

進化的妥当性を求めて 生成生物言語学からのアプローチ

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1

研究の三つのレベル

- 設計 Design
 - 記述的妥当性 Descriptive Adequacy
- 発生 Development
 - 説明的妥当性 Explanatory Adequacy
- 進化 Evolution
 - 進化的妥当性 Evolutionary Adequacy

3

生成文法・生物言語学

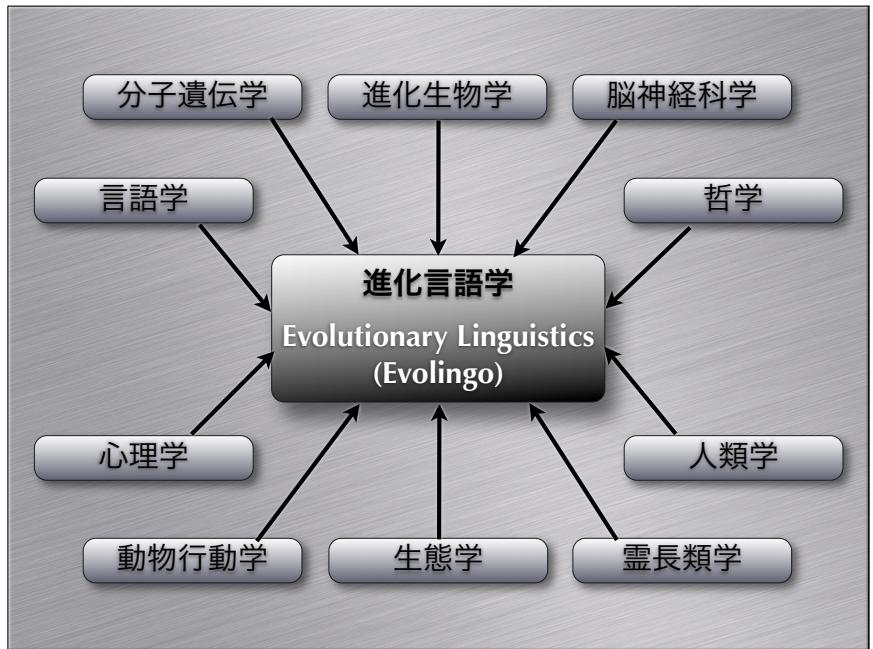
- 言語能力を通して、ヒトの心・脳、認知、知性を理解する。
- Human Capacity, Human Nature

2

言語進化研究の意義と特徴

- Human Natureは進化を見なければ分からぬい。cf. evolutionary psychology
- 進化生物学への貢献・問題提起
- 超・学際性
- 理論依存性

4

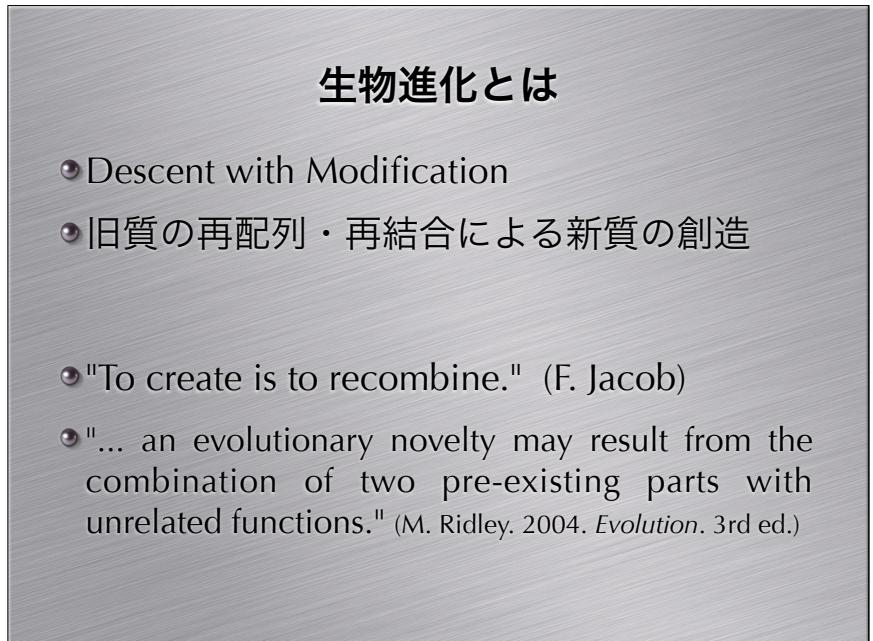


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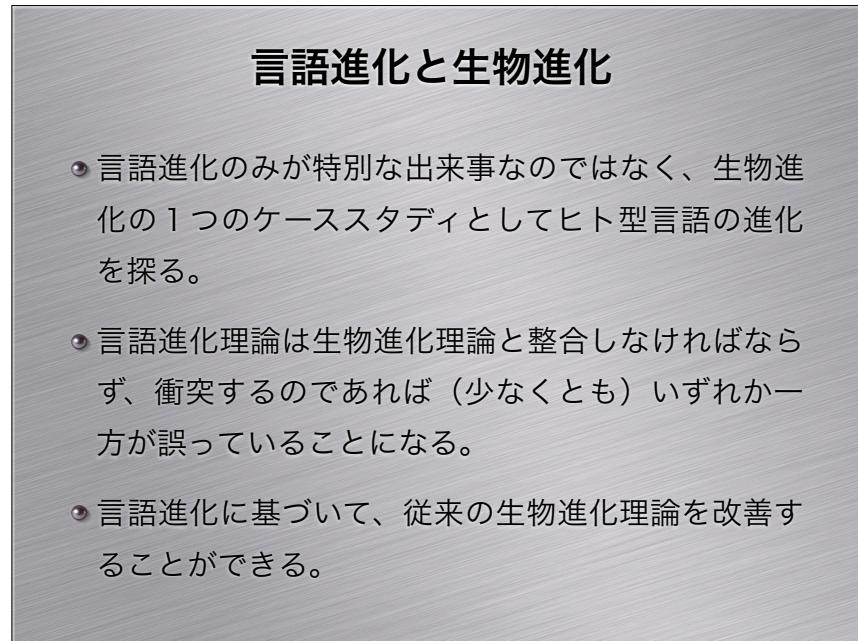
言語進化の諸相

- Major transition: 生物進化 (gene)
 - 言語能力のない状態からある状態への推移。
 - 言語という新形質が生物進化の中で、いかにしてヒト種のみに生じたのか。
 - 「言語進化の論理的問題」
- Minor transitions: 変化・文化進化 (meme)
 - すでにある言語がどのように多様化・複雑化したか。
 - 「言語変化の論理的問題」

7



6



8

言語設計（生物設計）の三要因

- 遺伝的要因
 - UG
- 環境的要因
 - 言語刺激
- 自然法則 (The Third Factor)
 - 自己組織化、計算効率化、最適性、経済性、etc.

