular labeling process can be described for the encoding of specific taxa, given the primarily binary partition of a generic taxon. In general, one specific category, because it is most widespread, larger, best known, or the like, will always be recognized as the typical species of the folk genus. This taxon can be referred to as the type-specific, the archetype, or the ideal type.... As Wyman and Harris have said in referring to Navaho ethnobotany, ‘The situation is as if in our binomial system the generic name were used alone for the best known species of a genus, while binomial terms were used for all other members of the genus’”

Here we consider the question: in cases where nomenclature reveals prototype effects – is the prototype highest in frequency?

Following Hunn’s data (E. S. Hunn, 2008), we used X prototypes; instances in which it was clear there was a prototypical bird, as in:

We explored every clear instance in which Hunn determined a prototype in his data. See Figure 7 to see the distribution for vultures, in which the prototypical Turkey Vulture clearly is more frequent. This trend holds across the other instances in the Hunn data<sup>3</sup>.

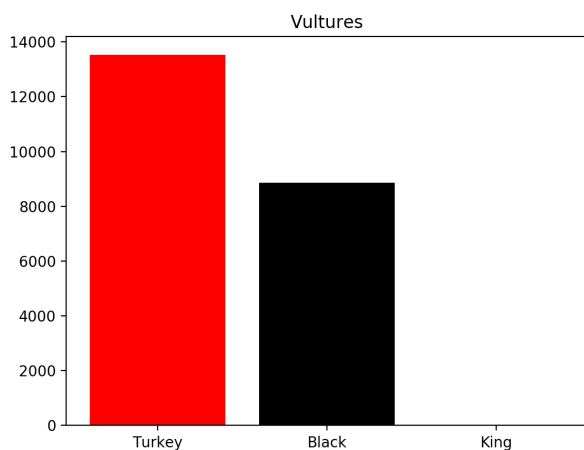


Figure 7: Frequencies of Vultures named in Zapotec, with the prototypical Turkey Vulture highlighted in red.

In Figure 8 we examine a violinplot of the frequencies of birds in Zapotec split into groups based on whether the label is an unmarked prototype or not. We see those that are prototypes are highest in frequency ( $m=7.93$  vs.  $m=7.02$  for log

non-zero frequency of prototypes and non-prototypes respectively).

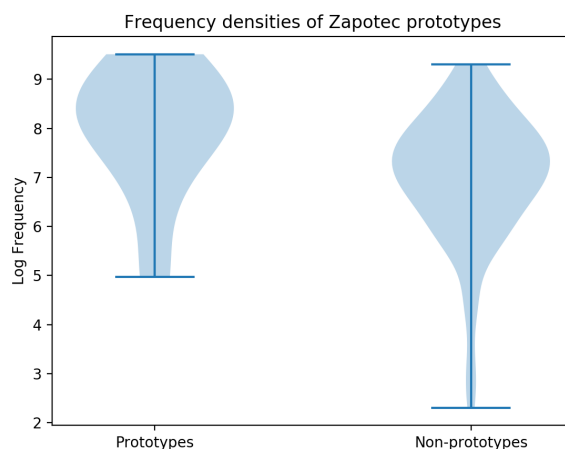


Figure 8: Log-Frequency densities of birds named in Zapotec as a function of whether or not their name is an unmarked-prototype.

## Discussion

Summary of some of the questions we could explore using the methods detailed above.

### Potential concerns

We address potential concerns that can arise in using eBird frequency of observation data here. Does frequency of observation in eBird accurately represent the statistic of interest? (SOME CITATIONS to back up this claim).

Also, note our observation about the owl prototypes above – this was an interesting insight which could be backed up by adding additional environmental feature data from Elton-Traits (Wilman et al., 2014), which would indicate that these birds were all nocturnal (and thus potentially more difficult to reflect accurate numbers through eBird).

Also: These questions are interesting because we typically take for granted the categories of natural kinds. However, scientific taxonomies are just another human-constructed category system. When considering the set of birds in particular, it has been difficult for biologists to agree on a standardized taxonomy, which has been shown to severely impact decisions on conservation policy (Peterson, 2006; Garnett & Christidis, 2017).

