- How young children integrate information sources to infer the meaning of words
- Manuel Bohn<sup>1,\*</sup>, Michael Henry Tessler<sup>2,\*</sup>, Megan Merrick<sup>3</sup>, & Michael C. Frank<sup>3</sup>
- <sup>1</sup> Department of Comparative Cultural Psychology, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary
- 4 Anthropology
- Department of Brain and Cognitive Sciences, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- <sup>3</sup> Department of Psychology, Stanford University
- \* These authors contributed equally to this work

2

Abstract

Before formal education begins, children typically acquire a vocabulary of thousands of words. This learning process requires the use of many different information sources in their social environment, including their current knowledge state as well as the context in which they hear words used. How is this information integrated? We specify a model according to which children consider all available information sources and integrate them via Bayesian inference. This model accurately predicted 2-to-5 year-old children's word learning across a range of experimental conditions. Model comparison suggests that the integration process is stable across development and that the main locus of development is an increased sensitivity to individual information sources. We present a quantitative

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

developmental theory of information integration for language learning, embedded in a

larger framework that grounds language use and learning in social cognition.

Word count: X

8

23 How young children integrate information sources to infer the meaning of words

Humans rely on language for communication, making language acquisition a key
learning objective of early childhood. A central problem in language learning is referent
identification: To learn the conventional symbolic relation between a word and an object,
the child has to determine the intended referent of the word. Referents can only be
identified in an inferential manner by reasoning about the speaker's intentions. That is,
the child has to infer what the speaker is communicating about based on information
sources in the social context of the utterance.

From early on in development, children use a number of different mechanisms to
harness such social-contextual information sources. <sup>2,4,6</sup> For example, children expect
speakers to use novel words for unknown objects, <sup>7–10</sup> to talk about objects that are
relevant, <sup>11,12</sup> new in context, <sup>13,14</sup> or related to the ongoing conversation. <sup>15–17</sup> These different
mechanisms, however, have largely been described and theorized about in isolation. The
picture of the learning process that emerges is that of a "bag of tricks": mechanisms that
operate (and develop) independently from one another. <sup>6</sup> As such, this view of the learning
process does not capture the complexity of natural social interaction during which many
sources of information are present. <sup>18,19</sup> Theses sources need to be integrated in order to
accurately infer a speaker's intention.

When information integration is studied directly, the focus is mostly on how children interpret an ambiguous referring expression in light of social-contextual information. <sup>20–26</sup> In one of these studies, <sup>27</sup> children faced a 2 x 2 display with a ball, a pen and two glasses in it. The speaker, sitting on the opposite side of the display, saw only 3 of the compartments: the ball, the pen, and one of the glasses. When the speaker asked for "the glass", children had to integrate the semantics of the utterance with the perspective of the speaker to correctly infer which of the glasses - from their perspective - the speaker was referring to.

This study, along with others, found that preschoolers use both information sources. What

these studies do not do, however, is specify the process by which children integrate the
different information sources. When discussing their results, authors refer to
social-pragmatic theories of language use and learning, 4,5,28-30 all of which assume that
information is integrated as part of a social inference process, but none of which clearly
defines the process. As a consequence, we have no explicit and quantitative theory of how
different information sources (and word learning mechanisms) are integrated.

We present a theory of this integration process. Following social-pragmatic theories of language learning, 4,5 our theory is based on the following premises: information sources serve different functional roles, all part of an integrated social inference process. 28–31 Children use all available information to make inferences about the intentions behind a speaker's utterance, which then leads them to correctly identify referents in the world and learn conventional word-object mappings. We formalize the computational steps that underlie this inference process in a cognitive model. 32–34 In the remainder of this paper, we rigorously test this theory by asking how well it serves the two purposes of any psychological theory: prediction and explanation. 35,36 First, we use the model to make quantitative predictions about children's behavior in new situations - predictions we test against new data. Next, we test how well the model explains the integration process by comparing it to alternative models that make different assumptions about whether information is integrated, how it is integrated and how the integration process develops.

We focus on three information sources that play an integral part in theorizing about language use and learning: (1) expectations that speakers communicate in a cooperative and informative manner, 7,11 (2) shared common ground about what is being talked about in conversation, 30,37,38 and (3) semantic knowledge about previously learned word—object mappings. 6,39 These information sources operate on different timescales: while (1) is a momentary expectation about a particular utterance, (2) grows over the course of a conversation, and (3) is learned across development. This interplay of timescales has been hypothesized to be an important component of word meaning inference. 40,41

Our rational integration model arbitrates between information sources via Bayesian 76 inference (see Fig. 1f for model formula). A listener  $(L_1)$  reasons about the referent of a 77 speaker's  $(S_1)$  utterance. This reasoning is contextualized by the prior probability of each 78 referent  $\rho$  – which we take to be a function of the common ground shared between the 79 listener and the speaker. To decide between referents, the listener  $(L_1)$  reasons about what 80 a rational speaker  $(S_1)$  with informativeness  $\alpha$  would say given an intended referent. This 81 speaker is assumed to compute the informativity for each available utterance and then 82 choose the most informative one. The informativity of each utterance is given by imagining which referent a listener, who interprets words according to their literal semantics (what we 84 call a literal listener,  $L_0$ ), would infer upon hearing the utterance. Naturally, this reasoning depends on what kind of semantic knowledge (for object j)  $\theta_j$  the speaker ascribes to the (literal) listener. Taken together, this model provides a quantitative theory of information integration during language learning. Furthermore, the model presents an explicit and substantive theory of development. It assumes that, while children's sensitivity to the individual information sources increases with age, the way integration proceeds remains  $constant.^{2,42}$  In the model, this is accomplished by making the parameters capturing 91 sensitivity to speaker informativeness ( $\alpha_i$ , Fig. 1d), the common ground ( $\rho_i$ , Fig. 1c), and object specific semantic knowledge ( $\theta_{i,j}$ , Fig. 1e) a function of the child's age.

