

What cultural evolution tells us about the innateness of language

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**What's wrong with this
picture?**

What's wrong with this picture?



vs.



“The big language evolution debate”

Nativism and culture

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- Chomsky and Pinker:
 - are both nativists
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 - are both nativists
 - neither appear to believe in a significant explanatory role for cultural evolution
- I want to argue that these two go together
- If you take cultural evolution seriously, it has surprising implications for nativism

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- Linguistic nativism:
 - strong, language-specific constraints

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- POVERTY OF THE STIMULUS

- Given limited evidence, language acquisition would be impossible without significant innate knowledge

Cultural evolution

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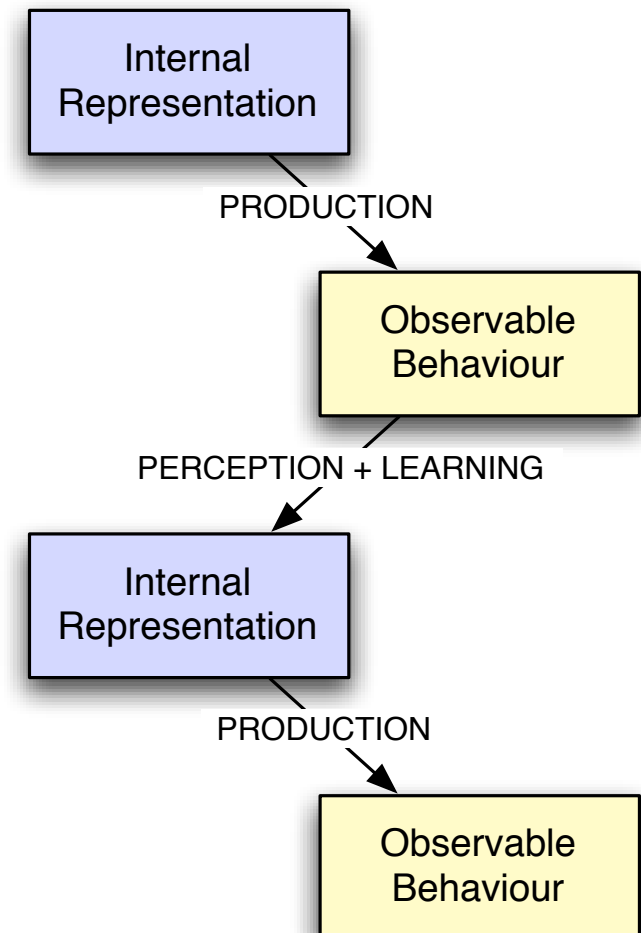
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- Cultural evolution:
 - the analog of biological evolution in the domain of socially (rather than genetically) transmitted information
- Arguably, language is the best example in nature of a culturally transmitted system

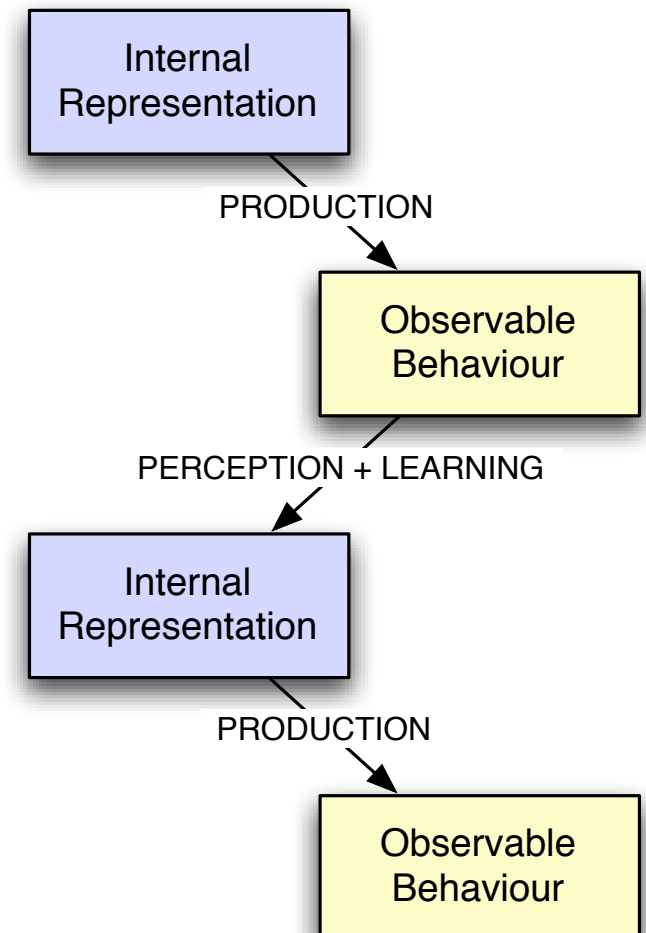
Iterated Learning

- One mechanism for cultural evolution
- *Iterated Learning*: process whereby a behaviour is acquired through observation of another's behaviour, who acquired it in the same way



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Iterated Learning

- Nothing particularly controversial about this
- Nevertheless, it has unexpected properties we are only beginning to appreciate
- How do we study it?
 - Formal models
 - Experimental models with human participants

A formal model of Iterated Learning

Kirby, Dowman & Griffiths (2007), *PNAS*

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- Use *bayesian* model of learning

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- Allows us to provide a model of innateness, $p(h)$, and predict what language (hypothesis), h , a learner will pick given a given set of data, d

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“score” for each language

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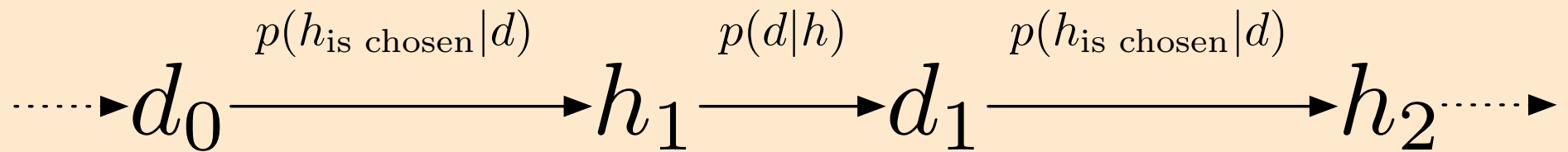
model of language

prior bias

The diagram shows the equation $p(h|d) \propto p(d|h)p(h)$. The term $p(h|d)$ is enclosed in a pink oval, with a line pointing to it from the label “score” for each language. The term $p(d|h)$ is enclosed in a light blue oval, with a line pointing to it from the label model of language. The term $p(h)$ is enclosed in a yellow oval, with a line pointing to it from the label prior bias. The proportionality symbol \propto is placed between the pink and blue ovals.

