# Bias for Language Simplicity in Composite Populations?

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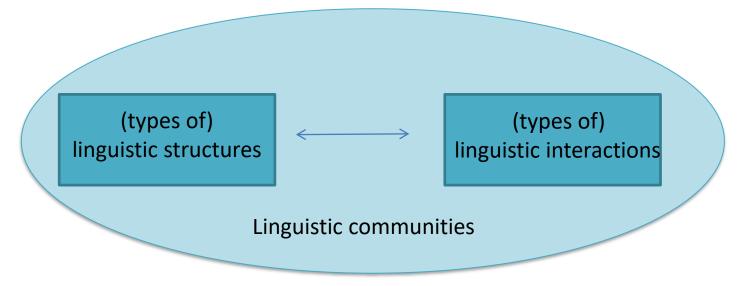


#### Outline

- Relevance for language study
- Background for the experimental paradigm
- Experiment
  - Setup
  - Results
  - Discussion

#### The Issue

#### Hypothesis in the literature:



## An example typology

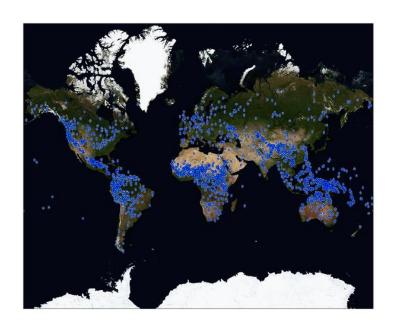
#### **Esoteric cultures**

- Small, compact community
- Much shared background among the members of the community, which is also stable across generations
- Little communication with the outside world
- Closed community with little immigration
- Structural forms may also be considered culturally significant or sacred

#### **Exoteric cultures**

- Large, sparsely connected
- Little shared background among the members of the community
- Intensive communication with other communities
- Lots of immigration and L2speakers
- Language mostly used for practical purposes

#### **Broad correlations**



simpler inflectional morphology (number of cases, synthesis, agreement) or lexical strategies (evidentiality, negation, aspect, and possession)



exotericity(population, area, # of neighbours)

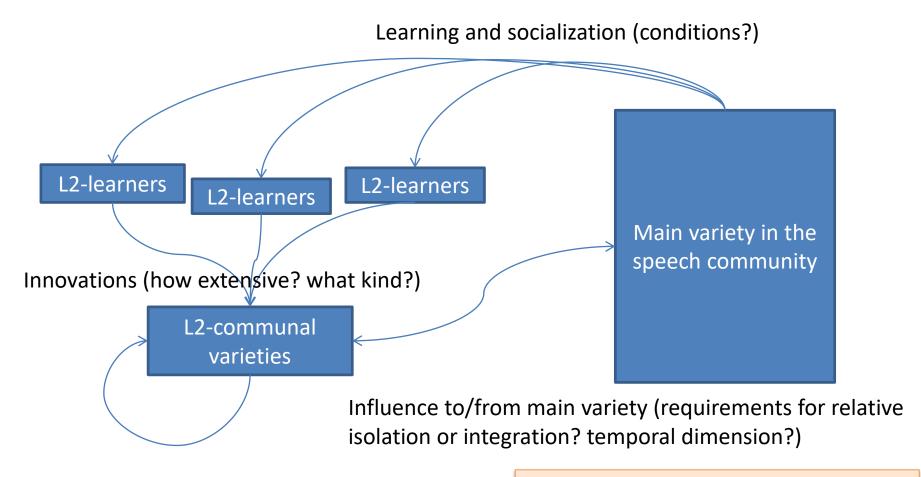
2236 languages tested for correlations by Lupyan & Dale, 2010 based on WALS and demographic sources

More esoteric languages (pop., area, # of neighbors) were significantly more likely to have either a simpler inflectional morphology or to invoke lexical strategies instead of morphological ones to encode evidentiality, negation, aspect, possession.

