

Interpreting Silent Gesture: cognitive biases and rational inference in emerging language systems

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Abstract

Natural languages make prolific use of conventional constituent-ordering patterns to indicate ‘who did what to whom’, yet the mechanisms through which these regularities arise are not well understood. A series of recent experiments demonstrates that, when prompted to express meanings through silent gesture, people bypass native language conventions, revealing apparent biases underpinning word order usage, based on the semantic properties of the information to be conveyed. We extend the scope of these studies by focusing, experimentally and computationally, on the *interpretation* of silent gesture. We show cross-linguistic experimental evidence that people use variability in constituent order as a cue to obtain different interpretations. To illuminate the computational principles that govern interpretation of non-conventional communication, we derive a Bayesian model of interpretation via biased inductive inference, and estimate these biases from the experimental data. Our analyses suggest people’s interpretations balance the ambiguity that is characteristic of emerging language systems, with ordering preferences that are skewed and asymmetric, but defeasible.

1 Introduction: production and interpretation of emerging language

When people do not have an existing set of linguistic rules to use to communicate,
they use principles for structuring their utterances that are independent of their native

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language. This has been observed in lab experiments where naïve adult participants
6 are asked to describe simple events using only gesture and no speech (silent gesture).
The silent gesture paradigm has been used to investigate several core features of lan-
8 guage, such as how a communication system can be bootstrapped through iconicity
(Fay, Arbib, & Garrod, 2013). In particular, the paradigm has provided notable insight
10 into the origins of the ordering of Subject, Object and Verb in human language. For in-
stance, it has been shown that when people describe transitive actions through space in
12 this paradigm, they prefer SOV word order, irrespective of the dominant order of their
native language (Goldin-Meadow, So, Özyürek, & Mylander, 2008). Given the domi-
14 nance of SOV in emerging language systems (e.g., Padden, Meir, Sandler, & Aronoff,
2010), it has been suggested that SOV may have been important in the emergence of
16 language in humans (Newmeyer, 2000; Givon, 1997). However, more recent publi-
cations show that under certain circumstances SOV is not the dominant order (Meir,
18 Lifshitz, İlkbasaran, & Padden, 2010; Langus & Nespors, 2010; Gibson et al., 2013;
Hall, Mayberry, & Ferreira, 2013; Schouwstra & de Swart, 2014). Investigation of this
20 variability in word order has sparked a debate about the mechanisms that play a role
when people communicate in the absence of a shared linguistic system, and, indirectly,
22 about the conventionalisation of word order in the emergence of language. The silent
gesture paradigm is relatively new, and many questions are still unanswered. How-
24 ever, two semantic distinctions, that between reversible and non-reversible events and
that between extensional and intensional events, have been studied in some detail, and
26 provide a picture of how semantic information can influence word order in emerging
language.

28 Whether or not an event is reversible (typically events in which there are two an-
imates, such as ‘woman kicks man’) influences the word order that is used (Gibson
30 et al., 2013; Hall et al., 2013). The usage of SOV ordered strings drops for reversible
events, and SVO usage becomes more likely (although part of this effect is due to
32 the native language of the participants; in SOV-dominant languages, participants only
move away from SOV in embedded structures like the italic bit in ‘woman says *fireman*

34 *kicks girl*').¹ Various explanations for the phenomenon have been offered, but there is
no conclusive evidence for whether the pattern is rooted in communicative or cognitive
36 principles (or even potentially the result of modality-specific processes; (Gibson et al.,
2013; Hall et al., 2013; Kline, Salinas, Lim, Fedorenko, & Gibson, 2017).

38 Another semantic effect on word order variation was observed by Schouwstra and
de Swart (2014), who compared two semantic classes of transitive events: extensional
40 and intensional events. The former is a class of events in which a direct object is
manipulated in an action through space, similarly to the motion events used by Goldin-
42 Meadow et al. (2008). Some examples are throwing ('pirate throws guitar') or carrying
(*'princess carries ball'*) events. Intensional events (e.g., 'pirate searches for guitar,'
44 'princess thinks of ball', but also 'cook hears violin' and 'witch builds house') are typ-
ically described using intensional verbs, and for the interpretation of such descriptions,
46 the intension (meaning) of their arguments, and in particular the direct object, is more
important than the extension (object in the world). This makes the direct object more
48 abstract, and possibly non-existent or non-specific.

Schouwstra and de Swart (2014) show that in silent gesture, participants prefer to
50 use SVO word order over SOV for intensional events, and SOV order over SVO for
extensional events. They observe that word order flexibility on the basis of such mean-
52 ing differences in the verb do not exist in fully conventional languages, and argue that
they are typical for situations where there are no (or where there is only a limited set
54 of) linguistic conventions: people use their cognitive biases (rooted in the semantic
properties of events) and build their improvised utterances flexibly, according to these
56 biases. This position contrasts with previous hypotheses in which word order in emerg-
ing language systems is seen as something rigid rather than variable (Newmeyer, 2000;
58 Goldin-Meadow et al., 2008). The distinction between intensional and extensional
events turns out to be of influence on constituent order, not only in the gestural domain,
60 but also in the vocal domain, as shown in a study in which participants improvise to

¹Note that more recently, it was argued that rather the effect might be the result of a preference to describe human participants first, and this would mean that reversibility is not the crucial factor (Kocab, Lam, & Snedeker, 2018; Meir et al., 2017). These studies discuss evidence from silent gesture and emergent sign languages, but the effect is well established in spoken language production too (Branigan, Pickering, & Tanaka, 2008).

produce non-word sounds to convey information (Mudd, Kirby, & Schouwstra, 2018),
62 a finding that is interesting given potential issues about modality specificity; see above,
and Kline et al. (2017).

64 All in all, the improvised gesture paradigm can reveal pressures that are important
when there is no system of linguistic conventions in place, and thus help reveal the
66 process that takes us from no language to full linguistic regularity in a controlled labo-
ratory setting. This setting allows us to study not only improvised production, but also
68 other processes that play a role in language use, such as interpretation, communicative
interaction, cultural transmission. In this paper we will take one step from improvised
70 gesture production toward full linguistic systems, by focusing on the *interpretation* of
improvised gesture, and comparing it to its production. We will do this by employing
72 a novel combination of a silent gesture experiment and an experimentally-informed
Bayesian model.

74 **1.1 Emerging language: production vs. interpretation**

If silent gesture is to offer a comprehensive test ground for communication without
76 existing conventions, it should not only concern production, as communication is a
process with two directions: production and interpretation. These two directions may
78 exert different pressures in the emergence of a language system (Burling, 2000; Mac-
Donald, 2013).

80 The interpretation of strings in the silent gesture paradigm has received little at-
tention, with the exception of two recent studies: one in which participants are asked
82 to recognize the intended meaning of silent gesture strings in a timed forced choice
setup (Langus & Nespors, 2010), and one in which participants are asked to choose
84 an interpretation for ambiguous reversible events (Hall, Ahn, Mayberry, & Ferreira,
2015).

86 Langus and Nespors (2010) asked adult participants to watch video clips of gesture
sequences describing simple transitive events through space in a two alternative forced
88 choice task. Participants, native speakers of Italian (SVO) and Turkish (SOV), saw
video clips in all possible orderings of S,O and V. Both groups of participants showed

90 fastest reaction times for SOV ordered video clips, which shows that, like in production,
SOV order is preferred in improvised gesture comprehension, independently of the
92 dominant order of the native language of the observer. In other words, when naive
observers are presented with improvised gesture, they by-pass the dominant patterns of
94 their native language. Langus and Nespors (2010) claim that this effect is due to the fact
that in this task, participants disregard their computational system of grammar.

