

## **Unlimited Associative Learning as a Null Hypothesis**

### **Abstract**

A common strategy in comparative cognition is to require that one reject associative learning as an explanation for behavior before concluding that an organism is capable of causal reasoning. In this paper, I argue that standard causal-reasoning tasks can be explained by a powerful form of associative learning: unlimited associative learning (UAL). The lesson, however, is not that researchers should conduct more studies in order to reject UAL. Rather, they should reject the common strategy and focus instead on 1) enriching the cognitive hypothesis space and 2) testing a broader range of information processing patterns—errors, biases and limits, rather than successful problem solving.

Word count: 4997 (including figure estimate: 105)

## 1. Introduction

Associative learning has long been considered an appropriate “null hypothesis” against which to test claims about the cognitive capacities of human and nonhuman animals. This is particularly the case when the cognitive capacity under investigation is thought to be complex or human-like, such as in the case of causal reasoning, episodic memory, and theory of mind. As Starzak and Gray note, “Over and over again the familiar refrain is, ‘do animals have complex human-like cognitive abilities or can their behavior be explained in terms of simpler processes such as associative learning?’” (Starzak and Gray 2021, 2). The general idea behind this approach is that if an observed behavior can be explained by appealing to a process like associative learning, then one should accept this as the best explanation for the behavior, rather than attributing new sophisticated capacities to an organism. The primary justification for treating associative learning as a null hypothesis is that it is phylogenetically widespread; thus, it is reasonable to assume that the organism being tested is capable of associative learning and will use it when possible to solve the problem at hand (Sober 2012).

Over the past decade, Simona Ginsburg, Eva Jablonka and other researchers have argued that human and nonhuman animals are capable of a particularly powerful form of associative learning: unlimited associative learning (UAL). Organisms with UAL can discriminate novel, compound stimuli and action patterns, learn associations between objects and events separated over time, and engage in cumulative learning. Researchers studying UAL maintain that it is found in almost all vertebrates, as well as some arthropods and

cephalopod molluscs (Ginsburg and Jablonka 2021). If these researchers are correct, then UAL is arguably also an appropriate null hypothesis for research in comparative psychology, at least in the case of vertebrates.

In this paper, I argue that UAL poses a problem for research in comparative psychology. Using causal reasoning as a case study, I show that claims regarding an organism's ability to engage in causal reasoning fail to reject UAL as a plausible alternative explanation for the available results. My conclusion, however, is not that researchers should conduct more studies with the aim of rejecting UAL as a null hypothesis. Instead, I argue that this adds to the growing consensus that the “null hypothesis” approach is problematic. Researchers should reject this approach as it oversimplifies the target of study. Instead we should endorse more fine-grained comparative approaches, such as ones that treat cognitive abilities as multi-dimensional (Starzak and Gray 2021) and focus on “signatures” rather than “success” (Bastos and Taylor 2020; Taylor et al. 2021).

I begin in section 2 by briefly illustrating the null-hypothesis approach as it is used in experiments on causal cognition. In section 3, I introduce UAL and show how it can explain successful performance on causal-cognition tasks. I then argue in section 4 that UAL provides a compelling reason for rejecting the null-hypothesis approach in comparative psychology and points us in the direction of a more fruitful approach. Section 5 concludes.

## **2. Testing Causal Reasoning**

Nonhuman animals (hereafter animals) are capable of solving a wide range of physical problems, from a woodpecker finch using a cactus spine to prize an insect out of a crevice (Tebbich and Bshary 2004) to chimpanzees outperforming human children on some physical cognition tasks (Herrmann 2007). However, there are several competing explanations in the literature regarding how animals succeed in solving physical tasks. One explanation is that they engage in causal reasoning. Causal reasoning can be broadly understood as the ability to intervene on and make inferences about the world on the basis of the world's causal structure (Bender 2020). Causal structure includes things like the fact that heavy things fall to the ground, water is displaced by sinking (rather than floating) objects, and some objects can be used to displace or dislodge others. According to standard views, an agent capable of causal reasoning should recognize the functional properties or physical affordances of a situation and use these to solve problems. They should also be able to transfer knowledge acquired in one situation to another functionally equivalent situation, even if the two situations differ in all their non-functional properties (Seed et al. 2011).

