

# Simplicity and informativeness in the cultural evolution of language

Jon W. Carr, Kenny Smith, Jennifer Culbertson, Simon Kirby

*Centre for Language Evolution  
School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences  
University of Edinburgh*

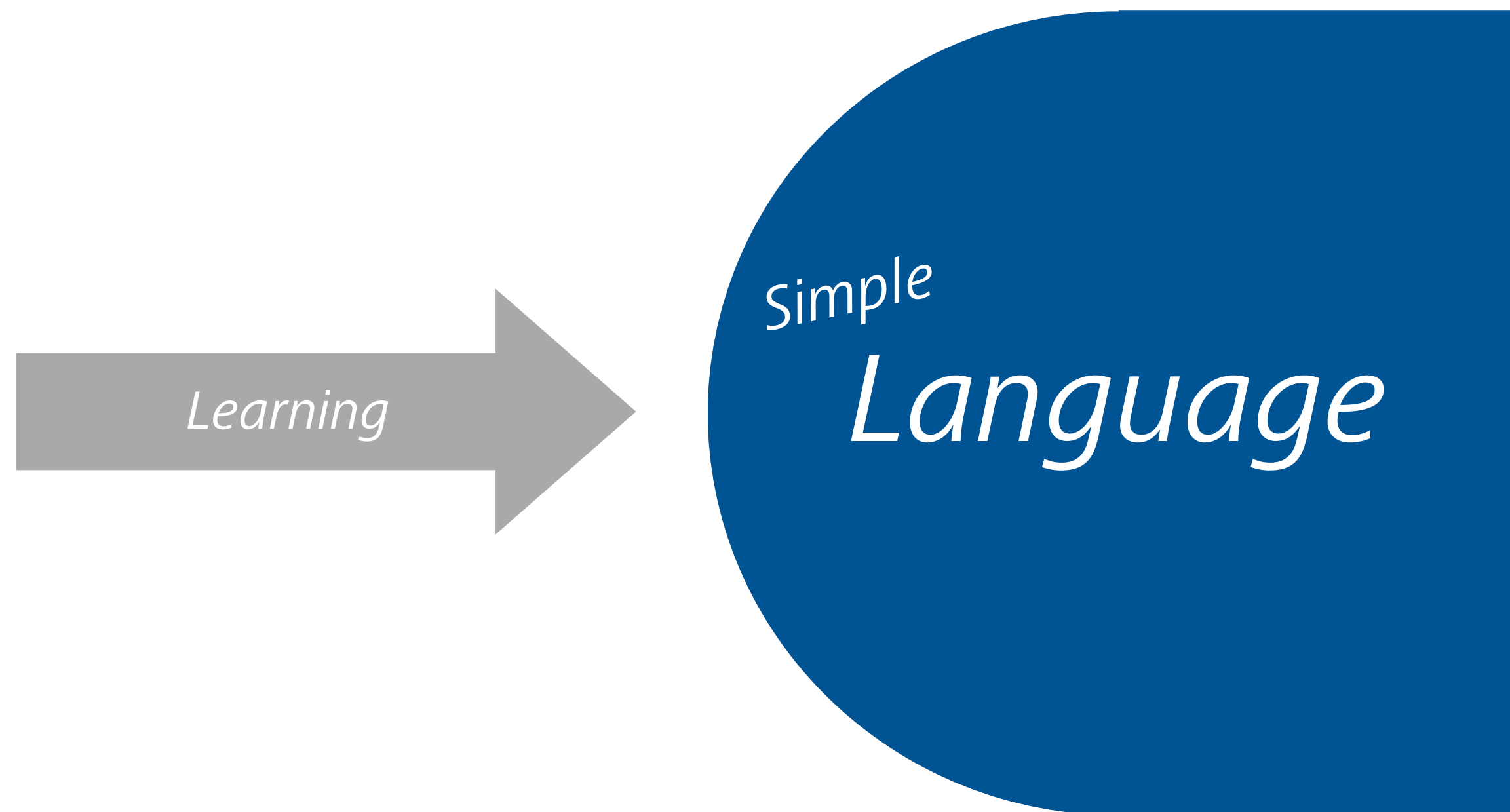


# Pressures shaping language

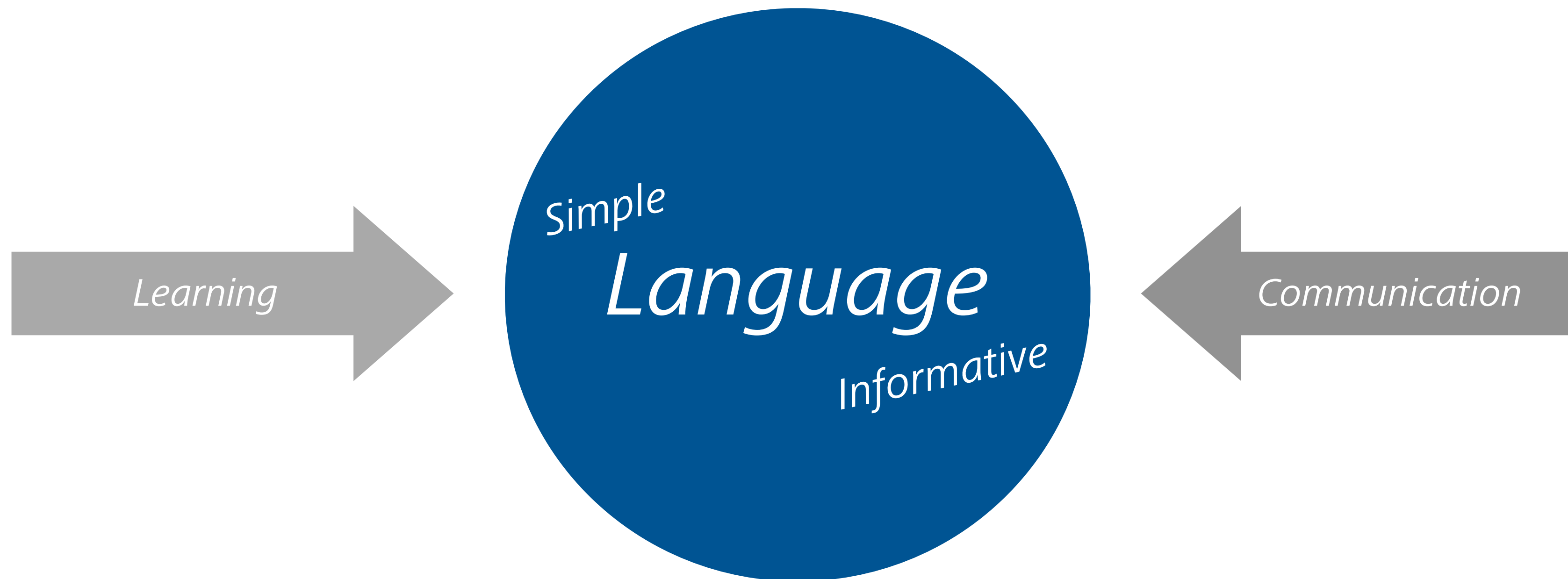


*Language*

# Pressures shaping language

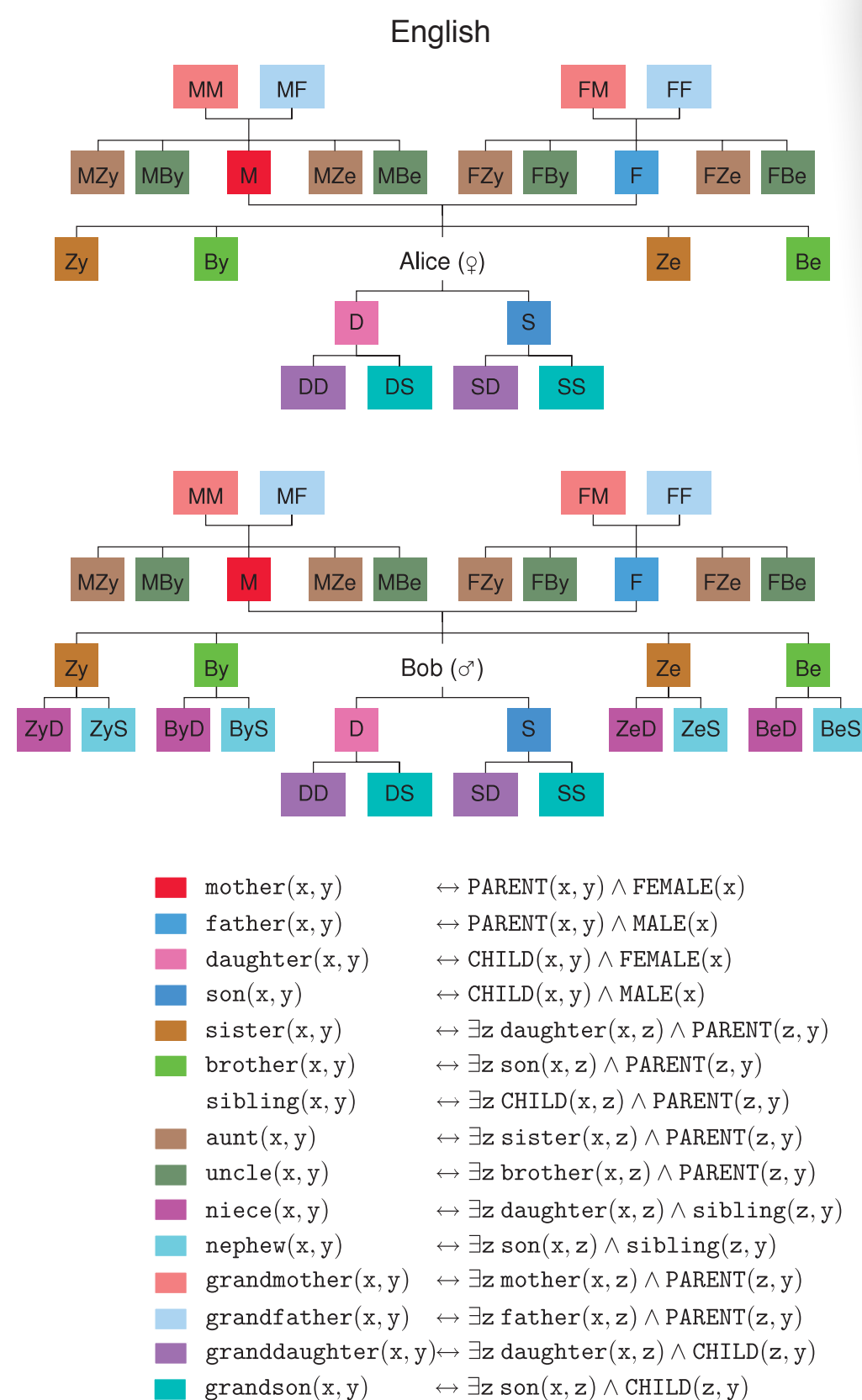


# Pressures shaping language





# Kinship terms are simple and informative



Kemp & Regier (2012)

## Kinship Categories Across Languages Reflect General Communicative Principles

Charles Kemp<sup>1\*</sup> and Terry Regier<sup>2</sup>

Languages vary in their systems of kinship categories, but the scope of possible variation appears to be constrained. Previous accounts of kin classification have often emphasized constraints that are specific to the domain of kinship and are not derived from general principles. Here, we propose an account that is founded on two domain-general principles: Good systems of categories are simple, and they enable informative communication. We show computationally that kin classification systems in the world's languages achieve a near-optimal trade-off between these two competing principles. We also show that our account explains several specific constraints on kin classification proposed previously. Because the principles of simplicity and informativeness are also relevant to other semantic domains, the trade-off between them may provide a domain-general foundation for variation in category systems across languages.

Concepts and categories vary across cultures but may nevertheless be shaped by universal constraints (1–4). Cross-cultural studies have proposed universal constraints that help to explain how colors (5, 6), plants, animals (7, 8), and spatial relations (9, 10) are organized into categories. Kinship has traditionally been a prominent domain for studies of this kind, and researchers have described many constraints that help to predict which of the many logically possible kin classification systems are encountered in practice (11–15). Typically these constraints are not derived from general principles, although it is often suggested that they are consistent with cognitive and functional considerations (2, 11–13, 15). Here, we show that major aspects of kin classification follow directly from two general principles: Categories tend to be simple, which minimizes

cognitive load, and to be informative, which maximizes communicative efficiency. Principles like these have been discussed in other contexts by previous researchers (16–19). For example, Zipf suggested that word-frequency distributions achieve a trade-off between simplicity and communicative precision (20, 21), Hawkins (22) has suggested that grammars are shaped by a trade-off between simplicity and communicative efficiency, and Rosch has suggested that category systems “provide maximum information with the least cognitive effort” [p. 190 of (23)].

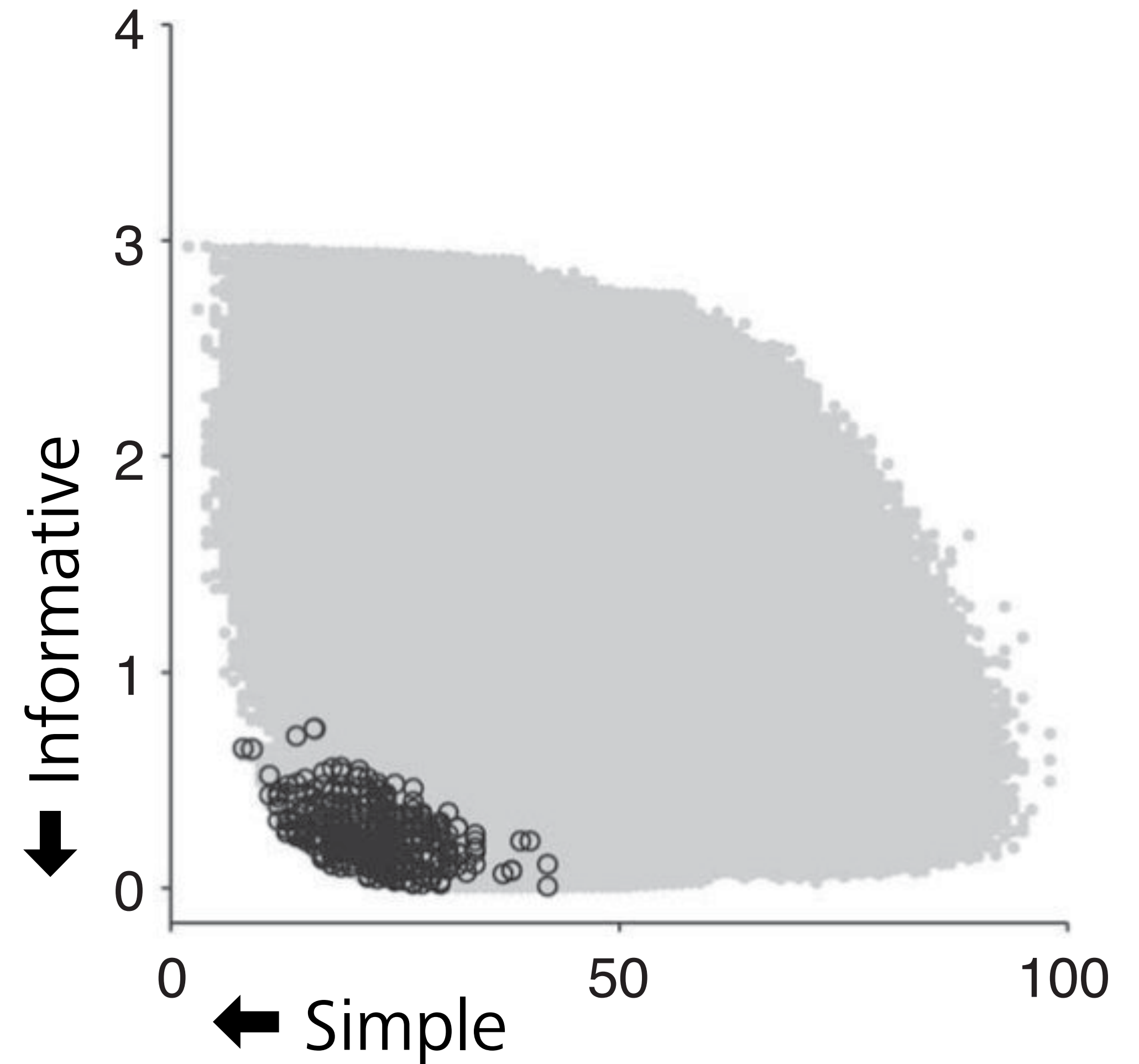
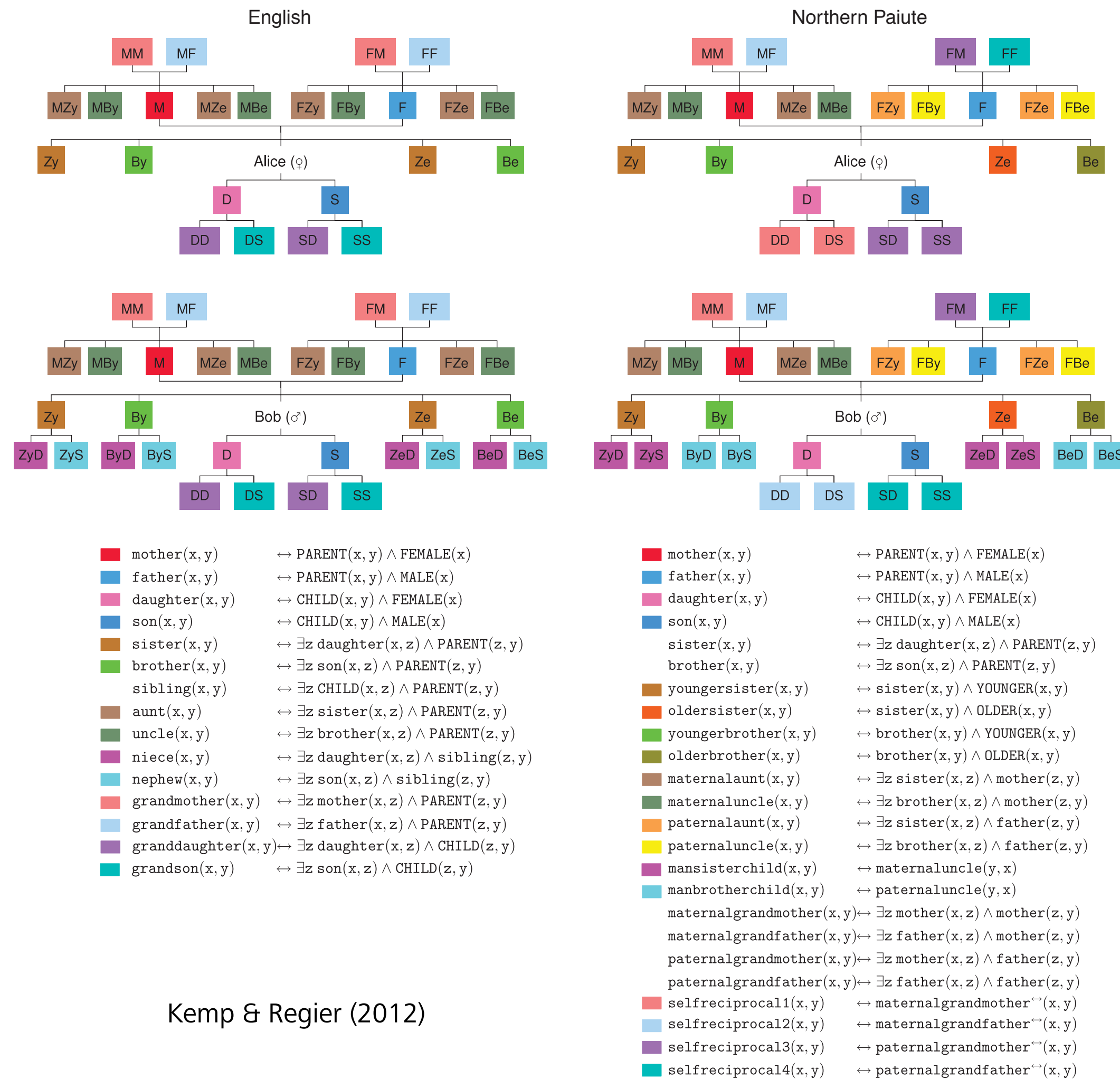
Figure 1A shows a simple communication game that helps to illustrate how kin classification systems are shaped by the principles of simplicity and informativeness. The speaker has a specific relative in mind and utters the category label for that relative. Upon hearing this category label, the hearer must guess which relative the speaker had in mind. The speaker and hearer communicate through