96 Hall et al. (2015) focused on the interpretation of reversible events, and come to
very different conclusions. They showed participants silent gesture strings that were
98 made up of an action and two animate participants, in three possible orders (Action-
Participant1-Participant2, Participant1-Action-Participant2, Participant1-Participant2-
100 Action). Each order was ambiguous: it was not made explicit which participant had the
role of agent and which patient. For each string, participants were asked to choose an
102 interpretation from two line drawings: one with the first participant in the role of agent,
and one with the second participant in the role of agent. They found that participants
104 take the element mentioned first in the gesture string to be the agent, i.e., ‘woman man
push’ is interpreted most robustly with the woman in the role of the pusher.

106 They conclude that interpretation of these ambiguous strings is governed by a se-
mantic constraint, ‘agent first’, and they emphasise the difference between interpreta-
108 tion and production: the latter is motivated by production constraints—i.e., gesturers
will often use their own body to take on roles of the event participants, and using SOV
110 word order involves more ‘role switches’ than using SVO order, which makes SVO
more fluent than SOV (Hall et al., 2013; Hall, Ferreira, & Mayberry, 2014).

112 To summarise, silent gesture investigates the cognitive constraints that play a role
when a system of linguistic conventions is not in place. Investigating production and
114 interpretation of silent gesture can help us gain insight into how these two processes
contribute to an emerging linguistic system. From what we have seen above it is not
116 entirely clear how production and interpretation, in the absence of linguistic conven-
tions, relate to each other. Hall et al. (2015) emphasise the difference between silent
118 gesture production and interpretation. They postulate procedural, production-related
constraints for production, and a semantic heuristic (‘agent first’) for interpretation.

120 Langus and Nespors (2010), on the other hand, emphasise the similarities between silent
gesture production and interpretation: both are governed, not by grammatical rules, but
122 by cognitive constraints.

We add crucial evidence to the question whether production and interpretation of
124 improvised language are intrinsically similar or rather different from each other. Pre-
senting a silent gesture interpretation experiment, along with a Bayesian computational
126 model for the experimental task, we will point out in which respects production is cru-
cially different from interpretation, in emerging language situations. Our starting point
128 is the semantic differences between extensional and intensional events that are driving
word order variability in silent gesture production (Schouwstra & de Swart, 2014). We
130 ask if participants will use these semantic principles when they *interpret* silent gesture,
and what this can tell us about their underlying biases. Our interpretation experiment is
132 the first to mirror a silent gesture production task, and this allows us to investigate the
link between meaning and word order, not only qualitatively (‘does word order influ-
134 ence the meaning an interpreter derives?’), but also quantitatively: by specifying com-
putational principles that sub-serve interpretation of silent gesture under uncertainty,
136 we are able to reason backwards from experimental results to a quantitative estimate
of the cognitive biases guiding word order usage. Our estimates of participants’ biases
138 align with the pattern of results observed independently in production experiments: our
results suggest skewed but defeasible event-class-conditional word-order preferences,
140 whose effects on silent-gesture interpretation may be mediated by more general princi-
ples of inference under uncertainty.

142 **2 Experiment: improvised gesture interpretation**

To test if the order of constituents influences the way in which participants interpret
144 gesture strings, we presented participants with video clips of gesture strings with an
ambiguous action (verb) gesture plus its two arguments. An example of an ambiguous
146 action gesture is shown in figure 1. This gesture can be interpreted as a climbing action,
but also as a building action. Together with the constituents ‘witch’ and ‘house’, this



Figure 1: The figure depicts different stages of an ambiguous action being acted out. This action can be interpreted as ‘build’ or as ‘climb’. The experiment investigates if the order of the constituents in a gesture sequence has an influence on the interpretation of such ambiguous actions.

148 results in two possible interpretations: ‘witch climbs house’ (an extensional event), and
‘witch builds house’ (an intensional event). We construed videos in two possible or-
150 ders, SOV and SVO.² We hypothesised, based on the production results in Schouwstra
and de Swart (2014), plus the similarities between production and interpretation found
152 in Langus and Nespors (2010), that the gesture order had an influence on interpretation,
and predicted that, when engaged in a dual forced choice task (that presents the two
154 possible interpretations as answer options), participants would be more likely to inter-
pret SVO ordered gesture strings as intensional events than as extensional events, and
156 vice versa.

2.1 Method

158 2.1.1 Participants

Forty one native speakers of Dutch (16 male, 25 female) were recruited from the
160 Utrecht University library in Utrecht, the Netherlands, and forty native speakers of
Turkish (12 male, 28 female) were recruited from the Bogazici University library in
162 Istanbul, Turkey. None of the participants received monetary compensation.

²Two example videos (‘princess sleeps-on / dreams-of book’) are included in the supporting material.

2.1.2 Materials

164 We created video clips showing three gestured elements: an actor, a patient and an
action. The three elements for each video were recorded separately, and for each video
166 clip, three fragments were concatenated using white flash transitions. The *actions* in
each video were ambiguous: they could be interpreted as an extensional verb, or an
168 intensional verb. For each ambiguous action, we created two ambiguous gesture se-
quences: one in SVO order and one in SOV order, resulting in 12 pairs of videos. Note
170 that for each pair of differently ordered strings, we used exactly the same video ma-
terial (but ordered differently). The twelve pairs of ambiguous strings were randomly
172 distributed over two versions such that each version consisted of 6 SOV videos and 6
SVO videos, while at the same time, each ambiguous action occurred only once per
174 version.

Four filler items were created: videos of gesture sequences with unambiguous ac-
176 tions (two intensional and two extensional). For each ambiguous video, two line draw-
ings were made, that represented the two alternative interpretations for the ambiguous
178 items. For each filler, we created one line drawing depicting the right answer, and one
depicting the same actor and patient, but a different action.

180 2.1.3 Procedure

The participants were shown videos on a laptop screen in a two alternative forced
182 choice task; pictures of the corresponding intensional and extensional events were
shown as the two answer possibilities. First, two practice items with unambiguous
184 verbs were shown, followed by the ambiguous items and fillers. The items were pre-
sented in random order, and the order was different for each participant. The two
186 answer possibilities were shown before each video and again afterwards.³ The order of
the two answer possibilities was randomly determined. The experiment took about ten
188 minutes to complete.

³Showing the answer possibilities before the gesture videos was necessary, because a pilot experiment suggested that the task was too hard when we did not show the answers first.

2.2 Analysis and results

190 The data were analysed using a logit mixed effects regression, implementing the *lme4*
package (Bates et al., 2015) in R (R Core Team, 2014). Our model analysed the fixed
192 effects of gesture-order and country (both sum coded) on the interpretation. Participant
was included as random intercept⁴ and random slopes of gesture-order were included
194 for item. The model revealed that participants were slightly more likely to choose an
extensional response, as indicated by the model intercept: $\beta = 0.759$, $SE = 0.415$,
196 $p = 0.067$. A significant effect of gesture-order was found ($\beta = 0.414$, $SE = 0.103$,
 $p < 0.001$), but no effect of country ($\beta = 0.001$, $SE = 0.086$, $p = 0.984$).⁵ Figure 2
198 depicts the proportions of videos interpreted as extensional events, by gesture order.

Accuracy for the filler items was almost at ceiling level, with 98% overall accuracy,
200 and at most 1 wrong answer per participant.

2.2.1 Baseline study

202 To further investigate the overall preference for extensional interpretations, and to es-
tablish a baseline measure for each individual ambiguous action (independent of word
204 order) we carried out an additional experiment. This experiment presented partici-
pants with the ambiguous action gestures only, instead of strings containing actor, ac-
206 tion and patient gestures. Data was collected online (N=40; all participants except
one were native speakers of English), on a crowdsourcing platform (Crowdfunder; see
208 www.crowdfunder.com).

Like in the full-string experiment, participants were presented with ambiguous ex-
210 perimental items (10) and fillers (4), presented in random order in a two alternative
forced choice task. For each trial, the participant would first see the two possible inter-
212 pretations, presented as line drawings. Subsequently, the participant observed a video

⁴Including random slopes of gesture order resulted in high correlations between fixed and random effect; moreover, the model that implements both random slopes does not reveal an improved fit over the model that was eventually used ($\chi^2=0.000$, $p=.99$).

