

# Moving beyond “nouns in the lab”: Using naturalistic data to understand why infants’ first words include uh-oh and hi

Kennedy Casey, Christine Potter, Mira Nencheva, Casey Lew-Williams, & Erica Wojcik

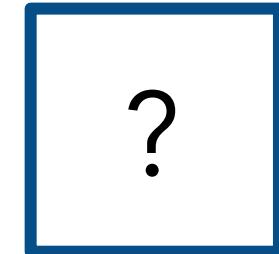
# How does early word learning unfold in naturalistic contexts?



cup



uh-oh



ball



*How do infants map labels onto objects?*

# Word learning: Theories

## Key predictors of AoA:

- Concreteness
- Imageability
- Frequency

# Word learning: Theories

Theories of noun learning depend on **stable visual referents**

Cross-situational mechanism:



# Word learning: Methods

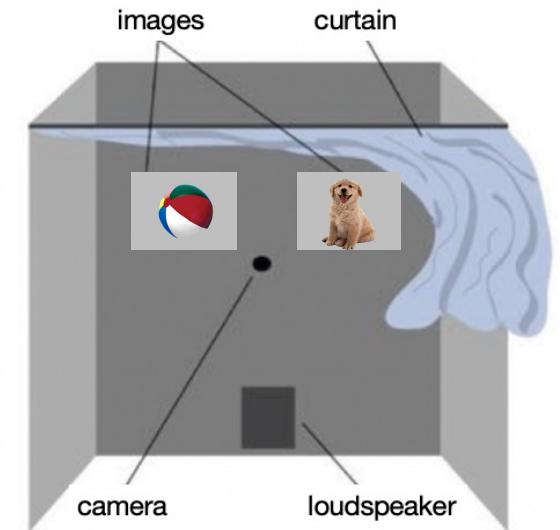
## parent-report surveys



Fenson et al., 1994

dog daddy ball  
mommy baby book

## eye-tracking studies



Fernald et al., 2008

# Evidence for a “noun bias”?

15 most commonly-produced  
English words at 16 months:

woof bye-bye hi book  
dog daddy ball  
grr mommy baby  
yum vroom uh-oh moo  
no

# Earliest-produced words in 15 languages

Croatian	Danish	English (American)	French (French)	French (Quebecois)	Hebrew	Italian	Kiswahili
mommy daddy grandma <b>bye-bye</b> woof-woof baby	<b>hi</b> woof-woof <b>thank-you</b> mommy <b>no</b> <b>bye-bye</b> daddy vroom	mommy daddy ball <b>bye-bye</b> <b>hi</b> <b>no</b> dog baby <b>woof-woof</b> banana	daddy mommy baby <b>bye-bye</b> <b>thank-you</b> bread peekaboo ball sock shoe	mommy daddy <b>no</b> <b>bye-bye</b> baby ball vroom sock peekaboo moo	mommy <b>yum</b> grandma vroom grandpa daddy banana this <b>bye-bye</b> car	mommy daddy woof-woof grandma water <b>hi</b> grandpa meow <b>no</b> shoe	mommy daddy car cat meow motorcycle baby bug banana baa-baa
Korean	Norwegian	Russian	Slovak	Spanish (Mexican)	Swedish	Turkish	
mommy daddy peekaboo woof-woof cracker water baby <b>yes</b> ball <b>no</b>	vroom mommy <b>yum</b> <b>hi</b> daddy <b>bye-bye</b> <b>thank-you</b> woof-woof <b>yes</b> peekaboo	meow daddy <b>woof-woof</b> grandpa aunt mommy grandma <b>bye-bye</b> cereal ball	mommy daddy <b>woof-woof</b> grandma vroom food <b>yum</b> <b>bye-bye</b> cereal ball	mommy daddy water <b>yum</b> woof-woof bread <b>no</b> <b>bye-bye</b> baby <b>yes</b>	mommy daddy <b>thank-you</b> woof-woof <b>hi</b> peekaboo drawer meow moo <b>no</b>	mommy <b>yum</b> brother woof-woof baby vroom <b>bye-bye</b> water ball doll	

Adapted from Frank et al., 2021

# Everyday words

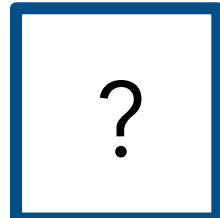
- Do not fit into established lexical categories
- Highly frequent and early-learned
- Grounded in common routines / social interactions

See exceptions: Bergelson & Swingley, 2013; Syrnyk & Meints, 2017

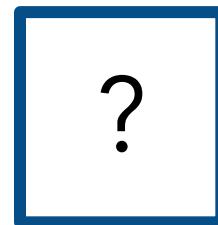
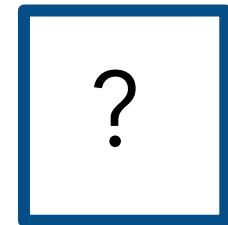
# Stable referents → early learning



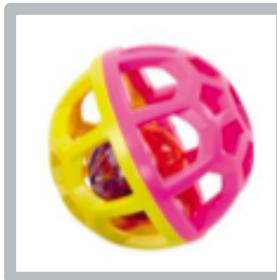
cup



uh-oh



ball



How do *everyday words* fit into learning theories?

