

# Interpretation of Generic Language is Depends on Listener's Background Knowledge

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## Abstract

Generic language, like “birds lay eggs” or “dogs bark” are simple and ubiquitous in naturally produced speech. However, the inherent vagueness of generics makes their interpretation highly context dependent. Building on work by Tessler & Goodman (in press) showing that generics can be thought of as inherently relative (i.e. more birds lay eggs than you would expect), we explore the consequences of different implied comparison categories on the interpretation of novel generics. In Experiment 1, we manipulated the set of categories salient to a listener by directly providing them the comparison sets. In Experiment 2, we collected participants’ demographic information and used these naturally occurring differences as a basis for differences in the participants’ comparison sets. Results from both studies confirmed our hypothesis that the prevalence of a feature in different comparison categories changes people’s estimate of the feature prevalence in novel categories. ONE MORE SENTENCE HERE ABOUT IMPLICATIONS

**Keywords:** generics; semantics; meaning; learning; Bayesian inference

## Introduction

Generic language like “birds lay eggs” is a simple, highly frequent way of transmitting information in everyday speech (Gelman, Goetz, Sarnecka, & Flukes, 2008; Gelman & Tardif, 1998). Generics are distinct from statements about particular referents “e.g. that bird lays eggs”; they transmit information about *categories*. Indeed, a large body of research has documented the power of generic language in adults’ and children’s inference about familiar and novel categories (e.g., Cimpian, Brandone, & Gelman, 2010; Cimpian & Markman, 2011; Rhodes, Leslie, & Tworek, 2012). Despite their ubiquity, generic statements defy a straightforward definition in threshold semantics (i.e. they do not specify a fixed prevalence rate). While people generally agree that “birds lay eggs,” this does not mean that “all birds lay eggs (100%)” nor does it mean that “most birds lay eggs (> 50%)”—male birds, and young female birds do not. Similarly, “birds lay eggs” cannot mean “some birds lay eggs (> 0%),” because it is true while “birds are female” is not.

Recent work from Tessler & Goodman (in press) shows that generics can be understood through the lens of Gricean pragmatic inference (Grice, 1975). Their key insight is that generics can be interpreted as statements about relative prevalence. If a speaker makes a vague statement like “birds lay eggs,” but listeners assume that they are cooperatively intending to be informative, they can infer that the speaker means

something like “birds are *more likely than you would have expected* to lay eggs.” This formulation leaves open two questions: (1) how much more likely does a speaker mean, and (2) what did the listener expect? Tessler and Goodman answer the first question by showing that listeners do not need to resolve this ambiguity directly, but can instead integrate over all prevalence rates that would make the speaker’s statement true. In a series of experiments with both familiar and novel generics, Tessler & Goodman (in press) show that people’s judgements about prevalence rates following a generic statement are described by a rational model pragmatic inference (Frank & Goodman, 2012).

We take up the second question: How do listeners arrive at their prior expectations? One possibility is that implicit in a generic statement is a set of reference categories, i.e. “birds lay eggs” means “relative to relevant comparison categories, birds are more likely to lay eggs.” The listener’s interpretation of a generic, then, should depend on the set of categories they consider relevant. That is, “feps are friendly (relative to puppies)” should lead to a much different estimate of the prevalence of friendliness in feps than “feps are friendly (relative to squirrels).”

We test this prediction in a two experiments in which people learn about novel categories through generic language. In the first, we manipulate the implied comparison category directly and show that people’s judgments about the prevalence of a feature in a novel category tracks the prevalence level of the implied category. In a second experiment, we show the influence of implicit comparison categories without manipulating them. Here we leverage prior work showing that people’s estimates about the prevalence of preferences and beliefs in others are egocentrically biased towards the prevalence of those preferences and beliefs in their local communities (Ross, Greene, & House, 1977). Together, these studies highlight the fundamentally relative way in which even simple generic statements are interpreted, and point towards a potential source of misunderstanding and errors in learning that can arise from well-intentioned communication.

