

Knowing where to look: Identifying how children learn syntactic knowledge

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October 7, 2013

Abstract

Language learners are often faced with a scenario where the data allow multiple generalizations, even though only one is actually correct. One promising solution to this problem is that children are equipped with helpful learning strategies that guide the types of generalizations made from the data. Two successful approaches in recent work for identifying these strategies have involved (i) expanding the set of informative data to include INDIRECT POSITIVE EVIDENCE, and (ii) using observable behavior as a target state for learning. We apply both these ideas to the case study of English anaphoric *one*, using computationally modeled learners who form their generalizations based on realistic data. We demonstrate that a learner biased to include indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns in English can generate 18-month-old looking preference behavior. Interestingly, we find that the knowledge state responsible for this target behavior is a context-dependent representation for anaphoric *one*, rather than the adult representation, but this immature representation can suffice in many communicative contexts involving anaphoric *one*. More generally, these results suggest that children may be leveraging broader sets of data to make the syntactic generalizations leading to their observed behavior, rather than selectively restricting their input. We additionally discuss the components of the learning strategies capable of producing the observed behavior, including their origin and whether they may be useful for making other linguistic generalizations.

Keywords: anaphoric *one*; acquisition; computational modeling; indirect positive evidence; induction problems; online probabilistic learning; Universal Grammar

1 Introduction

Language acquisition, as with many other kinds of knowledge acquisition, involves making generalizations from data. One recurring issue is that many generalizations may be possible from the data available, but often only one is the target generalization, representing the knowledge adults have. This scenario describes an induction problem, sometimes referred to in the language acquisition literature as the “Poverty of the Stimulus” (e.g., Chomsky, 1980a, 1980b; Crain, 1991; Lightfoot, 1989), the “Logical Problem of Language Acquisition” (e.g., Baker & McCarthy, 1981; Hornstein & Lightfoot, 1981; Pinker, 2004), or “Plato’s Problem” (e.g. Chomsky, 1988; Dresher, 2003). One promising solution to induction problems is that the language learner is equipped with helpful learning strategies that guide the types of generalizations made from the data. Traditionally, proposals for the strategies necessary for making correct syntactic generalizations have involved fairly specific (and often linguistic) prior knowledge. Some examples include the following:

- (i) knowing linguistic rules are structure-dependent (Chomsky, 1980a; Anderson & Lightfoot, 2000; Fodor & Crowther, 2002; Berwick, Pietroski, Yankama, & Chomsky, 2011; Anderson, in press)
- (ii) knowing certain linguistic dependencies are limited to spanning no more than a single specific, abstract linguistic structure (Chomsky, 1973; Huang, 1982; Lasnik & Saito, 1984)
- (iii) knowing certain grammatical category assignments are illicit for certain words in a language (Baker, 1978)

However, recent investigations have suggested that learning biases involving less specific knowledge may be sufficient to learn the target syntactic generalizations in several cases (e.g., Regier & Gahl, 2004; Foraker, Regier, Khetarpal, Perfors, & Tenenbaum, 2009; Pearl & Lidz, 2009; Pearl & Mis, 2011; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011; Pearl & Sprouse, 2013, in press). Interestingly, a common successful approach in some of the most recent work (Pearl & Mis, 2011; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011; Pearl & Sprouse, 2013, in press) involves expanding the set of informative data to include INDIRECT POSITIVE EVIDENCE (discussed in more detail below in section 2). In addition, many recent computational approaches have focused on learning syntactic generalizations that lead to observed human behavior (e.g., Pearl & Mis, 2011; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011; Pearl & Sprouse, 2013, in press), with the idea that observable behavior is a more direct empirical checkpoint than the knowledge state responsible for that behavior.

Here, we apply both these ideas to the case study of English anaphoric *one*, using computationally modeled learners who form their generalizations based on realistic input data (Sakas & Fodor, 2001; Sakas & Nishimoto, 2002; Yang, 2002; Sakas, 2003; Regier & Gahl, 2004; Yang, 2004; Legate & Yang, 2007; Foraker et al., 2009; Pearl & Lidz, 2009; Pearl, 2011; Pearl & Mis, 2011; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011; Yang, 2012; Sakas & Fodor, 2012; Legate & Yang, 2013; Pearl & Sprouse, 2013, in press). We demonstrate that a learner biased to include indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns in English can generate the looking preference behavior observed in 18-month-olds (Lidz, Waxman, & Freedman, 2003). Interestingly, we find that the knowledge state responsible for this target behavior in this learner is a context-dependent representation for anaphoric *one*, rather than the adult representation. Nonetheless, the linguistic generalizations made by this learner can suffice in many communicative contexts involving

anaphoric *one*, highlighting their utility even though they lead to immature representations of *one*. More generally, these results suggest that children may be leveraging broader sets of data to make the syntactic generalizations leading to their observed behavior, rather than selectively restricting their input.

In the remainder of this paper, we first discuss different types of evidence available in principle to the learner, including indirect positive evidence. We then describe how to define the learning problem in general, using components that can be specified for any particular learning problem by drawing on theoretical, experimental, and computational results. We subsequently describe the details of the English anaphoric *one* learning problem, including aspects of adult knowledge, young children’s observed behavior, the data available for learning, and several proposed learning strategies for solving this learning problem, including a new one that relies on indirect positive evidence. We test the effectiveness of the strategies by embedding them in an online probabilistic learning model that is based on a formal model of understanding a referential expression, incorporating both syntactic and referential information. We investigate the ability of each strategy to learn the target generalizations and generate the observed toddler behavior. We then present the modeling results, which demonstrate that an immature context-dependent representation of *one* is compatible with observed toddler behavior. We conclude by discussing the learning biases of the learning strategies capable of producing the observed behavior, including their origin and whether they are useful for making other linguistic generalizations.

2 Types of evidence

There are at least two dimensions that appear relevant when describing the types of evidence available to a learner (Figure 1):

- (i) POSITIVE vs. NEGATIVE: Is the evidence about items that are present in the language (*positive*) or about items that are absent in the input (*negative*)?
- (ii) DIRECT vs. INDIRECT: Is it certain that the items are (un)grammatical (*direct*) or does it require inference on the learner’s part (*indirect*)?

To illustrate the four evidence types captured by these distinctions, consider the utterances in (1) with respect to learning about the anaphoric pronoun *one* in English:

- (1) Grammatical and ungrammatical utterances for learning about English anaphoric *one*
 - a. Jack already has a red cup but he wants another one.
 - b. * Jack drank from the edge of the cup while Lily drank from the one of the bowl.
 - c. Jack has a red cup and Lily wants it.

DIRECT POSITIVE evidence would correspond to items such as (1a) appearing in the input, an indication that they are grammatical because they are used by speakers. Direct positive evidence has traditionally been assumed to be available to learners, often as the *only* evidence available (Chomsky, 1980a; Baker & McCarthy, 1981; Bowerman, 1988; Wexler & Culicover, 1980; Crain, 1991; Hornstein & Lightfoot, 1981; Roeper, 1981; Lightfoot, 1982b; Pinker, 1984, 1989; Anderson & Lightfoot, 2000, 2002; Crain & Pietroski, 2002; Legate & Yang, 2002; Lidz et al., 2003;

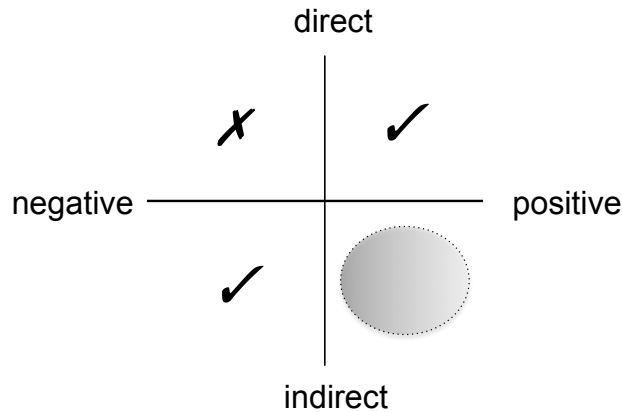


Figure 1: Evidence types available to a learner in principle, along with some indicators of whether they are believed to be available in practice. The circle in the indirect positive evidence quadrant highlights that this type has been under-investigated.

Gualmini, 2007; Crain & Thornton, 2012; Anderson, in press).

DIRECT NEGATIVE evidence would correspond to the learner acquiring the knowledge that items like (1b) are ungrammatical by being explicitly informed that they are ungrammatical. Given that children are notoriously resistant to being corrected (e.g. McNeill, 1996; Zwicky, 1970; Braine, 1971), particularly about their syntactic generalizations, direct negative evidence has typically been assumed to be unavailable to the learner or ignored (Brown & Hanlon, 1970; Braine, 1971; Baker & McCarthy, 1981; Bowerman, 1983; Fodor & Crain, 1987; Bowerman, 1988; Grimshaw & Pinker, 1989; Lasnik, 1989; Marcus, 1993, 1999; Anderson & Lightfoot, 2000; Crain & Pietroski, 2002; Legate & Yang, 2002; Lidz et al., 2003; Crain & Thornton, 2012; Anderson, in press).

INDIRECT NEGATIVE evidence¹ would correspond to the learner noticing that items like (1b) are absent from the input, and so inferring that these items are absent because they are ungrammatical. Indirect negative evidence has been argued to be available, particularly to statistical learners that form expectations about how frequently items should appear in the input (e.g. Pullum, 1996; Rohde & Plaut, 1999; Regier & Gahl, 2004; Clark & Lappin, 2009; Foraker et al., 2009; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Wonnacott, 2010; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011).

INDIRECT POSITIVE evidence would correspond to the learner observing the presence of items like (1c) – which do not actually involve *one* – and using those data to infer that items like (1a) are grammatical while items like (1b) are ungrammatical. More formally, examples involving linguistic knowledge L1 appear in the input and allow the learner to learn about knowledge L2. Indirect positive evidence seems to have only recently been recognized either implicitly (e.g. Real & Christiansen, 2005; Kam, Stoyaneshka, Tornyova, Fodor, & Sakas, 2008; Foraker et al., 2009; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011) or explicitly (e.g. Pearl & Mis, 2011; Pearl & Sprouse, 2013, in press) as a type of informative data for syntax acquisition. Interestingly, it corresponds quite well to the ideas behind linguistic PARAMETERS in generative linguistic theory and OVERHYPOTHESES

¹This is sometimes called *implicit negative* evidence (Rohde & Plaut, 1999).

in Bayesian inference. In particular, both parameters and overhypotheses allow positive evidence about items besides the specific items of interest to be leveraged by the learner. For parameters, if multiple linguistic phenomena are controlled by the same parameter, data for any of these phenomena can be treated as an equivalence class, where learning about some linguistic knowledge yields information about others (e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Viau & Lidz, 2011; Pearl & Lidz, 2013). For example, if parameter *P* controls knowledge *L1* and *L2*, data about knowledge *L1* can set the value of *P*, which then provides information about knowledge *L2*. Similarly for overhypotheses, if hypotheses *H1* and *H2* are instances of overhypothesis *O*, data for *H1* can help determine *O*, which in turn helps the learner infer something about *H2* (Kemp, Perfors, & Tenenbaum, 2007; Perfors, Tenenbaum, Griffiths, & Xu, 2011). Thus, while indirect positive evidence has rarely been explicitly recognized in prior syntactic acquisition investigations, it seems to be a natural consequence of both linguistic parameters and Bayesian overhypotheses. Here, we investigate its application for learning syntactic knowledge related to English anaphoric *one*.

3 Defining learning problems

One way to characterize the language learning process is that the learner starts in some initial state, having at her disposal prior knowledge, learning abilities, and learning biases (some of which form a specific learning strategy). As she encounters input over time, she applies her learning abilities to that input in order to update her knowledge state, and this process is guided by her learning strategy. Eventually, she updates her knowledge state to the target knowledge state, which allows her to generate target linguistic behavior. This description allows us to identify four important components of the learning problem: the INITIAL STATE of the learner, the DATA INTAKE used by the learner, the LEARNING PERIOD during which the learner is updating her knowledge, and the TARGET STATE the learner is trying to reach. For any given learning problem, we can attempt to specify these components by using theoretical, experimental, and computational methods.

3.1 Initial state

The INITIAL STATE consists of the child’s initial knowledge state, the child’s existing learning capabilities, and the child’s learning biases. The initial knowledge can be defined by specifying what children already know by the time they are trying to learn the specific linguistic knowledge in question. This can be stipulated – for example, we might assume that children already know there are different grammatical categories before they learn the syntactic representation of some item in the language. However, this may also be assessed by experimental methods that can tell us what knowledge children seem to have at a particular point in development – for example, do they behave as if they have grammatical categories? Similarly, experimental methods can also be used to assess what learning capabilities and biases children have, e.g., whether they *can* use different inference procedures and whether they actually *do* in realistic learning scenarios.

We note that we are allowing a broad definition of “learning bias”, where “bias” simply represents a preference of some kind. Under this view, a learning bias can pertain to either the hypothesis space or the learning mechanism in some way. An example bias about the hypothesis space might

involve viewing the learning problem as a decision between two grammatical categories instead of three. An example bias about the learning mechanism might involve what update procedure to use, such as probabilistic inference (e.g., Pearl & Lidz, 2009; Yang, 2012) vs. a random step algorithm (e.g., Gibson & Wexler, 1994; Niyogi & Berwick, 1996; Sakas, 2003).

3.2 Data intake

The DATA INTAKE for a learning problem refers to the data children use for learning (Fodor, 1998), and is often a subset of the available input. In particular, the data intake is the subset of the available input that the child views as relevant or informative for the learning task at hand. This is defined by the prior knowledge and biases the child has in the initial state. For example, if children are biased to assume only direct evidence is relevant, they may ignore indirect evidence that could otherwise be informative. Once the information children use is defined, corpus analysis methods can often provide realistic estimates of the input children encounter.