# Current investigation

**Study 1:** Behavioral experiment

- *Evidence of comprehension?*

**Study 2:** Corpus-based observational research

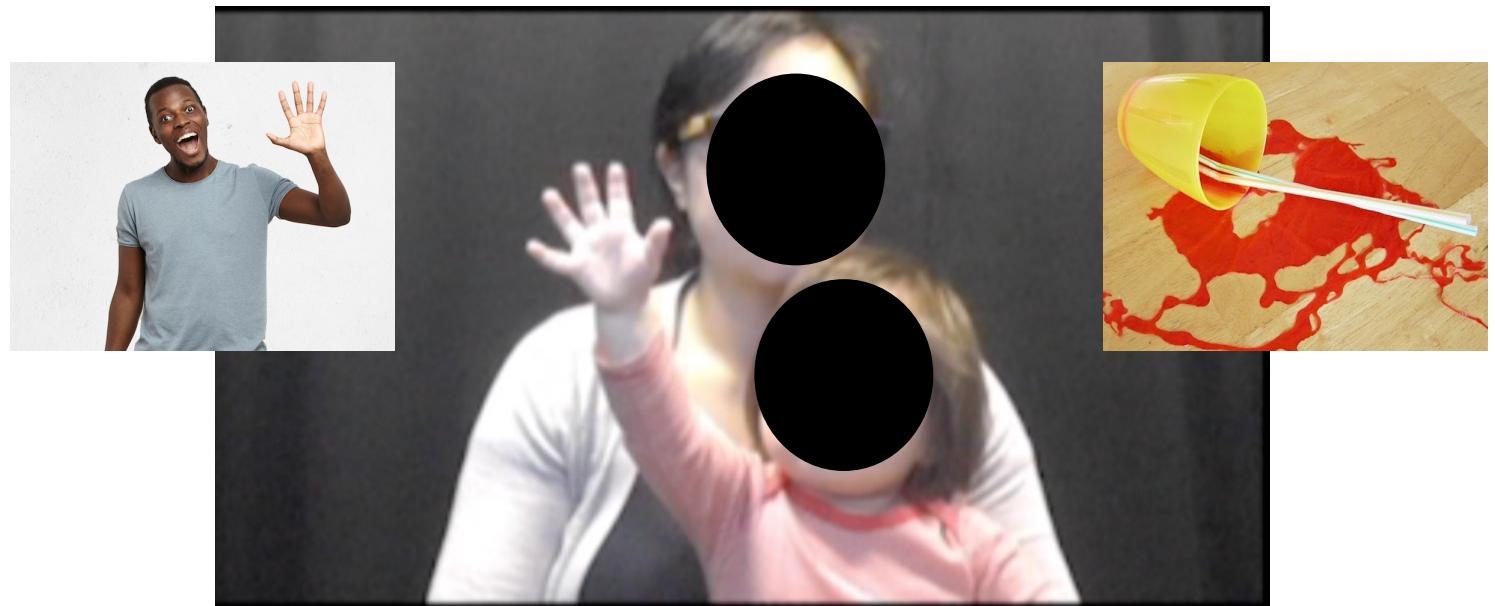
- *Real-world input statistics?*

# Study 1: Behavioral experiment

*Evidence of comprehension via eye-tracking?*

**Standard LWL design**

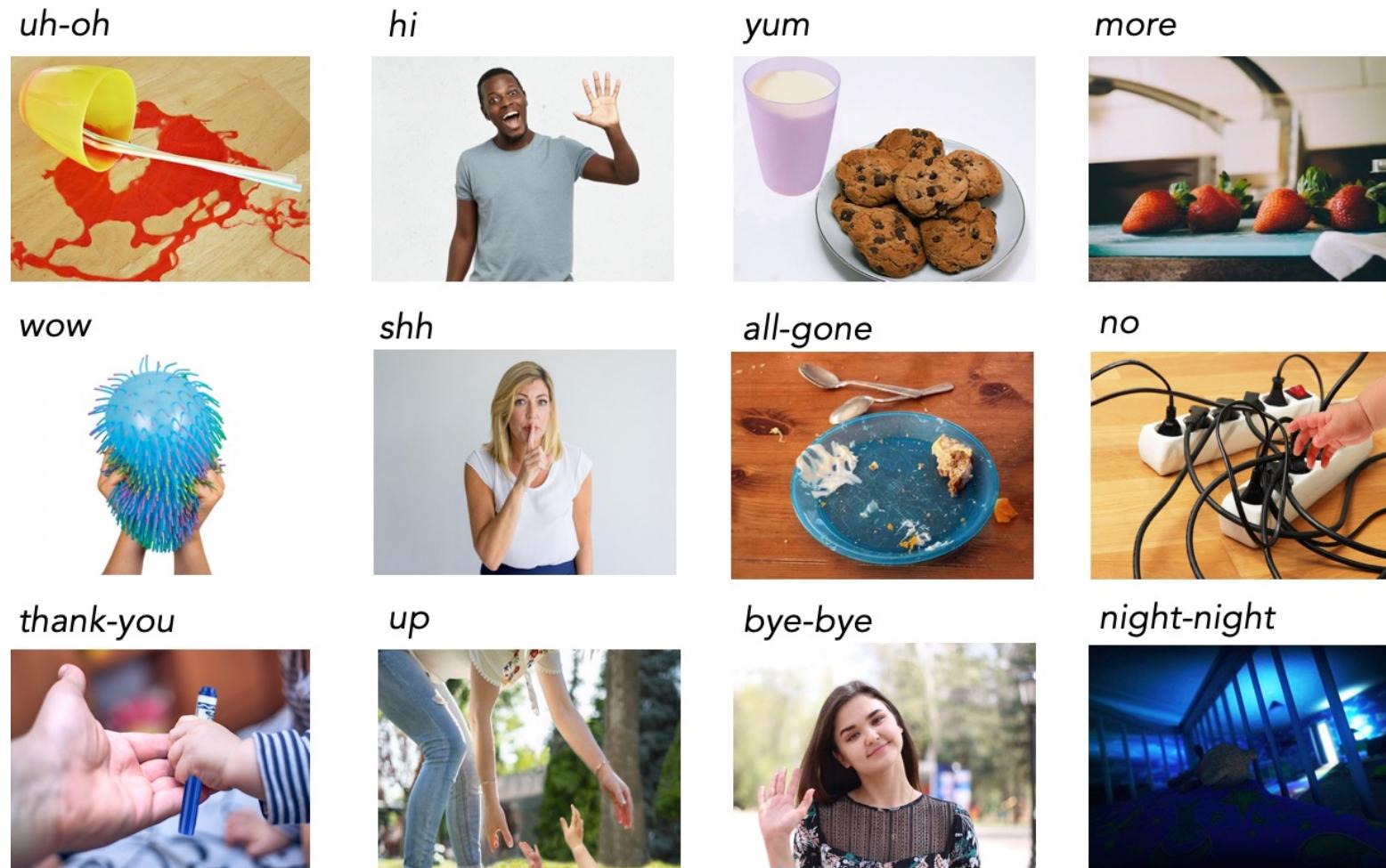
$N = 33$  infants  
Age range = 10-16m



# Study 1: Behavioral experiment

## *Evidence of comprehension via eye-tracking?*

**Standard LWL design**  
 $N = 33$  infants  
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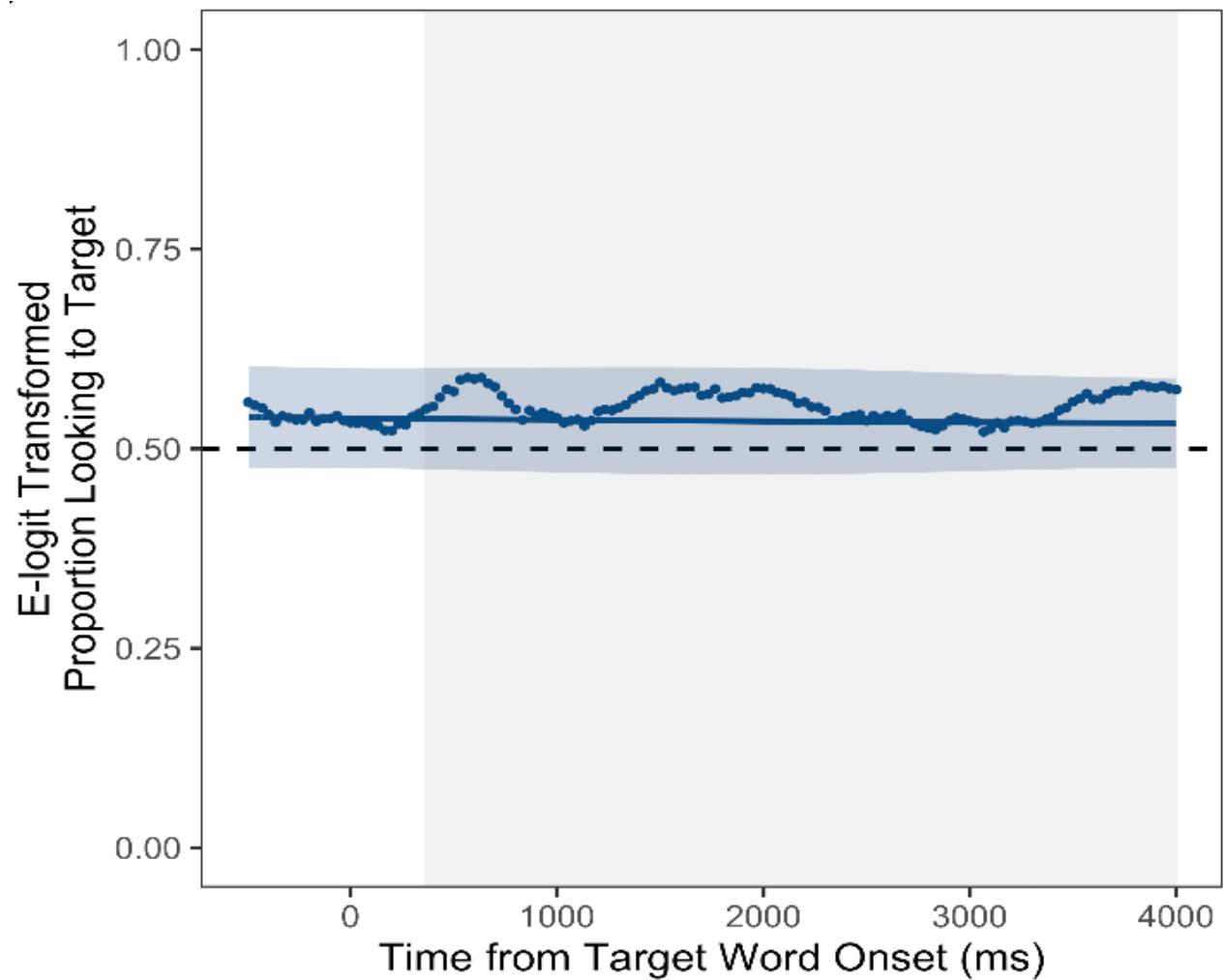
# Study 1: Behavioral experiment