To test the predictive and explanatory power of our model, we developed a world-learning paradigm in which we jointly manipulated the three information sources (Fig. 1). Children interacted on a tablet computer with a series of storybook speakers. The speakers used novel words (e.g., "wug") in the context of two potential referents. This situation is depicted in Fig. 1a iv, in which a speaker (here, a frog) appears with a known object (a duck, left) and an unfamiliar object (the diamond-shaped object, right). To identify the referent, the child could rely upon the three information sources described above. First, they may infer that a cooperative speaker would have used the word "duck" to refer to the known object (the duck); the fact that the speaker did not say duck then

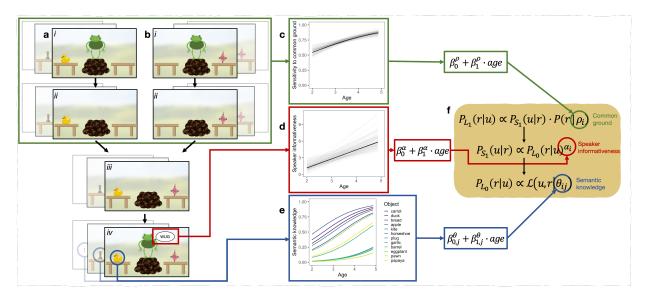


Figure 1. Experimental task and model. (a and b) Screenshots from the experimental task. (i) The speaker encounters one object and then leaves the scene (ii). While the speaker is away, a second object appears (iii), when returning, the speaker uses a novel word to request an object (iv). Sections (i) to (iii) establish common ground between the speaker and the listener, in that one object is new in context (green). The request in (iv) licenses an inference based on expectations about how informative speakers are (red). Listeners' semantic knowledge enters the task because the identity of the known object on one of the tables is varied from well-known objects like a duck to relatively unfamiliar objects like a chess pawn (total of 12 objects - blue). (a) shows the condition in which common ground information is congruent (i.e. point to the same object) with speaker informativeness and (b) shows the incongruent condition. The congruent and incongruent conditions are each paired with the 12 known objects, resulting in 24 unique conditions. (c to e) show developmental trajectories for each information source, estimated from separate experiments (see supplement). (f) gives the model equation for the rational integration model and links information sources to model parameters.

suggests that the speaker is most likely referring to a different object (the unfamiliar object). This basic inference is oftentimes referred to as a mutual exclusivity inference.<sup>8,10</sup>
More generally speaking, the listener can infer the referent of the novel word by assuming that the speaker is a rational agent who chooses the most informative words to refer to objects.<sup>7,11</sup> Second, the child may rely upon what has already been established in the common ground with the speaker. Listeners expect speakers to communicate about things that are new to the common ground.<sup>13,14</sup> Thus, the inference about the novel word referring to the unfamiliar object also depends on which object is new in context (Fig. 1a

and b i-iii). Finally, the child may rely upon their previously acquired semantic knowledge, 111 that is, how sure they are that the known object is called "duck". If the known object is 112 something less familiar, such as a chess piece (e.g., a pawn), a 3-year-old child may draw a 113 weaker inference, if they draw any inference at all. 44 Taken together, the child has the 114 opportunity to integrate their assumptions about (1) informative communication, (2) their 115 understanding of the common ground, and (3) their existing semantic knowledge. In some 116 versions of the experiment, some of these information sources were aligned (Fig. 1a) but in 117 some they were in conflict (Fig. 1b). 118

Results

## Predicting information integration accross development

We tested the model in its ability to predict children's actual behavior - at an age 121 (between 2 and 5 years) at which they learn language at an exponential rate. We 122 estimated children's (N=148) developing sensitivity to individual information sources in 123 separate experiments (Experiment 1 and 2) (see Fig. 1c-e). We then generated 124 parameter-free, quantitative, a priori model predictions (developmental trajectories) 125 representing the model's expectations about how children should behave in a new situation 126 in which all three information sources had to be integrated. We generated model 127 predictions for 24 experimental conditions: 12 objects of different familiarities (requiring 128 different levels of semantic knowledge), with novelty either conflicting or coinciding; Fig. 1. 129 We compared these predictions to newly collected data from N = 220 children from the same age range (Experiment 3). The results showed a very close alignment between model predictions and the data across the entire age range. That is, the average developmental 132 trajectories predicted by the model resembled the trajectories found in the data (Fig. S6). 133 For a more quantitative analysis, we binned predictions and data by year and correlated 134 them. We found a high correlation, with the model explaining 79% of the variance in the 135

data (Fig. 2a). These results seem to support the assumptions in the model that children integrate all available information sources. However, it is still possible that simpler models might make equally good – or even better – predictions.

Thus, we formalized the alternative view that children selectively ignore information sources in the form of three lesioned models (Fig. 2b). These models assume that children follow the heuristic "ignore X" (with X being one of the information sources) when multiple information sources are presented together.