9

言語進化研究のためのミニマリスト・プログラム

- Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT):
 - 言語は意味と音声を繋ぐシステムとしての最適解である。
 - UGの特性はすべて原理的に説明することができる。
 - 言語の起源・進化に特殊な事情は存在しない。

11

● "We want to see how ... the forms of living things, and of the parts of living things, can be explained by physical considerations, and to realise that in general no organic forms exist save such as are in conformity with physical and mathematical laws."

- D'Arcy W. Thompson

10

● Biolinguistic minimalism seeks a **teleomatic** explanation of the language design.

- (Apparent) Goal-Directedness:
 - Teleological explanation
 - Teleonomic explanation
 - Teleomatic explanation

E. Mayr: *Toward a New Philosophy of Biology*.

12



13

- 現代の総合進化説 (Modern Synthesis)
 - 適応主義
 - 自然選択・性選択

- 新総合説・拡大総合説 (Expanded Synthesis)
 - 反適応主義・複数要因主義 Pluralism
 - 中立進化
 - 断続平衡進化 Punctuated Equilibrium
 - 外適応・前適応 Exaptation / Preadaptation

15

エボ・デボ (Evo-Devo)

- 進化発生生物学 Evolutionary Developmental Biology
 - 発生過程で起きる変化が進化を駆動する。
 - 遺伝子決定論や適応主義からの脱却。
 - 生物多様性と「ボディプラン」に対する新しい学際的アプローチ。

- 進化発生言語学
 - UG自体から第三要因へのシフト。
 - モジュール性・生得性・自律性の再検討。
 - 言語発達（個体発生）と言語進化（系統発生）への統合理解。

14

クジャク：
メスのオス選び 飾り羽でなく鳴き声がポイント

クジャクのメスが交尾相手のオスを選ぶポイントはきらびやかな飾り羽ではなく、鳴き声だったことが東京大大学院総合文化研究科の高橋麻理子特任研究員（28）らの研究で明らかになった。91年に英国の研究グループが発表した「飾り羽の目玉模様の数が多いオスほどもてる」とする説が定説となっていたが、これを覆す結果だ。

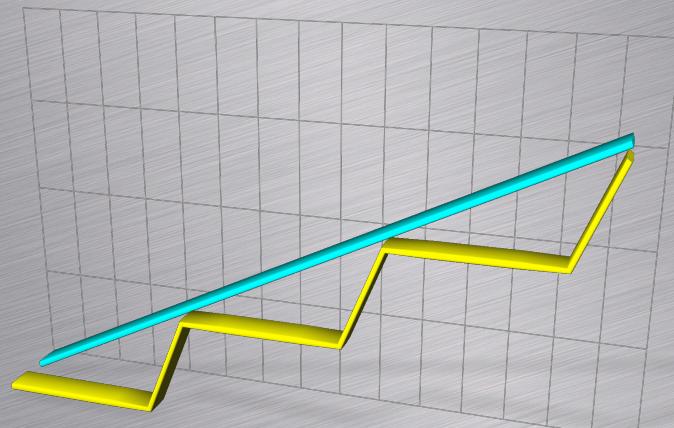
クジャクはつがいでは行動せず、繁殖期になるとメスが気に入ったオスを選んで交尾する。オスは鳴き声を上げたり、飾り羽を広げて振ったりしてメスの気を引くが、実際に交尾できるオスは20%以下で、少数のものもてるオスがメスを独占する傾向がある。

同大学院の長谷川寿一教授（認知行動科学）のグループは95年から、静岡県伊東市の伊豆シャボテン公園で放し飼いにされているインドクジャクを観察し、英グループの結果の追認を試みたが、目玉模様の数とメスの配偶者選択の間に相関が見られなかった。

毎日新聞2004年9月25日

16

— 断続平衡進化 — 漸進適応進化



17

元の機能と現在の有用性 Original Function and Current Utility

- 外適応・前適応は、進化の過程で新しい機能が追加されることを指摘している。
- 言語の現在の用途は、その本来の機能とは異なっている可能性が高い。
- "The predominant uses of language today are probably quite different from the critical uses that brought it into existence in the first place." (T. W. Deacon)

19

思考かコミュニケーションか

- 言語は本来、思考のツールであり、コミュニケーションのために進化したのではない。
- 言語デザインはコミュニケーションにとって不都合な面が多い。
- 最初に言語を獲得した個体にとっては、コミュニケーション可能な相手はまだ存在しない。（「孤独なミュータント問題」）
- 言語の起源を動物コミュニケーションに求めることはできない。

	Adaptation	Natural selection shapes the character for a current use.
Aptation	Preadaptation	A character, previously shaped by natural selection for a particular function, is co-opted for a new one. (Preadaptation)
	Exaptation	A character whose origin cannot be ascribed to the direct action of natural selection (a non-adaptation) is co-opted for a current use.

18

20

"Humans use language for communication, but it may well be that the most important aspect of language is that it is used for internal representation in the brain."

J. Maynard Smith and E. Szathmáry:
The Major Transitions in Evolution.

"Human language is remarkable because it is not only a means of communication. It also serves as a means of reflection, during which different lines of action are played through and tested."