*Evidence of comprehension via eye-tracking?*

**Standard LWL design**

$N = 33$  infants  
Age range = 10-16m

**No evidence of reliable comprehension**



# What does uh-oh look like?



cup



uh-oh



ball



# Current investigation

## Study 1: Behavioral experiment

- *Evidence of comprehension? (No, based on looking time)*

## Study 2: Corpus-based observational research

- *Real-world input statistics?*

# Study 2: Video corpus analysis

*Real-world input associated with everyday words?*

## Providence corpus

- 5 infants
- Age range = 11-24 months
- 114 at-home sessions (~1 hour each)
- 11,920 total tokens ( $M = 993$ ,  $SD = 827$ )

## Coding scheme

- Exact visual referent
- Situation surrounding production
- Match to experimental stimuli

# Study 2: Video corpus analysis

Top-down: Ecological validity of experimental stimuli?  
**Match vs. Non-Match**

Bottom-up: Characteristics of infants' real-world input?  
**Visual vs. Situational**

# Assessing the ecological validity of experimental stimuli

Visual Match

Study 1 target  
(uh-oh)



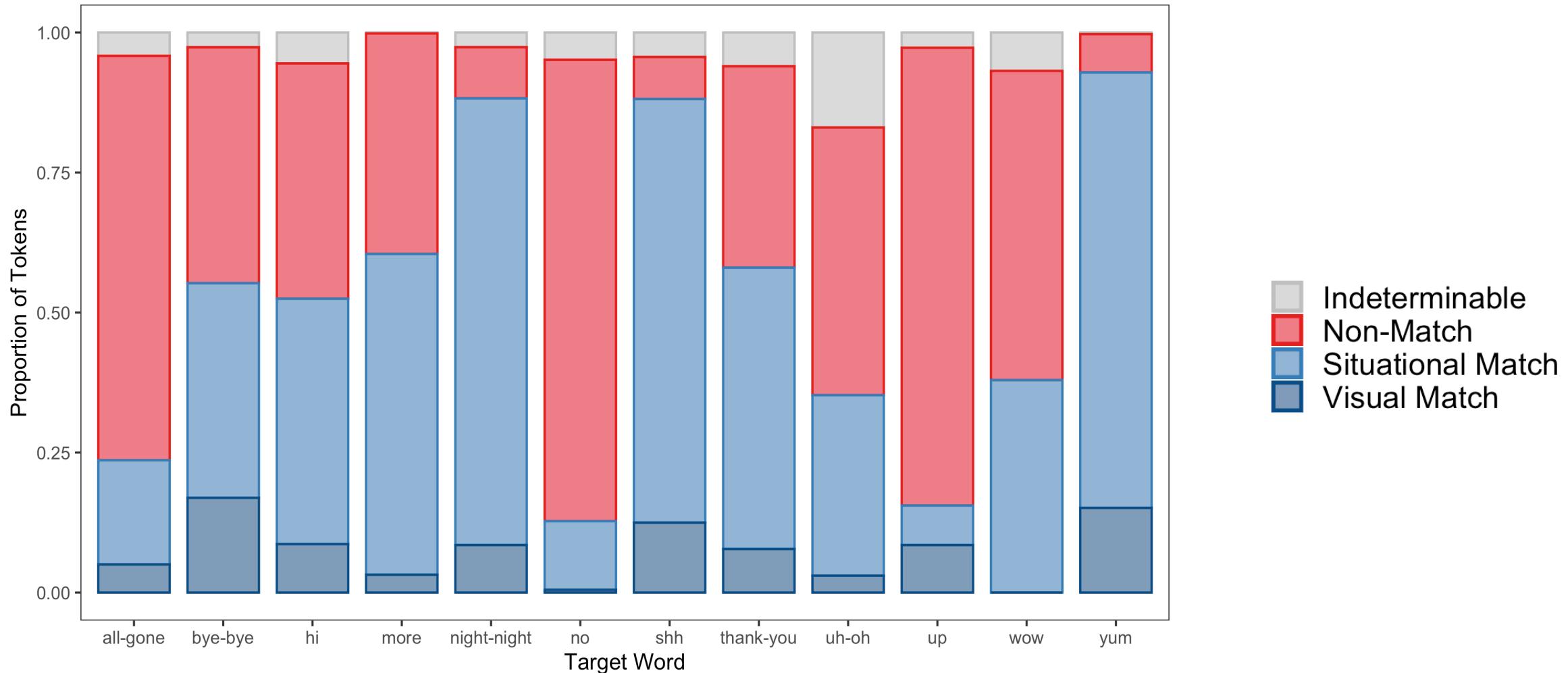
Situational Match



Non-Match



# Rare **visual** but common **situational** matches to stimuli



# Study 2: Video corpus analysis

Top-down: Ecological validity of experimental stimuli?  
Match vs. Non-Match

Bottom-up: Characteristics of the real-world input?  
**Visual** vs. **Situational**