50

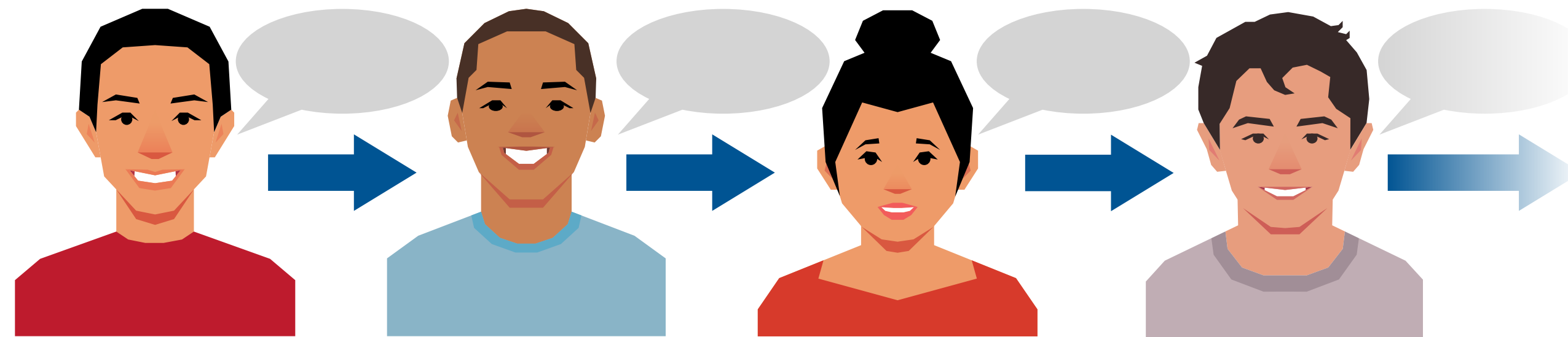
100



# Kinship terms are simple and informative

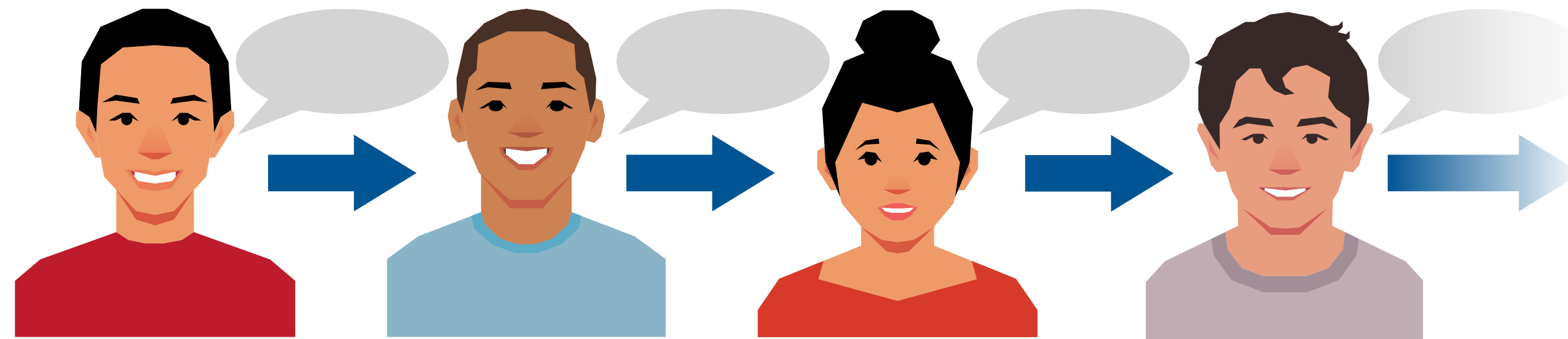


# Lab experiments

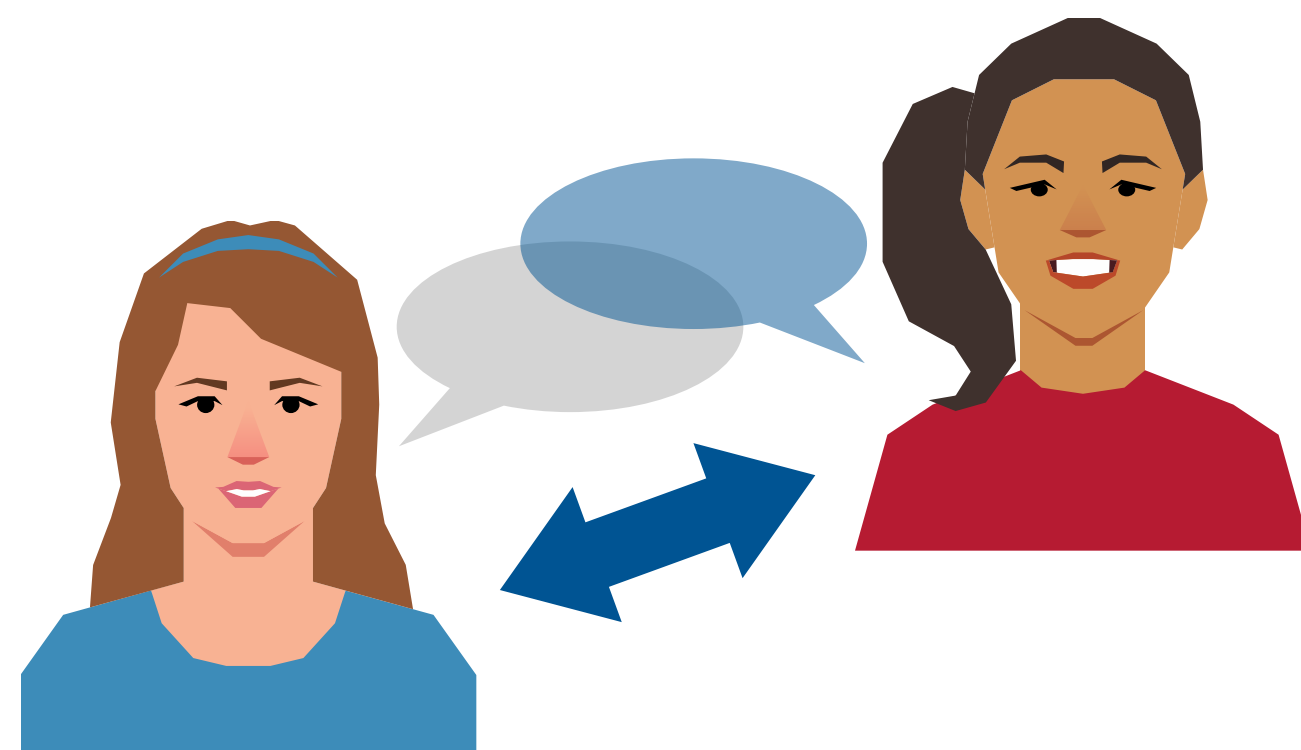


Learning-only

# Lab experiments



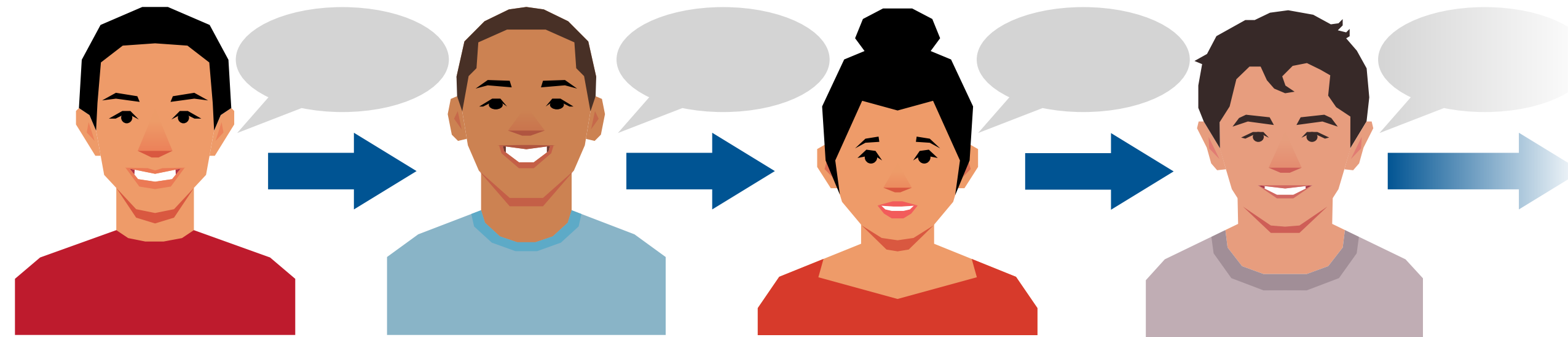
Learning-only



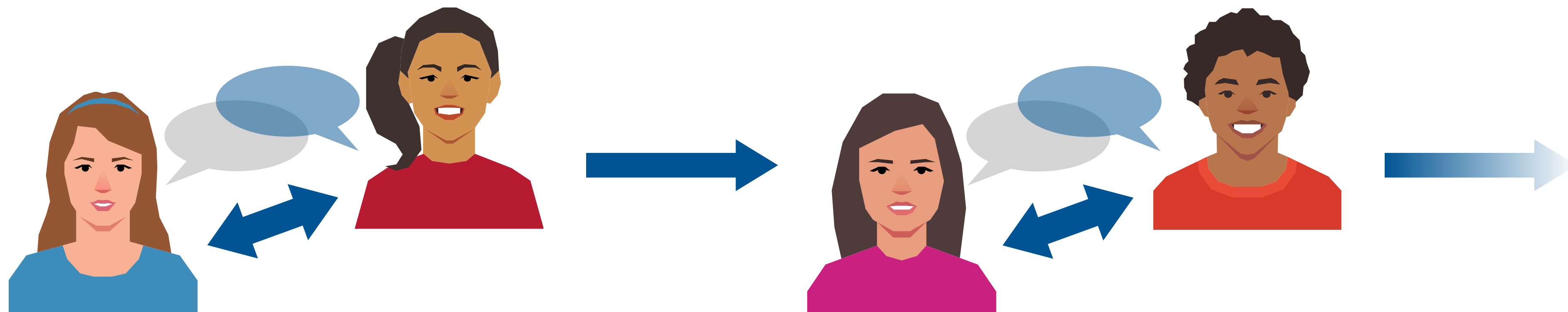
Communication-only



# Lab experiments

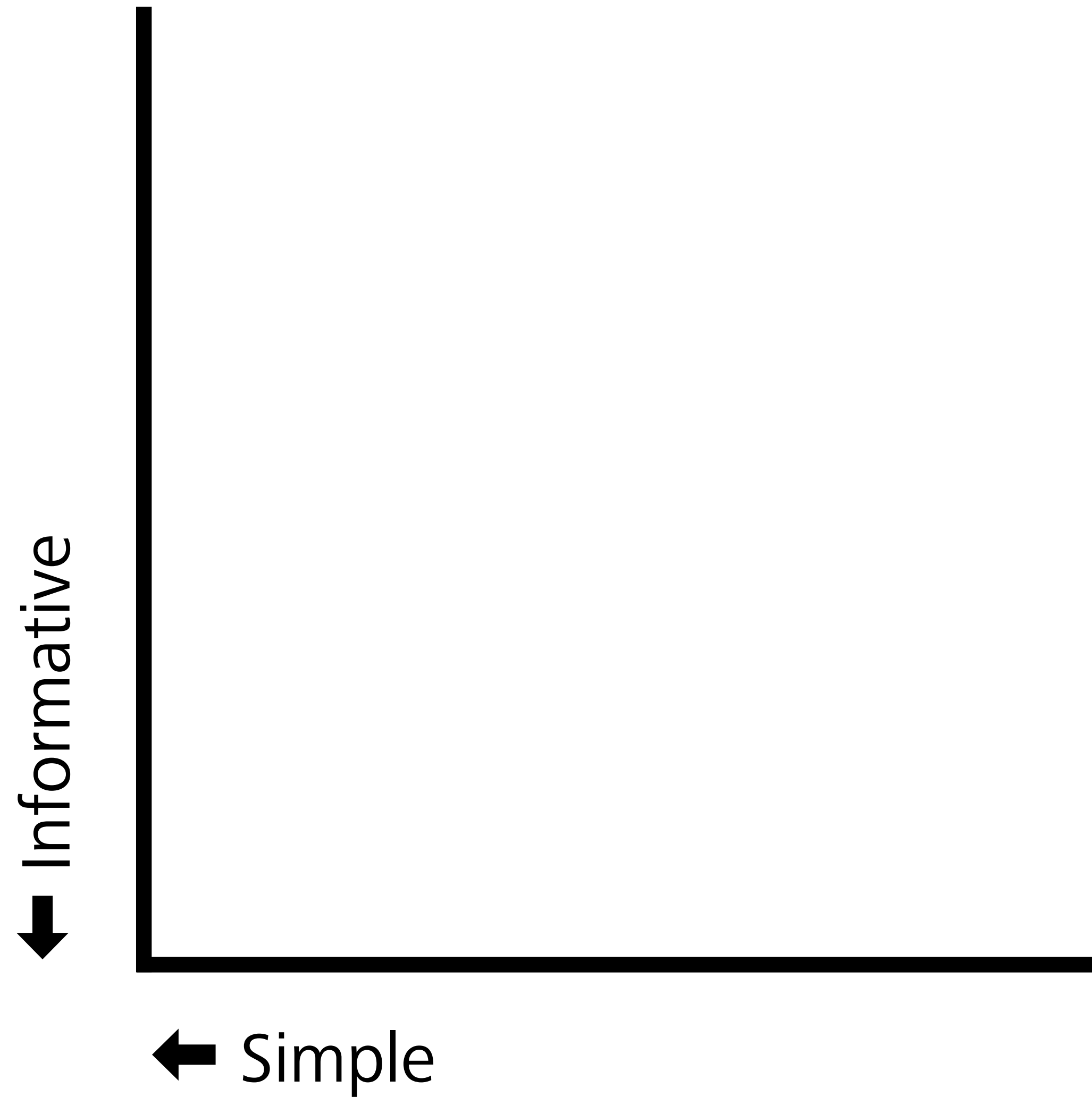


Learning-only

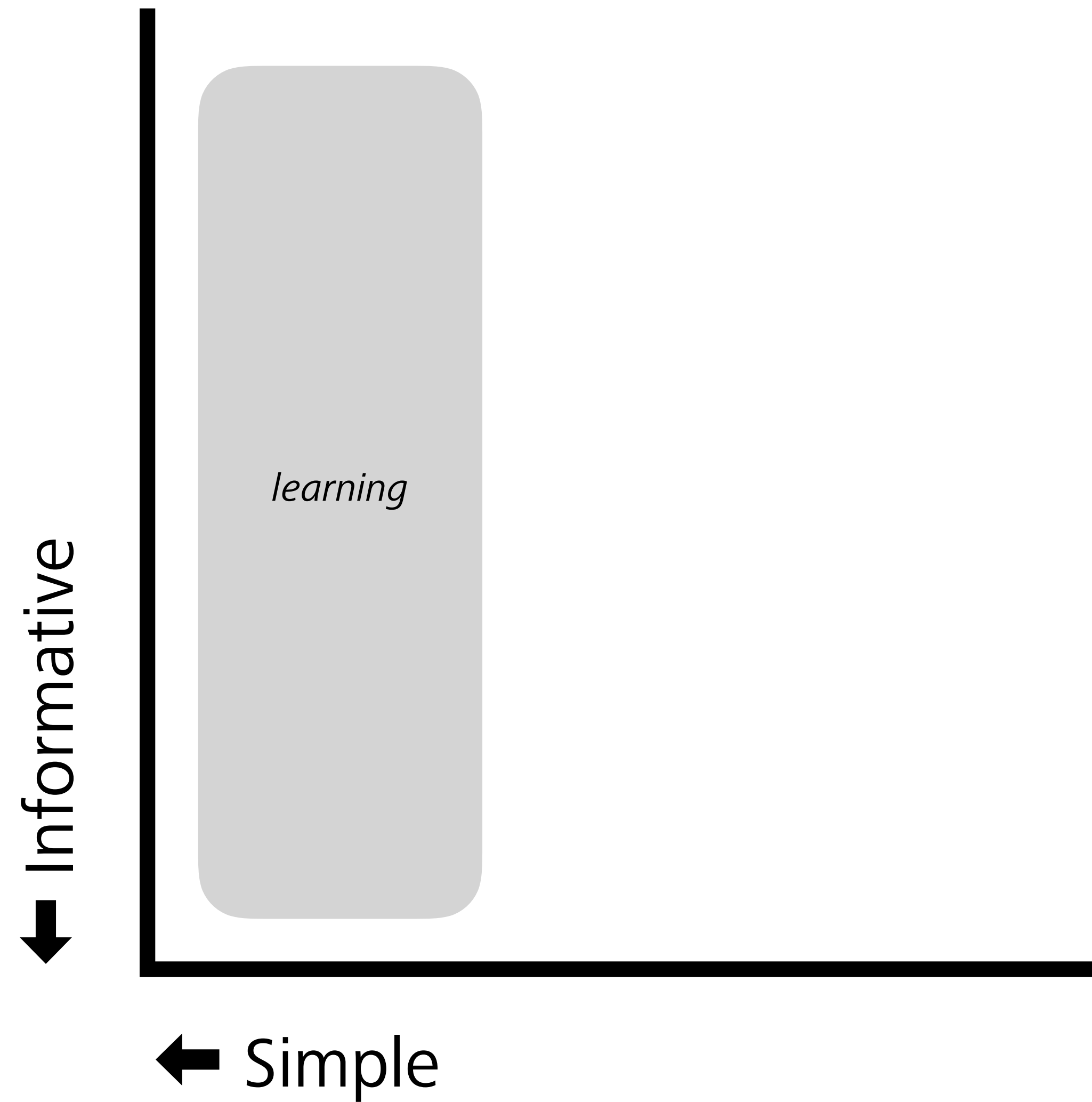


Learning + Communication

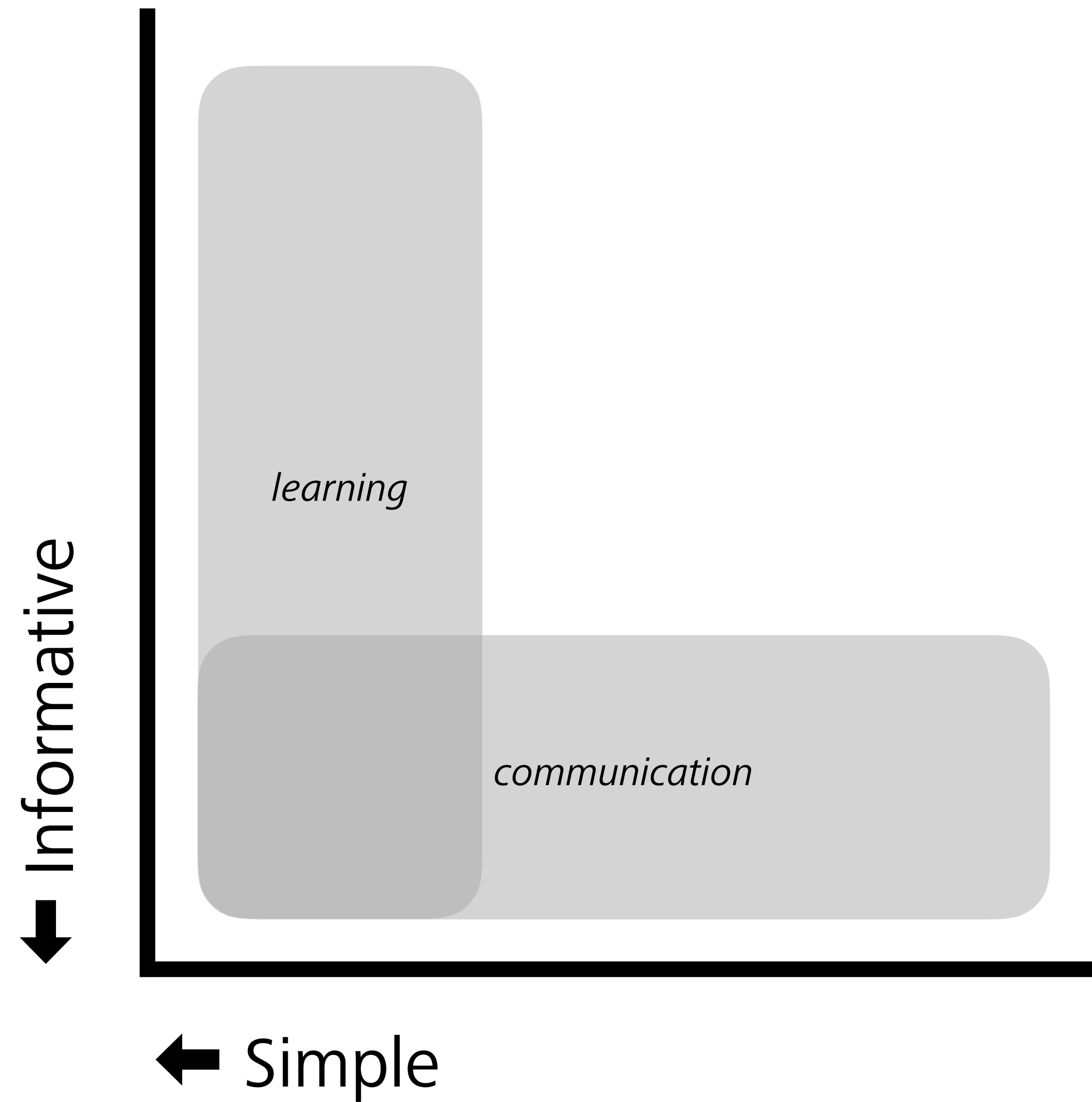
# Learning and communication pressures



# Learning and communication pressures

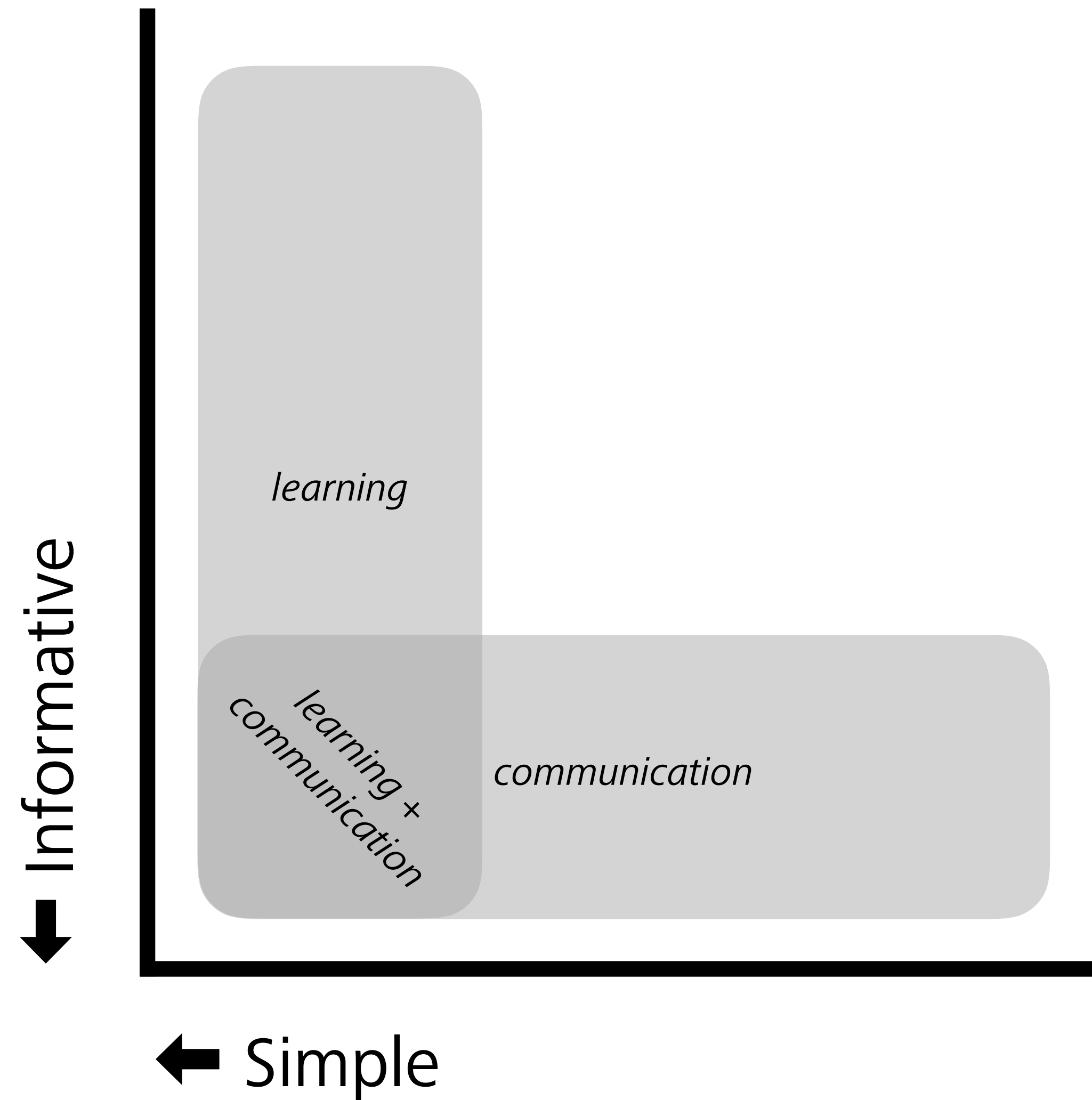


# Learning and communication pressures

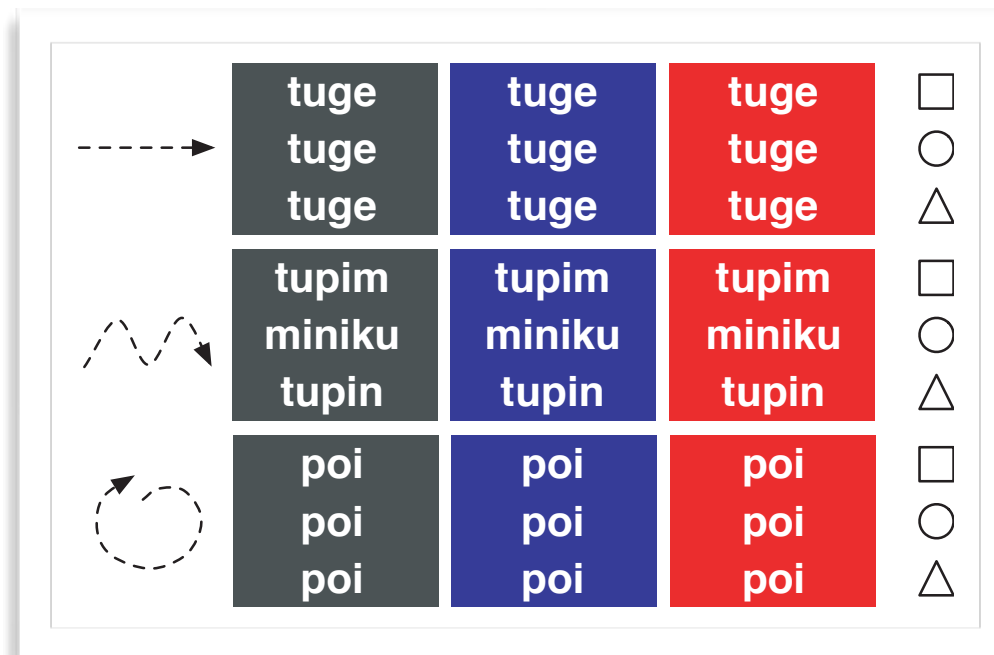




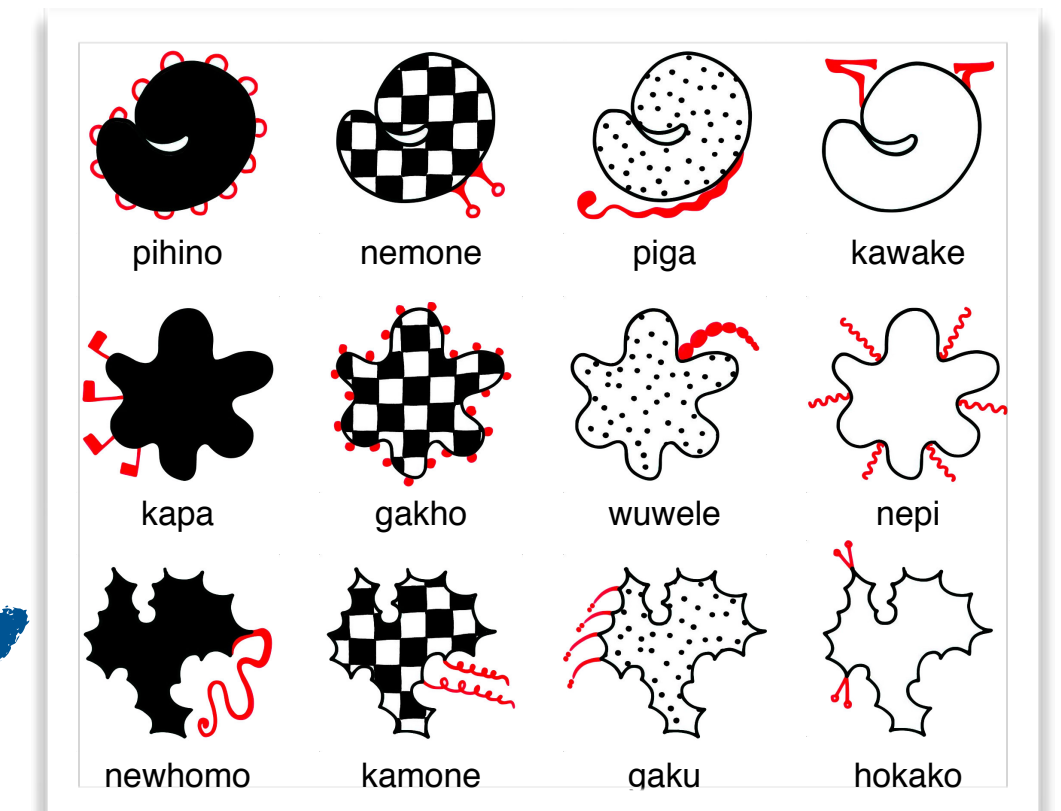
# Learning and communication pressures



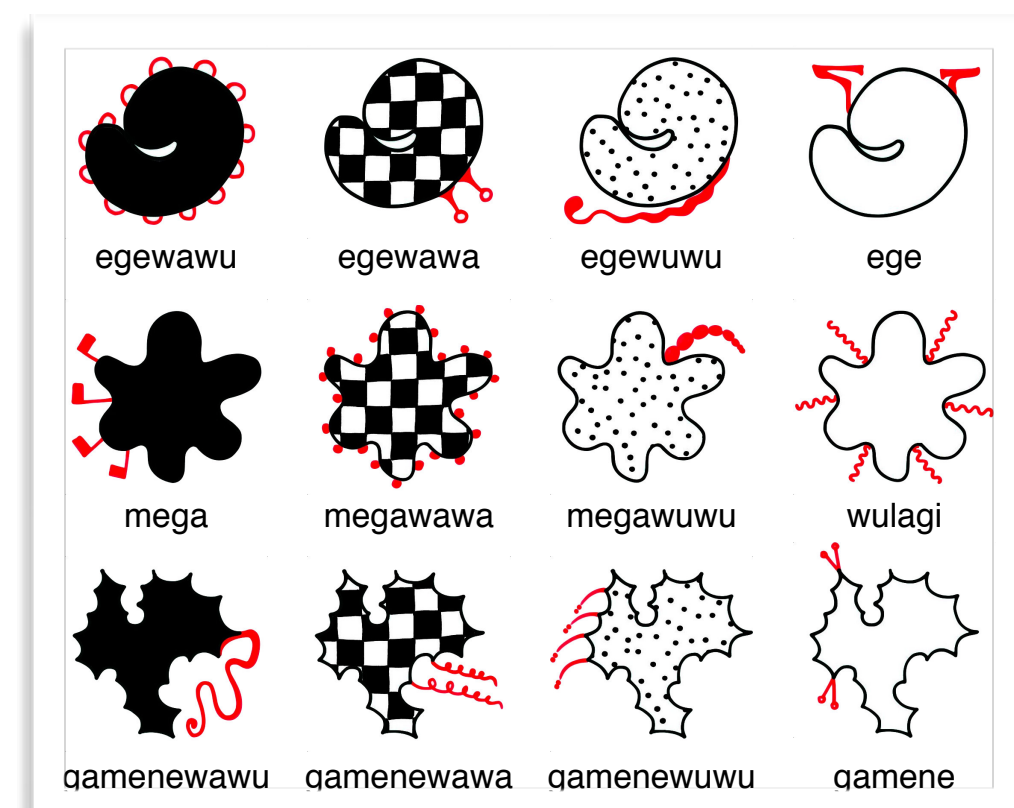
# Learning and communication pressures



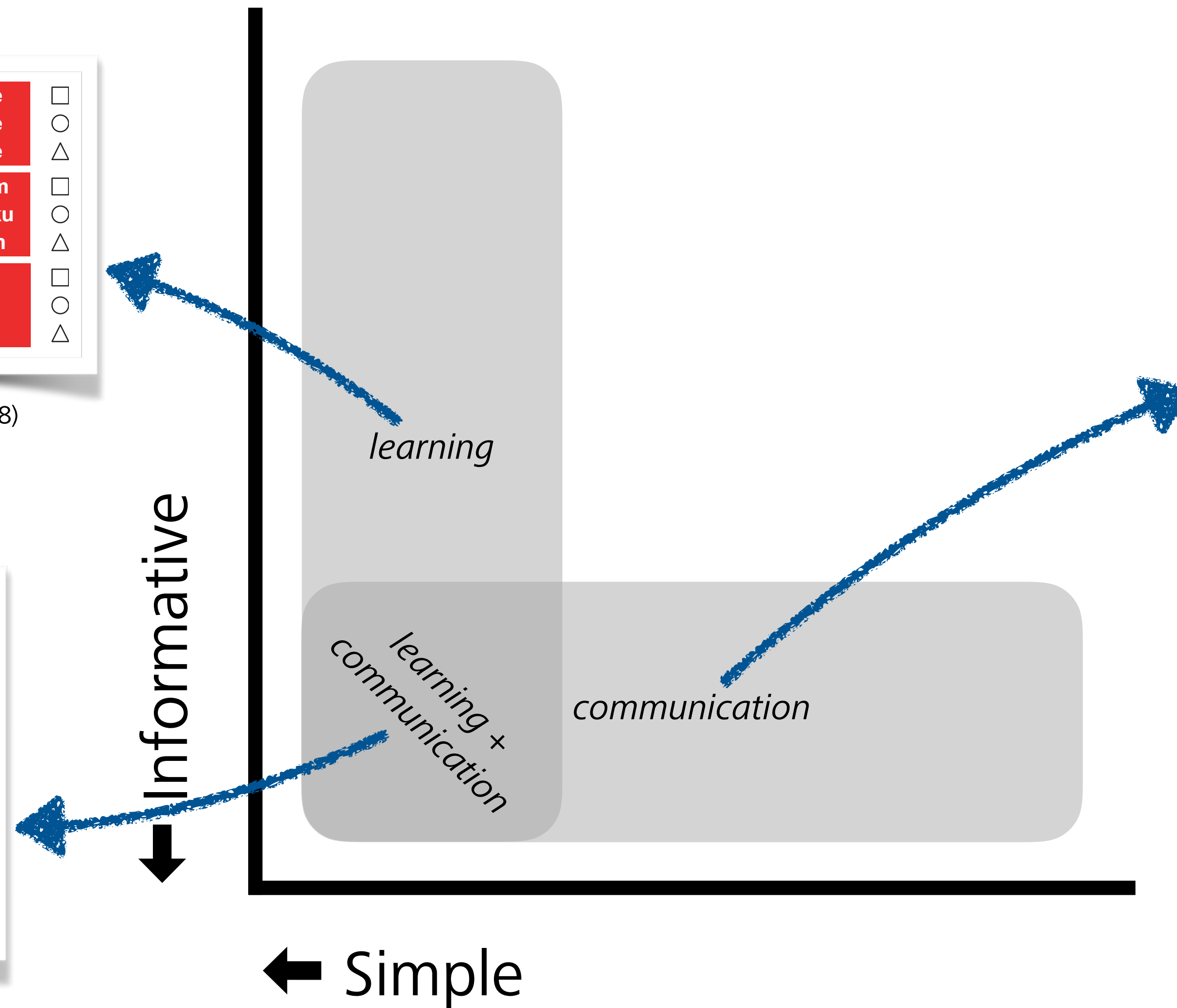
Kirby, Cornish, & Smith (2008)



Kirby, Tamariz, Cornish, & Smith (2015)



Kirby, Tamariz, Cornish, & Smith (2015)



# Iterated learning can give rise to informative languages

## Language evolution in the lab tends toward informative communication

Alexandra Carstensen<sup>1</sup> (abc@berkeley.edu)  
Jing Xu<sup>4</sup> (jing.xu@jhmi.edu)  
Cameron T. Smith<sup>2</sup> (vmpfc1@berkeley.edu)  
Terry Regier<sup>2,3</sup> (terry.regier@berkeley.edu)

Department of Psychology,<sup>1</sup> Department of Linguistics,<sup>2</sup> Cognitive Science Program<sup>3</sup>  
University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720 USA

Department of Neurology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD 21287 USA<sup>4</sup>

### Abstract

Why do languages parcel human experience into categories in the ways they do? Languages vary widely in their category systems but not arbitrarily, and one possibility is that this constrained variation reflects universal communicative needs. Consistent with this idea, it has been shown that attested category systems tend to support highly informative communication. However it is not yet known what process produces these informative systems. Here we show that human simulation of cultural transmission in the lab produces systems of semantic categories that converge toward greater informativeness, in the domains of color and spatial relations. These findings suggest that larger-scale cultural transmission over historical time could have produced the diverse yet informative category systems found in the world's languages.

