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4	Ducks lay eggs and lions have manes: The acceptability of gender-specific
5	minority generic sentences
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1 Abstract

2	Minority characteristic generic statements such as <i>ducks lay eggs</i> are judged to be generally
3	true of the class, despite being true of a minority of cases, such as healthy female ducks of
4	egg-laying age. Five studies explored the factors responsible for the acceptance of minority
5	generic statements about biological kinds. Studies 1 and 2 found that minority generic
6	statements about animals that are true of just one sex were no more likely to be accepted
7	as true of the class than were statements true of just one of two sub-types, not
8	differentiated by sex. Further studies showed that gender-specific ¹ properties are more
9	often accepted when related to reproduction (<i>ducks lay eggs</i>) than to appearance (<i>deer</i>
10	have antlers). It is proposed that reproductive properties are more easily interpreted as
11	referring to the kinds themselves, on account of their role in naïve biological theories of the
12	kinds. The result supports the view that minority generics are accepted to the degree that
13	they are embedded in naïve theories of a biological kind.
14	
15	Keywords
16	Generics; concepts; natural kinds; truth conditions
17	
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19	public, commercial or not-for-profit sectors.
20	
21	

¹ In keeping with practice in the literature we refer to the male-female distinction as gender-based, although in a biological context it is more appropriate to refer to it as sex-based. We use the terms interchangeably for the purpose of this article.

1 Our knowledge of the world relies on an informational structure built from individual 2 concept representations. According to recent theories (Hampton, 2012a; Leslie, 2007), 3 these concept representations themselves contain information found to be important and relevant for understanding that concept class. Such information contains definitional or 4 fundamental characteristics (for example, that a bird is a creature), but also information 5 6 about the common or typical form that exemplars of the concept may take (such as that 7 *birds fly*), together with any other information that it is important or striking for someone 8 to know about the class (Hampton, 2012a; Leslie, 2007). Such properties give rise to 9 generic statements, which people accept as true in the face of possible counterexamples 10 (such as *penguins* and *ostriches*).

11 In particular, when describing the properties of the members of a class, all known 12 languages typically make use of generic sentences (Krifka et al., 1995; Dayal, 1999). 13 Examples are *birds fly*, or *ducks lay eggs*. In many languages these statements may take 14 different grammatical forms. In English, for example, there is the bare plural (*ducks lay* eggs), and, when referring to the kind and not to an individual, either the definite singular 15 16 (the duck lays eggs) or the indefinite singular (a duck lays eggs). In Italian, by contrast, there 17 is no bare plural form, the definite article being required (le anatre depongono le uova). 18 Across languages, these different forms all have in common that they lack explicit 19 quantification (e.g., 'some', 'all', or 'most'), and express generalizations about a class or 20 kind, rather than claims about specific individuals (Khemlani et al., 2007; Krifka et al., 21 1995). Generic assertions are particularly interesting semantically as their truth appears to 22 survive the existence of counterexamples. Thus, generics are proposed to reflect the 23 content of the conceptual system, whose prototype structure and vague boundaries 24 sometimes can make an unreliable basis for traditional treatments of truth and logic 25 (Hampton, 2012a, 2012b).

Research on generic sentences has led to differentiation into four types with different
 linguistic and psychological properties (Prasada & Dillingham, 2006; Prasada et al., 2013).
 These are:

- majority principled characteristics (e.g., *airplanes have wings*) in which properties
are highly prevalent though not necessarily universally present among members of the
kind. These generics involve principled connections, by which is meant that people agree to
statements such as *an airplane has wings because it is an airplane, it is in virtue of being an airplane that an airplane has wings*, and so forth;

9 - majority statistical characteristics (e.g., *cars have radios*) in which properties are
10 highly prevalent among members of the kind in the same way, but lack a principled
11 connection (we would not say that *cars have radios* because they are cars, or that it is in
12 virtue of being cars that they have radios);

- minority characteristics (e.g. *lions have manes*), where although properties are only
true of a minority of the kind (in this case *male lions*), they still have principled connections
to the kind (*lions have manes in virtue of being lions*);

- striking characteristics (e.g., *pit bulls maul children*, or *oysters contain pearls*),
where properties need only be true of a very small minority, but where they refer to
something of great significance (Cimpian, Brandone & Gelman, 2010).

Our current interest in generics focusses on the third class listed above – minority
characteristics such as *lions have manes*, or *ducks lay eggs*. The existence of minority
characteristic generics is good evidence against the simple view that generics are some
form of approximation to a universally quantified sentence. For example, majority
characteristics (both principled – *tigers have stripes* – and statistical – *cars have radios*)
could be glossed as "most" or "almost all", but this will not work where a minority of the
kind has the property. People are very willing to accept that *ducks lay eggs* is true, in spite

of believing that males, juveniles, and female ducks past a certain age do not lay eggs. The 1 2 acceptability of such sentences is so strong that many people will even readily accept them 3 as universally true – agreeing to statements such as all ducks lay eggs, an effect termed the Generic Overgeneralisation Effect (Leslie, Khemlani, & Glucksberg, 2011). On the other 4 5 hand, there are well-known cases where in spite of a majority of a class having a property, 6 the equivalent generic is not accepted as true, as in the sentences *Canadians are right*-7 handed or books are paperbacks. The two sentences lions have manes and lions are male 8 have equal statistical support, (in fact there are more of the latter than the former) but only 9 the former sentence is considered true (a result found even in 5-year-old children, 10 Brandone et al., 2012).

11 The logic of generic sentences and their truth evaluation has been the object of 12 much debate and ongoing research (Cohen, 2004; Greenberg, 2003; Lerner & Leslie, 2016; 13 Leslie, 2007; 2014; Liebesman, 2011). Many different conditions for acceptable generics have been proposed. Cohen (2004) suggests that exceptions to a generic should not 14 constitute a "salient chunk" of the class, so that prevalence in the class must be similar 15 16 across salient subsets. For example, *books are paperbacks* fails because of subsets of the 17 class such as encyclopaedias which are hardback. For Tessler and Goodman (2019), the 18 property should be more prevalent in the class than it is in a superordinate class (for 19 example having manes is more common in lions than in animals, but being male is of 20 similar prevalence). Other accounts appeal to causal essences for biological kinds (Gelman 21 & Bloom, 2007), and to either essences or external constraints for social kinds (Noves & 22 Keil, 2019; Vasilyeva & Lombrozo, 2019).

For minority characteristics, which we are considering here, two contrasting positions can be identified. One view relies on Gricean pragmatics to suggest that the subject of the sentence *ducks lay eggs* is intended by the speaker, and understood by the

Passanisi & Hampton: Gender-specific generic sentences

hearer, to refer only to the relevant subset (adult females etc.). An example is the account 1 2 offered by Asher & Pelletier (2012), who suggest that the semantics of the sentence *ducks* 3 lay eggs, has an underlying logical form such that it is true if and only if those ducks that reproduce do so by laying eggs (as opposed to some other means of reproduction). In this 4 5 way the domain of discourse is said to be *restricted* to the relevant ducks – namely the ones 6 that are involved in reproduction. According to this account, generic statements will be 7 acceptable if they are normally true of a well-defined and relevant subset of the class, in 8 this case the females. (See also Declerck, 1991). What makes females a relevant subset in 9 this case is presumably the fact that they have a different role from males in reproduction. 10 Alternatively, Leslie (2008) introduced the notion that generics are statements 11 expressing expected characteristics of concepts. When a property is strongly integrated 12 into deeper knowledge about the kind, then it becomes an acceptable minority

13 characteristic. As Leslie puts it:

"... for certain types of kinds, including biological, artifact, and institutional 14 kinds, our background knowledge leads us to have certain strong expectations 15 concerning them. For example, we expect that biological kinds will exhibit certain 16 characteristics, or else face extinction. The most obvious expectation of biological 17 18 kinds is that reproduction will be possible. It is common knowledge that for an 19 animal kind to survive, certain conditions must be met. We generally suppose that: 20 There must be both male and female members of the species. There must be a 21 manner in which this reproduction and subsequent gestation occurs. There must be 22 adult members of the species. The young must be nourished in some way. I suggest 23 that generic statements that express determinate versions of these claims are true 24 even if there happen to be a large number of exceptions. Our background 25 assumption is that these claims are true in virtue of the kind under consideration

being a successful biological kind, so it takes a very large proportion (almost 100 1 2 percent) of exceptions for us to give up these claims." (Leslie, 2008, p. 14) 3 For this view, the truth of generic sentences depends on what is considered a relevant or characteristic fact about a kind (Khemlani et al., 2012). The relevance of 4 5 different facts depends on the wealth of causal-explanatory knowledge about the concept's 6 features (e.g., about their origins, centrality, functions), and the links between them in 7 semantic memory (Ahn et al., 2000; Barrett et al., 1993; Cimpian, Gelman, & Brandone, 8 2010; Gelman, 2003; Keil, 1992; Rehder & Hastie, 2001).