J. Bronowski: Human and animal languages.

21

"Alternative theories to explain language evolution"

- Gossip
- Grooming hypothesis
- Group bonding and/or ritual
- Hunting theories
- **Language as a mental tool**
- Mating contract and/or pair bonding
- Motherese
- Sexual selection
- Song hypothesis
- Status for information
- **Tool making**

S. Számadó & E. Szathmáry. Selective scenarios for the emergence of natural language. *Trends Ecol. Evol.* 21(10).

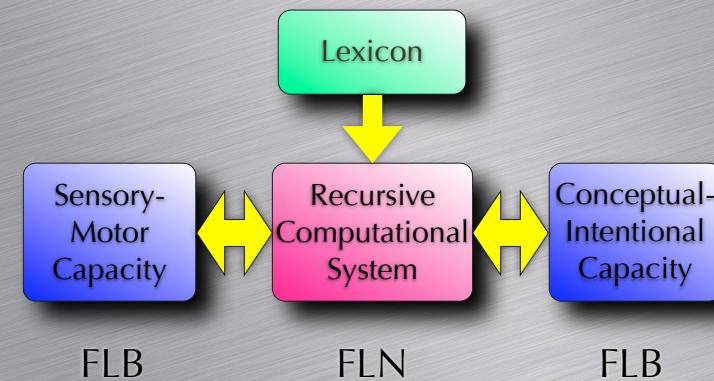
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- "Suppose that some ancestor, perhaps about 60,000 years ago, underwent a slight mutation rewiring the brain, yielding Merge. Then he or she would at once have had available an infinite array of structured expressions for use in thought (planning, interpretation, etc.), gaining selectional advantages transmitted to offspring, capacities that came to dominate, yielding the dramatic and rather sudden changes found in the archeological record."

N. Chomsky

22

Human Language Faculty: Basic Design



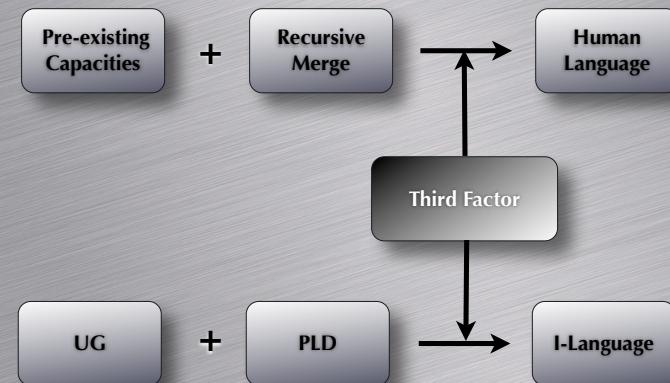
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- 「回帰性のみが人間および人間言語に固有の特性である。」
- 回帰性以外には人間言語に固有の特性はない。
- 人間言語は必ず回帰性を持つ。
- 言語以外には回帰性を持つ人間の能力はない。
- 人間以外の動物は回帰性を持たない。

cf. "If future empirical progress demonstrates that FLN represents an empty set, so be it." (W. T. Fitch, et al.)

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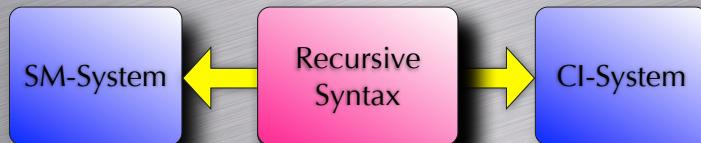
Instantaneous Model of Language Evolution



Instantaneous Model of Language Acquisition

27

From Proto-Language to Full Human Language



26

- Language evolution boils down to the emergence of:

- Recursive Syntax (Recursive Merge)
- CI-Interface and SM-Interface
(Internalization and Externalization)
- Lexicon

28



29

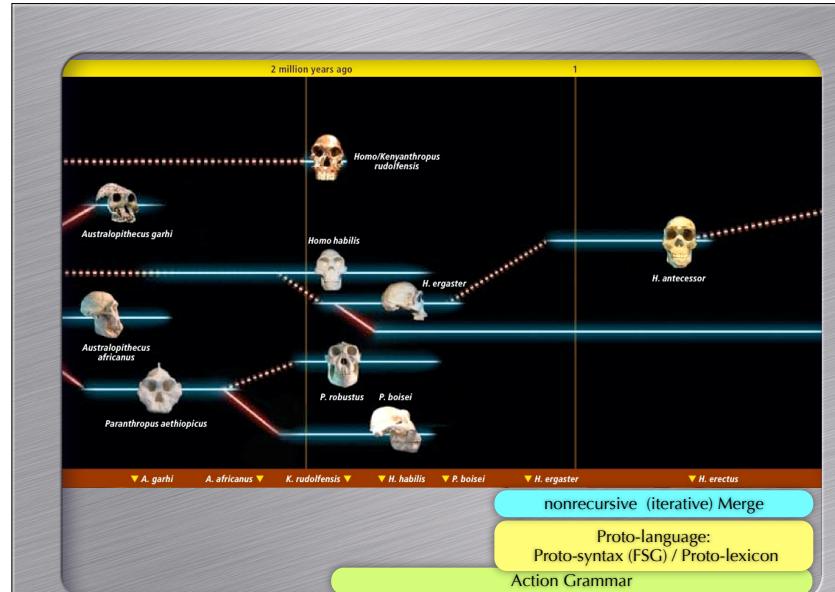
"The dispersion of humans over the world must post-date the evolution of language, since there is no detectable difference in basic language capacity among contemporary humans."