# Visual stability?

*Co-occurrence with consistent visual referents?*

target child  
falling

microphone  
falling off

crayon  
breaking

cup  
falling

**uh-oh**

child  
crying

child  
hiding

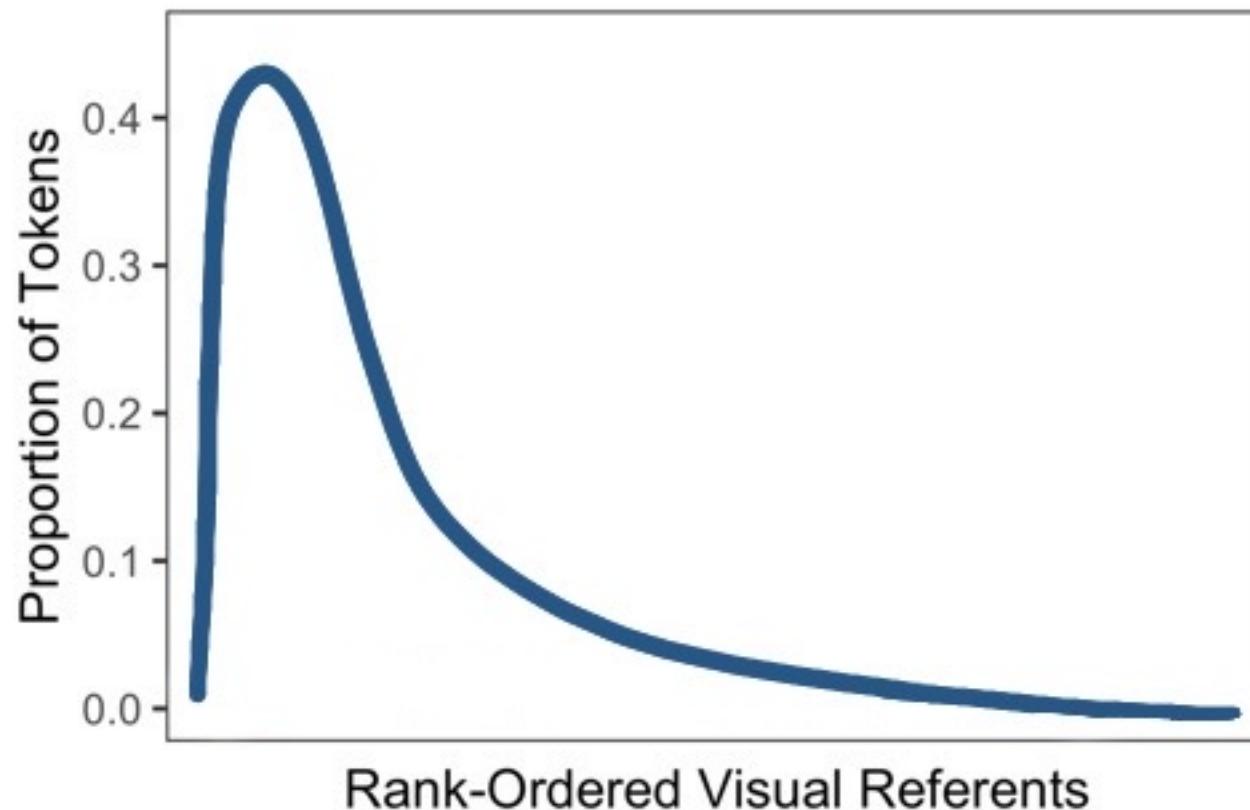
phone  
ringing

bubble  
popping

# Everyday words are variable at the visual level

*Prototypical visual referent?*

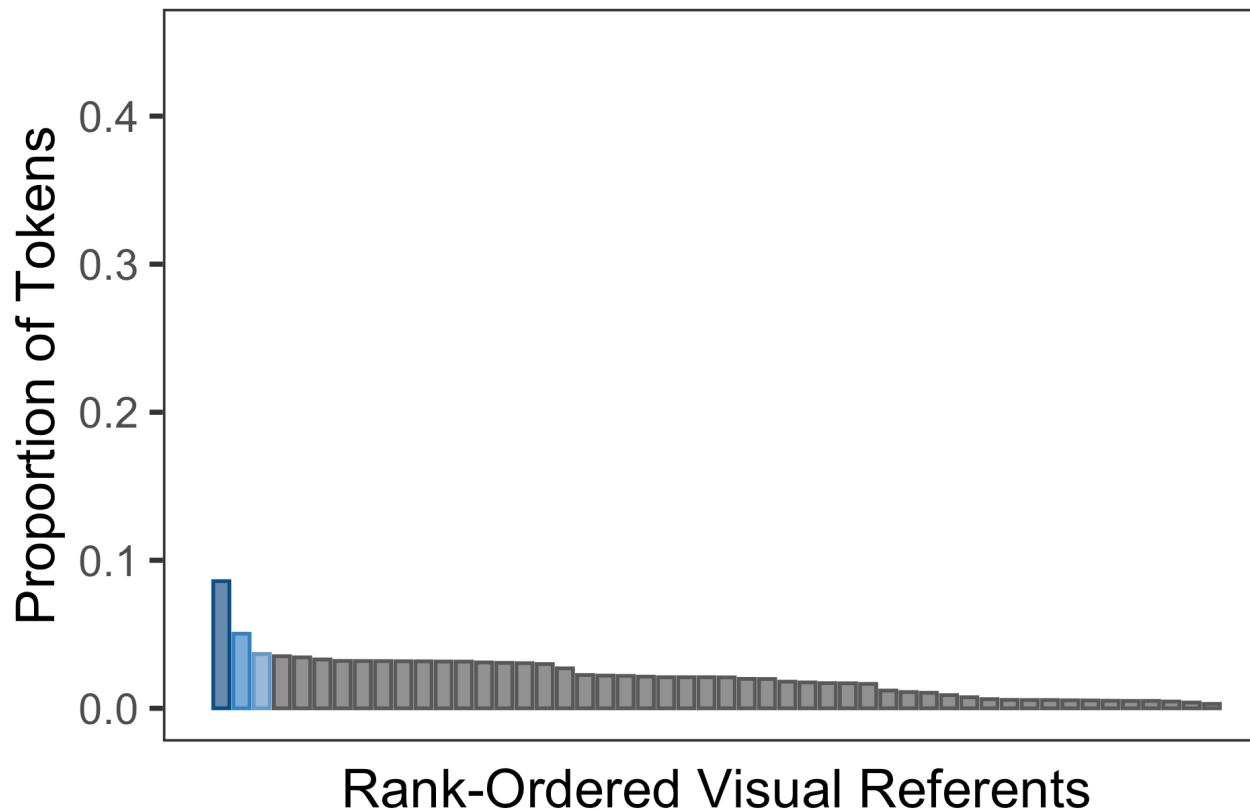
Hypothetical visual input



# Everyday words are variable at the visual level

*Prototypical visual referent?*

Actual visual input



# Everyday words are variable at the **visual level**

## *Prototypical visual referent?*

- Co-occurred with **hundreds** of unique visual referents:

M = 343 unique referents

range = 34 - 1,414

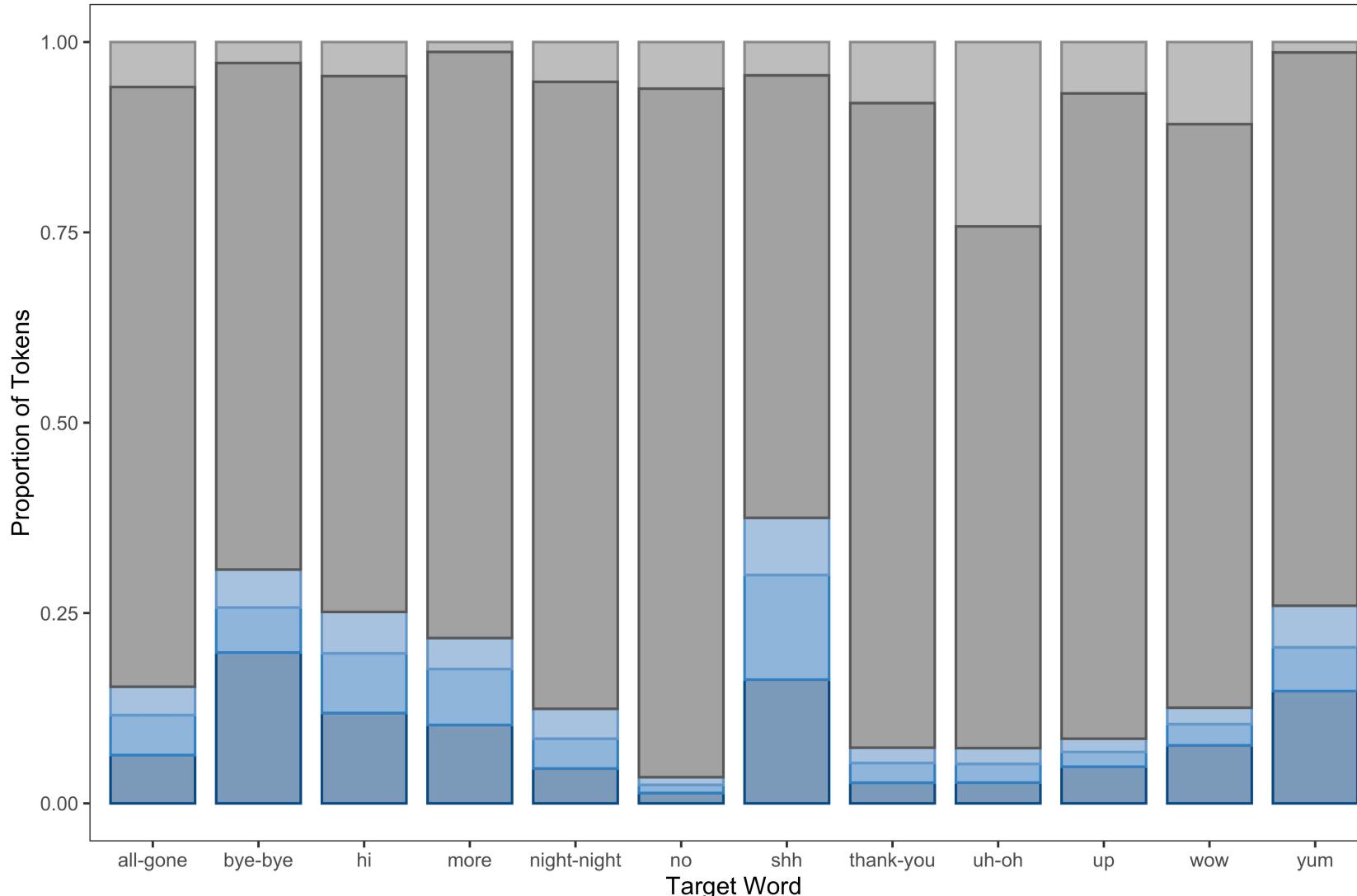
- Appeared with unique visual referent for 1 in 3 tokens:

M = 34.5% unique referents

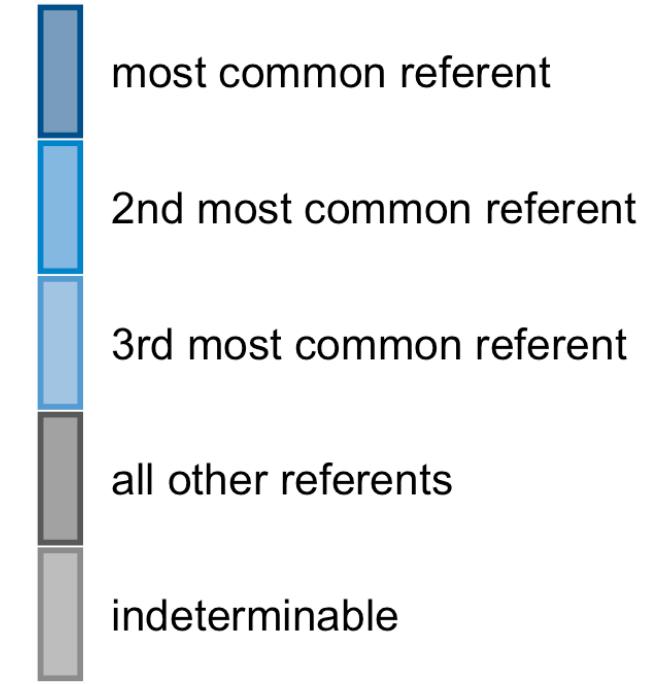
range = 19.0 - 45.6%



# Everyday words are variable at the visual level



Top Visual Referents



# Everyday words are variable at the visual level

everyday words

vs.