**Keywords:** Informative communication, language evolution, iterated learning, cultural transmission, spatial cognition, color naming, semantic universals.

### The origins of semantic diversity

Languages vary widely in their fundamental units of meaning—the concepts and categories they encode in single basic forms. For example, some languages (Berlin &

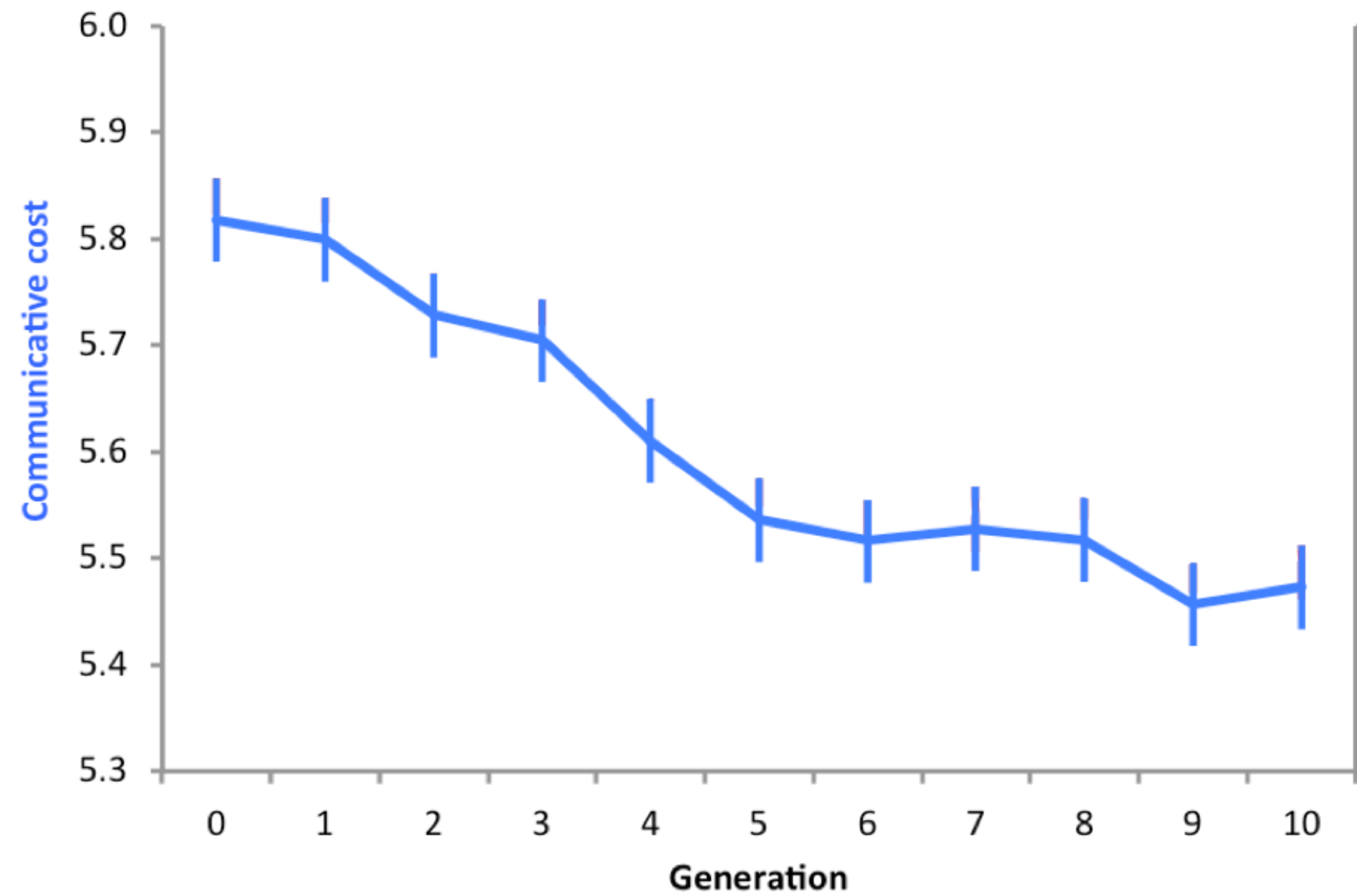
Regier's (2012) kinship study, Levinson (2012) pointed out that although that research explains cross-language semantic variation in communicative terms, it does not tell us “where our categories come from” (p. 989); that is, it does not establish what *process* gives rise to the diverse attested systems of informative categories. Levinson suggested that a possible answer to that question may lie in a line of experimental work that explores human simulation of cultural transmission in the laboratory, and “shows how categories get honed through iterated learning across simulated generations” (p. 989). We agree that prior work explaining cross-language semantic variation in terms of informative communication has not yet addressed this central question, and we address it here.

### Iterated learning and category systems

The general idea behind iterated learning studies is that of a chain or sequence of learners. The first person in the chain produces some behavior; the next person in the chain observes that behavior, learns from it, and then produces behavior of her own; that learned behavior is then observed by the next person in the chain, who learns from it, and so on. This experimental paradigm is meant to capture in miniature the transmission and alteration of cultural information through learned behavior.



# Iterated learning can give rise to informative languages

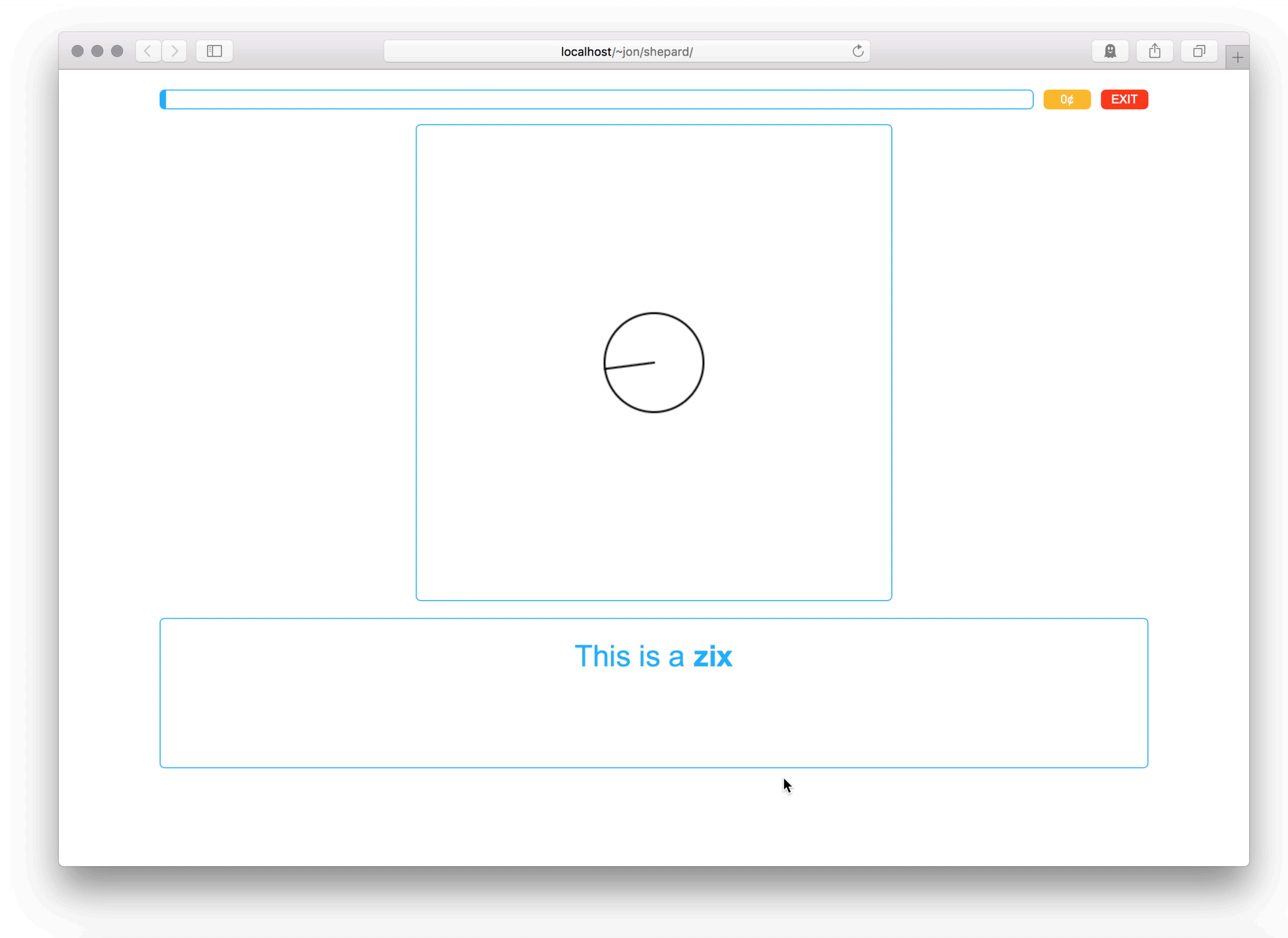


Carstensen, Xu, Smith, Regier (2015)

