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Authors

Knowlton, Tyler

Trueswell, John

Papafragou, Anna

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The strength of a universal

Tyler Knowlton

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States

John Trueswell

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States

Anna Papafragou

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States

Abstract

Generalizations that hold across all languages (linguistic universals) provide important insights into cognition, language, and learning. In semantics, the best-known universal is determiner conservativity: the truth of sentences like “every/most/some/no fish swim(s)” depends only on the determiner’s first argument (“fish”). This rules out cross-linguistically unattested determiners (e.g., “equi fish swims” meaning ‘the fish and the swimmers are numerically equivalent’ isn’t conservative because both fish and swimmers matter). Zuber & Keenan (2019) propose a weakening of conservativity: determiners depend on their first OR second argument, but not both. Which constraint do learners obey? We test whether adults are able to learn novel determiners that are classically non-conservative but are conservative on the weakened view. We compare these ‘weakly conservative’ cases against novel determiners that are conservative on both views and non-conservative on both views. We find that adults can learn conservative meanings, but not weakly conservative meanings, supporting the classical understanding.