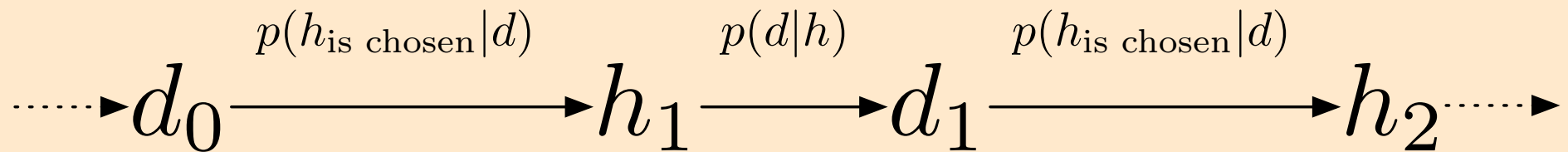
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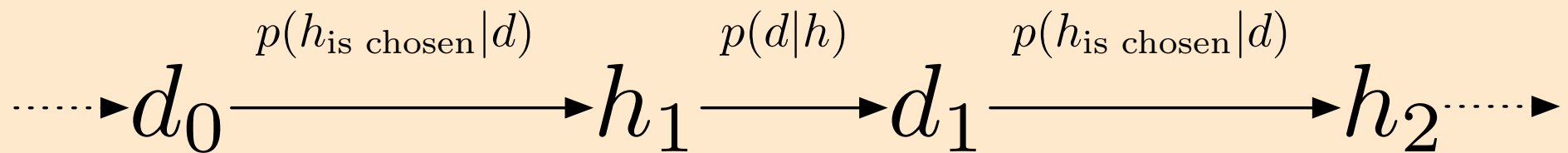
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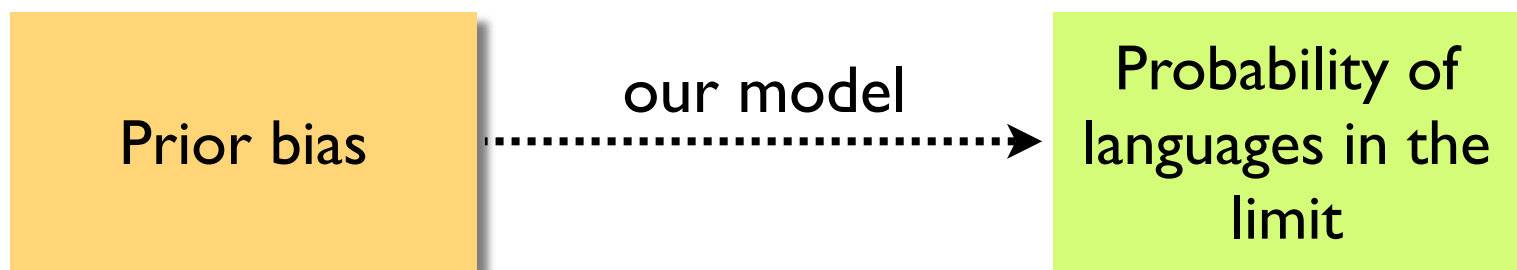
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- There's a neat mathematical trick that lets us work out what will happen here to the probability of different languages in the limit

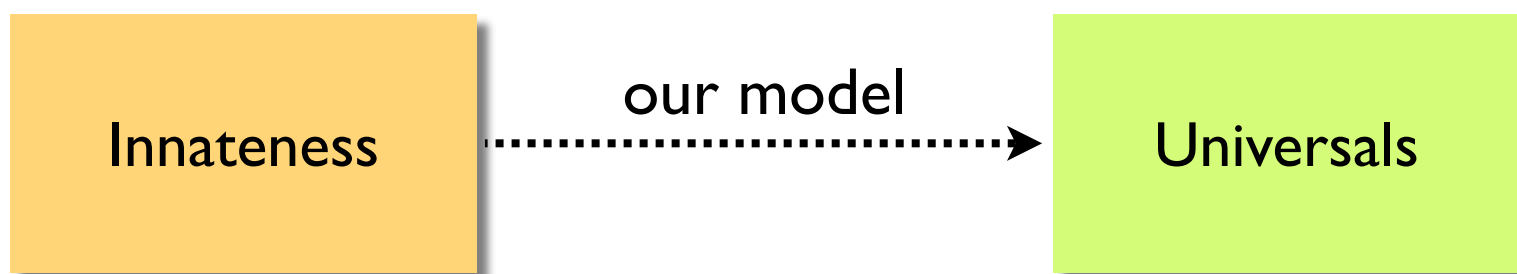
From innateness to universals

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 - If we think of innateness in terms of *prior bias*
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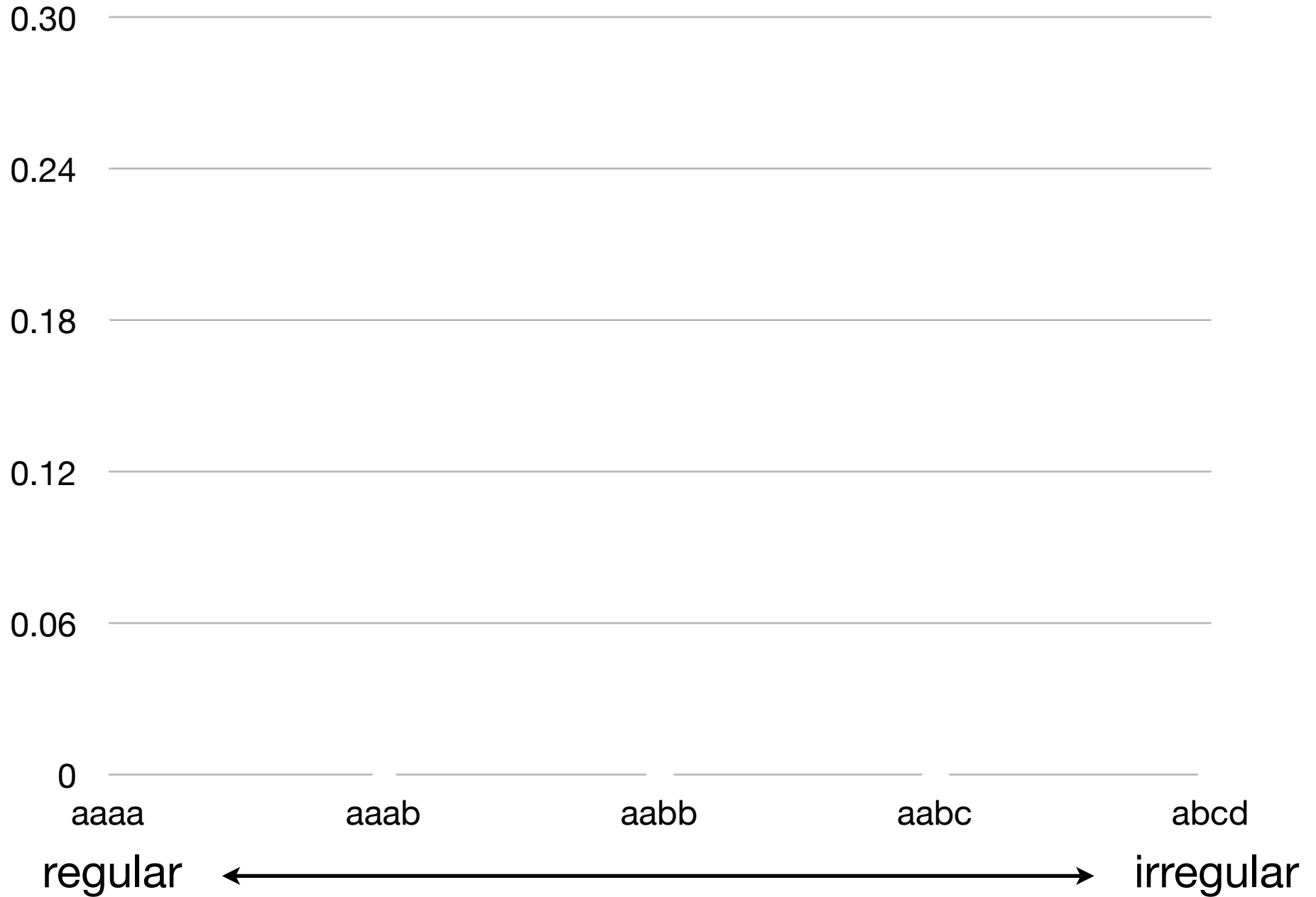
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- Start with the assumption that there is a slight innate bias in favour of regularity
 - We can vary the strength of this bias
 - It's reasonable to assume this isn't language specific

