¹⁰ 22 ¹⁰³ Neural Substrates for String-Context ¹⁰⁴ Mutual Segmentation: A Path ¹⁰⁶ to Human Language

Kazuo Okanoya and Bjorn Merker

22.1. Introduction

Linguistic structures are products of biological prerequisites and historical 20 processes. Here we consider a number of neural, behavioral, and learning mecha-21 nisms that serve necessary or facilitating roles in the initiation of historical 22 processes. We hypothesize that if mutual segmentation of strings and contexts 23 is promoted by particular biological adaptations and ecological pressures, this 24 could initiate a subsequent historical process of linguistic elaboration. To enable 25 this mutual segmentation, three biological sub-faculties are indispensable: vocal 26 learning, string segmentation, and contextual segmentation. Vocal learning 27 enabled intentional control of vocal output via the direct connection between face 28 motor cortex and medullary vocal nuclei. String segmentation became possible 29 by bottom-up statistical learning by basal ganglia and top-down rule extraction 30 by the prefrontal cortex. Contextual segmentation was implemented also by 31 bottom-up induction of situational correlations at hippocampal and related limbic 32 structures and top-down segmentation of perceived states by the prefrontal cortex. 33 Taken together, we propose that string-context mutual segmentation got its 34 start through the interaction of the prefrontal-hippocampal and prefrontal-striatal 35 parallel loops. 36

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22.1.1. String-Context Mutual Segmentation

In the previous chapter we presented a hypothesis (first suggested by Darwin)
for the possible origin of human language. Briefly, we assume our ancestor
was a singing ape. Song display was an honest indicator of the singer's fitness.
Through the handicap principle, song displays became complex and lengthy
(Zahavi & Zahavi, 1996) and included many vocal tokens that were shared with
the group members through imitation. Song was initially used for attracting

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mates and repelling rivals, but gradually different variations of songs were used in different behavioral context. Since songs were learned and song elements were shared within society, a fixed sub-part of these songs appeared in several situation-specific songs. These sub-strings began to be associated with the subcommonality in the situations within which songs were sung. As processes were repeated and transmitted through generations, linguistic structures would emerge as historical consequences (Figure 22.1).

We divided the requirements for linguistic structures into biological prerequi-08 sites and the historical process and then defined what are required as biological 09 preparations to initiate the historical process of linguistic elaboration. The 10 historical process may simply be stated as the process of string-context mutual 11 segmentation: song strings and behavioral contexts are mutually segmented 12 during social interactions. Over generations, this would lead to the emergence 13 14 of linguistic structure. The natural history up until the historical process was initiated has been described in detail in the previous chapter. The aim of the 15 present chapter is thus to provide neural substrates for the biological prerequisites 16 required to start the process of mutual segmentation. 17

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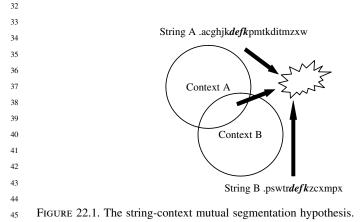
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22.1.2. Sub-Faculties for Mutual Segmentation

Sub-faculties we consider here are vocal learning, string segmentation, and context segmentation (Figure 22.2). Vocal learning is strictly defined as a postnatal acquisition of a novel motor pattern for a novel vocal performance (Jarvis, 2004). A mere modification of innate vocal patterns, which is often seen in vocal animals, should be referred to as vocal plasticity rather than vocal learning. Vocal learning should not be confused with auditory learning that refers to an acquisition of the association between a specific auditory stimulus and a specific behavior: auditory learning is a form of general associative learning with stimuli being auditory, but vocal learning is a specific imitative learning that requires dense vocal-auditory interactions.



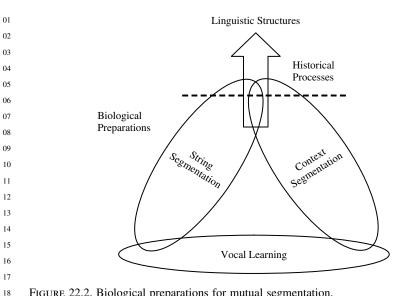


FIGURE 22.2. Biological preparations for mutual segmentation.