### Dynamics of Language Simplification

- What are the precise mechanisms by which the relative openness of the society may influence the evolution of linguistic structure?
- McWhorter (2007: 101) communities of L2-learners sediment on simplified varieties which then spread to the rest of the society due to sheer numbers/prestige
- Dahl (2004: 128, 281) L2-learners in suboptimal conditions can overgeneralize features which are difficult to acquire, large groups of L2-learners may influence the structure without any language shift taking place
- Kusters (2003: 367) as language rapidly expands to new domains (e.g. geographical), where L2-speakers use it for communication purposes in a setting isolated and long-lasting enough for the new variety to establish itself in its own right, a simplified variety can emerge

## Simple model of simplification



Influence on the other L2-varieties (how? when?)

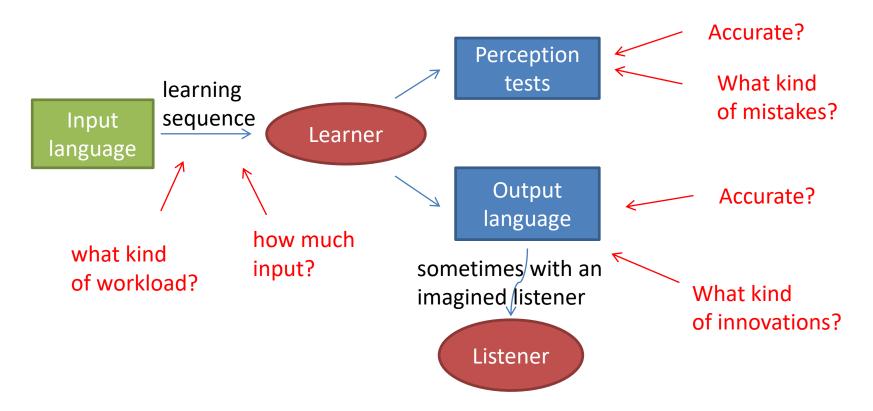
A threshold for simplification?

### Experiments with artificial languages

- An experimental proxy for features of interest in natural languages
  - learnable in limited time
  - easily manipulable to represent the structural properties in the focus of research
  - allows good control over individual language experience and dialectal background
- Open issues
  - miniature languages -> full languages ?
  - experimental contexts -> natural contexts ?
  - possible native language interference?

## A typical ALL study

Learning -> Production/Perception



## Some experimental results

#### Learning input -> production & perception output

- Learners reproduced more accurately more systematic miniature languages and to a small extent innovated to increase systematicity (A. Smith et al., 2010).
- Given an unsystematic language, a linear chain of learners, where a learner learns from the output of the previous learner, introduced strong systematicity to the system as a cumulative result of language transmission (Kirby et al., 2008).
- A chain of adult learners led to a regularization of arbitrary unconstrained variation in plural markers (K. Smith & Wonnacott, 2010).
- Learners reproduced more accurately typologically most common S-O word-orders than alternatives (Greenberg universal 1, Tily et al., 2011)
- Learners regularized variation to match word order harmony (N-Adj & N-Num / Adj-N & Num-N) as is also typologically common (Greenberg universal 18, Culbertson & Smolensky, 2009)

## Next step

- Questions less addressed
  - what about form diffusion?
  - what about variety formation?
  - what about contact situations?
- Answers would also impact the amount of innovations required through learning or the required presence of L2-learners for widespread language simplification.

## Components of the paradigm

#### **Traditional ALL components**

- Learning sequence involving observation, perception and production
- Language is limited to small vocabulary
- Form-meaning mapping through image-word connections
- Matching game scenario for perception and production
- Form-meaning systematicity is measured against randomized form-meaning allocations

#### **Small innovations**

- Learning sequence extended to achieve competence
- Matching game placed in an interactive situation of live communication
- The use of spoken language on interactions (also Kalnins, 2010)
- Closed groups of interactions allows for group effects in variety formation
- Initial baseline is set as historically plausible semisystematic language

## The study

 " Language Simplification in Composite Populations" (sup. S. Kirby, H. Cornish)