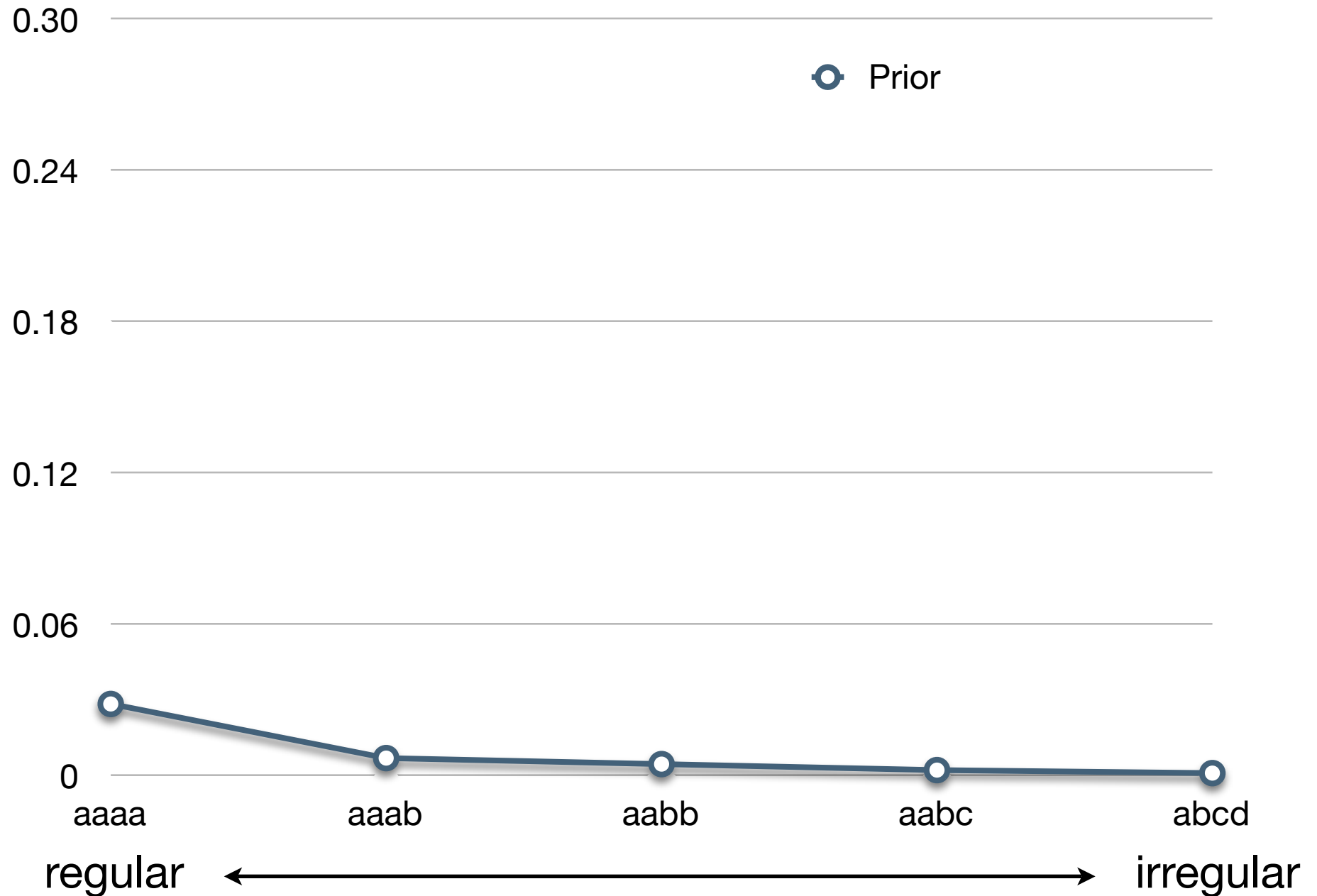
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- What happens?

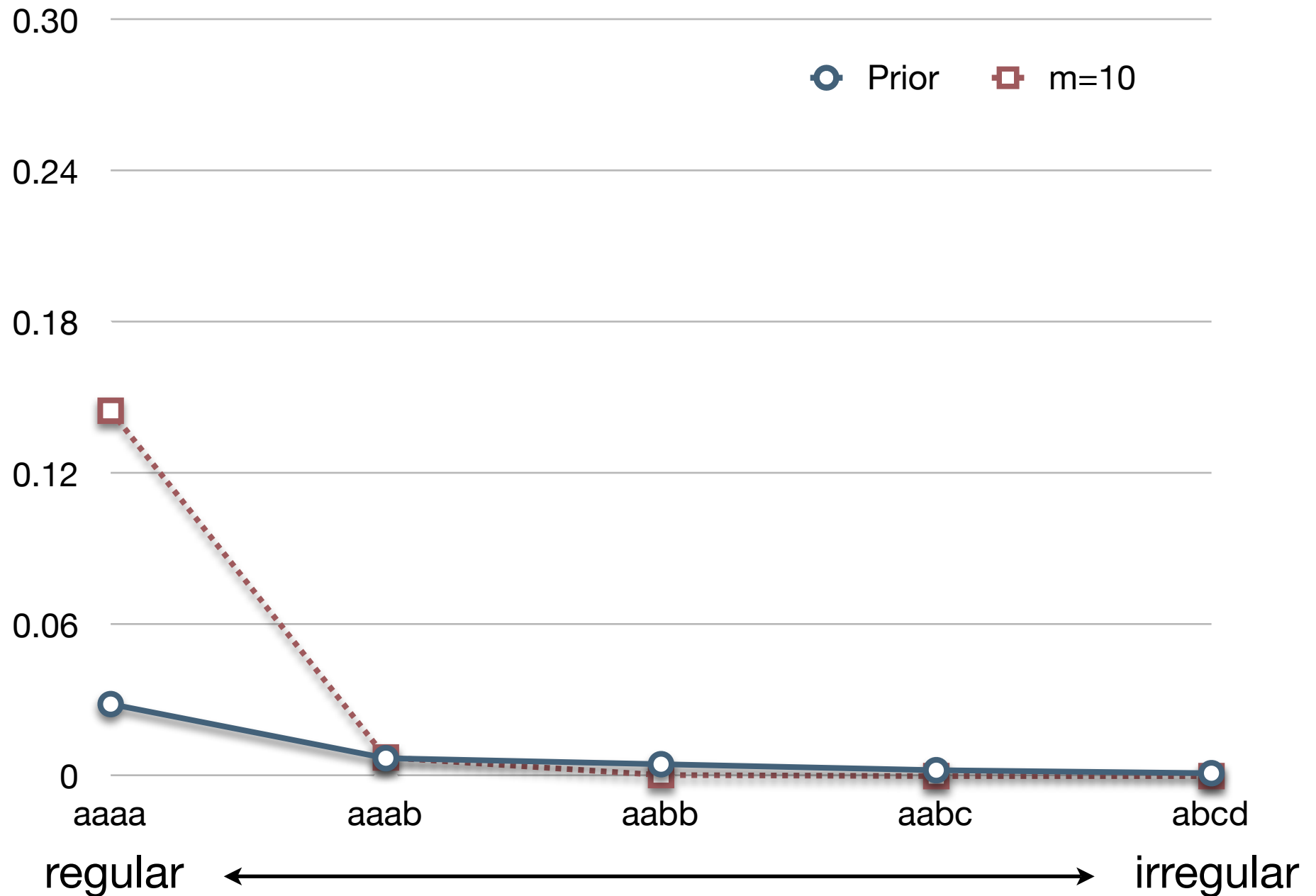
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($\alpha=1$, $\varepsilon=0.05$, 4 meanings, 4 classes)