3.3 Learning period

The LEARNING PERIOD defines how long children have to reach the target state. Experimental methods can provide information about the beginning and ending of the learning period, usually by assessing the knowledge children have at a particular age, as demonstrated by their behavior. For example, if the child's initial state must contain knowledge of grammatical categories, the learning period could not begin before children attain this knowledge. Similarly, target linguistic behavior is often used to assess whether children have learned the target knowledge – once children display this behavior, this marks the end of the learning period. Often in computational studies, the learning period is implemented as children receiving a specific amount of data, which is the amount they would encounter between the relevant ages. After that quantity of data, they should then reach the target state.

3.4 Target state

The TARGET STATE is often defined in terms of the knowledge children are trying to attain, though it is typically inferred from observable linguistic behavior. For example, Lidz et al. (2003) assessed knowledge of English anaphoric *one* in toddlers by measuring their looking preferences, which were similar to adult looking preferences. The basic idea is that when the observed behavior matches the target (adult) behavior in properly controlled experiments, it is because the underlying knowledge generating that behavior matches the target knowledge generating the adult behavior. This is an assumption, of course, but it allows empirical results pertaining to the target behavior to be a proxy for the target knowledge, whose exact form is specified by theoretical methods. Relatedly, it is useful to determine which knowledge states can generate the target behavior, as the target knowledge state may not be the only knowledge state capable of doing so. Thus, the target state can be specified by using both theoretical and experimental methods, and this is the approach we pursue here for learning English anaphoric *one*.

4 Defining the English anaphoric *one* learning problem

A learning problem concerning a specific aspect of knowledge about English anaphoric *one* has been vigorously debated in the literature (e.g., Baker (1978); Hornstein and Lightfoot (1981); Lightfoot (1982b); Crain (1991); Ramsey and Stich (1991); Pullum and Scholz (2002); Lidz et al. (2003); Akhtar, Callanan, Pullum, and Scholz (2004); Lidz and Waxman (2004); Regier and Gahl (2004); Tomasello (2004a); Sugisaki (2005); Gualmini (2007); Pearl (2007); Foraker et al. (2009); Pearl and Lidz (2009); Pearl and Mis (2011), among others). We first define this learning problem in terms of the components described above, and then review the learning strategies that have been investigated previously for this learning problem. We then present a new strategy that relies on indirect positive evidence.

4.1 Specifying the target state

4.1.1 Adult behavior and knowledge

Consider the scenario and utterance in (2).

- (2) Situation: The speaker sees a red bottle.
Utterance: *Look – a red bottle!*
Situation: The speaker then sees a purple bottle and a second red bottle.
Utterance: *Oh, look – another one!*

In this scenario, the most common interpretation seems to be that *one* refers to the second red bottle present, rather than the purple bottle. To get this interpretation, the referential expression in the second utterance is effectively interpreted as *another red bottle*. Syntactically, this means that the linguistic antecedent of *one* is the string *red bottle*. Referentially, because the antecedent includes the property red, this means the referent of *one* needs to be a RED BOTTLE (which the red bottle is), and not just a BOTTLE (which both the purple and red bottles are). Thus, the representation of *one* in this utterance requires both syntactic and referential components.

An influential theoretical framework has posited that the string *a red bottle* has the structure in Figure 2, shown in bracket notation in (3) (Chomsky, 1970; Jackendoff, 1977).

- (3) [NP a [N' red [N' [N⁰ bottle]]]]

The syntactic category N⁰ contains noun strings (e.g., *bottle*) only, and the category NP contains any noun phrase (e.g., *a red bottle*). The syntactic category N' is larger than N⁰ but smaller than NP, and can contain both noun strings (e.g., *bottle*) and modifier+noun strings (e.g., *red bottle*). Note that the noun-only string *bottle* can be labeled both as syntactic category N' and syntactic category N⁰ (this can be seen in Figure 2 and (3), where *bottle* projects to both N⁰ and N').²

²We note that while we use the labels N' and N⁰, other theoretical implementations may use different labels to distinguish these hierarchical levels. The actual labels themselves are immaterial – it is only relevant for our purposes that these levels are distinguished the way we have done here, i.e., that *red bottle* and *bottle* are the same label (N' here), while *bottle* can also be labeled with a smaller category label (N⁰ here). However, see discussion in Appendix I for alternate theoretical representations that additionally differentiate *red bottle* from *bottle*, which lead to similar

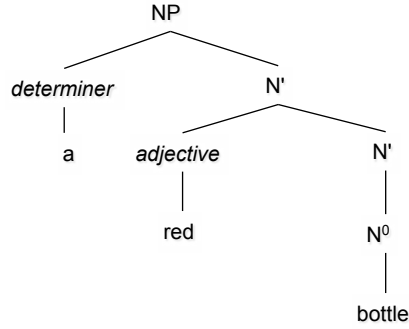


Figure 2: Phrase structure tree for *a red bottle*.

This theoretical framework also posits that an anaphoric element (like *one*) can only have a linguistic antecedent of the same syntactic category as the element itself. Since *one*'s antecedent can be *red bottle*, then *one* must be category N' in this context. Notably, if the syntactic category of *one* were instead N⁰, *one* could not have *red bottle* as its antecedent; instead, it could only have noun strings like *bottle*, and we would only be able to interpret the second utterance in (2) as *Oh, look – another **bottle**!* Since adults allow *one*'s antecedent to be *red bottle* (and its referent to be a RED BOTTLE) in this scenario, *one*'s syntactic category must be N' here.

One way to represent this adult knowledge of *one* for data like (2) is as in (4). On the syntactic side, the syntactic category of *one* is N' and so *one*'s antecedent is also N'. On the referential side, the referent has the property mentioned in the potential antecedent (e.g., *red*). This has a syntactic implication for *one*'s antecedent: The antecedent is the larger N' that includes the modifier (e.g., *red bottle*, rather than *bottle*).

- (4) Adult anaphoric *one* knowledge in utterances like
Look – a red bottle! Oh, look – another one!
- a. Syntactic structure: category N'
 - b. Semantic referent and antecedent: The referent of *one* has the mentioned property (*red*). So, *one*'s antecedent is [_{N'} *red* [_{N'} [_{N⁰} *bottle*]]] rather than [_{N'} [_{N⁰} *bottle*]].

Understanding a referential expression that involves the pronoun *one* draws on this knowledge, and can be formalized as part of a more general model of understanding a referential expression that involves any pronoun having a linguistic antecedent, shown in Figure 3 and described in more detail in Appendix A. Notably, both syntactic and referential information can be used by the learner to infer the linguistic antecedent, which identifies the pronoun's referent.

When interpreting a referential expression involving *one*, such as the utterance in (2), adults can use both their acquired syntactic and referential knowledge. On the syntactic side, they know that *one*'s category is N' (C=N') when it is used in this way. On the referential side, they know that a mentioned property should be included in the linguistic antecedent (i=yes). This combined

learning results as those presented below.

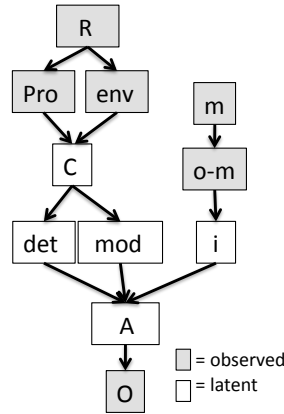


Figure 3: Model of understanding a referential expression that involves a pronoun. The variables correspond to (i) **syntactic** information (R = the referential phrase, Pro = the pronoun in the referential phrase, env = the syntactic environment of the pronoun, C = the syntactic category of the pronoun, det = whether a determiner is included in the antecedent, mod = whether a modifier is included in the antecedent), (ii) **referential** information (m = whether a property was mentioned in the potential linguistic antecedent, o-m = whether an object in the present context has the mentioned property, i = whether the mentioned property is included in the antecedent), (iii) the **linguistic antecedent** (A = the linguistic antecedent), and the (iv) **intended referent** (O = the intended referent, which is an object in our examples). All variables are discrete, with binary variables in lowercase.

knowledge then yields the antecedent (e.g., **A=red bottle**), and the knowledge that the referent should have the mentioned property (e.g., **O=RED BOTTLE**).

4.1.2 Child behavior and knowledge

To assess child knowledge of anaphoric *one* in these scenarios, Lidz et al. (2003) (henceforth **LWF**) observed the behavior of 18-month-olds in experimental scenarios designed to reveal how they were interpreting *one*. Using an intermodal preferential looking paradigm (Spelke, 1979; Golinkoff, Hirsh-Pasek, Cauley, & Gordon, 1987), LWF examined the looking behavior of 18-month-olds using the setup in (5):

(5) LWF experimental setup

a. **Habituation**

Example scenario: A red bottle appears on the screen.

Example utterance: “Look, a red bottle!”

b. **Test**

Example scenario: A red bottle and a purple bottle appear on the screen.

Example utterance: “Now look...”

(i) **Neutral**: “What do you see now?”

- (ii) **Noun-only:** “Do you see another bottle?”
- (iii) **Anaphoric:** “Do you see another one?”
- (iv) **Adjective-noun:** “Do you see another red bottle?”

For each of the test conditions, LWF measured the amount of time infants looked at the familiar bottle vs. the novel bottle (e.g., the red bottle vs. the purple bottle in (5b)). For both the Neutral condition (5b-i) and the Noun-only condition (5b-ii), 18-month-olds had a novelty preference, and looked to the familiar bottle approximately 45.9% of the time, which is significantly below chance. This indicated that their default preference was the same as their preference when asked to look for a *bottle*: to look at the object that was new (e.g., the purple bottle in (5b)). In contrast, for both the Anaphoric condition (5b-iii) and the Adjective-noun condition (5b-iv), 18-month-olds had a familiarity preference, and looked to the familiar bottle approximately 58.7% of the time, which is significantly above chance. This indicated that their preference when asked to interpret anaphoric *one* was the same as their preference when asked to explicitly look for another *red bottle*, and markedly different from their default novelty preference.³

LWF interpreted this to mean that by 18 months, children have acquired the same representation for anaphoric *one* that adults have.⁴ In particular, in this scenario, 18-month-olds interpret the linguistic antecedent of *one* to be the N' *red bottle*, and the referent of *one* to be a RED BOTTLE, rather than just any BOTTLE.

Importantly for our purposes, these experimental results also provide a useful specification of the target state behavior. In particular, when presented with the LWF experimental paradigm, the learner should display the same familiarity preference that 18-month-olds do when hearing an utterance containing anaphoric *one*, such as “Do you see another one?”.

4.2 Specifying the learning period

The LWF results suggest that learning should be completed by 18 months. But when would learning begin? Pearl and Lidz (2009) assumed that children would need to know grammatical categories before they would be able to learn about the representation of anaphoric *one*. They estimated this knowledge to be in place at 14 months at the earliest, based on experimental data supporting infant recognition of the category Noun and the ability to distinguish it from other categories such as Adjective at this age (Booth & Waxman, 2003). We adopt their assumptions, and specify the learning period as being between 14 months and 18 months.

³These probabilities were calculated by estimating the looking times from the figures in LWF, described below:

- (a) Neutral \approx 2.0 seconds for the familiar bottle, 2.5 seconds for the novel bottle
- (b) Noun-only \approx 2.65 seconds for the familiar bottle, 2.95 seconds for the novel bottle
- (c) Anaphoric \approx 2.75 seconds for the familiar bottle, 1.95 seconds for the novel bottle
- (d) Adjective-noun \approx 3.0 seconds for the familiar bottle, 2.1 seconds for the novel bottle.

An average was taken of the percentage of the time spent looking at the familiar bottle for the conditions causing a novelty preference (Neutral and Noun-only) and the conditions causing a familiarity preference (Anaphoric and Adjective-noun).

⁴Though see Tomasello (2004a) and Gualmini (2007) for critiques of LWF’s interpretation of their experiment and Lidz and Waxman (2004) for a rebuttal to Tomasello (2004a).

4.3 Specifying the data intake

The data intake is defined as any data the learner views as informative. Clearly, this determination must depend on the biases in the learner's initial state, which cause the learner to perceive some data as relevant and other data as irrelevant. It is useful to review the different data available to get a sense of what data might be considered informative, before describing the data that different learning proposals suggest is informative. A formal description of the properties of each data type with respect to the model of understanding a referential expression in Figure 3 is provided in Appendix B.

4.3.1 Direct positive evidence

There are several types of direct positive evidence that have been considered informative by prior learning strategies. The first is unambiguous data using anaphoric *one* (6), which are rare because they require a specific conjunction of situation and utterance, in addition to a potentially sophisticated reasoning process on the learner's part.

(6) Direct positive unambiguous (DIRUNAMB) example

Situation: Both a red bottle and a purple bottle are present.

Utterance: *Look – a red bottle! There isn't another one here, though.*

In (6), if the child mistakenly believes the referent is just a BOTTLE, then the antecedent of *one* is *bottle* – and it's surprising that the speaker would claim there isn't *another bottle here*, since another bottle is clearly present. In order to make sense of this data point, it must be that the referent is a RED BOTTLE. Since there isn't another red bottle present, the utterance is then a reasonable thing to say. The corresponding syntactic antecedent is *red bottle*, which has the syntactic structure $[_{N'} \text{red} [_{N^0} \text{bottle}]]$ and indicates *one*'s category is N' .

Another type of direct positive evidence involves *one* data that are ambiguous both with respect to *one*'s referent and to the syntactic category of *one*.

(7) Direct positive referentially and syntactically ambiguous (DIRREFSYNAMB) example

Situation: There are two red bottles present.

Utterance: *Look, a red bottle! Oh look– another one!*

Referentially and syntactically ambiguous data like (7) are unclear about both the properties of the referent and the category of *one*. In (7), if the child held the mistaken hypothesis that the referent was simply a BOTTLE (unlike the adult interpretation of a RED BOTTLE), this would not be disproven by this data point – there is in fact another bottle present. That it happens to be a red bottle would be viewed as merely a coincidence. The alternative hypothesis is that the referent is a RED BOTTLE (this is the adult interpretation), and so it's important that the other bottle present have the property red. Since both these options for referent are available, this data point is ambiguous referentially. This data point is ambiguous syntactically because of the possibility that the antecedent could be *bottle*, which is either N^0 or N' .