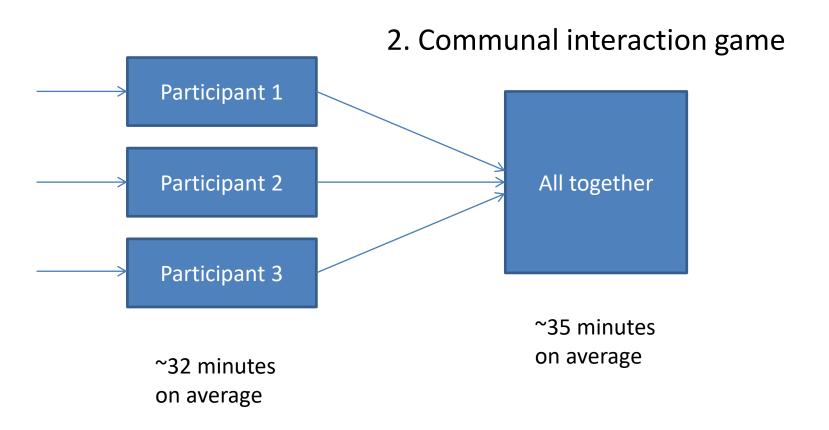
- Prelearned miniature languages
- Coordination game for communities containing two similar but non-identical language varieties
- Tested for a bias for systematicity

## **Participants**

- 18 participants (6 groups of 3 people)
  - Native English speakers
  - No impairments
  - No linguists
  - Unfamiliar within the group

## Experiment in 2 parts

#### 1. Solitary learning sequence



## Languages

- 9 items per language (3x3 meaning space)
- 2 languages in each group
  - Minority
  - Majority
- 2 types of varieties
  - Simple
  - Complex
- Minority and majority differed in 2 items

#### Two conditions

#### **Simple Condition**

**Subject 1 – Simple language** 

**Subject 2 – Complex language** 

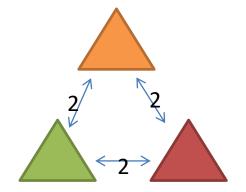
**Subject 3 – Complex language** 

#### **Complex Condition**

**Subject 1 – Complex language** 

**Subject 2 – Complex language** 

**Subject 3 – Complex language** 

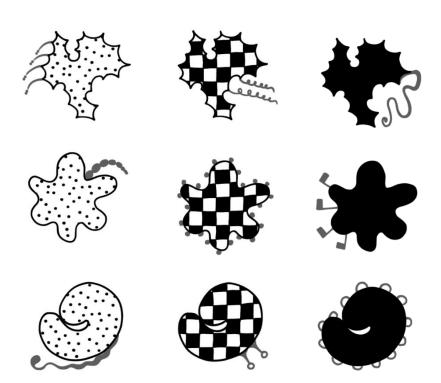


Systematicity/ Simplicity

<sup>\*</sup>Languages were created in sets of three, where each differed from the others by **two** maximally different items. Later they were compared pairwise.

## Meanings

- From a study by Tamariz et al. (2012)
- 3 x 3 interrelated
- Systematically related, yet idiosyncratic



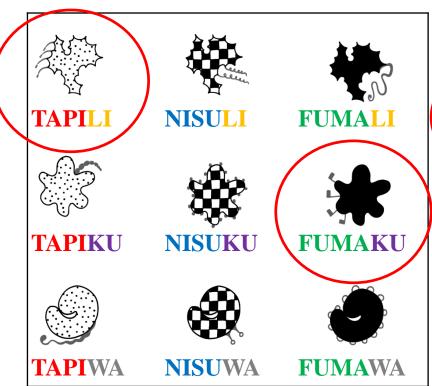
The images are designed for Tamariz et al. (2012)

#### **Form**

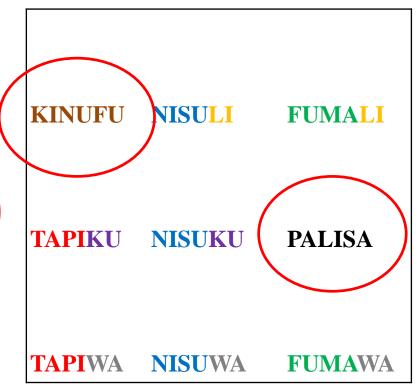
- 3 x 3 (semi)systematic vocabulary of 9 words
- Limited phoneme space in the training items
- 9 consonants, 3 vowels (/k/, /p/, /t/, /s/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /f/, /w/, /a/, /i/, /u/)
- CV-CV-CV structure
- Tested against chance similarities