9 Although originating as an issue in linguistic semantics, our understanding of how 10 minority characteristic generics are evaluated has been greatly helped through empirical 11 studies. Leslie, Khemlani, Prasada and others have provided good empirical evidence for 12 the intuitions that drove earlier linguistic debates. Our aim in the present paper is to report 13 further empirical tests of the basis of the acceptability of minority characteristic generics. 14 The first concerns whether a particular attribute that is present in just 50% of a kind will be more likely to be accepted as generically true of the kind as a whole if it is associated 15 with one of two genders, as opposed to being true of just one of two different arbitrary sub-16 17 varieties of the species.

Some preliminary evidence suggests that this advantage for sexually differentiated 18 19 features will not be found. Cimpian, Gelman and Brandone (2010) conducted a study of 20 minority characteristics in which the task was to pick which one of two displayed sets of 21 cartoon animals, Set A or Set B, was more likely to bear a name such as Dontrets (with the 22 implication that it formed a natural kind). Each set was composed of 8 animals. In a typical 23 condition, each set displayed four adult and four immature animals labelled as such and 24 differentiated either by size (Expt 1) or by a pair of distinctive features (Expt 2). In 25 addition, just half the animals in each set had a long tail. The participants were told that

"Dontrets have long tails", and were asked to choose whether Set A or Set B were the 1 2 Dontrets. For Set A, the tail was possessed by two of the adults and two of the young, 3 whereas in Set B it was either possessed by all four adults and none of the young, or by all the young and none of the adults. Participants reliably chose Set B only in the case where 4 5 the long tail was possessed by the four adults, and not when it was possessed by the four 6 young. Cimpian et al. concluded that people use their theories of biological development 7 (characteristic appearance features often emerge in animals as they mature) to decide that 8 the class with all the adults having a long tail must be the kind in question.

9 Interestingly for our purposes, Cimpian, Gelman & Brandone (2010) included a 10 further condition in their Study 2 in which the adult/young labelling was replaced with a 11 male/female distinction, such that in Set A half the males and half the females possessed 12 the long tail, whereas in Set B it was just the four males, or just the four females. In this 13 condition, there was no preference shown for selecting Set B as the Dontrets. Even though 14 people are well aware of sexual differentiation in many species, they failed to see this as 15 providing increased validity to the set as a natural kind class.

16 This lack of evidence is perhaps surprising since many of the minority characteristic 17 generics which have been shown to be widely accepted involve just such a distinction. 18 Examples are lions have manes, deer have antlers or cardinals are bright red. Our first two 19 studies (Studies 1 and 2) were therefore aimed to test whether sex differentiation leads to 20 better generics than differentiation into sub-varieties. If sex represents a relevant 21 subdivision of a species for pragmatic purposes of restricted domain semantics, then 22 minority characteristic generics should be preferred when they are true of just one sex, 23 compared to when they are true of just one of an arbitrary division into two well-defined 24 subclasses. An alternative prediction can be derived from Cohen's (2006) homogeneity 25 condition, which proposes that subsets of the class should have similar prevalence for the

property in question. In our case, if two differentiated subclasses exist, then generics
 should be accepted neither for gender-based nor for arbitrary class divisions.

3 The second research question that we chose to investigate followed from the first, and concerned the degree to which different potential minority characteristic properties 4 5 represent the deep conceptual core of the kind. The range of minority properties that has 6 been studied empirically is relatively limited. For example, Leslie et al. (2011) employed 12 7 sentences, six of which described appearance features (lions have manes) and six 8 behaviours relating to reproduction (*ducks lay eggs*). While their data showed that people 9 were more ignorant of the gender-specific appearance features (many believed that female 10 cardinals are red, for example), there was no reported breakdown of their data between 11 the two types of feature. We hypothesized, following Leslie's argument (quoted above), 12 that features relating directly to reproduction and care of the young should be more deeply 13 embedded in people's naïve theories of biological kinds than features that serve to 14 differentiate the appearance of the sexes. Perhaps males and females can form "relevant subsets" for the restricted domain hypothesis (Asher & Pelletier, 2012) only in the case of 15 reproductive features where their contributions are differentiated but serve the common 16 17 goal of reproduction, but not in the case of appearance features.

Our second set of studies (Studies 3, 4 and 5) investigated this hypothesis. We
predicted that a key factor in accepting the truth of gender-specific minority characteristics
may relate to reproduction per se, rather than to other gender-related features.

21

Study 1

The first pair of studies were directed at testing whether minority characteristics true of only half of a class would be more readily accepted if the class was divided on the basis of males versus females, as opposed to being divided into two interbreeding varieties just differentiated by surface features. If the acceptability of *ducks lay eggs* is owing to

restriction of the domain of discourse to females, then having a property that is true of half
 of a species where the division is not based on gender should not provide an acceptable
 generic. To avoid prior knowledge effects, we devised materials based on fictional but
 familiar creatures.

5 **Method**.

6 Participants. Fifty students (35 female) at "Kore University" of Enna, Italy,
7 participated voluntarily. Power calculations suggested 25 participants per group would
8 provide 94% power to detect a large effect (d = 1.0).

9 Materials. Booklets were prepared with four different species of dimorphic
10 creatures, a toad, a bird, a beetle and a fish, each named using a non-word modifier.² At the
11 top of each page was a text describing the creature in question. Fig. 1 shows the English
12 translation of the page in the booklet for the Rattle Bird, *L'Ucello Bilbo.*

In each story, a picture and description were given of the two different types, and of the species in general, which was referred to with a Definite Singular noun phrase (e.g. The Rattle Bird, *L'Ucello Bilbo*). In the Gender group, the two types were labeled as male and female, while in the Neutral group they were labeled as two sub-varieties. The Neutral version of the story was similar but began:

18 The Rattle Bird comes in two closely related forms (versions) with some minor

- 19 *differences. Both male and the female of the species can have either appearance, and the*
- 20 two forms, which are equally common, interbreed freely. This is the brown form of the
- 21 Rattle Bird (left). This is the yellow form of the Rattle Bird (right). In spring, the yellow
- 22 form grows spots...... [etc. as above]

² The actual names in Italian were il Rospo Cleo, l'Uccello Bilbo, lo Scarafaggio Ballo, and il Pesce Dido, All had masculine grammatical gender. We use the name Rattle Bird in translation to English for ease of comprehension by anglophone readers. Italian and English translations of all materials may be found in the Appendix.

1 To keep the stories from seeming too repetitive, there was some minor variation in how 2 the subtypes were identified using modifiers, versions or types. Appendix A contains the 3 full Italian stories for Lo Scarafaggio Ballo (Dance Beetle) in the Gender condition and Il 4 Pesce Dido (Dido Fish) in the Neutral condition, together with English translations. Each 5 text was followed by 10 sentences: 4 generic (2 for each of the subtypes), 3 true and 3 false. 6 These have been labeled in italic in Fig. 1. Two booklets were created, one for each 7 condition. The order of the stories within the booklets was randomized, as was the order of 8 statements for each story. 9 The task was translated into Italian by the first author using the bare singular form for the 10 statements. For example, It eats small fishes was translated as Mangia pesci piccoli.

- Fig. 1: English translation of the Gender-based story for one of four creatures in Study 1. 1
- 2 Labels to indicate types of sentence (*True, False, Generic*) have been added.
- 3 4

6 7 The Rattle Bird comes in two forms corresponding to the male and to the female of the species. The male and the female differ in various ways.

This is the male Rattle Bird

This is the female Rattle Bird



8 9 10

In spring, the female Rattle Bird grows spots on its wings.

- 11 12 Rattle Birds³ are found in France. The male has a sharp beak, and a crest on its head, whereas the 13 female has neither one nor the other. The female emits a calling whistle similar to a coo-ing, but the
- 14 male is voiceless. The Rattle Bird lives in forests and dense woodland and is related to the dove; it
- 15 only eats worms, beetles and small fishes that can be found in small lakes and rivers. 16
- 17 Which of the following statements are true or false of the Rattle bird?

19	1) It is only found in Asia	True/False	(False)
20	2) It is related to the dove	True/False	(True)
21	3) It lives in forests	True/False	(True)
22	4) It grows spots on its wings in spring	True/False	(Generic)
23	5) It has crest on its head	True/False	(Generic)
24	6) It eats nuts and seeds	True/False	(False)
25	7) It has a yellow tail	True/False	(False)
26	8) It eats small fishes	True/False	(True)
27	9) It has a sharp beak	True/False	(Generic)
28	10) It emits a calling whistle similar to a cooing	True/False	(Generic)

³ Due to an oversight, the plural generic form ("Gli Ucelli Bilbo") was used at this point for Rattle Birds in both Gender and Neutral conditions. The other three creatures consistently used the singular form throughout, e.g. "The Rattle Bird", or in Italian "L'Uccello Bilbo". No differences in results between the four creatures were observed.