A third type of direct positive evidence involves *one* data that are ambiguous with respect only to the syntactic category of *one*.

- (8) Direct positive syntactically ambiguous (DIRSYNAMB) example

Situation: There are two bottles present.

Utterance: *Look, a bottle! Oh look – another one!*

Syntactically ambiguous data like (8) do not clearly indicate the category of *one*, even though the referent is clear. In (8), the referent must be a BOTTLE since the antecedent can only be *bottle*. But, is the syntactic structure $[_{N'} [_{N^0} \text{bottle}]]$ or just $[_{N^0} \text{bottle}]$? Notably, if the child held the mistaken hypothesis that *one* was category N^0 , this data point would not conflict with that hypothesis since it is compatible with the antecedent being $[_{N^0} \text{bottle}]$.

4.3.2 Indirect positive evidence

A type of indirect positive evidence available comes from data containing other pronouns (e.g., *it*, *him*, *her*) that have a linguistic antecedent. More specifically, because the ability for a linguistic element to stand in for a specific string is not unique to *one*, a learner may be able to learn something about how to interpret *one* by observing how to interpret these other pronouns. These other pronouns would unambiguously be category NP⁵, since they replace an entire noun phrase (NP) when they are used, as in (9):

- (9) Indirect positive unambiguous (INDIRUNAMB) example

Look at the cute penguin. I want to hug it.

\approx *Look at the cute penguin. I want to hug the cute penguin.*

antecedent = $[_{NP} \text{the } [_{N'} \text{cute } [_{N^0} \text{penguin}]]]$

The utility of these indirect positive data relates to the learner's preferences when encountering pronouns that have more than one potential antecedent, such as in DirRefSynAmb data like (7). In particular, if the learner tracks how often referents in general have the property mentioned, these indirect positive data will increase the learner's bias for a referent having the property. This is because all IndirUnamb data by necessity include the mentioned property in the NP antecedent (e.g., in (9), *cute* is included) and so the referent must have that property (e.g., in (9), the referent is a CUTE PENGUIN). This in turn could cause the learner to prefer that referents generally have the mentioned property and so, in ambiguous cases, the learner would then prefer an antecedent that includes that modifier (e.g., selecting *red bottle* instead of just *bottle* for the antecedent in (7).)

4.3.3 Corpus analysis of data types

Table 1 indicates the availability of the different data types in the learner's input, based on a corpus analysis of the Brown-Eve corpus (Brown, 1973) from the CHILDES database (MacWhinney, 2000). We chose the Eve corpus since it included naturalistic speech directed to a fairly young child (starting at the age of 18 months and continuing through 27 months), containing 17,521 child-directed speech utterances.⁶

⁵In fact, it turns out that *one* can also have an NP antecedent - see appendix C for discussion.

⁶See Appendix D for a more thorough breakdown of the corpus analysis we have conducted here.

Table 1: Data type frequencies

Data type	Brown-Eve
DirUnamb	0.00%
DirRefSynAmb	0.66%
DirSynAmb	7.52%
IndirUnamb	8.42%
Uninformative	83.4%

Notably, we did not find any DirUnamb data, which accords with Baker’s original intuition that such data are very scarce. The DirRefSynAmb data are fairly rare as well, while the DirSynAmb and IndirUnamb data appear much more frequently. Still, the majority of the data would be viewed as uninformative about the aspects of anaphoric *one* under consideration. These data include ungrammatical uses of anaphoric *one*, uses of *one* where no potential antecedent was mentioned in the previous linguistic context (e.g., *Do you want one?* with no previous linguistic context), and uses of pronouns as NPs where the antecedent did not contain a modifier (e.g., *Mmm – a cookie. Do you want it?*). This last kind of data is viewed as uninformative because NP data points can only help indicate whether a mentioned property is included in the antecedent (see discussion above in 4.3.2). If no property is mentioned, then the data point is uninformative as to whether the antecedent must contain the mentioned property.

4.4 Specifying the initial state

The initial state for the English anaphoric *one* learner has traditionally been thought to include the following basic syntactic knowledge (e.g., Baker, 1978; Hornstein & Lightfoot, 1981; Lightfoot, 1982a; Crain, 1991):

- (10) Prior knowledge in the initial state when learning about English anaphoric *one*
 - a. **SynCat**: Syntactic categories exist, in particular N^0 , N' , and NP.
 - b. **A=SameCat**: Anaphoric elements like *one* take linguistic antecedents of the same category.

Each proposed learning strategy has then added additional biases and/or capabilities. We first review prior strategies and then describe the indirect positive evidence strategy we propose.

4.4.1 Prior learning strategy proposals

The original strategy considered for this problem (Baker, 1978) assumed that only direct positive evidence was relevant, and that only unambiguous data were informative. This direct positive unambiguous strategy (**DirUnamb**) added the following to the initial state:

- (11) DirUnamb updated initial state

- a. **DirPos**: Use direct positive evidence for learning *one*.
- b. **Unamb**: Only unambiguous evidence for *one* is useful.

Baker (1978) assumed these data were too sparse for a learner to make the correct generalization about *one*, and subsequent corpus analyses (LWF’s and our own in section 4.3.3) verified that these data were far below what theory-neutral estimates would suggest is necessary for acquisition by 18 months (Legate & Yang, 2002; Yang, 2004, 2012).

The solution proposed by Baker (1978) was that children must know that anaphoric elements (like *one*) cannot be syntactic category N^0 . Instead, children automatically rule out that possibility from their hypothesis space, utilizing this prior linguistic knowledge.⁷ We call this the **DirUnamb + N'** strategy, and it updates the initial state as follows:

- (12) DirUnamb + N' updated initial state
- a. **DirPos**: Use direct positive evidence for learning *one*.
 - b. **Unamb**: Only unambiguous evidence for *one* is useful.
 - c. ***one* $\neq N^0$** : *One* is not category N^0 .

Regier and Gahl (2004) investigated a learning strategy that assumed children used probabilistic inference, and so were not restricted to learning only from unambiguous data. Instead, this learner leveraged DirRefSynAmb data by tracking how often the referent had the property that was mentioned (e.g., when *red* was mentioned, was the referent just a BOTTLE or specifically a RED BOTTLE?). If the referent keeps having the property mentioned in the potential antecedent (e.g., keeps being a RED BOTTLE), this is a suspicious coincidence unless *one*’s antecedent actually does include the modifier describing that property (e.g., *red bottle*). More specifically, the direct positive evidence of DirRefSynAmb data provides INDIRECT NEGATIVE evidence about *one* because a data point where the referent does not have the property mentioned in the potential antecedent (e.g., “Look – a red bottle! Look – another one!”, where *one*’s referent is a purple bottle) keeps NOT appearing. A probabilistic learner can take advantage of this suspicious coincidence.

From a learning standpoint, if the learner determines that the antecedent includes the modifier (e.g., *red bottle*), this indicates that *one*’s antecedent is N' , since N^0 cannot include modifiers. *One* would then be N' too, since it is the same category as its antecedent. The probabilistic learning strategy of Regier and Gahl (2004) did quite well, quickly converging on the adult generalizations when only DirRefSynAmb data were available in the input.

Pearl and Lidz (2009) noted that since children were learning the syntactic category of *one*, then an “equal-opportunity” (**EO**) probabilistic learner able to extract information from ambiguous data would also view DirSynAmb data as informative. Interestingly, they found that a probabilistic learner utilizing both DirRefSynAmb and DirSynAmb data (a **DirEO** learner) makes the wrong generalization about *one*’s syntactic category, preferring it to be N^0 . Since the harmful DirSynAmb data far outnumber the helpful DirUnamb and DirRefSynAmb data combined (about 20 to 1 in Pearl and Lidz (2009)’s corpus analysis and 11 to 1 in ours), Pearl and Lidz (2009) proposed

⁷Note that this proposal only deals with the syntactic category of *one* and does not provide a solution for how to choose between two potential antecedents that are both N' , such as *red bottle*: [N' *red* [N' [N^0 *bottle*]]] vs. *bottle*: [N' [N^0 *bottle*]]. It does, however, rule out the potential antecedent [N^0 *bottle*].

that a successful probabilistic learner would need to filter out the DirSynAmb data. We term this the **DirFiltered** learner, since it learns from direct positive evidence but filters out some of the ambiguous data. The initial state updates for the successful DirFiltered and unsuccessful DirEO strategies are shown in (13) and (14)

(13) DirFiltered updated initial state

- a. **DirPos**: Use direct positive evidence for learning *one*.
- b. **ProbInf**: Use the probabilistic inference capability so that indirect negative evidence can be leveraged.
- c. **-DirSynAmb**: Do not learn from DirSynAmb data.

(14) DirEO updated initial state

- a. **DirPos**: Use direct positive evidence for learning *one*.
- b. **ProbInf**: Use the probabilistic inference capability so that indirect negative evidence can be leveraged.

4.4.2 Current proposal: Indirect positive evidence

Here we consider a learning strategy that expands the data intake, rather than restricting it. In particular, we propose a probabilistic learning strategy that uses both direct positive evidence and indirect negative evidence, while also learning from the indirect positive evidence that comes from other pronoun data that have linguistic antecedents (**IndirPro**).

(15) IndirPro updated initial state

- a. **DirPos**: Use direct positive evidence for learning *one*.
- b. **ProbInf**: Use the probabilistic inference capability so that indirect negative evidence can be leveraged.
- c. **+OtherPro**: Use the indirect positive evidence coming from other pronoun data.

4.4.3 Learning strategy comparison

The knowledge, biases, and capabilities for all strategies are summarized in Table 2, and the data each strategy uses is summarized in Table 3. Table 4 illustrates how much data each learning strategy would view as informative, based on the corpus analysis in Table 1. This analysis draws on the estimated number of sentences children hear from birth until 18 months (Akhtar et al., 2004), which is approximately 1,000,000. From this, we calculate that the learner hears approximately 36,500 data points containing a referential pronoun between 14 and 18 months.⁸ Perhaps most strikingly, the strategies relying only on direct positive unambiguous data have no data to learn from at all.

⁸Specifically, 2,874 of the 17,521 utterances from the Eve corpus were referential data points containing a pronoun, which is approximately 16.4%. The number of utterances children would hear between 14 and 18 months is approximately $1,000,000 \times 4/18$, which is 222,222. We multiply 222,222 by 16.4% to get the number of referential pronoun data points heard during this period, which is 36,452, and we round that to 36,500.

Table 2: Knowledge, capabilities, and biases in the learner’s initial state for each learning strategy described (**DirUnamb**, **DirUnamb + N'**, **DirFiltered**, **DirEO**, **IndirPro**). Some knowledge and learning biases are shared by all strategies: (i) knowledge of certain grammatical categories (**SynCat**), (ii) knowledge that pronouns take antecedents of the same category (**A=SameCat**), (iii) a bias to use direct positive *one* evidence (**DirPos**). Others are not shared: (i) a bias to use only unambiguous evidence (**Unamb**), (ii) knowledge that *one* is not category N^0 ($one \neq N^0$), (iii) a bias to use the probabilistic inference capability so that indirect negative evidence can be leveraged (**ProbInf**), (iv) a bias to ignore direct positive syntactically ambiguous data (**-DirSynAmb**), and (v) a bias to use indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns (**+OtherPro**).

	SynCat	A=SameCat	DirPos
DirUnamb, DirUnamb + N', DirFiltered, DirEO, IndirPro	✓	✓	✓

	Unamb	$one \neq N^0$	ProbInf	-DirSynAmb	+OtherPro
DirUnamb	✓				
DirUnamb + N'	✓	✓			
DirFiltered			✓	✓	
DirEO			✓		
IndirPro			✓		✓

Table 3: Data intake for different learning strategies.

Data type	Example	Learning strategies
DirUnamb	<i>Look– a red bottle! There isn’t another one here, though.</i>	DirUnamb, DirUnamb + N', DirFiltered, DirEO, IndirPro
DirRefSynAmb	<i>Look– a red bottle! Oh, look– another one!</i>	DirFiltered, DirEO, IndirPro
DirSynAmb	<i>Look– a bottle! Oh, look– another one!</i>	DirEO, IndirPro
IndirUnamb	<i>Look a red bottle! I want it/one.</i>	IndirPro

5 Learning about *one*

We now present an online probabilistic learning framework that uses the different kinds of information available in the referential data types described above. We will use this framework to evaluate the different proposed learning strategies.

Table 4: Data intake for different learning strategies, derived from the corpus analysis of the Eve corpus.

	DirUnamb	DirUnamb + N'	DirFiltered	DirEO	IndirPro
DirUnamb	0	0	0	0	0
DirRefSynAmb	0	0	242	242	242
DirSynAmb	0	0	0	2743	2743
IndirUnamb	0	0	0	0	3073
Uninformative	36500	36500	36258	33515	30442

5.1 Formalizing target knowledge

The two components of the target knowledge for interpreting anaphoric *one* can be formalized using the model of understanding a referential expression in Figure 3.

(16) Target state knowledge

- a. **Syntactic:** When the syntactic environment indicates *one* is smaller than an NP (**env=<NP**), it is category N' (**C=N'**).
- b. **Referential:** When an object in the current context has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**), that property is included in the antecedent of *one* (**i=yes**).

Importantly for the update equations we will use in the online probabilistic learning framework, the variables of interest (**C** and **i**) can only take on two values in these situations: $C \in \{N', N^0\}$ when **env=<NP** and $i \in \{\text{yes}, \text{no}\}$ when **o-m=yes**. Our modeled learner will determine the probability associated with both syntactic and referential knowledge, specifically $p(C=N' \mid \text{env=<NP})$ and $p(i=\text{yes} \mid \text{o-m=yes})$. We represent the probability of the syntactic category being N' as $p_{N'}$ and the probability of the antecedent including the mentioned property as p_{incl} . If the target representation of *one* has been learned for the intended context, both probabilities should be near 1.