⁵Upon re-analysis of the video clips we decided to exclude two videos from the results: 'Pirate drops/searches ball' and 'Girl kisses/thinks of doll'. These two videos differ from the others in the sense that the ambiguous actions they depict consist of two sub-gestures, (a 'drop'-gesture followed by a 'search' gesture for the former, and a 'think of' gesture followed by a 'kiss' gesture for the latter) whereas for all other ambiguous actions, only one gesture is used. Including the two deleted item in the analysis still yields significant main effect of gesture-order: $\beta = 0.302$, $SE = 0.075$, $p < 0.001$.

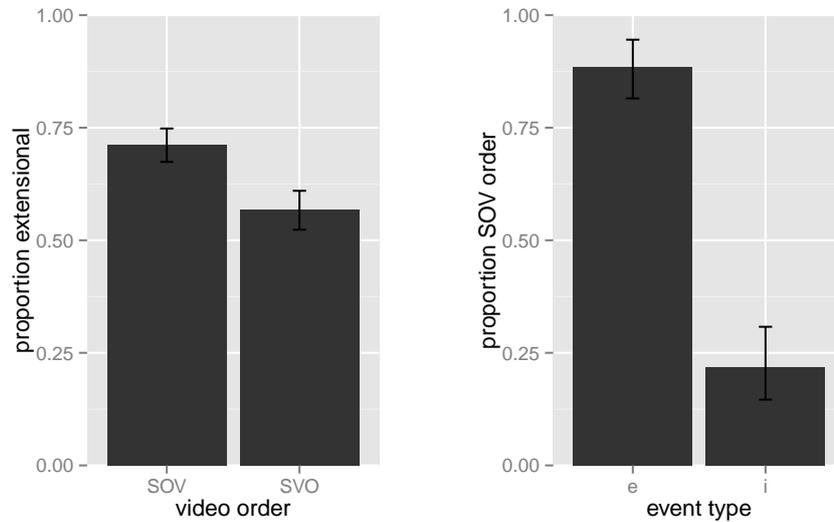


Figure 2: Main interpretation results are shown in left hand graph. Mean proportions of videos interpreted as extensional event are shown for SOV and SVO video orders. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals. The graph on the right hand side shows the production results from Schouwstra & de Swart (2014) for comparison. Proportion of strings in SOV order are displayed by event type (extensional and intensional). Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

of an ambiguous action gesture; they then saw the two line drawings again, and were
 214 asked to select the drawing that they thought best matched the gesture in the video.

Ten experimental responses plus four filler responses per participant were collected.
 216 Because the task was a two alternative forced choice task, there were no missing data
 points.

218 To compare the overall preference for extensional events in the full-string exper-
 iment to that in the verb-only experiment, we merged the data sets, and ran a logit
 220 mixed effects regression on the to model interpretation, with Experiment (verb-only vs
 full-string, null-coded) as fixed effect, and random intercepts and random slopes of ex-
 222 periment for item. A preference for extensional interpretations in the Verb experiment
 was reflected in the model intercept: $\beta = 0.953$, $SE = 0.368$, $p < 0.01$. Crucially, no sig-
 224 nificant effect of experiment was observed ($\beta = -0.215$, $SE = 0.2659$, $p < 0.419$). From
 this we conclude that the two experiments saw no difference in the level of preference
 226 for extensional events.

To use the verb-only experiment results as a by-item baseline for the original (full-string) study, we calculated the proportion of extensional interpretations for each item, resulting in ten baseline values. We incorporated these baseline values into the data for the full-string experiment, by creating normalised responses per trial: we took numeric conversions for the responses per trial (1 for extensional and 0 for intensional), and subtracted the baseline value (based on the item ID), adding 1 to the resulting value.⁶ A linear mixed effects model was performed on these normalised values, taking gesture-order and country as fixed effects, and random intercepts for item and participant, as well as random slopes for Gesture-order on item. The full model revealed a significantly better fit than the reduced model which only had Country as a predictor ($\chi^2=7.99$, $p<.001$), while no significant difference was found between the full model and the model that omitted country as a predictor ($\chi^2=0.21$, $p=.90$).

2.3 Discussion

There are two main conclusions we can draw from the experimental results. First of all, the order in which the ambiguous gesture strings were presented did indeed influence the way they were interpreted by participants: a video clip was more likely to be interpreted as an extensional event when it was presented in SOV order than when it was presented in SVO order, and vice versa. The fact that variability between SOV and SVO is picked up as a cue for interpretation shows that this variability, as it occurs in production, matters for communication.

The second important conclusion is that – in comparison to the results of the production experiment – the effect of word order on meaning in interpretation is modest. For comparison, figure ?? depicts the effect of meaning on word order, taken from the production results presented in (Schouwstra & de Swart, 2014). What does this quantitative difference tell us about the nature of word-order biases in this context? Given the striking asymmetries in production, it is tempting to expect similarly striking asymmetry in interpretation. This expectation may be misleading, because interpretation involves reasoning under uncertainty. If participants are accounting for this uncertainty,

⁶The latter was done to ensure all values were above 0. The resulting values were all between 0 and 2.

then the impact of the word order biases may be dampened.

256 For example, the interpretation task – perhaps more so than the production task –
is implicitly interactive: participants are interpreting the behaviour of another speaker.
258 Participants have no knowledge of the speaker’s linguistic system, and may be ac-
counting for this uncertainty when making their decisions. A learner following these
260 principles may be forced to consider disfavoured ordering systems that would be un-
likely to play a role in the participant’s own spontaneous productions: for all but the
262 most strongly biased learners, this could lead to a scenario in which low-level ordering
preferences can drive striking asymmetries in improvised production, but these asym-
264 metries are attenuated by uncertainty during interpretation. To apply a classic analogy:
production can be likened to repeatedly flipping a weighted coin to decide SOV or
266 SVO, one for Extensional and one for Intensional events, where the bias of the coin
corresponds to a low-level semantic bias; interpretation, on the other hand, forces an
268 ideal observer to account for the fact that the gesturer may be holding completely dif-
ferent coins - a more abstract consideration which could lead to uncertainty. In addition
270 to these considerations, any *a priori* bias the observer has toward one event class over
the other could dilute the influence of word-order biases (in a way that would not play
272 a role during production).

These factors, which we will discuss in greater detail below, may break the direct
274 link between biases evident in production and their impact on interpretation. Drawing
conclusions about word-order biases from interpretation implicitly assumes a model of
276 participants’ decisions. In the next section, we develop an explicit model, and use the
model to estimate participants’ biases from experimental data.

278 **3 Model: A computational Analysis of Gesture Inter- pretation**

280 The role of word-order biases in interpretation of improvised gestural communication
has, to the best of our knowledge, received no formal attention whatsoever. While
282 the experimental literature reviewed in section 1.1 provides intriguing hypotheses –

such as the hypothesis that independent heuristics drive production and interpretation
284 (Hall et al., 2015) – there remains no general computational framework for deriving
and testing their quantitative predictions. Here we present a model which allows us
286 to test a simple model of interpretation against the experimental data. Our model is
based around the the idea that non-conventional gestural communication recruits simi-
288 lar biases to production, but the effects of those biases may be mediated by uncertainty.
Our approach is to lay out a simple computational model which formalises the logic
290 discussed here and elsewhere in realted literature: the model can be tested against the
experimental data, and can act as a benchmark against which alternative accounts can
292 be contrasted.

The central abstraction in our analysis is that participant behaviour can be pro-
294 ductively broken down into two components: a set of preferences or dispositions that
favour the use of particular orderings in particular contexts; and a procedure for em-
296 ploying these preferences when reasoning about the gesture orderings produced by
another individual – in contexts where the intended meaning is unknown and must be
298 reverse-engineered.