The no word knowledge model uses the same model architecture as the rational 143 integration model. It takes in expectations about speaker informativeness and common 144 ground, but omits semantic knowledge that is specific to the familiar objects (i.e., uses only 145 general semantic knowledge). That is, the model assumes a listener whose inference does 146 not vary depending on the particular familiar object but only depends on the age specific 147 average semantic knowledge. The no common ground model takes in object specific 148 semantic knowledge and speaker informativeness but ignores common ground information. 149 Instead of assuming that one object has a higher prior probability to be the referent 150 because it is new in context, the speaker thinks that both objects are equally likely to be 151 the referent. As a consequence, the listener does not differentiate between situations in 152 which common ground is aligned or in conflict with the other information sources. Finally, 153 according to the no speaker inforantiveness model, the listener does not assume that the speaker is communicating in an informative way and hence ignores the information 155 provided by the utterance. As a consequence, the inference is solely based on common 156 ground expectations. 157

We found little support that children make inferences following one of the heuristic models (Fig. 2b). When using Bayesian model comparison via marginal likelihood of the data, 45 we find that the data was several orders of magnitude more likely under the rational integration model compared to any of the lesioned models (Fig. 2). Taken

together, we may conclude that children considered all available information sources.

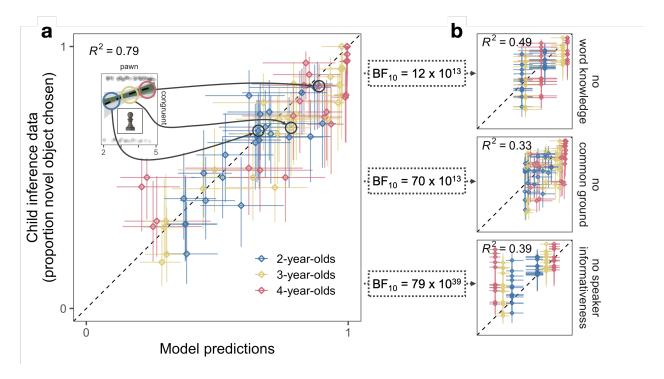


Figure 2. Predicting information integration. Correlation between model predictions and child inference data for all 24 conditions and for each age group (binned by year) for the rational integration model (a) and the three lesioned models (b). Horizontal and vertical error bars show 95% HDI. Inset shows an example of model predictions as developmental trajectories (see Fig. 3). The no word knowledge model includes developmental change for overall vocabulary development but ignores the identity of the known object. The no common ground model assumes that children ignore information from common ground and the no speaker informativeness model assumes that children ignore inferences that are licensed by expectations about informative communication.  $BF_{10}$  gives the Bayes Factor in favor of the integration model based on the marginal likelihood of the data under each model.

### Explaining the process of information integration

The fact that children integrated all the available information sources may be surprising, but does not rule out that the integration process itself might be different from the one described in the rational integration model. Remember that this model assumes that all information sources enter into an integrated inference process. However, a more modular view seems equally plausible: children might compute separate inferences based on a subset of the available information and then integrate them by weighting them

according to some ratio. This view would allow for the possibility that some information 170 sources are considered to be more important than others. In other words, children might 171 be biased towards some information sources. We formalized this alternative view as a 172 biased integration model. This model assumes that semantic knowledge and expectations 173 about speaker informativeness enter into one inference (mutual exclusivity inference<sup>7,8,44</sup>) 174 while common ground information enters into a second one. The outcome of both processes 175 are then weighted according to the parameter  $\phi$ . Like the rational integration model, this 176 model takes in all available information sources in an age sensitive way and assumes that 177 they are integrated - the integration process itself, however, is construed in a different way. 178

The parameter  $\phi$  in the biased integration model is unknown ahead of time and has
to be estimated based on the experimental data. That is, in contrast to the rational
integration model, the biased integration model does not allow to make *a priori* predictions
about new data in the way we describe above. For the model comparison, we therefore
constrained the parameters in the rational integration model by the experimental data as
well. As a consequence, both models use all the information available to constrain their
parameters (see Fig. S4).

The biased integration model makes reasonable predictions that explain a large proportion of the variance in the data (Fig. 3b). The parameter  $\phi$  - indicating the bias to one of the inferences - was estimated to favor the mutual exclusivity inference (mode = 0.65; 95% highest density interval (HDI): 0.60 - 0.71, see Fig. 3d). However, the rational integration model presented a much better fit to the data, both in terms of correlation and marginal likelihood of the data (Fig. 3). Thus, a fully integrated - as opposed to a segmented and biased - integration process explained the data better.

The rational integration model assumes that the integration process itself does not change with age.<sup>2</sup> That is, while children's sensitivity to each information source develops, the way they relate to one another remains the same. An alternative perspective would be

to assume that the integration process itself changes with age. The biased integration model provides a way to think about developmental change in the integration process:

Children are biased towards some information sources, but the bias itself changes with age.

We formalize such an alternative view as a developmental bias model which is structurally identical to the biased integration model but in which the parameter  $\phi$  changes with age.

The model assumes that the importance of the different information sources changes with age.

The developmental bias model explains a substantial portion of the variance in the 203 data (Fig. 3c). The estimated developmental trajectory for the bias parameter  $\phi$  suggests 204 that younger children put a higher emphasis on common ground information, while older children rely more on the mutual exclusivity inference (Fig. 3d). The relative importance 206 of the two inferences seems to switch at around age 3. Yet again, when we directly 207 compare the competitor models, we find that the data is several orders of magnitude more 208 likely under the rational integration model (Fig. 3). Interestingly, when we compared the 209 rational integration model with its parameters not constrained by the experimental data 210 (i.e. the "pure" prediction model described above), it also outperformed both bias models 211 (see Fig. S10 and Tab. S6). Taken together, these results show that the integration process 212 is best described as fully integrated and stable over time. 213

214 Discussion

The environment in which children learn language is complex. Children have to integrate different information sources, some of which relate to expectations in the moment, others to the dynamics of the unfolding interactions and yet others to their previously acquired knowledge. Our findings show that young children can flexibly integrate multiple information sources during language learning - even from relatively early in development.