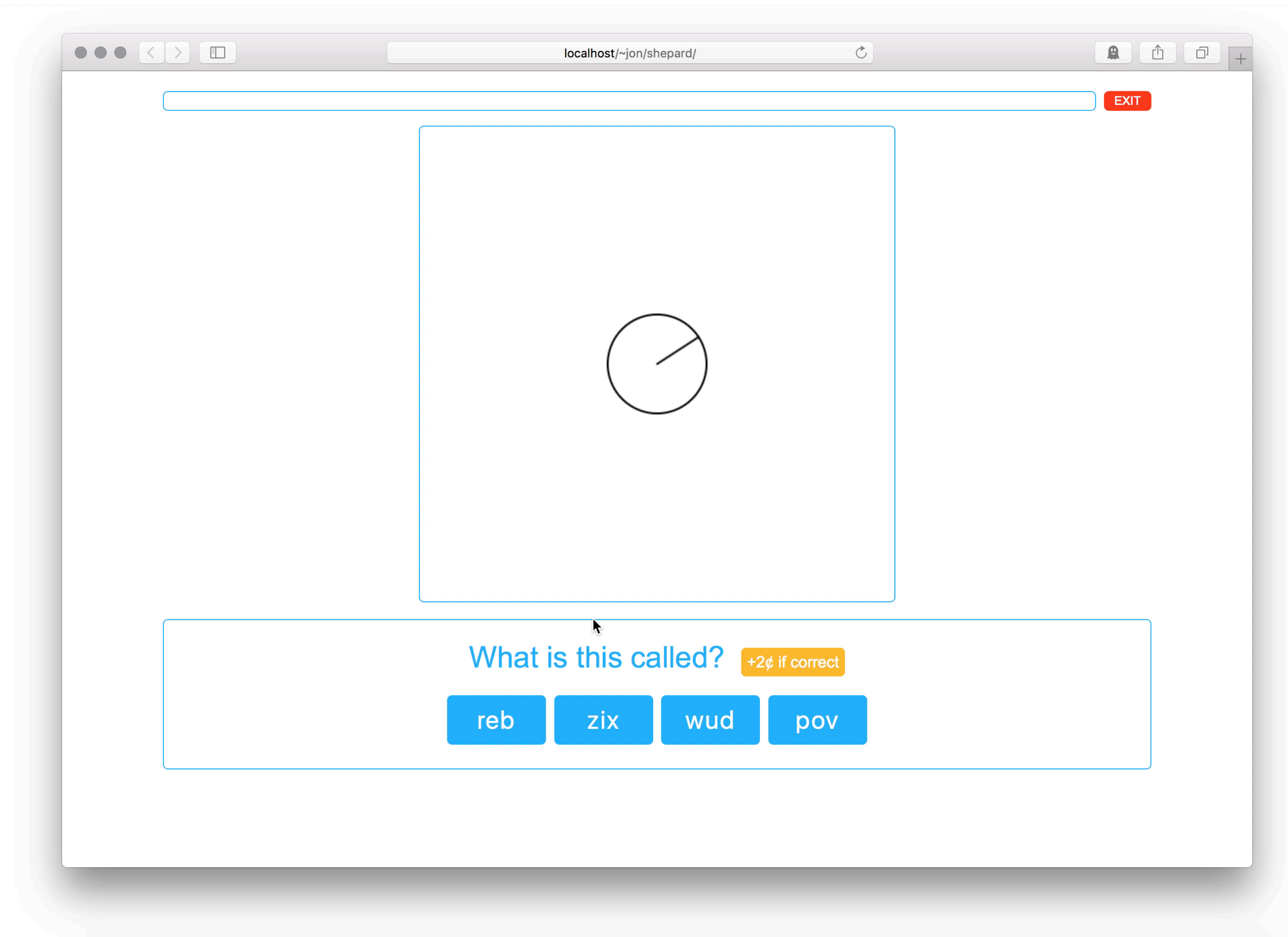


# *Experiment I*

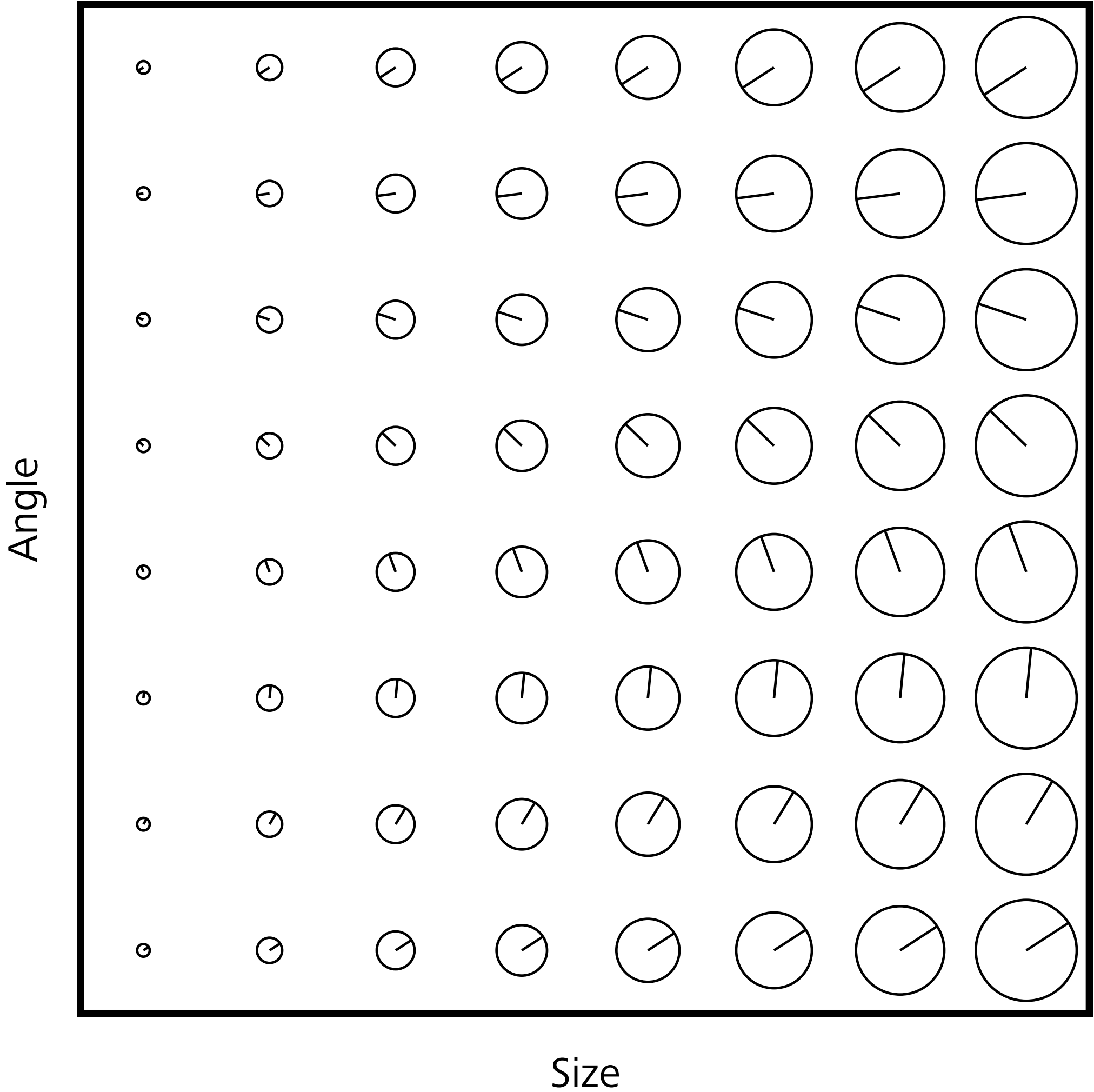
# Training phase



# Test phase

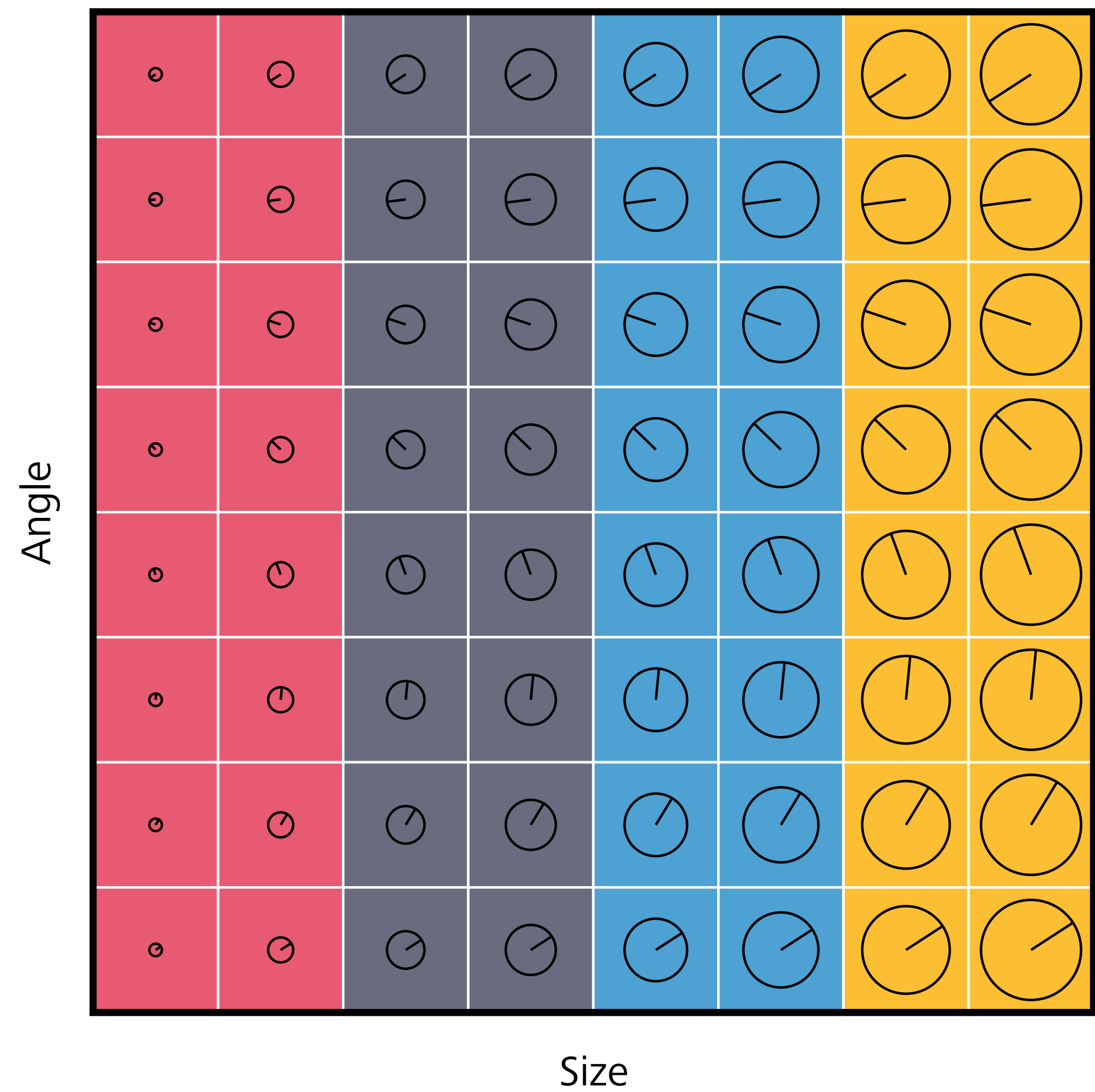


# Stimuli

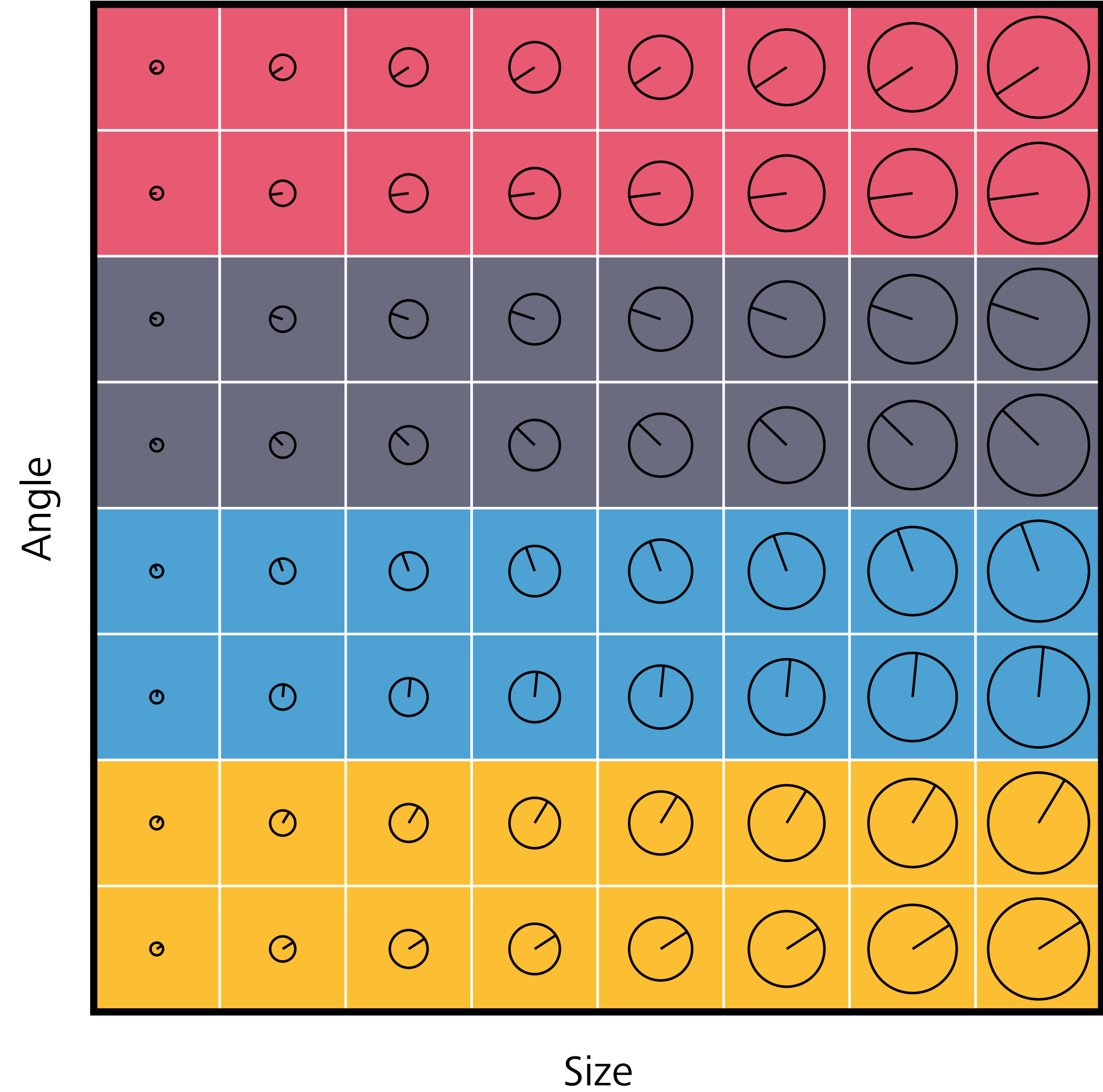




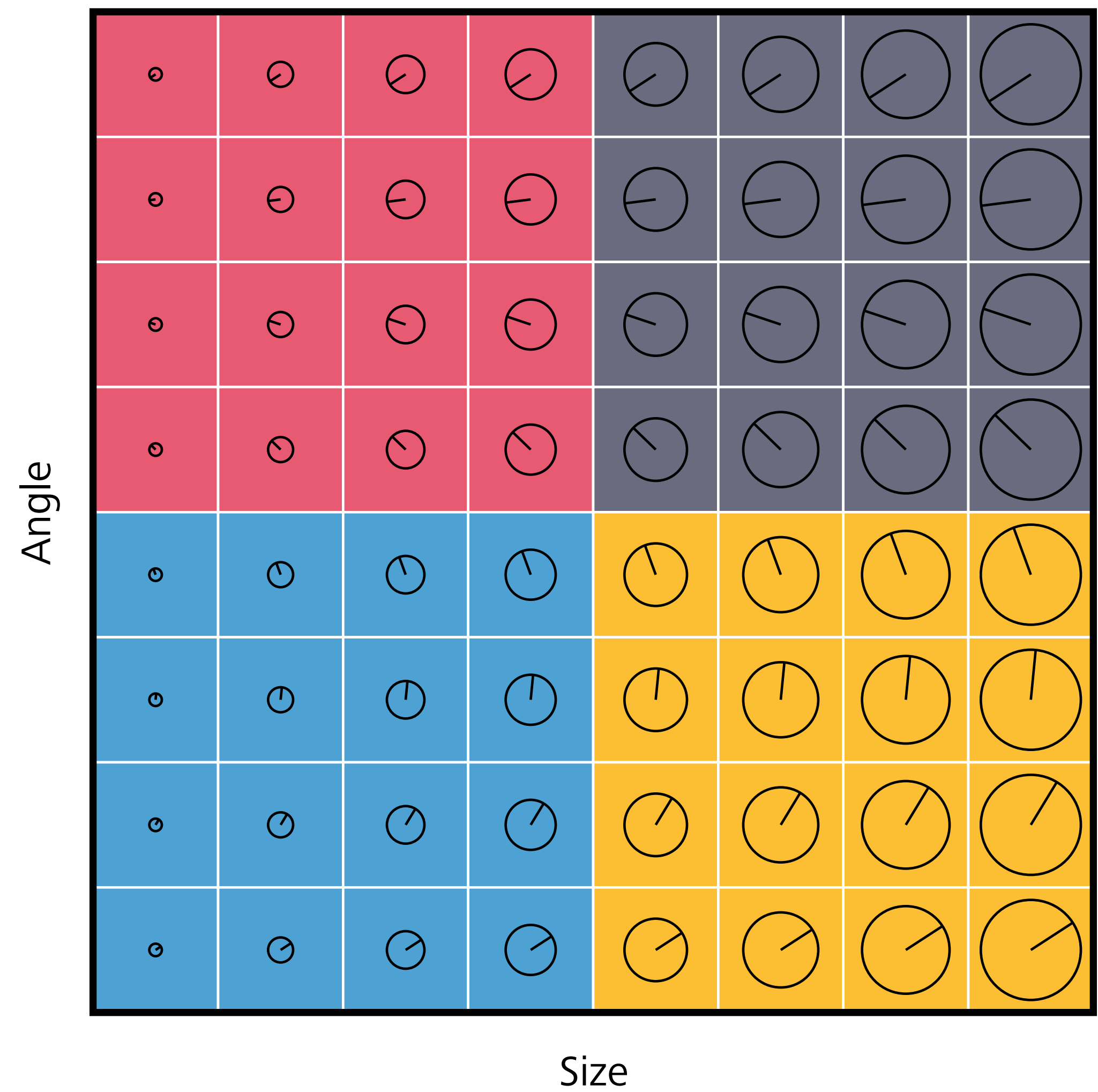
# Stimuli



# Stimuli

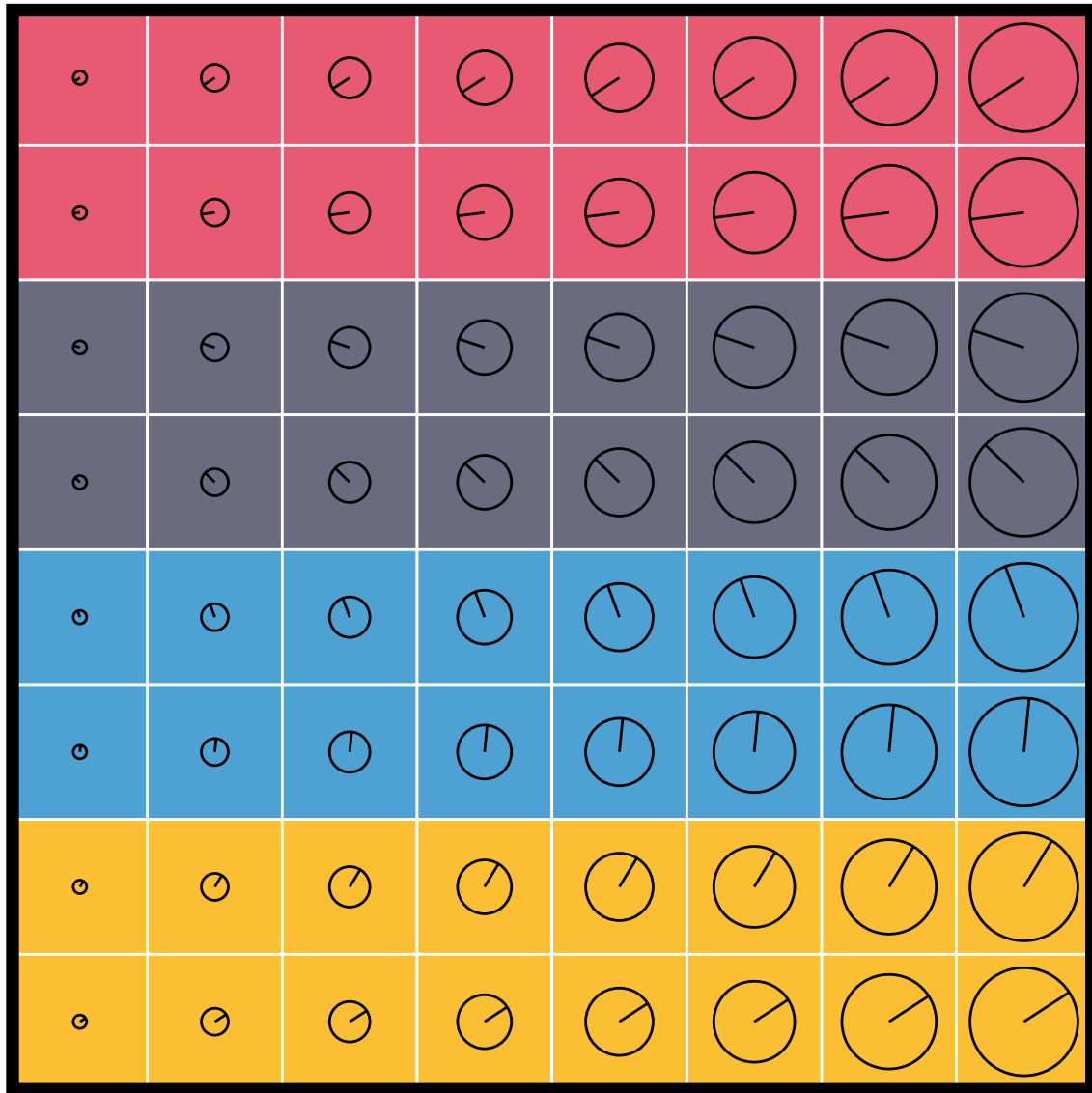


# Stimuli

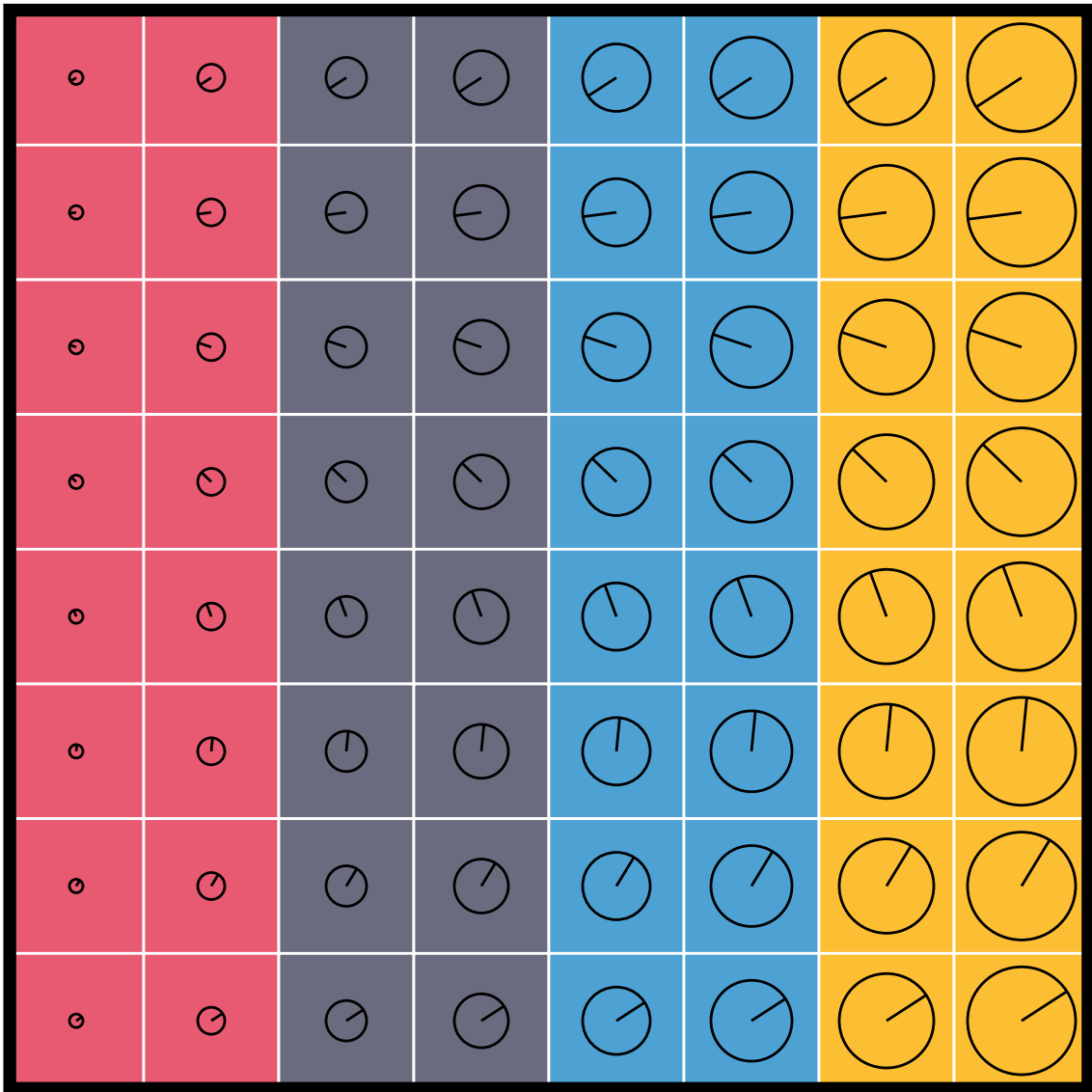


# Which is easiest to learn?

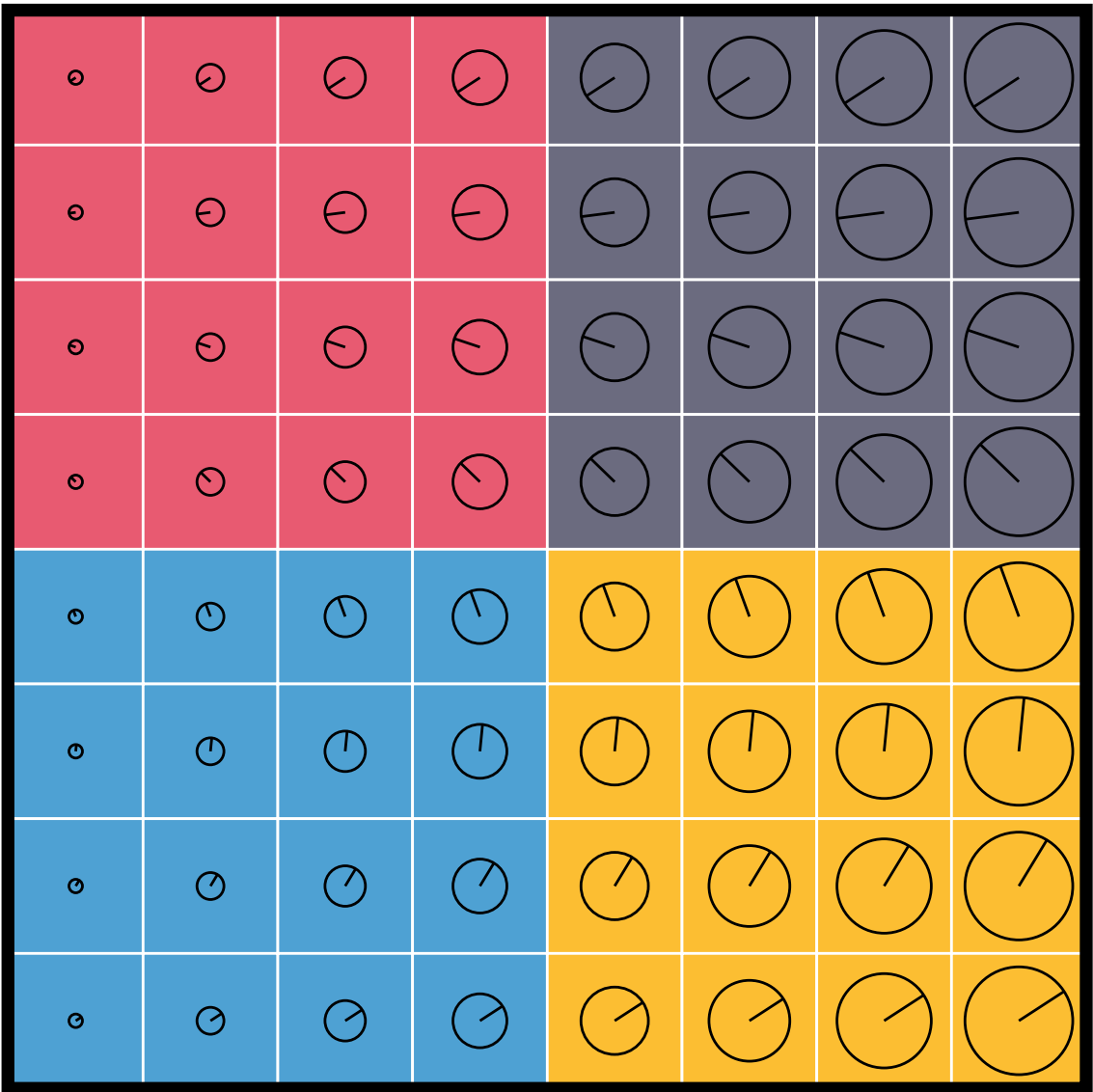
*Angle-only*



*Size-only*



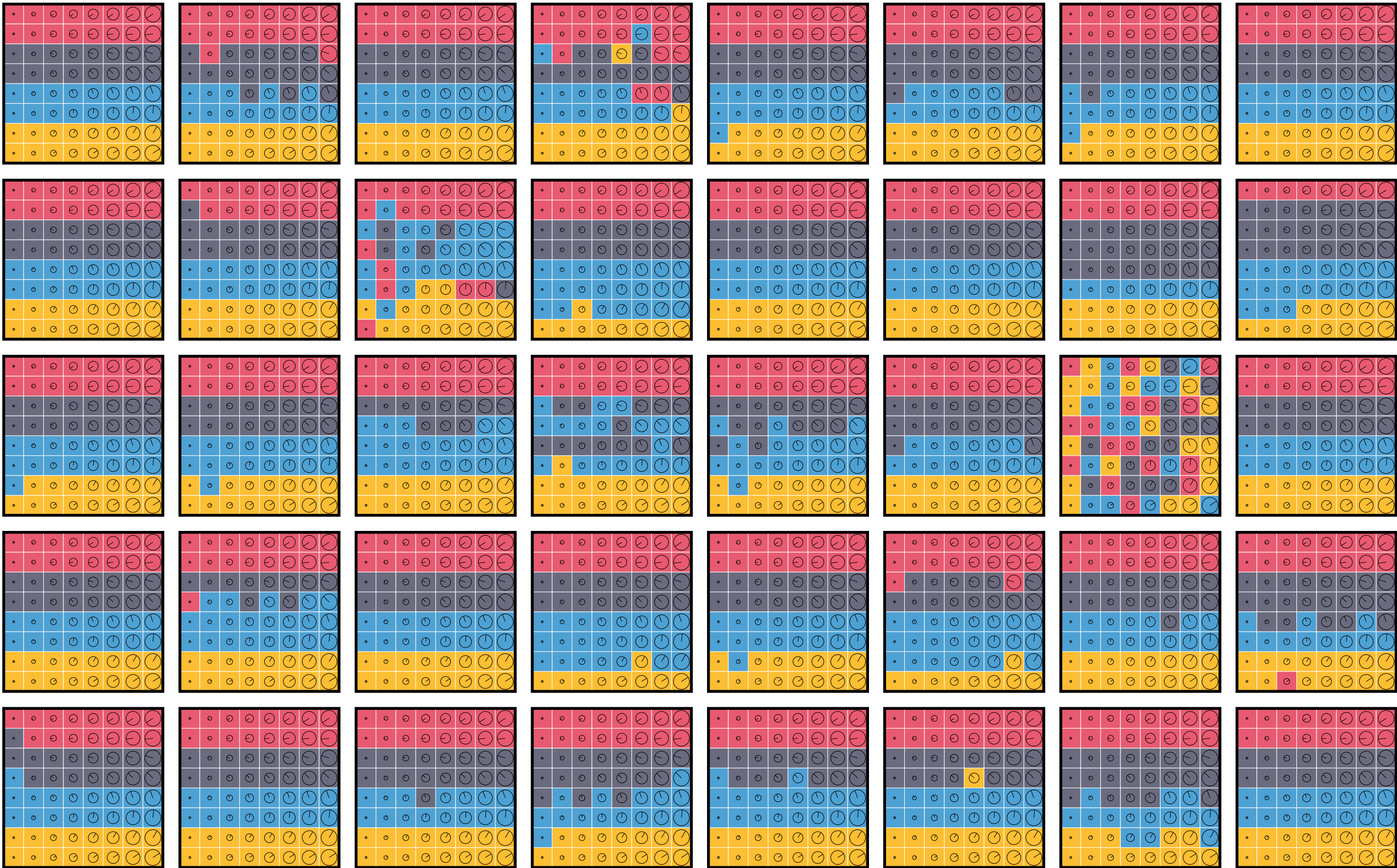
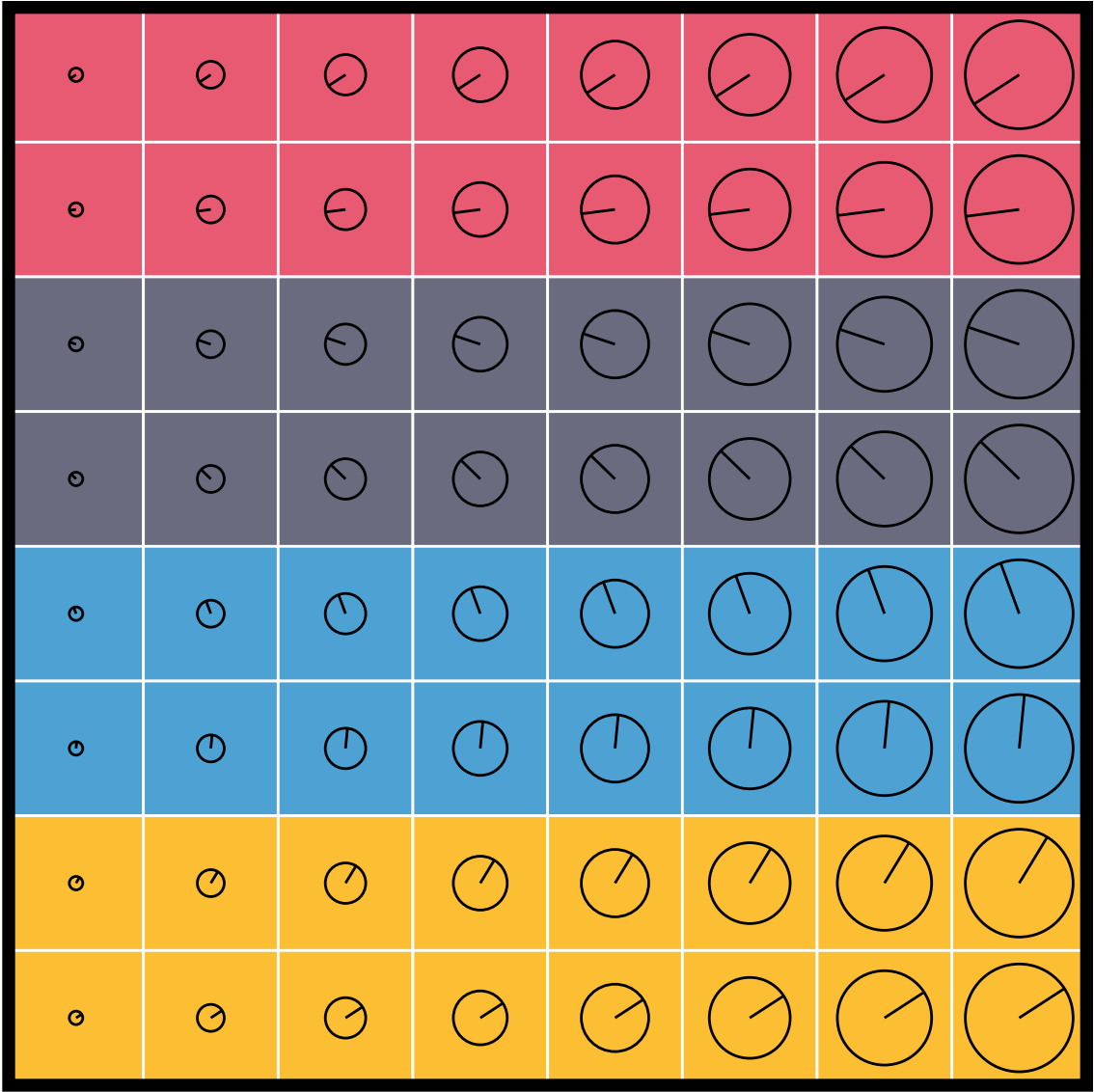
*Angle & Size*





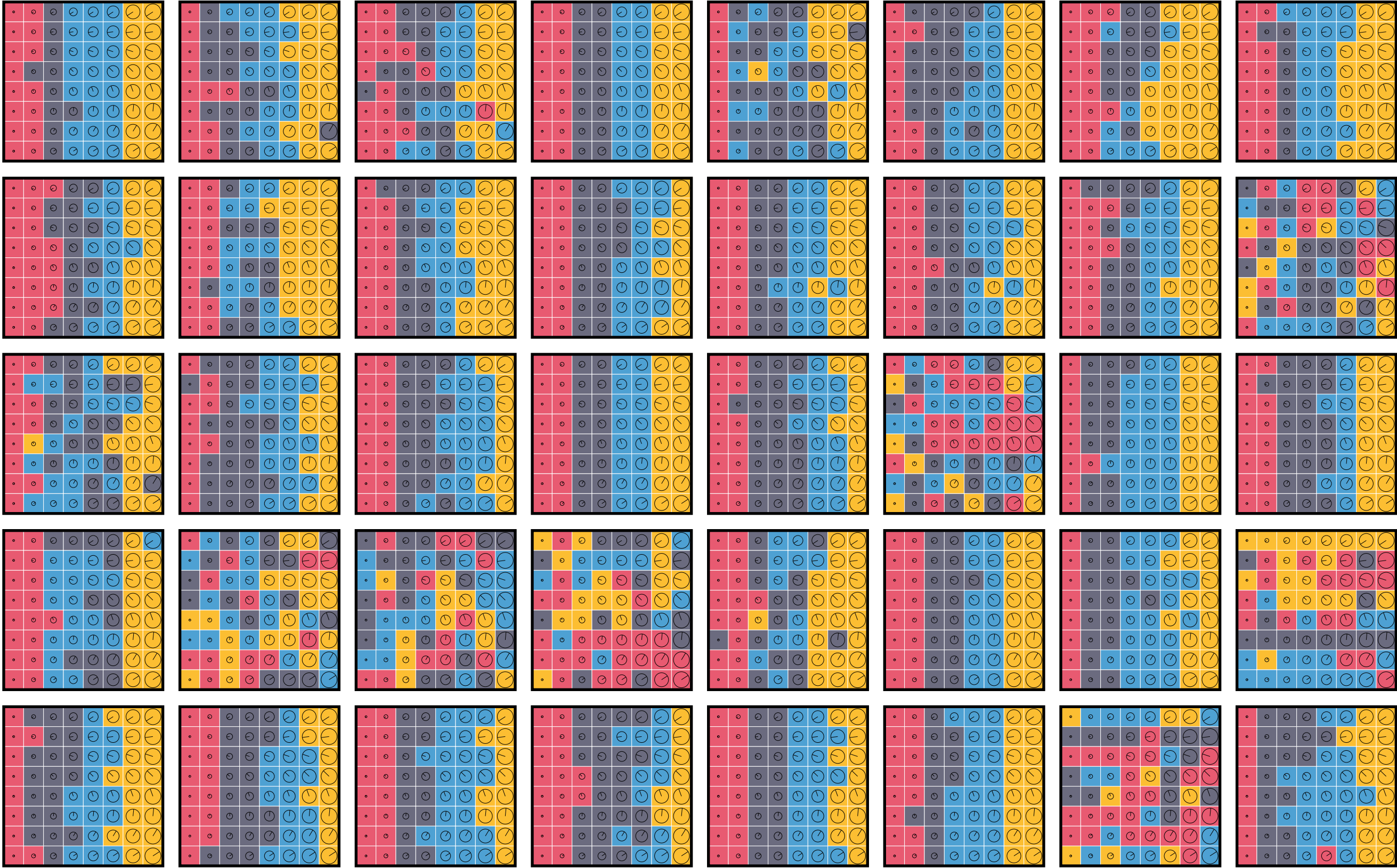
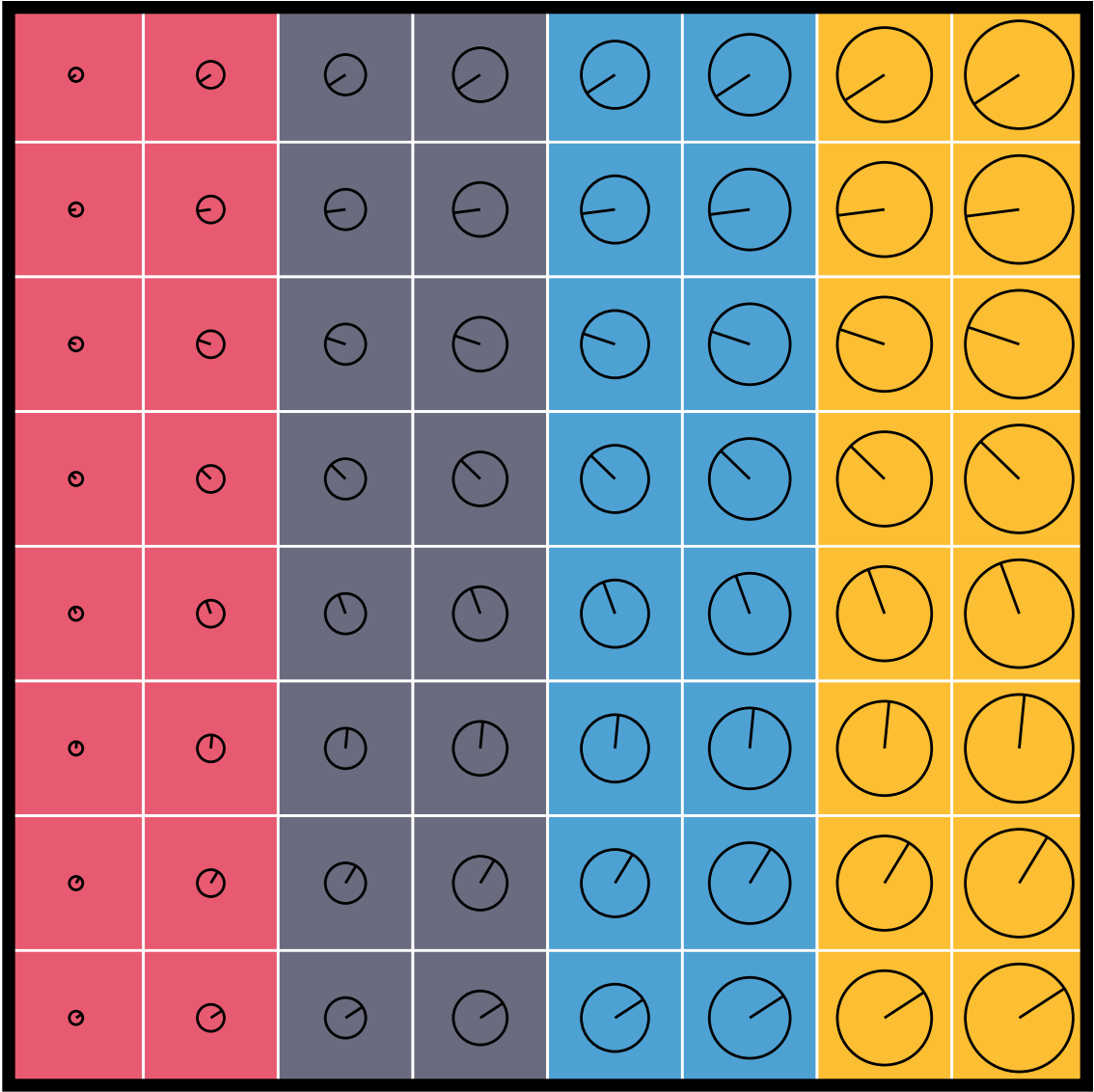
# Results

Angle-only



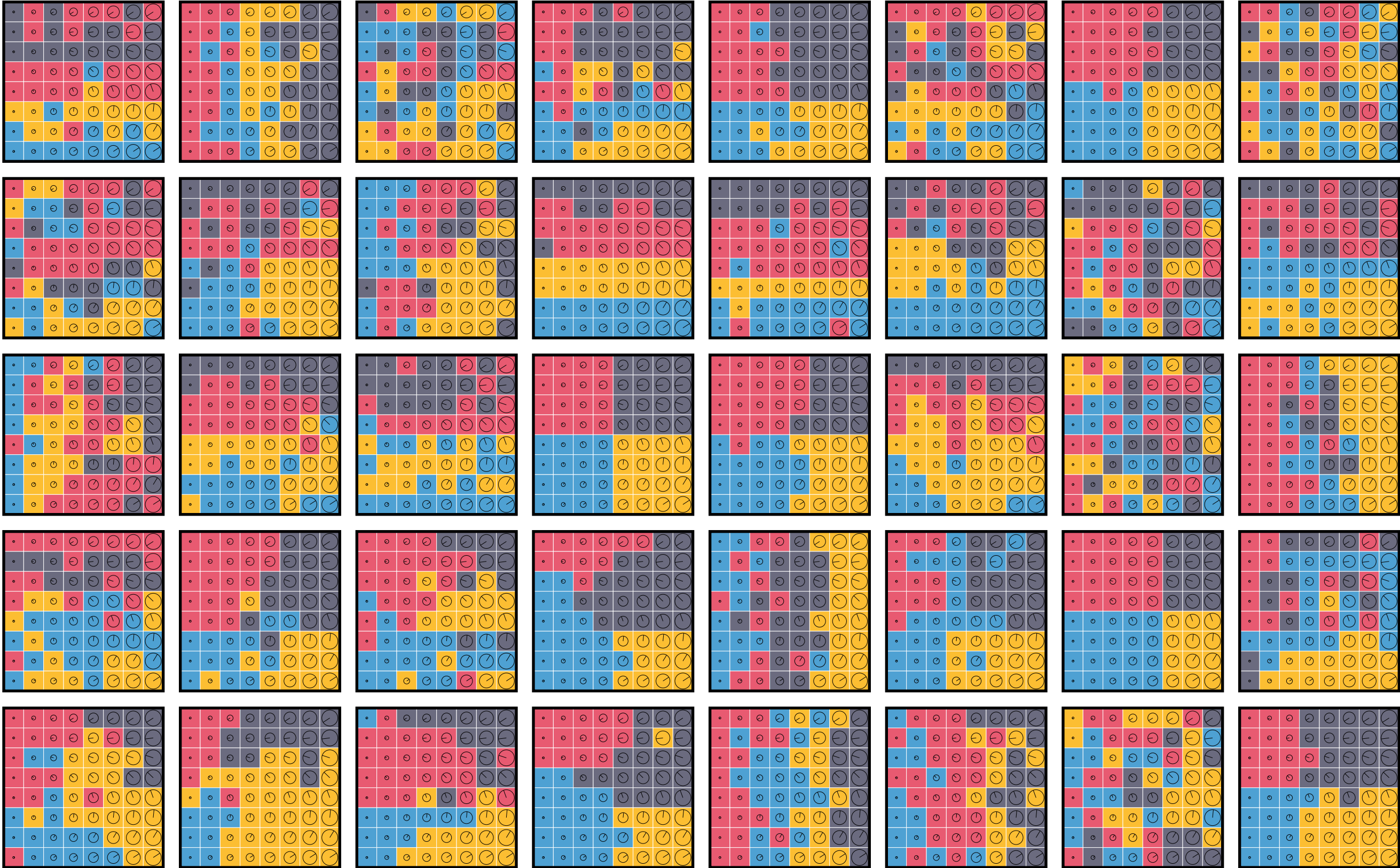
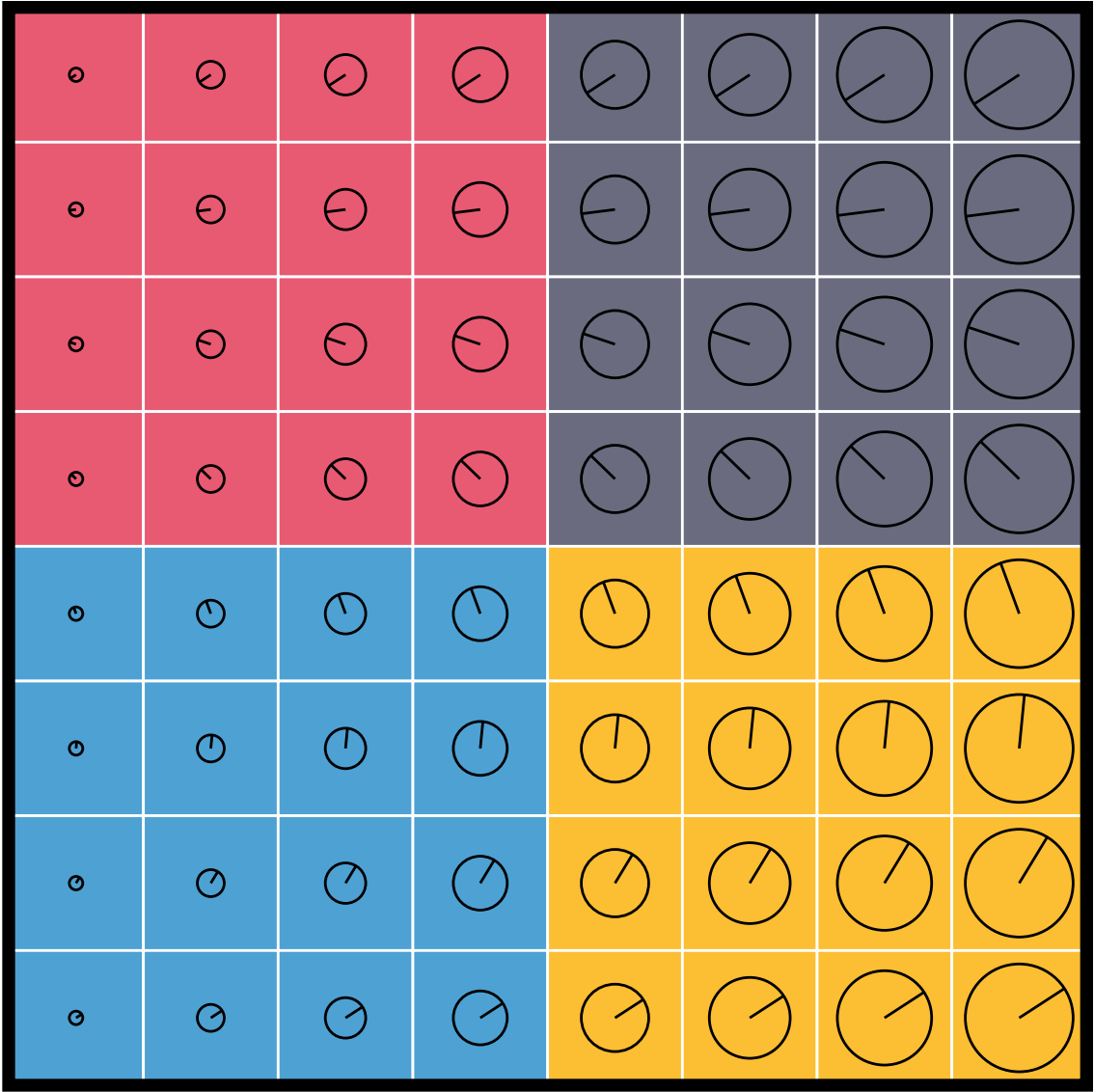
# Results