## Experiment 1

In this experiment, we asked participants to estimate prevalence rate for familiar category-feature pairs.

## Method

**Participants** 150 participants were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Each participant gave informed consent at the start of the Experiment and was paid 0.1 dollar in compensation. Participants were excluded from the final sample if they did not pass an attention check at the end of experiment (5), yielding a final sample of 145 participants.

**Design and Procedure** Three features (friendly, tasty, and heavy) were chosen, and, for each feature, we chose three categories that were relevant to the feature that will elicit different levels (low, medium, high) of prevalence estimation. Every participant answered questions about each of three features and, for each feature, one randomly-selected category. The order in which the features appeared in the survey was randomized, and each participant was tested on only one category from each of the predetermined prevalence levels.

Participants were first shown a generic for each of the category and feature pair. Then they were asked to first evaluate the truth condition of the generic by answering a forced-choice True or False question, and to estimate the proportion of the feature within the given category. Participants recorded their responses to the estimation question on a scale slider, ranging from 0% to 100%.

After completing these questions, participants were given an attention check to ensure that they had read and engaged with the stimuli. Here, we asked participants to choose the three features we asked about in the survey.

## Results and Analysis

Participants' mean prevalence judgments about the target feature in each category increased as predicted from low to medium to high (as shown by the baseline condition in Figure 1). We confirmed this prediction statistically using a mixed-effects logistic regression, predicting the participants' judgments from prevalence level, with random effects of subject and feature ( $\text{prop} \sim \text{level} + (1|\text{subj}) + (\text{level}|\text{feature})$ ). This model revealed a significant effect of level, with both medium ( $\beta = 0.12, t = 5.02, p < .001$ ) and high ( $\beta = 0.41, t = 16.59, p < .001$ ) levels of apriori prevalence receiving higher prevalence judgments.

Furthermore, the number of participants who evaluated the generic as true also varied across conditions ( $n_{\text{low}} = 78, n_{\text{medium}} = 117, n_{\text{high}} = 144$ ), with an increased number of participants evaluating true for the generics that contained categories from the high prevalence levels. Participants who evaluated the generic as true for categories from the low prevalence level also made higher estimation of prevalence ( $\mu_{\text{low}} = 67.69, ci_{\text{lower}} = 63.32, ci_{\text{upper}} = 71.72$ ) comparing to all participants for the same categories ( $\mu_{\text{low}} = 47.71, ci_{\text{lower}} = 42.98, ci_{\text{upper}} = 52.56$ ). We then used a mixed-effect logistic regression to predict participants' judgments from prevalence level and their true or false evaluation of the generic and their interaction, with random effects of subject and feature ( $\text{prop} \sim \text{level} * \text{truefalse\_response} + (1|\text{subj}) + (\text{level}|\text{feature})$ ). This model revealed a significant effect of the true or false evaluation, with the true evaluation ( $\beta = 0.4,$

$t = 12.83, p < .001$ ) giving higher prevalence judgements, a significant effect of the apriori high prevalence level ( $\beta = 0.8, t = 4.39, p < .001$ ) receiving higher prevalence judgements, and a significant interaction between the true evaluation and high prevalence level ( $\beta = -0.58, t = -3.13, p .002$ ).

## Discussion

The results from Experiment 1 confirmed our hypothesis that participants' estimations of feature prevalence for a category in a given generic varied by the predetermined prevalence level of comparison categories. However, if we consider only participants who evaluated true for the generics that they were estimating, the difference between their estimations for categories from prevalence level low and from medium level is nonsignificant. One possibility is that participants who agreed with the generic are more likely to give a relatively higher prevalence ratings, which may result in similar mean prevalence estimations for the low and medium levels. The category-feature pairs were successful at eliciting participants' responses across different prevalence levels, regardless of their evaluation of the truth condition of the generic. Next, in Experiment 2, we introduced participants to novel categories along with the same set of familiar comparison categories. We predict that participants' estimation will be sensitive to the respective familiar comparison category across all three prevalence levels.