To answer the question of how they do so, we presented a formal cognitive model that assumes that information sources are rationally integrated via Bayesian inference.

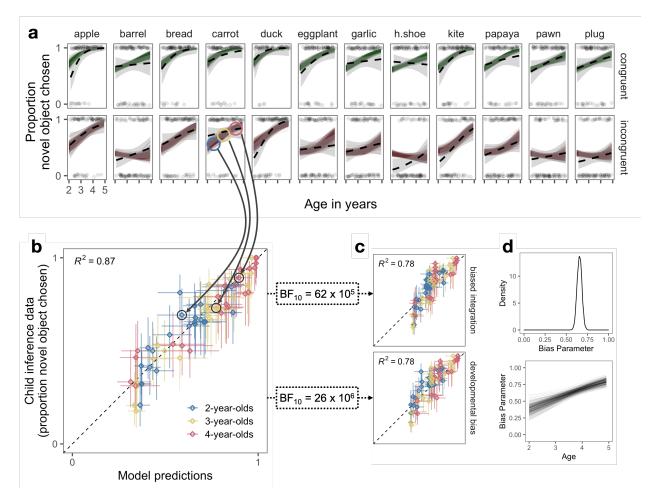


Figure 3. Explaining information integration across development. (a) Model predictions from the rational integration model (colored lines) next to the behavioral data (dotted black lines with 95% CI in gray) for all 24 experimental conditions. Top row (blue) shows conditions in which common ground information is congruent with speaker informativeness, bottom row (red) shows conditions in which they are incongruent. Known objects are ordered based on their rated age of acquisition (left to right). Light dots represent individual data points. (b) Correlations between model predictions binned by age and condition for the integration model and (c) the two mixture models. Vertical and horizontal error bars show 95% HDIs.  $BF_{10}$  gives the Bayes Factor in favor of the rational integration model based on the marginal likelihood of the data under each model. (d) Posterior distribution of the bias parameter in the biased integration model and developmental trajectories for the bias parameter in the developmental bias model based on 300 random draws from the posterior distribution of the intercept and slope.

Our model is based on classic social- pragmatic views on language use and 222 comprehension. 5,28-30 As a consequence, instead of assuming that different information 223 sources feed into separate word-learning mechanisms, we assume that they all play a 224 functional role in an integrated social inference process. Our model goes beyond previous 225 theoretical and empirical work by specifying the computations that may underlie this 226 inference process. Furthermore, we present a substantive theory about how this integration 227 process develops: We assume that children become increasingly sensitive to different 228 information sources but that the way these information sources are integrated, remains the 229 same. We used this model to predict and explain children's information integration in a 230 new word learning paradigm in which they had to integrate (1) their assumptions about 231 informative communication, (2) their understanding of the common ground, and (3) their 232 existing semantic knowledge. 233

We found that this rational integration model made accurate quantitative predictions
across a range of experimental conditions - in some of which information sources were
aligned, in some of which they were in conflict. Predictions from the model better
explained the data compared to lesioned models which assumed that children ignore one of
the information sources, suggesting that children used all available information.

To test the explanatory power of the model - how well it explains the process by
which information is integrated - we formalized an alternative, modular, view. According
to the biased integration model, children use all available information sources but compute
separate inferences based on a subset of them. Integration happens by weighting the
outcomes of these separate inferences by some ratio. By allowing the ratio to be in favor of
one of the inferences, this model captures the idea that children might be biased to some
information sources over others. Even though such a model made reasonable predictions,
we found that the rational integration model explained children's behavior much more
accurately. Finally, we tested an alternative view on the development of the integration
process. According to the developmental bias model, the importance of the different

information sources changed with age. Again, the rational integration model provided a much better fit to the data, suggesting that the integration process remains stable over time.

The rational integration model is derived from a more general framework for 252 pragmatic inference, which has been used to explain a wide variety of phenomena in adults' 253 language use and comprehension. $^{32,33,46-49}$  Thus, it can be generalized in a natural way to 254 capture word learning in contexts that offer more, fewer, or different types of information. 255 For example, in a recent study with adults and children, Bohn and colleagues<sup>42</sup> manipulated expectations about informativeness and common ground in a different way. Using a structurally similar model, they also found a close alignment between model predictions and the data. The flexibility of this modeling framework stems from its 259 conceptualization of human communication as a form of rational social action. As such, it 260 connects to computational and empirical work that tries to explain social reasoning by 261 assuming that humans expect each other to behave in a way that maximizes the benefits 262 and minimizes the cost associated with actions. <sup>23,50,51</sup> 263

There are multiple ways in which the model and the experiments presented here 264 could be extended. First, it would be important to replicate our findings in a more diverse 265 sample, that is, with children from a different cultural background who learn a different 266 language. In such a study, we would not expect that our results replicate in a strict sense; 267 that is, we would not expect to see the same developmental trajectories in all cultures 268 and/or languages. Substantial variation is much more likely. Our computational model provides a way to think about how to reconcile cross-cultural variation with a universal 270 cognitive architecture: We expect differences in how sensitive children are to the individual information sources at different ages, but similarities in how information is integrated.<sup>2</sup> In computational terms, we assume a universal architecture that specifies the relation between 273 a set of varying parameters.