Size-only

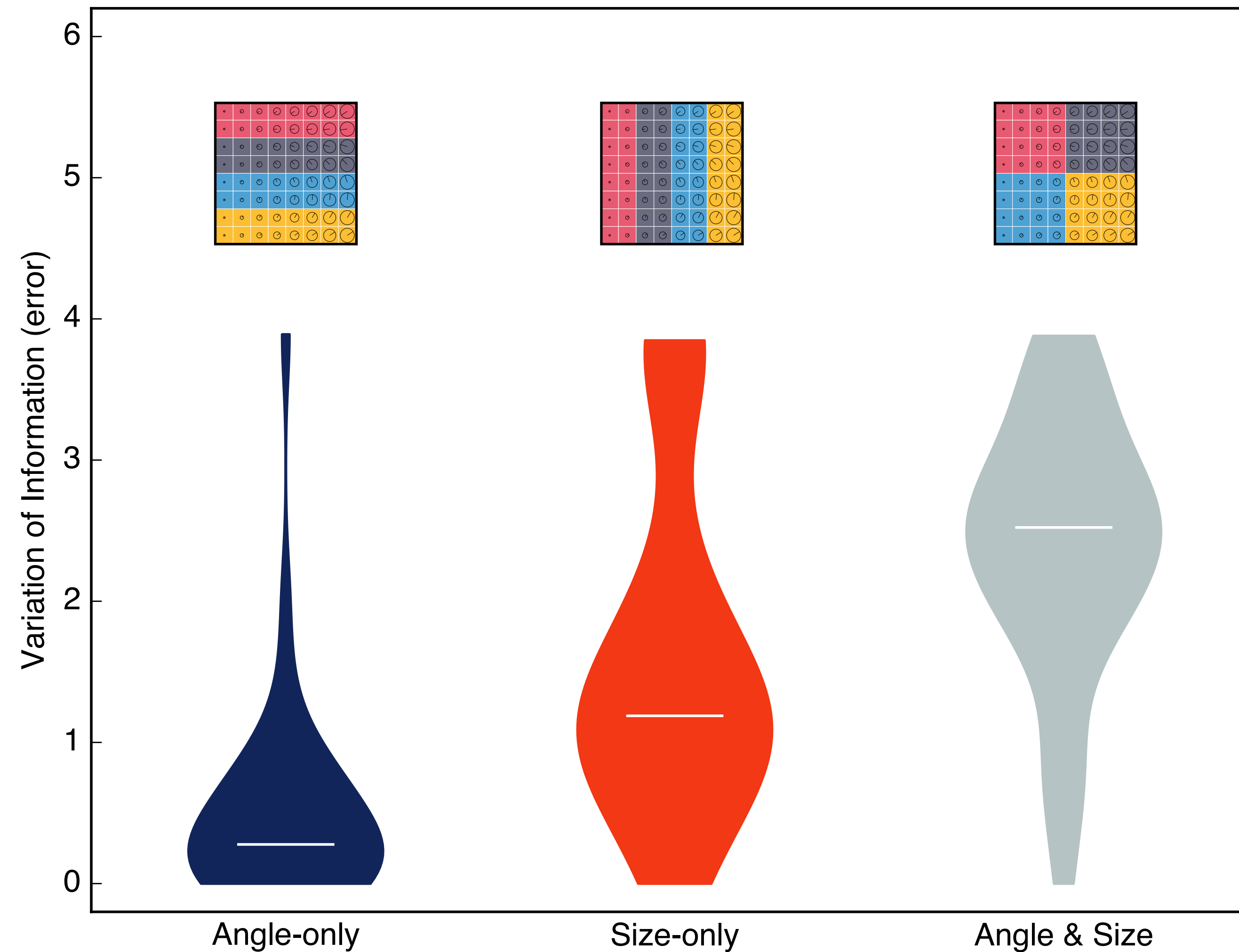


# Results

Angle & Size



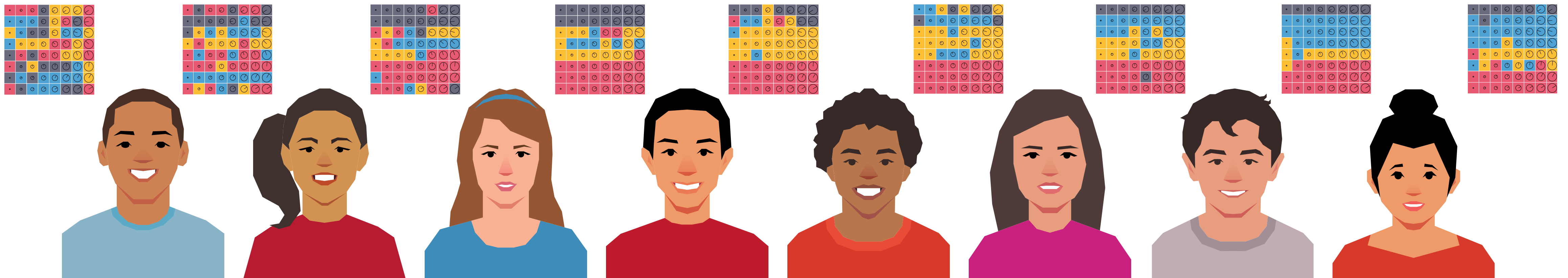
# Result: Learnability advantage for the less informative systems



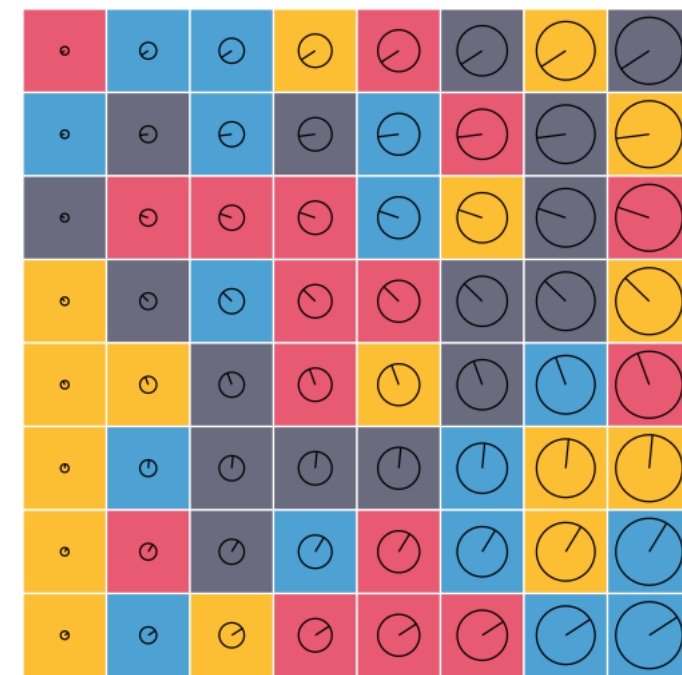
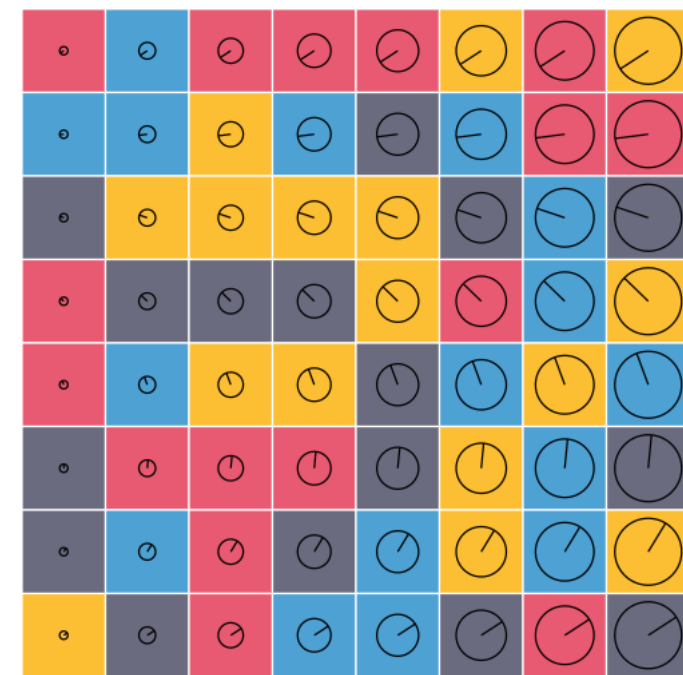
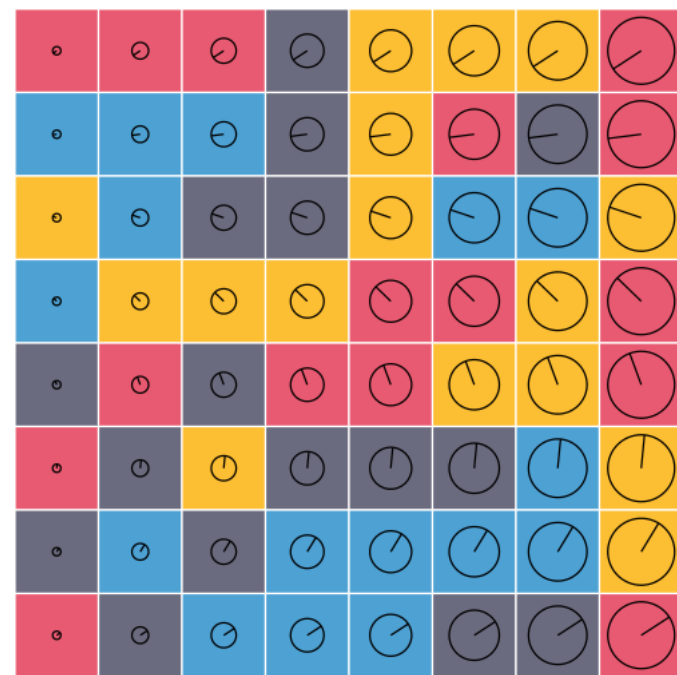
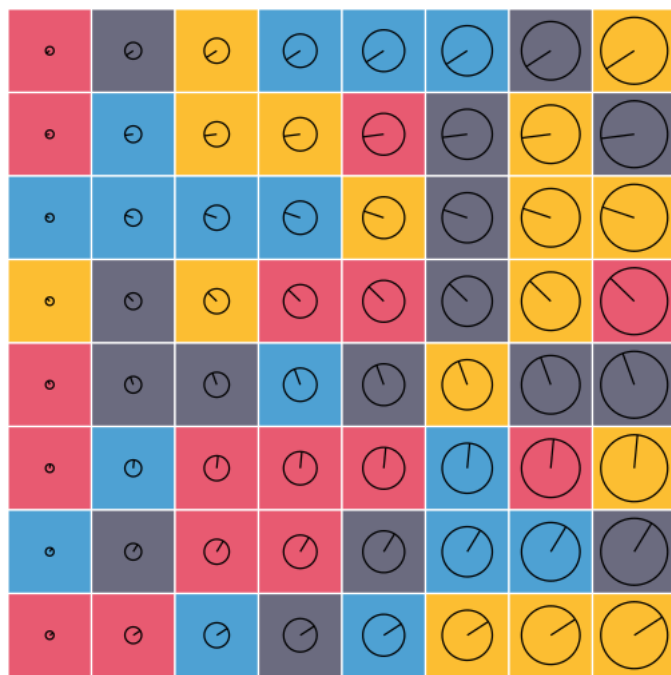
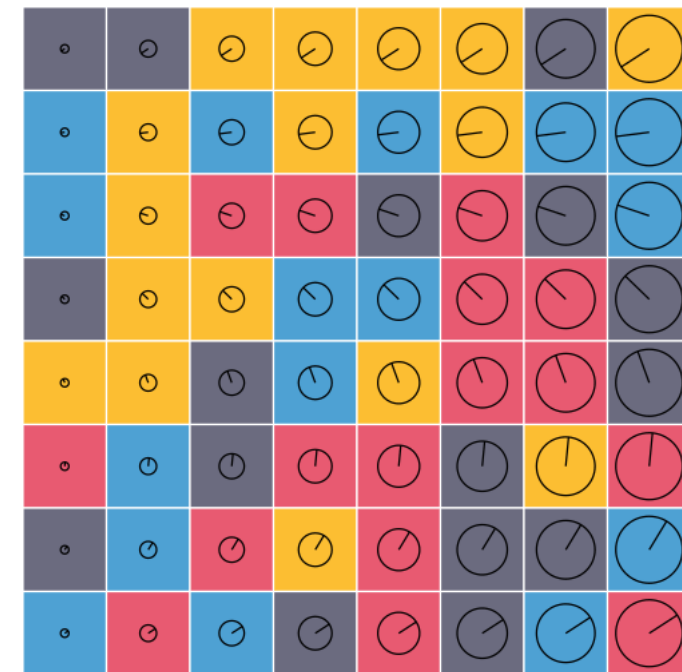
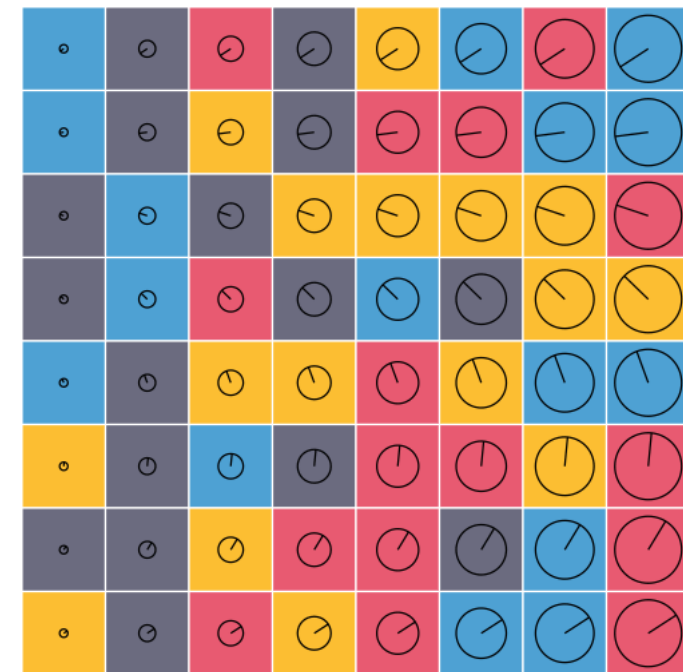
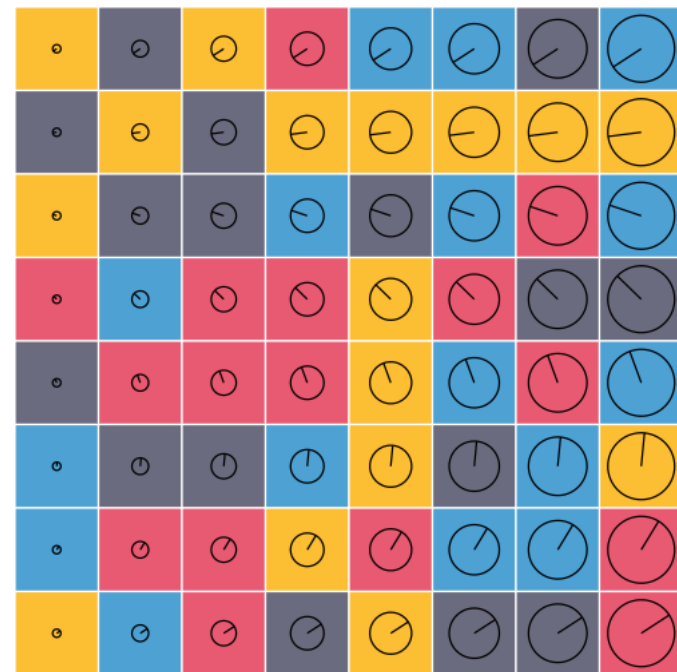
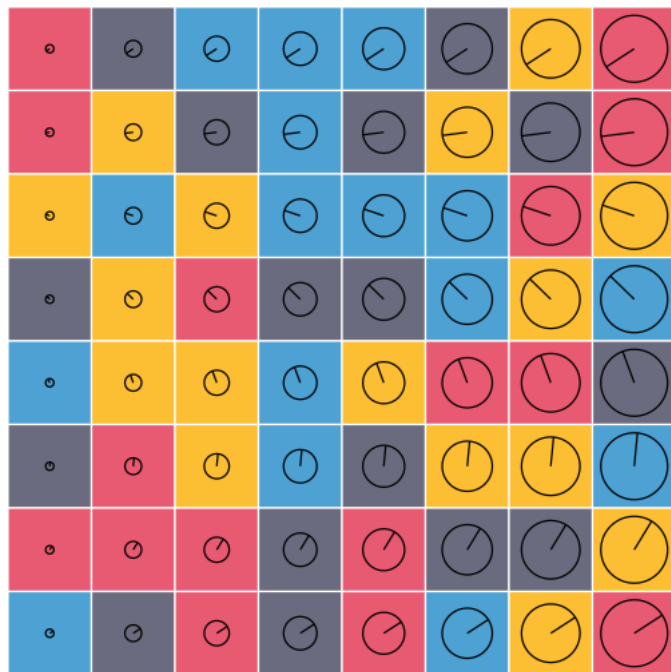
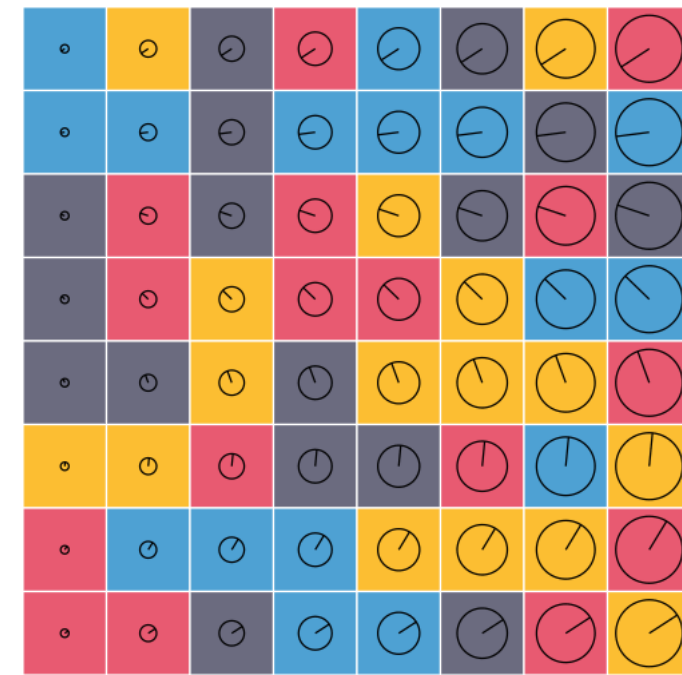
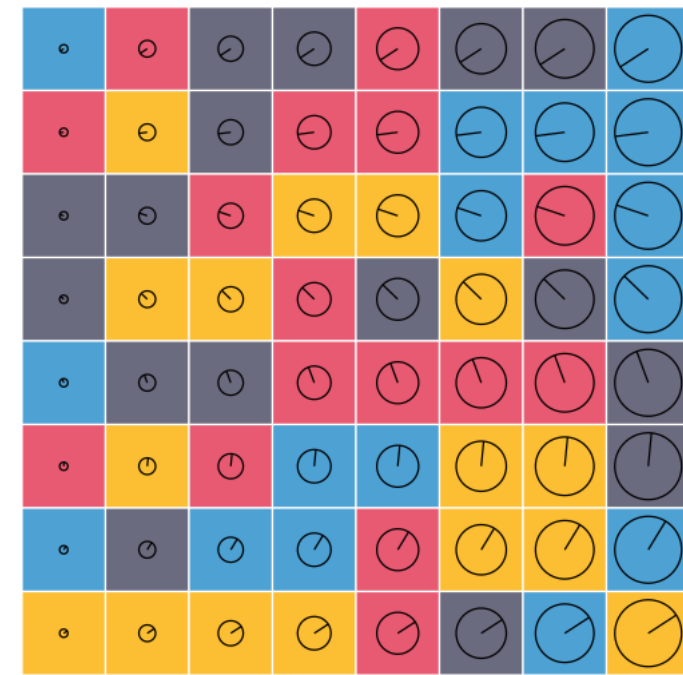
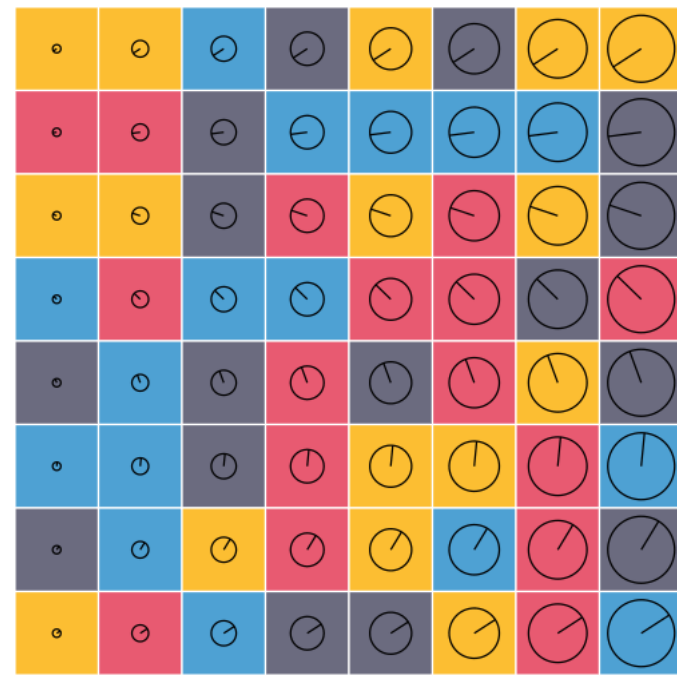
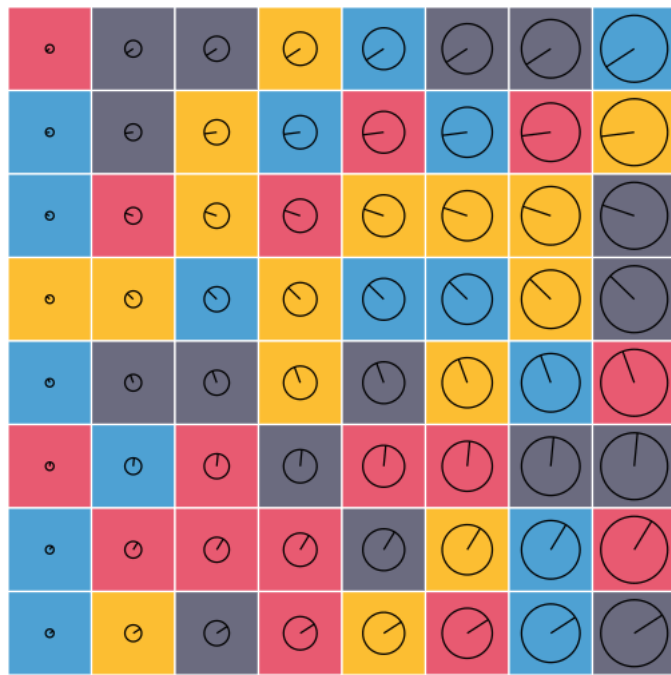