20 String segmentation is an ability to divide a continuous stream of sensory 21 stimuli into smaller functional units. Strings can be mediated by any sensory 22 modalities including visual, auditory, olfactory and tactile, but we specifically 23 deal with auditory segmentation in this chapter, since the primary mode of both 24 song and language is auditory, although language could be expressed in other 25 domains. Auditory segmentation could possibly be based on several cues such 26 as pauses between auditory tokens, sudden discontinuities or transitions in pitch 27 or intensity continua, and probabilistic relations between auditory tokens. In first 28 language acquisition, infants can use any of these cues to segment words from 29 the continuous speech stream (Gomez & Gerken, 2000). This is a first step 30 towards acquiring the syntax.

31 Context segmentation is an ability to divide a continuous contextual/cognitive 32 space into smaller (functional) units. Contextual space here is loosely defined as 33 a multivariate space whose dimensions might include sensory modalities, internal 34 states including memory, and reinforcement contingencies. Animals explicitly 35 or implicitly can learn and discriminate complex context and learn to select 36 adaptive behavior accordingly. Undoubtedly, this form of learning is widespread 37 among vertebrates. This is the very first step in acquiring semantics.

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22.2. Vocal Learning

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22.2.1. Species with Vocal Learning

Although auditory learning is widespread among animals possessing an auditory 44 system, vocal learning is scarce. Among primates, we humans are the only 45

species that show vocal learning. There is evidence of vocal plasticity in 01 non-human primates (Hihara et al., 2003), but these exemplify the degree of 02 plasticity that cannot be classified as an acquisition of novel vocal patterns 03 (Janik and Slater, 1997). In mammals, only three phylogenic lines of animals 04 show vocal learning. These are primates (only humans), bats (Boughman, 1998), 05 and cetaceans (Payne, 2000). Coincidently, also in birds, only three classes of 06 animals show vocal learning; passerines (songbirds), psittacines (parrots), and 07 swifts (humming birds) (Jarvis, 2004). It is important to note that these classes 08 09 of animals are only distantly related when considering evolutionary origins of vocal learning. 10

This observation provides three possibilities as to the evolution of vocal 11 learning. First, vocal learning independently evolved in these animals. Thus, 12 13 neural substrates for vocal learning are different among animals with vocal 14 learning. Second, vocal learning independently disappeared from many classes 15 of animals and vocal learning was actually widespread in the past. In this case, vocal learning was present in a common ancestor of birds and mammals and 16 17 we should consider examining some existing reptiles for vocal learning. Also, 18 in this case, neural substrates utilized for vocal learning should be common 19 among mammals and birds. This is unlikely considering the vast divergence of 20 telencephalic architecture between mammals and birds.

Third, and most likely, vocal learning evolved independently, but out of 21 22 common plans of brain circuitry under similar selection pressures. A general plan 23 for intentional motor execution and a general plan for sensory-motor interface 24 were probably precursors for vocal learning. In fact, Jarvis (2000) observed 25 similar topography and connectivity as well as the pattern of gene expression in 26 the forebrain nuclei responsible for vocal learning in three lines of avian vocal 27 learners. If vocal learning evolved independently out of common sensory-motor 28 systems, under common selection pressures, we need to consider the neural 29 substrates and pre-adaptations for vocal learning.