1	Design and Procedure. Participants were randomly allocated to either the gender or
2	the neutral conditions (N = 25 per condition). Participants circled one of 2 response
3	options (true or false), printed to the right of each sentence.
4	Results and Discussion.
5	True and False control statements were judged appropriately by all participants
6	(91% correct for True and 97% for False). Each participant judged four generic statements
7	(true of only half the class) about each of four creatures, giving a total of 16 judgments. The
8	dependent measure was the number or proportion of True judgments made by each of the
9	two groups to the generic statements. Generics were rated as true 52% of the time in the
10	Gender condition and 66% of the time in the Neutral condition, the reverse of the predicted
11	difference. Before testing the difference between the groups, the assumption of a normal
12	distribution needed for a parametric test was examined, and found to be violated.
13	

- Fig. 2: Distribution of Number of True Responses to Generics responses across conditionsin Study 1



Passanisi & Hampton: Gender-specific generic sentences

Fig. 2 shows the distribution of number of true judgments to these generics by condition (gender or neutral). Fig, 2 shows that the distributions were strongly non-normal and tending to bimodality, as would be expected if participants tended to adopt one of two consistent strategies for responding. Both conditions showed considerable variation between individuals, with 6 of the 25 participants in the Gender condition choosing to accept all of the statements and 7 accepting none of them. For the Neutral condition, the numbers were respectively 6 and 3.

8 To test for differences between groups, the number of participants in each condition 9 who accepted the majority of generics as true was compared with a chi square test. 10 Similar numbers of participants in each condition accepted the majority of the generics as 11 true (14 out of 25 for the Gender condition compared to 16 out of 25 for the Neutral 12 condition, ($\chi^2 = 0.3$, p > .5). There was no difference between generics true of Male (52%) 13 versus Female (52.5%) creatures in the Gender group, and there were no significant 14 differences between the four creatures (see left panel in Fig. 3).



16 **Fig. 3:** Percent acceptance of generics for the Gender and Neutral Conditions in Studies 1

17 and 2. Error bars are Standard Errors.

Passanisi & Hampton: Gender-specific generic sentences

1 The results therefore leant no support to our hypothesis that minority characteristics 2 would be better supported when they were specifically related to one sex. To test the 3 robustness of this result we decided to replicate the study while making minor changes to 4 the materials. In Study 1 we used the Definite Singular form for describing the kinds 5 (L'Uccello Bilbo) and an anaphoric singular sentence to express the generic statements (in 6 Italian no subject pronoun is present, hence "It lives in forests" becomes vive nelle schiere). 7 Previous research (e.g. Khemlani et al., 2007; 2012; Leslie et al., 2011) used bare plurals in 8 their studies (i.e. ducks lay eggs) and found higher rates of acceptance (e.g. 89% of gender-9 based minority characteristics were accepted as true in Khemlani et al., 2007). We therefore 10 sought to replicate the results of Study 1 with the same materials and design, but changing 11 the definite singular phrase to the plural form. Another change was that instead of using 12 compound nouns (L'Uccello Bilbo) we introduced the creatures with a monolexemic name (Rattle Birds became "I Carpillini"). 13

In addition, to be sure that the scope of the sentences was understood, the sentences
to be judged also used a plural generic form (e.g. *Rattle birds are only found in Asia* instead of *It is only found in Asia*).

17

Study 2

18 Method

Participants. A further 50 students (30 female) at "Kore University" of Enna (Italy),
participated voluntarily. The sample size was kept the same as in Study 1.

Materials, Design and Procedure. The materials were the same as in Study 1 save for the changes described above. The booklets in Italian and English translation are in the Appendix. The design and procedure were the same as in Study 1. Definite plurals were used for the introduction of the species and for the statements. Description of the properties of genders and subtypes used the singular form (see Appendix B).

1 **Results and Discussion.**

2 Each set of generics included three true and three false sentences as a control. True 3 and False control statements were judged appropriately by all participants (88% correct 4 for True and 94% for False). This time, agreement with the generic statements was clearly 5 greater for the neutral stories (58%) than for the gender-based stories (12%). Each 6 participant judged 4 generics for each of the four creatures, and the number (out of 16) of 7 generics judged as true by each participant are shown as a distribution in Fig. 4. As in Study 8 1, the distributions were far from normal, and so the same analysis strategy was employed. 9 Of the 25 participants in each group, 14 in the neutral group responded True to a majority of generic statements, compared with only 2 in the gender-based group (χ 2 = 13.3, *p* < .001 10 11 on a median test). Thus, contrary to our prediction, people were actually much happier to 12 allow a generic to be true of only one kind of creature when it was NOT associated with a male/female difference. As before, there were no differences between the four creatures 13 14 (see Fig. 3, right panel), nor between generics true of the male (15%) rather than of the female (8%), ($\chi^2(1) = 3.60$, p = .06). 15

16





18

Fig. 4: Distribution of Number of True Responses to Generics in Study 2

Passanisi & Hampton: Gender-specific generic sentences

1 The large-scale rejection of the gender-based generics is clearly evidence against an 2 account of minority characteristic generics based on restricted domains. The results in fact 3 parallel those of Cimpian, Gelman, & Brandone (2010), that presenting people with classes where males had long tails and females had short tails failed to trigger a sense that this was 4 5 a natural kind (in contrast to classes where the adults had the long tails, and the young did 6 not). The different results from Studies 1 and 2 could possibly be owing to the different 7 linguistic formulations used (this was the only change in procedure). It is unclear why 8 shifting to a monolexemic name and a definite plural (I Carpillini) and repeating the phrase 9 at the start of each sentence should have depressed the acceptability of the gender-based 10 generics in the way that it did. Perhaps a plural form is prone to triggering reasoning about 11 the extension of the kind (the individuals) rather than focusing on the kind itself, but then a 12 similar effect should have been seen in the neutral condition, where only a small drop 13 (66% to 58%) was seen. All four creatures had masculine gender in Italian, yet there was 14 no significant difference seen between the generics true just of the males (15%), and those true just of the females (8%), so it is unlikely that the statements were taken as applying 15 only to the males. (The results of Study 3, reported below, suggest that the very low 16 17 acceptance rate for the Gender condition in this study was an outlier).

18 It is striking that we found that gender-specific appearance features were not 19 accepted, given that many of the examples used by Prasada et al. (2013) and others involve 20 just this kind of sentence. Cimpian, Gelman, & Brandone (2010) justified using novel 21 features on the grounds that people may agree with many common generic statements 22 (such as *lions have manes*) "just because it is something they have been told – and not 23 necessarily because the distribution of the relevant property matches their essentialist 24 expectations" (pp. 263-264). It is possible that this factor may explain the failure of novel

appearance features to work in the way that a lion's manes or deer's antlers do. We
 consider this in Study 3.

3 In considering our results, one important aspect of our materials struck us as very 4 relevant. Amongst our 16 generic properties, there were properties about a whole range of 5 appearance, origins and behaviour, but none directly related to reproductive functions. In 6 other words, the gender-specific properties we were describing were not themselves 7 directly related to the biological function of sexual reproduction and care of offspring, 8 hypothesized by Leslie (2008) to lie at the heart of acceptable minority characteristics. 9 Accordingly, in the second half of the paper, we turn to a closely related research question, 10 namely whether gender-specific minority characteristics will be more acceptable if they relate to biological functions, rather than simply to differentiating males from females. 11

12

Study 3

13 In Studies 3, 4 and 5 we considered whether gender-minority characteristics relating to 14 reproductive functions would be accepted as true more readily than those relating to 15 physical appearance. Our failure to find evidence of the acceptance of gender-based 16 characteristics relating to appearance in the first two studies, suggests that this might be 17 the case. Gender-based generics in previous research have sometimes used reproductive 18 properties ("lay eggs", "give live birth") and sometimes differential appearance ("have 19 antlers", "have a mane", "are red"). One difficulty with testing familiar statements of this 20 kind is that people may be uncertain or ignorant about whether the appearance features 21 actually are gender-specific. When Leslie et al. (2011), tested participants with false 22 statements such as *Female deer have antlers*, or *Male sheep produce milk*, there was a very 23 clear distinction between the mean percentages of agreement for reproductive features 24 (8%) and appearance features (34%). To avoid the problem of variable knowledge of this kind, we designed our study in a way that meant that participants were given all of the 25

relevant facts before deciding on the acceptability of the sentences. As in Studies 1 and 2,
 they were first provided with a story accompanied by pictures of the male and female of
 the species, before they made their judgments.

Study 3 also used both fictional cases (as in Studies 1 and 2) and real-life examples. 4 5 Fictional cases have the advantage of removing dependence on the prior knowledge of the 6 participants, but raise the issue of whether people accept the validity of the examples, or 7 whether they find the task too artificial. We therefore constructed gender stories 8 differentiating between features of physical appearance and reproduction for both fictional 9 cartoon animals and examples taken from the natural world. We predicted that acceptance 10 would be stronger for real-life than for fictional cases, and that the difference between 11 reproductive and appearance features would be evident in both kinds of cases.

12 Method

13 **Participants.** Fifty students (33 females) at "Kore University" of Enna, Italy,

14 participated voluntarily. The sample size was the same as the previous studies.

Materials. Each booklet contained four sets of descriptions in Italian with pictures: two based on real creatures (Lions and Deer) and two on fictional dimorphic creatures (the toad and the bird from Study 2). For example, the text for the Lions was as follows (in Italian), accompanied by the images in Fig. 5:

19 Lions come in two forms corresponding to the male and the female of the species. This

20 is the male (left). This is the female (right). Lions currently are found in sub-Saharan

- 21 Africa and in Asia. They generally inhabit savannah and steppe, although they can also
- 22 be found in the woods. Lions live for 10–20 years. The male has a mane, while the
- 23 female does not. The female hunts for the pride and gives birth to her young ones after
- 24 a gestation period of about 110 days.