N. Chomsky

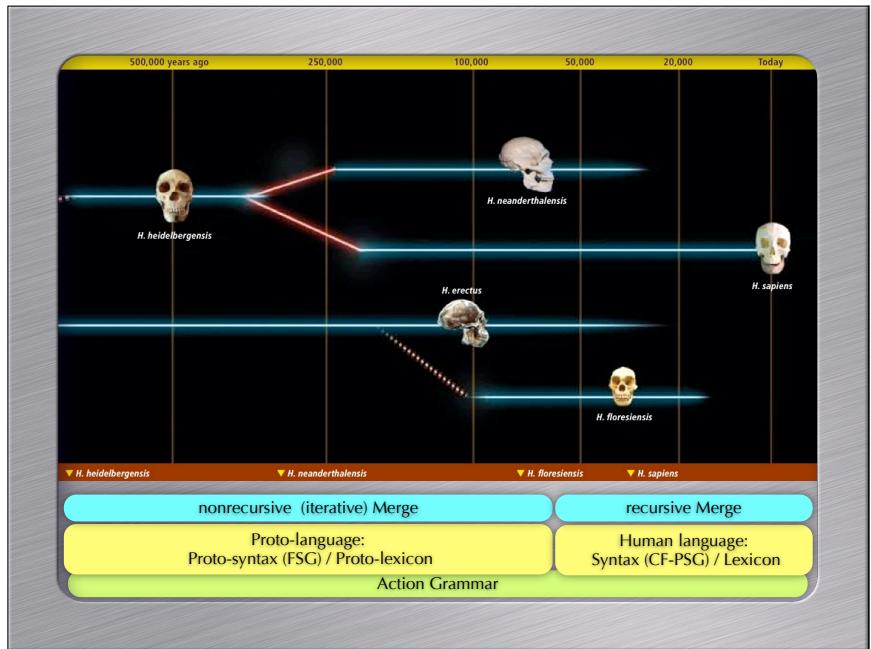
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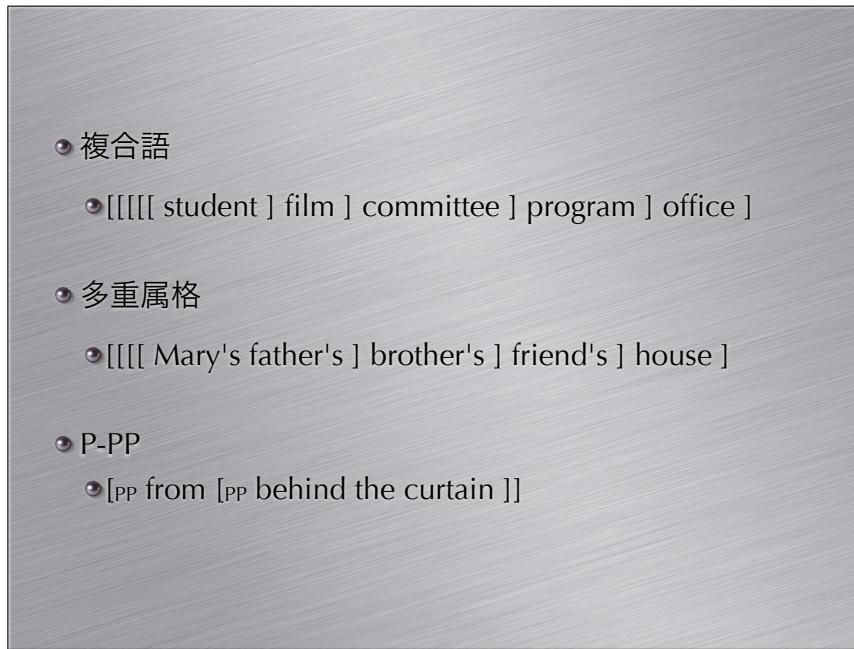
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32



33



35

回歸的言語構造

● 補文構造

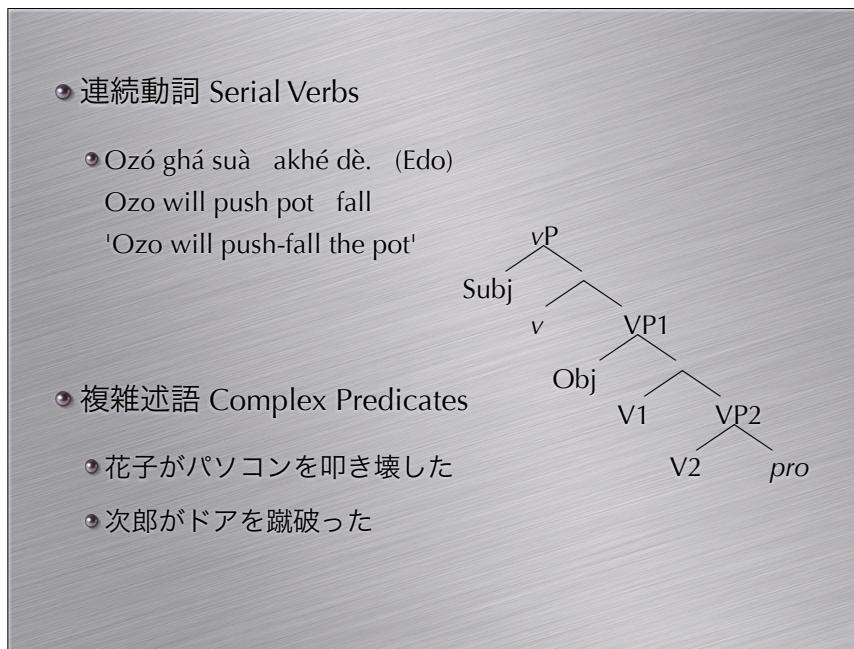
- [CP [IP John [VP thinks [CP that [IP Mary [VP thinks [CP that [IP Bill [VP thinks [CP that [IP Jane [VP sings well]]]]]]]]]]]].

● 関係節

- [DP the boy [CP who loves [DP the girl [CP who owns [DP the dog [CP which hates [DP the cat [CP which likes [DP the mouse]]]]]]]]]]

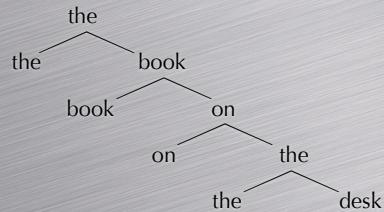
- [DP the mouse [CP [DP the cat [CP [DP the dog [CP [DP the girl [CP the boy loves]] owns]] hates]] likes]]

34



36

- 素句構造理論 Bare Phrase Structure Theory:



- Merge (併合) :

- Merge (α, β) = { α, β }
- Binary
- Symmetric
- Unbounded

37

Pirahã: 回帰性のない言語？

- D. L. Everett. 2005. Cultural constraints on grammar and cognition in Pirahã.

- 文法の多様性は文化に支配され、「UG」は存在しない。

- 直接経験原理 Immediacy of Experience Principle : 発話時に直接関係する話者の経験等を主張することしかできない。

- 埋め込み構造なし（句構造なし）
- 数詞なし、数量詞なし
- 色彩用語なし
- 完了時制なし
- 極めて単純な代名詞類や親族用語
- 創世神話・フィクションなし

39

- ... no clear evidence for languages that demonstrably lack recursion of any kind. (B. Heine & T. Kuteva)
- Recursion is absent in Pirahã. (D. Everett)
- Many languages have no, or very circumscribed recursion in their syntax. (N. Evans & S. Levinson)
- Recursion is just a theoretical artifact. (D. Bickerton)

38

- ti gó -sai kó'oi hi kaháp -ií
I say-old.info Kó'oi he leave intention
'I say. Kó'oi will leave.' (parataxis)

- (hi) 'oba'axá'i' (hi) kahai'-kai -sai
he sees well he arrow-makes-old.info
'He is really smart. He makes arrows well.'