### Future Directions

The next step would be to expand these analyses to more languages. To do this one needs to find trustworthy ethnographies similar to the Zapotec naming data we used here from E. S. Hunn (2008), and one needs decent coverage in eBird over the geographic region in question. Clear next steps

<sup>3</sup>with a notable exception for the category of Owls. Refer to the Discussion for more information.

would be to analyze the Tzeltal language from Chiapas, Mexico, and the Tlingit language from the south-east Alaska, both published by Hunn as well (E. S. Hunn, 1977; E. S. Hunn & Thornton, 2012), which have decent coverage within their respective geographic regions in eBird observational data.

That said, it can be difficult to find languages with both expert ethnographies of the folk biological naming systems which also have good coverage in eBird. This has prohibited us from exploring bird naming data from known experts in regions with low coverage in eBird (e.g., naming data summarized in (Holman, 2002), including the Tobelo language from Indonesia (Taylor, 1990) and the Anindilyakwa language from Australia (Waddy et al., 1988), which do not have coverage in eBird currently).

## Conclusion

## References

- Amadon, D. (1943). Bird weights as an aid in taxonomy. *Wilson Bull*, 55(3), 164–177.
- Berlin, B. (1972). Speculations on the growth of ethnobotanical nomenclature. *Language in society*, 1(1), 51–86.
- Berlin, B. (2014). *Ethnobiological classification: Principles of categorization of plants and animals in traditional societies* (Vol. 185). Princeton University Press.
- Berlin, B., Breedlove, D. E., & Raven, P. H. (1973). General principles of classification and nomenclature in folk biology. *American anthropologist*, 75(1), 214–242.
- Clements, J. F. (2007). *Clements checklist of birds of the world*. Comstock Pub. Associates/Cornell University Press.
- Dunning Jr, J. B. (2007). *CRC handbook of avian body masses*. CRC press.
- Garnett, S. T., & Christidis, L. (2017). Taxonomy anarchy hampers conservation. *Nature News*, 546(7656), 25–27.
- Holman, E. W. (2002). The relation between folk and scientific classification of plants and animals. *Journal of Classification*, 19(1), 131–159.
- Hunn, E. (1982). The utilitarian factor in folk biological classification. *American Anthropologist*, 84(4), 830–847.
- Hunn, E. (1999). Size as limiting the recognition of biodiversity in folkbiological classifications: One of four factors governing the cultural recognition of biological taxa. *Folkbiology*, 47, 47–69.
- Hunn, E. S. (1977). *Tzeltal folk zoology: The classification of discontinuities in nature*. New York: Academic Press.
- Hunn, E. S. (2008). *A Zapotec natural history: Trees, herbs, and flowers, birds, beasts, and bugs in the life of San Juan Gbëë*. University of Arizona Press.
- Hunn, E. S., & Thornton, T. F. (2012). Tlingit birds: An annotated list with a statistical comparative analysis. In *Ethno-ornithology* (pp. 211–240). Routledge.
- Lopez, A., Atran, S., Coley, J. D., Medin, D. L., & Smith, E. E. (1997). The tree of life: Universal and cultural features of folkbiological taxonomies and inductions. *Cognitive Psychology*, 32(3), 251–295.
- Peterson, A. T. (2006). Taxonomy is important in conservation: a preliminary reassessment of philippine species-level bird taxonomy. *Bird Conservation International*, 16(2), 155–173.
- Sullivan, B. L., Wood, C. L., Iliff, M. J., Bonney, R. E., Fink, D., & Kelling, S. (2009). ebird: A citizen-based bird observation network in the biological sciences. *Biological Conservation*, 142(10), 2282–2292.
- Taylor, P. M. (1990). Folk biology of the tobelo people: A study in folk classification. *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*.
- Waddy, J. A., et al. (1988). *Classification of plants and animals from a groote eylandt aboriginal point of view*. The Australian National University.
- Wilman, H., Belmaker, J., Simpson, J., de la Rosa, C., Rivadeneira, M. M., & Jetz, W. (2014). Eltontraits 1.0: Species-level foraging attributes of the world's birds and mammals: Ecological archives e095-178. *Ecology*, 95(7), 2027–2027.