concrete nouns

9%



uh-oh



85-92%

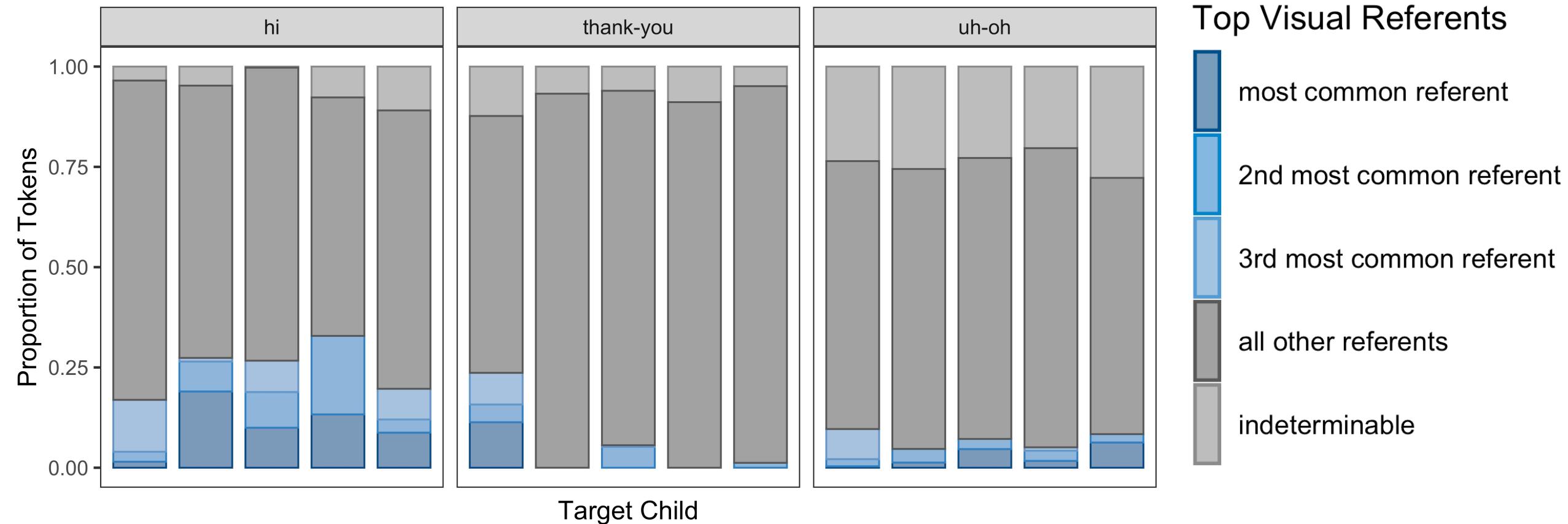


cup



# Everyday words are variable at the visual level

*Referents vary within and across children*



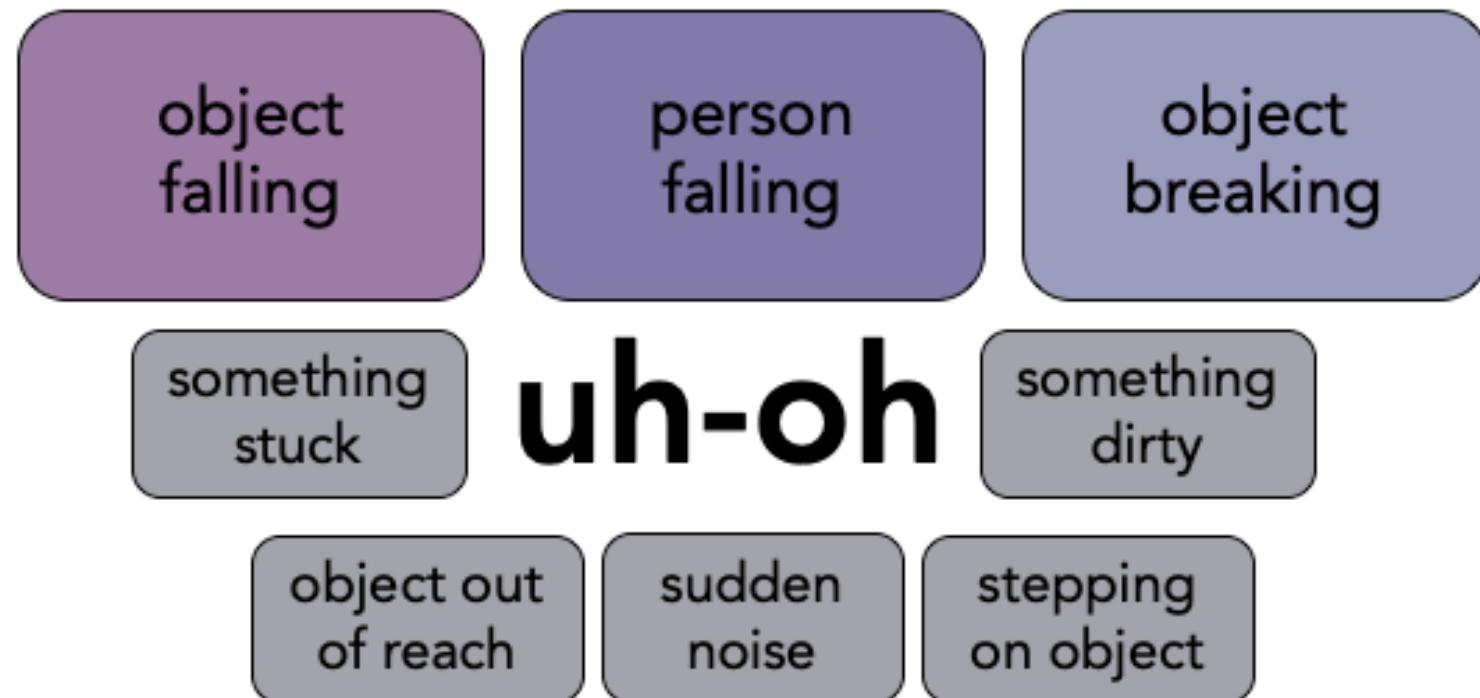
# Study 2: Video corpus analysis

Top-down: Ecological validity of experimental stimuli?  
Match vs. Non-Match

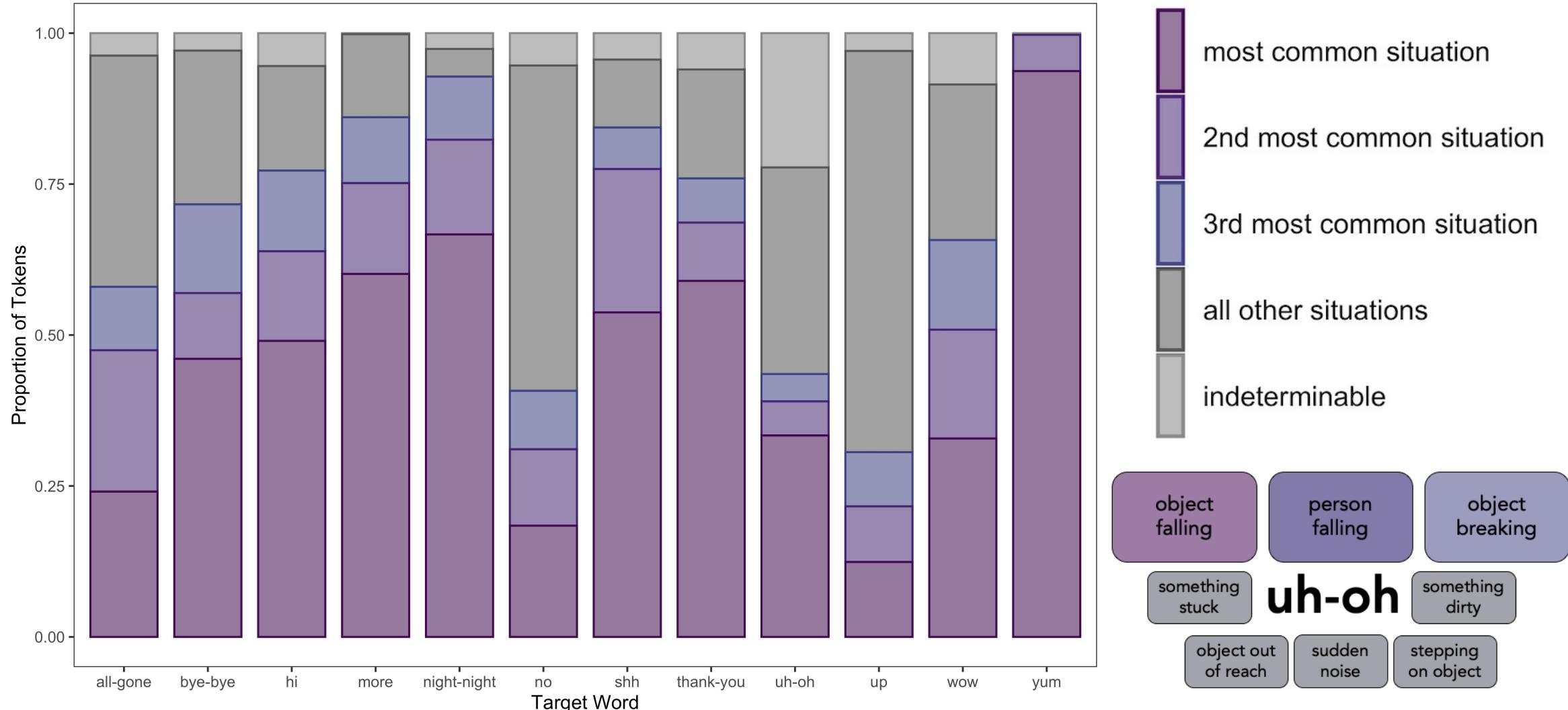
Bottom-up: Characteristics of the real-world input?  
**Visual** vs. **Situational**

# Situational stability?

*Consistency in broader context surrounding production?*



# Everyday words are more stable at the situational level



# Discussion

- **Study 1:** Standard lab-based measures failed to show evidence of everyday word comprehension
- **Study 2:** Naturalistic investigation found that everyday words do not co-occur with consistent visual referents but more reliably appear in stable situational contexts
- Current theories/methods over-prioritize visual information
- Visual cues matter, but what else?