5.2 Learning target knowledge

We follow the update methods in Pearl and Lidz (2009), and use equation (17) adapted from Chew (1971), which assumes p comes from a binomial distribution and the beta distribution is used to estimate the prior. It is reasonable to think of both $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} as parameters in binomial distributions, given that each variable takes on only two values, as noted above.

$$p_x = \frac{\alpha + d_x}{\alpha + \beta + D_x}, \alpha = \beta = 1 \quad (17)$$

Parameters α and β represent a very weak prior when set to 1.⁹ The variable d_x represents how many informative data points indicative of x have been observed, while D_x represents the

⁹Before seeing any data at all, the learner effectively imagines that one data point has been observed in favor of

total number of potential x data points observed. After every informative data point, d_x and D_x are updated as in (18), and then p_x is updated using equation (17). The variable ϕ_x indicates the probability that the current data point is an example of an x data point. For unambiguous data, $\phi_x = 1$; for ambiguous data $\phi_x < 1$.

$$d_x = d_x + \phi_x \quad (18a)$$

$$D_x = D_x + 1 \quad (18b)$$

Probability $p_{N'}$ is updated for DirUnamb data, DirRefSynAmb ambiguous data, and DirSynAmb data only (IndirUnamb data indicate the category is not $<NP$ (**env=NP**), and so are uninformative for $p_{N'}$). Probability p_{incl} is updated for DirUnamb data, DirRefSynAmb data, and IndirUnamb data only (DirSynAmb data do not mention a property, and so are uninformative for p_{incl} since **o-m=N/A**).

The value of ϕ_x depends on data type. We can derive the values of $\phi_{N'}$ and ϕ_{incl} by doing probabilistic inference over the graphical model in Figure 3. The details of this inference are presented in Appendix E. Both $\phi_{N'}$ and ϕ_{incl} involve three free parameters: m , n , and s . Two of these, m and n , correspond to syntactic information: They refer to how often N' strings are observed to contain modifiers (m) (e.g., *red bottle*), as opposed to containing only nouns (n) (e.g., *bottle*). We will follow the corpus-based estimates Pearl and Lidz (2009) used for m and n , which are $m = 1$ and $n = 2.9$.¹⁰

The other parameter, s , corresponds to referential information: It indicates how many salient properties there are in the learner’s hypothesis space at the time the data point is observed. This determines how suspicious a coincidence it is that the object just happens to have the mentioned property, given that there are s salient properties the learner is aware of. It is unclear how best to empirically ground our estimate as it concerns what is salient to the child, which is not easily observable from existing empirical data. It may be that a child is only aware of a few salient properties out of all the properties known (e.g., PURPLE and IN MOMMY’S HAND for a purple bottle in Mommy’s hand). In contrast, it may be that the child considers all known properties, which we can conservatively estimate as the number of adjectives known by this age (e.g., Pearl and Lidz (2009) estimate 14- to 16-month-olds know approximately 49 adjectives, using the MacArthur CDI (Dale & Fenson, 1996)). We use $s=10$ in the simulations reported in section 6, but also explore a variety of values ranging from 2 to 49 in Appendix H. A value of $s = 10$ makes the learner believe it’s quite a suspicious coincidence that the referent just happens to have the mentioned property.

Table 5 shows a sample update after a single data point of each type at the beginning of learning when $p_{incl} = p_{N'} = 0.50$, using the values $m = 1$, $n = 2.9$, and $s = 10$.

For DirUnamb data, both ϕ_{incl} and $\phi_{N'}$ are 1, and so d_x is increased by 1. This leads to $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} both being increased. This is intuitively satisfying since DirUnamb data by definition are informative about both $p_{N'}$ (the syntactic category is indeed N') and p_{incl} (the mentioned property should indeed be included in the antecedent).

one value of the variable ($\alpha=1$) and one data point has been observed in favor of the other value of the variable ($\beta=1$). These numbers are quickly overwhelmed by actual observations of data.

¹⁰The actual numbers Pearl and Lidz (2009) found from their corpus analysis of N' strings were 119 modifier+noun N' strings to 346 noun-only N' strings, which is a ratio of 1 to 2.9.

Table 5: The value of $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} after one data point is seen at the beginning of learning when $p_{N'} = p_{incl} = 0.50$, $\alpha = \beta = 1$, $m = 1$, $n = 2.9$, and $s = 10$.

	$p_x = \frac{\alpha + d_x}{\alpha + \beta + D_x}, \alpha = \beta = 1$	
Data type	$p_{N'}$	p_{incl}
DirUnamb	0.67	0.67
DirRefSynAmb	0.59	0.53
DirSynAmb	0.48	0.50
IndirUnamb	0.50	0.67

For DirRefSynAmb data, both $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} are altered, based on their respective ϕ values, which are less than 1 but greater than 0. The exact ϕ value depends on current values of $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} (which are both 0.50 initially). After one DirRefSynAmb data point, $p_{N'}$ increases to 0.59, and p_{incl} increases to 0.53. This is again intuitively satisfying since the learner capitalizes on the suspicious coincidence that the intended object has the mentioned property, but is not as confident in this data point as the learner would be about a DirUnamb data point.

DirSynAmb data are only informative with respect to syntactic category, so only $p_{N'}$ is updated and only $\phi_{N'}$ has a value. Here, we see the misleading nature of the DirSynAmb data that Pearl and Lidz (2009) discovered, where these data cause the learner to believe that *one* is not category N' when it is smaller than NP. The formal details of why this occurs are described in Appendix F.

IndirUnamb data are only informative with respect to whether the mentioned property is included in the antecedent, so only p_{incl} is updated and only ϕ_{incl} has a value. Since these data are unambiguous, $\phi_{incl}=1$, which is intuitively satisfying. This leads to an increase in p_{incl} .

5.3 Formalizing and generating target behavior

Previous investigations have focused on learning the target knowledge for anaphoric *one* (Regier & Gahl, 2004; Foraker et al., 2009; Pearl & Lidz, 2009). However, we have empirical data about target behavior in 18-month-olds which we can also use to compare the different learning strategies. A successful learner will generate a familiarity preference in the anaphoric context (“*Look – a red bottle! Now look – do you see another one?*”), and look to the familiar bottle with probability 0.587. This contrasts with the baseline novelty preference when hearing “*Now look – what do you see now?*”, where 18-month-olds look to the familiar bottle with probability 0.459.

We can use almost the same graphical model shown in Figure 3 to calculate the probability of the learner looking at the referent that has the mentioned property (e.g., the familiar bottle) in the LWF experimental setup, which we represent as p_{beh} . The only difference is that the intended object \mathbf{O} is no longer an observed variable – instead, the child infers the intended object from the information available and looks to one of the two objects present. More specifically, given the utterances in the anaphoric context (e.g., “*Look – a red bottle! Now look – do you see another one?*”) and two objects present (a familiar one with the mentioned property and a novel one without), we

can calculate the probability that the learner looks to the familiar object. This probability depends on the learned values for $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} .

We describe the formal details of the probabilistic inference involved in calculating p_{beh} in Appendix G.1. This inference involves four free parameters: (i) the two described previously that are related to the syntactic information concerning modifier+noun and noun-only N' strings, m and n , and (ii) two new parameters that correspond to the baseline and adjusted familiarity looking preferences of 18-month-olds, b and a . The syntactic parameters retain the same empirically-derived values as before ($m=1$, $n=2.9$). The looking preference parameters are empirically derived from the LWF experiment, given baseline looking preferences with no referential expression or a noun-only expression like *bottle* and adjusted looking preferences with an anaphoric expression like *another one* or a modifier+noun expression like *red bottle* ($b = 0.459$, $a = 0.587$). A learner who can generate the observed toddler behavior should look to the familiar bottle in the anaphoric condition with $p_{beh}=0.587$.

In addition to assessing the probability of the observed 18-month-old behavior in the LWF experiment, we can also assess the assumption LWF made about interpreting their experiment: If children look at the object adults look at when adults have the target representation of anaphoric *one*, it means that the children also have the target representation. While this does not seem like an unreasonable assumption, it is worth verifying that this is true in our modeled learners. It is possible, for example, that children have a different representation, but look at the correct object by chance.

To formally answer this question, we can calculate the probability that the learner has the target representation, given that the learner has produced the target behavior in the experiment ($p_{rep|beh}$). This is, in effect, the contextually-constrained representation the learner is using, where the context is defined as the experimental setup. Probability $p_{rep|beh}$ can be calculated by using probabilistic inference over the slightly modified graphical model in Figure 3 that was used for calculating p_{beh} . The formal details of calculating $p_{rep|beh}$ are discussed in Appendix G.2. A learner who has the target representation when generating the target behavior should have $p_{rep|beh}=1$.

6 Results

Table 6 shows the results of the learning simulations over the different input sets with s (the number of properties salient to the learner when interpreting a data point during learning) set to 10. Each learner's input was drawn from the distribution in Table 4. Averages over 1000 runs are reported for each learning strategy, with standard deviations in parentheses.

6.1 Previous learning strategies

A few observations can be made. First, since the DirUnamb learner uses only DirUnamb data in its intake and since these data were not found in our dataset, this learner effectively learns nothing. Thus, the DirUnamb learner remains completely uncertain whether *one* is N' when it is smaller than NP ($p_{N'}=0.500$) and whether the antecedent includes the mentioned property ($p_{incl}=0.500$). Given these general non-preferences, it does not generate the target adjusted looking time preference

Table 6: Probabilities after learning, with $s=10$, which is the number of properties salient to the learner when interpreting a data point. Note that the target value of $p_{beh} = 0.587$, while all other target values are 1.000.

	DirUnamb	DirUnamb + N'	DirFiltered	DirEO	IndirPro
$p_{N'}$	0.500 (<0.01)	1.000	0.991 (<0.01)	0.246 (0.06)	0.368 (0.04)
p_{incl}	0.500 (<0.01)	0.500 (<0.01)	0.963 (<0.01)	0.379 (0.18)	1.000 (<0.01)
p_{beh}	0.475 (<0.01)	0.492 (<0.01)	0.574 (<0.01)	0.464 (0.04)	0.587 (<0.01)
$p_{rep beh}$	0.158 (<0.01)	0.306 (<0.01)	0.918 (<0.01)	0.050 (0.11)	0.998 (<0.01)

for the LWF experiment ($p_{beh}=0.475$) – it instead retains its novelty preference, and looks less frequently at the familiar bottle. If it happens to look at the familiar bottle, it is fairly unlikely to have the target representation ($p_{rep|beh}=0.158$). Specifically, if the DirUnamb learner looks at the bottle with the mentioned property, it has only a 15.8% of doing so because it has the same antecedent as adults do. Thus, learning from DirUnamb data alone runs into an induction problem, as Baker (1978) (and many others) supposed and we affirm here.

Baker’s solution was that the learner had a learning bias involving the knowledge that *one* was not category N^0 , which would make it N' in this context. Thus, the DirUnamb + N' learner already knows $p_{N'}=1.000$. While this learner has the correct syntactic representation, it still has no data to learn from, and so it learns nothing about whether the antecedent includes the mentioned property ($p_{incl}=0.5$). Because of this, like the DirUnamb learner, it also does not generate the target familiarity preference for the LWF experiment ($p_{beh}=0.492$) and is fairly unlikely to have the target representation if it happens to do so ($p_{rep|beh}=0.306$). So, this learning strategy appears insufficient to generate the target behavior observed at 18 months, even though it has the target syntactic knowledge.

For the DirFiltered learner, previous studies (Regier & Gahl, 2004; Pearl & Lidz, 2009) found that this learner has a very high probability of acquiring the target representation. We replicate this qualitative result here ($p_{N'}=0.991$, $p_{incl}=0.963$). In addition, we also observe that this learner can generate a familiarity preference that is nearly as strong as the observed familiarity preference in 18-month-olds ($p_{beh}=0.574$), and is quite likely to have the target representation when doing so ($p_{rep|beh}=0.918$). This new finding suggests that not only can a learner using this strategy learn the target knowledge state, but it can generate the target behavior and have the target representation when doing so.

For the DirEO learner, Pearl and Lidz (2009) found that this learner has a very low probability of learning the adult representation. We replicate this qualitative result here ($p_{N'}=0.246$, $p_{incl}=0.379$). In addition, we also observe that this learner does not generate a familiarity preference ($p_{beh}=0.464$), and is very unlikely to have the target representation if it happens to look to the familiar bottle ($p_{rep|beh}=0.050$). This new finding suggests that not only can a learner using this strategy not learn the target knowledge state, but it also fails to generate the target behavior and does not have the target representation if it happens to do so.

6.2 The indirect positive evidence learning strategy

Turning now to the IndirPro learner, we see that including the indirect positive evidence of IndirUnamb data allows this learner to learn that the antecedent should include the mentioned property ($p_{incl}=1.000$). This seems intuitively satisfying as this probability is exactly what IndirUnamb data boost. However, this learner also has a moderate dispreference for believing *one* is N' when it is smaller than an NP ($p_{N'}=0.368$). That is, this learner is inclined to incorrectly believe that *one* is category N^0 in general, which is not the target syntactic knowledge.

Interestingly, this lack of the target syntactic knowledge does NOT prevent the IndirPro learner from generating the observed toddler familiarity preference ($p_{beh}=0.587$) and having the target representation when doing so ($p_{rep|beh}=0.998$). How can this be?

This behavior is due to the linguistic context in the experiment, where a property is mentioned in the potential antecedent. Because the learner believes so strongly that a mentioned property must be included in the antecedent (e.g., the antecedent is *red bottle* rather than *bottle*), the only representation that allows this (e.g., [N' *red* [N' [N^0 *bottle*]]]) overpowers the other potential representations' probabilities. Thus, the IndirPro learner will conclude the antecedent includes the mentioned property, and so it and the pronoun referring to it (*one*) must be N' IN THIS CONTEXT – even if the learner believes *one* is not N' in general.