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22.2.2. Neural Substrates for Vocal Learning

Are there any specific anatomical substrates that correlate with the faculty 34 of vocal learning? One candidate substrate would be the direct cortical-35 medullary pathway for articulation and breathing. In humans, a part of the 36 motor cortex directly projects to the nucleus retro-ambiguous of the medulla 37 (Kuypers, 1958). This projection is absent in the squirrel monkey and chimpanzee 38 and Jurgens (2002) thus assumes that this projection exists only in humans 39 among primates. Similarly, there is the same direct cortical-medullary pathway 40 for articulation and breathing in the zebra finch, a species of songbirds, but 41 a similar projection in pigeons does not exist and all of pigeon vocalizations 42 are innate (Wild, 1993; Wild et al., 1997). Considering this evidence, we can 43 hypothesize that this projection exists in those species that show vocal learning 44 while it is absent in the species without vocal learning (Okanoya et al., 2004). 45

While this projection exists only in a limited number of species, there is still 01 a possibility that a very faint projection of this kind is nevertheless present 02 in most species. Deacon (1997) introduced the anecdotal story of an orphaned 03 harbor seal that learned to mimic the speech of the fisherman who raised the 04 seal in his home. This animal had a brain inflammation when young and Deacon 05 suggested that during the process of recovery the cortical medullar projection 06 might have been reinforced in this particular animal. If so, the possibility arises 07 that animals trained to perform spontaneous vocalizations while young might 08 have this pathway reinforced, thus inducing vocal learning in a species that 09 would not ordinarily possess this capacity. 10

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22.2.3. Pre-Adaptations for Vocal Learning

14 Among vocal learners, birds, bats, and whales seem to have reasonable pre-15 adaptation for vocal learning. Birds and bats have to control their breathing 16 while they are flying and this requirement was probably the pre-adaptation for 17 intentional vocal control. Similarly, whales need to control breathing while they 18 are submerged and this led to intentional vocal control (Janik & Slater, 2000). 19 The issue of the origin of vocal learning in humans is a major unsolved issue, 20 as noted in our previous chapter (this volume). Here too, intentional control of 21 respiration may have played a significant role, and that in the context of the 22 special circumstances surrounding the immaturity of the human neonate and its 23 need for parental care (Okanoya et al., 2002).

24 Human babies are conspicuous among primates in that they emit high-25 intensity, long-lasting cries right after birth. Such cries are obviously maladaptive in wild animals in that it could easily attract predators. We suggest therefore 26 27 that the infant cry must be a behavior obtained after ancestral humans acquired social and cultural skills to protect themselves from predation pressure. The first 28 cry after the birth has a function to eliminate amniotic fluid, but crying continues 29 long after that. Likewise, nidicolous species of birds emit very loud begging calls 30 31 and isolation calls that recruit parental behavior including feeding and protection 32 of the hatchlings. Begging calls are so loud that they easily can attract predators. Therefore, parents have to engage in strong parental behavior to avoid predation 33 of hatchlings and themselves (cf. Trivers, 1974). Chicks can thus manipulate 34 parents because they acquire cortical control of breathing to adapt for flying. In 35 this regard, the fact that humans and nidicolous songbirds share helplessness in 36 infancy may also be related to this pre-adaptation (Alexander, 1990). 37

We analyzed syntactical and phonological developmental changes in the baby 38 cry to show how the pattern becomes complex as the baby grows (Okanoya 39 et al., 2002). At least three stages of cry development could be identified; each 40 may be associated with respective anatomical changes. Baby cries begin as a 41 regular repetition of a stereotyped vocal unit. At this stage, the cry probably is 42 controlled by the midbrain vocal center only. This type of vocalization continues 43 for two post-natal weeks after which cries begin to be more irregular, showing 44 variable patterns of phonology and rhythmic patterns. At this stage, limbic 45

influences are presumably gradually growing stronger. Mothers often can identify
 what babies want based on the pattern of their cries. During the interaction with
 mothers, the cry probably became more adaptive by allowing cortical control
 so that mothers can be more precisely governed by the baby's crying. Infant
 cries thus may function to train cortical-midbrain connections necessary for more
 intentional vocal output that eventually results in speech competence.