# Using naturalistic data to refine theories and methods

- Past ecological work:

- Multimodal cues (e.g., Abu-Zhaya et al., 2017)
- Contextual/spatial cues (e.g., Roy et al., 2015)

- New questions:

- Frequency of occurrence in isolation? (e.g., Brent & Siskind, 2001; Lew-Williams et al., 2011)
- Consistency of prosodic information? (e.g., Nencheva et al., 2021)
- Frequency of occurrence at event boundaries? (e.g., Sonne et al., 2017)
- Contingency on infant behavior? (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2014)
- Link to social reward? (e.g., Gros-Louis et al., 2014)

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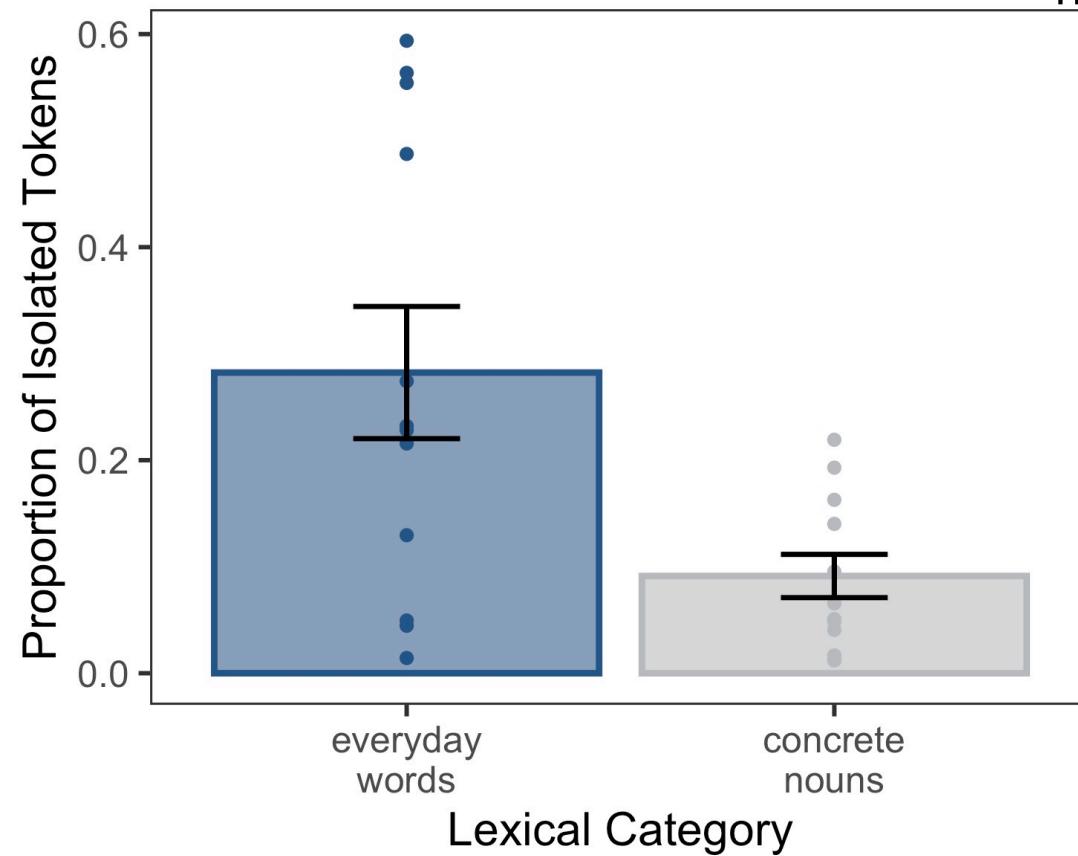
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# Everyday words occur frequently in isolation

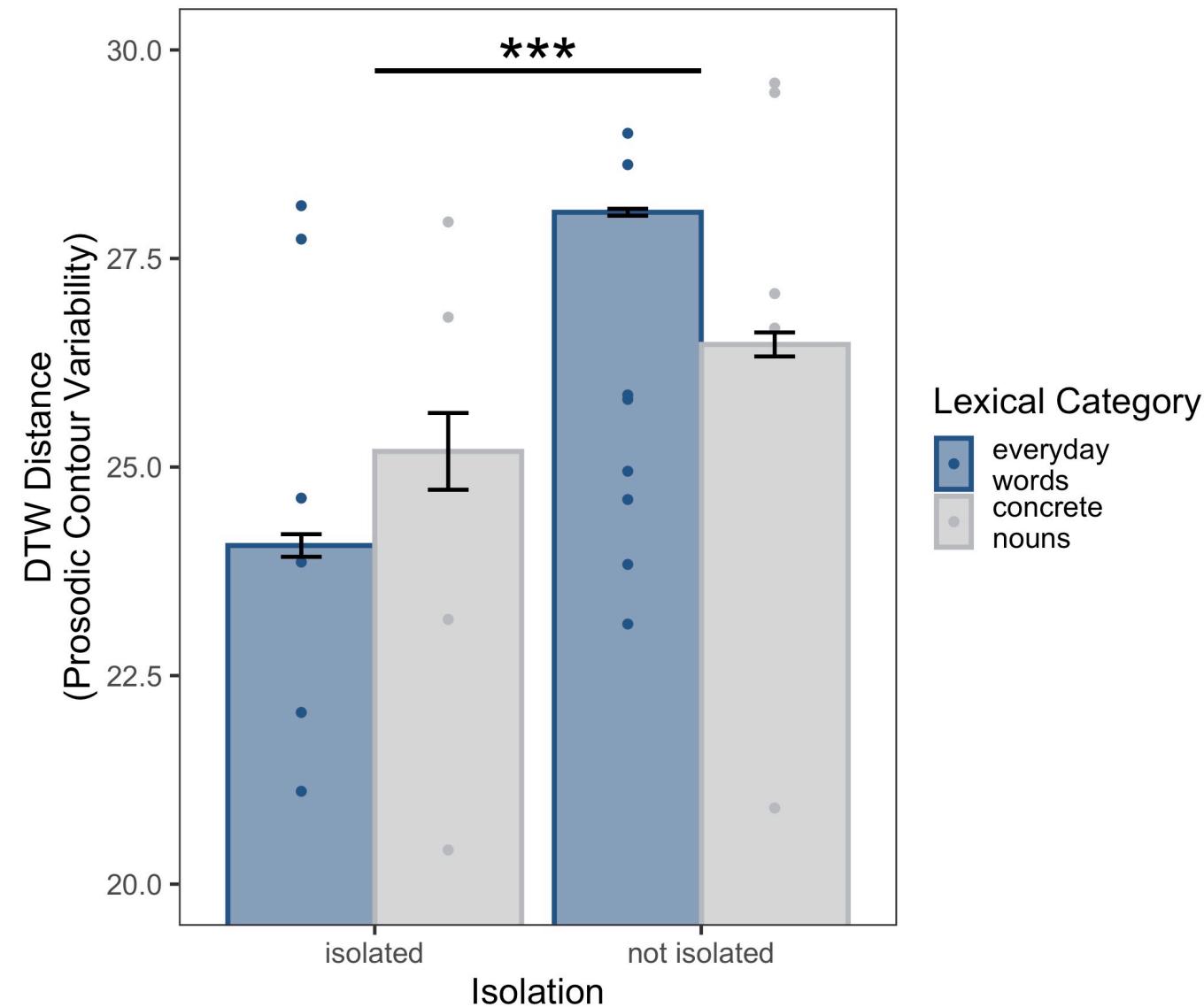
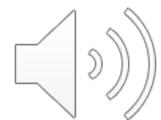
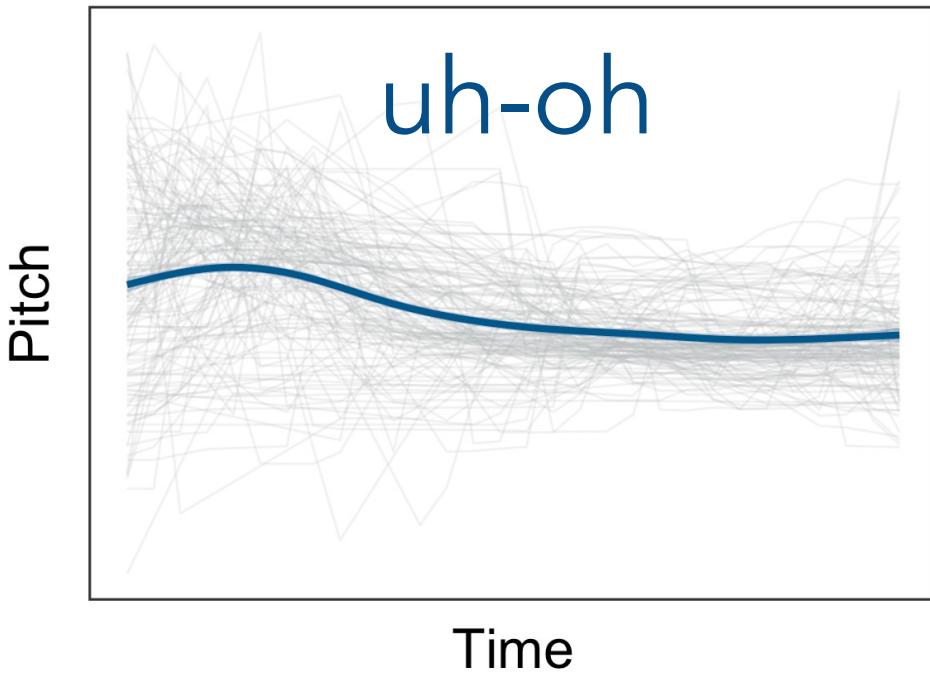
## everyday words vs. concrete nouns