In effect, LWF's strict interpretation of their results does not hold – generating target behavior in this context does not necessarily indicate that the learner has the target knowledge in general. Nonetheless, LWF were not mistaken in assuming that learners should have the target representation in this context when they generate the target behavior, as this probability is very high for the IndirPro learner ($p_{rep|beh}=0.998$).

What exactly does this learning outcome mean for the IndirPro learner? First, this learner will succeed in having the target representation whenever a property is mentioned in the potential antecedent (e.g. “*Look – a red bottle!*”). These data include the LWF experimental setup, as well as DirUnamb, DirRefSynAmb, and IndirUnamb data points.

However, when no property is mentioned in the potential antecedent, such as in DirSynAmb data points (e.g., “*Look – a bottle!*”), this learner will not have the target representation. While it will believe the antecedent is, e.g., *bottle*, it will assume that string is category N^0 instead of N' , due to the low probability of $p_{N'}$ and the fact that the high probability of p_{incl} cannot help since no property was mentioned. Nonetheless, this mistake will NOT impede communicative success, since the referent is the same in either case (a BOTTLE). Thus, this mistake is unlikely to be detected by either the learner or the people the learner communicates with.

Still, there are scenarios when the mistake would be detected. In particular, this learner would find utterances grammatical that use *one* as an N^0 , such as **I drank from the edge of the cup while you drank from the one of the bowl*. In contrast, adults who only allow *one* as N' when it is smaller than NP will not find this grammatical. It is currently unknown when children attain this specific linguistic knowledge about *one*, though grammatical judgment methodology (Ambridge & Rowland, 2013) could likely be used to find out.

Since it seems that the immature representation would only rarely fail for communication purposes (in particular, for the scenario described above), it may be that children do not attain this knowledge for quite some time. Foraker et al. (2009) demonstrate a successful probabilistic learn-

ing strategy for learning that *one* is N' in general, which is the key difference between the immature and adult representations. This strategy relies on fairly sophisticated conceptual knowledge linked to syntactic representations and draws on indirect negative evidence about how *one* is used when compared to nouns like *edge*. If it turns out that children do not attain the adult representation of *one* until significantly later in development, it may be that they have acquired the conceptual knowledge and links to syntactic representation necessary to use this strategy.

6.3 Summary of results

Table 7 summarizes the results of the different learning strategies. The unsuccessful strategies include learners who use only direct positive unambiguous data (DirUnamb, DirUnamb + N), as well as a probabilistic learner that leverages all the information from the direct positive data (DirEO). The two strategies successful at generating the target behavior both use probabilistic inference, but one filters the data intake down to a subset of the direct positive data (DirFiltered) while the other expands the data intake to include indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns (IndirPro). These two strategies differ on the knowledge state they reach. While the DirFiltered learner reaches the target knowledge state, the IndirPro learner learns an immature context-sensitive representation of *one* that nonetheless suffices quite well in many communicative contexts.¹¹

Table 7: Comparison of learning strategy results.

	DirUnamb	DirUnamb + N'	DirFiltered	DirEO	IndirPro
target knowledge state			✓		
target behavior			✓		✓

7 Discussion

7.1 General discussion of results

Through this empirically-grounded computational modeling study, we have identified two learning strategies capable of generating the observable anaphoric *one* behavior in 18-month-olds. One strategy (DirFiltered) restricts the data intake of learners to a subset of the direct positive data and generates this behavior from a knowledge state similar to that of adults. The other strategy (IndirPro) expands the data intake to include all direct positive data as well as some indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns, and is able to generate the observable behavior without having the adult knowledge state. Instead, an immature context-dependent representation of anaphoric

¹¹Interestingly, the IndirPro learner is more robust to variation in the learning environment – see Appendix H, which demonstrates that the DirFiltered learner requires a sufficiently high value of s to succeed, which controls how suspicious a coincidence it is that the intended referent just happens to have the mentioned property. In contrast, the IndirPro's learning results remain invariant across s values.

one underlies the observable behavior, though this representation notably functions quite well in many communicative contexts. This underscores that even if children demonstrate they have the adult interpretation some of the time (by displaying adult-like behavior), they do not necessarily have the adult representation all of the time. Nonetheless, both these learners have clearly made useful syntactic generalizations since they lead to target behavior in 18-month-olds, and it is worthwhile to consider the components of the learning strategies that allowed them to do so. With this in mind, we examine the strategy components for each and discuss possible origins for these components as well as their utility for making other syntactic generalizations.

7.2 Strategy components and possible origins

The two successful strategies share several components while differing on a single component (recall Table 2). First, they each have knowledge of certain grammatical categories (SynCat), in particular NP, N', and N⁰. It is possible that these categories can be derived from using distributional clustering strategies (e.g., frequent frames (Mintz, 2003, 2006)) or other distributional cues (Gerken, Wilson, & Lewis, 2005). On the other hand, it may be necessary to have innate language-specific knowledge (e.g., as part of Universal Grammar) to pick out the crucial categorical distinctions (e.g., N' vs. N⁰).

Another shared component is the knowledge that anaphoric elements take linguistic antecedents of the same category (A=SameCat). It may be possible to derive this knowledge through statistical learning techniques. As an example, perhaps a learner could observe the linguistic antecedents of anaphoric elements where the antecedent is unambiguous (e.g., “*Those two penguins are really cute – I like them a lot*”, with *them* unambiguously referring to *those two penguins*). From this, the learner might then determine that anaphoric elements and their antecedents share distributional environments, and so are the same category. On the other hand again, it is possible that the relevant data are too sparse or noisy, and so this knowledge must be available innately instead, e.g., as part of Universal Grammar.

Two other shared components are the bias to learn from the available direct positive evidence (DirPos) and the bias to use the probabilistic inference learning ability (ProbInf) to leverage indirect negative evidence. Both of these are likely to be basic innate, domain-general learning biases, as they are useful not only for making linguistic generalizations but also for learning many other kinds of knowledge.

The DirFiltered learner’s strategy incorporates an additional bias (–DirSynAmb) to filter out a certain kind of ambiguous direct positive data: the DirSynAmb data, such as “*Look – a bottle! Oh look – another one!*”. Pearl and Lidz (2009) suggest that this bias could come from a preference for learning only when there is uncertainty about the referent, as opposed to when there is uncertainty about the syntactic category. This preference would cause the learner to ignore these data, since the referent is clear (BOTTLE above), even if the syntactic category is not. However, it is unclear where this priority for referential ambiguity comes from. It is possible that this language-specific bias is available innately as part of Universal Grammar, but perhaps it could be derived from some more general principle of communicative efficacy where the learner is particularly attentive when there is ambiguity in comprehension.

The IndirPro learner’s strategy, in contrast, incorporates an additional bias (+OtherPro) to expand the data intake to include an additional type of indirect positive data involving other pronouns: the IndirUnamb data, such as “*Look – a blue bottle! Do you want it?*”. In order to do this, this learner must know that *one* is similar to other pronouns, even though it appears in a syntactic environment that they do not (*another one*, but **another it*). While it is possible that this knowledge is specified innately as part of Universal Grammar, it may also be possible for a learner to derive this knowledge by developing an overhypothesis about how pronouns are used, with *one* being one specific instantiation and other pronouns being other related instantiations of that overhypothesis.

A very important question for future research is clear from the description of these strategy components: for each component that is *possibly* derivable, can we find a way to *actually* derive it from realistic data? This would require us to create a concrete learning model whose target state is the appropriate knowledge or bias in each case. If we can demonstrate how a given component is derived, we can then ask what knowledge, capabilities, and learning biases were necessary to do so – and then investigate where those components might come from, until we identify the core undervivable components. These are then the innate components necessary for making this linguistic generalization.

In fact, it is likely two of the components above (DirPos and ProbInf) are not derivable, and are instead innate core components of linguistic (and other) learning. However, perhaps more interestingly for the question of domain-general vs. domain-specificity of innate learning biases, it may turn out that some of the other components mentioned above (SynCat, A=SameCat, –DirSynAmb, and +OtherPro) are not in fact derivable, in which case we have already identified some innate, language-specific components. If this is true, these components would then become concrete examples of what Universal Grammar consists of, with respect to a particular syntactic phenomenon, which is something that critics of Universal Grammar have often asked for (e.g. Tomasello, 2004b). In any case, once we have identified innate components and how they operate within a given learning strategy, we not only have specified crucial pieces involved in the learning process, but we have a proposal for exactly *how* they make the learning process work with respect to learning about English anaphoric *one*.

7.3 The utility of learning strategy components

A reasonable question is then how general-purpose these components are: Are they components a learner could use to construct successful learning strategies for acquiring other linguistic knowledge besides anaphoric *one*? In fact, even if we are unsure whether a component is a core learning component or instead derived through linguistic experience, we can still explore whether it would be useful for learning other things. The way to do this is to construct successful learning strategies for other linguistic phenomena and see if they make use of these same components. We now speculate briefly about the components described above.

We might reasonably expect that innate core components are fairly general-purpose. The biases to use direct positive evidence (DirPos) and probabilistic inference (ProbInf), which are good candidates for innate core components, do seem likely to be very useful for learning other knowledge (e.g., Tenenbaum & Griffiths, 2001; Yang, 2004; Xu & Tenenbaum, 2007; Pearl, 2011; Perfors, Tenenbaum, & Regier, 2011). Turning to the components which may be derivable, syntactic cate-

gory knowledge (SynCat), though specifically about NP, N' and N⁰ here, seems a fairly fundamental component for learning syntactic knowledge more generally since representations of syntactic knowledge typically assume the syntactic category of the word has already been identified (e.g., any knowledge based on phrase structure). It simply may be that other categorical distinctions are relevant, depending on the specific syntactic knowledge to be learned. Similarly, knowing that anaphoric elements take antecedents of the same category (A=SameCat) seems fundamental for learning about referential elements more generally.

The bias to shrink the data intake and ignore data that are not referentially ambiguous (–DirSynAmb) may be a specific instantiation of a bias for communicative efficacy – namely, if comprehension is “good enough”, then learners would be unconcerned about improving linguistic knowledge about the utterance. In this case, “good enough” means the correct referent is understood, even if the syntactic category is incorrect. This approach works for English anaphoric *one* by filtering out misleading syntactically ambiguous (DirSynAmb) data, and it is possible that it would cause learners to filter out potentially misleading data for other syntactic phenomena as well.

The bias to expand the data intake and learn from other pronoun data (+OtherPro) is a specific instantiation of a bias to learn from indirect positive evidence. For this bias, recent studies have already suggested that using indirect positive evidence is a crucial component of successful strategies for learning about both fundamental and fairly sophisticated aspects of syntactic knowledge (hierarchical structure of syntactic representations: Perfors, Tenenbaum, and Regier (2011); syntactic islands: Pearl and Sprouse (2013, in press)). Thus, this component already has demonstrable utility for learning syntactic knowledge more generally.

8 Conclusion

In this paper, we have investigated how children make syntactic generalizations, using the acquisition of knowledge about English anaphoric *one* as a case study. We have applied two core ideas. First, if children leverage any data deemed informative, they may draw on indirect positive evidence during acquisition, expanding their data intake beyond the direct evidence available. Second, we can empirically ground the target state of learning by drawing on behavioral data from children, with the idea that a successful learning strategy should allow the learner to acquire linguistic knowledge capable of generating that target behavior. We have demonstrated that one successful strategy for English anaphoric *one* is a probabilistic learning strategy using indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns. Interestingly, the knowledge underlying this learner’s target behavior is an immature context-dependent representation that nonetheless functions quite well in many communicative contexts. Whether the knowledge representations are the target ones or are instead transitory ones, it is important to understand what components comprise the learning strategies that lead to children’s observable syntactic behavior. To this end, we have provided a concrete framework for investigating learning strategies that draws on empirical results in theoretical, experimental, and computational research. By identifying precisely what children are learning, when they are learning it, and what they’re learning it from, we can better understand how they are able to do it so well.

9 Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to Vance Chung and Erika Webb for their assistance with the corpus analysis. In addition, we have benefited from some very enlightening suggestions and discussion from LouAnn Gerken, Jeff Lidz, Max Bane, Morgan Sonderegger, Greg Kobele, Ming Xiang, Sue Braunwald, several anonymous reviewers, the Computation of Language laboratory at UC Irvine, the 2010 Computational Models of Language Learning seminar at UC Irvine, and the audiences at the NYU 2012 Linguistics Colloquium, the UChicago 2011 workshops on Language, Cognition, and Computation and Language, Variation, and Change, as well as the audiences at CogSci 2011. All errors are, of course, our own and not at all their fault. In addition, this research was supported by NSF grant BCS-0843896 to LP.

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A Understanding a referential expression

Understanding a referential expression that involves a pronoun with a linguistic antecedent (e.g., “*Look - a red bottle! Oh look – another one!*”) draws on both syntactic and referential information, formalized in the model in Figure 3. The variables in the model can take on the values shown in Table 8, which we describe in more detail here.

Table 8: Variable values in referential data points. Observable variables are in **bold**. Note that if no property was mentioned (**m=no**), the decision as to whether an object present has the mentioned property is moot (**o-m=N/A**), as is the decision to include the mentioned property in the antecedent (**i=N/A**).