## Experiment 2

Experiment 2 included a novel category survey, where participants were introduced to a novel category along with a familiar comparison category, then they were shown a generic containing a novel category and a familiar feature and asked to estimate the prevalence rate of the feature within the novel category.

## Method

**Participants.** 150 participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk. Each participant gave informed consent at the start of the Experiment and was paid 0.1 dollar in compensation. Participants were excluded from the final sample if they did not pass an attention check at the end of experiment (36), yielding a final sample of 114 participants.

**Design and Procedure.** The same sets of features and categories from Experiment 1 were included in Experiment 2. Additionally, three novel categories were introduced (one novel category per feature). Participants answered similar questions as the baseline survey in Experiment 1 but about novel categories. Participants were first told that they are visiting three new countries, and people from there will introduce them to things in their respective countries. Each novel category was first introduced by reference to one of the baseline categories from Experiment 1 (e.g. "Feps are like puppies"). Then, they were given a novel generic using the same features about this novel category (e.g., "Feps are friendly"). All other aspects of the design were identical.

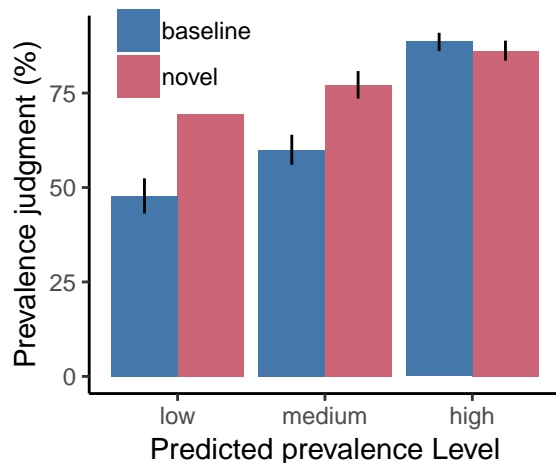


Figure 1: Prevalence judgments of participants in the Baseline (1a) and Novel (1b) conditions. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals computed by nonparametric bootstrapping

After completing these questions, participants were given an attention check to ensure that they had read and engaged with the stimuli. We asked participants to select the three novel categories that were mentioned in the survey.

## Results and Analysis

Figure 1 shows participants’ mean prevalence judgments across conditions in both conditions. In both Experiments, participants’ judgments about the prevalence of the target feature in each category increased as predicted from low to medium to high. In addition, judgments made about the novel category were on average higher than the judgements for the corresponding category made by participants in the baseline condition, although this difference was not apparent in the high prevalence condition. We confirmed these predictions statistically using a mixed-effects logistic regression, predicting participants’ judgments from condition and prevalence level and their interaction, with random effects of subject and feature ( $\text{prop} \sim \text{condition} * \text{level} + (1|\text{subj}) + (\text{level}|\text{feature})$ ). This model revealed a significant effect of level, with both medium ( $\beta = 0.12, t = 5.41, p < .001$ ) and high ( $\beta = 0.41, t = 17.97, p < .001$ ) levels of apriori prevalence receiving higher prevalence judgments, a significant effect of condition ( $\beta = 0.26, t = 9.76, p < .001$ ), and a significant interaction between the two for both medium ( $\beta = -0.09, t = -2.63, p = .009$ ) and high levels ( $\beta = -0.29, t = -8.27, p < .001$ ) indicating that the change in prevalence levels was largest for the lowest apriori level.

## Discussion

The results from Experiments 1 and 2 confirmed our hypothesis that participants’s judgements about the prevalence of a feature in a novel category tracks the prevalence level of the implied category. The difference in estimation on average between baseline and novel conditions was significant for

both the aprior low and medium levels, with the novel conditions’ estimation higher than the baseline condition, while the differences between the two conditions for the high prevalence level was not apparent. One possible explanation for the small difference may be that there exists a ceiling effect for the estimations of high prevalence categories, considering that the upper limit for any prevalence rating was 100%. Next, in Experiments 3 and 4, we further explored the effect of differences in comparison set without providing participants explicit comparison categories. We instead used naturally occurring differences among participants by collecting participants’ demographic information. First, we obtained baseline prevalence estimations of a group of features for different demographic groups in Experiment 3, and showed that the responses in Experiment 3 predicted the prevalence judgements about novel generics in Experiment 4.