Second, it would be useful to flesh out the cognitive processes that underlie reasoning 275 about common ground. In its current form, our model does not specify how the listener 276 arrives at the expectation that some objects are more likely referents because they are new 277 in common ground. We assume that common ground changes speaker's expectations about 278 what are likely referents<sup>52</sup> and measured these expectations to inform the parameter values 270 in our model. Computationally, the model does not differentiate between common ground 280 information and other reasons that might make an object contextually more salient. A 281 good starting point to address this issue could be work that formalizes reasoning about 282 common ground as trading-off between (differing) perspectives. 53,54 283

Finally, our model is a model of referent identification in the moment of the 284 utterance. Word learning, however, is a cumulative process which happens across multiple 285 time points and contexts. Thus, it would be fruitful to connect our model with frameworks that focus on the temporal and cross-situational aspects of word learning. 40,41,55

Taken together, this work helps us understand how children navigate the complexity 288 of their learning environment. Methodologically, it illustrates how formal, computational models can be used to test theories - bot in terms of their predictive and explanatory 290 power. From a theoretical perspective, it adds to broader frameworks that see the ontoand phylogenetic emergence of language as deeply rooted in social cognition.

Methods 293

289

291

292

A more detailed description of the experiments and the models can be found in the 294 supplementary material. The experimental procedure, sample size and analysis for each experiment were pre-registered (https://osf.io/7rg9j/registrations). Experimental procedures, model and analysis scripts can be found in an online repository (https://github.com/manuelbohn/spin). Experiment 1 and 2 were designed to estimate 298 children's developing sensitivity to each information source. Their results inform he

parameter values in the model (see Fig. 1 c-f). Experiment 3 was designed to test how children integrate the different information sources.

# Participants

Review Board (protocol no. 19960).

Across the three experiments, a total of 368 children participated. Experiment 1 303 involved 90 children, including 30 2-year-olds (range = 2.03 - 3.00, 15 girls), 30 3-year-olds (range = 3.03 - 3.97, 22 girls) and 30 4-year-olds (range = 4.03 - 4.90, 16 girls). Data from 305 10 additional children was not included because they were either exposed to less than 75% of English at home (5), did not finish at least half of the test trials (2), the technical equipment failed (2) or their parents reported an autism spectrum disorder (1). In Experiment 2, we tested 58 children from the same general population as in 309 Experiment 1, including 18 2-year-olds (range = 2.02 - 2.93, 7 girls), 19 3-year-olds (range 310 = 3.01 - 3.90, 14 girls) and 21 4-year-olds (range = 4.07 - 4.93, 14 girls). Data from 5 additional children was not included because they were either exposed to less than 75% of 312 English at home (3) or the technical equipment failed (2). Finally, Experiment 3 involved 220 children, including 76 2-year-olds (range = 2.04 -314 2.99, 7 girls, 72 3-year-olds (range = 3.00 - 3.98, 14 girls) and 72 4-year-olds (range = 4.00315 - 4.94, 14 girls). Data from 20 additional children was not included because they were either exposed to less than 75% of English at home (15), did not finish at least half of the 317 test trials (3) or the technical equipment failed (2). 318 All participants were recruited from the floor of a Children's museum in San José, 319 California, USA. This population is characterized by diverse ethnic background (predominantly White, Asian, or mixed ethnicity) and high levels of parental education and socioeconomic status. Parents consented to their children's participation and provided demographic information. All experiments were approved by the Stanford Institutional 323

### Materials

All experiments were presented as an interactive picture book on a tablet computer. All experiments were presented as an interactive picture book on a tablet computer. Fig. 1a and b show screenshots from the actual experiments. The general setup involved an animal standing on a little hill between two tables. For each animal character, we recorded a set of utterances (one native English speaker per animal) that were used to talk to the child and make requests. Each experiment started with two training trials in which the speaker requested known objects (car and ball).

### Procedure Procedure

Experiment 1 tested the so-called mutual exclusivity inference.<sup>8,44</sup> On one table, there 333 was a familiar object, on the other table, there was an unfamiliar object (drawn for the 334 purpose of the study) (Fig. 1a/b iv and Fig. S1a). The speaker requested an object by 335 saying "Oh cool, there is a [non-word] on the table, how neat, can you give me the 336 [non-word]?". Children responded by touching one of the objects. The location of the 337 unfamiliar object (left or right table) and the animal character were counterbalanced. We coded as correct choice if children chose the unfamiliar object as the referent of the novel word. Each child completed 12 trials, each with a different familiar and a different unfamiliar object. Familiar objects were selected to vary along the dimension of how likely 341 children were to know the word for it. This included objects that most 2-year-olds can 342 name (e.g. a duck) as well as objects that only very few 5-year-olds can name (e.g. a 343 pawn). The selection was based on age of acquisition ratings from Kuperman and 344 colleagues. <sup>56</sup> While these ratings do not capture the absolute age when children acquire 345 these words, they capture the relative order in which words are learned. Fig. S2A in the 346 supplementary material shows the words and objects used in the experiment. 347

Experiment 2 tested children's sensitivity to common ground that is build up over the course of a conversation. In particular, we tested whether children keep track of which

object is new to a speaker and which they have encountered previously. 13,14 The general 350 setup was the same as in Experiment 1 (Fig. S1b). The speaker was positioned between 351 the tables. There was an unfamiliar object (drawn for the purpose of the study) on one of 352 the tables while the other table was empty. Next, the speaker turned to one of the tables 353 and either commented on the presence ("Aha, look at that.") or the absence ("Hm, nothing 354 there") of an object. Then the speaker disappeared. While the speaker was away, a second 355 unfamiliar object appeared on the previously empty table. Then the speaker returned and 356 requested an object in the same way as in Experiment 1. The positioning of the unfamiliar 357 object in the beginning of the experiment, the speaker as well as the location the speaker 358 turned to first was counterbalanced. Children received five trials, each with a different pair 359 of unfamiliar objects. We coded as correct choice if children chose the object that was new 360 to the speaker as the referent of the novel word.