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⁰⁹ 22.3. String Segmentation

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22.3.1. Behavioral Evidence for String Segmentation

It is essential for our sensory systems to segment continuous streams of stimuli 13 into functional units. Especially, the very beginning of language acquisition 14 involves segmentation of words out of a continuous speech stream. Among 15 several cues available for string segmentation, let us examine the statistical cue. 16 Learning of sequence statistics or "statistical learning" has attracted a great deal 17 of attention in recent years (Gomez & Gerken, 2000). When a nonsense auditory 18 stream consisting of 6 tri-syllable "words" were continuously presented, the 19 transitional probability within a "word" was always 1 but that between "words" 20 was 1/6. Without knowing each word and without knowing the structure of 21 the stimulus, we only hear a nonsense stream of syllables but gradually begin 22 to appreciate word boundaries because of statistical learning. When asked the 23 familiarity of the stimulus "word" that was presented in the task versus a "pseudo 24 word" that was never presented, we can usually identify which was more familiar. 25 As early as at eight months after birth, babies can detect transitional proba-26 bilities between on-going speech syllables and use those statistics to find word 27 boundaries, as shown by a habituation paradigm (Saffran et al., 1996). The 28 same "word boundary" detection was possible with non-linguistic stimuli of pure 29 tones (Saffran et al., 1999). Similar procedures were used to examine statistical 30 learning in a New World monkey, the cotton-top Tamarin (Hauser et al., 2001) 31 showing that this ability is not specific to humans. These were taken as evidence 32 that word segmentation learning may not require any special language device 33 but rather is made possible by a domain general ability of statistical learning 34 (Bates & Elman, 1996). 35

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22.3.2. String Segmentation in Birdsong

Songbirds learn courtship songs from adult males (reviewed in Catchpole & Slater, 1995; Zeigler & Marler, 2004). Their songs consist of temporally isolated song elements and their elements are arranged in a fixed order or in accordance with a specific syntactical rule. Most of these song elements are learned from their fathers and conspecific neighbors. When song learning occurs in a multi-tutor environment, learners often splice parts of songs that are sung by different males based on prosodic cues such as silent intervals between song notes, changes in

element types, or at the point of interruption (Williams & Staples, 1992). In a
 species with more complex song syntax, birds also use statistical information
 in conspecific songs: chunking of song notes often occurs at junctions of lower
 transition probability (Takahasi & Okanoya, unpublished data). Thus, string
 segmentation occurs in songbirds during song learning and song production.

When perceiving speech streams, a phrase structure is processed as a 06 perceptual unit in humans. When a sentence like "I love you" is presented into 07 one ear and a click is presented into the other in a temporal position that overlaps 08 with the word "love", the perceptual position of the click is likely to shift in 09 between "I" and "love." That is, the perceptual position of an embedded click 10 moves outside of the phrase structure (Fodor & Bever, 1965). We examined 11 whether a similar phenomenon could be observed in songbirds. We trained 12 Bengalese finches, a species of songbirds with complex song syntax, in a click-13 detection experiment. Birds were trained to peck a key when they heard a click 14 in an operant conditioning task with food reinforcement. When a background 15 of his own song was played in the test box, the reaction time of the subject 16 bird to detect the click was longer than without the background song or with 17 the background song played in reverse: detection of clicks is postponed until 18 a chunk of song notes is processed. Thus, chunks of birdsong, like chunks of 19 linguistic elements, are processed as a cognitive unit (Suge & Okanoya, under 20 revision). 21

These data suggest that one essential prerequisite for the type of historical structural transformation dealt with in our previous chapter – namely the capacity for segmentation (cf. Hurford, 2000) – is already present in the vocal learning of some singing species. The capacity for segmentation might also lead to the hierarchical nature of songs in some species (Okanoya, 2004).