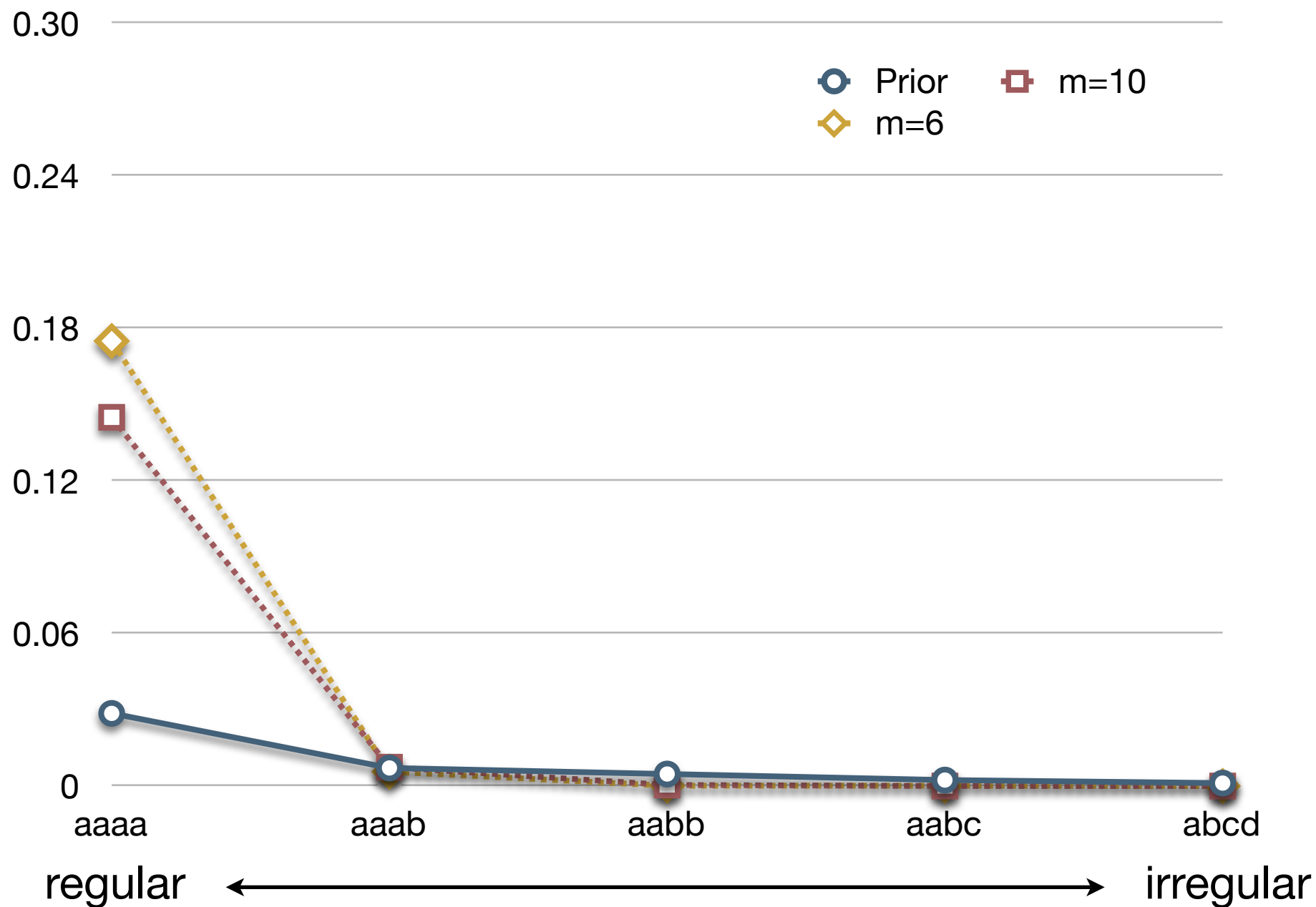
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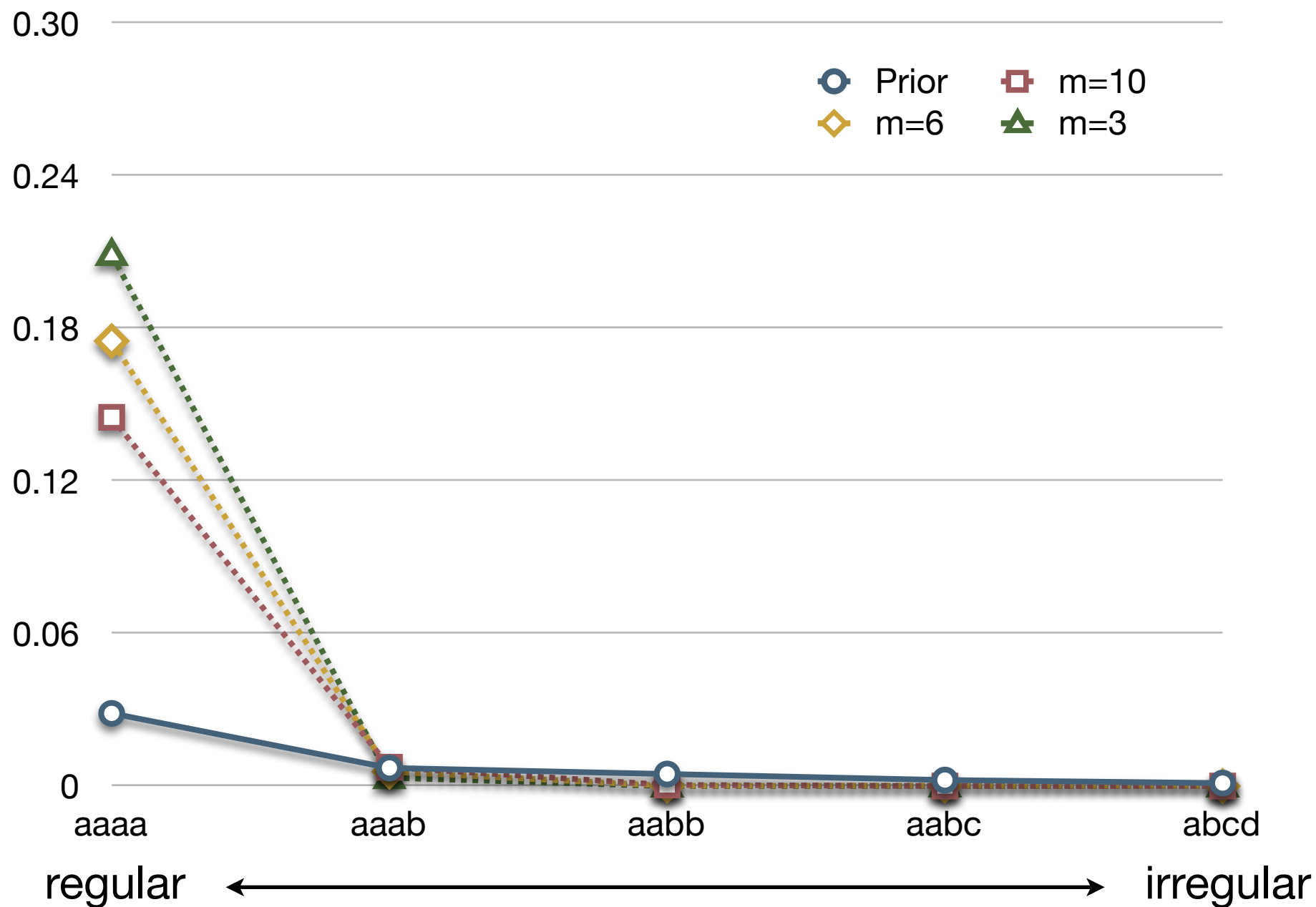
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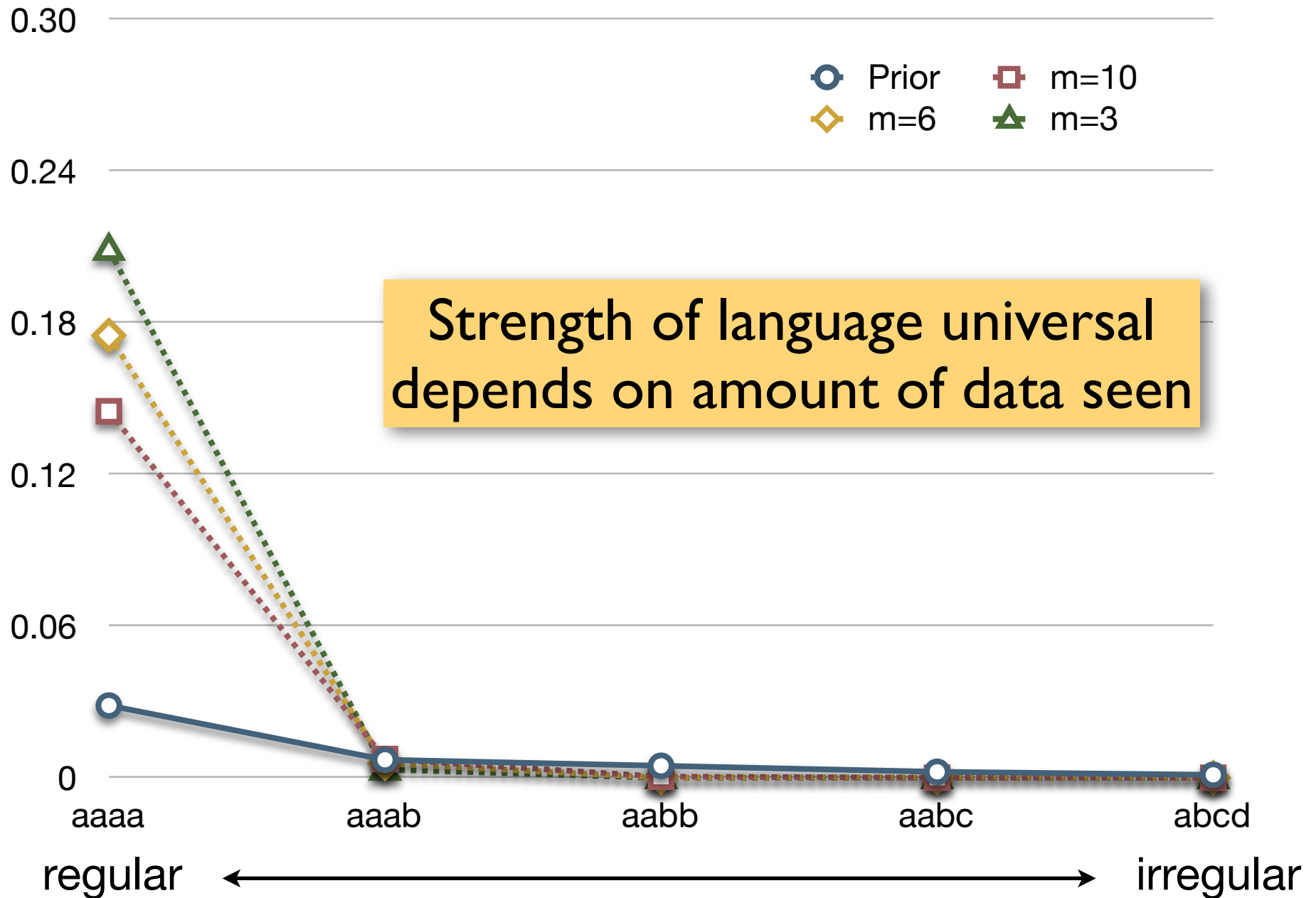