The Bayesian framework provides a natural model for this division of labour. This
300 approach to statistical inference specifies a simple formula describing how a rational
learner should update its beliefs about the nature of an unobserved mechanism respon-
302 sible for generating an observed set of data: under this perspective, the task of a learner
(e.g. a language learner) is to evaluate competing hypotheses about the nature of the un-
304 derlying mechanism in light of the data observed (Perfors et al, 2011). In particular, the
framework allows us to explicitly model biases as *prior distributions*. The principles
306 underpinning Bayesian inductive inference align with human learning in many psy-
chological domains (Chater, Oaksford, Hahn, & Heit, 2010; Griffiths, Chater, Kemp,
308 Perfors, & Tenenbaum, 2010). With respect to language, models of probabilistic ra-
tional inference have been applied to numerous aspects of linguistic structure (Chater
310 & Manning, 2006), including word order generalisations in artificial grammar learning
(Culbertson & Smolensky, 2012), and have been used to model the pragmatic princi-
312 ples underpinning production and interpretation of speech (Goodman & Frank, 2016;

Frank & Goodman, 2012; Goodman & Stuhlmüller, 2013), but have not previously
314 been explored as a model for the learning mechanisms that sub-serve improvised ges-
ture.

316 Interpretation of improvised, not-yet-conventionalised communication is a partic-
ularly exciting focus for computational modeling of this sort because, in terms of the
318 structure of the computational problem facing the interpreter, it has a distinctive char-
acter that is a-typical of linguistic communication: the interpreter is – knowingly -
320 largely or completely in the dark with respect to the gesturer’s linguistic system. This
distinguishes improvised gesture from typical artificial language learning scenarios in
322 which the learner is explicitly taught new conventions. Whether and how learners ac-
count for this uncertainty, and accordingly lean on their own biases in the absence of
324 helpful evidence about the gesturer, is an open question with important implications for
emerging language systems. By constructing an inferential model for the experimental
326 task at hand, we can make inroads on this question in a simple problem where, thanks
to existing results (Schouwstra & de Swart, 2014), we already have a good impression
328 of people’s biases in production, allowing cross-validation of our conclusions.

3.1 Interpretation through Bayesian Inference

330 3.1.1 Interpreting Gestures

Our model casts gesture interpretation as probabilistic inductive inference from an or-
dered gesture g to an unobserved intended meaning m . Given the principles of Bayesian
inference, we model selection of a meaning as a random sample from the posterior dis-
tribution over meanings given an observed gesture, $p(m|g)$: the learner arrives at pos-
terior beliefs by combining its *prior expectations* $p(m)$ about the relative probability
of meanings m , and the *likelihood* of observing gesture g if m were the true intended
meaning. Under this model, the probability of choosing a meaning m as the intended
meaning behind an observed gesture g is given by:

$$p(m|g) = \frac{p(g|m)p(m)}{p(g)}, \quad (1)$$

where $p(g)$ is simply a normalising constant⁷. Learners' a priori expectations about
 332 the probability of each event type, $p(m)$, can be captured with a single parameter λ ,
 such that $\lambda = p(m = \text{Extensional}) = 1 - p(m = \text{Intensional})$. However, the likelihood
 334 $p(g|m)$ of observing a gesture g in the event that the gesturer were expressing meaning
 m is not inherently specified by that meaning. Rather, it reflects the gesturer's system
 336 for associating meanings and ordering patterns. To interpret the utterances of another
 speaker, we must make some assumption about the speaker's system for *producing*
 338 utterances. This principle has been central to models of pragmatic language processing
 (Goodman & Frank, 2016), and is just as important in situations like ours where no
 340 existing linguistic conventions are established.

3.2 Probabilistic Conditional Word-order Usage

Let $\vec{p} = (p_{ext}, p_{int})$ be a simple probabilistic model describing preferential usage, condi-
 342 tional on semantic properties of the verb, of the two possible orderings for subject-first
 gestures composed of a single verb and object (SVO and SOV)⁸. Here p_{ext} is the proba-
 344 bility of employing SVO to express an *Extensional* event: $p(g = \text{SVO}|m = \text{Ext}) = p_{ext}$;
 346 likewise p_{int} is the probability of using SVO to express an *Intensional* event: $p(g =$
 $\text{SVO}|m = \text{Int})$. The probabilities of employing SOV for Extensional and Intensional
 348 events respectively are $p(g = \text{SOV}|m = \text{Ext}) = 1 - p_{ext}$ and $p(g = \text{SOV}|m = \text{Int}) =$
 $1 - p_{int}$.

350 An underlying system of associations \vec{p} is tacitly assumed in equation 1, since
 $p(g|m)$ is a function of \vec{p} . In our experiment, which featured no labelled examples
 352 or feedback, participants faced an inherent uncertainty about the gesturer's system \vec{p} .
 For example, the gesturer could be speaking a language that does not condition the
 354 ordering of verbs and their objects on this semantic distinction, consistently expressing
 both extensional and intensional events using SVO (i.e. $p_{ext} = p_{int} \approx 1$) or SOV

⁷The constant $p(g) = p(g|m = \text{Ext})p(m = \text{Ext}) + p(g|m = \text{Int})p(m = \text{Int})$ captures the degree of evidence conveyed by the gesture, summed over both possible hypothesised event types.

⁸For brevity, we will call these *S-First* gestures. The model describes the computations that underpin usage of just these two orderings: though more are possible, we are interested primarily in the balance of SVO and SOV, and as such we ignore alternatives, though note that the model could easily be extended to reserve probability mass for alternative orderings. This is a reasonable simplification since our experiment concerned just SOV and SVO.

356 (i.e. $p_{ext} = p_{int} \approx 0$). Likewise, these ordering patterns could be in free variation
 ($p_{ext} = p_{int} = 1/2$), strong complementary conditioned usage (i.e. $p_{ext} = 1, p_{int} = 0$
 358 or $p_{ext} = 1, p_{int} = 0$), weaker complementary usage (i.e. $p_{ext} = 1 - p_{int}$), or anything
 in between. We aim to compute a probability model for the decisions of a learner who
 360 accounts for this uncertainty.

3.2.1 Accounting for Uncertainty about \vec{p}

One simple way to achieve this computationally is to model a learner who considers all possible systems \vec{p} , accounting for the implications each variant entails for her decision⁹. Crucially, such a learner need not treat all \vec{p} s as equally plausible. We allow the computation to reflect a *weighted* sum, taken over a prior distribution $p(\vec{p})$ which specifies the learner’s biases over the space of possible systems. This is how we model the influence of inductive biases on inference whilst also accommodating the uncertainty inherent in the learner’s observations. Under these assumptions the probability of choosing meaning m after observing gesture g is:

$$p(m|g) = \iint_{\vec{p}} p(m|g, \vec{p})p(\vec{p}) \, dp_{ext} \, dp_{int} \quad (2)$$

362 Here $p(m|g, \vec{p})$ is given by equation (1), with the conditioning on \vec{p} made explicit.
 The quantity $p(\vec{p})$ can be understood to reflect the learner’s prior beliefs: cognitive
 364 biases for conditional association of ordering patterns and semantic properties of the
 verb. These biases impose probabilistic preferences on the space of possible asso-
 366 ciation systems, and can be modelled with the Beta distribution (see Appendix A for
 details): $p(\vec{p}) = p(p_{ext})p(p_{int}) = \text{Beta}(p_{ext}; \alpha_{ext}, \beta_{ext}) \cdot \text{Beta}(p_{int}; \alpha_{int}, \beta_{int})$. The shape
 368 and strength of these preferences are determined by the prior parameters $\alpha_{ext}, \beta_{ext}, \alpha_{int},$
 and β_{int} . An intuitive way to view these parameters is as *psuedo-counts*, or counts that

⁹Technically, we assume the learner considers all systems \vec{p} that could have generated the observed gesture. An infinitesimally small subset of possible systems \vec{p} represent a mis-specified model for the gesturer under certain observations (observed gesture orderings). For example, if the learner observes an SVO gesture, the system $\vec{p} = (0, 0)$ is a mis-specified model of the world, since neither event type could have generated the data under this model: as a result, the posterior distribution $p(m|g, \vec{p})$ over event types is improper, being zero for both types of meaning, leading to $p(g) = 0$. So in equation (2), a misspecified model of the gesturer will make no contribution to the sum, even if it reserves probability mass under the prior $p(\vec{p})$, since $p(m|g, \vec{p})$ will evaluate to zero whatever the meaning. We thank Simon Kirby for raising this point.