Experiment 3 combined the procedures from Experiment 1 and 2. It followed the 362 same procedure as Experiment 2 but involved the same objects as Experiment 1 (Fig. 1 i-iv 363 and Fig. S1c). In the beginning, one table was empty while there was an object (unfamiliar 364 or familiar) on the other one. After commenting on the presence or absence of an object on 365 each table, the speaker disappeared and a second object appeared (familiar or unfamiliar). 366 Next, the speaker re-appeared and made the usual request. In the congruent condition, the 367 familiar object was present in the beginning and the unfamiliar object appeared while the 368 speaker was away (Fig. 1a and Fig. S1c - left). In this case, both the mutual exclusivity 369 and the common ground inference pointed to the novel object as the referent. In the 370 incongruent condition, the unfamiliar object was present in the beginning and the familiar object appeared later. In this case, the two inferences pointed to different objects (Fig. 1b 372 and Fig. S1c - right). This resulted in a total of 2 (congruent vs incongurent) x 12 373 (familiar objects) = 24 different conditions. Participants received up to 12 test trials, six in each alignment condition, each with a different familiar and unfamiliar object. Familiar 375 objects were the same as in Experiment 1. The positioning of the objects on the tables, the 376

speaker and the location the speaker first turned to were counterbalanced. Participants
could stop the experiment after six trials (three per alignment condition). If a participant
stopped after half of the trials, we tested an additional participant to reach the
preregistered number of data points per age group (2-, 3- and 4-year-olds).

## 81 Data analysis

To analyze how the manipulations in each experiment affected children's behavior, we used generalized linear mixed models. Since the focus of the paper is on how information sources were integrated, we discuss these models in the supplementary material and focus here on the cognitive models instead. A detailed, mathematical description of the different cognitive models along with details about estimation procedures and priors can be found in the supplementary material. All Bayesian cognitive models were implemented in the probabilistic programming language WebPPL.<sup>57</sup> The corresponding model code can be found in the associated online repository.

As a first step, we used the data from Experiment 1 and 2 to estimate children's 390 developing sensitivity to each information source. To estimate the parameters for semantic 391 knowledge  $(\theta)$  and speaker informativeness  $(\alpha)$ , we adapted the rational integration model 392 to a situation in which both objects (novel and familiar) have equal prior probability (i.e., 393 no common ground information). We used the data from Experiment 1 to then infer the 394 parameters. That is, we inferred the intercepts and slopes for speaker informativeness 395 (linear regression) and semantic knowledge (logistic regression) that generated model 396 predictions to match the responses generated in Experiment 1. To estimate the parameters representing sensitivity to common ground  $(\rho)$ , we used a simple logistic regression to infer which combination of intercept and slope would generate predictions that corresponded to the average proportion of correct responses measured in Experiment 2. For the explanation 400 models, these parameters were additionally constrained by the data from Experiment 3. A 401 more detailed description of how these parameters were estimated (including a graphical

403 model) can be found in the supplementary material.

421

423

To generate model predictions, we combined the parameters according to the 404 respective model formula. As mentioned above, common ground information could either 405 be aligned or in conflict with the other information sources. In the congruent condition, 406 the unfamiliar object was also new in context and thus had the prior probability  $\rho$ . In the 407 incongruent condition, the novel object was the "old" object and thus had the prior 408 probability of  $1 - \rho$ . 400 The rational integration model is defined as 410  $P_{L_1}^{int}(r \mid u; \{\rho_i, \alpha_i \theta_{ij}\}) \propto P_{S_1}(u \mid r; \{\alpha_i, \theta_{ij}\}) \cdot P(r \mid \rho_i)$ . The three lesioned models that were 411 used to compare how well the model predicts new data are reduced versions of this model. 412 The no word knowledge model uses the same model architecture: 413  $P_{L_1}^{no\_wk}(r \mid u; \{\rho_i, \alpha_i \theta_i\}) \propto P_{S_1}(u \mid r; \{\alpha_i, \theta_i\}) \cdot P(r \mid \rho_i)$  and the only difference lies in the 414 parameter  $\theta$ . The object specific parameters for semantic knowledge are fitted via a 415 hierarchical regression (mixed effects) model. That is, there is an overall developmental 416 trajectory for semantic knowledge (main effect -  $\theta_i$ ) and then there is object-specific 417 variation around this trajectory (random effects  $-\theta_{ij}$ ). Thus, the no word knowledge model 418 takes in the overall trajectory for semantic knowledge  $(\theta_i)$  but ignores object-specific 419 variation. The no common ground model ignores common ground information (represented

As noted above, the explanation models used parameters that were additionally constrained by the data from Experiment 3. This had no effect on the way these parameters were combined in the rational integration model. The biased integration model is defined as  $P_{L_1}^{biased}(r \mid u; \{\phi, \rho_i, \alpha_i, \theta_{ij}\}) = \phi \cdot P_{ME}(r \mid u; \{\alpha_i, \theta_{ij}\}) + (1 - \phi) \cdot P(r \mid \rho_i)$  with  $P_{ME}$  representing a mutual exclusivity inference which takes in speaker inforamtiveness

by  $\rho$ ) and is thus defined as  $P_{L_1}^{no\_cg}(r \mid u; \{\alpha_i \theta_{ij}\}) \propto P_{S_1}(u \mid r; \{\alpha_i, \theta_{ij}\})$ . For the no speaker

informativeness model, the parameter  $\alpha = 0$ . As a consequence, the likelihood term in the

model is 1 and the model therefore reduces to  $P_{L_1}^{no\_si}(r \mid u; \{\rho_i\}) \propto P(r \mid \rho_i)$ .

and object specific semantic knowledge. This inference is then weighted by the parameter  $\phi$  and added to the respective prior probability, which is weighted by  $1 - \phi_i$ . Thus,  $\phi$  represents the bias in favor of the mutual exclusivity inference. In the developmental bias model the parameter  $\phi$  is made to change with age  $(\phi_i)$  and the model is thus defined as  $P_{L_1}^{dev\_bias}(r \mid u; \{\phi_i, \rho_i, \alpha_i, \theta_{ij}\}) = \phi_i \cdot P_{ME}(r \mid u; \{\alpha_i, \theta_{ij}\}) + (1 - \phi_i)$ .