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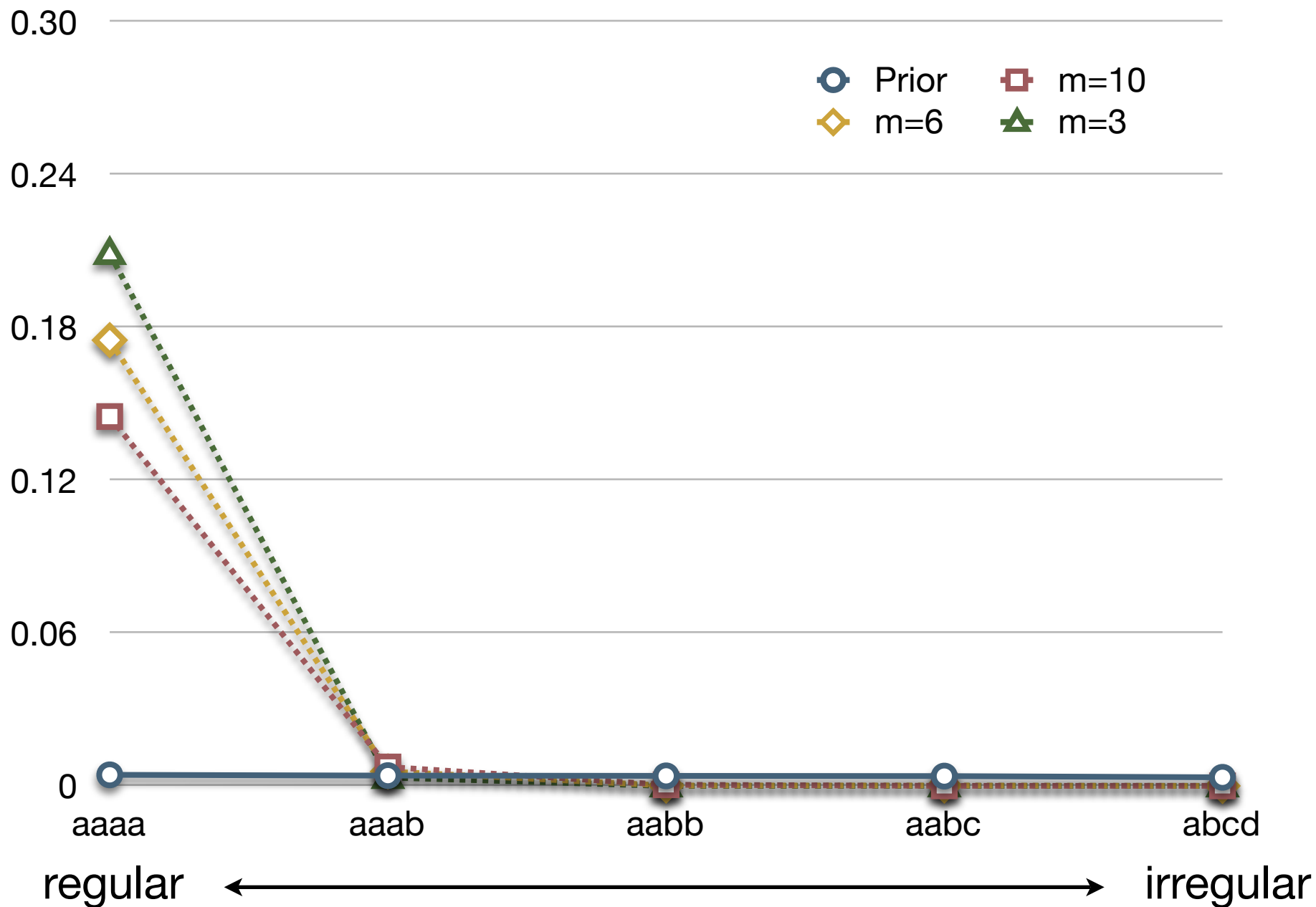
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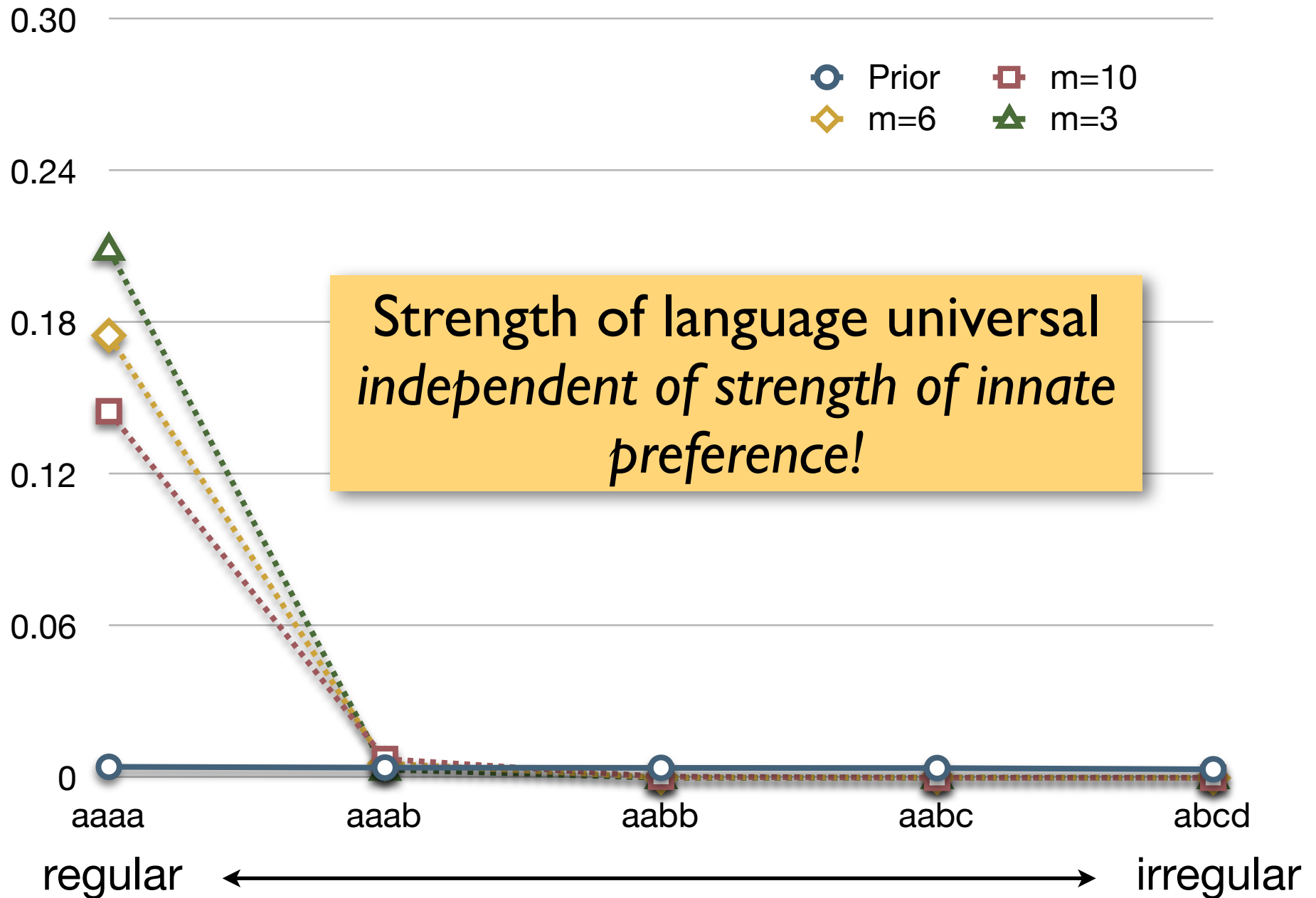
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What does this mean?

