- Comparing Language Input in Homes of Blind and Sighted Children: Insights from Daylong
 Recordings
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10 Abstract

Purpose: This study compared language input to young blind children and their sighted peers in naturalistic home settings.

Methods: Using the LENA audio recorder, naturalistic speech in the home was
captured and analyzed for various dimensions of language input, including quantitative,
interactive, linguistic, and conceptual features.

Results: Our data showed far more similarity than difference across groups, with all differences being small in magnitude. Both groups received similar speech quantity, interactiveness, and lexical diversity. Fine-grained analysis revealed that blind children's language environments contained longer utterances, more temporal displacement, and content words that are harder for children to interact with, suggesting greater similarity to adult-directed speech.

Conclusions: The findings challenge the notion that blind children's language input
places them at a disadvantage and suggest that blind children receive rich and complex
language input that can support their language development.

25 Introduction

The early language skills of blind children are highly variable (E. E. Campbell, Casillas, & Bergelson, submitted), with some blind children demonstrating age-appropriate vocabulary from the earliest stages of language learning (Ann Bigelow, 1987; E. E. Campbell et al., submitted; Landau & Gleitman, 1985), while others experience large and persistent language delays (E. E. Campbell et al., submitted). By adulthood, blind individuals are fluent speakers of their language and are even reported to have faster auditory and lexical

processing skills than sighted adults (Röder, Demuth, Streb, & Rösler, 2003; Röder, Rösler, & Neville, 2000). The causes of this variability and the later ability to "catch up" remain poorly understood: what could make the language learning problem different and initially more difficult for the blind child? There are multiple possible contributors to the variability in language development for blind children, including characteristics of the child (e.g., visual acuity, comorbid conditions, cognitive ability, gender) as well as characteristics of the environment (e.g., access to early intervention services; school setting; caretakers tailoring interactions to their child's sensory access). Here, we compare the language environment of blind children to that of their sighted peers. In doing so, we can begin to untangle the role that perceptual input plays in shaping children's language environment, and better understand the interlocking factors that may contribute to variability in blind children's early language abilities.

44 Why would input matter?

Among both typically-developing children and children with developmental differences, language input can predict variability in language outcomes (Anderson, Graham, Prime, Jenkins, & Madigan, 2021, 2021; Gilkerson et al., 2018; Huttenlocher, Haight, Bryk, Seltzer, & Lyons, 1991; Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Rowe, 2008, 2012). There are many ways to operationalize language input, that tend to be grouped into quantity of language input and input characteristics (MacLeod & Demers, 2023). Quantity of language input can be broadly construed as the number of words or utterances a child is exposed to. At a coarse level, children who are exposed to more speech (or sign, Watkins, Pittman, & Walden, 1998) tend to have better language outcomes (Anderson et al., 2021; Gilkerson et al., 2018; Huttenlocher et al., 1991; Rowe, 2008). However, if only the amount of language exposure mattered, then infants should be able to sit in front of the television all day and become fluent language users. Yet young children struggle to learn language from just from exposure to large quantities of speech (e.g., Roseberry, Hirsh-Pasek,

& Golinkoff, 2014 May-Jun), so something about the type of language input must matter.

The specific characteristics of that language input are perhaps even more influential (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 2015; Rowe, 2012), although it is somewhat trickier to turn the qualitative characteristics of language input into operationalizable properties. Rowe and Snow (Rowe & Snow, 2020) divide this space into three dimensions of language input: interactive features (e.g., parent responsiveness, speech directed *to* child vs. overheard; conversational turn-taking), linguistic features (e.g., lexical diversity, grammatical complexity), and conceptual features (e.g., topic diversity).

