Learning biases and language evolution

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Abstract

Structural hallmarks of language can be explained in terms of adaptation, by language, to pressures arising during its cultural transmission. Here I present a model which explains the compositional structure of language as an adaptation in response to pressures arising from the poverty of the stimulus available to language learners and the biases of language learners themselves.

1 Introduction

The goal of evolutionary linguistics is to explain the origins and development of human language — how did language come to be structured as it is? Recent research attempts to answer this question by appealing to cultural evolution (Batali 2002; Brighton 2002; Kirby 2002). Language is culturally transmitted to the extent that language learners acquire their linguistic competence on the basis of the observed linguistic behaviour of others. A key contribution of those working within the cultural framework is to show that the cultural transmission of language leads to an adaptive dynamic — the adaptation, by language itself, to pressures acting during its cultural transmission. This cultural evolution can lead to the emergence of at least some of the characteristic structure of language.

This process of cultural evolution must be dependent on some biological endowment. What is not clear is what form this endowment takes, or to what extent it is language-specific. In this paper I will present a series of experiments, using a computational model of the cultural transmission of language, which allow us to refine our understanding of the necessary biological basis for a particular structural characteristic of language, compositionality. In this model a learner's biological endowment consists of a particular way of learning, with an associated learning bias.

2 Elements of the model

I will present an Iterated Learning Model (ILM) which allows us to investigate the role of stimulus poverty and learning bias in the evolution of compositional language. The ILM is based around a simple treatment of languages as a mapping between meanings and signals (see Section 2.1). Linguistic agents are modelled using associative networks (see Section 2.2). These agents are slotted

^{*}The author is supported by ESRC Research Grant No. R000223969.

into a minimal population model to yield the ILM. For the purposes of this paper, we will consider an ILM with the simplest possible population dynamic — the population consists of a set of discrete generations, with each generation consisting of a single agent. The agent at generation n produces some observable behaviour (in this model a set of meaning-signal pairs), which is then learned from by the agent at generation n + 1.

2.1 Compositionality and a model of languages

Compositionality relates semantic structure to signal structure — in a compositional system the meaning of an utterance is dependent on the meaning of its parts. For example, the utterance "John walked" consists of two words, a noun ("John") and a verb ("walked"), which further consists of a stem ("walk-") and a suffix ("-ed"). The meaning of the utterance as a whole is dependent on the meaning of these individual parts. In contrast, in a non-compositional or *holistic* system the signal as a whole stands for the meaning as a whole. For example, the meaning of the English idiom "bought the farm" (meaning died) is not a function of the meaning of its parts.

The simplest way to capture this is to treat a language as a mapping between a space of meanings and a space of signals. In a compositional language, this mapping will be neighbourhood-preserving. Neighbouring meanings will share structure, and this shared structure will result in shared signal structure — neighbouring meanings in the meaning space will map to neighbouring signals in signal space. Holistic mappings are not neighbourhood-preserving — since the signal associated with a meaning does not depend on the structure of that meaning, shared structure in meaning space will not map to shared signal structure, unless by chance.

For the purposes of this model, meanings are treated as vectors and signals are strings of characters. Meanings are vectors in some *F*-dimensional space, where each dimension takes *V* possible values. *F* and *V* therefore define a meaning space \mathcal{M}^{1} . The world, which provides communicatively relevant situations for agents in the model, consists of a set of objects, where each object is labelled with a meaning drawn from the meaning space \mathcal{M}^{2} . Signals are strings of characters of length 1 to l_{max} , where characters are drawn from the character alphabet Σ^{3} . l_{max} and Σ therefore define a signal space \mathcal{S} .

Given these representations of meanings and signals, we can now define a measure of compositionality. This measure is designed to capture the notion given above, that compositional languages are neighbourhood-preserving mappings between meanings and signals, and is based on a measure introduced in Brighton (2000). Compositionality (c) is based on the meaning-signal pairs that an agent produces, and is the Pearson's Product-Moment correlation coefficient of the pairwise distances between all the meanings and the pairwise distances between their corresponding signals.⁴ c = 1 for a perfectly compositional system and $c \approx 0$ for a holistic system.

¹The structure of this meaning space has been shown to have consequences for the cultural evolution of compositional structure (Brighton 2002). However, I will not vary this parameter. All results reported here are for the case where F = 3 and V = 5.

²All results presented here are for the case where the world contains 31 objects, each object is labelled with a distinct meaning, and those meanings are drawn from a hypercube subspace of the space of possible meanings — a *structured* world, in the terms of Smith *et al.* (forthcoming).