## Simple Condition

#### Minority language



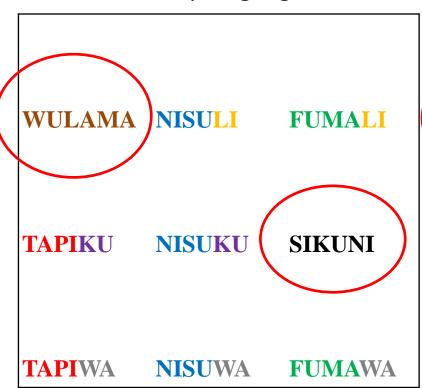
#### Majority language



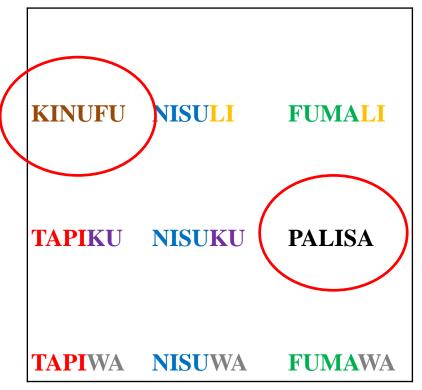
Simplicity score: 4.66 Simplicity score: 2.89

## **Complex Condition**

#### Minority language



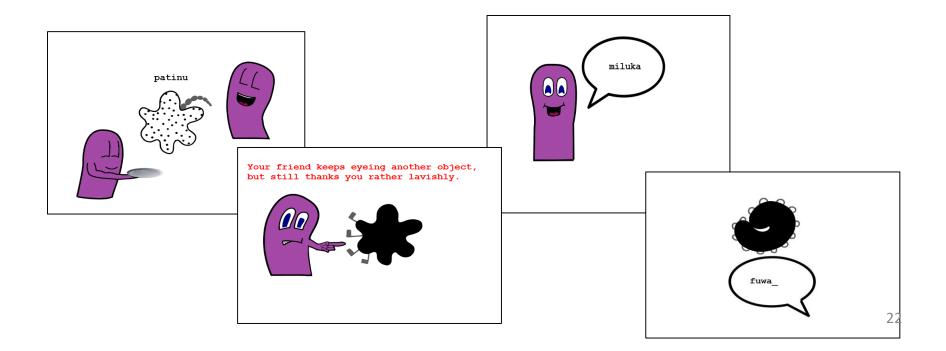
#### Majority language



Simplicity score: 2.87 Simplicity score: 2.89

## Learning

- 8 rounds = equal # of trials for all participants
  - (192 x production, 192 x perception, 192 x observation interweaved)
  - (2 obs -> 1 perc -> 2 prod -> 1 perc ... repeats)
- Expected to be competent by the end

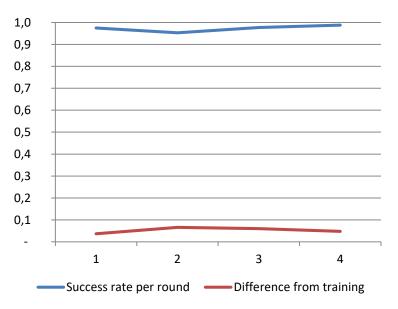


# The Game Mismatch Match

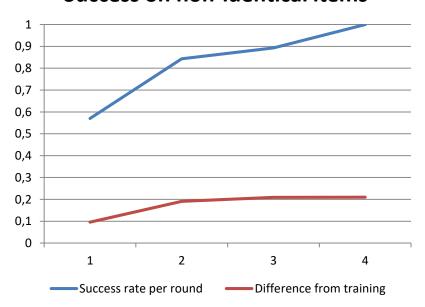
#### Results

- Learned to a competent level (1 outlier)
- Test items did cause problems at first