- What's innate matters, but you can't predict language universals from innateness
- Equally, you can't infer innateness from universals.
- Strong universals do not imply strong innate constraints
- Neatly predicts Dediu & Ladd's (2007) genes/tone correlation

Linguistic adaptation

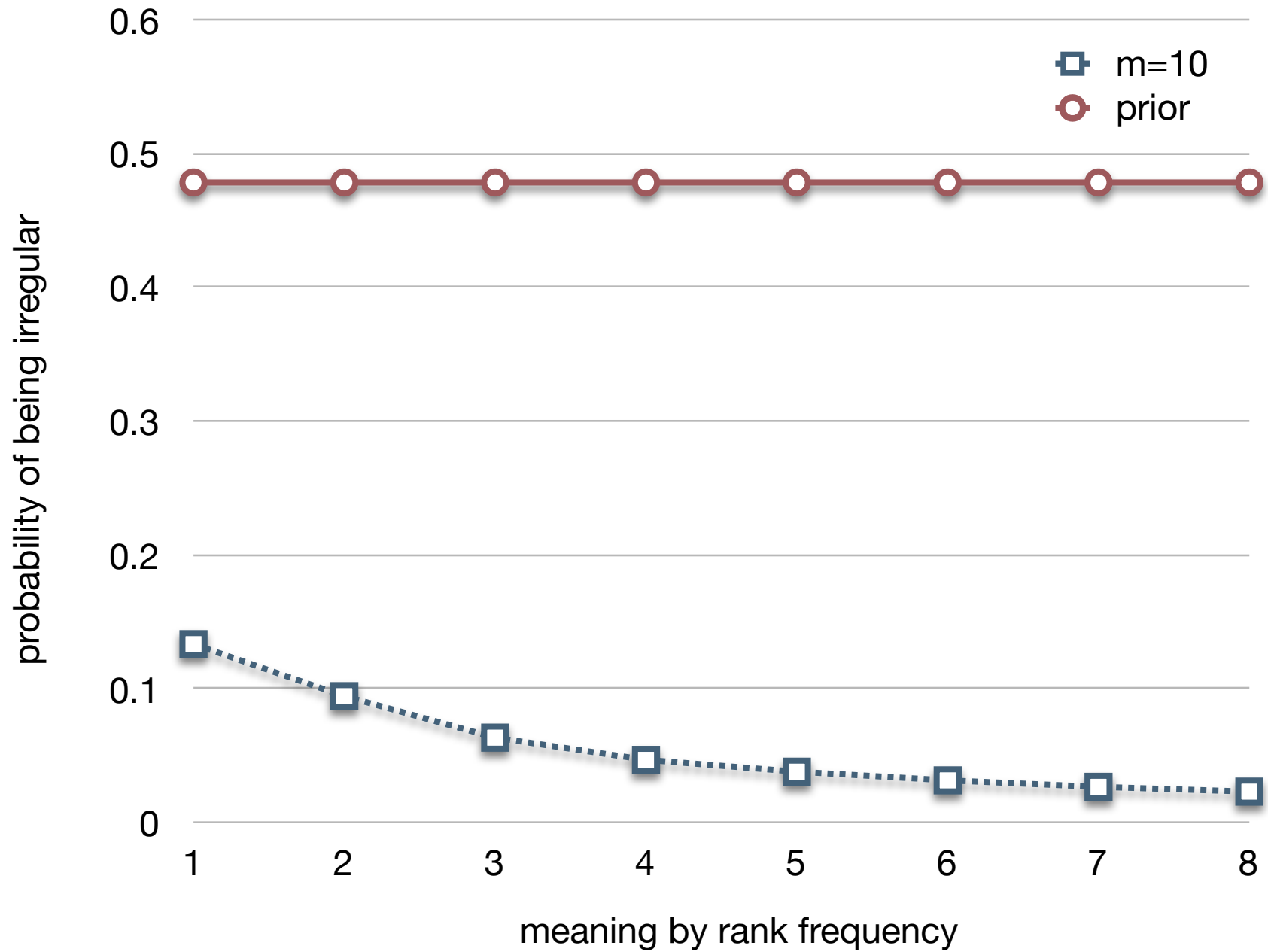
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- Language is *adapting* culturally
- The languages we see are the ones optimised for transmission
 - No need for natural selection