³For the results reported here, $l_{max} = 3$ and $\Sigma = \{a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j\}$.

⁴Distance in the meaning space is measured using Hamming distance. Distance in the signal space is measured using Levenstein (string edit) distance.

2.2 A model of a linguistic agent

We now require a model of a linguistic agent capable of manipulating such systems of meaning-signal mappings. I will describe an associative network model of a linguistic agent. This model is based upon a simpler model of a linguistic agent, used to investigate the cultural evolution of vocabulary systems (Smith 2002a). The main advantage of this model is that it allows the biases of language learners to be manipulated and investigated. For full details of the network model, the reader is referred to Smith (2003), Chapter 5.⁵

Representation Agents are modelled using networks consisting of two sets of nodes \mathcal{N}_M and \mathcal{N}_S and a set of bidirectional connections \mathcal{W} connecting every node in \mathcal{N}_M with every node in \mathcal{N}_S . Nodes in \mathcal{N}_M represent meanings and partial specifications of meanings, while nodes in \mathcal{N}_S represent partial and complete specifications of signals.

As summarised above, each meaning is a vector in *F*-dimensional space where each dimension has *V* values. *Components* of a given meaning are (possibly partially specified) vectors, with each feature of the component either having the same value as the meaning, or a wildcard. Similarly, components of a signal of length *l* are (possibly partially specified) strings of length *l*. Each node in \mathcal{N}_M represents a component of a meaning, and there is a single node in \mathcal{N}_M for each component of every possible meaning. Similarly, each node in \mathcal{N}_S represents a component of a signal and there is a single node in \mathcal{N}_S for each component of every possible signal.

Learning During a learning event, a learner observes a meaning-signal pair $\langle m, s \rangle$. The activations of the nodes corresponding to all possible components of m and all possible components of s are set to 1. The activations of all other nodes are set to 0. The weights of the connections in W are adjusted according to some weight-update rule. In Section 4 this weight-update procedure will be a parameter of variation. However, initially, we will consider the rule

$$\Delta W_{xy} = \begin{cases} +1 & \text{if } a_x = a_y = 1 \\ -1 & \text{if } a_x \neq a_y \\ 0 & \text{if } a_x = a_y = 0 \end{cases}$$
(1)

where $W_{xy} \in \mathcal{W}$ gives the weight of the connection between nodes x and y and a_x gives the activation of node x. The learning procedure is illustrated in Fig. 1 (a).

Production During the process of producing utterances, agents are prompted with a meaning and required to produce a meaning-signal pair. Production proceeds via a winner-take-all process. An *analysis* of a meaning or signal is an ordered set of components which fully specifies that meaning or signal. In order to produce a signal for a given meaning $m_i \in \mathcal{M}$, every possible signal $s_j \in S$ is evaluated with respect to m_i . For each of these possible meaning-signal pairs $\langle m_i, s_j \rangle$, every possible analysis of m_i is evaluated with respect to every possible analysis of s_j . The evaluation of a meaning analysis-signal analysis pair depends on the weighted sum of the connections between the relevant nodes. The meaning-signal pair which yields the analysis pair with the highest weighted sum is returned as the network's production for the given meaning. The production process is illustrated in Fig. 1 (b).

⁵Available for download at http://www.ling.ed.ac.uk/~kenny/thesis.html



Figure 1: (a) Learning the meaning-signal pair $\langle (2 1), ab \rangle$. Nodes are represented by large circles and are labelled with the component they represent. For example, $M_{(2 *)}$ is the node which represents the meaning component (2 *), where * is an unspecified feature value. Nodes with an activation of 1 are represented by large filled circles. Small filled circles represent weighted connections. During the learning process, nodes representing components of (2 1) and ab have their activations set to 1. Connection weights are then either incremented (+), decremented (-) or left unchanged. (b) Retrieval of three possible analyses of $\langle (2 1), ab \rangle$. The relevant connection weights are highlighted in grey. The weight for the one-component analysis $\langle \{(2 *), (* 1)\}, \{ab\} \rangle$ depends on the weight of the connection between the nodes representing the components (2 1) and ab, marked as i. The weight for the two-component analysis $\langle \{(2 *), (* 1)\}, \{a*, *b\} \rangle$ depends on the weighted sum of two connections, marked as ii. The weight of the alternative two-component analysis $\langle \{(2 *), (* 1)\}, \{*b, a*\} \rangle$ is given by the weighted sum of the two connections marked iii.