- 2 **Fig. 5:** Male and Female Lions in Study 3
- 3 Each story was followed by six sentences: two true, two false, one generic based on
- 4 physical appearance (i.e. *lions have a mane*), and one generic based on reproduction (i.e.
- 5 *lions give birth to their young ones*). For instance:
- 6 1. Lions currently exist in sub-Saharan Africa (True)
- 7 *2. Lions live mainly in the savannah and the steppe* (True)
- 8 *3. Lions are found in Italy* (False)
- 9 *4. Lions live more than 20 years* (False)
- 10 *5. Lions give birth to their cubs* (Reproductive generic)
- 11 *6. Lions have a mane* (Appearance generic)
- 12 The order of the stories within the booklets was randomized, as was the order of
- 13 statements for each story. The form of the sentences was the Definite plural as in Study 2.

14 Thus, *Lions have a mane* was presented as "*I leoni hanno la criniere*". (The stories for the

15 Deer and for the fictional cases from Study 2, may be found in Appendices B and C, along

16 with Italian versions).

```
Design and Procedure. Participants were randomly divided into two groups of 25, one
group first saw the two stories based on real animals and then the two fictional creatures,
while the other group saw the stories in the opposite order. Thus, Order was a between-
subjects control factor, while the type of creature (real or fictional) and type of generic
(reproductive or appearance) were within-subjects. The first page of each booklet
```

1 contained a cover sheet with the instructions in Italian:

- 2 "This study is simple and short. You will be shown four pairs of pictures of both
- 3 fictional and real creatures, and a text that describes them. Then you will be asked to
- 4 say whether a number of sentences are true or false for the species, based on the
- 5 *information you have been given*".

6 Participants circled one of two response options (true or false), printed to the right of each7 sentence.

8 **Results and Discussion**

9 True and False control statements were judged appropriately by all participants 10 (92% correct for True and 97% for False). Fig. 6 shows the mean acceptance rate of the 11 Reproductive-Generic and Appearance-Generic sentences for the Real (striped bars) and 12 Fictional (plain bars) cases. As predicted Reproductive generics (69%) were judged true 13 more often than Appearance generics (47%). This difference was found for both Real and 14 Fictional cases. For Real cases, 17 participants (34%) accepted Reproductive generics more than Appearance generics, and only 3 (6%) accepted Appearance more than Reproductive 15 $(\chi^2(1) = 9.8, p = .002)$, while for Fictional cases the figures were respectively 16 (32%) and 16 17 5 (10%), (χ^2 (1) = 5.8, *p* = .016).



Fig. 6: Mean Acceptance of the Generic Sentences in the Fictional (plain) and Real Animal
(striped) Cases in Study 3. Error bars are Standard Errors.

To test for higher-order interaction effects, although the scales were not well-suited 4 5 to parametric statistics, participants were given a score of 0, 1 or 2 according to the 6 number of generics of a particular kind they accepted, and the data were submitted to 2-7 way ANOVA with within-subjects factors of Real vs Fictional and Reproductive vs 8 Appearance. There were significant main effects of Reproductive vs. Appearance (F(1,49) = 9 18.02, p < .001) and of Fictional vs. Real (F(1,49) = 8.73, p < .005). There was no 10 interaction, F < 1, (see Fig. 6). A further 3-way ANOVA including Order as a between-subjects factor found a 11

1	significant effect of the order of the two conditions ($F(1,48) = 5.82$, $p = .02$), with the
2	generics in the condition presented second ($M = 1.39$, $SD = .64$) accepted more often than
3	those in the condition presented first ($M = 0.93$, $SD = .71$). However Order did not interact
4	significantly with the other factors (interaction with Fictional vs Real, $F < 1$, with
5	Appearance vs Reproductive, $F(1,48) = 1.86$, $p = .18$, three way interaction $F < 1$).
6	A comparison can be made between the fictional appearance generics, when seen
7	first, and the rate of their acceptance in Study 2, where the same linguistic form was used.
8	In the present study they were accepted 52% of the time, compared to 12% in Study 2.
9	Given that in Study 1 (in a different form) they were also accepted 52% of the time, it
10	seems probable that the low result in Study 2 was an outlier.
11	Study 4
12	In Study 4 we aimed to replicate the results of Study 3. We were also interested in a
13	secondary question, namely whether the preference for reproductive over appearance
14	generics was linked to the female gender per se. In Study 3 the appearance features were
15	all true of the Males, and the reproductive features true of the Females. Thus, the type of
16	feature was confounded with gender, and it could be the case that generics are considered
17	more acceptably true when they describe a minority characteristic possessed by females
18	rather than by males. Accordingly, in Study 4 we crossed the two factors. The study used
19	four real-life creatures (Sticklebacks, Anuras ⁴ , Wild Rabbits, and Ostriches) and two
19 20	four real-life creatures (Sticklebacks, Anuras ⁴ , Wild Rabbits, and Ostriches) and two versions of the description of each creature: Version A with the male of the species having
19 20 21	four real-life creatures (Sticklebacks, Anuras ⁴ , Wild Rabbits, and Ostriches) and two versions of the description of each creature: Version A with the male of the species having the physical appearance feature and the female the reproductive one (as in Study 3), and
19 20 21 22	four real-life creatures (Sticklebacks, Anuras ⁴ , Wild Rabbits, and Ostriches) and two versions of the description of each creature: Version A with the male of the species having the physical appearance feature and the female the reproductive one (as in Study 3), and Version B, with the female having the physical appearance feature while the male had the

24 Method

⁴ Anura are actually a broad classification including toads and frogs. We used images of pool frogs.

1 Participants. Two hundred and six students (176 female) at "Kore University" of 2 Enna, Italy, participated for no reward. A larger sample size was used with a between-3 subjects design so that the task for each participant could be much shorter, while maintaining power. Each group had roughly 25 participants as in the previous studies. 4 5 Materials. Each booklet contained a descriptive story for only one of the four creatures we used (for example, Sticklebacks) including two pictures. The story was 6 7 followed by six sentences: two true, two false, one generic based on appearance (i.e. 8 "Sticklebacks are bright red in the throat and belly"), and one generic based on 9 reproduction (i.e. "Sticklebacks protect the eggs until they hatch"). The form of the 10 sentences in Italian was definite plural as in Study 3. Details of the materials (in English) 11 can be seen in Appendix D.

12 Design and Procedure. Participants were randomly divided into eight groups and 13 did just one task on just one creature. Four groups saw one of the four stories in Version A, 14 with a Male Appearance and a Female Reproductive generic, while the other four groups saw one of the four stories in Version B, with a Male Reproductive and a Female 15 16 Appearance generic. Thus, the factor of gender-based differentiation of features (Version A 17 or B) was between subjects and the type of generic (reproductive or appearance) was within. The first page of each booklet contained a cover sheet with instructions. 18 19 Participants circled one of 2 response options (true or false), printed to the right of each 20 sentence.



Fig. 7. Acceptance of Appearance versus Reproductive Generics, across the four animals.
Error bars are Standard Errors.

4

5 **Results and Discussion**

6 True and False control statements were judged appropriately by all participants 7 (93% correct for True and 95% for False). Reproductive generic sentences (58%) were 8 more likely to be accepted than Appearance generics (31%). Fig. 7 shows the comparison 9 for each of the four animals, showing that the preference for Reproductive generics was 10 seen in each case. There was also a tendency for the main effect to be stronger when the 11 Reproductive feature was true of the male, and the Appearance feature true of just the 12 female, rather than the converse. Statistical analysis (a loglinear analysis reported below) confirmed that both effects were statistically significant ($\alpha = .01$). Table 1 shows the 13 14 percentage of true responses for appearance and reproductive generics across the two task 15 conditions.

Passanisi & Hampton: Gender-specific generic sentences

	Version A		Version	R
			Verbion	
	Male Appearance	35%	Female Appearance	27%
	Female Reproductive	50%	Male Reproductive	67%
1				
2	Table 1: Overall Accept	ance of the S	Sentences in Study 4 as a Fu	nction of Gender and Type
3	of Generic			
4	Because the Male/	Female facto	or was within-subjects, and	each participant only
5	judged one animal, we n	eeded to us	e a different method for stat	istical analysis. Each
6	person gave us two rele	vant data po	pints – Yes or No to the appe	arance generic (A+ or A-),
7	and Yes or No to the rep	roductive ge	eneric (R+ or R-). On this ba	sis participants were
8	classified into four grou	ps – A+R+ (a	accepting both), A+R- (accep	ting only appearance), A-
9	R+ (accepting only repr	oductive), ar	nd A-R- (rejecting both). Sin	ce our primary hypothesis
10	was that gender-specific	reproducti	ve features provided a stron	ger basis for generic
11	acceptance than gender	-specific app	pearance, we expected more	A-R+ than A+R- response
12	combinations. Table 2 p	rovides the	full cross-tabulation of frequ	iencies.
13	In the condition	where the m	ale had the appearance feat	ure, and the female the
14	reproductive feature, 31	% accepted	both generics as true (A+R-	+), and 46% rejected both
15	generics as false (A-R-).	For the rem	aining 23% who accepted ju	ust one as true, 19% (N=20)
16	judged the reproductive	statement a	as true (A-R+) and only 4% ((N=4) chose the appearance

Version of the task

17 13 14 h 1 20) judged the reproductive statement as true (A-R+) and only 4% (N=4) chose the appearance 16 statement (A+R-), ($\chi^2(1) = 10.67$, p < .001). For the condition with a male reproductive and 17 18 a female appearance statement, 27% accepted both as true, and 34% rejected both as false. 19 For those 39% choosing just one as true, all 40 participants chose the male reproductive 20 statement and rejected the female appearance statement ($\chi^2(1) = 40.0$, p < .001). Taking 21 both groups together, the preference for the reproductive statements was highly significant

1
$$(\chi^2(1) = 49.0, p < .001)$$

		Reproducti	ive Generic
	Appearance Generic	Accepted	Rejected
Male appearance, Female reproductive	Accepted	32	4
	Rejected	20	48
Female appearance, Male reproductive	Accepted	28	0
	Rejected	40	34

2

Table 2: Frequencies of accepting or rejecting the two generics as a function of which

4 generic went with which gender. Shading indicates the [A+R-] and [A-R+] cells.