We compared models in two ways. First, we used Pearson correlations between model 434 predictions and the data. For this analysis, we binned the model predictions and the data 435 by age in years and by the type of familiar object (see Fig. 2 and 3 as well as S7 and S10). 436 Second, we compared models based on the marginal likelihood of the data under each 437 model – the likelihood of the data averaging over ("marginalizing over") the prior 438 distribution on parameters; the pairwise ratio of marginal likelihoods for two models is 439 known as the Bayes Factor. It is interpreted as how many times more likely the data is 440 under one model compared to the other. Bayes Factors quantify the quality of predictions 441 of a model, averaging over the possible values of the parameters of the models (weighted by 442 the prior probabilities of those parameter values); by averaging over the prior distribution 443 on parameters, Bayes Factor implicitly take into account model complexity because models 444 with more parameters will tend to have a broader prior distribution over parameters, which 445 in effect, can water down the potential gains in predictive accuracy that a model with more 446 parameters can achieve. 45 For this analysis, we treated age continuously.

References

- 1. Tomasello, M. A natural history of human thinking. (Harvard University Press, 2018).
- Bohn, M. & Frank, M. C. The pervasive role of pragmatics in early language. Annual
   Review of Developmental Psychology 1, 223–249 (2019).
- 452 3. Bruner, J. Child's talk: Learning to use language. (New York: Norton, 1983).
- 453 4. Clark, E. V. First language acquisition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 5. Tomasello, M. Constructing a language. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
- 6. Bloom, P. How children learn the meanings of words. (MIT press, 2002).
- 7. Clark, E. V. The principle of contrast: A constraint on language acquisition.

  Mechanisms of language acquisition (1987).
- 8. Markman, E. M. & Wachtel, G. F. Children's use of mutual exclusivity to constrain the meanings of words. *Cognitive Psychology* **20**, 121–157 (1988).
- 9. Carey, S. & Bartlett, E. Acquiring a single new word. Proceedings of the Stanford Child

  Language Conference 15, 17–29 (1978).
- 10. Halberda, J. The development of a word-learning strategy. Cognition 87, B23–B34 (2003).
- 11. Frank, M. C. & Goodman, N. D. Inferring word meanings by assuming that speakers are informative. *Cognitive Psychology* **75**, 80–96 (2014).
- 12. Schulze, C., Grassmann, S. & Tomasello, M. 3-year-old children make relevance inferences in indirect verbal communication. *Child Development* **84**, 2079–2093 (2013).
- 13. Akhtar, N., Carpenter, M. & Tomasello, M. The role of discourse novelty in early word learning. *Child Development* **67**, 635–645 (1996).

- 14. Diesendruck, G., Markson, L., Akhtar, N. & Reudor, A. Two-year-olds' sensitivity to
   speakers' intent: An alternative account of samuelson and smith. *Developmental* Science 7, 33–41 (2004).
- 15. Bohn, M., Le, K., Peloquin, B., Koymen, B. & Frank, M. C. Children's interpretation
   of ambiguous pronouns based on prior discourse. *PsyArXiv* (2020).
   doi:10.31234/osf.io/gkhez
- 16. Sullivan, J. & Barner, D. Discourse bootstrapping: Preschoolers use linguistic discourse to learn new words. *Developmental Science* **19**, 63–75 (2016).
- 17. Horowitz, A. C. & Frank, M. C. Young children's developing sensitivity to discourse
   continuity as a cue for inferring reference. Journal of experimental child psychology
   129, 84–97 (2015).
- 18. Bergelson, E. & Aslin, R. N. Nature and origins of the lexicon in 6-mo-olds.

  \*\*Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 114, 12916–12921 (2017).
- 19. Frank, M. C., Tenenbaum, J. B. & Fernald, A. Social and discourse contributions to
   the determination of reference in cross-situational word learning. Language Learning
   and Development 9, 1–24 (2013).
- <sup>488</sup> 20. Ganea, P. A. & Saylor, M. M. Infants' use of shared linguistic information to clarify <sup>489</sup> ambiguous requests. *Child Development* **78**, 493–502 (2007).
- 21. Graham, S. A., San Juan, V. & Khu, M. Words are not enough: How preschoolers' integration of perspective and emotion informs their referential understanding.

  Journal of Child Language 44, 500–526 (2017).
- <sup>493</sup> 22. Grosse, G., Moll, H. & Tomasello, M. 21-month-olds understand the cooperative logic <sup>494</sup> of requests. *Journal of Pragmatics* **42**, 3377–3383 (2010).
- 23. Jara-Ettinger, J., Floyd, S., Huey, H., Tenenbaum, J. B. & Schulz, L. E. Social pragmatics: Preschoolers rely on commonsense psychology to resolve referential