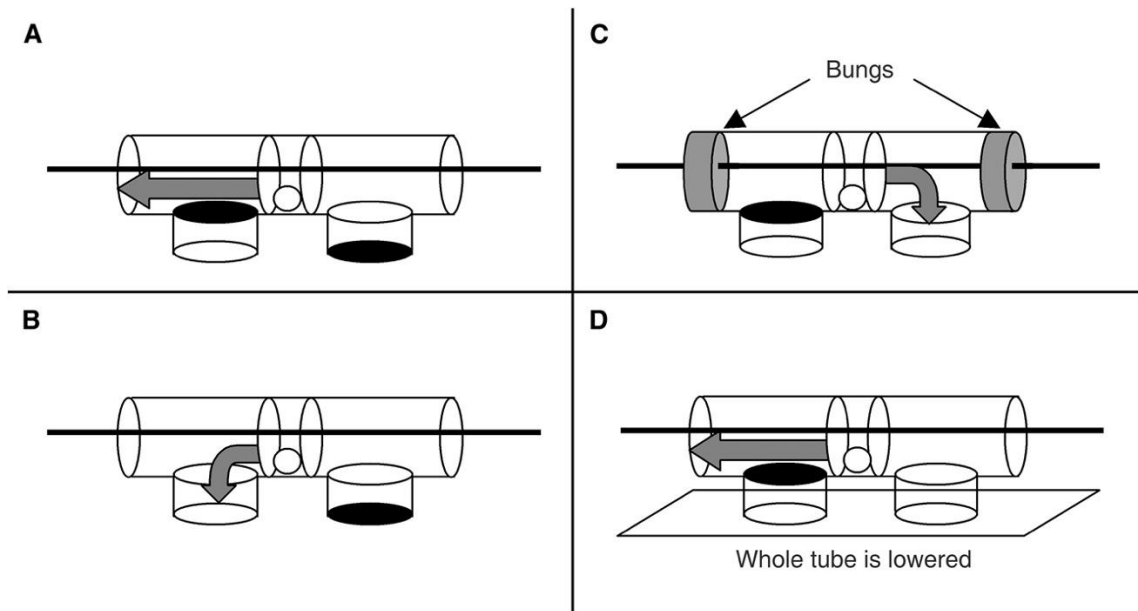
A second dominant explanation for an agent's success in solving a physical problem-solving task is that the agent is relying on associative learning. In this case, the agent does not grasp the causal structure underlying the situation, but instead relies on some learned association between variables. This associative-learning explanation is referred to as a “null hypothesis” in the literature (Hanus 2016). Some researchers argue that only humans solve physical problems through causal reasoning—that all other animals rely on some form of associative learning for their success on causal tasks (Penn and Povinelli 2007; Povinelli

2012). However, empirical studies appear to undermine this view, showing that animals such as corvids and chimpanzees seem to rely on causal knowledge to solve novel problems (Seed et al. 2006; Mulcahy and Call 2006, Girndt et al. 2008).

It is helpful to illustrate the null-hypothesis strategy with an example. A benchmark test for causal reasoning is the trap-tube task. In this task, participants are presented with a transparent tube baited with a reward, such as food. The tube contains various traps that must be avoided if the reward is to be successfully extracted. Participants must use their body (e.g., finger or beak) or a tool (such as a stick or rake) to extract (by pushing or pulling) the reward from the tube while avoiding the traps. If the reward falls into a trap, it can no longer be retrieved.

The comparative psychologist Amanda Seed and colleagues have conducted numerous studies investigating the causal reasoning of animals (Seed et al. 2011). In one study, they examined whether rooks (*Corvus frugilegus*) used causal reasoning to solve the trap-tube task (Seed et al. 2006). To do this, they first tested whether rooks could solve two different versions of the trap-tube task (Tube A and Tube B in figure 1). Both versions included one functional trap and one “decoy” or non-functional trap that looked similar to a functional trap but did not interfere with reward retrieval. In Tube A, the reward could pass over the top of the decoy trap, while in Tube B, the reward would fall into the hole of the decoy trap, but this hole was open at the bottom, so rather than trapping the reward, the reward fell through and was obtainable by the participant. Four rooks were tested on Tube A and four on Tube B. After learning to successfully solve this problem, the rooks were then

tested to see if they could transfer their knowledge to a new situation. Those that solved Tube A were tested on Tube B and vice versa. All of the birds that had successfully learned the original task (seven out of eight participants), succeeded in transferring to the new task, suggesting that they were not relying on a cue-based rule that was idiosyncratic to the original task, like “drop the reward into the hole with an opening at the bottom”.