\*frequency- and AoA-matched



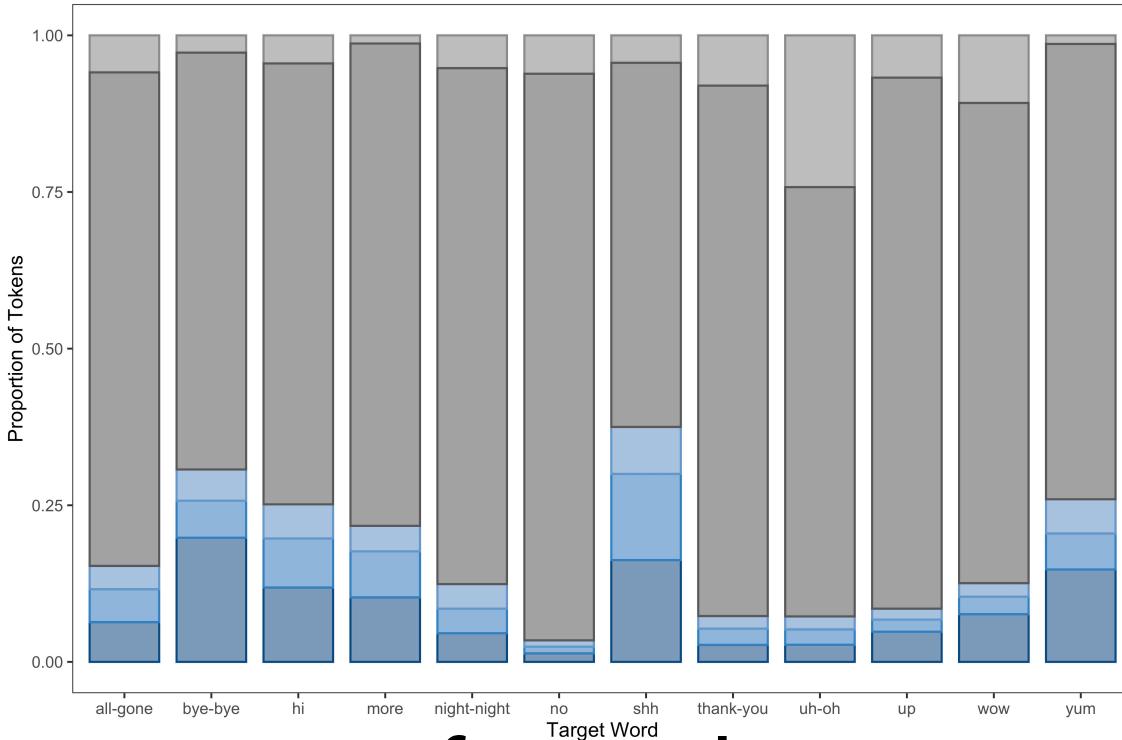
# Isolation may be helpful for several reasons

- Clearly segmentable word boundaries  
(e.g., Lew-Williams et al., 2011)
- More consistent prosodic contours

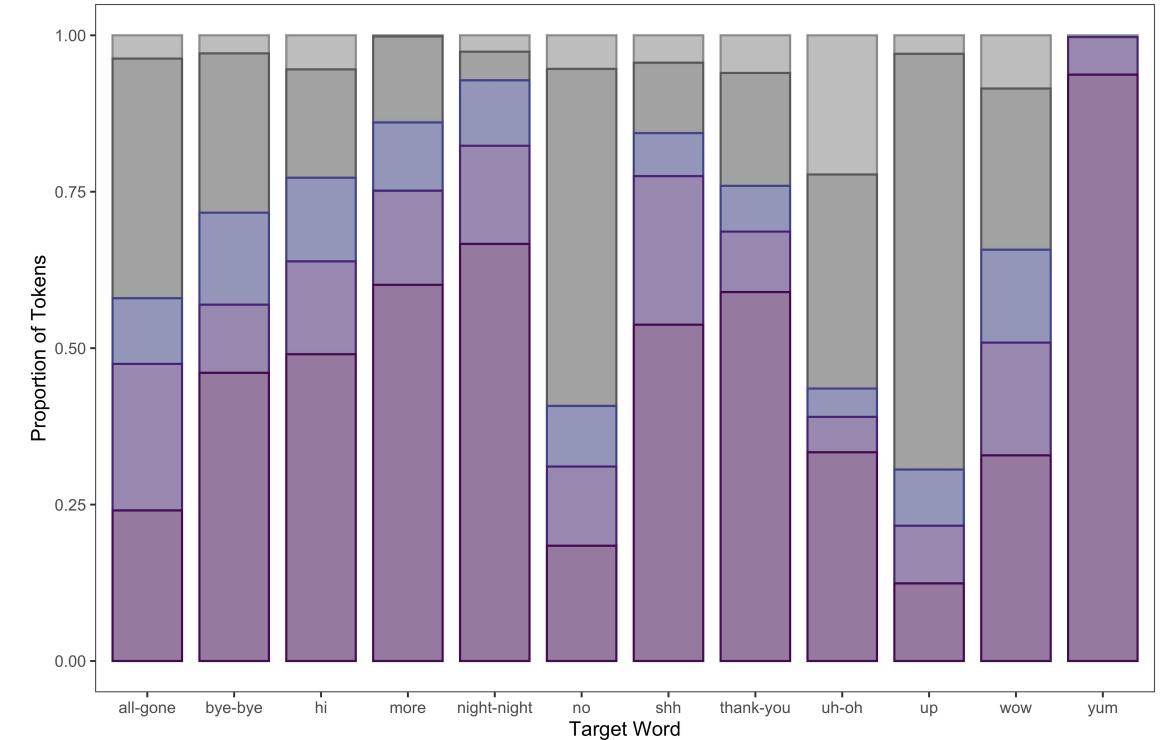


# Using naturalistic data to refine theories and methods

## Lack of visual stability



## Some situational stability



■ **A way forward:** Naturalistic video corpora, including headcam data

(e.g., Bergelson et al., 2019; Sullivan et al., 2021)

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