370 are added to the observed counts when predicting the probability of an outcome (α
being the pseudo-count for SVO gestures, and β for SOV).

372 **3.3 Results**

3.3.1 Model Predictions

374 We analysed three versions of the model and compared their predictions to the exper-
imental data (figure 3). A baseline *unbiased* version of the model (M0), in which we
376 fixed neutral priors over meanings ($\lambda = 1/2$) and event-ordering association systems
($\alpha_{ext} = \beta_{ext} = \alpha_{int} = \beta_{int} = 1$), is unsurprisingly the poorest predictor of the exper-
378 imental data, affording participants' responses a combined log-likelihood of -256.98:
this model predicts fifty-fifty interpretation responses to both SOV and SVO gestures,
380 failing to capture the asymmetry in responses across ordering patterns, and the overall
preference for Extensional events.

382 In order to ask whether the experimental result is being driven by general pref-
erences for one event type over another, and not by conditional associations between
384 events and ordering patterns, we computed the predictions of a semi-biased version of
the model (M1): here we fixed a neutral prior over association systems ($\alpha_{ext} = \beta_{ext} =$
386 $\alpha_{int} = \beta_{int} = 1$) but fit λ to the experimental data. The maximum-likelihood estimate is
 $\hat{\lambda} = 0.68$: this model affords the data a combined log-likelihood of -225. The model-fit
388 suggests a slight overall preference for Extensional events independent of gesture or-
dering, and this is reflected in the model's predictions (figure 3). This bias is in line
390 with the results of our baseline experiment presented above. We found λ to be one
of the most consistent parameter estimates in our model. Though M1 is a better fit to
392 the data than M0, it nevertheless fails to capture the asymmetry between responses to
SVO and SOV gestures.

394 These versions of the model suggest that – to account for the pattern of exper-
imental results – the learning model we have described must include a non-neutral
396 preference for some systems of event-ordering association over others. We fit the full
model (M2) to the experimental data, by inferring maximum-likelihood estimates (see

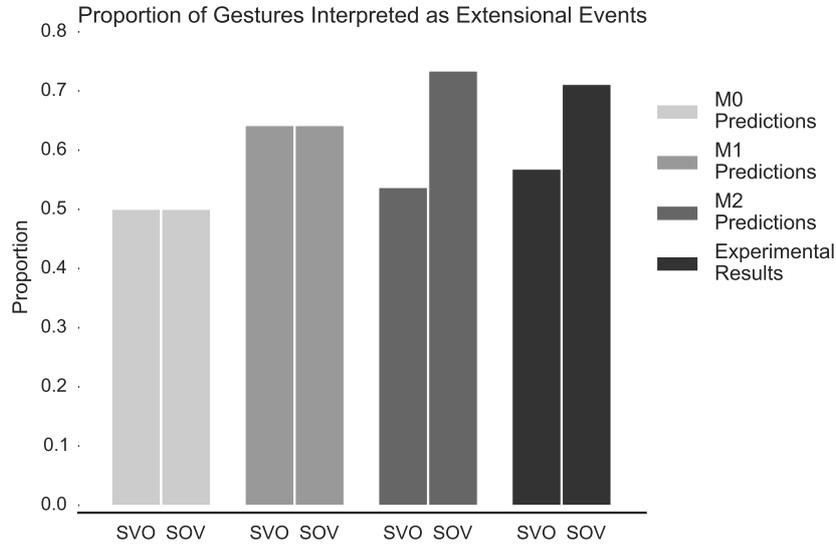


Figure 3: Comparison of model predictions and experimental results. The biased model (M2), but not the unbiased (M0) or the event-biased (M1) model, predicts both experimental results: asymmetric responses to SOV and SVO gestures, and an overall preferences for Extensional events. Model predictions show the predicted probability of interpreting SVO/SOV gestures as Extensional events $p(m = \text{Ext}|g = \text{SVO}, \alpha, \beta)$ and $p(m = \text{Ext}|g = \text{SOV}, \alpha, \beta)$.

398 Appendix A for details) for $p(\vec{p})$. Drawing inferences about the shape of this prior
 is challenging: but possible under the relatively weak assumption that participants’
 400 constituent ordering preferences are approximately complementary across event-types:
however strongly I prefer one ordering pattern for Extensional events, that’s how
 402 *strongly I prefer the alternative ordering pattern for Intensional events*. More for-
 mally, we limit the space of possibilities for $p(\vec{p})$ by assuming $p(p_{ext}) \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \beta)$ and
 404 $p(p_{int}) \sim \text{Beta}(\beta, \alpha)$, thereby reducing the parameter space to two dimensions rather
 than four.

406 This assumption may seem restrictive, but is justified by both theoretical and prac-
 tical considerations. In practical terms, the space of possible priors defined by allowing
 408 four freely varying parameters is too broad to make reliable inferences about their val-
 ues given the model we defined and the available data: many possible priors lead to
 410 equivelant or near equivelant values for $p(m|g)$, so the experimental data cannot choose

between alternative priors reliably ¹⁰. A natural solution is to reduce the number of
412 model parameters to create a space of possible priors in which we can perform reliable
inference. Moreover, this reduction can even be a desirable restriction if there are the-
414 oretical reasons to focus on a particular subspace of priors, and it is possible to check
that the reduction does not also lead to a dramatic reduction in the likelihood of the
416 data (compared to the higher-dimensional model). In our case, both of these conditions
are met (more details below).

418 Fixing $p(m)$ at its maximum-likelihood value inferred from M2 ($\lambda = 0.68$), the
maximum-likelihood parameter estimates for $p(\vec{p})$ are $\hat{\alpha} = 0.9$ and $\hat{\beta} = 1.18$, afford-
420 ing the data a combined log-likelihood of -215.977, correctly predicting participants'
chosen interpretation with average probability 0.77. Figure 3 demonstrates the close
422 correspondence between the model's predictions and participants' responses in our ex-
periment.

424 A natural concern is that we are building in the assumption that SVO and SOV
are used to communicate the semantic distinction in a somewhat complementary way,
426 by assuming $p(p_{ext}) \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \beta)$ and $p(p_{int}) \sim \text{Beta}(\beta, \alpha)$. In addition to the practi-
cal issues raised above, there are a number of theoretical reasons that this should not
428 be a major concern. First, whilst we aren't able to identify a single best-fitting prior
in the four-dimensional case, we are able to identify the maximum of the data likeli-
430 hood function in this model (achievable under multiple "best-fitting" priors). Crucially,
this maximum value is identical to the maximum value achievable under the two-
432 parameter "complementary priors" model (-215.977). In other words, the assumption
of complementary biases does not reduce the likelihood of the data, suggesting that we
434 should prefer the two-parameter version on grounds of parsimony anyway.

Second, we also analysed alternative assumptions within the restriction that only
436 two parameters define the prior, and found these to be inferior. For example, rather
than assuming "complementary" priors across event types ($\alpha_{ext} = \beta_{int}, \alpha_{int} = \beta_{ext}$), we
438 could assume independent priors which are each defined by a single parameter, such
that $p(p_{ext}) \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \alpha)$ and $p(p_{int}) \sim \text{Beta}(\beta, \beta)$, or identical priors defined by two

¹⁰This is a common obstacle in model fitting, and is often referred to in technical terms as *weak identifiability*. Appendix D includes MCMC samples from the posterior distribution over these parameters.