Parents' active response to their children's actions and utterances supports their
learning. Prior literature reports that back-and-forth communicative exchanges (also known
as conversational turns) between caregivers and children predict better language outcomes
across infancy (Donnellan, Bannard, McGillion, Slocombe, & Matthews, 2020; Goldstein &
Schwade, 2008) and toddlerhood (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 2015; Romeo et al., 2018). Another way
to quantify the extent to which caregivers and infants interact during language input is by
looking at how much speech is directed to the child (as opposed to, for example, an
overheard conversation between adults). The amount of child-directed speech in children's
input [at least in Western contexts; Casillas, Brown, and Levinson (2020)] is associated with
children's vocabulary and lexical processing (Rowe, 2008; Shneidman, Arroyo, Levine, &
Goldin-Meadow, 2013; Weisleder & Fernald, 2013) Parents' interaction with their child and
the world around them ties together the linguistic and conceptual characteristics of the
language input, to which we turn next.

The linguistic characteristics of language input can be thought of in terms of which
words are used and how those words are combined, both of which have measurable
associations with children's language growth. Two commonly-analyzed linguistic features are
lexical diversity [often measured as type/token ratio; CITE] and syntactic complexity [often
measured by mean length of utterance, CITE]. Sighted toddlers who are exposed to greater

diversity of words in their language input are reported to have larger vocabulary scores

(Anderson et al., 2021; Hsu, Hadley, & Rispoli, 2017; Huttenlocher et al., 2010; Rowe, 2012;

Weizman & Snow, 2001). Likewise, the diversity and complexity of syntactic constructions in

parental language input is associated both with children's vocabulary growth and structure

diversity in their own productions (De Villiers, 1985; Hadley et al., 2017; Hoff, 2003 Sep-Oct;

Huttenlocher, Vasilyeva, Cymerman, & Levine, 2002; Huttenlocher et al., 2010; Naigles &

Hoff-Ginsberg, 1998).

The conceptual dimension of language input aims to capture the extent to which the 91 language signal maps onto objects and events in the world (Rowe & Snow, 2020). The conceptual aspects that are most informative may shift across developmental time: as children develop, their ability to represent abstract, displaced, decontextualized referents improves (Bergelson & Swingley, 2013; Kramer, Hill, & Cohen, 1975; Luchkina, Xu, Sobel, & Morgan, 2020). For example, infants are more likely to learn a new word when the referent is perceptually salient, dominating their field of view (Yu & Smith, 2012; Yurovsky, Smith, & Yu, 2013). Parents responding to a child's point and labeling the object of interest might boost learning in that instance (Lucca & Wilbourn, 2018). By contrast, displaced language 99 use—that is, talking about past, future, or hypothetical events, or people and items that are 100 not currently present in the environment- may be beneficial at later stages of development 101 (Rowe, 2013). Indeed, greater decontextualized language use in speech to toddlers predicts 102 aspects of children's own language in kindergarten and beyond (Demir, Rowe, Heller, 103 Goldin-Meadow, & Levine, 2015; Rowe, 2012; Uccelli, Demir-Lira, Rowe, Levine, & 104 Goldin-Meadow, 2019). 105

From this review, it appears that sighted children learn about the world and language simultaneously from many sources, including sensory perception, linguistic input, and conceptual and social knowledge. For blind children, however, language input may constitute a greater proportion of the available clues for learning than for sighted children; in the

absence of visual input, language is an important source of information about the world (E. 110 E. Campbell & Bergelson, 2022). Syntactic structure in particular provides cues to word 111 meaning that may be lost without visual cues, such as the relationship between two entities 112 that aren't within reach (Gleitman, 1990). So far, we have presented a pattern wherein the 113 features of the input that are most helpful for language learning change over the course of 114 children's development: early on, many of these cues require visual access, such as parental 115 gaze, shared visual attention, pointing to remote object and the presence of salient objects in 116 the visual field. Later in development the handholds to language learning become more 117 abstract, but more equitably accessible to blind and sighted children: more sophisticated 118 language knowledge is built from information in the language signal and the child's prior 119 knowledge, neither of which require visual interfacing. This may be part of the reason why 120 language delays are common in blind toddlers, but often resolved in older childhood (Landau & Gleitman, 1985). If direct sensory access to referents provides an initial "brute force" 122 mechanism for mapping words onto meanings, it may take longer for blind children to acquire the first few words. By hypothesis, once this initial seed of lexical knowledge is acquired, 124 blind children and sighted children alike are able to use more abstract and linguistic features 125 as cues, and learning can proceed more rapidly thereafter (Babineau, de Carvalho, Trueswell, 126 & Christophe, 2021; Babineau, Havron, Dautriche, de Carvalho, & Christophe, 2022; E. E. 127 Campbell & Bergelson, 2022). Nevertheless, we cannot assume that access to visual 128 experience is the *only* difference in the language learning experiences for blind and sighted 129 children; the language input itself may differ for blind children relative to sighted children. 130