**Figure 1.** Trap-tube experimental apparatus from Seed et al. (2006). In Experiment 1, four rooks were tested using Tube A and four rooks were tested using Tube B. Experiment 2 tested whether those rooks who solved Tube A could solve Tube B and vice versa. Experiment 3 tested whether participants could solve Tube C and Tube D (with four birds

receiving 20 trials of Tube C and then 20 trials of Tube D and three birds receiving the same number of trials on first Tube D and then Tube C).

Although the rooks demonstrated that they were not relying on a cue that was idiosyncratic to a single task, they could still have been using a cue-based rule that was common to both Tube A and Tube B like, “avoid the hole with the black disc at the bottom” (Seed et al. 2006, 698). Thus, Seed and colleagues examined whether these birds could additionally transfer to two more novel tasks: Tube C and Tube D. Neither of these tubes contained a trap with a black disc at the bottom. Instead, the two decoy traps in Tubes A and B were converted into functional traps (see figure 1). The birds could also not rely on one single cue-based procedural rule to perform successfully on both Tubes C and D, as these tubes had no useful cues in common. For example, although a bird could use the rule “move the reward away from the black circle” to solve Tube C, this rule would fail if applied to Tube D.

One out of seven rooks successfully transferred to Tube C and Tube D. This bird (Guillem) successfully solved all four trap-tube tasks, which the authors tentatively suggest might mean that this individual “understood the unobservable [causal] features of the task” while the other six rooks likely failed to understand these underlying causal features (Seed et al. 2006, 700).

This case study illustrates how researchers investigate causal reasoning in animals and the role associative learning plays in these investigations. Associative learning predicts that animals such as rooks can learn associative rules like “moving the object away from the

black disc will get me a reward”. To determine whether rooks engage in causal reasoning, one must eliminate this alternative explanation and others like it. Doing so requires implementing control conditions that help reveal when participants might be relying on arbitrary cue-based rules, rather than relying on the underlying causal features of the system to solve the task. As Seed and colleagues write in a review of this and other causal-cognition studies: “These results suggest that the rook, chimpanzees, and New Caledonian crows did not use simple perceptual cues to solve the trap task. We propose that instead they extracted causally relevant functional information (such as surface continuity, or the solidity of barriers)” (Seed et al. 2011, 13).

Although simple associative rules might not account for the results of trap-tube tasks such as these, I argue in the next section that one can account for these results by appealing to more sophisticated forms of associative learning like unlimited associative learning (UAL). Under the current null-hypothesis approach, this finding suggests that researchers should shift their focus from eliminating simple cue-based rules to rejecting UAL as a plausible alternative explanation for successful performance on causal-reasoning tasks. In the remainder of the paper, I resist this conclusion, arguing instead that what needs rejecting is the null-hypothesis approach.

### **3. Unlimited Associative Learning as a Null Hypothesis**



Associative learning is broadly the ability to learn associations between stimuli like a bell and food (classical condition) or between actions and outcomes like receiving food upon pressing a lever (operant conditioning). UAL is a form of associative learning in that it involves learning associations between objects, events and actions. However, an agent with UAL is capable of learning associations between a practically limitless number of stimuli and actions. An animal with UAL can learn to associate novel, compound stimuli and actions that are temporally separated, as well as engage in second-order conditioning (Bronfman et al. 2016; Birch et al. 2020).

Given that UAL is effectively unlimited in the range of associations that can be formed, an agent with UAL faces a problem: the world contains an endless number of covarying factors, how does such an agent learn to associate the relevant factors, while ignoring those that are irrelevant? Ginsburg and Jablonka refer to this as the “loading the dice” problem following William James (Ginsburg and Jablonka 2019, 349-350). Daniel Dennett has also noted that Skinnerian creatures (i.e., those creatures that learn through associative learning) survive in virtue of making lucky first moves (Dennett 1996, 88). This problem is exacerbated in organisms capable of UAL, given the vast number of potential associations available to them. The loading-the-dice problem asks, how do such creatures load the dice in a way that allows them to gain useful information about the world?