For a more detailed analysis of the results, loglinear analysis of the 3-way frequency
shown in Table 2 was run, with factors of A) whether the male had the appearance and the
female the reproductive feature or vice versa, B) whether the reproductive generic was
accepted or not and C) whether the appearance generic was accepted or not.

9 A backward elimination procedure was used. Once the 3-way interaction was eliminated as non-significant ($\chi^2(1) = 1.19$, p = .27), all three 2-way interactions were 10 found to be significant ($\alpha = .01$), and are shown in the following tables, which collapse in 11 12 turn over one of the three factors. Table 3A shows that appearance generics were more likely to be accepted for a male (36/104 = 35%) than for a female (28/102 = 27%) (χ^2 (1) = 13 7.02, p = .008). Table 3B shows that reproductive generics were also more likely to be 14 accepted for a male (68/102 = 67%) than for a female (52/104 = 50%) (χ^2 (1) = 11.7, p = 15 16 .001). Table 3C shows that only 4 people accepted the appearance generic without also 17 accepting the reproductive generic (χ^2 (1) = 62.4, p < .001).

Table 3A	Appear	rance	Table 3B	Reprod	uctive	Table 3C	Reprod	uctive
Gender	Accepted	Rejected	Gender	Accepted	Rejected	Appearance	Accepted	Rejected
Male	36 (17%)	68 (33%)	Male	68 (33%)	34 (17%)	Accepted	60 (29%)	4 (2%)
Female	28 (14%)	74 (36%)	Female	52 (25%)	52 (25%)	Rejected	60 (29%)	82 (40%)

Table 3: Breakdown of the full frequency table to show the three significant 2-way interactions from the loglinear analysis involving

acceptance of the appearance and reproductive generics, and the acceptance of each when assigned to male or female creatures.

Table 3A. Acceptance of Appearance features by Gender.

Table 3B. Acceptance of Reproductive features by Gender.

Table 3C. Acceptance of Appearance versus Reproductive features.

1	In conclusion we have strong evidence that almost everyone took one of three
2	positions in regard to these gender specific generic statements. Either they accepted both
3	(29%) or rejected both (40%) or they accepted a gender-specific statement connected with
4	reproduction and care of offspring, but rejected a statement describing a gender-specific
5	appearance feature (29%). Only 2% made the remaining possible choice of accepting the
6	appearance feature but rejecting the reproductive one. There was also a general bias
7	towards accepting either type of generic as being more likely to be true of the class when it
8	was possessed by males than by females.
9	One explanation for the bias towards accepting generics that are true only of males
10	is that in Italian, the four creatures that we used all had masculine grammatical gender (<i>gli</i>
11	anuri, gli spinarelli, gli struzzi, and i conigli selvatici. To remove the confounding factor of
12	gender, and (more importantly) to provide a partial replication of the result of Study 4, a
13	final study was done, with an English translation of the materials, conducted in the UK.
14	Study 5
15	English lacks grammatical gender in the case of most common nouns, and in
16	particular in the case of the four creatures used in Study 4. Accordingly, the descriptions
17	and statements were translated into British English and tested on an online panel sample
18	in the UK. The aim was, first, to replicate the preference for reproductive over appearance
19	generics, and second to test whether a bias towards males would persist in a language
20	without grammatical gender.
21	Method
22	Participants. A sample of 92 participants were recruited through Prolific Academic,
23	an online participant panel in the UK.
24	Materials and Design. The same four scenarios were used as in Study 4. Translation

into English used the bare plural form for the descriptive text and for all the true/false

1 statements (see Appendix D).

2 **Design and Procedure.** In a change from Study 4, each participant gave responses to all four creatures, making a total of 24 truth judgments from each participant. Participants 3 4 were randomly divided into two groups of 46. For one group males had the reproductive 5 feature and females the appearance feature, and for the other group the features were 6 swapped. Each group saw the four descriptions and made the associated truth judgments 7 in the same order - anura, ostrich, stickleback, wild rabbit. The order of the six statements 8 was randomized for each of the four descriptions, but was the same for all participants. As 9 before, for each creature there were two True and two False statements, one Generic which 10 asserted that an appearance feature specific to one sex was true of the class of creatures, 11 and one Generic which asserted that a reproductive behaviour specific to the other sex was 12 true of the class. As before, participants clicked on a binary choice of True or False buttons. Assignment of reproductive or appearance features to males or females was balanced 13 across the two groups of participants and the four types of creature. 14 15 To avoid unnecessary deception of participants, for ethical reasons the following 16 statement was included at the instruction stage: 17 *To achieve balance in the design of the study, some parts of the descriptions of* 18 creatures may be fictional. Please just respond on the assumption that all the 19 descriptions are factually correct. Please select an answer for every sentence. If you are 20 in doubt, just choose the answer that you think is best. 21 At the end of the survey participants had an opportunity to describe how they did the 22 task, and to state whether they spotted any parts of the descriptions of the anurans, 23 sticklebacks, ostriches or wild rabbits which were "fictional" or incorrect. 24 **Results and Discussion**

25 True and False control statements were judged appropriately by all participants

1	(98% correct for True and 97% for False). Reproductive features were accepted 97% of the
2	time when true of females and 95% of the time when true of males ($\chi^2(1) = 0.09$, p = .76).
3	The Appearance features were accepted 60% of the time for females and 64% of the time
4	for males ($\chi^2(1) = 0.17$, p = .68). Since there was clearly no effect of which generics were
5	assigned to male or female creatures, the analysis was much simpler. Of those participants
6	who preferred one type of generic over the other, 59 preferred the reproductive feature
7	and only 1 the appearance feature. No statistical test is needed here. There were an
8	additional 30 who found all 8 generic sentences acceptable. Fig. 8 shows the results for
9	each of the four creatures, collapsed over gender. Interestingly the rate of acceptance of
10	reproductive generics (96%) was much greater in the British sample than for the Italian
11	samples (76% for the real kinds in Study 3, and 57% in Study 4). The acceptance of
12	appearance generics was also somewhat higher than found in the earlier studies with
13	Italian (around 50%). The reasons for these differences are unclear, as there are many
14	possibly relevant differences between the studies. Possible differences would include the
15	language and culture of the two nations, and the difference between a student sample
16	taking the test in the classroom, and a sample from an online survey panel taking the test in
17	Qualtrics.

18 The appearance feature for Ostriches had particularly low acceptance rates in both 19 Study 4 and Study 5 relative to the other creatures. Looking in detail at the story, it is 20 possible this happened because a direct contrast was made between male's and female's 21 appearance, naming an alternative colour for the females: The feathers of males are mostly 22 black, while females are mostly brown. A possible explanation follows Leslie's (2007) 23 proposal that generics are rejected if two subclasses are contrasted by two equally salient 24 properties (e.g. left-handed vs right-handed people) rather than by the presence vs absence 25 of a property. Interestingly, a similar statement was made about the colour of Anuras:

Males are bright green, while females are a dull colour. But this did not have the same effect,
perhaps because "a dull colour" is not an equally salient colour. This example highlights
how sensitive intuitions of semantic acceptability may be to small changes in language.

4



5

Fig. 8. Percent Acceptance of Appearance and Reproductive Generics in Study 5.

7

6

8 The results of Study 5 clearly supported the conclusions of Study 4, and suggested 9 that the bias towards male-assigned generics (whether appearance or reproductive) seen 10 in that study may well have been an influence of grammatical gender.