40

- Pirahãもderivational recursiveness(unbounded Merge)を持つ。
- representational recursivenessは個別文法・文化による多様性を示す。
- "... it would mean that the speakers of this language aren't making use of a capacity that they surely have, a normal situation; plenty of people throughout history would drown if they fall into water. Nothing much follows except for a question as to why they haven't made use of these capacities."

(N. Chomsky, from *Radical Anthropology* Issue 2)

41

- (1) [CP [TP John T [VP thinks [CP that [TP Mary T [VP believes [CP that [TP Bill [VP said [CP that ...
 - (2) [DP the [NP color [PP of [DP the [NP body [PP of [DP my [NP iPod]]]]]]]]
 - (3) [TP Mary T [VP loves John]]
- (3) is derivationally recursive, too.

43

Recursive Merge

- Merge applies to its own output.
(derivational recursiveness)
- as a result ...
- Self-embedding structure appears.
(representational recursiveness)

42

- Decomposition/Factorization of Merge
- Recursive Merge = Concatenate + Label (Hornstein 2009)
- Merge + Embed = Recursive Merge (Fukui to appear)
- Label/Embed makes Merge recursive.
- Only Label/Embed belongs to FLN.

44

- Proto-Merge: $(\alpha, \beta) = \{\alpha, \beta\}$



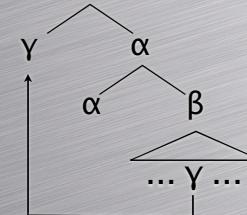
- Label: $(\alpha, \{\alpha, \beta\}) = \{\alpha, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}$



45

- Move (Internal Merge):

- $(\gamma, \{\alpha, \beta\}) = \{\gamma, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}$, where γ is contained in α or β .

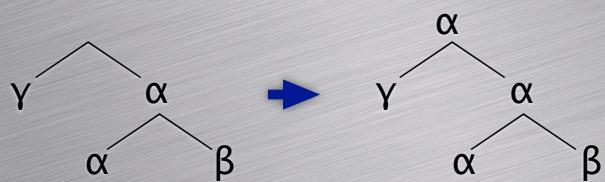


- Label = Strictly Local Move:

- $(\gamma, \{\alpha, \beta\}) = \{\gamma, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}$, where $\gamma = \alpha$ or β .

47

- Recursive Merge: $(\gamma, \{\alpha, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}) = \{\gamma, \{\alpha, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}\}$



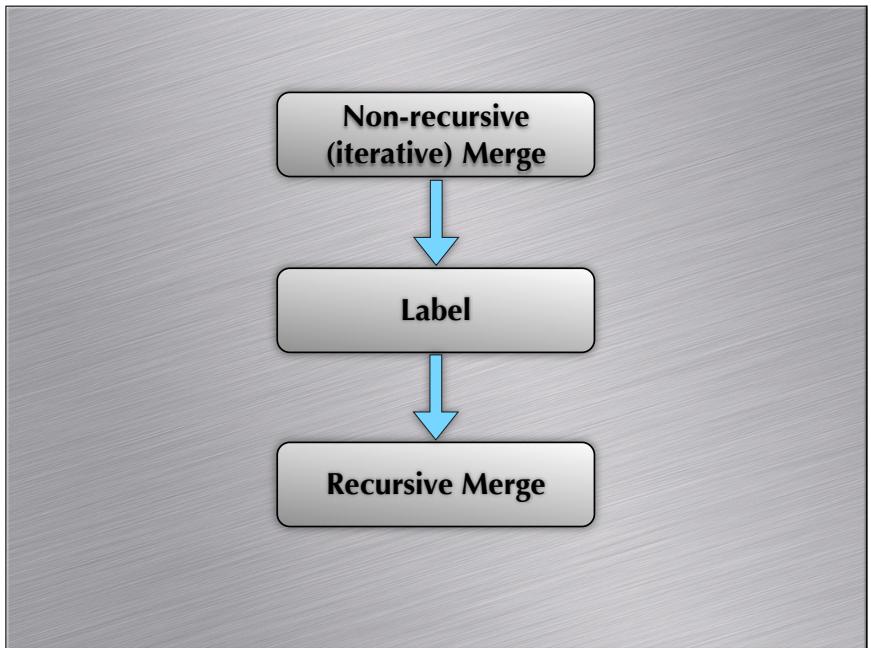
46

- Merge

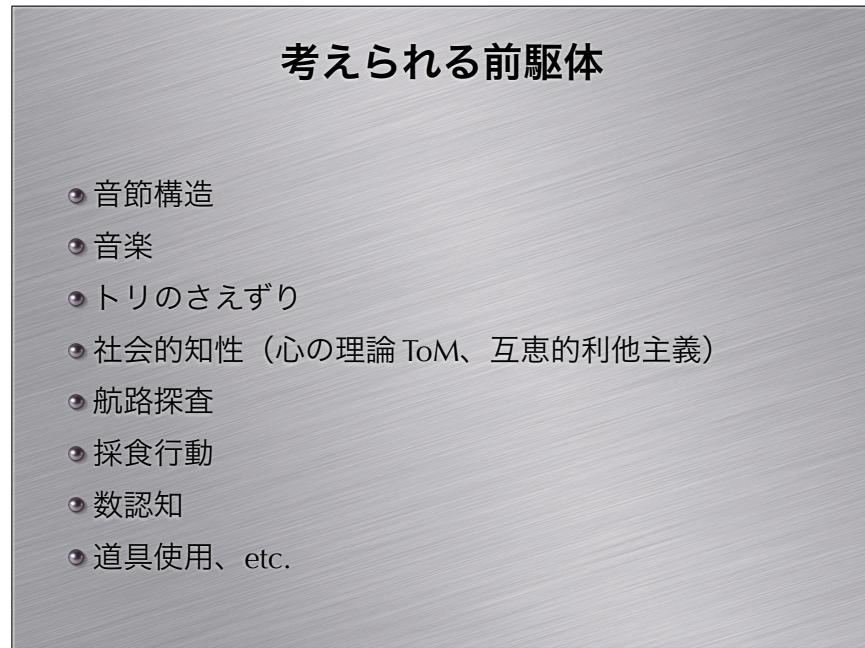
- External Merge
- Nonlocal Internal Merge (Move)
- Local Internal Merge (Label)