The model of UAL advanced by Ginsburg, Jablonka and colleagues provides an answer. Inspired in part by the predictive processing literature, they argue that animals construct generative models of their environment. These models produce predictions of

sensory input based on an organism's evolutionary history and prior learning. When there is a deviation between these predictions and the incoming sensory input (i.e., a prediction error), this creates an imperative to bring the predictions and sensory input into alignment. This can be done by either updating the generative model (reactive inference) or seeking out signals that agree with the model (active inference). In this way, the imperative to minimize prediction error drives learning, attention, and action. Crucially, only discrepancies between expected and actual data are registered, allowing vast amounts of incoming information to be ignored. Moreover, under the predictive processing account, some aspects of the world are dismissed as 'noise' in the sense that the associated prediction errors are not given much weight in updating the generative model. This is known as 'precision-weighting' and, as Andy Clark writes, it "delivers the system's best estimate of the trustworthiness of the sensory information itself" (Clark 2016, 60). Prediction errors that are estimated as reliable will have greater effects in terms of learning, attention, and action than prediction errors that are estimated as unreliable.

UAL can account for the successful performance of animals on causal reasoning tasks. First, it can explain how an organism learns the underlying causes or functional properties of a task more readily than arbitrary cue associations. For example, corvids (both those who routinely use tools, like New Caledonian Crows, and those who do not, like common ravens), spend a significant proportion of their time manipulating objects throughout development (Kenward et al. 2011). Thus, they are exposed to numerous causal invariances, such as the invariance that solid objects do not pass through other solid objects,

and that objects fall when they reach the edge of a surface and are no longer supported from below. Such invariances can be contrasted with more variable properties of the world. For example, barriers typically come in a wide range of colors—this property is a noisy signal. We should expect a rook's generative model then to update in response to causal invariances, given the reliability of the prediction errors that result. In contrast, such a model should fail to represent noisy signals like the colors of barriers. Although a rook is capable of learning to associate arbitrary cues, this should be more challenging than learning causal regularities. We should thus expect rooks to draw on these regularities when solving physical problems more readily than associations between arbitrary cues.

UAL can also account for successful transfers to novel problems like that exhibited by the rook Guillem in the trap-tube task. Insofar as the non-functional or decoy traps do not violate causal laws, we should expect an agent capable of UAL to generate predictions that accord with previously learned causal invariances, such as “solid objects will pass over solid surfaces, fall if unsupported, be unobtainable if surrounded by a solid barrier, etc.”. Indeed, under UAL, what is more perplexing is why subjects fail problems such as the trap-tube task, given their extensive experience with solid objects and containers. As Seed et al. note, such failures are difficult to explain, but they may be related to a lack of ecological validity (Seed et al. 2006; for examples, see Girndt et al. 2008; Mulcahy and Call 2006). In either case, UAL predicts that animals such as rooks and chimpanzees will be less likely to learn a rule relating arbitrary cues than a rule that reflects causal principles provided they have been exposed to those causal principles in the past. This is true even if those causal principles

manifest in different ways—that is, if they are realized in situations that differ in their surface-level perceptual features. As Clark (2013) writes, it is the “structured probabilistic know-how distilled from prediction-driven learning that enables us to *see through the veil of surface statistics* to the world of distal interacting causes itself” (170, emphasis original). Generative models are hierarchical structures that represent latent variables at different levels of abstraction. Such models can, for example, construct a “best explanation” for a range of multimodal sensory inputs (Clark 2013, 174). Indeed, even deep convolution neural networks (with their many layers of hierarchical processing) appear to be able to perform what Buckner (2018) calls “transformational abstraction” or the ability to move between specific instances (of chairs, for example, with no set of perceptual features in common) to deeper representations or abstractions.