#### **Success on identical items**

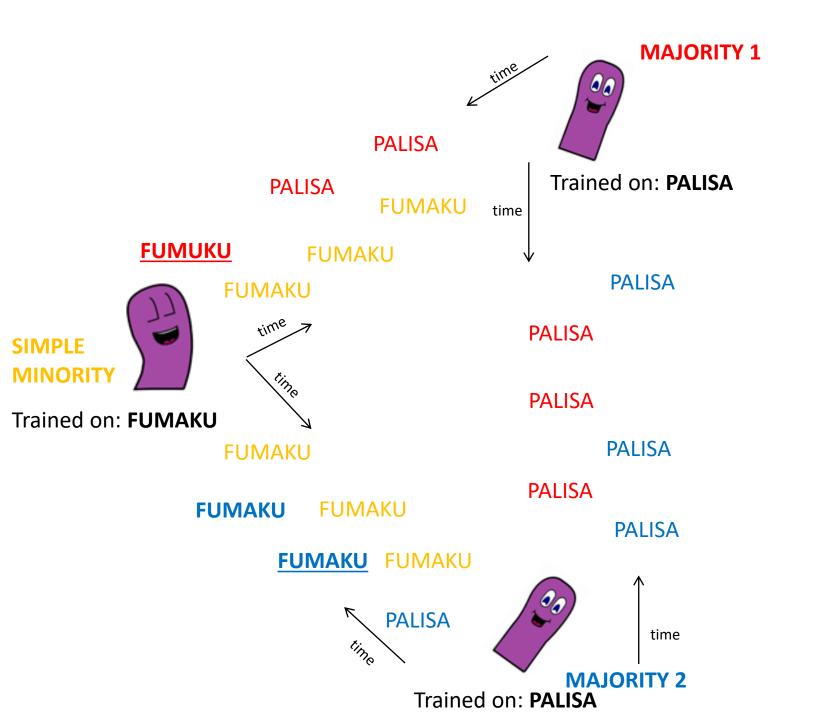


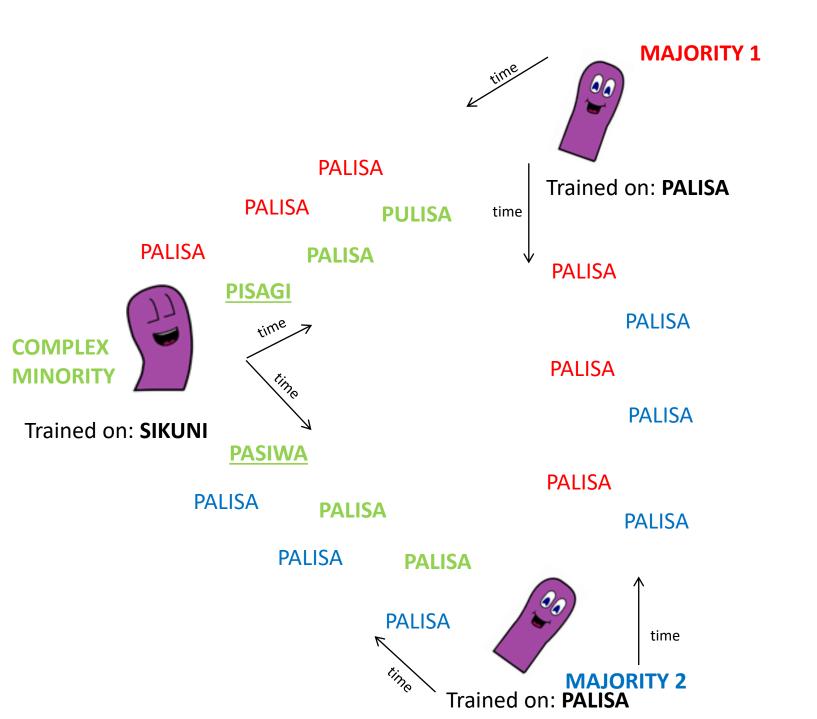
#### Success on non-identical items



#### Solving the communicative problem

- A robust trend:
  - Complex minority accommodated to the majority
  - Simple minority did not
    - They reached either a mutual understanding, or sometimes also the majority accommodated to the minority