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22.3.3. Neural Substrates for String Segmentation

If statistical learning is possible with domain-general brain mechanisms, language 30 31 areas in the brain may not be required for such processes. However, brain 32 imaging studies on learning of sequential rules in music have shown the contrary: Broca's area was active during such tasks (Maess et al., 2001; Patel, 2003). 33 More directly, we have used a similar statistical stimulus and the stimulus with 34 the same token but without statistical rules to compare brain activation by near-35 infrared optic spectroscopy and found that Broca's area was active only during 36 statistical stimulation (Abla & Okanoya, in preparation). Thus, statistical learning 37 probably utilizes Broca's areas but it is also possible without such specialized 38 areas as shown in the new world monkey, tamarins. Perhaps, results of statistical 39 learning is expressed in Broca's area in humans, but computation of statistical 40 information could be processed by some other systems as well. 41

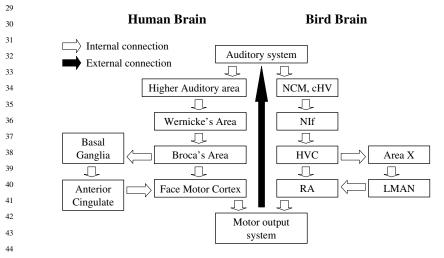
Here again, results from birdsongs may be suggestive (Okanoya, 2004).
Most neural substrates for song learning, song maintenance, and song performance have been identified in the bird brain (Zeigler & Marler, 2004). Briefly,
birdsong is controlled by two major forebrain pathways: anterior pathway and

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posterior pathway. Auditory information is conveyed up to a part of the forebrain 01 equivalent to the primary auditory cortex, Field L (a part of the primary 02 auditory cortex). From there, processing for more specific information occurs in 03 NCM (nidopallium code-laterale, a part of the secondary auditory cortex) and 04 05 cHV (caudal Hyperpallium ventrale, a part of the secondary auditory cortex). Programming for song motor patterns occurs in a region of the face motor cortex 06 equivalent, the RA (robustus archipallium, a part of the primary motor cortex), 07 which directly projects to the medullary respiratory and motor centers, or via the 08 09 midbrain vocal area, the DM (dorsal medial nucleus of the midbrain), which is equivalent to the periaquadactal gray in mammals. The auditory information is 10 fed into NIf (nucleus interfacialis, a part of the association cortex) and then to 11 12 HVC (hyperpallium ventrale pars caudalis, a part of the association cortex). HVC 13 has direct projection to RA and also to Area X, which is a part of basal ganglia. 14 Area X then projects to a thalamic nucleus DLM and from there, projection 15 comes back to a telencephalic nucleus LMAN (lateral magnocellular nucleus of the nidopallium, a part of the sensory/motor cortex). LMAN then projects to 16 17 RA, completing the indirect connection between HVC and RA. The HVC-RA-18 medullar connection is called the posterior motor pathway and the HVC-Area 19 X-DLM-LMAN-RA connection is called the anterior pathway.

Thus, when an analogy between human language and birdsong is considered, we can propose the followings: NIf may be comparable with Wernicke's area and HVC may be comparable with Broca's area, because NIf receives higher auditory information and sends to HVC that controls the face-motor cortex equivalent, the RA. Also, LMAN may be comparable with the anterior cingulate cortex, because LMAN receives projection from the basal ganglia and also sends projection to RA, the motor cortex equivalent (Figure 22.3).



45 FIGURE 22.3. Analogy for string segmentation by human brain and by bird brain.

In an ERP study with human subjects, we found that string segmentation 01 was associated with a negative brain potential that was strongest at an electrode 02 placed near the anterior cingulate cortex (Abla et al., in preparation). When a 03 04 source estimation algorithm was applied on the same data recorded from 32 channels, the basal ganglia was the source of the signal. With the data from the 05 near infrared spectroscopy stated earlier, these data suggest that the prefrontal 06 07 cortex – basal ganglia loop maybe responsible for statistical segmentation of the 08 continuous auditory stream. The same loop may be responsible for controlling 09 complex serial behavior involving string segmentation of a continuous stream, 10 such as piano playing or type writing (Parsons et al., 2005).