## Experiment 3

Experiment 3 includes two parts: a baseline survey of 15 questions, where we asked participants to estimate prevalence rate of people’s habits, and a simulation to select a smaller set of 6 questions to run for Experiment 4. We also collected data on participants’ demographic information, including their gender, age, political ideology score, and zip code.

## Method

**Participants** 968 participants were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Each participant gave informed consent at the start of the experiment and was paid 0.5 dollar in compensation. Participants were excluded from the final sample if they did not pass an attention check at the end of experiment. 195 were excluded for failing the attention check. We further excluded participants who self-identified as gender non-conforming (3) or participants over 60-year-old (44), yielding a final sample of 726 participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 36, sd = 10.05$ ).

**Design and Procedure** Fifteen features were chosen to be included in the survey. Each feature was either a familiar habit or activity people might participate in their daily lives (e.g., like to cook at home, go to the gym, consume dairy products). Every participant answered questions about each of the fifteen features and reported their estimated prevalence ratings for each feature in the generic category *people*. The order in which the features appeared in the survey was randomized.

Participants were first asked to estimate the proportion of the feature within the category *people*, and then to report their demographic information, including age, gender, political ideology score, and zip code. Participants recorded their responses for the estimation question on a scale slider, ranging from 0% to 100%. For the collection of demographic information, participants typed their age in a text box, selected one choice from either “female”, “male”, or “other/non-conforming” for the gender question, recorded their political ideology score on a slider ranging from 1 (most liberal) to 7 (most conservative), and typed their zip code in a text box.

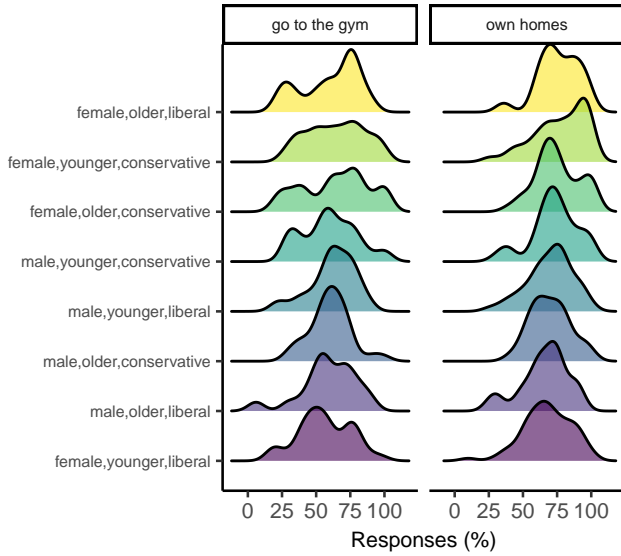


Figure 2: Novel Condition Prevalence Estimation by Demographic Groups

All the questions are forced-choice. After completing these questions, participants were given an attention check to ensure that they had read and engaged with the stimuli. We asked participants to select four features we asked about in the survey.

#### SIMULATION PART

#### Results and Analysis

#### Discussion

### Experiment 4

#### Method

Experiment 4 used the simulation result in Experiment 3 to finalize a set of 6 questions to be asked in a novel category survey. In the novel category survey, participants were introduced to six novel categories, then they were shown a generic containing a novel category and a familiar feature, and asked to make prevalence estimations for each habit among people in the foreign countries. Participants were asked to provide some demographic information, including their gender, age, political ideology score, and zip code.