3 A familiar result

I will begin by replicating a familiar result: the emergence of compositional structure through cultural processes depends on the presence of a *transmission bottleneck* (Brighton 2002; Kirby 2002). Recall that a learner in the model acquires their linguistic competence on the basis of a set of observed meaning-signal pairs. That set of meaning-signal pairs is drawn from the linguistic behaviour of some other individual, which is a consequence of that individual's linguistic competence. I will investigate two possible conditions. In the *no transmission bottleneck* condition, this set of observed meaning-signal pairs contains examples of the signal associated with every possible meaning, and each learner is therefore presented with the complete language of the agent at the previous generation. In the *transmission bottleneck* constitutes one aspect of the signal associated with every meaning, therefore each learner is presented with a subset of the language of the agent at the previous generation.⁶ The transmission bottleneck constitutes one aspect of the poverty of the stimulus problem faced by language learners — they must acquire knowledge of a large (or infinite, in the real-world case) language on the basis of exposure to a subset of that language.

In both conditions, the initial agents in each simulation run have all their connections weights set to 0, and therefore produce every meaning-signal pair with equal probability. Subsequent agents have connection weights of 0 prior to learning. Runs were allowed to progress for a fixed number of generations (200).⁷ Figs. 2 (a) and (b) plot compositionality by frequency for the initial and final

⁶For all simulations involving a transmission bottleneck described in this paper, the number of utterances produced by agents was set so that language learners observed approximately 60% of the language of the previous agent.

⁷In the no bottleneck condition, the system of meaning-signal mappings is stable long before this point, in the sense that agents at generation n and n + 1 produce identical sets of meaning-signal pairs. Absolute stability is impossible when there



Figure 2: The impact of the transmission bottleneck. (a) gives frequency by compositionality for runs in the no bottleneck condition — both the initial and final systems are holistic. (b) gives frequency by compositionality for runs where there is a bottleneck on transmission — while the initial systems are again holistic, the final systems are all highly compositional.

languages, for the no bottleneck and bottleneck conditions respectively.⁸

As can be seen from the figure, when there is no bottleneck on transmission there is no cultural evolution and compositional languages do not emerge. In contrast, when there is a bottleneck on transmission highly compositional systems emerge with high frequency — cultural evolution leads to the emergence of compositional language from initially holistic systems. This confirms, using a rather different model of a language learner, previously established results (Brighton 2002; Kirby 2002).

In the absence of a transmission bottleneck, the initial, random assignment of signals to meanings can simply be memorised. Consequently, there is no pressure for compositionality and the holistic mapping embodied in the initial system persists. However, holistic systems cannot survive in the presence of a bottleneck. The meaning-signal pairs of a holistic language have to be observed to be reproduced. If a learner only observes a subset of the holistic language of the previous generation then certain meaning-signal pairs will not be preserved — the learner, when called upon to produce, will produce some other signal for that meaning, resulting in a change in the language. In contrast, compositional languages are generalisable, due to their structure, and remain relatively stable even when the learner observes a subset of the language of the previous generation. Over time, language adapts to this pressure to be generalisable. Eventually, the language becomes highly compositional, highly generalisable and consequently highly stable.

4 Exploring learning biases

To what extent is this fundamental result, that the transmission bottleneck leads to a pressure for compositional language, dependent on the model of a language learner? There is indirect evidence that this result is to some extent independent of the model of a language learner — a wide range of learning models all produce this fundamental result (Hurford 2000; Batali 2002; Kirby 2002; Kirby

is a bottleneck on cultural transmission — depending on the sample of observations each learner receives, an apparently stable system can change at any time. However, the *distribution* of systems is stable after 200 generations — allowing the simulation runs to proceed for longer gives the same result.

⁸The results for the no bottleneck condition are based on 1000 independent runs of the ILM. The results for the bottleneck condition are based on 100 runs — fewer runs are required as there is less sensitivity to initial conditions.

& Hurford 2002). However, do these models share a common element? Is there some *learner bias* common across all these models which is required for compositional language to evolve culturally?