- underspecification. Child Development 91, 1135–1149 (2020).
- 24. Khu, M., Chambers, C. G. & Graham, S. A. Preschoolers flexibly shift between
   speakers' perspectives during real-time language comprehension. *Child development* 91, e619–e634 (2020).
- 25. Matthews, D., Lieven, E., Theakston, A. & Tomasello, M. The effect of perceptual
   availability and prior discourse on young children's use of referring expressions.
   Applied Psycholinguistics 27, 403–422 (2006).
- 26. Nilsen, E. S., Graham, S. A. & Pettigrew, T. Preschoolers' word mapping: The
   interplay between labelling context and specificity of speaker information. *Journal* of child language 36, 673-684 (2009).
- 27. Nadig, A. S. & Sedivy, J. C. Evidence of perspective-taking constraints in children's on-line reference resolution. *Psychological Science* **13**, 329–336 (2002).
- 28. Grice, H. P. Studies in the way of words. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,
   1991).
- <sup>511</sup> 29. Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. Relevance: Communication and cognition. (Cambridge, MA:

  Blackwell Publishers, 2001).
- <sup>513</sup> 30. Clark, H. H. *Using language*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 31. Shafto, P., Goodman, N. D. & Frank, M. C. Learning from others: The consequences of psychological reasoning for human learning. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*7, 341–351 (2012).
- 32. Frank, M. C. & Goodman, N. D. Predicting pragmatic reasoning in language games.

  Science 336, 998–998 (2012).
- 33. Goodman, N. D. & Frank, M. C. Pragmatic language interpretation as probabilistic inference. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* **20**, 818–829 (2016).

- 34. Oberauer, K. & Lewandowsky, S. Addressing the theory crisis in psychology.

  Psychonomic bulletin & review 26, 1596–1618 (2019).
- 35. Shmueli, G. & others. To explain or to predict? Statistical Science 25, 289–310 (2010).
- <sup>524</sup> 36. Yarkoni, T. & Westfall, J. Choosing prediction over explanation in psychology: Lessons from machine learning. *Perspectives on Psychological Science* **12**, 1100–1122 (2017).
- 37. Bohn, M. & Koymen, B. Common ground and development. *Child Development Perspectives* **12**, 104–108 (2018).
- 38. Clark, E. V. Common ground. in *The handbook of language emergence* (eds. MacWhinney, B. & O'Grady, W.) 87, 328–353 (John Wiley & Sons, 2015).
- 39. Fenson, L. et al. Variability in early communicative development. Monographs of the

  Society for Research in Child Development i-185 (1994).
- 40. Frank, M. C., Goodman, N. D. & Tenenbaum, J. B. Using speakers' referential
   intentions to model early cross-situational word learning. *Psychological Science* 20,
   578–585 (2009).
- 41. McMurray, B., Horst, J. S. & Samuelson, L. K. Word learning emerges from the
   interaction of online referent selection and slow associative learning. *Psychological Review* 119, 831 (2012).
- 42. Bohn, M., Tessler, M. H., Merrick, M. & Frank, M. C. Predicting pragmatic cue
   integration in adults' and children's inferences about novel word meanings. (2019).
   doi:10.31234/osf.io/xma4f
- 43. Frank, M. C., Sugarman, E., Horowitz, A. C., Lewis, M. L. & Yurovsky, D. Using
   tablets to collect data from young children. Journal of Cognition and Development
   17, 1–17 (2016).
- 44. Lewis, M. L., Cristiano, V., Lake, B. M., Kwan, T. & Frank, M. C. The role of
   developmental change and linguistic experience in the mutual exclusivity effect.

- 546 Cognition 198, 104191 (2020).
- 45. Lee, M. D. & Wagenmakers, E.-J. Bayesian cognitive modeling: A practical course.

  (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- 46. Monroe, W., Hawkins, R. X., Goodman, N. D. & Potts, C. Colors in context: A
   pragmatic neural model for grounded language understanding. Transactions of the
   Association for Computational Linguistics 5, 325–338 (2017).
- 47. Wang, S., Liang, P. & Manning, C. D. Learning language games through interaction.
   Proceedings of the 54th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational
   Linguistics 2368–2378 (2016).
- 48. Tessler, M. H. & Goodman, N. D. The language of generalization. *Psychological Review*556
  126, 395–436 (2019).
- 49. Yoon, E. J., Frank, M. C., Tessler, M. H. & Goodman, N. D. Polite speech emerges from competing social goals. *psyarxiv.com/67ne8* (2018).
- 559 50. Bridgers, S., Jara-Ettinger, J. & Gweon, H. Young children consider the expected 560 utility of others' learning to decide what to teach. *Nature Human Behaviour* 4, 561 144–152 (2020).
- 51. Jara-Ettinger, J., Gweon, H., Schulz, L. E. & Tenenbaum, J. B. The naive utility
   calculus: Computational principles underlying commonsense psychology. Trends in
   Cognitive Sciences 20, 589–604 (2016).
- 52. Hanna, J. E., Tanenhaus, M. K. & Trueswell, J. C. The effects of common ground and
   perspective on domains of referential interpretation. *Journal of Memory and Language* 49, 43–61 (2003).
- 53. Heller, D., Parisien, C. & Stevenson, S. Perspective-taking behavior as the probabilistic weighing of multiple domains. *Cognition* **149**, 104–120 (2016).
- 54. Mozuraitis, M., Stevenson, S. & Heller, D. Modeling reference production as the

- probabilistic combination of multiple perspectives. Cognitive science 42, 974–1008 (2018).
- 55. Yurovsky, D. & Frank, M. C. An integrative account of constraints on cross-situational learning. Cognition 145, 53–62 (2015).
- 56. Kuperman, V., Stadthagen-Gonzalez, H. & Brysbaert, M. Age-of-acquisition ratings for 30,000 english words. *Behavior Research Methods* **44**, 978–990 (2012).
- 57. Goodman, N. D. & Stuhlmüller, A. The design and implementation of probabilistic programming languages. (2014).