11

General discussion

Past research (Khemlani et al., 2007) has demonstrated that individuals agree with generic sentences which are only true of a minority of a class. However, all the sentences of this kind in their study were related to gender-specific properties such as *deer have antlers* or *ducks lay eggs*. Our first set of studies investigated how important it is that these minorities sharing a feature are based on gender per se. Perhaps surprisingly, we obtained no evidence that people think along these lines. Identifying a minority of a class on the

basis of appearance and behaviour unlinked to sexual differentiation provided no worse a 1 2 basis for the acceptability of a minority characteristic generic than a minority based on sex. 3 The results of our second set of studies provide some further understanding of this 4 interesting result, by asking whether gender-based features that relate to reproduction 5 may be more acceptable than those that refer to appearance. In Leslie et al.'s data (2011), 6 the overgeneralisation to universally quantified sentences (e.g. All ducks lay eggs) was 7 more convincing with reproductive features than with appearance (e.g. *All goats have* 8 *horns*), possibly because some participants may be ignorant of some of the appearance 9 features. To avoid this problem, we provided our participants with the relevant 10 information in a short text, and then tested the acceptability of the generics. In Study 3, 11 with both real and fictitious animals we found that reproductive features were indeed 12 significantly better accepted. Studies 4 and 5 showed that the effect was present regardless 13 of whether the male or the female of the species had the reproductive responsibility. Thus, 14 when told that a male stickleback fish fans his eggs to keep them oxygenated, this property was accepted as a generic feature of sticklebacks by a majority of respondents. 15 16 Leslie (2015) discusses a suggestion by Liebesman (2011) to the effect that bare 17 plural generic statements such as *Tigers are striped*, *Ducks lay eggs*, or *Mosquitoes carry* 18 malaria are sentences more easily interpreted as referring to a kind rather than to a set of 19 individual members. Similarly, Hampton (2012a; 2012b) argues that generics are 20 considered true when they convey characteristic information that is a part of the 21 intensional prototype that represents the kind. That proposal could explain why very rare 22 but striking properties (e.g. Pit bulls maul children) are also commonly accepted as true 23 (Cimpian, Brandone & Gelman, 2010). They are a part of our knowledge base about the

24 kind, because they signify something it is important to know. Individuals' acceptance of

25 both characteristic and striking predicates in generic form is not based on their beliefs

33

about the number of category members that have the property, but relies on the core
prototypical information they possess about the kind. Given this framework, it is
understandable why gender-based reproductive features are more easily attributed to the
kind than are appearance features. Ducks laying eggs is important information to know
about both male and female ducks because ducks as a kind are oviparous animals, in
contrast to species in other classes such as mammals.

Another explanation could invoke the idea of "restricted domain" (Asher & Pelletier,
2012). Since reproduction is a joint endeavour, involving both male and female, it may be
more acceptable to generalise the reproductive behaviour of either sex to the class as a
whole, while the same is not as true for sex-differentiating appearance features.

11 Our results suggest that reproductive behaviours support generic acceptance. 12 Alternatively, it is possible that any minority behavioural trait, and not just those relating 13 to reproduction, may be considered more acceptable than appearance features as a 14 generic. This suggestion remains a possibility, although we have some limited evidence 15 against it. In Studies 1 and 2, three of the 16 generic statements involved behaviours (has a 16 cooing call, has a poisonous bite, releases a foul smell when touched). Item analysis showed 17 that their rate of acceptance was no greater than for the appearance features (61% vs 59% 18 in Study 1, and 33% vs 35% in Study 2).

19 **Relation to accounts of generics**.

One possible difference between appearance and reproductive features relates to
mutability. Generic properties related to appearance could be argued *prima facie* to be
more mutable than features related to reproduction. A mutable property is one that a
person can easily imagine being different, without dramatic changes for the concept itself
(Hampton, 2012a; 2012b; Hampton, Passanisi, & Jönsson, 2011; Sloman, Love, & Ahn,
1998). For instance, there is a feasible world in which flamingos are black rather than pink,

1 but otherwise everything about them is the same, whereas flamingos not laying eggs would 2 require changes to the biological theory of the flamingos' functioning that would lead to 3 other important adjustments in their properties and make-up. Nevertheless, the 4 reproductive properties used in the last two studies were in fact about building nests and 5 protecting the eggs - so they were not immutable in this case (for example cuckoos do 6 neither). It is easy to imagine fish not protecting their eggs (many do not), or ostriches 7 incubating them by day rather than by night. This suggests that it is not mutability itself 8 that matters -but the fact that reproductive behaviour is more tightly associated with the 9 kind.

10 Another difference between appearance and reproductive features may relate to 11 psychological essentialism (Gelman, 2003; Gelman & Bloom, 2007; Hampton, Estes, & 12 Simmons, 2007; Prasada & Gillingham, 2006; Rips, 1989). People commonly believe that 13 biological kinds have a deeper "essence", probably linked to whatever is inherited from progenitors, which is responsible for the characteristic properties of the kind. Gelman and 14 15 Bloom (2007) showed that adults are more willing to continue to accept generics about an 16 innate rather than an acquired property, when that property is then lost. The focus on 17 essences as inherited might see reproductive behaviour as more strongly associated with 18 the kind than appearance features, even if the latter are distinctive of the kind, and clearly 19 of genetic origin.

One account that fits less well with our results is that of Cohen (2004). Cohen proposes that a property should not be true (or false) of only a salient subset of the class, if it is to be generically true of the class. Our examples of two varieties of a bird or beetle species would seem to break his homogeneity requirement, so our results are not consistent with his suggestion, without a further account of just what constitutes a salient subset in his theory. Another account, offered by Tessler and Goodman addresses the

35

1	contrast of cases where a majority <i>does not</i> support a generic statement (e.g. <i>ducks are</i>
2	female), with cases where a minority does support a generic (e.g. sharks attack bathers).
3	The first is not acceptable by their view because the immediate superordinate (animal)
4	also has females at around the same prevalence. Ducks lay eggs, on the other hand refers to
5	something that is not equally prevalent in animals. In a similar way, sharks may not attack
6	bathers often, but animals (or perhaps aquatic animals) attack bathers much less often.
7	There are clearly difficulties here – for example why is the superordinate of <i>ducks</i> taken to
8	be animals rather than birds? Neither is it clear why reproductive features should be more
9	acceptable than appearance in this case, since many other creatures incubate eggs or
10	protect their young, but few have antlers or red bellies.
11	As described above, the notion of a restricted domain (Asher & Pelletier, 2012) may
12	be able to explain our results if it is proposed that reproductive behaviour is a joint
13	enterprise engaging both males and females, and that this particularly warrants acceptance
14	of sex-linked generics about reproduction. This idea deserves further exploration.
15	Finally, we consider the most convincing explanation for our result relates to a
16	hypothesis suggested by Cimpian (Cimpian & Markman, 2011) that generics are more
17	likely to be acceptable when they convey essential or deep causal properties of a kind.
18	According to Cimpian, from preschool ages onwards, children display a set of essentialist
19	beliefs. That is, we consider, implicitly or explicitly, that each biological individual has an
20	underlying nature or essence pervading its insides, that causally grounds its more enduring
21	and stable features. Reproductive features seem to be of this type. They are part of a
22	network of intensely related properties of a kind, embedded in theories of the rearing of
23	offspring and sexual reproduction of the species. They would therefore be more
24	confidently considered true as generics than gender-differentiating appearance
25	characteristics.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Examples of Materials used in Study 1. The Bird is already described in the main text. The remaining three creatures were a Beetle, a Fish and a Toad.

Examples included are the Gender-differentiated story about the Beetle, and the Neutral story about the Fish. The Toad's properties can be seen in Appendix B.

Each creature had 3 True, 3 False and 4 Generic statements to verify. Two were true of one form and two were true of the other.

The expected response is underlined for True and False statements. Generic statements have no expected response.

LO SCARAFAGGIO BALLO - THE DANCE BEETLE

Original Italian		English translation	
Lo Scarafaggio Ballo è disponibile in due forme secon	ndo il genere della specie. Il	The Dance Beetle occurs in two forms, according to the genus of the	
maschio e la femmina differiscono in diversi modi.		species. Male and female differ in several ways	
Questo è lo Scarafaggio Ballo maschio Que femmina	sto è lo Scarafaggio Ballo	This is the male Dance Beetle This is the	female Dance Beetle
本			
Durante i mesi estivi, lo Scarafaggio Ballo femmina d	iventa completamente ros	During the summer months, the female Dance	Beetle turns completely red.
Lo Scarafaggio Ballo si trova in Africa meridionale. Il ha un morso velenoso e le zampe pelose, mentre la fe vive in aree poco luminose e umide come laghi, fores per due anni e mangia solo mosche e formiche.	maschio dello Scarafaggio Ballo emmina no. Lo Scarafaggio Ballo te e vicino ai fiumi. Vive in media	The Dance Beetle is found in southern Africa. T has a poisonous bite and hairy legs, while the f Beetle lives in low light and humid areas such rivers. It lives on average for two years and ear	'he male of the Dance Beetle emale does not. The Dance as lakes, forests and near as only flies and ants.
Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sullo Scarafaggio Ballo sono vere o false?		Which of the following statements about the D	ance Beetle are true or false?
1) Viene dall'Australia	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	1) It comes from Australia	True / <u>False</u>
2) Vive per circa due anni	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	2) It lives for about two years	<u>True</u> / False
3) Ha le zampe pelose	Vero / Falso	3) It has hairy legs	True / False
4) Ha sei zampe	Vero / Falso	4) It has six legs	<u>True</u> / False
5) Si può trovare nelle aree poco luminose e umide	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	5) It can be found in low light and humid areas	<u>True</u> / False
6) Ha due cerchi rossi sul corpo	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	6) It has two red circles on the body	True / False
7) Ha un morso velenoso	Vero / Falso	7) It has a poisonous bite	True / False
8) Si nutre di lumache e vermi	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	8) It feeds on snails and worms	True / <u>False</u>
9) Ha antenne velenose	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	9) It has poisonous antennae	True / <u>False</u>
10) Diventa completamente rosso d'estate	Vero / Falso	10) It becomes completely red in summer	True / False