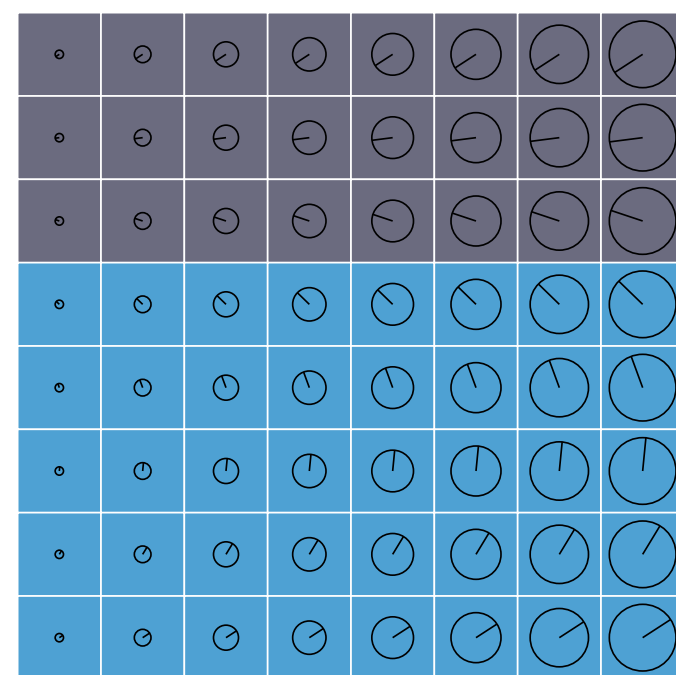
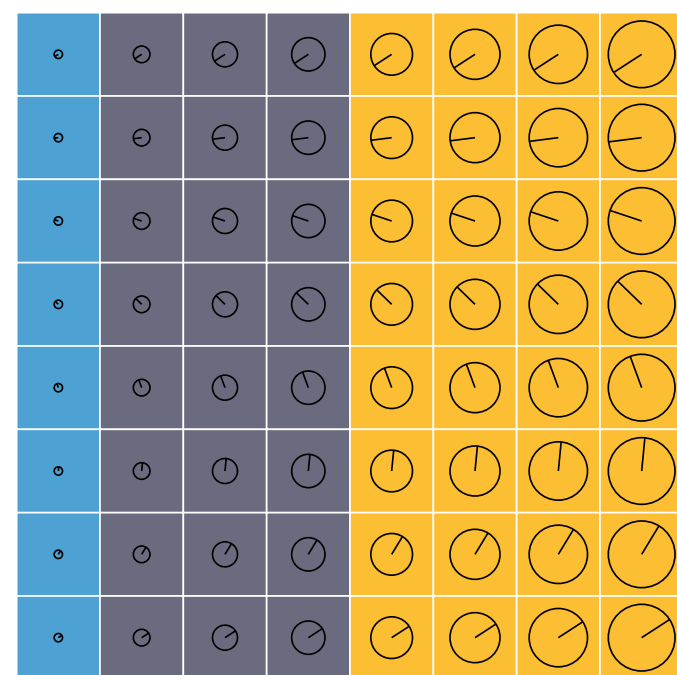
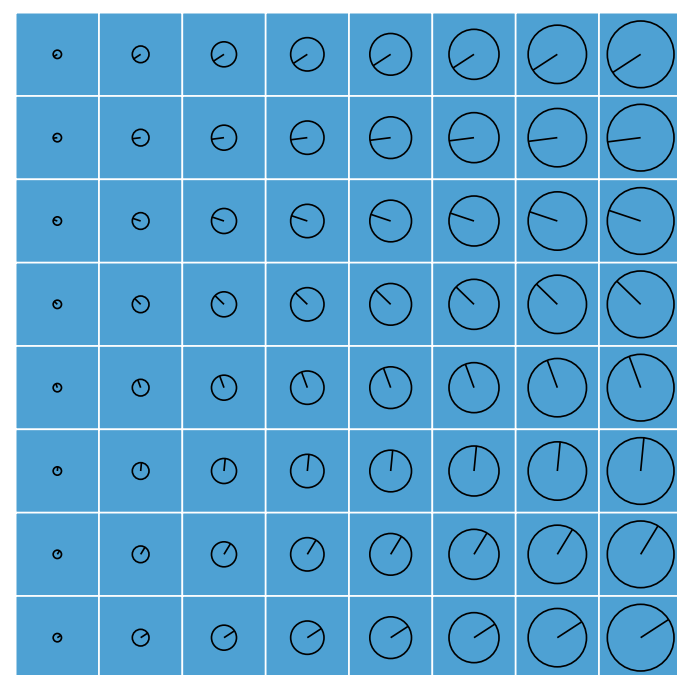
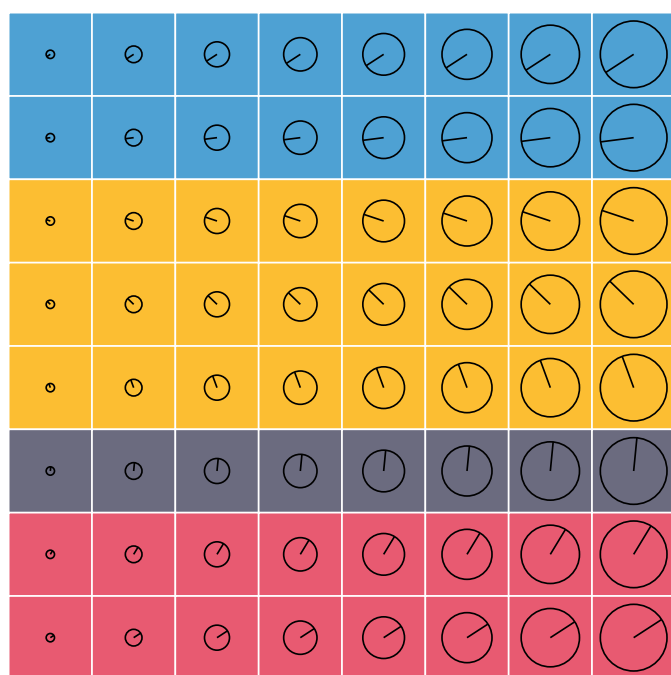
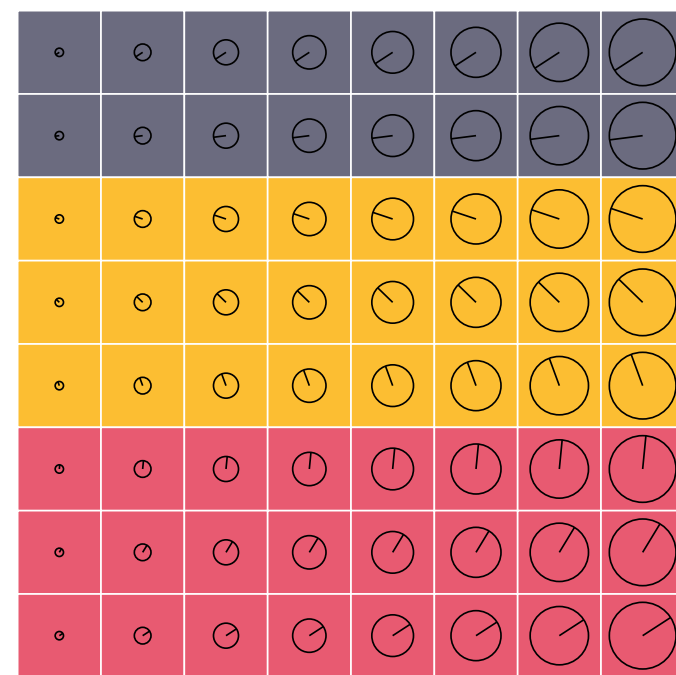
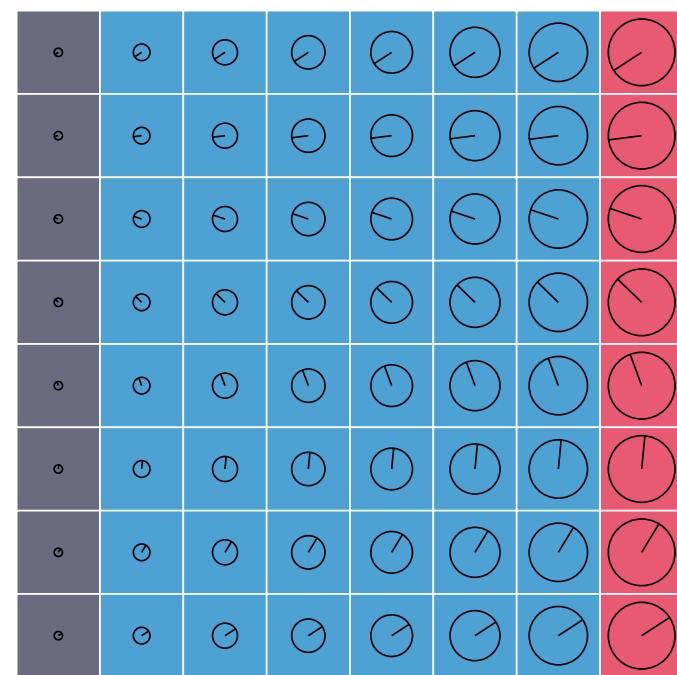
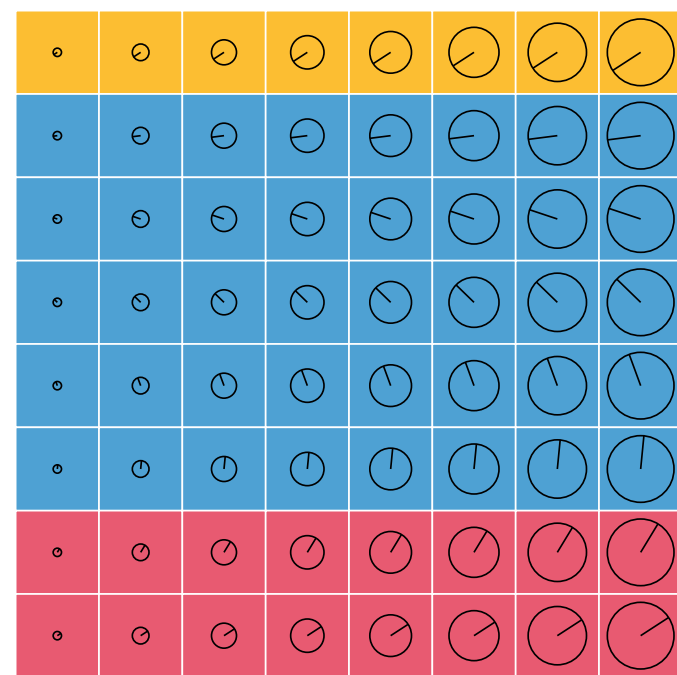
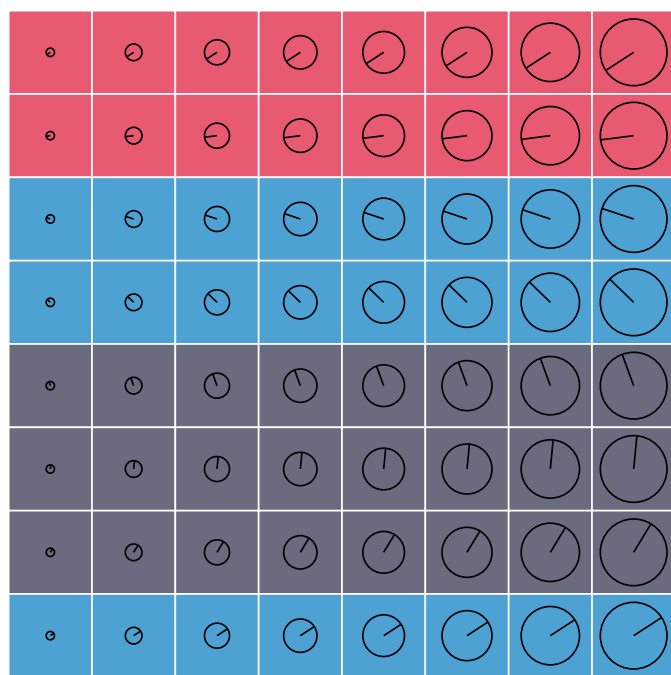
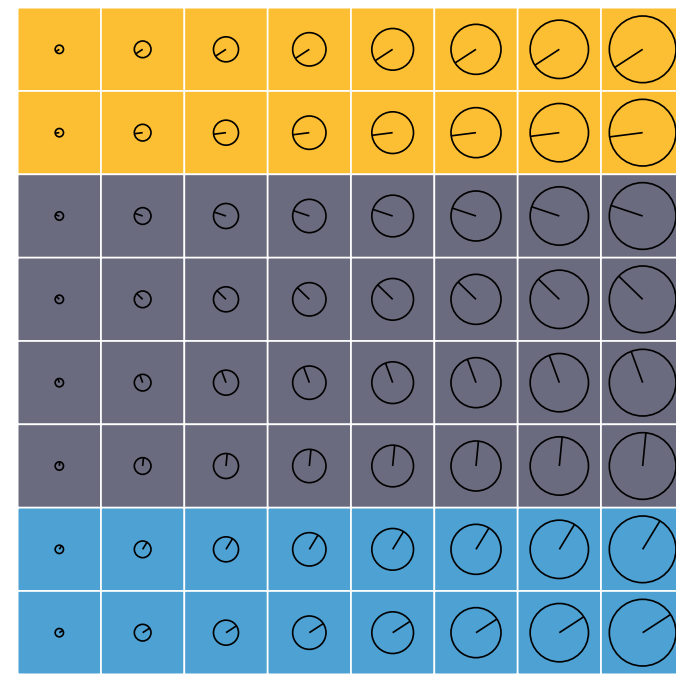
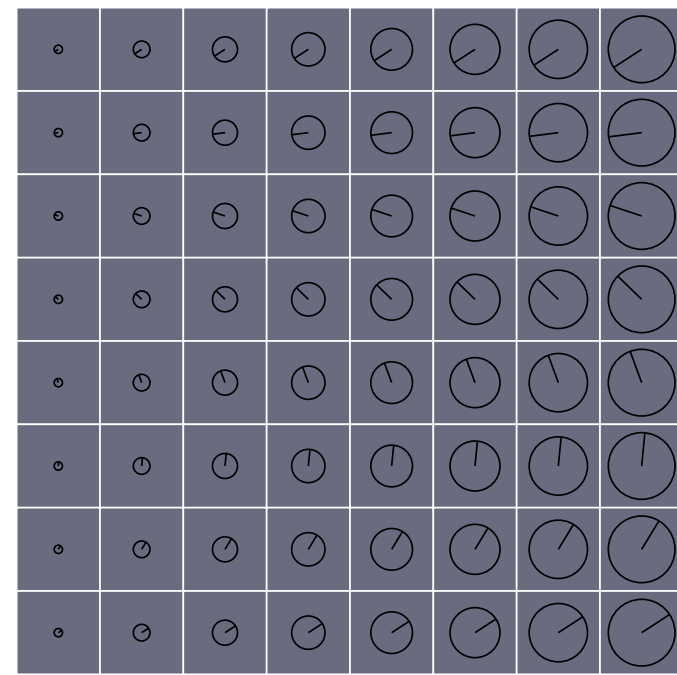
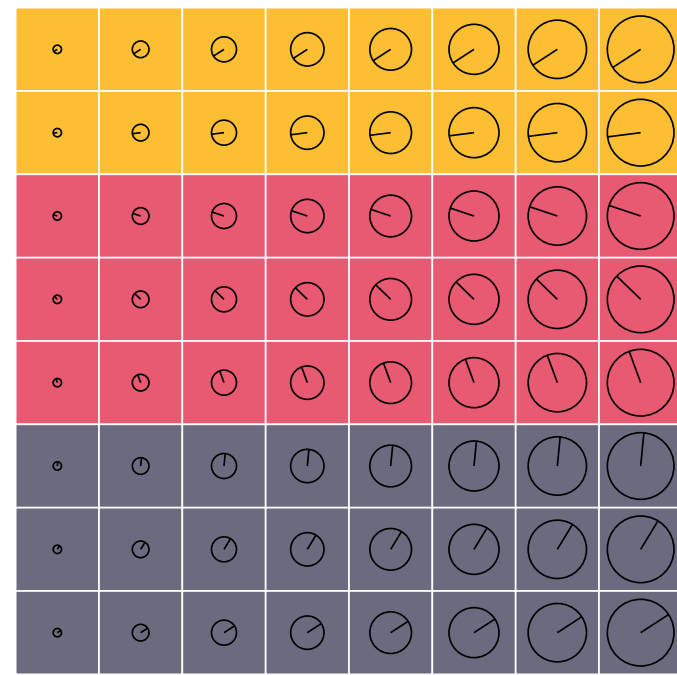
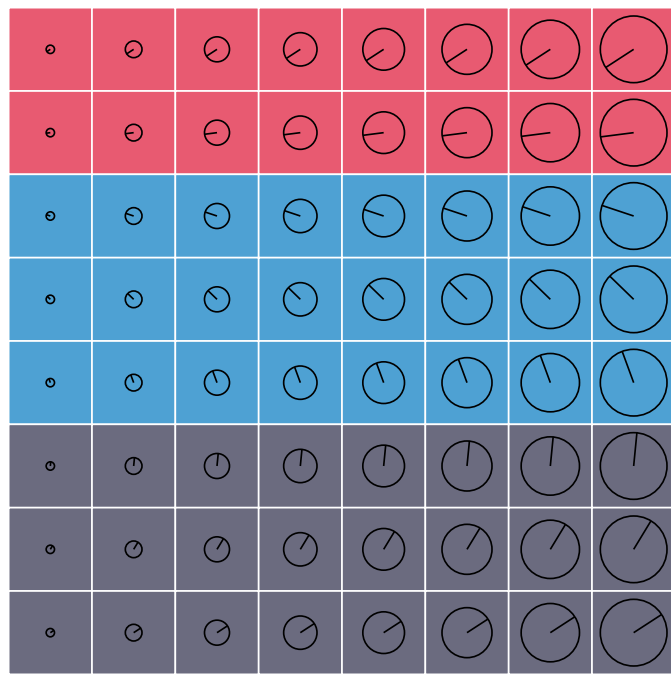
# *Experiment 2*

# Iterated learning



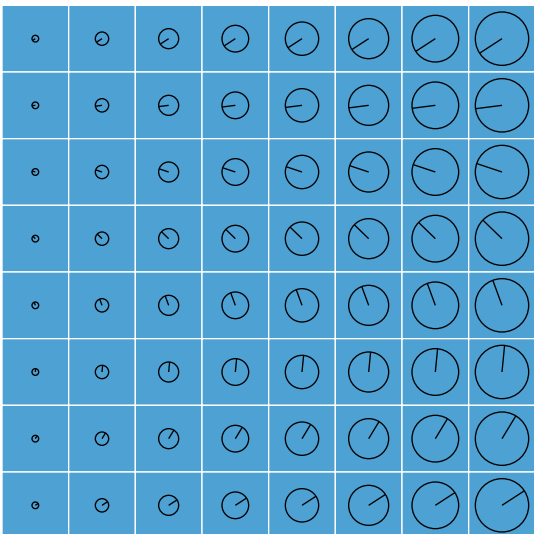
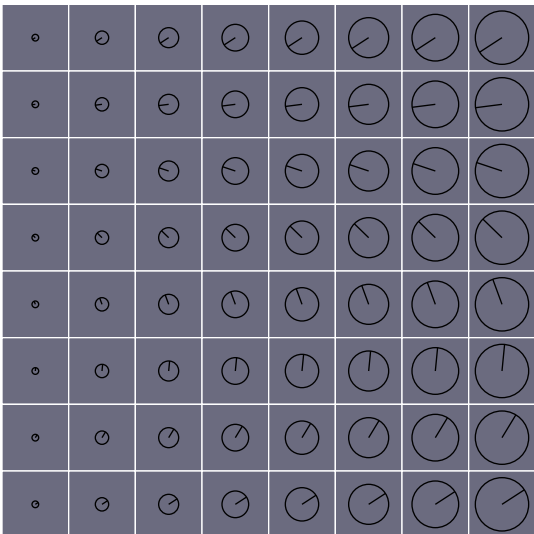




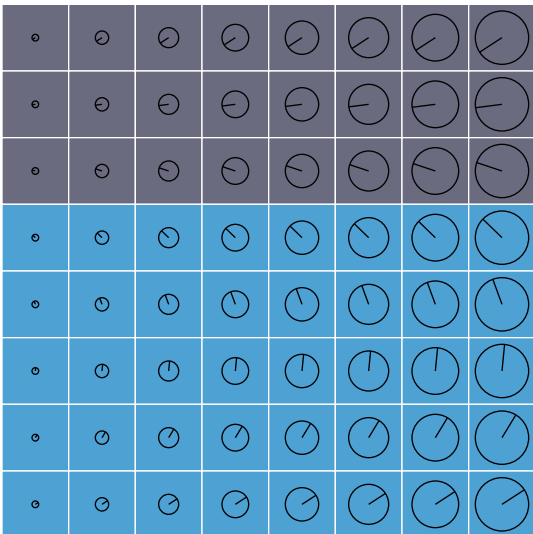


# Results

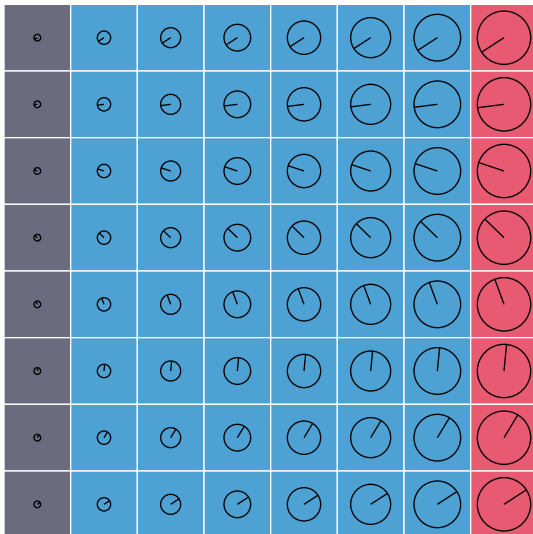
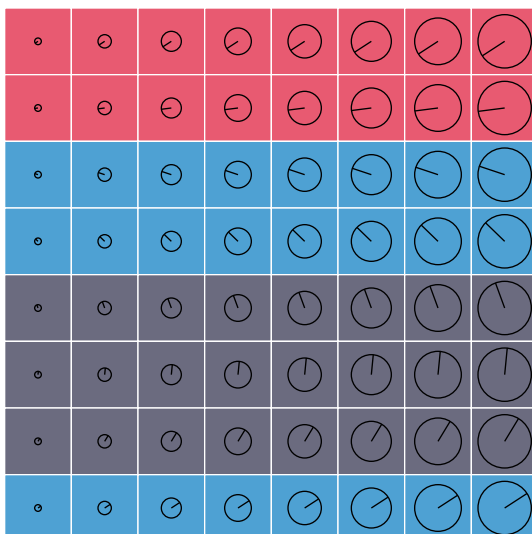
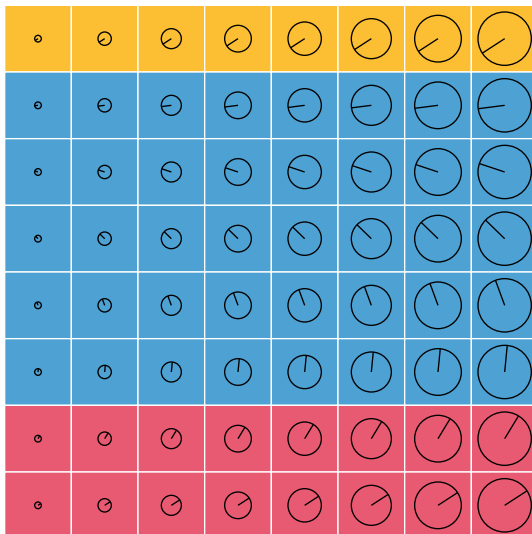
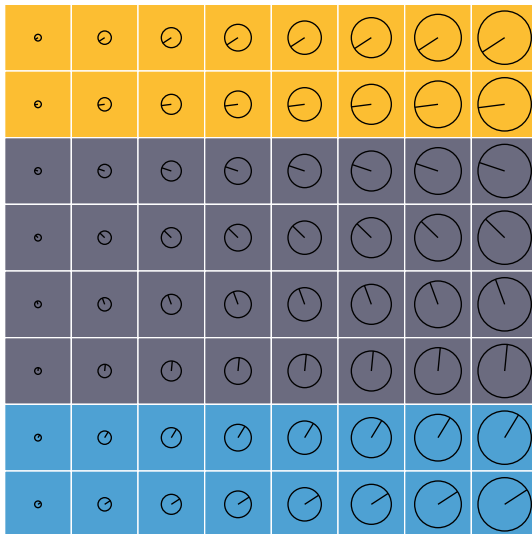
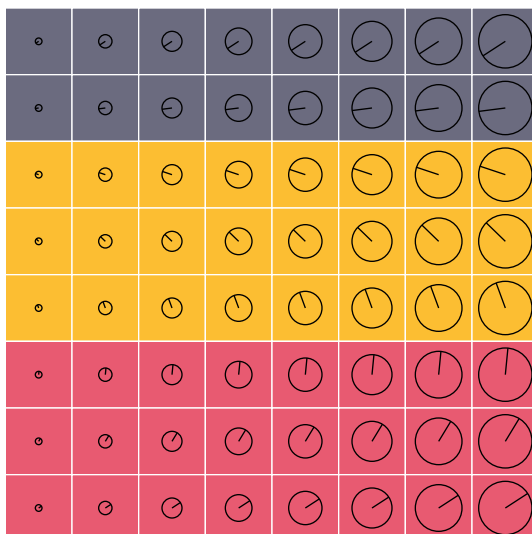
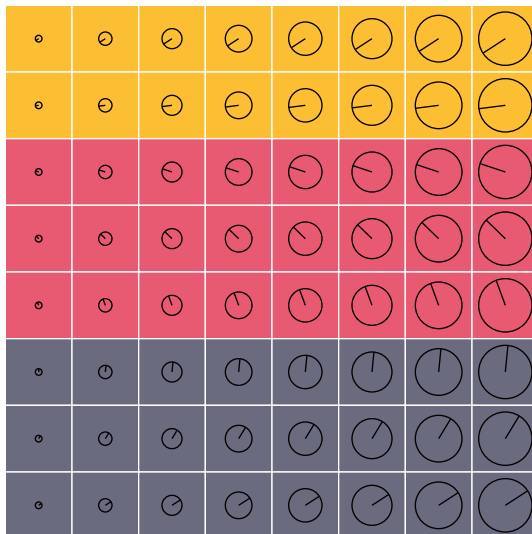
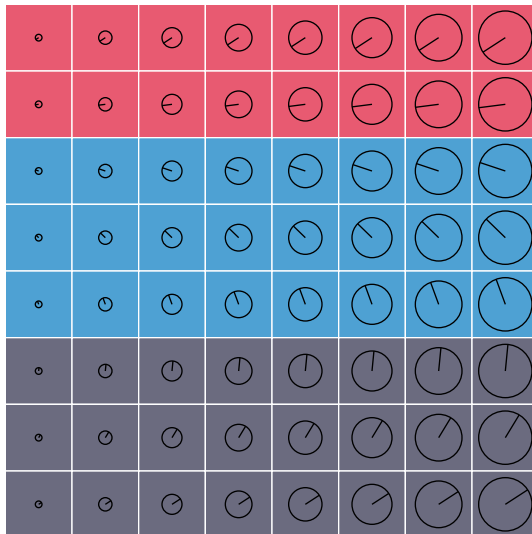
1 category