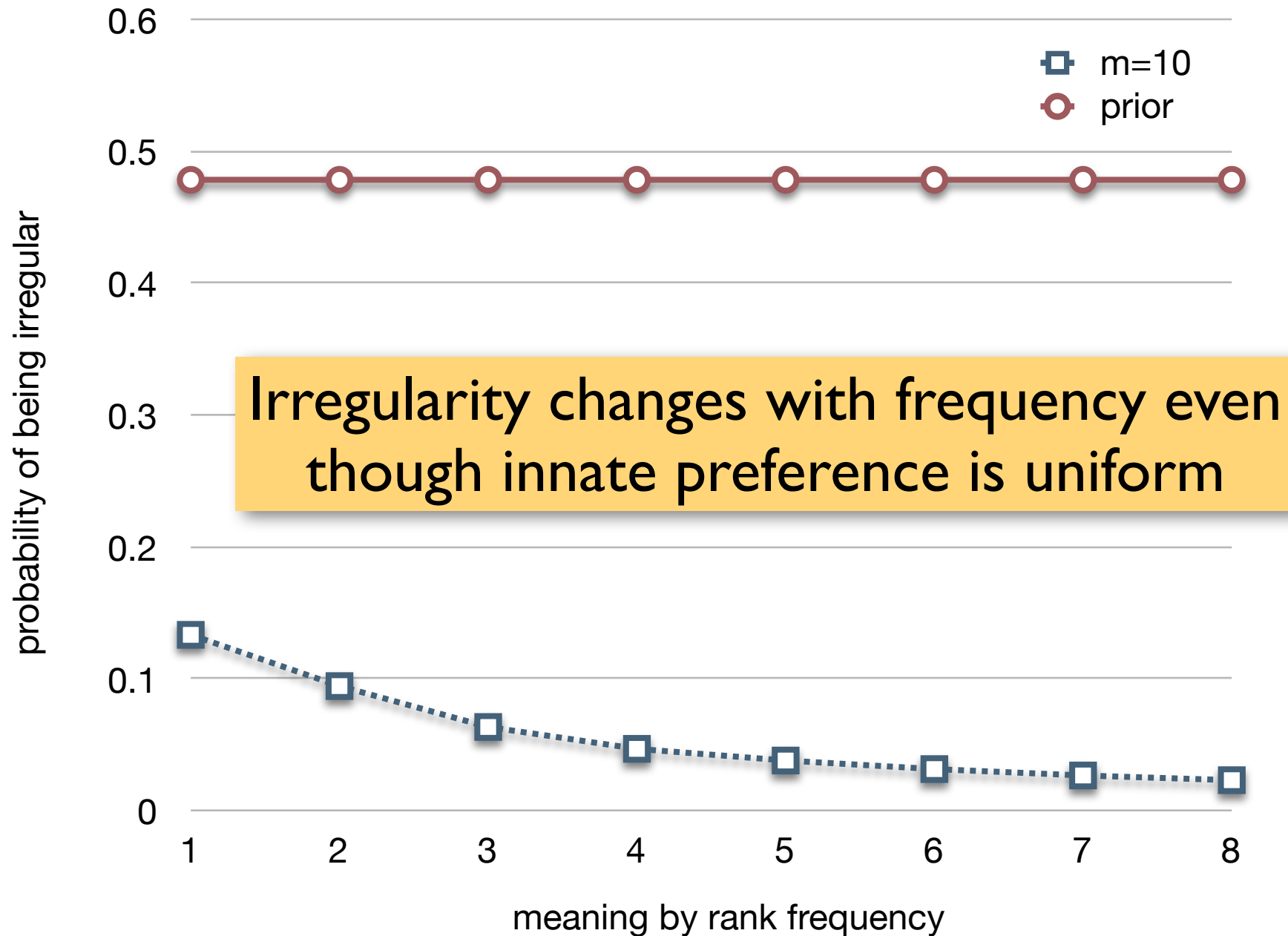
Linguistic adaptation

- Language is *adapting* culturally
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 - No need for natural selection
- The tougher the transmission “bottleneck”, the more pressure there is to adapt
 - Turns the poverty of the stimulus problem on its head
 - Explains the frequency/irregularity correlation in morphology

Irregularity by frequency
($\alpha=1$, $\varepsilon=0.05$, 8 meanings, 4 classes)



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- Is our model of learning reasonable?
- Can this kind of evolution happen in a reasonable time-scale?
- Can cultural adaptation happen without human intention?

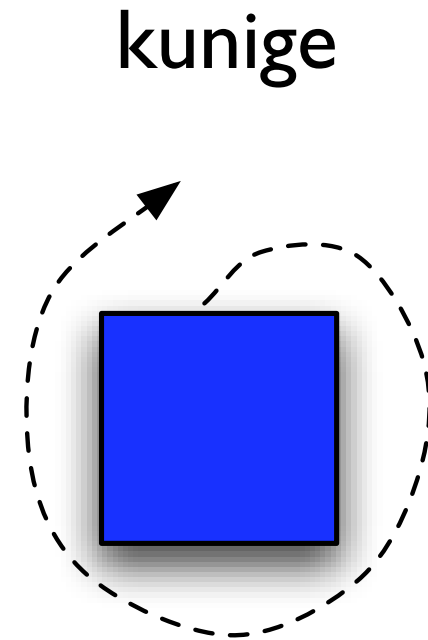
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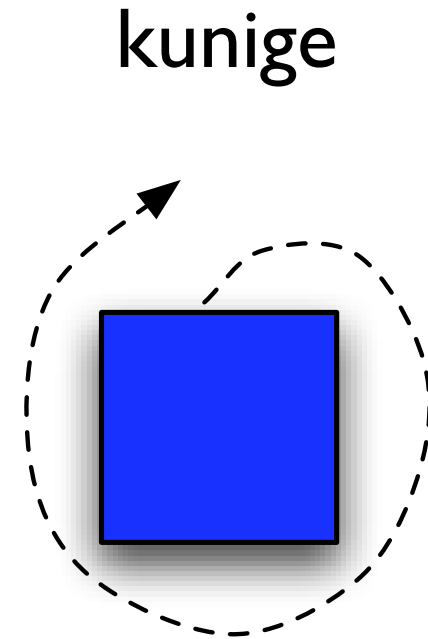
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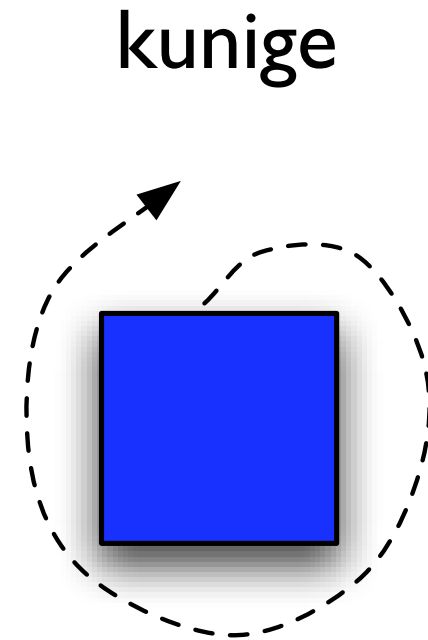
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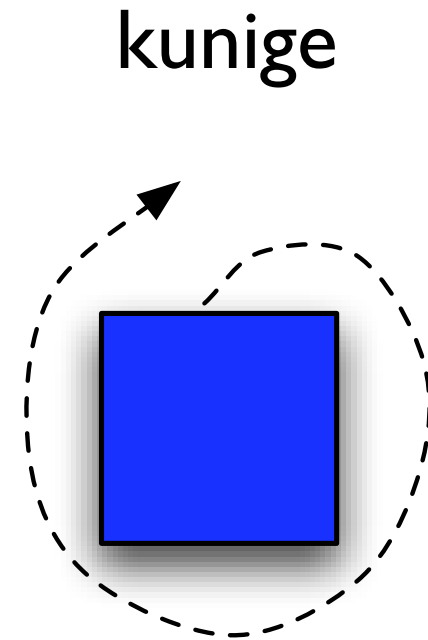
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- Participants exposed to artificial language made up of picture/string pairs (typically initially random)
- Try and learn this
- Tested on full set of “meanings”
- Output on test used as input language for next participant