One might object that it is no surprise that UAL can explain behavior in causal-reasoning tasks, given its reliance on predictive processing. Predictive processing is well known for providing an account of how agents learn causal models of the world (Hohwy 2020; Williams 2018). Comparing UAL with predictive-processing accounts of causal reasoning is beyond the scope of this paper; however, it is worth noting that, to my knowledge, proponents of UAL have not considered UAL as a potential source of causal knowledge. The closest account of this kind is Ginsburg and Jablonka (2021), which suggests that organisms capable of UAL might serve as the basis for an evolutionary transition to “Popperian creatures” or those capable of using imagination to evaluate and select actions before trying them out in the world (Dennett 1996). However, Ginsburg and Jablonka do not

mention whether or how UAL might serve as the basis for “Pearlian creatures” or those capable of causal reasoning (Godfrey-Smith 2018).

#### **4. From Null Hypotheses to Signature Testing**

In the comparative psychology literature, associative learning is cited as the appropriate “null hypothesis” when investigating causal reasoning in human and nonhuman animals. As Daniel Hanus writes about the standard practice in comparative psychology, “an associative explanation should be the null hypothesis that must be rejected before any cognitive explanation [like causal reasoning] should be assumed” (Hanus 2016, 242). As we have seen, researchers design experiments to exclude associative learning as an explanation for task performance. Given this, should they also treat unlimited associative learning as a null hypothesis that must be rejected before one can conclude that an organism is engaging in causal reasoning? In this section, I argue that they should not. Although UAL is a plausible alternative explanation for performance on causal-reasoning tasks, the null-hypothesis approach is a poor method for evaluating hypotheses. We should reject the null-hypothesis approach and adopt instead a signature-testing approach for investigating causal reasoning.

There has been much discussion in philosophy of science on the null-hypothesis strategy. One recurring theme is that many hypotheses labelled “null” are in fact substantive, causal hypotheses. Given this, *ceteris paribus*, they should not be epistemically privileged over alternative hypotheses (Fitzpatrick 2008; Bausman 2018; Bausman and Halina 2018;

Dacey 2021). Instead, like other causal hypotheses, one should weigh the epistemic values of the purported null against the epistemic value of alternative hypotheses. By “epistemic value” I mean values like internal consistency, empirical adequacy, scope, explanatory power, unification, novel prediction, etc. (Douglas 2013). If a purported null hypothesis like associative learning is on a par with an alternative hypothesis with respect to its epistemic values, then there is no reason to choose the “null” over the alternative. In this way, the label “null” is misleading, as it suggests one is justified in adopting a strategy similar to statistical null hypothesis testing where one must reject the statistical null before accepting the alternative (Bausman and Halina 2018). Associative learning and UAL are both causal explanations for behavior, however. Thus, unless epistemic values weigh in UAL’s favor, we should not prefer this hypothesis over causal reasoning as an explanation for success on causal reasoning tasks. We should also eschew the language of “null hypotheses” altogether to avoid conflating associative learning and UAL with statistical null hypotheses (Dacey 2021).

Although UAL should not be privileged independently of evidence and other epistemic considerations, one might argue that it is the best explanation, given our current state of knowledge. One justification for selecting UAL as the best explanation for an organism’s performance on causal reasoning tasks is that it is found in that organism’s evolutionary relatives (Sober 2012, 2015; Currie 2021). On the basis of cladistic parsimony and other evolutionary models, if two related species share a phenotype and it is known that the proximate mechanism causing this phenotype for one species is *M*, then this is evidence

that the proximate mechanism causing the phenotype in the other species is also  $M$  (Sober 2012). Ginsburg and Jablonka argue on the basis of current empirical evidence that UAL can be found in almost all vertebrates (Ginsburg and Jablonka 2021). Thus, even if UAL has not been investigated specifically in rooks, we have reason to believe it is operating in this taxon, given its wide (and likely deep) phylogenetic distribution, whereas we do not have such evidence for causal reasoning.

The above considerations may justify choosing UAL over causal reasoning as the best explanation for vertebrate performance on causal reasoning tasks. However, this evaluation presumes a hypothesis space that includes only two hypotheses: causal reasoning and UAL. The hypothesis space, however, is likely much larger and more diverse than this (Voudouris 2020). As Taylor and colleagues write, “Success-testing can lead researchers jumping too quickly from ruling out associative learning to attributing human-like cognition: the ‘not-A-then-B error’” (Taylor et al. 2021, 20). By “success-testing” they mean pass/fail tests where successful performance is taken as evidence for a particular (usually sophisticated) cognitive capacity unless an alternative hypothesis like associative learning can explain the results. They argue that such tests are weakly diagnostic—they not only fail to test between the main competing hypotheses but minimally constrain the hypothesis space generally. Instead, researchers should recognize that the cognitive hypothesis space is likely vast and develop tests that are strongly diagnostic or can tightly constrain the space of available hypotheses. To do this, Taylor et al. propose that researchers move away from success testing and

towards “signature testing” which examines a wide range of information processing patterns exhibited by agents, including errors, biases and limitations.