440 parameters, so that $p(p_{ext}) \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \beta)$ and $p(p_{int}) \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \beta)$. Neither of these
assumptions can explain the data as well as the "complementary prior" assumption:
442 respectively, the maximum of the likelihood function in these models is -216.92 and
 -225.03 . Taken together, these analyses suggest that the "complimentary priors" as-
444 sumption is justified over alternatives, both practically and theoretically, so we will
proceed to focus on this case.

446 3.3.2 Inferred Priors

Figure 4 shows the inferred prior $p(\vec{p})$. First, the model suggests a clear asymmetry in
448 ordering preferences across event types: the prior favours SOV for Extensional events,
and SVO for Intensional events. Second, the prior demonstrates a bias toward *regular-*
450 *ity*: consistent usage of the favoured ordering is preferred over variable usage (prob-
ability density peaks close to 0 for Extensional events and 1 for Intensional events).
452 This aspect of the prior is in keeping with the *regularisation bias*: a general prefer-
ence for regularity – motivated by simplicity principles and thought to be relevant to
454 cognition in general – that has been proposed in various linguistic (Reali & Griffiths,
2009a; Smith & Wonnacott, 2010; Culbertson & Smolensky, 2012) and non-linguistic
456 (Ferdinand, Thompson, Smith, & Kirby, 2013) domains.¹¹ Third, the prior expresses
preferences that are skewed but *weak*; it encodes asymmetric ordering preferences, but
458 these defeasible preferences could be easily overturned by observing contradictory data
about \vec{p} . A common measure for the strength of preferences imposed by prior beliefs
460 modelled using the Beta distribution is the *effective sample size* (ESS): $s = \alpha + \beta$. If,
as is common, the prior is viewed as expressing a set of *imaginary* data-points, then
462 the ESS reflects their number, and thus their power to over-rule observed data-points.
In the inferred prior, $s = 2.08$, suggesting just a handful of contradictory data-points
464 could lead the learner to entertain disfavoured systems \vec{p} .

¹¹Note that the kind of regularity observed here is *conditioned* regularity. Had there not been an asymmetry in ordering preference (the first aspect of the prior discussed above), then regularisation would have pushed the system towards one word order.

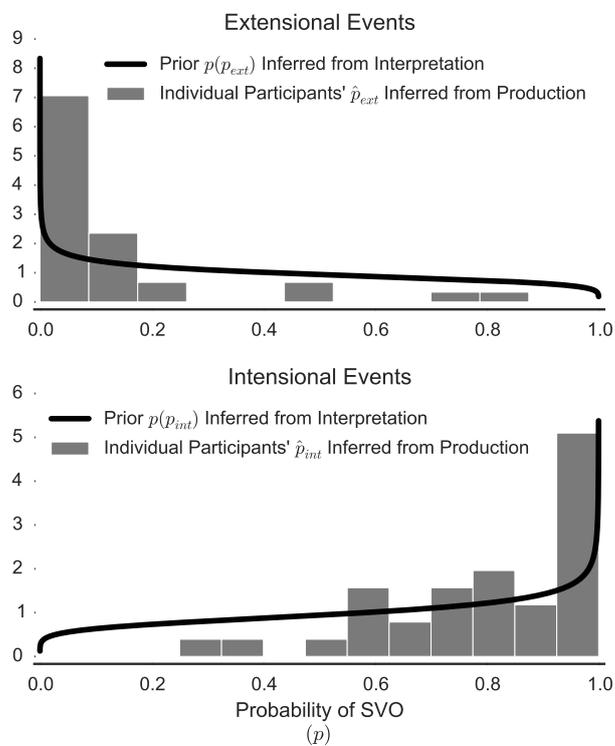


Figure 4: Lines show probability density functions for priors $p(p_{ext})$ (top) and $p(p_{int})$ (bottom) inferred from production data, superimposed on the (normalised) histograms of estimates of individual participants' \hat{p}_{ext} (top) and \hat{p}_{int} inferred from Schouwstra and de Swart's (2014) production data.

A simple way to test the credibility of the model is to ask how well its predictions
 466 generalise to *production*, having been inferred from *interpretation* only. Our reason-
 468 ing about the differences between production and interpretation in this context predicts
 470 that the shape of the inferred prior should be broadly compatible with the distribu-
 tion of productions across participants, favouring most strongly the kinds of systems
 472 evidenced in production, but should also reserve some probability mass over a wider
 range of possible systems \vec{p} than those which were most prominent in production. This
 474 is what we find. Together with the results presented in figure ??, these results show
 that our model is consistent with the differences we are attempting to explain between
 production and interpretation experimental results.

We analysed production data from (Schouwstra & de Swart, 2014)'s experiment
 476 and inferred maximum-likelihood estimates \hat{p}_{ext} and \hat{p}_{int} for each individual partici-

478 pant (see Appendix C for details). Figure 4 shows the (normalised) histograms of these
estimates, superimposed on the priors $p(p_{ext})$ and $p(p_{int})$ we inferred from interpre-
480 tation. A correspondence between the distributions is clear: the biases we inferred
from interpretation are consistent with the pattern of results observed independently
482 in production. The prior favours the same strongly biased ordering systems that were
most prominent in production, but also reserves some non-zero probability for alterna-
484 tive ordering systems that were not prominent in production. This is consistent with
our hypothesis that the same biases play a role in production and interpretation, but
486 that low probability ordering systems are accounted for during interpretation, which
dilutes the stronger asymmetry observed in production that was driven by favored,
higher probability ordering systems.

488 It is also possible to directly compute the likelihood of the production data under
the prior inferred from participants' interpretations (see appendix C or details): this
490 analysis shows that the model correctly predicts the use of SVO and SOV in production
with average probability 0.77 for extensional gestures and 0.74 for intensional gestures.

492 **3.4 Discussion**

Our model provides one possible computational account for the main experimental
494 finding that when interpreting gestures, participants used constituent ordering patterns
as a cue to meaning. The model we described is a first-approximation to the inferences
496 that underpin production and interpretation of improvised communication. However,
the basic proposal – that interpretation involves inference and estimation, and that the
498 Bayesian framework provides a natural and useful model for understanding how learn-
ers bring their biases to bear on this uncertainty – is not tied to these experimental
500 conditions or this particular model. For example, the inferential model makes spe-
cific predictions about the posterior beliefs participants should entertain after observ-
502 ing labeled training examples, and it would be straightforward to construct experimen-
tal procedures that test these predictions. Likewise, plausible alternative explanations
504 for asymmetry between production and interpretation could be formulated within this
framework and directly compared.

506 Our model assumes that during interpretation, uncertain observers have principled
motivation to fall back on a more abstract layer of knowledge – a *prior* over possible
508 ordering systems – which can in theory dilute the lower-level ordering biases evident
in participants’ responses in a matched production experiment. We have suggested that
510 this principle offers an explanation for the difference in effect we observe between pro-
duction and interpretation experiments. This explanation rests on the hypothesis that
512 production in this particular scenario does not invoke the same abstract considerations
(at least not to the same degree), but follows a lower level sampling process driven by
514 favored ordering systems. These favoured ordering schemes will have high probability
under the prior thanks to the same semantic biases, but we shouldn’t expect that these
516 biases are so strong as to rule out consideration of alternative ordering schemes. While
the asymmetry may not hold for more interactive production scenarios in general, we
518 believe this assumption is a conservative starting point which could easily be tested
in future experiments that manipulate the degree of interactivity in production. An
520 emerging body of research on the pragmatics of speech production and interpretation
(Goodman & Frank, 2016) provides a road map for these kinds of questions.

522 In general, we hope our analysis can motivate further experimental and computa-
tional efforts to illuminate how individuals use and process improvised communication
524 systems under uncertainty. Computational modeling will be a crucial component in
understanding how production and interpretation interact during communication and
526 learning to shape the dynamics of an emerging language, particularly as those forces
play out in populations. Having experimentally-informed computational accounts of
528 these processes is an important step in that direction.