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- We can vary the same parameters as in the formal models:
 - How much of the language the subjects are exposed to
 - Frequency of meanings
 - Structure of meaning space
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Cornish (2006); Kirby, Cornish & Smith (forthcoming)

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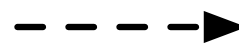
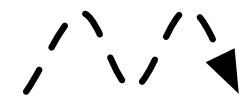
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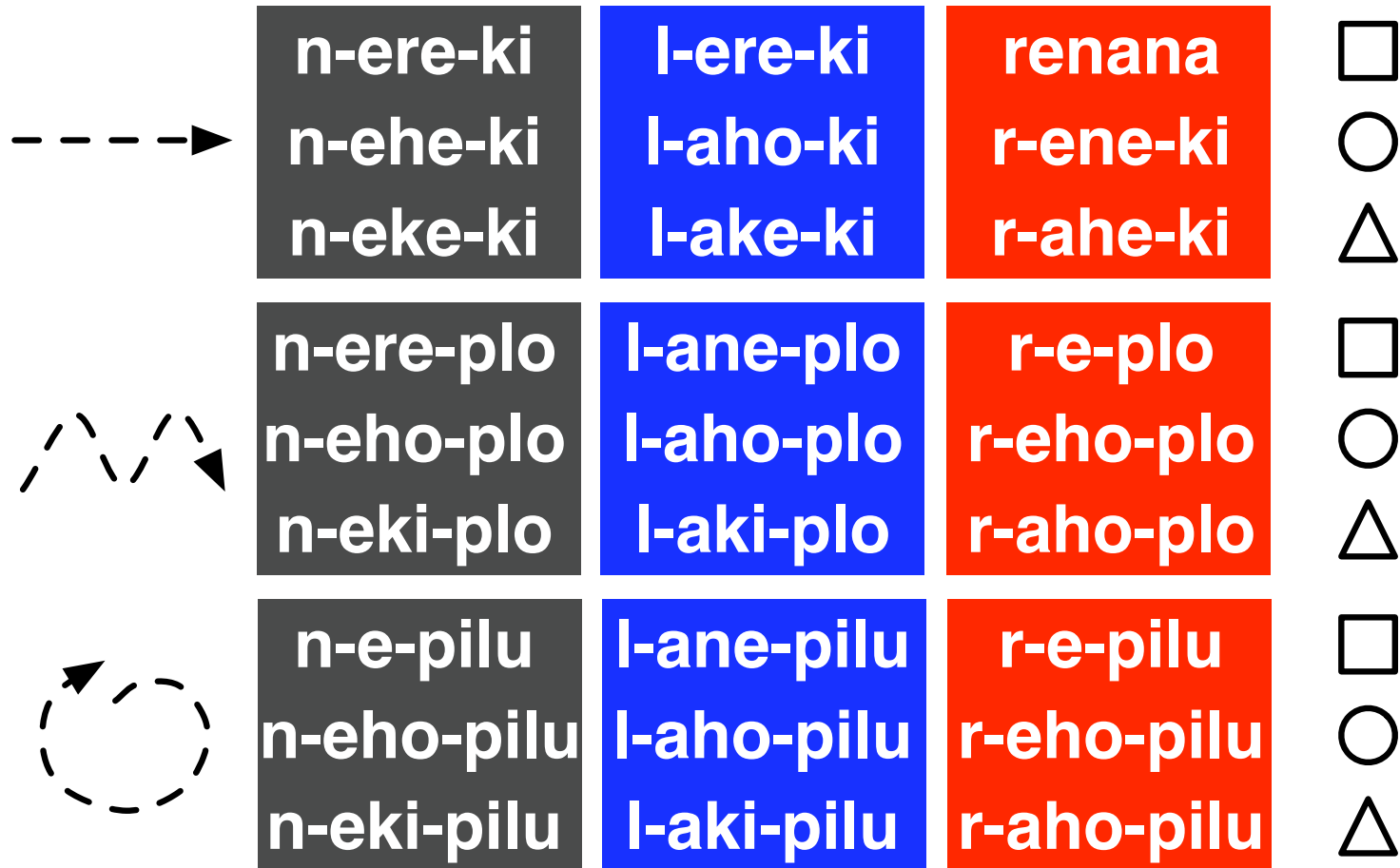
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- Compositional structure emerges

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Example initial language

	<div>umonamo</div> <div>nelu</div> <div>kapihu</div>	<div>kinahune</div> <div>kanehu</div> <div>humo</div>	<div>lahupine</div> <div>namopihu</div> <div>lahupiki</div>	<div>□</div> <div>○</div> <div>△</div>
	<div>moki</div> <div>kalu</div> <div>nane</div>	<div>luneki</div> <div>mola</div> <div>kalakihu</div>	<div>lanepi</div> <div>pihukimo</div> <div>mokihuna</div>	<div>□</div> <div>○</div> <div>△</div>
	<div>kilamo</div> <div>pilu</div> <div>luki</div>	<div>kahuki</div> <div>neki</div> <div>namola</div>	<div>neluka</div> <div>pinemohu</div> <div>lumoka</div>	<div>□</div> <div>○</div> <div>△</div>

Example final language (10 “generations” later)



Study 2:

Frequency/irregularity

Beqa (2007); Beqa, Kirby & Hurford (forthcoming)

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- Over generations:
 - language becomes easier to learn
 - *infrequent* irregulars regularise

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Frequency/irregularity

Frequent

vipirir / vipirar



rivipir / rivipar

tada / sinefu



tada / senoufe

ridetir / ridetar



ravipir / ravipar

Infrequent

gidu / riwe



riwa / riwe

livove / domipu



rimipir / rimipar

Frequency/irregularity

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rivipir / rivipar

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- Language is culturally transmitted
 - Surprisingly little investigated in the literature
- Reduces three different sources of support for linguistic nativism:
 - strong universals do not imply strong constraints
 - appearance of design does not imply natural selection
 - stimulus poverty actually drives cultural adaptation, reducing the problem innate knowledge is presumed to solve

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- I am not denying innateness
 - It's just not necessarily strongly constraining or language specific
- I am not denying a role for biological evolution
 - The real question is revealed:
How did humans end up being the only species able to transmit a symbolic system culturally?