$\mathbf{R} \in \{\textit{another one}, \textit{it}, \text{etc.}\}$ $\mathbf{Pro} \in \{\textit{one}, \textit{it}, \text{etc.}\}$ $\mathbf{env} \in \{<\mathbf{NP}, \mathbf{NP}\}$ $\mathbf{C} \in \{\mathbf{NP}, \mathbf{N}', \mathbf{N}^0\}$ $\mathbf{det} \in \{\text{yes}, \text{no}\}$ $\mathbf{mod} \in \{\text{yes}, \text{no}\}$	$\mathbf{m} \in \{\text{yes}, \text{no}\}$ $\mathbf{o-m} \in \{\text{yes}, \text{no}, \text{N/A}\}$ $\mathbf{i} \in \{\text{yes}, \text{no}, \text{N/A}\}$
$\mathbf{A} \in \{\textit{a red bottle}, \textit{red bottle}, \textit{bottle}, \text{etc.}\}$ $\mathbf{O} \in \{\text{RED BOTTLE}, \text{PURPLE BOTTLE}, \text{etc.}\}$	

Beginning with the syntactic information (shown on the lefthand side of Figure 3 and Table 8), **R** is the referential phrase itself, i.e., the words used in the referential expression, such as *another one* or *it*. This is observable from the data point, and from this, the learner can observe the pronoun used in the referential expression (**Pro**), e.g., *one* or *it*. In addition, from **R**, the learner can observe the syntactic environment (**env**) of the referential pronoun. In particular, the learner can observe whether the pronoun is used in an environment that indicates it is smaller than a noun phrase (**env=<NP**), such as *another one*, or instead is in an environment that indicates it is a noun phrase (**env=NP**), such as *it*. The values of **Pro** and **env** are used to infer the syntactic category (**C**) of the pronoun, which could be \mathbf{N}^0 , \mathbf{N}' , or \mathbf{NP} . The learner assumes the syntactic category of the pronoun is the same as the syntactic category of the linguistic antecedent, and so uses the syntactic category information from **C** to infer two properties of the linguistic antecedent: (1) if the antecedent includes a determiner (**det=yes**) or not (**det=no**), and (2) if the antecedent includes a modifier (**mod=yes**) or not (**mod=no**). If **C=NP**, both a determiner and modifier must be included if present (**det=yes, mod=yes**); if **C=N'**, a determiner is not possible (**det=no**) though a modifier is and so may either be included (**mod=yes**) or not (**mod=no**); if **C=N⁰**, neither a determiner nor a modifier is possible (**det=no, mod=no**). All of these variables depend on the syntactic information available from the data point.

Moving to referential information (shown on the righthand side of Figure 3 and Table 8), **m** concerns whether a property was mentioned in the potential linguistic antecedent, e.g., *Look – a red bottle* (**m=yes**) vs. *Look – a bottle* (**m=no**). If a property is mentioned, **o-m** concerns whether a referent (object) in the present context has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**) or not (**o-m=no**). Both these variables’ values can be observed from the previous linguistic context (**m**) and the

current environment (**o-m**). If an object in the present context has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**), the learner will infer whether the property should be included in the linguistic antecedent (**i=yes**) or not (**i=no**), which concerns the speaker’s intentions (specifically, did the speaker intend to refer to that property when identifying the referent?) All these variables can be thought of as concerning the referential intentions of the speaker.

Both syntactic information (**det**, **mod**) and referential information (**i**) are used to infer the linguistic antecedent (**A**) of the referential pronoun, e.g., *red bottle* vs. *bottle*. Only certain combinations of variable values are licit when a property is mentioned (**m=yes**), due to the constraints placed on the antecedent by **mod** and **i**.¹²

- (a) **det=yes**, **mod=yes**, **i=yes** yielding e.g., **A= a red bottle**
- (b) **det=no**, **mod=yes**, **i=yes** yielding e.g., **A= red bottle**
- (c) **det=no**, **mod=no**, **i=no** yielding e.g., **A= bottle**

The antecedent is used to infer the intended object (**O**). Notably, despite this depending on the linguistic antecedent **A**, the actual intended referent is often observable from context, which is why we have indicated it as an observed variable in Figure 3 and Table 8. That is, the learner can often observe what object is the intended referent, even if the linguistic antecedent is ambiguous. For example, consider an utterance like “*Look – a red bottle! Oh, look – another one!*” in a scenario with two red bottles present. Even if it is unclear whether the antecedent is *red bottle* or *bottle*, since both are compatible with the second object present (a RED BOTTLE), the basic point is that the listener knows which object is intended as *one*’s referent (the second RED BOTTLE). Thus, though the intended referent depends on the latent variable **A**, the learner can often observe what properties the intended object **O** has, e.g., whether it is a RED BOTTLE or not.

B Formal description of data types

Table 9 formalizes the properties of each of these data types with respect to the model of understanding a referential expression in Figure 3. It can be easily observed where the ambiguities arise for each data type, based on the variables that have more than one value.

DirUnamb data like “*Look – a red bottle. There doesn’t seem to be another one here, though*” have a referential expression **R** such as *another one*, which uses the pronoun *one* (**Pro=one**) and indicates the pronoun is smaller than an NP (**env=<NP**). In addition, a property is mentioned in the potential linguistic antecedent (**m=yes**) and an object in the present context has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**) – specifically, the intended referent has the mentioned property, even though it’s not physically present (e.g., **O=RED BOTTLE**). Because these data are unambiguous, the learner can infer the antecedent **A** (e.g., *red bottle*), which indicates that the property is included in the

¹²In particular, **mod** and **i** must agree. If **mod=no** and **i=yes**, the referential intention is to include the mentioned property in the antecedent (**i=yes**), but there is no place syntactically for the property to go, as no modifier is possible (**mod=no**). This would be the case for category **N⁰**. If **mod=yes** and **i=no**, the referential intention is not to include the property (**i=no**), but the syntax requires a modifier to be present (**mod=yes**) – and this is impossible as no property can fill the modifier slot. In addition, if **mod** (and so **i**) = **no**, **det** ≠ **yes** since including a determiner (**det=yes**) necessarily includes any modifier present (requiring **mod=yes**) due to the structure of NPs (see Figure 2’s phrase structure tree).

Table 9: Data types and variable values. Observable variables are in **bold**. Multiple values indicate ambiguity for that variable.

Variable	DirUnamb	DirRefSynAmb	DirSynAmb	IndirUnamb
R	ex: <i>another one</i>	ex: <i>another one</i>	ex: <i>another one</i>	ex: <i>it</i>
Pro	<i>one</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>one</i>	ex: <i>it</i>
env	<NP	<NP	<NP	NP
C	N'	N', N ⁰	N', N ⁰	NP
det	no	no	no	yes
mod	yes	yes, no	no	yes
m	yes	yes	no	yes
o-m	yes	yes	N/A	yes
i	yes	yes, no	N/A	yes
A	ex: <i>red bottle</i>	ex: <i>red bottle, bottle</i>	ex: <i>bottle</i>	ex: <i>a red bottle</i>
O	ex: RED BOTTLE	ex: RED BOTTLE	ex: BOTTLE	ex: RED BOTTLE

antecedent (**i=yes**) on the referential side, while a modifier is included in the antecedent (**mod=yes**) and a determiner is not included (**det=no**) on the syntactic side. Given that a modifier is included, the category **C** must be N'.

Similar to DirUnamb data, DirRefSynAmb data like “*Look – a red bottle. Oh, look – another one*” have a referential expression **R** such as *another one*, which uses the pronoun *one* (**Pro=one**) and indicates the pronoun is smaller than an NP (**env=<NP**). In addition, a property is mentioned in the potential linguistic antecedent (**m=yes**) and an object in the present context has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**) – specifically, the intended referent has the mentioned property (e.g, **O=RED BOTTLE**). However, because these data are ambiguous, it is unclear whether the antecedent **A** includes the mentioned property as a modifier or not (e.g., *red bottle* vs. *bottle*). Thus, while it is clear the determiner is not included (**det=no**), it is unclear whether the mentioned property is included in the modifier position (**i=yes, no, mod=yes, no**). Because of this, it is also unclear whether the syntactic category **C** is N' or N⁰.

Like DirUnamb and DirRefSynAmb data, DirSynAmb data like “*Look – a bottle. Oh, look – another one*” have a referential expression **R** such as *another one*, which uses the pronoun *one* (**Pro=one**) and indicates the pronoun is smaller than an NP (**env=<NP**). However, a property is not mentioned in the potential linguistic antecedent (**m=no**) and so it is moot whether an object in the present context has the mentioned property (**o-m=N/A**) – in particular, it does not matter what properties the intended referent has (e.g, **O=BOTTLE**). Nonetheless, given the nature of these data, the learner can infer the antecedent **A** (e.g., *bottle*), which indicates that no determiner or modifier is included in the antecedent (**det=no, mod=no**). Because no property was mentioned, it is moot whether the mentioned property is included in the antecedent (**i=N/A**). Nonetheless, it is unclear from the antecedent whether the category **C** is N' or N⁰.

IndirUnamb data like “*Look – a red bottle. I want it*” have a referential expression **R** such as *it*, which uses a pronoun such as *it* (**Pro=it**) and indicates the pronoun is category NP (**env=NP**,

C=NP). In addition, a property is mentioned in the potential linguistic antecedent (**m=yes**) and an object in the present context has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**) – specifically, the intended referent has the mentioned property (e.g., **O=RED BOTTLE**). Because these data are unambiguous, the learner can infer the antecedent **A** (e.g., *a red bottle*), which indicates that the property is included in the antecedent (**i=yes**) on the referential side, while a modifier and determiner are included in the antecedent (**mod=yes**, **det=yes**) on the syntactic side.

C Data that use *one* as an NP

There are data demonstrating that *one* can also have an NP antecedent, as in (17). Though these data do involve *one*, they have not traditionally been considered as part of the direct positive evidence when learning whether *one* is N' or N^0 in certain contexts because *one*'s syntactic category is unambiguously NP in these data. As such, we classify them as the indirect positive evidence here, since they will function the same way as indirect positive evidence coming from other pronouns (see section B for discussion).

(17) Indirect positive unambiguous (INDIRUNAMB) example involving *one*

Look! A red bottle. I want one.

\approx *Look! A red bottle. I want a red bottle.*

antecedent = [_{NP} a [_{N'} red [_{N'} [_{N⁰} bottle]]]]

We emphasize that the issue of *one*'s syntactic category only occurs when *one* is being used in a syntactic environment that indicates it is smaller than NP (such as in the utterances in (2), (6), and (7), and (8)). This shows that *one* clearly has some categorical flexibility, since it can function as both NP and smaller than NP. However, it appears to be conditional on the linguistic context, rather than being a probabilistic choice for any given context. For example, it is not the case that *one* can alternate between NP and N' in a particular context. Instead, in (17) it is always NP, while in direct positive unambiguous (DirUnamb) utterances like (6), it is always N' . We will assume (along with previous studies) that children prefer referential elements to have as few categories as possible (ideally, just a single category), which is why they must choose between N' and N^0 when *one* is smaller than NP for ambiguous examples like (2), (7), and (8).

D Frequency of different pronouns in the input

Since the IndirPro learner uses all informative pronoun data, we included all available personal pronouns in our corpus analysis. Table 10 shows the distribution of the pronouns observed in the Eve corpus (Brown, 1973). We note that not all these pronouns belonged to informative data points (where informative is defined as in section 4.3.3). From this distribution, we can see that *it* is the most frequent pronoun, which makes up the bulk of the IndirUnamb examples in the IndirPro strategy's data intake.

Table 10: Pronoun frequencies in the Eve corpus.

Pronoun	Frequency	%
it	1538	53.7%
he	321	11.2%
one<NP	302	10.5%
them	182	6.4%
she	165	5.8%
they	142	5.0%
her	80	2.8%
him	76	2.7%
one=NP	52	1.8%
itself	3	0.1%
himself	1	<0.1%
total	2862	100%

E Deriving $\phi_{N'}$ and ϕ_{incl}

The values $\phi_{N'}$ and ϕ_{incl} are used for updating $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} , respectively, which are the probabilities associated with the target syntactic ($p_{N'}$) and referential (p_{incl}) representation for anaphoric *one*. We can derive the values of $\phi_{N'}$ and ϕ_{incl} by doing probabilistic inference over the graphical model in Figure 3.

E.1 $\phi_{N'}$

$\phi_{N'}$ uses the expanded equation in (1), which calculates the probability that the syntactic category is N' ($C=N'$) when the syntactic environment indicates the referential pronoun is a category smaller than NP ($env=<NP$), summing over all values of intended object **O**, antecedent **A**, determiner in the antecedent **det**, modifier in the antecedent **mod**, pronoun **Pro**, referential expression **R**, property included in the antecedent **i**, object in the present context with mentioned property **o-m**, and property mentioned **m**.

$$\phi_{N'} = p(C = N' | env = < NP) \quad (1a)$$

$$= \frac{p(C = N', env = < NP)}{p(env = < NP)} \quad (1b)$$

$$= \frac{\sum_{O,A,det,mod,Pro,R,i,o-m,m} p(C = N', env = < NP)}{\sum_{O,A,det,mod,C,Pro,R,i,o-m,m} p(env = < NP)} \quad (1c)$$

The value of $\phi_{N'}$ depends on data type. When $\phi_{N'}$ is calculated for DirUnamb data using equation (1), it can be shown that $\phi_{N'}=1$, which is intuitively satisfying since these data unambiguously

indicate that the category is N' when the syntactic environment is $<NP$. When $\phi_{N'}$ is calculated for DirRefSynAmb data using (1), it can be shown that $\phi_{N'}$ is equal to (2):

$$\phi_{N' \text{DirRefSynAmb}} = \frac{rep_1 + rep_2}{rep_1 + rep_2 + rep_3} \quad (2)$$

where

$$rep_1 = p_{N'} * \frac{m}{m+n} * p_{incl} \quad (3a)$$

$$rep_2 = p_{N'} * \frac{n}{m+n} * (1 - p_{incl}) * \frac{1}{s} \quad (3b)$$

$$rep_3 = (1 - p_{N'}) * (1 - p_{incl}) * \frac{1}{s} \quad (3c)$$

In (3), m and n refer to how often N' strings are observed to contain modifiers (m) (e.g., *red bottle*), as opposed to containing only nouns (n) (e.g., *bottle*). These help determine the probability of observing an N' string with a modifier (3a), as compared to an N' string that contains only a noun (3b). Parameter s indicates how many salient properties there are in the learner's hypothesis space at the time the data point is observed, which determines how suspicious a coincidence it is that the object just happens to have the mentioned property given that there are s salient properties the learner is aware of. Parameters m , n , and s are implicitly estimated by the learner based on prior experience, and are estimated from child-directed speech corpus frequencies when possible when implementing the modeled learners.