#### For the 2nd test item

**Change** 

#### <u>Complex minority – Complex majority</u>

**KINUFU** 

WULAMA WULAMA KINUFU KUSALI KINUFU KINUFU

KINUFU KINUFU KINUFU KINUFU KINUFU

**KINUFU** 

KINUFU KINUFU

**KINUFU** 

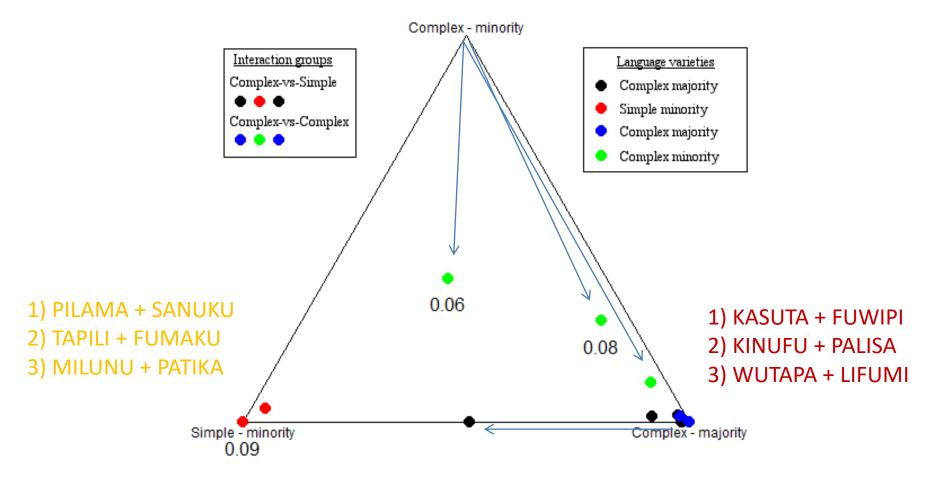
<u>Simple minority – Complex majority</u>

**KINUFU** 

**TAPIWI TAPIWI TAPIWI TAPIWI TAPIWI TAPIWI KINUFU KINUFU TAPIWI TAPILI** KINUFU **TAPILI KINUFU KINUFU KINUFU** KINUFU **KINUFU KINUFU** 

**Turned bilingual** 

- 1) TUFINU + MILAWA
- 2) WULAMA + SIKUNI
- 3) KANIFI + SULAWU

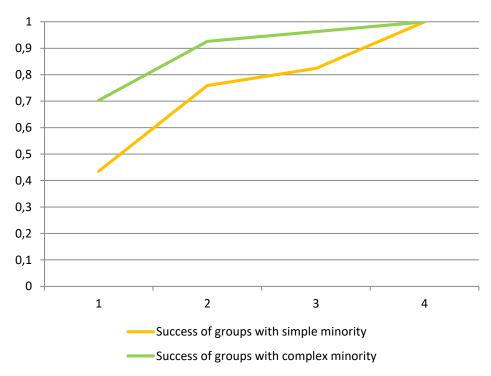


Distance from training stimuli for the minority, between two conditions one-tailed pairwise t-test, t (2) = -13.503 < .01\*\*

## An interesting note

The simple minority groups lost the game

#### Success on non-identical items



#### Discussion 1

- Languages proved learnable within the timeconstraints, and the interaction stayed very close to conventions.
- Differences between varieties did cause a communicative difficulty in the beginning.
- All groups reached maximum success on the test items by last round, although the stability of the community conventions is unknown.

#### Discussion 2

- Current sample size is too small to make strong claims, but a trend is apparent. Further study is needed to confirm/disconfirm.
- The trend exhibits a greater stability for more systematic varieties in contact situations.
- This would allow the threshold of L2-learner innovations needed for simplification to be reduced, given the model.
- The strategic inferiority of maintaining a minority variety is interesting, but a separate topic.

#### Conclusions

- Placing participants with prelearned miniature languages in contact situations seems to be a viable research paradigm.
- If so, a small range of research questions regarding diffusion of forms and formation of varieties within groups may become better approachable.
- The use of artificial languages should allow the setup to be extended to other structural features of interest.
- Can not make strong conclusions about the results of the current test case just yet.

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