11 The same loop is also known to be used in birdsong learning and maintenance. 12 When LMAN was lesioned in juvenile zebra finches, their songs became stereo-13 typed without further elaboration (Bottjer et al., 1984). On the other hand, when 14 Area X was lesioned in adult Bengalese finches, segmental structure of the song 15 was impaired by causing stuttering (Kobayashi et al., 2001). Furthermore, when 16 pharmacological manipulation was made to suppress neural activities in LMAN, 17 variations in juvenile song disappeared but it recovered as the drug effect waned 18 (Ölveczky et al., 2005). Thus, segmentation of birdsong strings may also be 19 governed by the cortex-basal ganglia pathway.

20 Both HVC in songbirds and Broca's area in humans are song- or language-21 specific organs in the sense that these could not be identified in the brains 22 of related species (i.e., non-songbirds or non-human primates) without vocal 23 learning. In both humans and birds, these structures appeared on the motor 24 side of the sensory-motor junction in the forebrain. These structures may be 25 a specialized form of prefrontal structures that promote statistical learning and 26 rule learning. In this regard, it may be interesting to examine the efficiency 27 of statistical learning in animals with and without these specialized structures. 28 The controversy between the nativist and the empiricist could partially reside 29 in how the modularity and domain specificity of these structures are seen. Are 30 they structures specially evolved for that specific purpose or are they simply a 31 specialization of existing structures? This is an essential question to be solved 32 by comparative neuroethological investigations in birds and humans. 33

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22.4. Context Segmentation

We routinely segment behavioral context based on multiple environmental and internal cues and this would be a rudimentary form of semantics. A somewhat simpler example is spatial navigation. The idea that the hippocampus may function as a spatial map was first presented by O'Keefe and Dostrovsky in 1971 with some experimental evidence. When a rat navigates a novel environment freely, a particular neuron in the hippocampus fires when the rat is exploiting a particular part of the environment. This finding was later expanded to include

modeling research. In general, it was shown that with Hebbian learning and lateral
 inhibition, a network of suitably interconnected neurons begins to fire when a
 specific class of inputs is present. Such a network can establish attractor dynamics
 and several attractors can specify specific locations of the environment. Not
 only that, since the hippocampus receives sensory, emotional, and reinforcement
 information from different brain areas, this structure is suitable for segmenting
 a multi-dimensional behavioral context (Gluck & Myers, 1993).

In fact, a recent experiment by O'Keefe's group showed that these cells not 08 09 only respond to specific locations, but also begin to behave as attractors for specific environmental shapes (Wills et al., 2005). This is in good agreement 10 with our current hypothesis that the hippocampus could function as a bottom-11 up categorizer for behavioral context in general. In common with many other 12 13 learning networks, such a categorizing network will show the capacity for gener-14 alization (Ghirlanda & Enquist, 2003), supplying the other essential prerequisite 15 for the type of historical structural transformation dealt with in our previous chapter (cf. Hurford, 2000). 16

17 While the hippocampus functions as a bottom-up categorizer, top-down effects 18 are probably governed by the prefrontal cortex. While the learning rate of 19 the neocortex is slow, the hippocampus learns rapidly based on concurrent, 20 local, and time-limited information (O'Reilly & Rudy, 2000; O'Reilly & 21 Norman, 2002). Thus, the hippocampus can segment contextual parameters quickly, and the result of segmentation is tested by statistical or rule-based 22 23 prediction by the prefrontal cortex. This is similar to the case of string segmen-24 tation in which basal ganglia give rise to short term statistics of on-going stimuli, 25 the prefrontal cortex is more likely to function at a slower rate with a longer 26 time constant.

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22.5. Putting them Together

³² 22.5.1. Mutual Categorization of Vocalizations

³³ and Behavioral Contexts: A Rudimentary Step

It is not easy to show the process of string-context mutual segmentation exper-35 imentally since it is a historical process. But even in the short run, similar 36 processes might occur. Precedents for a rudimentary form of acquired "naming" 37 achieved through association between behavioral contexts and particular behav-38 ioral tokens exists in several animals. When this process is enhanced by the 39 ability to learn new behavioral tokens and combine them freely, that is, for 40 example, by vocal learning, we are almost at the stage to begin the string-context 41 mutual segmentation. 42

We observed that when trained to use a rake to retrieve distant food, monkeys spontaneously began to vocalize "coo" calls. They did so especially when the preparation of the rake tool by the experimenter was delayed (Hihara et al., 2003).