4 General Discussion

530 In the silent gesture paradigm, people are forced to communicate while they cannot
rely on an existing language system: they have to improvise. Previous work has shown
532 that when people improvise, there are some general principles for the organisation of
their utterances: they prefer SOV word order for simple transitive events that involve

534 motion through space, but they switch to other orders for other kinds of events. This
kind of meaning based word order alternation is not generally observed in fully con-
536 ventionalised languages.

In this paper we have looked at the interpretation of silent gesture, and compared
538 it to silent gesture production. We used a laboratory experiment as well as a computa-
tional model to investigate the mechanisms that underpin the emergence of linguistic
540 rules, particularly how language production and language comprehension relate to each
other. We started from the observation (Schouwstra & de Swart, 2014) that when peo-
542 ple improvise, the organisation of their utterances depends on their semantic properties:
extensional and intensional events give rise to SOV and SVO word orders respectively.
544 Using a silent gesture interpretation experiment, we showed that a similar connection
between meaning and form is present in the interpretation of improvised gesture. How-
546 ever, the effect in interpretation appeared modest in comparison to production. In the
second part of the paper we proposed an explanation for this: when people interpret
548 improvised gesture, they face an inherent uncertainty about the gesturer's linguistic
system. An ideal learner would account for this uncertainty, and shape her interpreta-
550 tion decisions accordingly.

In the introduction section we saw that previous interpretation experiments have led
552 to differing conclusions. Either, interpretation of improvised gesture, like production,
by-passes the grammatical system, and prefers SOV order for simple transitive (exten-
554 sional) events (Langus & Nespors, 2010), or production and interpretation each call for
rather different explanations: a simple semantics based heuristic ('agent first') for in-
556 terpretation, and specific production-related constraints (i.e., role conflict for reversible
events) for production (Hall et al., 2015). In this paper we used the combination of an
558 experiment and Bayesian modelling to obtain a more detailed picture of the improvi-
sation situation. With our experiment we showed that in silent gesture interpretation
560 (like in its production), meaning type and structure are connected in a way that is not
generally observed in existing languages. The heuristic that we have focused on in
562 this paper (the one that connects SOV to extensional and SVO to intensional events) is
different from the one that is described by (Hall et al., 2015), but they are both clearly

564 semantics based, and certainly compatible with one another.¹²

At the same time, there are important differences between silent gesture production
566 and interpretation. While in both production and interpretation experiments, partici-
pants must improvise and cannot use their own language or any conventional language
568 they know, the production experiment is more clearly than the interpretation experi-
ment a situation that lacks linguistic conventions. Participants produce their gestures
570 to the camera, and although there is an experimenter present, this experimenter is not
engaged in the improvisation task. In the interpretation experiment, participants are not
572 alone in the improvisation act: they observe another person's linguistic behaviours, and
they may entertain the possibility that this person behaves according to a set of existing
574 or emerging rules or tendencies in production. We constructed a computational model
of interpretation through inductive inference, based around the principle that learners
576 account for this uncertainty surrounding another individual's language use. The model
suggests that participants' decisions – which varied by word-order but nevertheless
578 portrayed uncertainty – may reflect motivated uncertainty in response to this unknown.
Casting interpretation in this framework (Perfors, Tenenbaum, Griffiths, & Xu, 2011)
580 connects improvised gesture with inference and estimation in other domains (e.g. Hsu,
Chater, & Vitányi, 2011; Clayards, Tanenhaus, Aslin, & Jacobs, 2008; Culbertson,
582 Smolensky, & Legendre, 2012; Goldwater, Griffiths, & Johnson, 2009; Perfors, Tenen-
baum, & Regier, 2011) through domain-general principles of inductive inference. For-
584 mulating questions about the emergence of linguistic rules/conventions in probabilistic
models of cognition is fruitful because it explicitly addresses how learners represent
586 and reason about the uncertainty that surrounds other minds in the absence of helpful
evidence. Going forward, we aim to explore principles for inductive inference fur-
588 ther, in semi-supervised learning scenarios that systematically confirm or contradict
the biases we inferred: e.g. *how much evidence must learners observe before they*
590 *are confident in their estimate of another individual's linguistic system? Can seem-*
ingly disfavoured ordering patterns be easily learned? The computational principles

¹²In fact, there is no reason to assume that the 'agent first' heuristic does not play a role in the *production* data discussed in (Hall et al., 2015), because the data does not provide counter evidence against this principle. The principle alone is simply not enough to explain the word order patterns.

592 governing when and how people bring their biases to bear on language use under un-
certainty are at present only superficially understood. Improvised gesture offers a rich
594 testing ground for these questions, which we believe will be best understood through
synthesis of experimental and computational analysis.

596 In the context of this paper, production and comprehension are studied separately,
but in real life, production and interpretation are not separated as strictly. In natural
598 interactive situations, they are always combined, and often even done at the same time
(Pickering & Garrod, 2013). A logical next step is to extend the silent gesture paradigm
600 to include communication (Christensen, Fusaroli, & Tylén, 2016) and cultural trans-
mission through artificial generations of lab participants (Motamedi, Schouwstra, Smith,
602 Culbertson, & Kirby, 2018; Schouwstra, Smith, & Kirby, 2016).

Together, the experiment and the model presented here clarified our thinking about
604 the mechanisms at play when a new language system emerges. The experiment showed
that the interpretation of silent gesture favours ordering preferences that are condi-
606 tioned on meaning - similar to what was observed for silent gesture production. Fitting
a computational model to the experimental data allowed us to estimate these ordering
608 preferences: they appear to be skewed and asymmetric across event types, but weak.
This implies that they lead to stronger conditioning of order on meaning when there are
610 no linguistic observations, a pattern that is confirmed by the silent gesture production
results from Schouwstra and de Swart (2014). On the other hand, the conditioned word
612 order alternation may be easily overturned by contradictory linguistic observations.
This observation appears consistent with the fact that there are no languages in which
614 word order is conditioned on verb type as it appears to be in silent gesture production.
However, it is well known that, under the right circumstances, weak inductive biases
616 can shape regularities – sometimes even disproportionately strong regularities – over
the course of cultural transmission (Kirby, Dowman, & Griffiths, 2007; Smith & Won-
618 nacott, 2010; Griffiths & Kalish, 2007; Boyd & Richerson, 1985; Reali & Griffiths,
2009b). Understanding the cultural evolutionary forces that suppress this alternation in
620 natural language is therefore a key priority for future research.

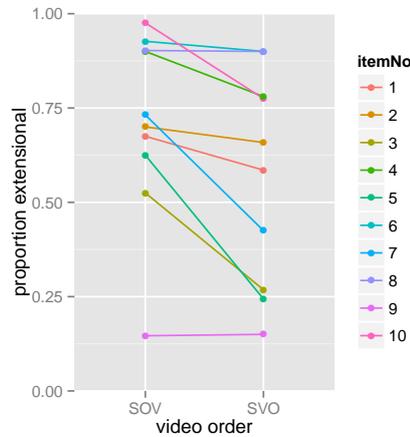


Figure 5: This shows the experimental results per item. The y axis shows the proportion of extensional interpretations.