The idea that one should move away from explaining animal behavior in terms of two dominant explanations (one appealing to human-like mechanisms and the other appealing to associative learning) is not new. Drawing on work in developmental psychology, Seed and colleagues suggest that Guillem's behavior might indicate a capacity to reason about the properties of solid objects (such as their inability to pass through each other), but not the ability to reason about other physical features, like gravity (Seed et al. 2006, 700). These capacities appear to dissociate in early childhood (Spelke 1994). Seed et al. (2011) also propose a middle way (what they call “structural knowledge”) between associative learning and adult human causal reasoning based on symbolic knowledge.

Combining the strategies of enriching the cognitive hypothesis space and signature-testing provides a powerful alternative to the null-hypothesis approach. Rather than attempting to reject UAL as an explanation for performance on cognitive reasoning tasks, we can use this account to refine the cognitive hypothesis space. UAL may give insight into, for example, how causal information is learned and integrated, resulting in a hybrid model of causal reasoning and associative learning. Signature testing can also increase the strength of our inferences by providing information on not just whether an organism passes a particular test, but the patterns of errors, biases and other limitations that result. Organisms with the same cognitive mechanisms should exhibit similar information-processing patterns.



## **5. Conclusion**

Under standard methods in comparative cognition, unlimited associative learning is best understood as a null hypothesis that must be eliminated before one can conclude that an organism is capable of causal reasoning. Such an approach suggests that associative learning and causal reasoning are the only plausible cognitive explanations for performance on causal reasoning tasks. Instead, we should reject the null-hypothesis approach and evaluate cognitive hypotheses according to their epistemic values. We should also focus on enriching the space of cognitive hypotheses while adopting methods that can tightly constrain that space. This is best done using a signature testing rather than success testing approach.

## References

Bastos, Amalia P. M., and Alex H. Taylor. 2020. “Kea Show Three Signatures of Domain-General Statistical Inference.” *Nature Communications* 11 (1): 1–8.

Bausman, William C. 2018. “Modeling: Neutral, Null, and Baseline.” *Philosophy of Science* 85 (4): 594–616.

Bausman, William, and Marta Halina. 2018. “Not Null Enough: Pseudo-Null Hypotheses in Community Ecology and Comparative Psychology.” *Biology & Philosophy* 33 (3–4): 30.

Bender, Andrea. 2020. “What Is Causal Cognition?” *Frontiers in Psychology* 11: 1–6.

Birch, Jonathan, Simona Ginsburg, and Eva Jablonka. 2020. “Unlimited Associative Learning and the Origins of Consciousness: A Primer and Some Predictions.” *Biology & Philosophy* 35 (6): 1–23.

Bronfman, Zohar Z., Simona Ginsburg, and Eva Jablonka. 2016. “The Transition to Minimal Consciousness through the Evolution of Associative Learning.” *Frontiers in Psychology* 7: 1–16.

Buckner, Cameron. 2018. "Empiricism without Magic: Transformational Abstraction in Deep Convolutional Neural Networks." *Synthese* 195 (12): 5339–72.

Clark, Andy. 2016. *Surfing Uncertainty: Prediction, Action, and the Embodied Mind*. Oxford University Press.

Currie, Adrian. 2021. *Comparative Thinking in Biology*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dacey, Mike. 2021. "Evidence in Default: Rejecting Default Models of Animal Minds." *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 1–42.

Dennett, Daniel C. 1996. *Kinds of Minds: Towards an Understanding of Consciousness*. New York: Basic Books.

Douglas, Heather. 2013. "The Value of Cognitive Values." *Philosophy of Science* 80 (5): 796–806. <https://doi.org/10.1086/673716>.

Fitzpatrick, Simon. 2008. "Doing Away with Morgan's Canon." *Mind & Language* 23 (2): 224–46.