To further investigate this phenomenon, we systematically manipulated behav-01 ioral contexts by presenting the tool or food whenever the monkey made a 02 vocalization irrespective of the type of call emitted. In one experimental situation, 03 the experimenter placed a food morsel at a distance when the monkey produced 04 a coo call (Call occasion A). By the second coo call (Call occasion B) the exper-05 imenter gave a rake tool to the monkey. The monkey could retrieve the food by 06 the rake. In another, the experimenter gave the rake to the monkey beforehand. 07 A piece of food was placed at a distance when the monkey vocalized a coo call 08 (Call occasion C). Again, no attempt was made to differentiate the calls by type 09 in these situations (A, B, and C). After 5 sessions of trainings, the monkeys 10 eventually used acoustically distinct types of calls when they asked for the tool 11 (Call B) or food (Call A and C). The calls used to ask for the tool was longer 12 and higher pitched than the ones used to ask for the food. Calls had become 13 correlated with context without being differentially reinforced to this end. We 14 note the relevance of this finding to the process of segregation of song-strings 15 by context discussed in our previous chapter. 16

As a possible explanation for this finding we suggest that the different reward 17 conditions (food or tool) set up different emotional contexts for the monkeys. 18 Different emotional contexts, in turn, affected the production of coo calls differ-19 ently for the tool or food situations. Since the tool training can be assumed 20 to activate the neocortex very highly, the calls were associated with different 21 behavioral contexts. Thus, the calls became categorized and emotionally differ-22 entiated calls gradually became categorical vocalizations. Through this process, 23 we suspect the emotional coo calls changed into categorical labels denoting the 24 behavioral situation. We speculate that this categorization of vocal tokens may 25 be related to highly specified behavioral situations. Such specified behavioral 26 situations would evoke specific emotional content in the limbic system including 27 amygdala and hippocampus. States of excitation in the limbic system may thus 28 be labeled by the emotional vocalizations associated with the situations. 29

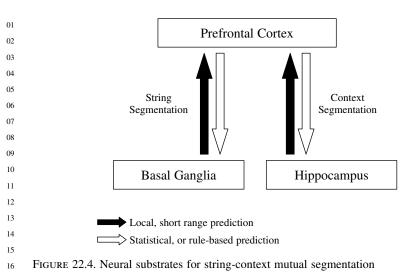
Naturally, our macaque example is limited to a contextual association between *call* types and context, but the principle is no less applicable to the association of contexts with full songstrings produced by a singing animal, as discussed in the previous chapter.

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22.6. Conclusion

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Taking these speculations together, we propose that longer strings are segmented 38 by the action of the cortex-basal ganglia pathway and each part-string is repre-39 sented by a mnemonic. In either case, the parallel, complex behavioral contexts 40 are segmented by the prefrontal- hippocampal loop and each part-context may 41 also be represented by a different mnemonic. These two sets of mnemonics can 42 interact together to represent both part-string and part-context. Alternatively, if 43 the process advanced slowly, the two sets of mnemonics may not be necessary 44 and string and context segmentation would proceed with one common mnemonic. 45



In any case, the parallel operation of these two systems would then enable mutual segmentation and matching of behavioral context and song strings, a process tantamount to an incipient language system (Merker & Okanoya, 2005).

In this regard, language may be possible without assuming a special "recursion" device suggested by Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch (2002). The recursive function might arise secondarily from the interaction between the prefrontal-basal ganglia loop and the prefrontal-hippocampus loop (Figure 22.4); that is, although the recursive function reflects the formal aspect of language, it may actually be the outcome of syntax-semantics interaction. Once a system of mutual segmentation is in place, the historical process itself may generate the remaining formal linguistic devices and structures. As shown by Kirby (2002) even recursion can emerge from the historical process, given "predicates that can take other predicates as arguments."

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