The quantities in (3) can be intuitively correlated with anaphoric *one* representations. For rep_1 (which is the adult representation), the syntactic category is N' ($p_{N'}$), a modifier is used ($\frac{m}{m+n}$), and the property is included in the antecedent (p_{incl}) – this corresponds to the antecedent **A** being *red bottle* = $[_{N'} \text{red } [_{N'} [_{N^0} \text{bottle}]]]$. For rep_2 , the syntactic category is N' ($p_{N'}$), a modifier is not used ($\frac{n}{m+n}$), the property is not included in the antecedent ($1 - p_{incl}$), and the intended object **O** has the mentioned property by chance ($\frac{1}{s}$) – this corresponds to the antecedent **A** being *bottle* = $[_{N'} [_{N^0} \text{bottle}]]$. For rep_3 , the syntactic category is N^0 ($1 - p_{N'}$), the property is not included in the antecedent ($1 - p_{incl}$), and the intended object **O** has the mentioned property by chance ($\frac{1}{s}$) – this corresponds to the antecedent **A** being *bottle* = $[_{N^0} \text{bottle}]$.

When $\phi_{N'}$ is calculated for DirSynAmb data using equation (1), it can be shown that $\phi_{N'}$ is equal to (4):

$$\phi_{N' \text{DirSynAmb}} = \frac{rep_4}{rep_4 + rep_5} \quad (4)$$

where

$$rep_4 = p_{N'} * \frac{n}{m+n} \quad (5a)$$

$$rep_5 = 1 - p_{N'} \quad (5b)$$

The quantities in (5) intuitively correspond to representations for anaphoric *one* when no property is mentioned in the previous context. For rep_4 , the syntactic category is N' ($p_{N'}$) and the N' string uses only a noun ($\frac{n}{m+n}$) – this corresponds to the antecedent **A** being *bottle* = $[_{N'} [_{N^0} bottle]]$. For rep_5 , the syntactic category is N^0 ($1-p_{N'}$), and so the string is noun-only by definition – this corresponds to the antecedent **A** being *bottle* = $[_{N^0} bottle]$. The numerator of equation (4) contains the representation that has *one*'s category as N' , while the denominator contains both possible representations.

E.2 ϕ_{incl}

ϕ_{incl} uses the expanded equation in (6), which calculates the probability that the antecedent includes the property (**i=yes**) given that an object present has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**), summing over all values of intended object **O**, antecedent **A**, determiner in the antecedent **det**, modifier in the antecedent **mod**, syntactic category **C**, pronoun **Pro**, syntactic environment **env**, referential expression **R**, and property mentioned **m**.

$$\phi_{incl} = p(i = yes | o-m = yes) \quad (6a)$$

$$= \frac{p(i = yes, o-m = yes)}{p(o-m = yes)} \quad (6b)$$

$$= \frac{\sum_{O,A,det,mod,C,Pro,env,R,m} p(i = yes, o-m = yes)}{\sum_{O,A,det,mod,C,Pro,env,R,i,m} p(o-m = yes)} \quad (6c)$$

The value of ϕ_{incl} also depends on data type. When ϕ_{incl} is calculated for DirUnamb and IndirUnamb data using (6), it can be shown that $\phi_{incl} = 1$, which is intuitively satisfying since these data unambiguously indicate that the property should be included in the antecedent. When ϕ_{incl} is calculated for DirRefSynAmb data using (6), it can be shown that ϕ_{incl} is equal to (7):

$$\phi_{incl} = \frac{rep_1}{rep_1 + rep_2 + rep_3} \quad (7)$$

where rep_1 , rep_2 , and rep_3 are the same as in (3). Equation (7) is intuitively satisfying as only rep_1 corresponds to a representation where the property is included in the antecedent.

F DirSynAmb data effects

Pearl and Lidz (2009) discovered that DirSynAmb data can be misleading for a Bayesian learner. In the probabilistic learning model we describe, this effect is represented as the value of $p_{N'}$ lowering. This occurs even at the very beginning of learning (when $p_{N'} = p_{incl} = 0.50$) because the representation using syntactic category N^0 (rep_5 above in section E.1) at that point has a higher probability than the representation using category N' (rep_4 above in section E.1).

This occurs because the N' representation in rep_4 must include the probability of choosing a noun-only string (like *bottle*) from all the N' strings available in order to account for the observed data point ($\frac{n}{n+m}$); in contrast, the N^0 category by definition only includes noun-only strings. Because of this, the N' representation is penalized, and the amount of the penalty depends on the values of m and n . More specifically, the learner we implement here considers the sets of strings covered by category N^0 and category N' , where the set of N^0 strings (size n), which contains noun-only strings, is included in the set of N' strings (size $m + n$), which also includes modifier+noun strings. The higher the value of m is with respect to n , the more likely N' strings are to have modifiers in the learner's experience. If m is high, it is a suspicious coincidence to find a noun-only string as the antecedent, if the antecedent is actually category N' . For a probabilistic learner that capitalizes on suspicious coincidences, this means that when m is higher, a noun-only string causes the learner to favor the smaller of the two hypotheses, namely that *one* is category N^0 . Thus, the larger that m is compared to n , the more that DirSynAmb data cause a probabilistic learner to (incorrectly) favor the N^0 category over the N' category.

G p_{beh} and $p_{rep|beh}$

G.1 p_{beh}

Given a data point that has a referential expression **R=another one**, a pronoun **Pro=one**, a syntactic environment that indicates the pronoun is smaller than NP (**env=<NP**), a property mentioned (**m=yes**), and an object in the present context that has that property (**o-m=yes**), we can calculate how probable it is that a learner would look to the object that has the mentioned property (e.g., **O=RED BOTTLE**). For ease of exposition in the equations below, we will represent the situation where the object has the mentioned property as **O=O-M**. We can calculate p_{beh} by doing probabilistic inference over the graphical model in Figure 3 modified to have **O** as an inferred variable, as shown in the equations in (8).

$$p_{beh} = p(O = \text{O-M} | R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes}) \quad (8a)$$

$$= \frac{p(O = \text{O-M}, R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes})}{p(R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes})} \quad (8b)$$

$$= \frac{\sum_{det, mod, C, i, A} p(O = \text{O-M}, R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes})}{\sum_{det, mod, C, i, A, O} p(R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes})} \quad (8c)$$

When p_{beh} is calculated, it can be shown that it is equivalent to the quantity in (9).

$$p_{beh} = \frac{rep_{1f} + rep_{2f} + rep_{3f}}{rep_{1f} + rep_{1n} + rep_{2f} + rep_{2n} + rep_{3f} + rep_{3n}} \quad (9)$$

where rep_{1f} , rep_{1n} , rep_{2f} , rep_{2n} , rep_{3f} , and rep_{3n} are defined as in (10).

$$rep_{1f} = p_{N'} * \frac{m}{m+n} * p_{incl} * a \quad (10a)$$

$$rep_{1n} = p_{N'} * \frac{m}{m+n} * p_{incl} * (1 - a) \quad (10b)$$

$$rep_{2f} = p_{N'} * \frac{n}{m+n} * (1 - p_{incl}) * b \quad (10c)$$

$$rep_{2n} = p_{N'} * \frac{n}{m+n} * (1 - p_{incl}) * (1 - b) \quad (10d)$$

$$rep_{3f} = (1 - p_{N'}) * (1 - p_{incl}) * b \quad (10e)$$

$$rep_{3n} = (1 - p_{N'}) * (1 - p_{incl}) * (1 - b) \quad (10f)$$

$m = 1$ and $n = 2.9$, as before. The variables a and b correspond to the adjusted and baseline familiarity preferences, respectively, of toddlers in the LWF experiment, with $a=0.587$ and $b=0.459$. Adjusted refers to the preference when the referring expression itself involves a modifier (“Look, a red bottle – do you see another red bottle?”) or the potential antecedent involves modifier (“Look, a red bottle – do you see another one?”). Baseline refers to the preference when the referring expression itself does not involve a modifier (“Look, a red bottle – do you see another bottle?”) or no referring expression is used (“Look, a red bottle – what do you see now?”). These looking time results demonstrate 18-month-olds had a baseline novelty preference which was overcome when a referring expression was used which contained a modifier or whose potential antecedent contained a modifier.

As before, these quantities in (10) intuitively correspond to the different outcomes. For the target representation where the property is included in the antecedent and the category is N' (rep_1), the learner looks to the object with the mentioned property (the familiar object) with probability a (rep_{1f}) and looks to the object without the mentioned property (the novel object) with probability $1 - a$ (rep_{1n}). For the incorrect representations (rep_2 and rep_3) where the antecedent string is just the noun (e.g., *bottle*), the learner can believe the category is either N' (rep_2) or N^0 (rep_3). In either case, the learner uses the baseline preferences, and looks to the familiar object with probability b (rep_{2f} , rep_{3f}) and the novel object with probability $1 - b$ (rep_{2n} , rep_{3n}). The numerator of (9) represents all the outcomes where the learner looks to the object with the mentioned property (the familiar object), while the denominator also includes the three outcomes where the learner looks to the novel object.

G.2 $p_{rep|beh}$

Given that the referential expression is *another one* (**R=another one**), the pronoun is *one* (**Pro=one**), the syntactic environment indicates the pronoun is smaller than an NP (**env=<NP**), a property was mentioned (**m=yes**), an object present has the mentioned property (**o-m=yes**), AND the child has looked at the object with the mentioned property (**O=O-M**), what is the probability that the representation is the target representation, where the antecedent = e.g., *red bottle* (**A=red bottle**)? This would mean that the antecedent includes the property (**i=yes**), the antecedent does not include the

determiner (**det=no**), the antecedent includes a modifier (**mod=yes**), and the antecedent category is N' (**C=N'**). This can be calculated by doing probabilistic inference over the graphical model in Figure 3, as shown in (11).

$$p_{rep|beh} = p(A = \text{red bottle}, i = \text{yes}, det = \text{no}, mod = \text{yes}, C = N' | \\ R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes}, O = \text{O-M}) \quad (11a)$$

$$= \frac{p(A=\text{red bottle}, i=\text{yes}, det=\text{no}, mod=\text{yes}, C=N', R=\text{another one}, Pro=\text{one}, env=< NP, m=\text{yes}, o-m=\text{yes}, O=\text{O-M})}{\sum_{A,i,det,mod,C} p(R = \text{another one}, Pro = \text{one}, env = < NP, m = \text{yes}, o-m = \text{yes}, O = \text{O-M})} \quad (11b)$$

When $p_{rep|beh}$ is calculated, it can be shown that it is equal to (12).

$$p_{rep|beh} = \frac{rep_{1f}}{rep_{1f} + rep_{2f} + rep_{3f}} \quad (12)$$

where rep_{1f} , rep_{2f} , and rep_{3f} are calculated as in (10). More specifically, given that the object with the mentioned property has been looked at (whether the relevant antecedent includes the modifier (rep_{1f}) or not (rep_{2f} and rep_{3f})), we calculate the probability that the look is due to the target representation (rep_{1f}).

H Simulation results for different values of s

Table 11 shows the results of the learning simulations over the different input sets with different values of s (the number of properties salient to the learner when interpreting the data point) ranging from 2 to 49, with averages over 1000 runs reported and standard deviations in parentheses.

A few observations can be made about this range of results. First, with the exception of the DirUnamb and DirUnamb + N' learners, the performance of the learners depends to some degree on the value of s . This is to be expected as both of the DirUnamb learners use only DirUnamb data in their intake, and since these data were not found in our dataset, this learner effectively learns nothing no matter what the value of s .

When we examine the results for the IndirPro learner, we see fairly consistent overall behavior, though the exact values of each probability increase slightly as s increases. Thus, the qualitative behavior we observed before does not change – this learner decides that the antecedent should include the mentioned property ($p_{incl}=0.998-1.000$) and has a moderate dispreference for believing *one* is N' when it is smaller than an NP ($p_{N'}=0.342-0.376$), no matter what the value of s .

For both the DirFiltered and DirEO learners, we find the results depend non-trivially on the value of s , which determines how suspicious a coincidence it is that the intended referent just happens to have the mentioned property. We examine the DirFiltered learner first. Previous studies (Regier & Gahl, 2004; Pearl & Lidz, 2009) found that this filtered learner has a very high probability of learning *one* is N' when it is smaller than NP ($p_{N'} \approx 1$) and a very high probability of

Table 11: Probabilities after learning, using different values of s , which is the number of properties salient to the learner when interpreting a data point. Note that the target value of $p_{beh} = 0.587$. All other target values are 1.000.