Ginsburg, Simona, and Eva Jablonka. 2019. *The Evolution of The Sensitive Soul: Learning and The Origins of Consciousness*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Ginsburg, Simona, and Eva Jablonka. 2021. “Evolutionary Transitions in Learning and Cognition.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 376 (1821): 1–9.

Girndt, Antje, T. Meier, and J. Call. 2008. “Task Constraints Mask Great Apes’ Ability to Solve the Trap-Table Task.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Animal Behavior Processes* 34 (1): 54–62.

Godfrey-Smith, Peter. 2018. “Towers and Trees in Cognitive Evolution.” In *The Philosophy of Daniel Dennett*, edited by Bryce Huebner, 1:225–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanus, Daniel. 2016. “Causal Reasoning versus Associative Learning: A Useful Dichotomy or a Strawman Battle in Comparative Psychology?” *Journal of Comparative Psychology* 130 (3): 241–48.

Herrmann, E., J. Call, M. V. Hernandez-Lloreda, B. Hare, and M. Tomasello. 2007. “Humans Have Evolved Specialized Skills of Social Cognition: The Cultural Intelligence Hypothesis.” *Science* 317 (5843): 1360–66.

Hohwy, Jakob. 2020. "New Directions in Predictive Processing." *Mind & Language* 35 (2): 209–23.

Kenward, Ben, Christian Schloegl, Christian Rutz, Alexander A. S. Weir, Thomas Bugnyar, and Alex Kacelnik. 2011. "On the Evolutionary and Ontogenetic Origins of Tool-Oriented Behaviour in New Caledonian Crows (*Corvus Moneduloides*)." *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 102 (4): 870–77.

Mulcahy, Nicholas J., and Josep Call. 2006. "How Great Apes Perform on a Modified Trap-Tube Task." *Animal Cognition* 9 (3): 193–99.

Penn, Derek C., and Daniel J. Povinelli. 2007. "Causal Cognition in Human and Nonhuman Animals: A Comparative, Critical Review." *Annual Review of Psychology* 58 (1): 97–118.

Povinelli, Daniel J. 2012. *World without Weight: Perspectives on an Alien Mind*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seed, Amanda, Daniel Hanus, and Josep Call. 2011. "Causal Knowledge in Corvids, Primates, and Children." In *Tool Use and Causal Cognition*, edited by Teresa McCormack, Christoph Hoerl, and Stephen Butterfill, 89–110. Oxford University Press.

Seed, Amanda M., Sabine Tebbich, Nathan J. Emery, and Nicola S. Clayton. 2006.

“Investigating Physical Cognition in Rooks, *Corvus Frugilegus*.” *Current Biology* 16 (7): 697–701.

Seed, Amanda M., Sabine Tebbich, Nathan J. Emery, and Nicola S. Clayton. 2006.

“Investigating Physical Cognition in Rooks, *Corvus Frugilegus*.” *Current Biology* 16 (7): 697–701.

Sober, Elliott. 2012. “Anthropomorphism, Parsimony, and Common Ancestry.” *Mind & Language* 27 (3): 229–38.

Sober, Elliott. 2015. *Ockham’s Razors: A User’s Manual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spelke, Elizabeth. 1994. “Initial Knowledge: Six Suggestions.” *Cognition* 50 (1–3): 431–45.

Starzak, Tobias Benjamin, and Russell David Gray. 2021. “Towards Ending the Animal Cognition War: A Three-Dimensional Model of Causal Cognition.” *Biology & Philosophy* 36 (2): 1–24.

Taylor, Alex H., Amalia Bastos, Rachael Brown, and Colin Allen. 2021. "The Signature-testing Approach to Mapping Biological and Artificial Intelligences." Manuscript submitted for publication.

Tebbich, S., and R. Bshary. 2004. "Cognitive Abilities Related to Tool Use in the Woodpecker Finch, *Cactospiza Pallida*." *Animal Behaviour* 67 (4): 689–97.

Voudouris, Konstantinos. (2020). *An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Associative-Cognitive Distinction*, Thesis (Master of Philosophy), University of Cambridge.

Williams, Daniel. 2018. "Predictive Processing and the Representation Wars." *Minds and Machines* 28 (1): 141–72.