- Move/Label as an exaptation of Merge

48



49



51

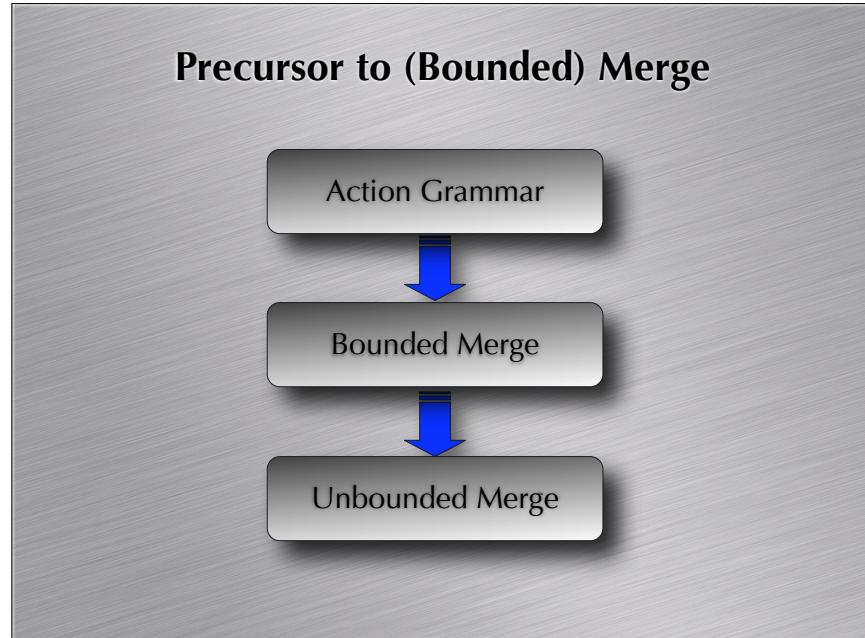
• "... unbounded Merge is not only a genetically determined property of language, but also unique to it."

• "The assumption of earlier stages seems superfluous. The same issue arises in language acquisition."

• "... for both evolution and development, there seems to be little reason to suppose that there were precursors to unbounded Merge."

N. Chomsky

50



52

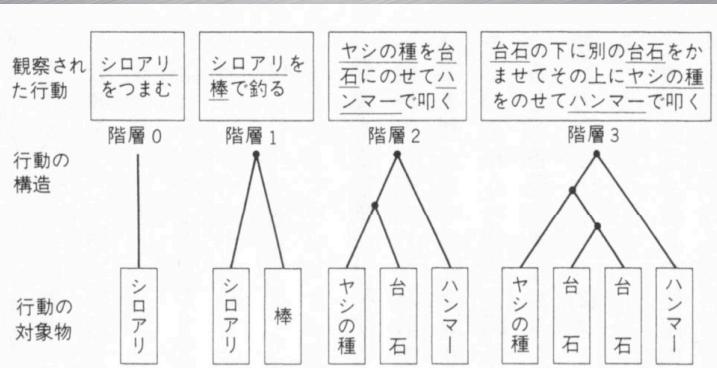


図 1-13 行動の樹状構造分析の例

松沢哲朗 『チンパンジーの心』

53



55



54

twig

termites

hammer

nut

anvil

56



PROBLEM SOLVING IN CHIMPS, in this case, stacking boxes to reach bananas, was first documented by Wolfgang Köhler around the time of World War I.

Courtesy of the New York Public Library

57

II. Pot Method



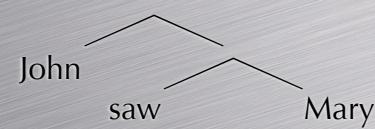
59

I. Pairing Method



58

Merge (saw, Mary) = {saw, Mary}
Merge (John, {saw, Mary}) = {John, {saw, Mary}}



60

III. Subassembly Method



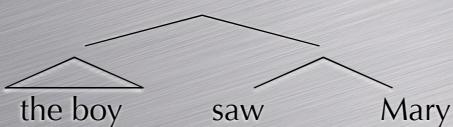
61

Merge (saw, Mary) = {saw, Mary}

Merge (the, boy) = {the, boy}

Merge ({the, boy}, {saw, Mary})

= {{the, boy}, {saw, Mary}}



62

Sub-Merge

右方分岐



左方分岐



- Left-branching structure is computationally more complex.
- Left-branching structure requires Subassembly-type Merge (Sub-Merge).

63

• Pot-Merge:

- Merge (A,B): A attracts B, forming $\{A,B\}=A$.
- Merge (A,C): A attracts C, forming $\{\{A,B\},C\}=A$.

• Sub-Merge:

- Merge (A,B): A attracts B, forming $\{A,B\}=A$.
- Merge (A,C): C attracts A, forming $\{\{A,B\},C\}=C$.

64

Exocentric Compounding

- (1) 建物の高い低いが重要だ。[_N A A]
- (2) 勝った負けたはどうでもよい。[_N V V]

• "Absolute categorial exocentricity."

(S. Scalise et al. 2009)

65

"Root" compounding

- Lexical category = categorizer (functional) + underspecified root
 - V + DESTROY = *destroy*
 - N + DESTROY = *destruction*, etc.



67

(1) [A N+N]:

Serbo-Croatian *ribòlik* 'fish+shape=fish-shaped'

(2) [A V+V]:

Turkish *yapis yapis* 'stick+stick=sticky'

(3) [A V+N]:

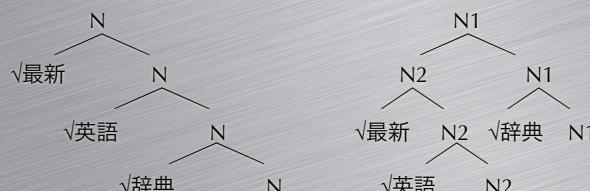
French *lève-blocs* 'lift+block=block lifter'

(4) [A N+V]:

Korean *neknek-hata* 'sufficiency+to be= sufficient'

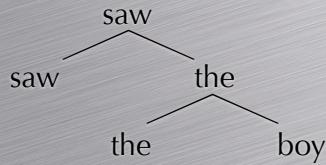
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- But if every lexical category is syntactically complex (Categorizer+Root), even right-branching structure requires Sub-Merge.