	Prob	DirUnamb	DirUnamb + N'
$s = 2, 5, 7, 10, 20, 49$	$p_{N'}$	0.500 (<0.01)	1.000
	p_{incl}	0.500 (<0.01)	0.500 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.475 (<0.01)	0.492 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.158 (<0.01)	0.306 (<0.01)

	Prob	DirFiltered	DirEO	+IndirPro
$s = 2$	$p_{N'}$	0.340 (<0.01)	0.136 (<0.01)	0.342 (0.03)
	p_{incl}	0.020 (<0.01)	0.010 (<0.01)	0.998 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.459 (<0.01)	0.459 (<0.01)	0.584 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.002 (<0.01)	0.000 (<0.01)	0.980 (<0.01)
$s = 5$	$p_{N'}$	0.942 (<0.01)	0.159 (0.02)	0.362 (0.04)
	p_{incl}	0.683 (<0.01)	0.037 (0.01)	0.999 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.511 (<0.01)	0.459 (<0.01)	0.586 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.468 (<0.01)	0.002 (<0.01)	0.992 (<0.01)
$s = 7$	$p_{N'}$	0.984 (<0.01)	0.185 (0.03)	0.367 (0.04)
	p_{incl}	0.906 (<0.01)	0.102 (0.05)	0.999 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.557 (<0.01)	0.460 (<0.01)	0.586 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.807 (<0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.993 (<0.01)
$s = 10$	$p_{N'}$	0.991 (<0.01)	0.246 (0.06)	0.368 (0.04)
	p_{incl}	0.963 (<0.01)	0.379 (0.18)	1.000 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.574 (<0.01)	0.464 (0.04)	0.587 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.918 (<0.01)	0.050 (0.11)	0.998 (<0.01)
$s = 20$	$p_{N'}$	0.994 (<0.01)	0.344 (0.05)	0.373 (0.04)
	p_{incl}	0.987 (<0.01)	0.931 (0.03)	1.000 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.582 (<0.01)	0.532 (0.07)	0.587 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.971 (<0.01)	0.626 (0.11)	1.000 (<0.01)
$s = 49$	$p_{N'}$	0.995 (<0.01)	0.366 (0.05)	0.376 (0.05)
	p_{incl}	0.993 (<0.01)	0.987 (<0.01)	1.000 (<0.01)
	p_{beh}	0.585 (<0.01)	0.573 (0.02)	0.587 (<0.01)
	$p_{rep beh}$	0.985 (<0.01)	0.912 (0.02)	1.000 (<0.01)

including a mentioned property in the antecedent ($p_{incl} \approx 1$), even with s values as low as 2. We find this is true when $s=7$ or above; however, when $s=5$, the learner is much less certain that the mentioned property should be included in the antecedent ($p_{incl}=0.683$); when $s=2$, the learner is inclined to believe *one* is N^0 ($p_{N'}=0.340$) and is nearly certain that the mentioned property should NOT be included in the antecedent ($p_{incl}=0.020$). Similarly, when $s=7$ or above, the learner reliably

reproduces the observed infant behavior ($p_{beh}=0.557-0.585$) and likely has the target representation when looking to the familiar bottle ($p_{rep|beh}=0.807-0.985$). Yet, when s has lower values, the results are quite different ($s=5$: $p_{beh}=0.511$, $p_{rep|beh}=0.468$; $s=2$: $p_{beh}=0.459$, $p_{rep|beh}=0.002$).

If we examine the DirEO learner, we again find variation in the overall pattern of behavior. Pearl and Lidz (2009) found that this learner has a very low probability of learning *one* is N' when it is smaller than NP ($p_{N'} \approx 0$), and a very high probability of including a mentioned property in the antecedent ($p_{incl} \approx 1$), even with s values as low as 5. When $s=20$ or 49, we see something close to this behavior where a dispreference for *one* as N' ($p_{N'}=0.344-0.366$) occurs with a strong preference for including the mentioned property in the antecedent ($p_{incl}=0.931-0.987$). However, for $s \leq 10$, low values of $p_{N'}$ occur with low values of p_{incl} ($p_{N'}=0.136-0.246$, $p_{incl} < 0.010-0.379$). Though Pearl and Lidz (2009) don't assess this learner's ability to generate the LWF experimental results, it is likely their learner would behave as we see the learners with $s=20$ or 49 do here – specifically, because p_{incl} is so high, there is a higher probability of generating the LWF familiarity preference ($p_{beh}=0.532-0.573$) and a stronger probability of having the target representation when looking at the familiar bottle ($p_{rep|beh}=0.626-0.912$). This is the same qualitative behavior we found in the IndirPro learner. However, the DirEO learner differs by failing to exhibit this behavior this when $s \leq 10$: The learner does not generate the LWF behavior ($p_{beh}=0.459-0.460$) and is unlikely to have the target representation if it happens to look at the familiar bottle ($p_{rep|beh} < 0.000-0.050$).

Why do we see these differences in learner behavior, compared to previous studies? The answer appears to lie in the probabilistic learning model. In particular, recall that there is a tight connection between syntactic and referential information in the model (Figure 3), as both are used to determine the linguistic antecedent. In particular, each ALWAYS impacts the selection of the antecedent when a property is mentioned, which was not true in the previous probabilistic learning models used by Regier and Gahl (2004) and Pearl and Lidz (2009). This is reflected in the update equations for the DirRefSynAmb data, where both $\phi_{N'}$ and ϕ_{incl} involve the current values of $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} , as do all the equations corresponding to the probabilities of the different antecedent representations (recall the equations in (3)). This means that there is an inherent linking between these two probabilities when DirRefSynAmb data are encountered.

For example, if p_{incl} is very high (as it would be for high values of s), it can make the value of $\phi_{N'}$ higher for DirRefSynAmb data (and so increase $p_{N'}$ more). This subsequently gives a very large boost to $p_{N'}$, thus increasing the power of these kind of data. In other words, when s is high enough, the suspicious coincidence is very strong, and thus both $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} benefit strongly – each DirRefSynAmb data point functions almost as if it were a DirUnamb data point.

However, the opposite problem strikes when s is low and the coincidence is not suspicious enough. When this occurs, p_{incl} is actually decreased slightly if $p_{N'}$ is not high enough. For example, in the initial state when $p_{N'}=0.5$, $p_{incl}=0.5$, and $s=2$, seeing a DirRefSynAmb data point leads to a p_{incl} of 0.409. This causes subsequent DirRefSynAmb data points to have even less of a positive effect on p_{incl} – which eventually drags down $p_{N'}$. For example, if this same learner encounters 20 DirRefSynAmb data points in a row initially, its p_{incl} will then be 0.12 and its $p_{N'}$ 0.48. Thus, when s is low, the power of DirRefSynAmb data is significantly lessened, and can even cause these data to have a detrimental effect on learning. This is why the DirFiltered learner fails

for low s values. The situation is worse when DirSynAmb data are included in the mix, as for the DirEO learner – not only are the DirRefSynAmb data insufficiently powerful, but the DirSynAmb data cause $p_{N'}$ to plummet.

Notably, when IndirUnamb data are added into the mix for the IndPro learner, p_{incl} is only ever increased every time one of these data points is encountered. Thus, even if s is very low, these data points compensate for the insufficiently helpful DirRefSynAmb data. Due to the linking between p_{incl} and $p_{N'}$ in the DirRefSynAmb data update, the high p_{incl} value will cause DirRefSynAmb data points to act as if they were DirUnamb data points, and so $p_{N'}$ is also increased. This is why the IndirPro learner is not susceptible to changes in its behavior when s changes. Still, because this benefit to $p_{N'}$ only occurs when DirRefSynAmb data are encountered, and these are relatively few, the final $p_{N'}$ value is still fairly low (0.342–0.376). If we remove the DirRefSynAmb data from the IndirPro learner’s dataset (i.e., it only encounters DirSynAmb and IndirUnamb data points, as well as uninformative data points), we can see a final $p_{N'}$ that is much lower ($p_{N'}=0.130$), even though $p_{incl}=1.000$.

To summarize, the behavior of the learner that uses indirect positive evidence is robust because it can leverage IndirUnamb data to compensate for (or further enhance the effectiveness of) the DirRefSynAmb data. In contrast, learners who are restricted to only direct positive data are greatly affected by how suspicious a coincidence DirRefSynAmb data points are. Our results are similar to previous results for the DirFiltered and DirEO learners for certain values of s . However, because of the way referential and syntactic information are integrated in the probabilistic learning model we present here (i.e., both information types are given equal weight), our results deviate from prior results with these learners for other values of s . In particular, we find a higher $p_{N'}$ than Pearl and Lidz (2009) did with their integrated probabilistic learning model for the DirEO learner with high values of s . We also find low values of $p_{N'}$ and p_{incl} for the DirFiltered learner when s is very low.

We additionally note that these results are not due to the particular duration of the learning period we chose. For all learners and all s values, the probabilities converge to their final values within the first few hundred data points. Thus, we would not predict the behavior of any of the learners to alter appreciably if they were exposed to more data, unless those data were very different from the data they had been learning from already or they were able to use those data in a very different way.

I A different knowledge representation

Another theoretical representation of noun phrase syntax assumes different syntactic categories than the ones in the representation we examined here. In particular, our representation (Chomsky, 1970; Jackendoff, 1977) incorporated the following: (i) noun phrases are category NP, (ii) modifiers are sister to N' , and (iii) complements are sister to N^0 . This would give the structure for the noun phrase *a delicious bottle of wine* represented in the left side of Figure 4, and shown in bracket notation in (18a). However, an alternate representation of noun phrases is available (Bernstein, 2003; Longobardi, 2003), shown in (18b) and the right side of Figure 4.¹³ It assumes the fol-

¹³Thanks to Greg Kobele for noting this.

lowing: (i) noun phrases are category DP (Determiner Phrase), (ii) modifiers are sisters to N' and children of NP, and (iii) complements are sisters of N' and children of N'.

(18) Theoretical representations for noun phrase syntax

- a. $[_{NP} a [_{N'} \textit{delicious} [_{N'} [_{N^0} \textit{bottle}] [_{PP} \textit{of wine}]]]]]$
- b. $[_{DP} a [_{NP} \textit{delicious} [_{N'} [_{N'} [_{N^0} \textit{bottle}]] [_{PP} \textit{of wine}]]]]]$

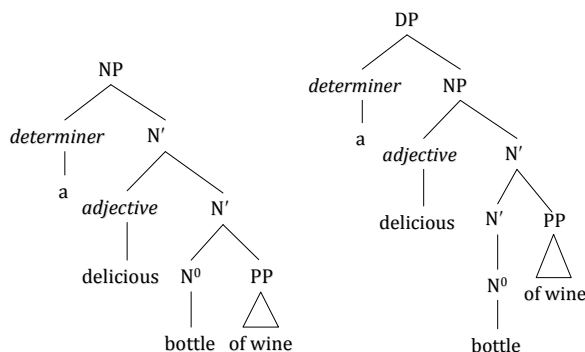


Figure 4: Phrase structure trees corresponding to the bracket notation in examples (18a) and (18b) for *a delicious bottle of wine*.

Practically speaking, this means that the learner must learn that the antecedent of anaphoric *one* can be category NP (e.g., *delicious bottle of wine*) or category N' (e.g., *bottle of wine*) but never category N⁰ (e.g., *bottle* in (19)), when it is smaller than DP.

(19) *I have a delicious bottle of wine...*

- a. *...and you have another one.* [*one* = *delicious bottle of wine*, category NP]
- b. *...and you have a flavorful one.* [*one* = *bottle of wine*, category N']
- c. **...and you have a flavorful one of beer.* [*one* ≠ *bottle*, category N⁰]

This means there are three syntactic categories smaller than an entire noun phrase (DP), and a child must learn that only two of them are valid antecedents for *one*. To match the observed toddler behavior in the LWF experiment, a learner should have the preference that *one*'s antecedent is category NP, so that it can include the modifier (i.e., *red bottle* is an NP in this representation). Therefore, the target knowledge state of the learner should be adjusted with respect to syntactic category (NP instead of N'), though the target referential knowledge (include the modifier in the antecedent) and target behavior (look to the familiar object) remain the same. Similarly, the initial state of the learner is adjusted so that categorical knowledge includes DP, NP, N', and N⁰.

While we have not implemented a learning strategy that uses this syntactic representation, we can easily describe the expected results for the indirect positive evidence strategy (IndirPro) that learns from data containing other pronouns, as there are still many similarities to the learning scenario already implemented. We describe the impact of the four data types in turn.

DirUnamb data (e.g., *Look – a red bottle! Oh, but I don’t see another one here.*) still indicate that the antecedent should include the modifier, so the probability is increased of the correct referential interpretation (p_{incl}). Because only category NP can include a modifier, the probability of the correct syntactic category (NP) also increases. This is qualitatively similar to our current implementation.

DirRefSynAmb data (e.g., *Look – a red bottle! Oh, look – another one.*) are still ambiguous between three antecedents – [$_{NP}$ *red bottle*], [$_{N'}$ *bottle*], and [$_{N^0}$ *bottle*]. When the suspicious coincidence of the referent just happening to have the mentioned property is high enough ($s > 5$), these data will cause the learner to believe the antecedent includes the modifier. So, the probability of the correct referential interpretation is increased (p_{incl}) and the probability of syntactic category NP is also increased since this is the only category that allows a modifier. This is again qualitatively similar to our current implementation.

DirSynAmb data (e.g., *Look – a bottle! Oh, look – another one!*) retain their two-way ambiguity (N' vs. N^0). When given data compatible with two hypotheses, our probabilistic learner will prefer the hypothesis that covers a smaller set of items (Tenenbaum & Griffiths, 2001). This is the N^0 category hypothesis, since all noun strings (like *bottle*) are included in both hypotheses, but noun+complement strings (like *bottle of wine*) are additionally included in the N' hypothesis. This means that the DirSynAmb data will cause the learner to prefer N^0 , as our learner did here (though perhaps not as quickly, depending on the frequency of noun+complement N' strings in the input). Still, DirSynAmb data remain misleading about the syntactic category of *one* (i.e., category = N^0), similar to our current implementation.

IndirUnamb data (e.g., *Look – a red bottle! I want it*) are still informative about p_{incl} , as they indicate the modifier is included in the antecedent. It is simply that the syntactic category is DP instead of NP, as in our current implementation. Thus, again, the effect of these data on learning is the same as in our current implementation.

Because no data favor N' , we would expect that the learner disprefers *one* as N' at the end of learning. Instead, the learner would assume *one* is NP (e.g., antecedent = *red bottle*) in contexts like the LWF experiment that have a property mentioned and assumes *one* is N^0 in general when no property is mentioned. This is the same result that we have found here with our current implementation. Thus, altering the theoretical representation this way does not alter the results we have found with respect to the indirect positive evidence strategy.