5 Appendix A: Experimental stimuli and results by item

622 The following strings were used in the experiment (one ambiguous action per pair of
 verbs). The experimental results plotted by item can be found in figure 5. Item numbers
 624 in the table correspond with those in the figure, and the baseline values correspond to
 the proportion of extensional interpretations chosen in the verb-only experiment (see
 626 section 2.2.1).

item	description	baseline value
1	Princess smashes / carves vase	0.73
2	Gnome cuts / draws pizza	0.65
3	Witch eats / wants banana	0.45
4	Witch decorates / paints table	0.63
628 5	Girl sleeps on / dreams of book	0.30
6	Princess talks to / talks about teddybear	0.90
7	Pirate throws / hears guitar	0.85
8	Cook stirs / smells	0.90
9	Gnome pats / feels book	0.45
10	Witch climbs / builds house	0.95

6 Appendix B: ML Estimation of Interpretation Model

630

Parameters

The model formulates each chosen interpretation as an independent Bernoulli trial over Intensional and Extensional interpretations. The likelihood of a given participant's set of decisions is the product of two Binomial likelihoods, one for interpretations of SVO gestures and another for SOV gestures. The combined log-likelihood of the entire experimental data set D , taken over all n participants, as a function of model parameters $\Theta = (\alpha, \beta, \lambda)$ is:

$$\mathcal{L}\mathcal{L}(D|\Theta) = \sum_{i=1}^n \ln [\text{Binomial}(k_i^{svo}; \theta^{svo}, N^{svo})] + \ln [\text{Binomial}(k_i^{sov}; \theta^{sov}, N^{sov})] \quad (\text{B.1})$$

where $\theta^{svo} = p(m = \text{Ext.} | g = \text{SVO})$ and $\theta^{sov} = p(m = \text{Ext.} | g = \text{SOV})$ are computed with equation (2), which is given in explicit form below. k_i^{svo} and k_i^{sov} give the number of SVO and SOV gestures interpreted as Extensional events by the i th participant respectively, while N^{svo} and N^{sov} give the total number of SVO and SOV gestures observed, which did not vary across participants. For the main two-parameter *complementary priors* version of the model, equation (2) can be written more explicitly than the version in the main text. Separating the two gesture orderings:

$$\theta^{svo} = \int_0^1 \int_0^1 \frac{\lambda p_{ext}}{\lambda p_{ext} + (1 - \lambda) p_{int}} \frac{b}{\mathbf{B}(\alpha, \beta)^2} dp_{ext} dp_{int} \quad (\text{B.2})$$

$$\theta^{sov} = \int_0^1 \int_0^1 \frac{\lambda(1 - p_{ext})}{\lambda(1 - p_{ext}) + (1 - \lambda)(1 - p_{int})} \frac{b}{\mathbf{B}(\alpha, \beta)^2} dp_{ext} dp_{int} \quad (\text{B.3})$$

$$b = [(1 - p_{int}) \cdot p_{ext}]^{\alpha-1} \cdot [p_{int}(1 - p_{ext})]^{\beta-1} \quad (\text{B.4})$$

The first term in equations (B.2) and (B.3) gives $p(m = \text{Extensional} | g, \vec{p}, \lambda)$. The second term in both gives the prior over ordering systems $p(\vec{p})$, which is a combination of two Beta densities (the combination can be written this way thanks to the symmetry

632

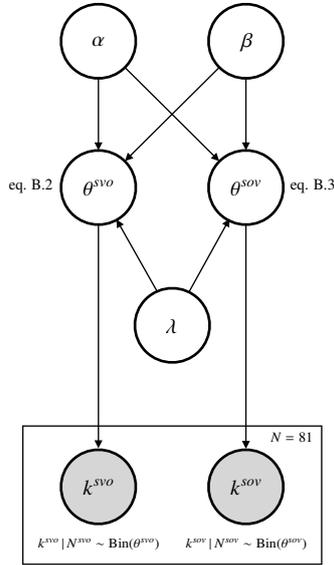


Figure 6: The model in graphical form, assuming *complementary priors* $p_{ext} \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha, \beta)$ and $p_{int} \sim \text{Beta}(\beta, \alpha)$.

634 in the parameters and the identity $B(\alpha, \beta) = B(\beta, \alpha)$ in the Beta function). Maximum
 likelihood estimates were obtained through numerical minimization of (the inverse of)
 636 eq. (B.1). Predictive probabilities reported throughout refer to the geometric mean
 of the combined log likelihood of all decisions. All optimization procedures reported
 638 were carried out using the Python library *Scipy*. Figure 6 shows the two-parameter
 version of the model in graphical form.

640 7 Appendix C: ML Estimation of \vec{p} from Production

Maximum likelihood estimates for p_{ext} and p_{int} inferred from production data for the
 i th participant are:

$$\hat{p}_{ext} = k_i^{ext} / N_i^{ext} \quad (\text{C.1})$$

$$\hat{p}_{int} = k_i^{int} / N_i^{int}, \quad (\text{C.2})$$

where k_i^{ext} and k_i^{int} give the number of Extensional and Intensional events expressed
642 using SVO, and N_i^{ext} and N_i^{int} are the total number of S-First gestures the i th participant
produced for Extensional and Intensional events, respectively. When we report the
644 probability of the production data under the prior inferred from interpretation, we are
computing the marginal likelihood of the binomial data under the beta prior determined
646 by the inferred parameters – the beta-binomial compound distribution.

8 Appendix D: Independent Beta Priors Analysis

648 Figure 7 shows 500000 MCMC samples from the marginal posterior distributions for
 $\log(\alpha_{ext})$, $\log(\beta_{ext})$, $\log(\alpha_{int})$, and $\log(\beta_{int})$ in the “independent Beta priors” version of
650 the model which allows four free parameters (with $\lambda = .68$ fixed). Samples were col-
lected under a uniform prior using an ensemble sampler with 250 walkers (Foreman-
652 Mackey, Hogg, Lang, & Goodman, 2013) initialised uniformly at random in $[-10, 10]$.
We collected so many samples because the data likelihood surface in this model is er-
654 ratic: the model parameters are only weakly identifiable given the experimental data.
We omit pairwise correlation plots because they are largely uninformative. Note how-
656 ever the correspondence between the distributions for α_{ext} and β_{int} , which is broadly
consistent with the idea that $p(p_{ext})$ and $p(p_{int})$ encode somewhat complimentary pref-
658 erences, though we caution against overinterpreting parameter estimates in this version
of model.

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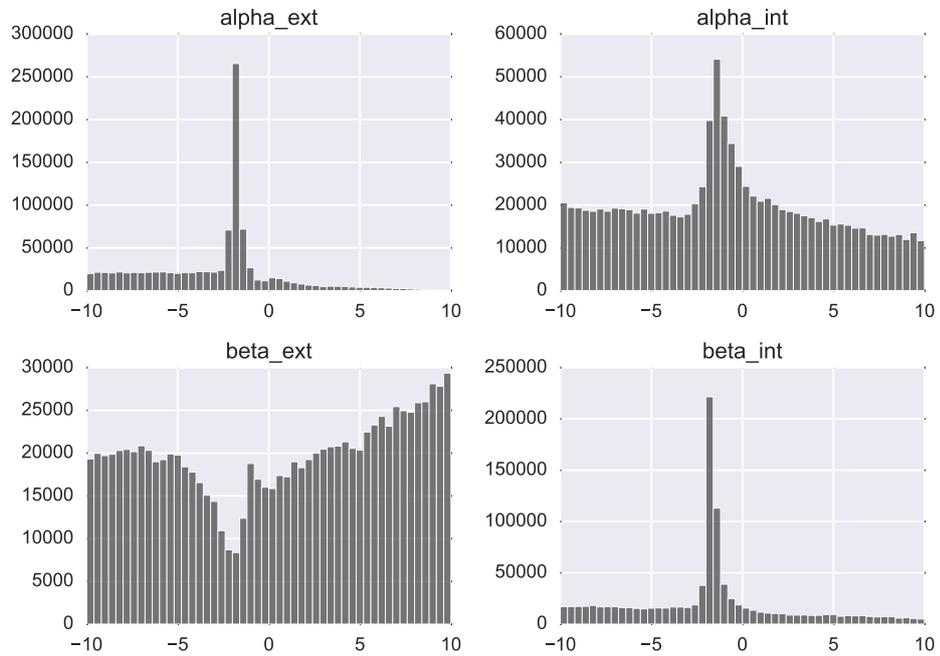


Figure 7: Posterior marginal samples in the *independent priors* version of the model, which allows four free parameters to determine prior distributions with independent shapes.

666 **References**

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