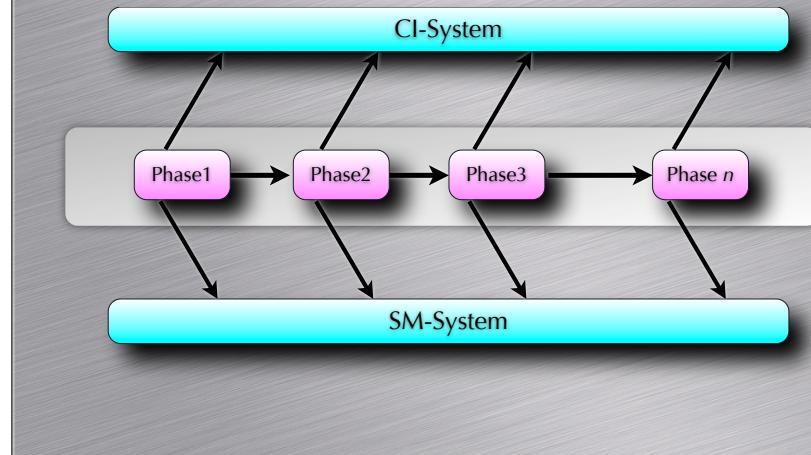
68

- Sub-Merge is *the* derivational operation of human recursive syntax.



69

Derivation by Phase



71

Label, Sub-Merge, Phase and Chunking

- Phase = derivational chunk
- Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC):
 - Once formed, chunks cannot be unpacked.
- Origin of Phase:
 - conceptualization of propositions and events
- Word ⊂ Phase (Lexical integrity ⊂ PIC)

70

The Lexicon: FLB or FLN?

- 人間言語に固有の豊潤で生産的なレキシコン
- その起源・進化が説明できなければ、言語の起源・進化の説明にならない

72

反語彙主義 Anti-Lexicalism

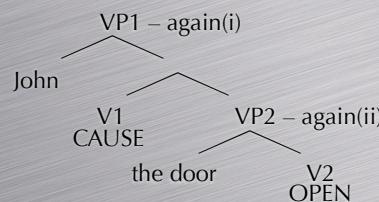
- 語はシンタクスへの入力ではなく、出力である。
(語も文と同じくシンタクスで生成される。)
- レキシコンはFLN(Merge)とFLB(concept/sound)に解体できる。
- 理論上、レキシコンは存在しない。

73

語彙的動詞の統語的本質

John opened the door again.

- repetitive reading
- restitutive reading



CS: [John CAUSE [the door OPEN again(ii)] again(i)]

74

Syntax-Cl Interface

- John gave Mary an apple.
- 概念構造: [John CAUSE [Mary HAVE an apple]]
- 統語構造: [John V1=CAUSE [Mary V2=HAVE an apple]]
- 統語構造と概念構造の同型的関係により、両者間の写像関係が効率化、最適化 → インターフェイス問題軽減

75

- レキシコンに特定的な進化のシナリオは不要

- 語が先か文が先か、ではない。

- "In the beginning was the word."

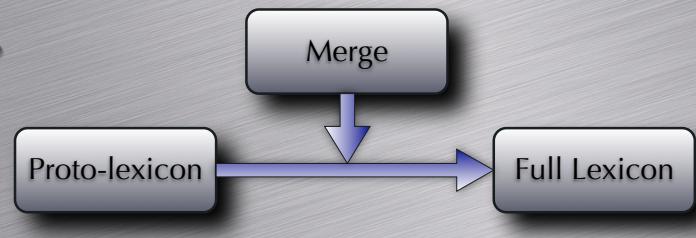
- "In the beginning was the sentence."

J. Bronowski. 1977. *A Sense of the Future*.

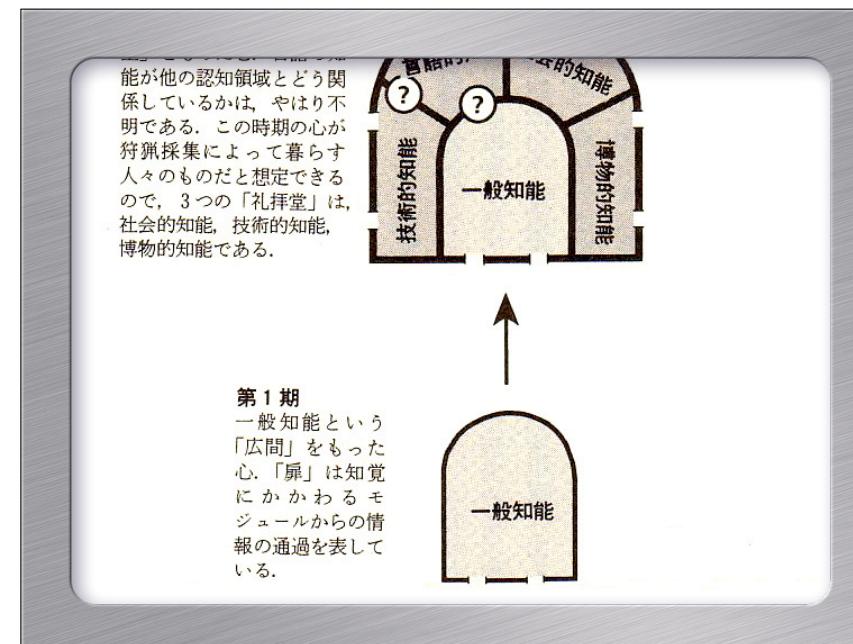
- In the beginning was Merge.