131 Why would the input differ?

Speakers regularly tailor input to communicate efficiently with the listener (Grice, 1975). Parents are sensitive to their child's developmental level and tune language input accordingly (Snow, 1972; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Child-directed speech is one example—whereby parents speak to young children with exaggerated prosody, slower speech

rate, and increased vowel clarity (Bernstein Ratner, 1984; Fernald, 1989), which is in some
cases helpful to the young language learner (Thiessen, Hill, & Saffran, 2005). When
interacting with infants and toddlers, parents repeat words more often than when interacting
with older children or adults (Snow, 1972). Communicative tailoring is also common in
language input to children with disabilities, who tend to receive simplified, more directive
language input, and less interactive input compared to typically-developing children (Dirks,
Stevens, Kok, Frijns, & Rieffe, 2020; Yoshinaga-Itano, Sedey, Mason, Wiggin, & Chung,
2020).

In addition to tailoring communication to children's developmental level, speakers also adjust their conversation in accordance with the conversation partner's sensory access (Gergle, Kraut, & Fussell, 2004; Grigoroglou, Edu, & Papafragou, 2016). In a noisy 146 environment, speakers will adapt the acoustic-phonetic features of their speech with the 147 intent to make it easier for their interlocutor to understand them (Hazan & Baker, 2011), 148 which demonstrates sensitivity to even temporary sensory conditions of their conversation 149 partner. When describing scenes, speakers aim to provide the information their listeners lack 150 but avoid redundant visual description (Grice, 1975; Ostarek, Paridon, & Montero-Melis, 151 2019). During in-lab tasks with sighted participants, participants tailor their descriptions 152 and requests by verbally providing visually-absent cues when an object is occluded to their 153 partner (Hawkins, Gweon, & Goodman, 2021; Jara-Ettinger & Rubio-Fernandez, 2021; 154 Rubio-Fernandez, 2019). These results suggest that adults and even infants (Chiesa, Galati, 155 & Schmidt, 2015; N. Ganea et al., 2018; Senju et al., 2013) can flexibly adapt communication 156 to the visual and auditory abilities of their partner. 157

Taking these results into account, we might expect parents to verbally compensate for missing visual input, perhaps providing more description of the child's environment. Prior research doesn't yield a clear answer. Several early studies suggest differences in the concepts parents discuss: caregivers of blind children restrict conversation to things that the blind

child is currently engaged with, rather than attempt to redirect their attention to other 162 stimuli (Andersen, Dunlea, & Kekelis, 1993; J. Campbell, 2003; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; 163 though c.f., Moore & McConachie, 1994). Studies of input to blind children in naturalistic 164 settings report that parents use fewer declaratives and more imperatives than parents of 165 sighted children, suggesting that blind children might be receiving less description than 166 sighted children (Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Landau & Gleitman, 1985). Other studies report 167 that parents adapt their interactions to their children's visual abilities, albeit in specific 168 contexts. Tadić, Pring, and Dale (2013 Nov-Dec) and colleagues find that in a structured 169 book reading task, parents of blind children provide more descriptive utterances than parents 170 of sighted children. Further, parents of blind children provide more tactile cues to initiate 171 interactions or establish joint attention (Preisler, 1991; Urwin, 1983, 1984), which may serve 172 the same social role as shared gaze in sighted children. These mixed results suggest that parents of blind children might alter language input in some domains but not others. The 174 apparent conflict in results may be exacerbated by the difficulty of recruiting specialized 175 populations to participate in research: the small (in most cases single-digit) sample sizes of 176 prior work limits our ability to generalize about any principled differences in the input to 177 blind infants.