In order to investigate this question, further experiments were carried out, in which the parameter of interest is the weight-update rule used to adjust network connection weights during learning. Different ways of adjusting connection weights will potentially lead to different learning biases different ways of changing weights will make certain systems easier or harder to learn than others. The general form of the weight-update rule is as follows:

$$\Delta W_{xy} = \begin{cases} \alpha & \text{if } a_x = a_y = 1\\ \beta & \text{if } a_x = 1 \land a_y = 0\\ \gamma & \text{if } a_x = 0 \land a_y = 1\\ \delta & \text{if } a_x = a_y = 0 \end{cases}$$
(2)

For the results described in the previous Section, $\alpha = 1$, $\beta = \gamma = -1$, $\delta = 0$. I will now consider a wider range of weight-update rules, restricting myself to rules where $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta \in \{-1, 0, 1\}$. This yields a set of $3^4 = 81$ possible weight-update rules. In order to ascertain the biases of the different weight-update rules, each weight-update rule is subjected to three tests:⁹

Acquisition test: Can an isolated agent using the weight-update rule acquire a perfectly compositional language, based on full exposure to that language? To evaluate this, an agent using the weight-update rule was trained on a predefined perfectly compositional (c = 1) language, being exposed once to every meaning-signal pair included in that language. The agent was judged to have successfully acquired that language if it could reproduce the meaning-signal pairs of the language in production and reception.

Maintenance test: Can a population of agents using the weight-update rule maintain a perfectly compositional language over time in an ILM, when there is a bottleneck on transmission? To evaluate this, 10 runs of the ILM were carried out for the weight-update rule, with the agent in the initial generation having their initial connection weights set so as to produce a perfectly compositional language. Populations were defined as having maintained a compositional system if c remained above 0.95 for every generation of ten 200 generation runs.

Construction test: Can a population of agents using the weight-update rule construct a highly compositional language from an initially random language, when there is a bottleneck on transmission (as happened in the results outlined in the previous Section)? To evaluate this, 10 runs of the ILM were carried out for the weight-update rule, with the agent in the initial generation having initial connection weights of 0 and therefore producing a random set of meaning-signal pairs. Populations were defined as having constructed a compositional system if c rose above 0.95 in each of ten 200 generation runs.

The results of these sets of experiments are summarised in Table 1. Only a limited number of weight-update rules (two of 81) support the evolution of compositional language through cultural processes. Why? What is it about the assignment of values to the variables α , β , γ and δ in these rules that make them capable of acquiring, maintaining and constructing a compositional system?

A full analysis is somewhat involved, and I will simply summarise the key point here — for full details the reader is referred to Smith (2003). The two weight-update rules which pass the acquisition,

⁹A similar technique has been applied to the investigation of learning biases required for the cultural evolution of functional vocabulary systems (Smith 2002a).

	Test result	Number of rules	
Acquire?	Maintain?	Construct?	i vuinoer of fules
no	no	no	63
yes	no	no	16
yes	yes	yes	2

Table 1: Summary of the results of the three tests. The table gives the three types of performance exhibited, and the number (out of 81) of weight-update rules fitting that pattern of performance.

maintenance and construction tests satisfy three conditions: 1) $\alpha > \beta$; 2) $\delta > \gamma$; 3) $\alpha > \delta$. These two rules¹⁰ are the only weight-update rules from the sample of 81 which satisfy these conditions. By returning to the network and examining the way in which connection weights change on the basis of exposure to individual meaning-signal pairs, we can identify the consequences of these restrictions.

- 1. $\alpha > \beta$ ensures that, if an agent is exposed to the meaning-signal pair $\langle m_i, s_j \rangle$, they will in future tend to prefer produce s_j when presented with m_i , rather than $s_{k\neq j}$.
- 2. $\delta > \gamma$ ensures that, if an agent is exposed to $\langle m_i, s_j \rangle$, they will prefer *not* to produce s_j when presented with $m_{k \neq i}$.
- 3. $\alpha > \delta$ ensures that, if an agent is exposed to $\langle m_i, s_j \rangle$, they will tend to reproduce this meaningsignal pair in a manner which involves the maximum number of components.

Points 1 and 2 in combination lead to a preference for *one-to-one* mappings between meanings and signals — agents with the appropriate weight-update rules are biased in favour of learning languages which map each meaning to a constant signal (one-to-many mappings are avoided, see Point 1), and which map each distinct meaning onto a distinct signal (many-to-one mappings from meanings to signals are avoided, see Point 2). Point 3 corresponds to a bias in favour of memorising associations between elements of meaning and elements of signal, rather than between whole meanings and whole signals. This tendency to exploit regularities is presumably a general property of learning devices which are capable of generalising beyond their training data.