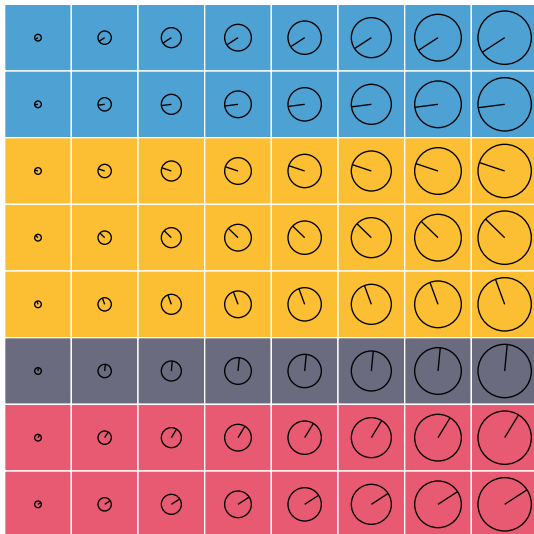
2 categories



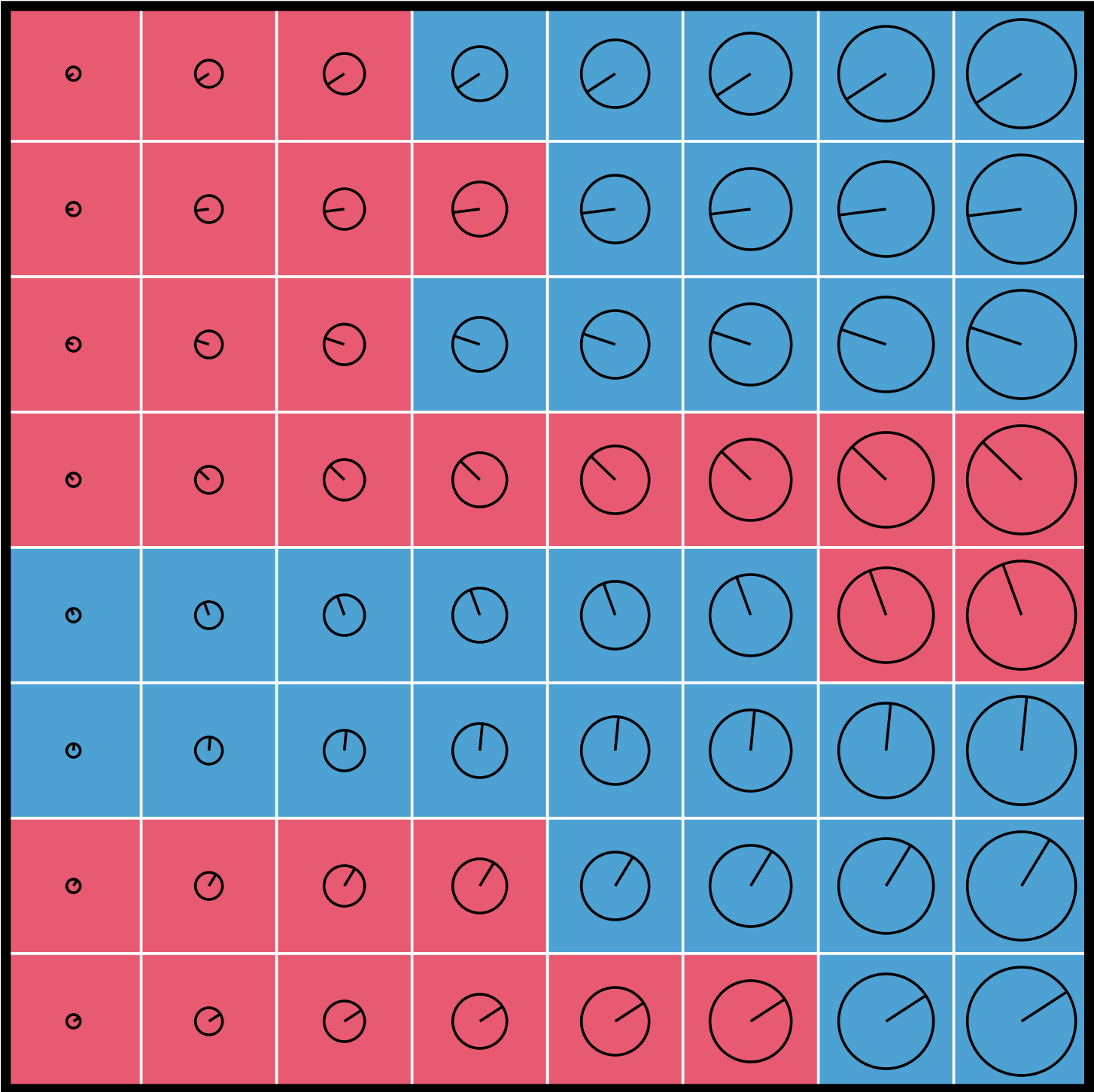
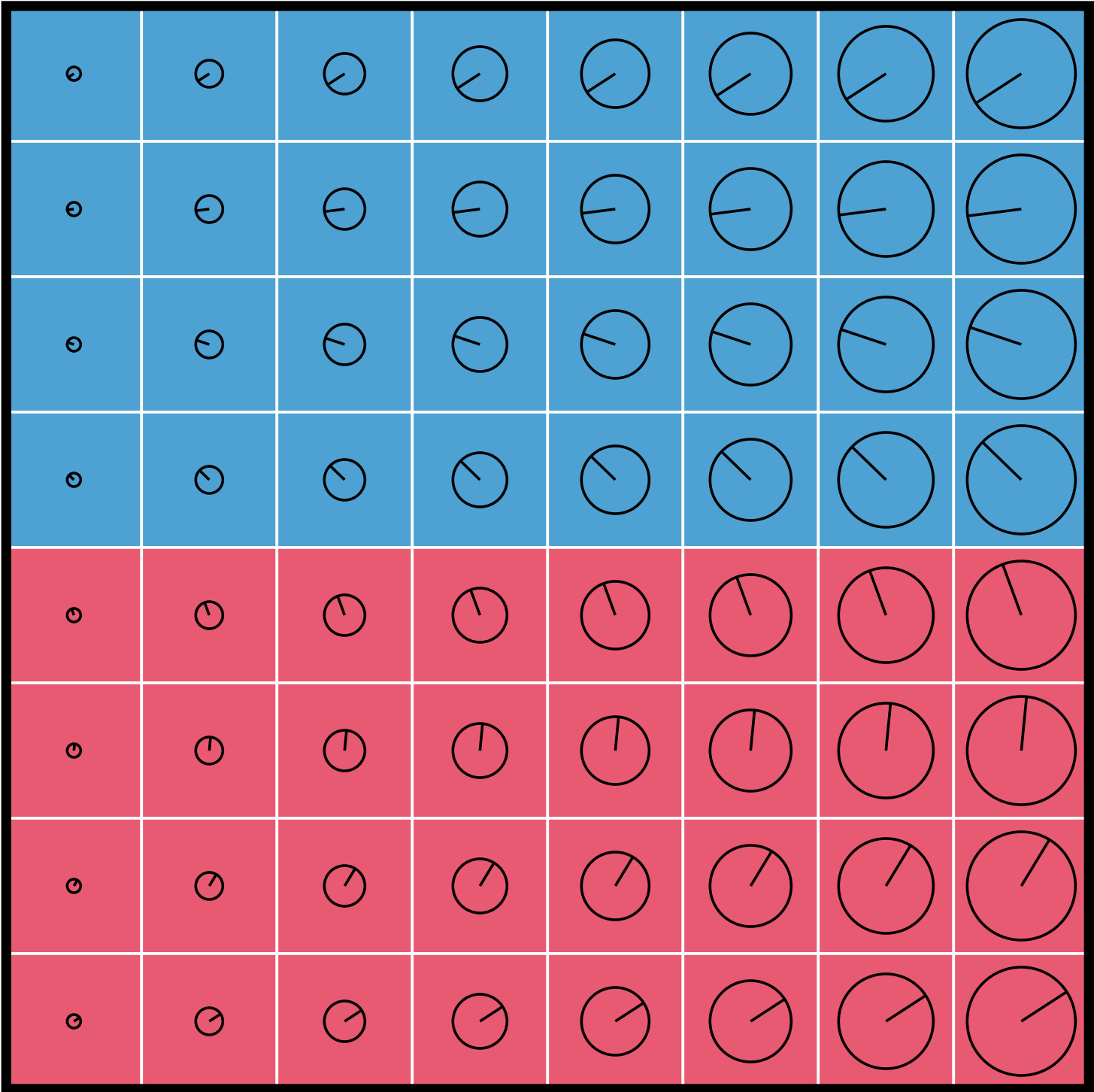
3 categories



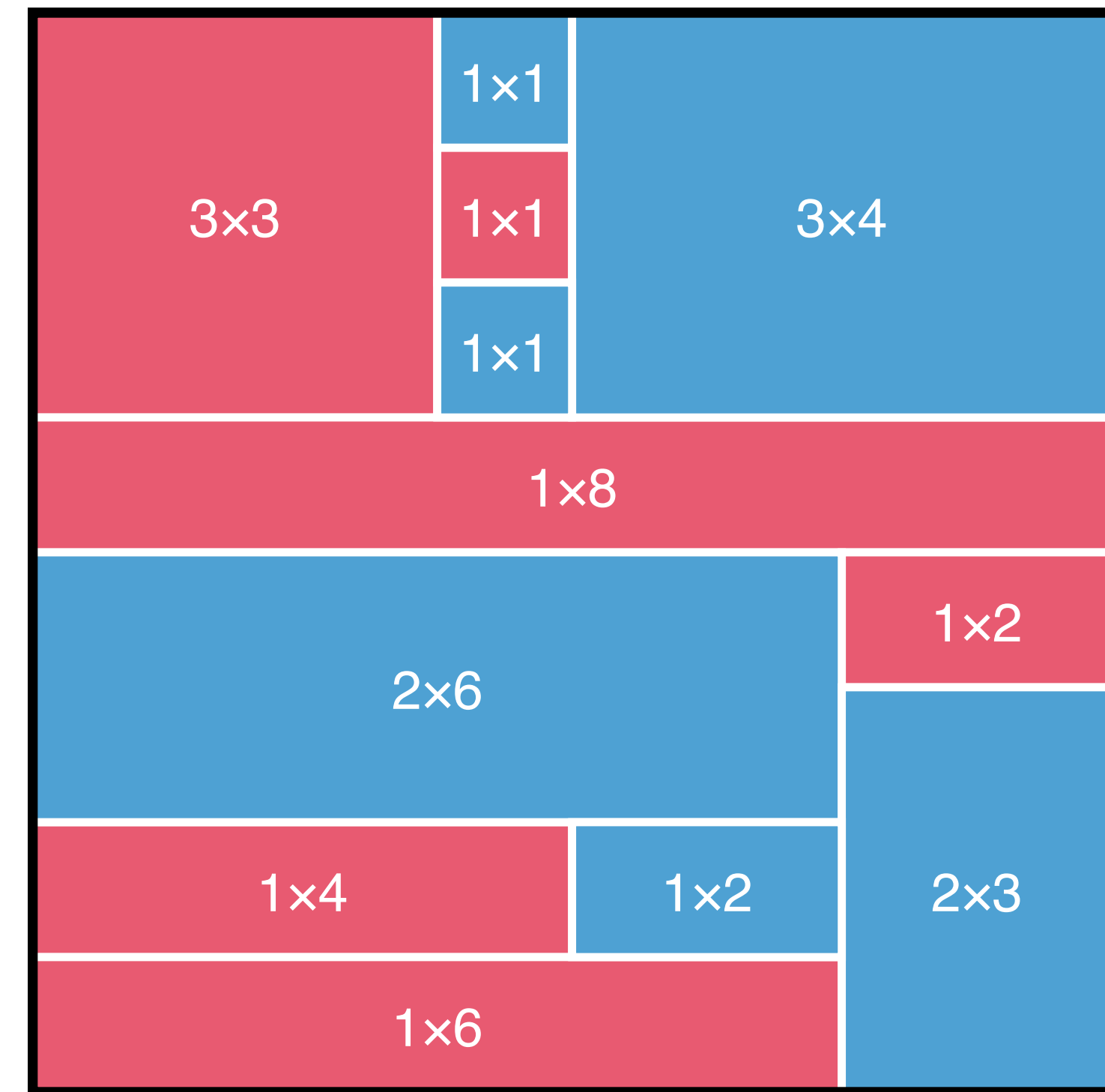
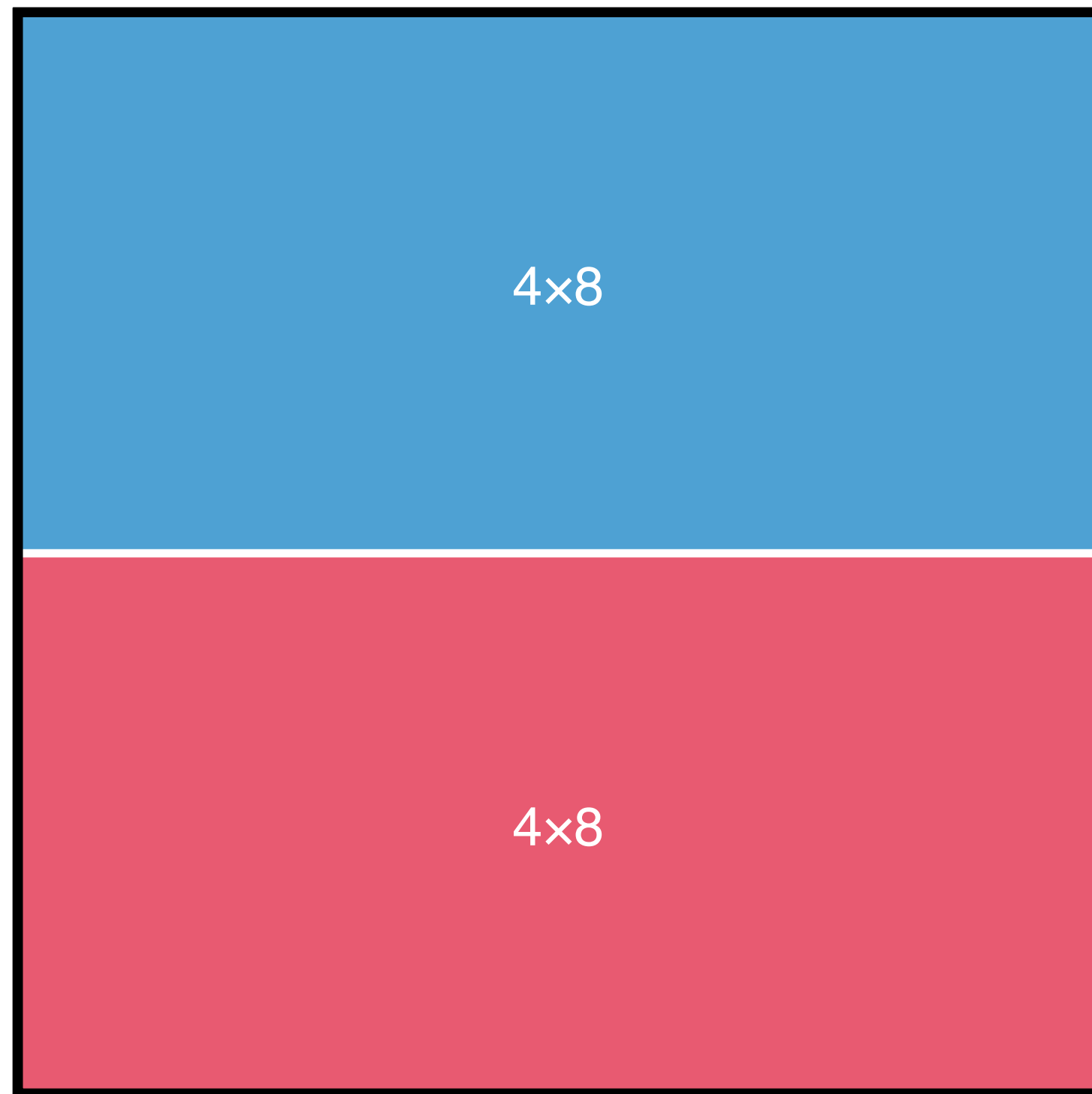
4 categories