IL PESCE DIDO - THE DIDO FISH

		1	43
10) Viene mangiato dagli squali	Vero / Falso	10) It is eaten by sharks	True / False
9) Si trova nelle Amazzoni Vero / Falso		9) It is found in the Amazon	True / False
8) Vive in stagni Vero / Falso		8) It lives in ponds	True / False
7) Vive sulle barriere coralline	Vero / Falso	7) It lives on coral reefs	True / False
6) Ha una pinna sul dorso	Vero / Falso	6) It has a fin on its back	True / False
5) Tende ad ospitare un parassita nel suo sistema digestivo	Vero / Falso	5) It tends to harbour a parasite in its digestive system	True / False
4) Ha una pinna caudale	Vero / Falso	4) It has a tail fin	True / False
3) Il suo corpo diventa completamente rosso in primavera	Vero / Falso	3) Its body becomes completely red in spring	True / False
2) Ha denti affilati	Vero / Falso	2) It has sharp teeth	True / False
1) Mangia ragni	Vero / Falso	1) It eats spiders	True / False
Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sul Pesce Dido sono vere o fal	se?	Which of the following statements about the Dido Fish a	re true or false?
Il Pesce Dido si trova solo in Australia. La forma semplice ha denti affilati, mentre quella colorata no. A differenza della forma colorata, la forma semplice ha anche una pinna verticale sul dorso. La forma colorata tende ad ospitare un parassita nell'intestino, ma la forma semplice no. Il Pesce Dido vive sulle barriere coralline e in acque poco profonde; mangia solo alghe e larve di insetti che si possono trovare sulla barriera corallina. E'un alimento comune per gli squali.		The Dido Fish is only found in Australia. The simple form while the coloured one does not. Unlike the coloured for also has a vertical fin on its back. The coloured form tend parasite in the intestine, but the simple form does not. The on coral reefs and in shallow waters; it eats only algae and that can be found on the coral reef. It is a common food for	h has sharp teeth, m, the simple form ls to harbour a he Dido Fish lives nd insect larvae or sharks.
In primavera, la forma colorata del Pesce Dido diventa completamente rossa		In spring, the coloured form of the Dido Fish becomes co	mpletely r
Questo è il Pesce Dido semplice Questo è il Pesce Dido	This is the simple Dido Fis ¹ This is the coloured	Dido Fis	
accoppiano liberamente.	forms mate freely.	,	
Il Pesce Dido è una specie con due forme altrettanto comuni co Sia i maschi che le femmine possono assumere entrambe le for	The Dido Fish is a species with two equally common form differences. Both males and females can take either form	ns with small L and the two	
Original Italian		English translation	

APPENDIX B

Examples of Materials used in Study 2. Examples included are the Gender-differentiated story about the Toad, and the Neutral story about the Bird.

Each creature had 3 True, 3 False and 4 Generic statements to verify. Two were true of one form and two were true of the other.

The expected response is underlined for True and False statements. Generic statements have no expected response.

I BUFOTES – BUFOTES (A TYPE OF TOAD)

Original Italian		English translation	
I Bufotes sono un tipo di rospo con due forme aventi piccole differenze, che corrispondono al maschio e alla femmina della specie.		Bufotes are a type of toad with two forms having small correspond to the male and female of the species.	differences, which
Questo è il maschio Questo è la femmina		This is the male This is the fema	ale
In inverno la femmina diventa arancione.		In winter, the female becomes orange.	
I Bufotes si trovano in Nord America. Il maschio na arugli affilati e una lingua velenosa, mentre la femmina non ha nessuna delle due caratteristiche. L'esemplare femmina può rilasciare un cattivo odore quando viene toccata, ma il maschio no. I Bufotes vivono in laghi d'acqua dolce, stagni e corsi d'acqua. Mangiano solo mosche e altri insetti che possono essere trovati nei pressi dei laghi, ruscelli e stagni.		Bufotes are found in North America. The male has shar poisonous tongue, while the female has neither of the t female specimen can release a bad smell when touched cannot. Bufotes live in freshwater lakes, ponds and stre flies and other insects that can be found near lakes, stre	p claws and a wo properties. The l, but the male eams. They only eat eams and ponds.
Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sui Bufotes sono vere o false?		Which of the following statements about Bufotes are tr	ue or false?
1) I Bufotes diventano arancioni in inverno	Vero / Falso	1) Bufotes become orange in winter	True / False
2) I Bufotes i trovano in Nuova Zelanda	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	2) Bufotes are found in New Zealand	True / <u>False</u>
3) I Bufotes si nutrono di vermi	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	3) Bufotes eat worms	True / <u>False</u>
4) I Bufotes hanno tre dita in ciascuna zampa	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	4) Bufotes have three toes on each foot	<u>True</u> / False
5) I Bufotes hanno corna sulla testa	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	5) Bufotes have horns on their heads	True / <u>False</u>
6) I Bufotes rilasciano un odore ripugnante quando vengono toco	cati Vero / Falso	6) Bufotes release a repulsive smell when touched	True / False
7) I Bufotes hanno artigli affilati	Vero / Falso	7) Bufotes have sharp claws	True / False
8) I Bufotes hanno macchie rosse sul dorso	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	8) Bufotes have red spots on the back	<u>True</u> / False
9) I Bufotes hanno una lingua velenosa	Vero / Falso	9) Bufotes have a poisonous tongue	True / False
10) I Bufotes si possono trovare in stagni e laghi	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	10) Bufotes can be found in ponds and lakes	<u>True</u> / False

I CARPILLINI – CARPILLINIES (A TYPE OF BIRD)

Original Italian	English translation		
I Carpillini sono un tipo di Uccello. Essi sono disponibili in due ver correlate con alcune piccole differenze. Sia il maschio che la femmi possono avere entrambe le apparenze, e le due forme, che sono ug si accoppiano liberamente.	Carpillinies are a type of bird. They occur in two closely n with some small differences. Both the male and female of have both appearances, and the two forms, which are eq mate freely.	related versions f the species can ually common,	
Questa è la versione marrone Questa è la versione giall	la 🥵	This is the brown version This is the yellow	versio
In primavera, il Carpillino giallo sviluppa delle macchie sulle ali.		In spring, the yellow Carpillinie develops spots on the wi	ng
I Carpillini si trovano in Francia. La versione marrone ha un becco appuntito e una cresta sulla testa, mentre la versione gialla non possiede nè l'uno, nè l'altra. La versione gialla emette un fischio di richiamo simile al tubare, mentre la versione marrone è afona. I Carpillini vivono in foreste e boschi fittissimi e sono imparentato alla colomba; mangiano solo vermi, coleotteri e piccoli pesci che si possono trovare nei piccoli laghi e nei fiumi.		Carpillinies are found in France. The brown version has a a crest on its head, while the yellow version has neither of The yellow version emits a cooing-like whistle, while the soundless. Carpillinies live in forests and thick woods an dove; they only eat worms, beetles and small fish that car lakes and rivers.	a pointed beak and one nor the other. brown version is d are related to the n be found in small
1) I Carpillini si trova solo in Asia	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	1) Carpillinies are only found in Asia	True / <u>False</u>
2) I Carpillini sono imparentato alla colomba	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	2) Carpillinies are related to the dove	<u>True</u> / False
3) I Carpillini vivono nelle foreste	<u>Vero</u> / Falso	3) Carpillinies live in forests	<u>True</u> / False
4) I Carpillini sviluppano delle macchie sulle ali in primavera	Vero / Falso	4) Carpillinies develop spots on the wings in spring	True / False
5) I Carpillini hanno una cresta sulla testa	Vero / Falso	5) Carpillinies have a crest on the head	True / False
6) I Carpillini si nutrono di noci e semi	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	6) Carpillinies eat nuts and seeds	True / <u>False</u>
7) I Carpillini hanno una coda gialla	Vero / <u>Falso</u>	7) Carpillinies have a yellow tail	True / <u>False</u>
8) I Carpillini si nutrono di piccoli pesci <u>Vero</u> / Falso		8) Carpillinies eat small fish	<u>True</u> / False
9) I Carpillini hanno un becco appuntito	Vero / Falso	9) Carpillinies have a pointed beak	True / False
10) I Carpillini emettono un fischio di richiamo simile al tubare	Vero / Falso	10) Carpillinies emit a coo-ing like whistle	True / False

Appendix C

The Deer scenario from Study 3. One generic relates to appearance (Deer have antlers) and one to reproduction (Deer suckle their little ones).