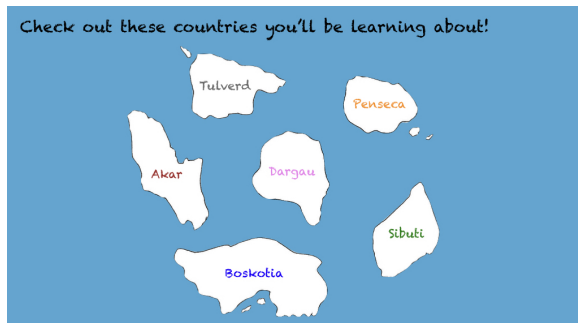


Figure 3: Novel category survey map prompt

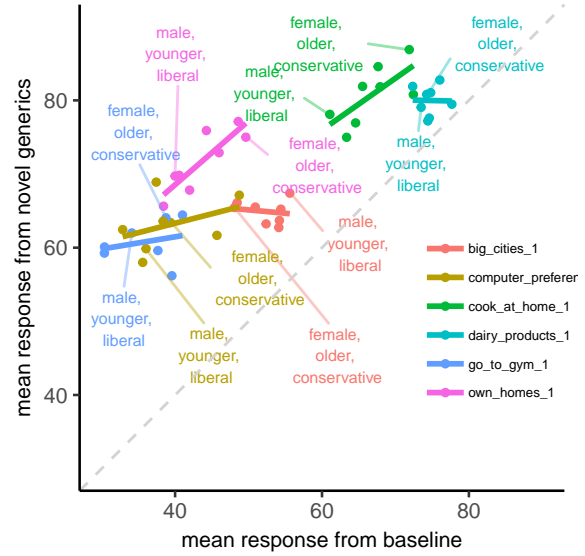


Figure 4: Novel vs. baseline category mean response

**Participants.** 398 participants were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Each participant gave informed consent at the start of the experiment and was paid 0.2 dollar in compensation. Participants were excluded from the final sample if they did not pass an attention check at the end of experiment. 63 were excluded for failing the attention check. We further excluded participants who self-identified as gender non-conforming (2) or participants over 60-year-old (16), yielding a final sample of 317 participants ( $Age = 33$ ,  $Sd = \$9.48$ ).

**Design and Procedure.** Participants in this condition were first shown a map of 6 imaginary countries and their corresponding novel names (see Figure 3) along with a prompt. They were told that people from these six countries will introduce some habits of people from their countries to them. They were then introduced to generic statements about each of the country and a habit selected from the simulation. After reading the generic statement, participants were then asked to make an estimate the percentage of people having a certain habit or activity. Participants responded by choosing a number from 0 - 100% using a slider bar. The order in which the questions appeared was randomized. The code for analyze this experiment is preregistered.

#### Results

We calculated the pearson correlation of average mean responses across demographic groups between Experiments 3 and 4 for all 6 questions selected via simulation. The average mean responses between the two experiments are significantly correlated for each question (**CODE NOT WORKING**  $\beta = 0.46$ ,  $t = 5.58$ ,  $p = .003$ ). The highest correlation among the six questions was 0.69 for the feature “like to cook at home”, and the lowest correlation was 0.22 for “go to the gym”. We further examined the within-demographic

group differences in mean responses between the baseline and novel experiments by questions (see Fig 4). The demographic groups were divided into 8 subgroups (2 age bins  $\times$  2 gender bins  $\times$  2 political ideology bins). The bins for dividing age and political ideology scores in experiment (2a) were based on the mean age and mean political ideology scores in Experiment 3. Each dot in the sub-plot in Figure 4 is a unique demographic group. Across all six questions, the mean responses from each of the 8 demographic groups for the novel conditions (shown in y-axis) were consistently higher than the mean responses for the baseline condition. The results from Experiment 2 showed that participants from different demographic groups make different prevalence estimations within each question, and their responses were on average higher for novel conditions than for baseline conditions. Participants across demographic groups also respond to different questions differently.

## General Discussion

## Acknowledgements

Place acknowledgments (including funding information) in a section at the end of the paper.

## References

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