# Measuring simplicity

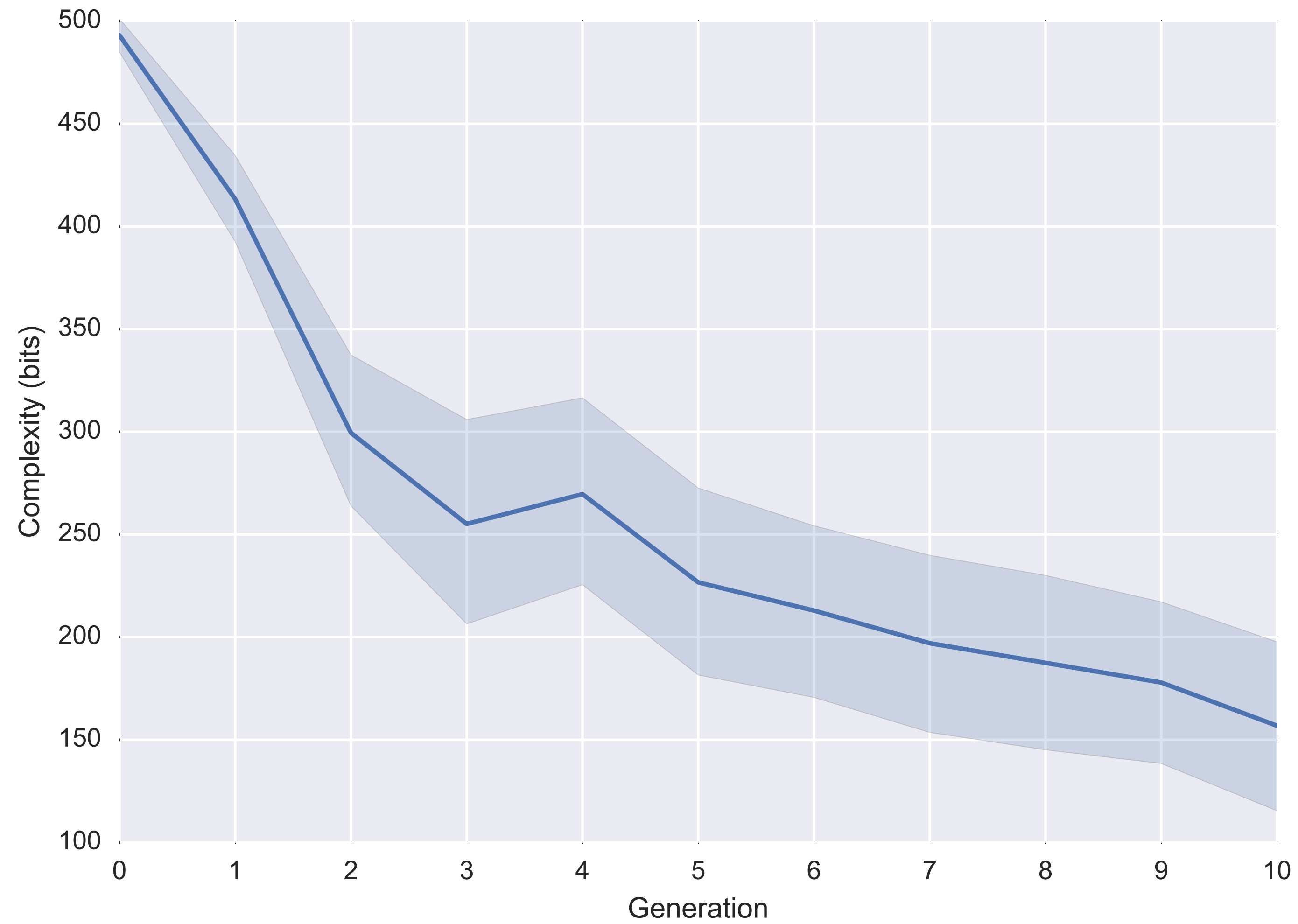


# Measuring simplicity



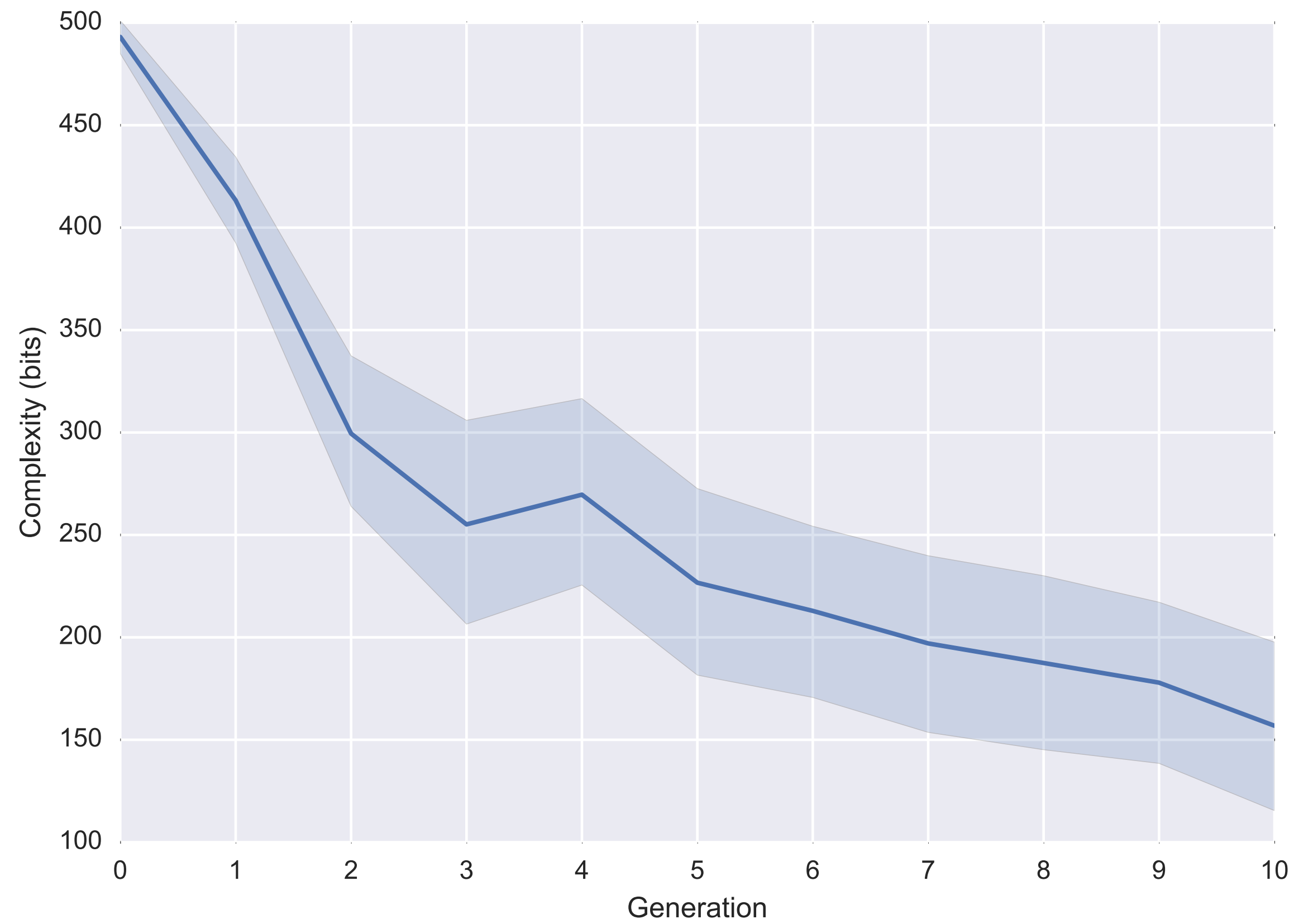


# Simplicity

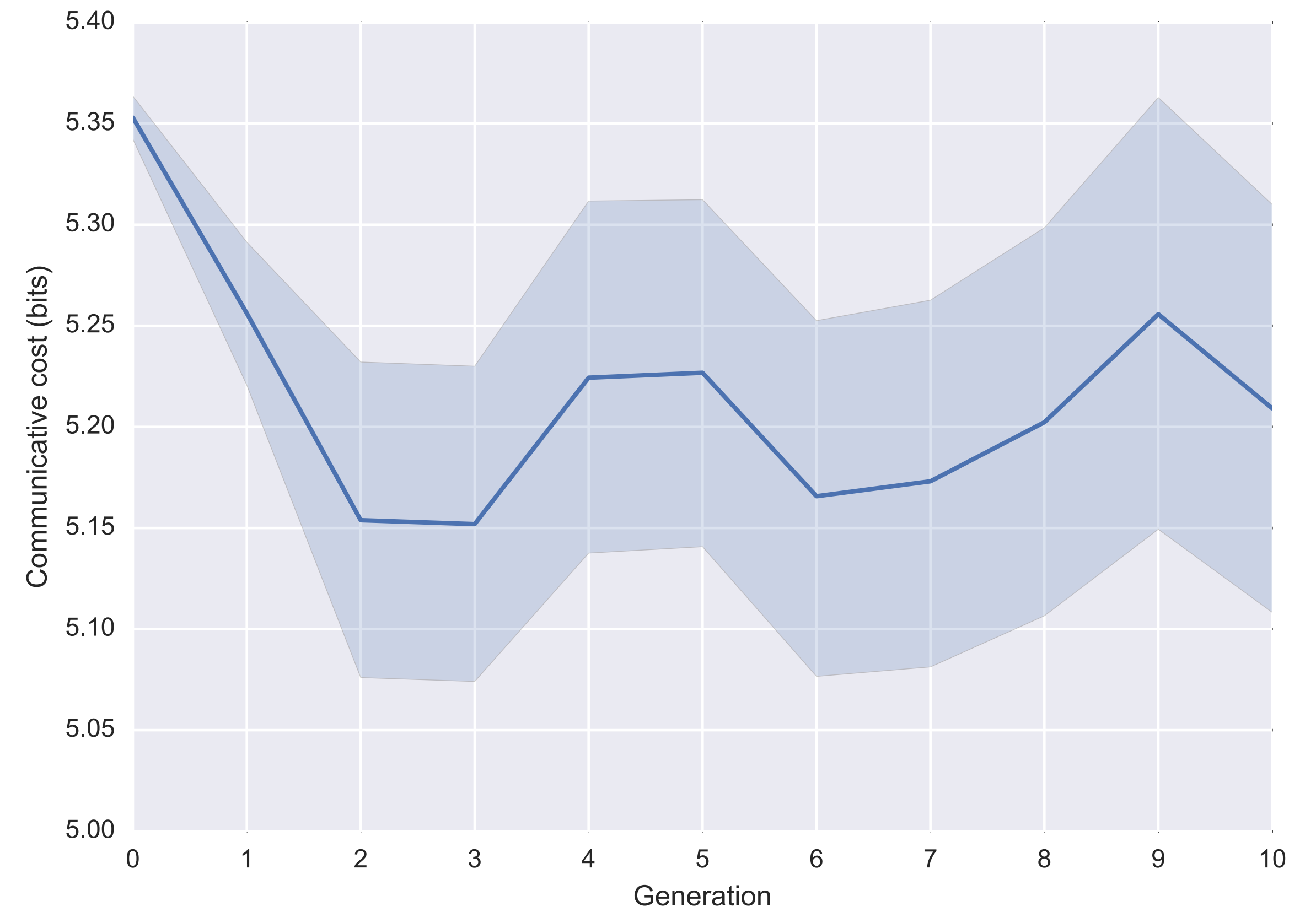




# Simplicity

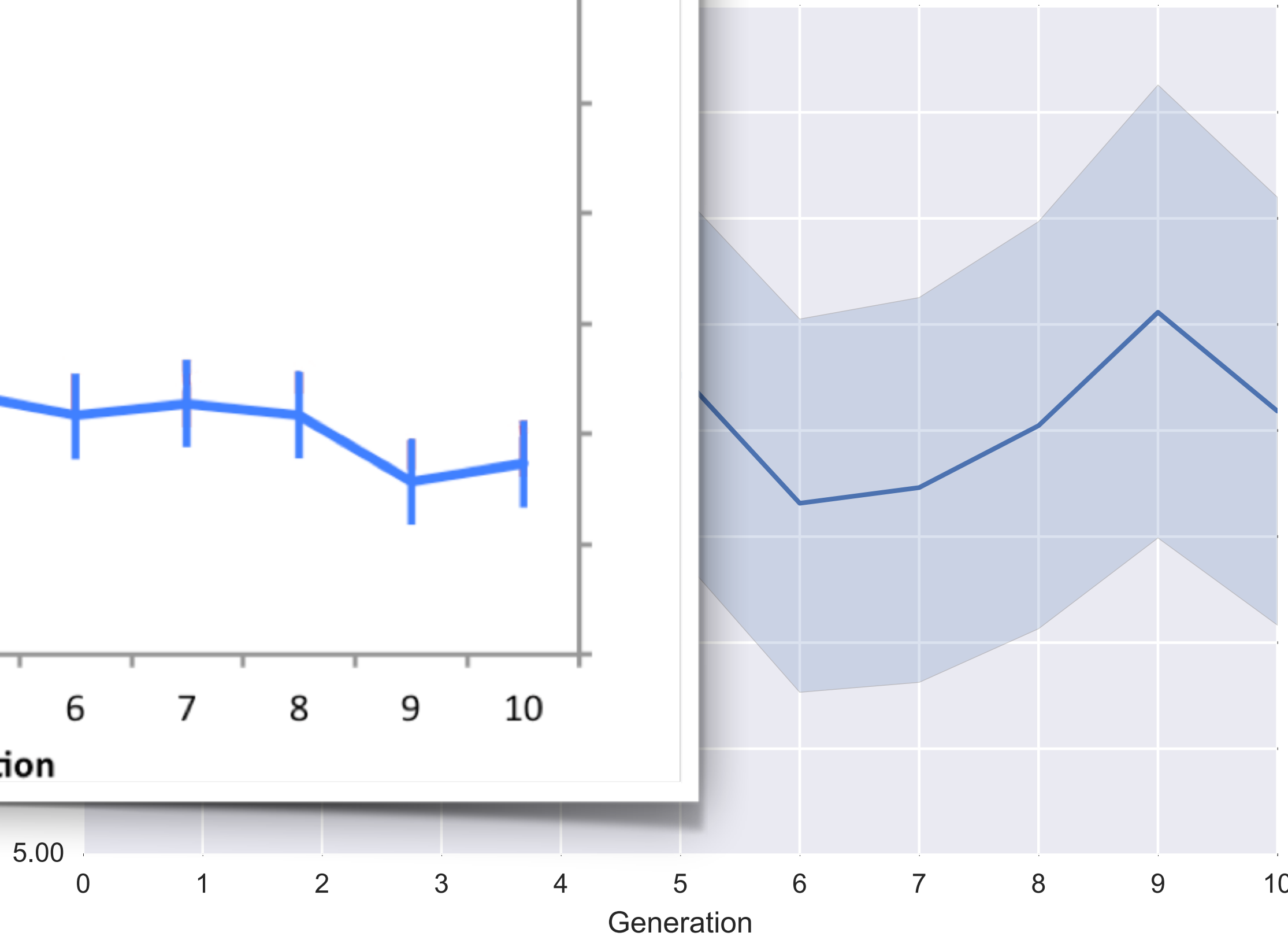
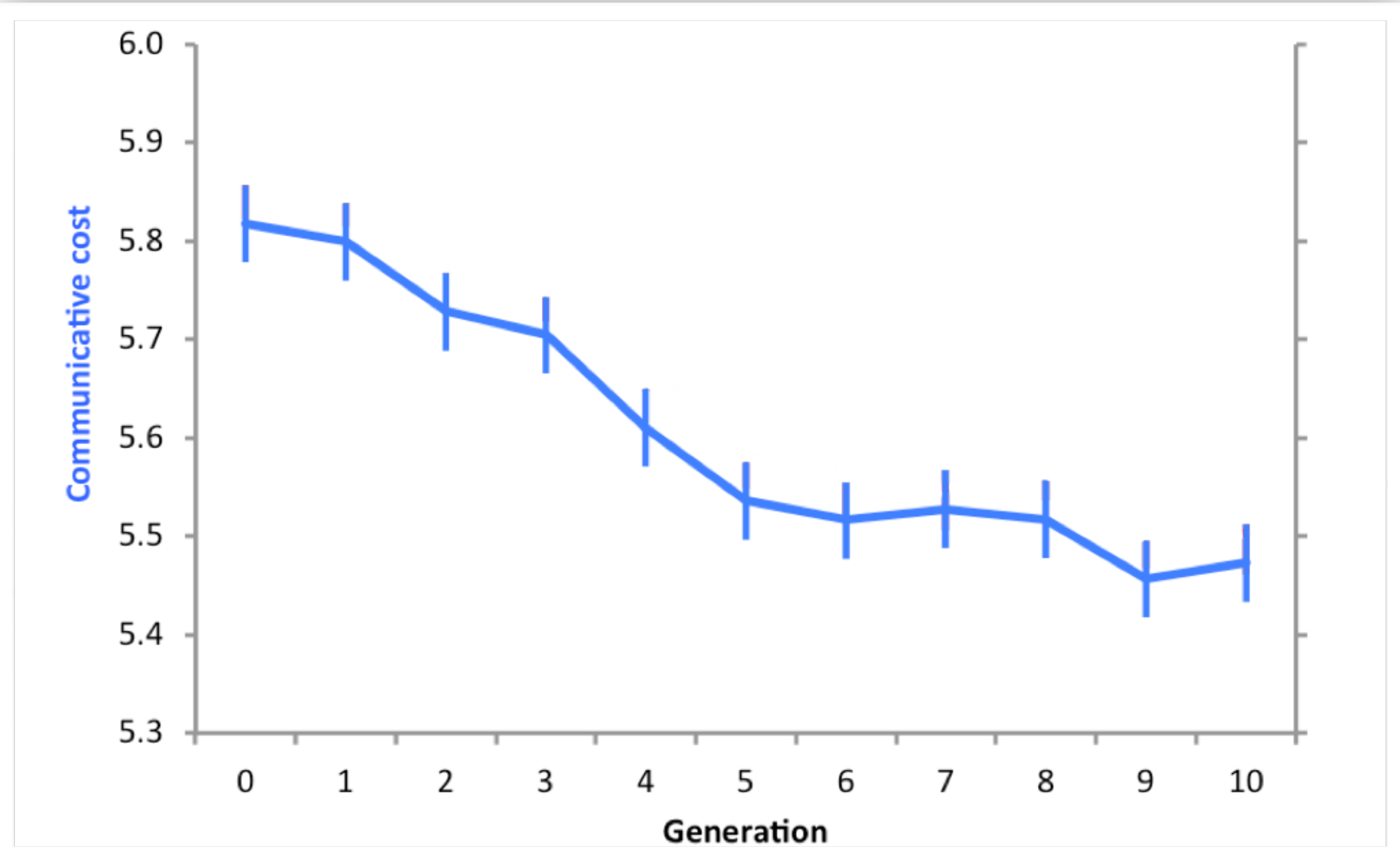
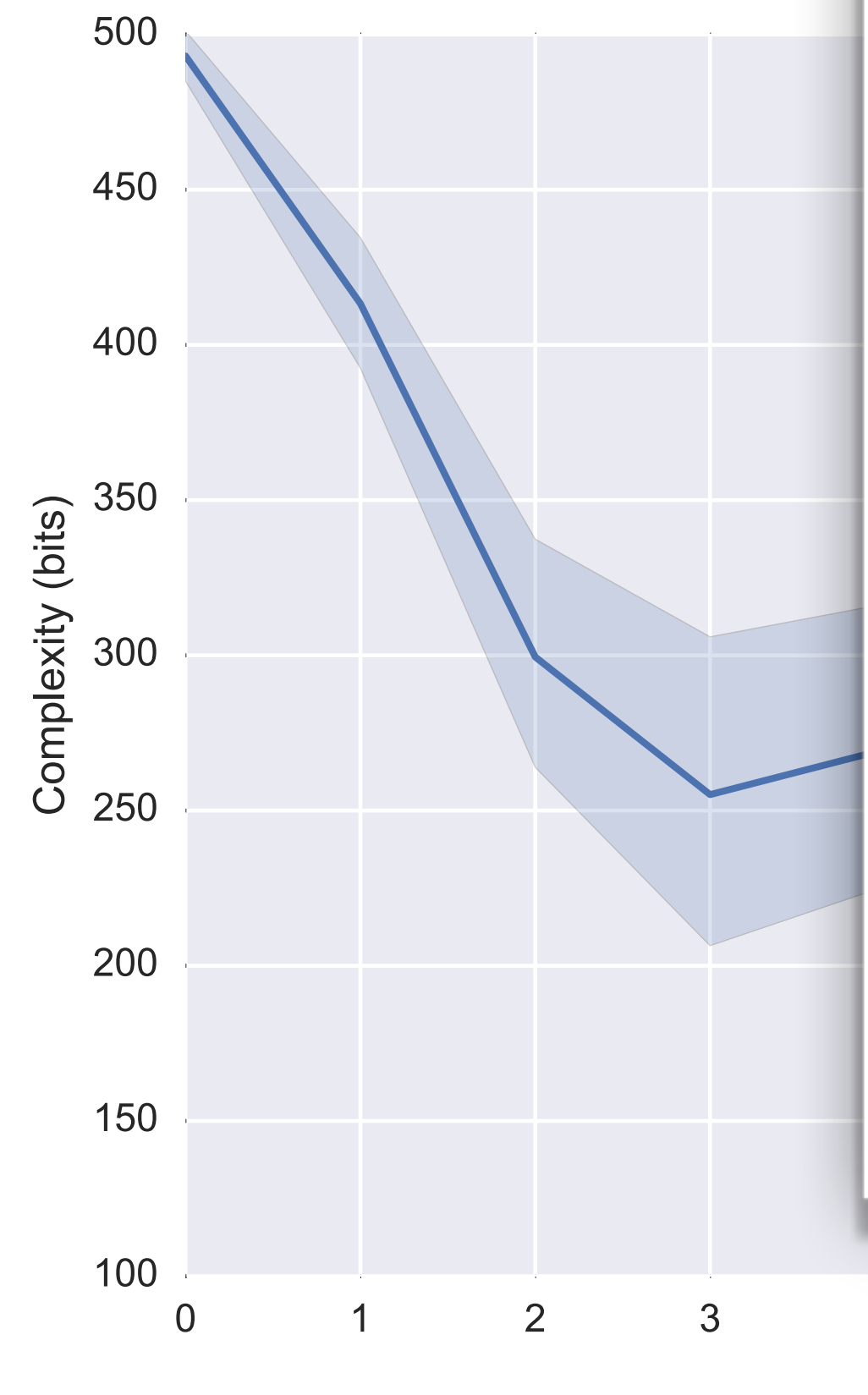


# Informativeness



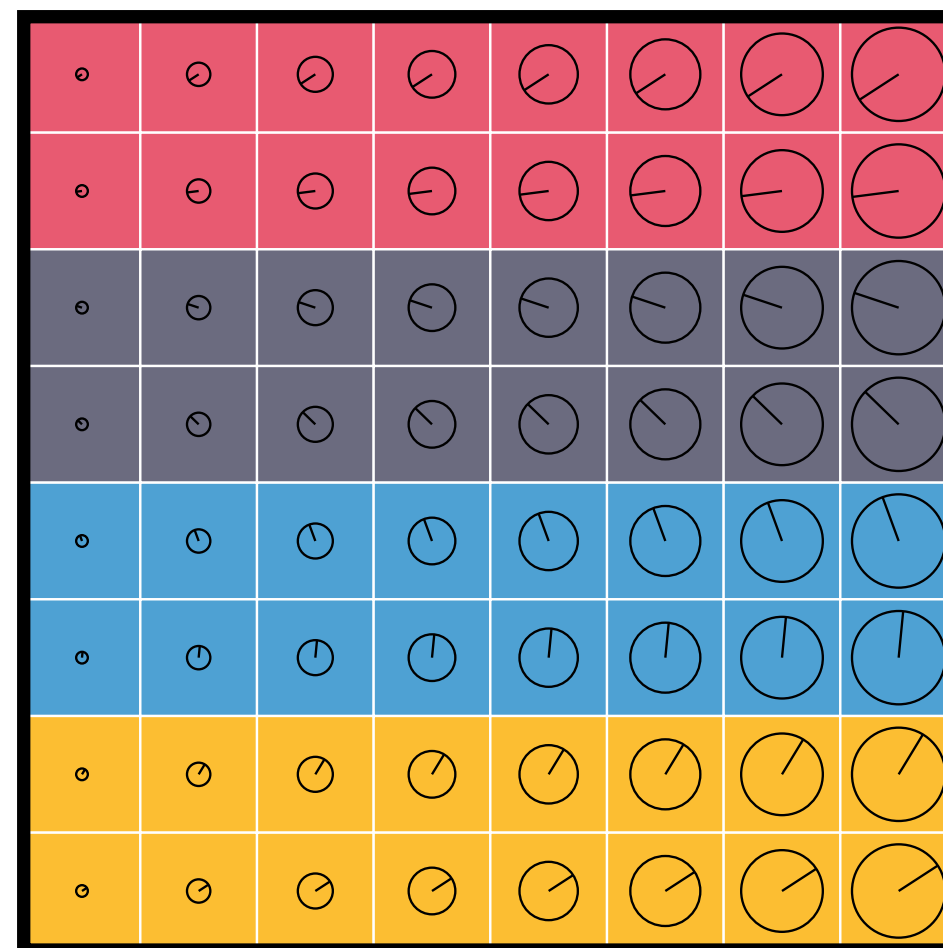
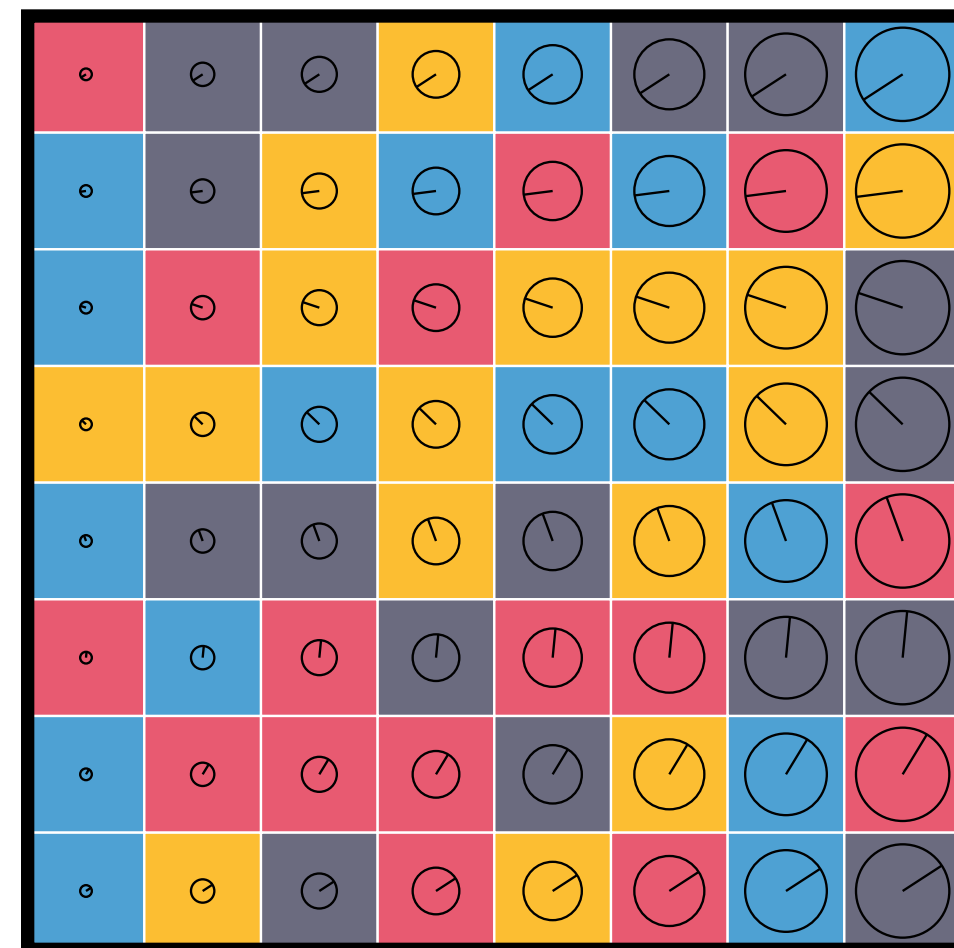
# Simplicity

# Informativeness



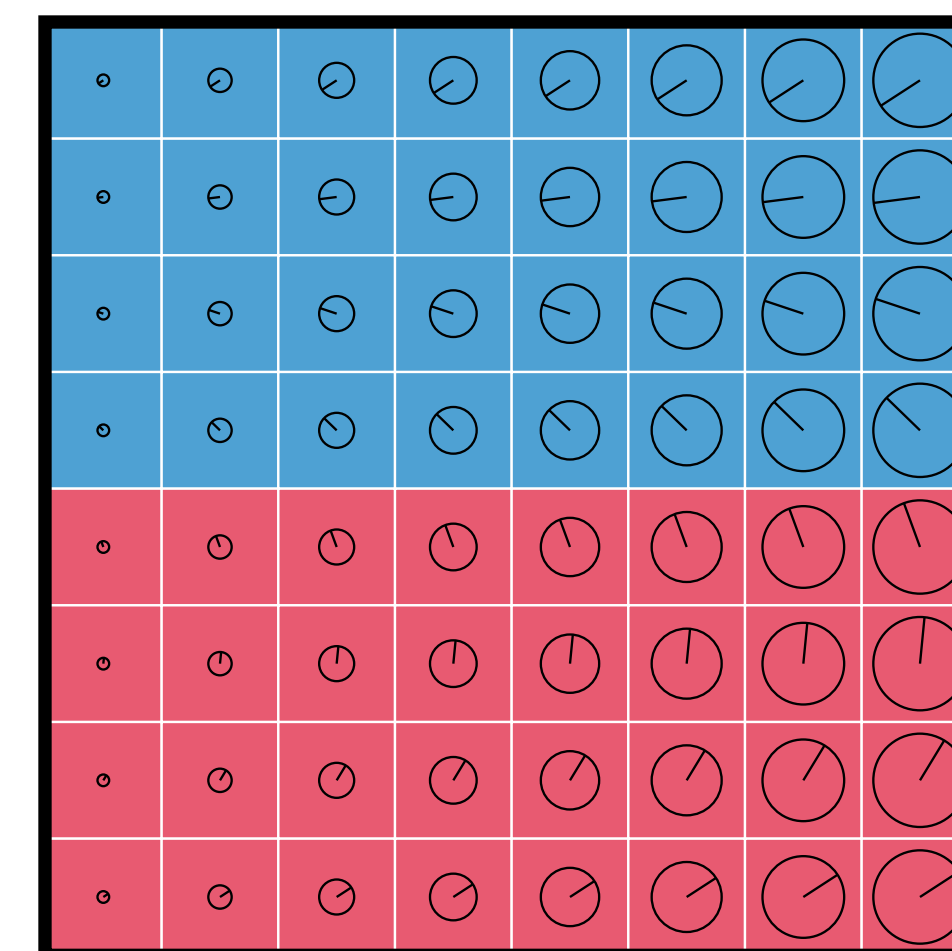
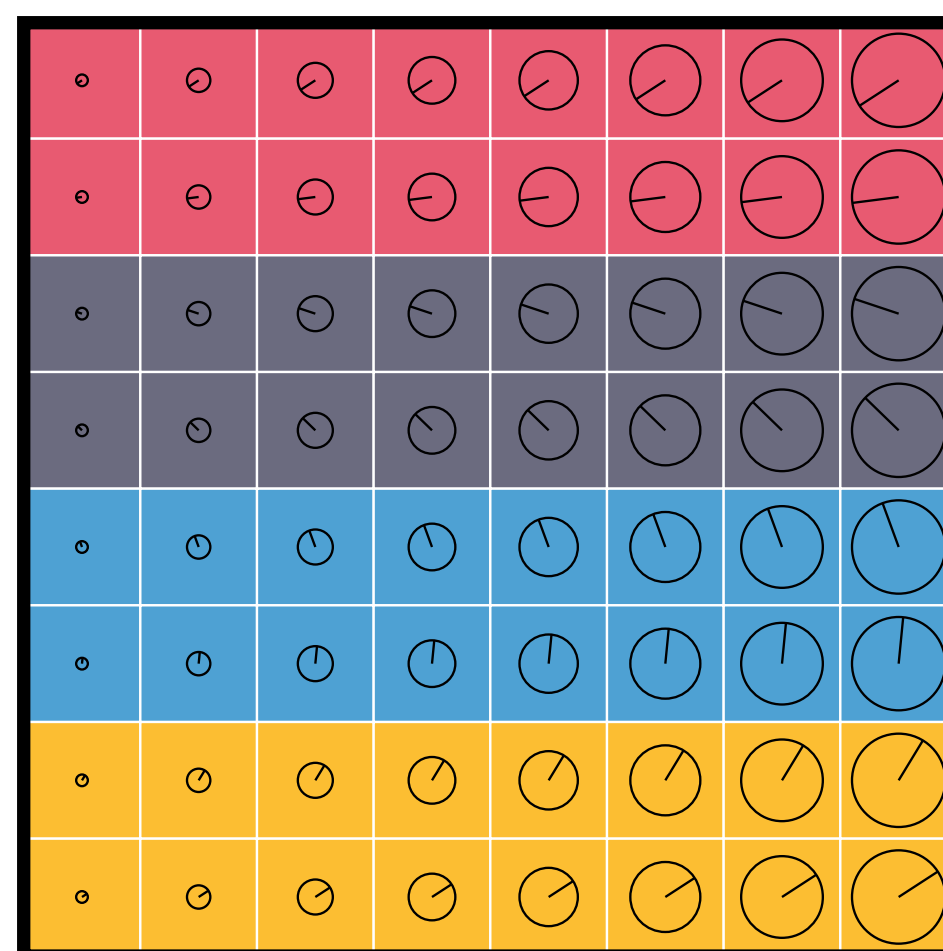
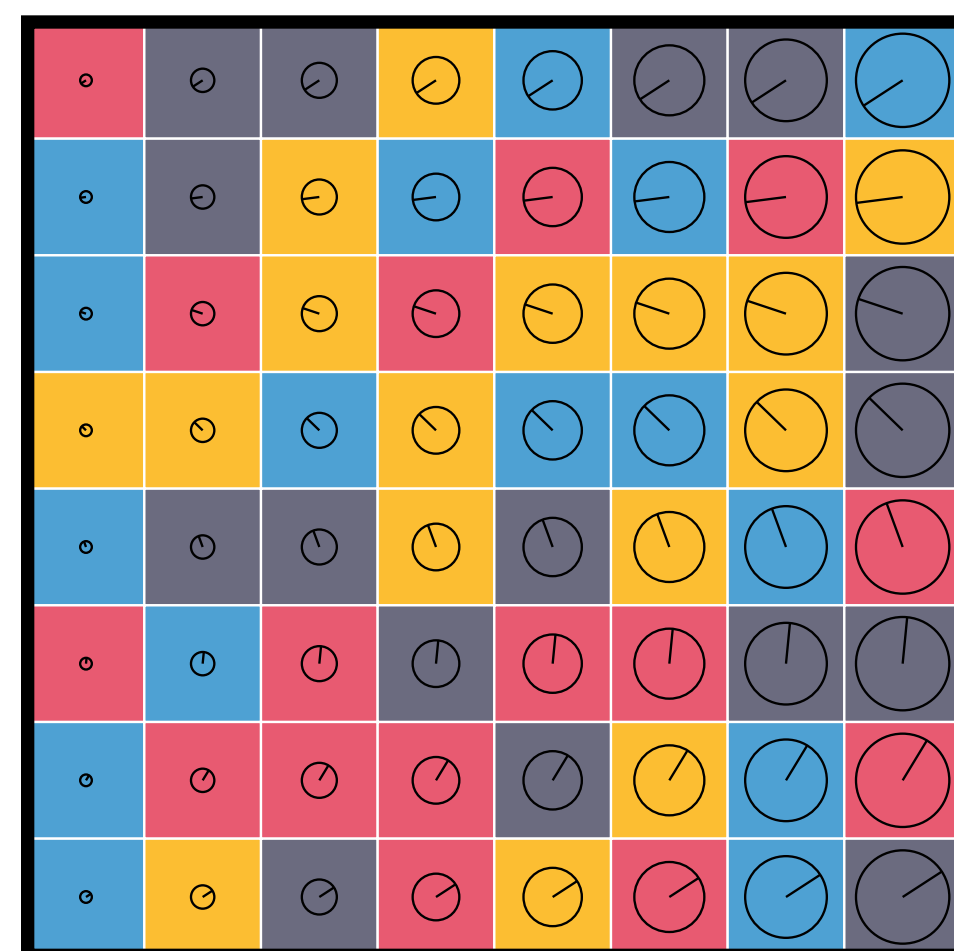
# Two ways of achieving simplicity

## Category reorganization



# Two ways of achieving simplicity

Category reorganization

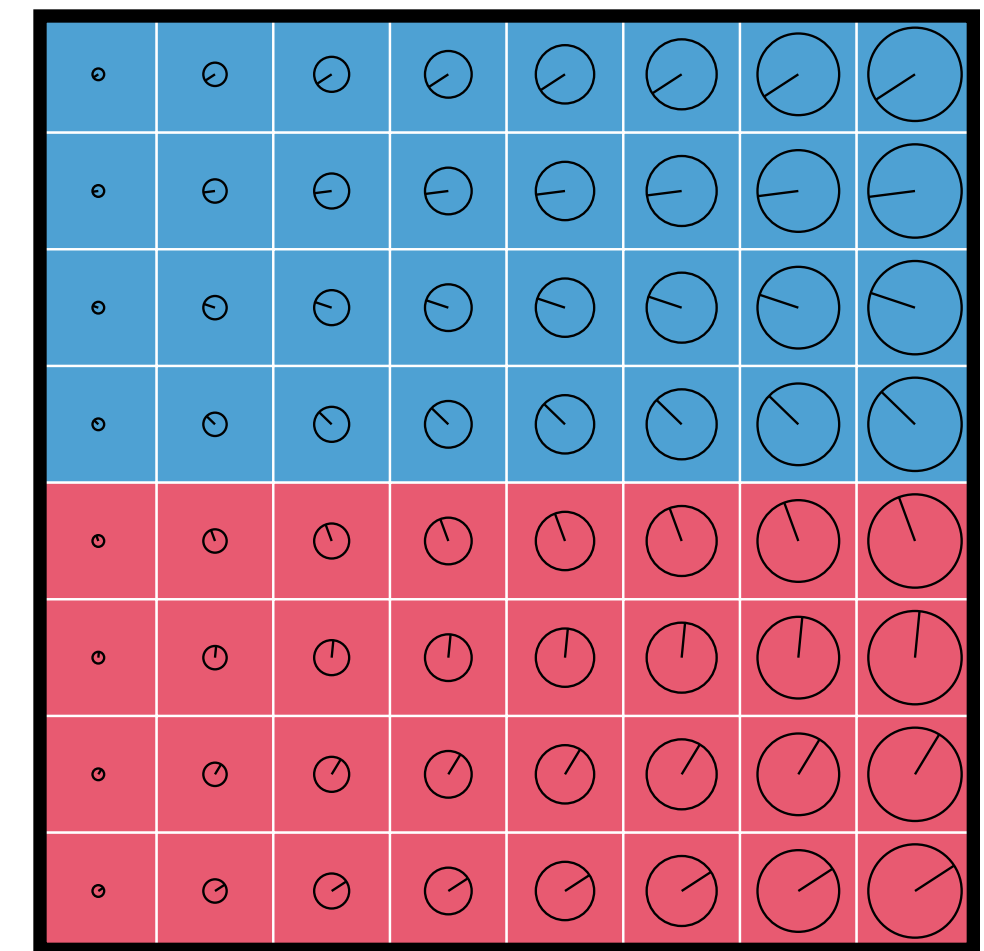
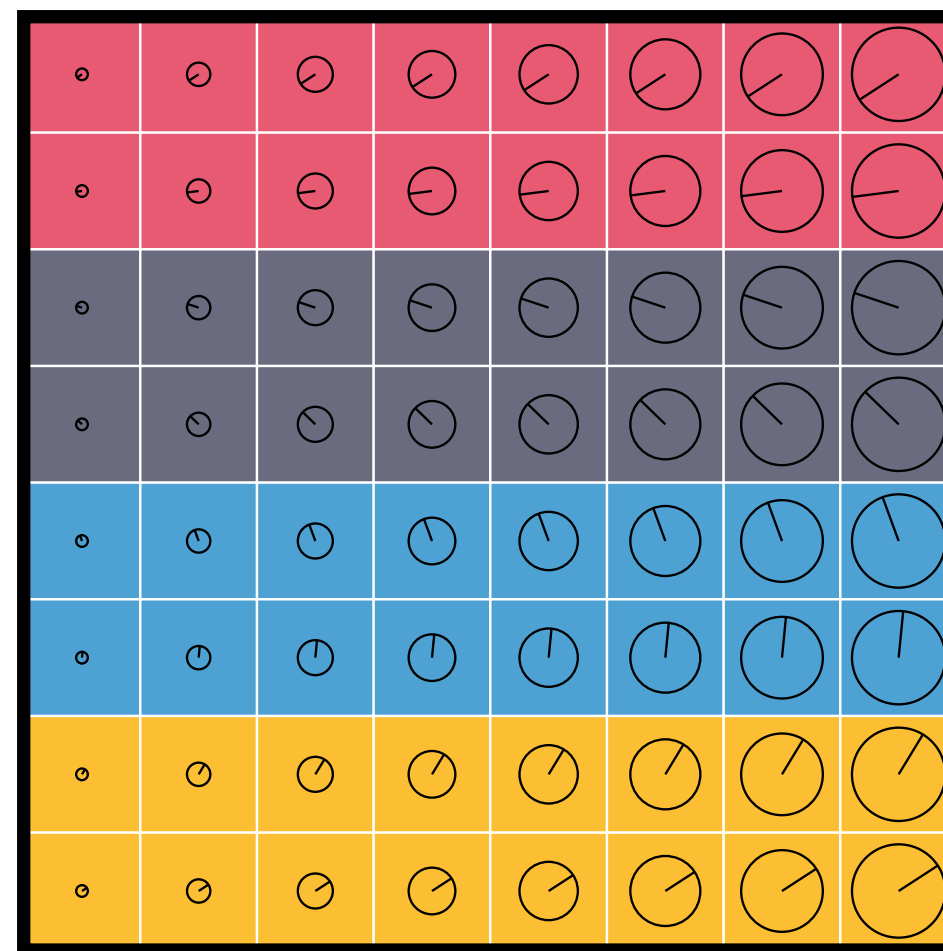
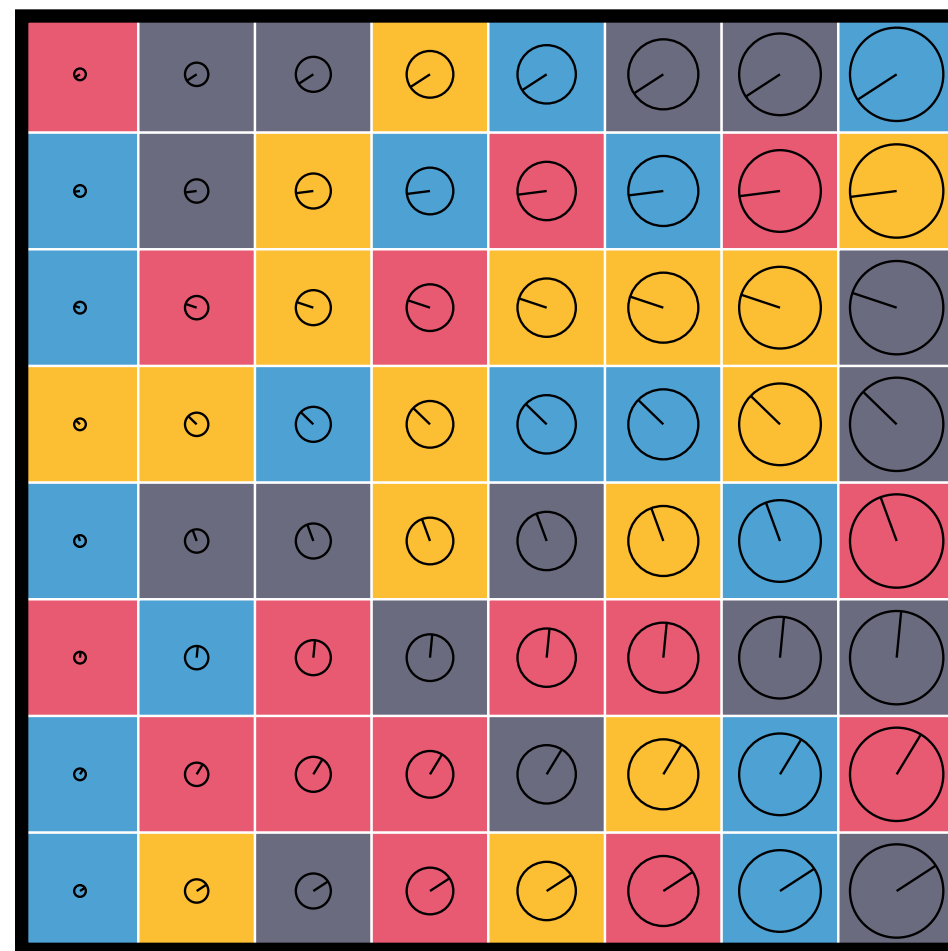


Loss of expressivity

# Two ways of achieving simplicity

Category reorganization

*increases informativeness*



Loss of expressivity

*decreases informativeness*

# Conclusions

The pressure from learning has two consequences:

**Loss of Expressivity:** Loss of words/categories to aid learning

**Simpler categories:** Reorganization of the space to aid learning

Iterated learning favours semantic category systems that are simple

Some informativeness comes along for the ride, potentially obscuring the causal mechanism



*Vielen Dank!*