Original Italian		English translation	
I cervi possiedono due diverse forme corrispondenti al maschio e alla femmina della		Deer possess two different forms corresponding to the male and to the	
specie.		female of the species.	
Questo e' il maschio Questa	e' la femmina	This is the male	This is the female
		Carte	
I cervi abitano gran parte dell'Europa, dove seb	bene un tempo fossero rari in qualche	Deer inhabit much of Europe, where a	although they were once rare in some
zona, non furono mai vicini all'estinzione. I cerv cibo in due fasi ed hanno un numero pari di dita	a su ogni zampa, come cammelli, capre	their food in two stages and have an e	tion. Deer are ruminants, they eat even number of toes on each leg. like
e bovini. Solo il maschio ha le corna, che inizian	o a crescere in primavera e cadono	camels, goats and cattle. Only the mal	e has antlers, which begin to grow in
ogni anno, di solito alla fine dell'inverno. La fen	ımina allatta i suoi piccoli dopo il	the spring and fall off each year, usua	lly in late winter. The female suckles
parto.		her little ones alter childbirth.	
Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sui cervi sono vere o false?		Which of the following statements ab	out deer are true or false?
1) I cervi allattano il loro piccoli	Vero/Falso	1) Deer suckle their little ones	True / False
2) L cervi abitano gran parte dell'Europa	Vero/Falso	2) Deer inhabit much of Europe	<u>True</u> / False
3) L cervi erano vicini all'estinzione	Vero/Falso	3) Deer were close to extinction	True / <u>False</u>
4) Leonyi diyontano hianchi in invorno	Vero/Ealso	4) Deer become white in winter	True / <u>False</u>
5) Learning and annual and the		5) Deer are ruminants	<u>True</u> / False
5) I cervi sono ruminanti	<u>vero</u> /Falso	6) Deer have antlers	True / False
6) I cervi hanno le corna	vero/Falso		,

Appendix D

Materials for Study 4 (in Italian, shown in *italic*) and Study 5 in English. Versions shown have the male with the appearance feature, and the female with the reproductive feature. For the alternative condition, the gender roles were reversed.

The statements have been annotated:

(T = True, F = False, G-A = Generic Appearance, G-R = Generic Reproductive).

ANURI/TOADS

Gli Anuri sono un tipo di rane presenti su tutto il territorio, ma una maggiore concentrazione della specie si trova nella foresta tropicale. Sono generalmente carnivori, nutrendosi soprattutto di piccoli vertebrati. La loro pelle è semi-permeabile, possono quindi vivere sia in luoghi umidi che asciutti. I maschi sono di colore verde brillante, mentre le femmine hanno un colore spento. Le femmine proteggono le uova dai predatori.

Anuras are a type of frog widely distributed but the greatest concentration of the species is found in tropical rainforests. They have a carnivorous diet consisting of small invertebrates. The skin is semi-permeable, making them susceptible to dehydration, so they either live in moist places or have special adaptations to deal with dry habitats. Males are bright green, while females are a dull colour. Females protect eggs from the predators.

Questo è l'Anura maschio

This is the male Anura



Questo è l'Anura femmina

This is the female Anura



Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sugli Anurisono vere o false?

Which of the following statements are true or false of Anuras?

1) Anuras eat fruit (F)	1) Gli Anuri si nutrono di frutta
2) Anuras have a semi-permeable skin (T)	2) Gli Anuri hanno una pelle semi-permeabile
3) Anuras are mainly concentrated in deserts (F)	3) Gli Anuri sono maggiormente presenti nei
4) Anuras are bright green (G-A)	deserti
5) Anuras are widely distributed (T)	4) Gli Anuri sono di colore verde brillante
6) Anuras protect their eggs from predators (G-R)	5) Gli Anuri sono piuttosto comuni
	6) Gli Anuri proteggono le uova dai predatori

STRUZZI/OSTRICHES

Gli struzzi (Struthiocamelus) sono una specie di grandi uccelli non volatili nativi dell'Africa. Contrariamente alle credenze popolari, gli struzzi non seppelliscono la testa sotto la sabbia per evitare il pericolo. Essi generalmente pesano quanto due soggetti umani adulti. Le penne dei maschi sono soprattutto nere, mentre quelle delle femmine sono per la maggior parte marroni. All'incubazione si dedica solo la femmina soprattutto durante la notte. Mentre durante il giorno le uova vengono ricoperte di sabbia perché il loro processo di sviluppo ha bisogno del calore naturale del sole.

Ostriches (Struthio camelus) are a species of large flightless birds native to Africa. They live in nomadic groups of 5 to 50 birds. Contrary to popular belief, ostriches do not bury their heads in sand to avoid danger. Ostriches usually weigh as much as two adult humans. The feathers of males are mostly black, while females are mostly brown. Females are in charge of incubating eggs. They do it mainly at night, while during daytime the eggs are covered with sand and abandoned because their development process requires the natural heat of the sun.

Questo è lo struzzo maschio This is the male ostrich



Questo è lo struzzo femmina This is the female ostrich



Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sugli struzzi sono vere o false? Which of the following statements are true or false of ostriches?

1) Ostriches incubate eggs mainly at night (G-R)	1) Gli struzzi si dedicano all'incubazione
2) Ostriches weigh as much as two adult humans (T)	soprattutto la notte
3) Ostriches are mostly black (G-A)	2) Gli struzzi pesano quanto due soggetti
4) Ostriches bury their heads in sand to avoid danger (F)	umani adulti
5) Ostriches are native to Italy (F)	3) Gli struzzi sono soprattutto neri
6) Ostriches are flightless birds (T)	4) Gli struzzi seppelliscono la testa sotto la
	sabbia per evitare il pericolo
	5) Gli struzzi sono nativi dell'Italia
	6) Gli struzzi sono uccelli non-volatili

SPINARELLI/STICKLEBACKS

Gli spinarelli sono una famiglia di pesci con molte varietà più comunemente presenti negli oceani, ma si possono trovare anche in acqua dolce. Gli spinarelli sono carnivori, si nutrono di piccoli animali come insetti, crostacei e larve di pesci. Essi sono caratterizzati dalla presenza di tre isolate spine acuminate sul dorso davanti alla pinna dorsale. I maschi hanno la gola e lo stomaco di un rosso brillante. Le femmine fanno la guardia alle uova fin quando non si schiudono.

Sticklebacks are a family of fish with many varieties most commonly found in the ocean, but some can be found in fresh water. Sticklebacks are carnivorous, feeding on small animals such as insects, crustaceans and fish larvae. Sticklebacks are characterised by the presence of strong and clearly isolated spines in their dorsal fins. The males are bright red in the throat and belly. The females guard the eggs until they hatch.

Questo è lo spinarello maschio

This is the male stickleback



Questo è lo spinarello femmina This is the female stickleback



Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sugli spinarelli sono vere o false?

Which of the following statements are true or false of Sticklebacks?

1) Sticklebacks feed on insects (T)	1) Gli spinarelli si nutrono di insetti
2) Sticklebacks are bright red in the throat and	2) Gli spinarelli hanno la gola e lo stomaco di un
belly (G-A)	rosso brillante
3) Sticklebacks are only found in the ocean (F)	3) Gli spinarelli si trovano soltanto nell'oceano
4) Sticklebacks protect the eggs until they hatch	4)Gli spinarelli fanno la guardia alle uova fin
(G-R)	quando non si schiudono
5) Sticklebacks are characterised by clearly	5) Gli spinarelli sono caratterizzati dalla presenza
isolated spines in their dorsal fins (T)	di spine isolate sul dorso
6) Sticklebacks are vegetarians (F)	6) Gli spinarelli sono vegetariani

CONIGLI SELVATICI/WILD RABBITS

I conigli selvatici sono una specie di conigli nativi dell'Europa meridionale (Spagna e Portogallo) e dell'Africa nord-occidentale (Morocco e Algeria). Sono considerati una specie "infestante". L'Australia ha maggiori problemi con i conigli selvatici a causa della mancanza di predatori naturali. I conigli selvatici hanno lunghe orecchie, grandi zampe posteriori, e una corta e soffice coda. I maschi sviluppano una caratteristica tasca di pelle posizionata sotto il mento. Dopo l'accoppiamento le femmine costruiscono il nido per i loro cuccioli.

Wild rabbits (Oryctolagus cuniculus) are a species of rabbit native to southwestern Europe (Spain and Portugal) and northwest Africa (Morocco and Algeria). It is known as an invasive species. Australia has the most problems with wild rabbits, due to the lack of natural predators there. Rabbits have long ears, large hind legs, and short, fluffy tails. Males develop a characteristic pocket of skin positioned under the chin. After mating females build the nest for their offspring.

Questo è il coniglio selvatico maschio This is the male wild rabbit



Questo è il coniglio selvatico femmina

This is the female wild rabbit



Quali delle seguenti affermazioni sui conigli selvatici sono vere o false?

Which of the following statements are true or false of wild rabbits?

1) Wild rabbits have a short, fluffy tail (T)	1) I conigli selvatici hanno una corta e soffice coda
2) Wild rabbits are only found in southwestern Europe	2) I conigli selvatici sono nativi dell'Europa sud-
(F)	occidentale
3) Wild rabbits develop a characteristic pocket of skin	3) I conigli selvatici sviluppano una caratteristica tasca
under the chin (G-A)	di pelle sotto il mento
4) Wild rabbits build the nest for their offspring (G-R)	4) I conigli selvatici costruiscono il nido per i loro
5) Wild rabbits are rare (F)	cuccioli
6) Wild rabbits have long ears (T)	5) I conigli selvatici sono rari
	6) I conigli selvatici hanno lunghe orecchie