76

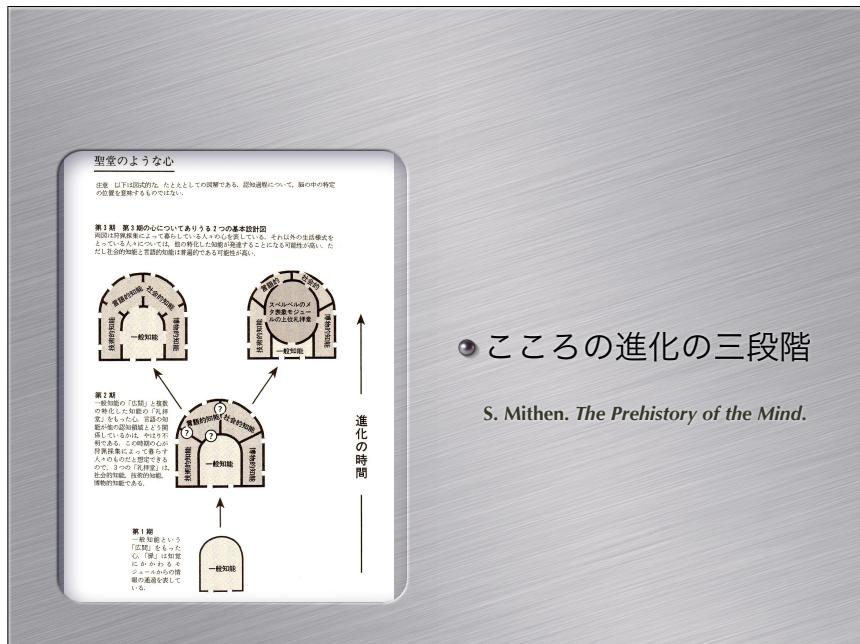
- The issue of whether proto-language was *holophrastic* (Wray, Arbib) or *synthetic* (Bickerton, Tallerman) is largely irrelevant.
 - Word-like elements of protolanguage (proto-words) could exist in the absence of syntax.



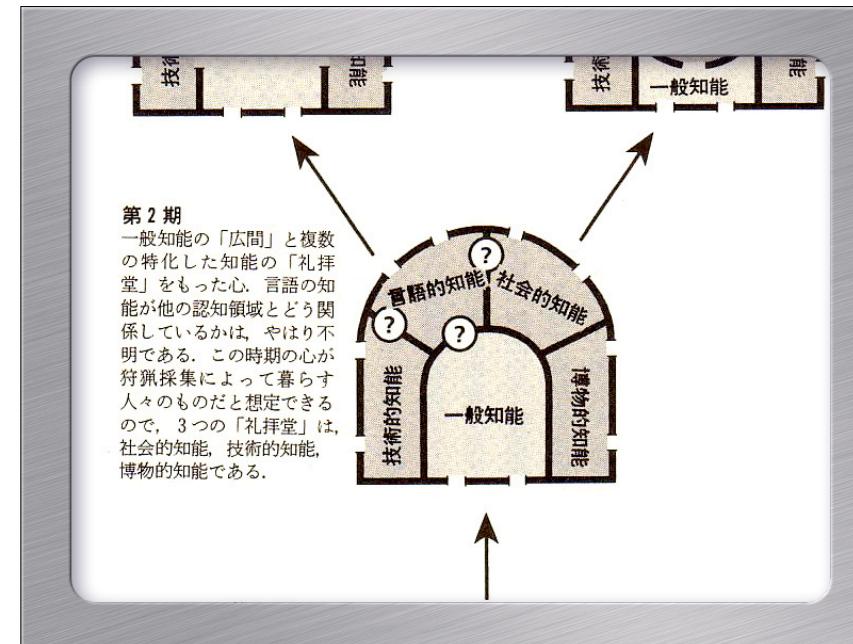
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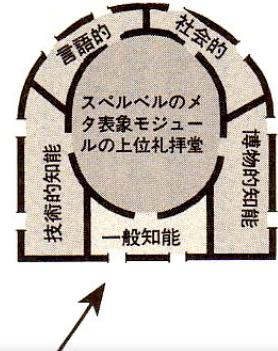
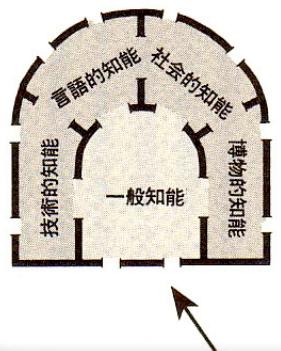
78



80

第3期 第3期の心についてありうる2つの基本設計図

両図は狩猟採集によって暮らしている人々の心を表している。それ以外の生活様式をとっている人々については、他の特化した知能が発達することになる可能性が高い。ただし社会的知能と言語的知能は普遍的である可能性が高い。



81



GENERATIVE COMPUTATION by humans but not other animals is reflected in tool usage. Unlike other tool-using creatures, which make implements from a single material and for a single purpose, humans routinely combine materials to form tools and often use a given instrument in a number of ways. Here an orangutan employs a single leaf as an umbrella, whereas humans utilize a pencil made of several materials for a variety of purposes.



83

"Humaniqueness"

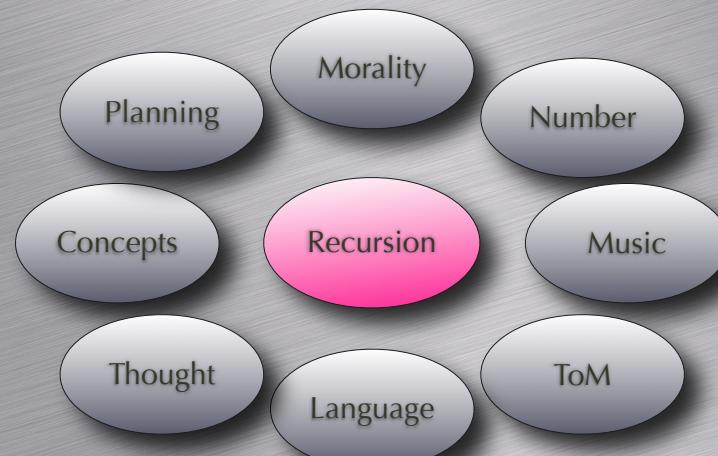
Key ingredients of the human mind

- Generative computation
- Promiscuous combination of ideas
- Mental symbols
- Abstract thought

M. Hauser. Origin of the mind. *Scientific American*. Sept. 2009.

82

Recursion: The Generative Engine of the Mind



84

In conclusion ...

- Merge is at the root ...
of Human Intelligence.

85

To create is to Merge.

Thank you.

86