5 The learning bias elsewhere

How important are these two elements of bias? They are evident in all other models of the cultural evolution of linguistic structure, as a consequence of a learner preference for extracting meaningful, recurring chunks from the utterances they observe, coupled with production and learning constraints, as summarised in Table 2. This suggests that the two components of bias (a bias in favour of one-to-one mappings between meanings and signals, and a bias in favour of exploiting regularities in the meaning-signal mapping) are a prerequisite for the cultural evolution of compositional structure.

This then constitutes a testable hypothesis: if we believe that compositional language evolved in humans through cultural processes, we should expect that human language learners bring these two biases to the language acquisition task. I assume that the ability to extract regularities, and thus learn

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<sup>10</sup>To be explicit, the two rules are:

\alpha = 1, \quad \beta = -1, \quad \gamma = -1, \quad \delta = 0

and \alpha = 1, \quad \beta = 0, \quad \gamma = -1, \quad \delta = 0.
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Paper	Learning model	Structure emerges?	Against synonymy?	Against homonymy?
Hare & Elman (1995)	NN (m→s)	no	yes (architecture)	no (architecture)
Batali (1998)	NN	yes	yes (deterministic production)	yes (architecture)
Kirby & Hurford (2002)	(s→m)	yes	yes (deterministic production)	yes (architecture)
Hurford (2000)	rule	yes	yes (deterministic production)	? (but homonymy unlikely)
Kirby (2002)	induction	yes	yes (deterministic production)	yes (no learning of homonyms)
Batali (2002)	exemplar induction	yes	yes (cost reduction for reused expressions)	yes (cost increase for homonyms)

Table 2: Summary of the biases in models of the cultural evolution of linguistic structure, organised by learner model (NN = neural network, $m \rightarrow s$ = mapping from meanings to signals, $s \rightarrow m$ = mapping from signals to meanings). All models which lead to the emergence of structure build in biases against synonymy and homonymy, either during learning or production. See Smith (2002) for an explanation of the biases of different network architectures.

mappings from parts of meanings to parts of signals, is present in humans, and probably other species besides. Additionally, there is evidence that human language learners bring a one-to-one bias to the language acquisition task, at all levels of linguistic structure.

It has been proposed that, as a general principle, human language learners have a preference for one-to-one mappings between underlying meaning and surface form. This has been termed variously as a *maxim of clarity* (Slobin 1977), a preference for *transparency* (Langacker 1977), or a bias in favour of *isomorphism* (Haiman 1980). Table 3 summarises some of the relevant literature on the biases which human language learners bring to the acquisition of morphological, lexical and syntactic systems. As can be seen from this table, various authors have proposed that children bring biases against one-to-many and many-to-one mappings to the acquisition of all levels of linguistic structure — human language learners appear to possess a bias in favour of one-to-one mappings between meanings and surface forms.

Level		7	
Level	Paper	Method	Conclusion
ogical	Teg Mańczak (1980) et Go St. St. St.		Bias against synonymy: paradigms lose synonymous morphemes.
morphol	Slobin (1977)	observation	Bias against homonymy: widespread homonymy contributes to difficulty of acquiring inflectional system in Serbo- Croat.
lexical	Markman & Wachtel (1988)	experimental	Bias against synonymy: each object will have only one label.
	Macnamara (1982)	observation	Bias against homonymy: children avoid cross-categorial homonyms.
syntactic	Pinker (1984)	theoretical	Bias against synonymy: each deep structure maps to a single surface structure.
	Bever & Langendoen (1971)	theoretical/ historical	Bias against homonymy: change in OE relative clause structure due to avoid-ance of ambiguous constructions.

Table 3: Summary of the literature on biases of human language learners, organised according to level of linguistic representation.

6 Conclusions

I have presented an Iterated Learning Model of the cultural evolution of compositional structure. This model has been used to replicate a familiar result — the poverty of the stimulus available to language learners (as imposed by the transmission bottleneck) leads to the emergence of compositional structure. However, novelly, this cultural evolution has been shown to be dependent on language learners possessing two biases:

- 1. a bias in favour of one-to-one mappings between meanings and signals.
- 2. a bias in favour of exploiting regularities in the input data, by acquiring associations between parts of meanings and parts of signals.

Both these biases are present in most computational models of the evolution of linguistic structure. Significantly, there is also evidence to suggest that human language learners bring these biases to the language acquisition task. Compositionality, a fundamental structural property of language, can therefore be explained in terms of cultural evolution in response to two pressures — a pressure arising from the poverty of the stimulus, and a pressure arising from the biases of language learners. The source of this learning bias in humans is a topic for further research — is the bias a consequence of some general cognitive strategy, or a specific biological adaptation for the acquisition of language?

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