179 The Present Study

Reaching a better understanding of how sensory perception and linguistic input interact to influence blind children's language outcomes is of great scientific, clinical, and educational importance. If properties of language input influence the likelihood of language delays among blind infants and toddlers (E. E. Campbell et al., submitted), capturing this variation may reveal a more nuanced picture of how infants use the input to learn language. In the present study, we examine daylong recordings of the naturalistic language environments of blind and sighted children in order to characterize the input to each group. Using both automated measures and manual transcription of these recordings, we measure input quantity (adult

word count) and analyze several characteristics that have been previously suggested to be information-rich learning cues, including interactivity (conversational turn counts, proportion of child-directed speech), conceptual features (temporal displacement, sensory modality), and linguistic complexity (type/token ratio and mean length of utterance).

192 Methods

193 Participants

15 blind infants and their families participated in this study. Blind participants were 194 recruited through ophthalmologist referral, preschools, early intervention programs, social 195 media, and word of mouth. To be eligible for this study, participants had to be 6–30 months 196 old, have no additional disabilities (developmental delays; intellectual disabilities, or hearing 197 loss), and be exposed to $\geq 75\%$ English at home. To control for the wide age range of the 198 study, each blind participant was matched to a sighted participant, based on age (\pm 6 190 weeks), gender, maternal education (\pm one education level: less than high school diploma, 200 high school diploma, some college / Associate's, Bachelor's, graduate school), and number of 201 siblings (± 1 sibling). We prioritized matching each characteristic as closely as possible in 202 the preceding order. Caregivers were asked to complete a demographic survey and the 203 MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory (CDI, Fenson et al., 1994) within one week of the home language recording. See Table ?? for sample characteristics. 205

206 Recording Procedure

For the recording portion of the study, caregivers of participating infants received a
LENA wearable audio recorder and vest (Ganek & Eriks-Brophy, 2016; Gilkerson &
Richards, 2008). They were instructed to place the recorder in the vest on the day of their
scheduled recording and put the vest on their child from the time they woke up until the
recorder automatically shut off after 16 hours (setting the vest nearby during baths, naps,
and car rides). They were also informed how to pause the recording at any time, but asked

to keep these pauses to a minimum. Actual recording length ranged from 8 hours 17 minutes to 15 hours 59 minutes (Mean: 15 hours 16 minutes).

215 Processing

The audio recordings were first processed by LENA proprietary software, creating 216 algorithmic measures such as conversational turn counts and adult word count. Each 217 recording was then run through an in-house automated sampler that selected 15-218 non-overlapping 5-minute segments, randomly distributed across the duration of the 219 recording. The process outputs a codeable ELAN file (.eaf, Brugman & Russel, 2009). Each 220 segment consists of 2 core minutes of annotated time, with 2 minutes of listenable context 221 preceding the annotation clip and 1 minute of additional context following the annotation 222 clip. Each file therefore contains 30 minutes of coded recording time and 75 minutes of total 223 time listened. Because these segments were sampled randomly, and not on a high-volubility 224 measure such as conversational turns or adult speech density, the amount of time with 225 codeable speech input varied for each recording. Indeed, across participants roughly 0\% of 226 the random 2-minute coding segments contained no speech at all. For questions of how much 227 does a phenomenon occur, random sampling schemes can help avoid overestimating speech in 228 the input, but for questions of input *content*, randomly selected samples may be too sparse 229 (Pisani, Gautheron, & Cristia, 2021). 230

Therefore, we also chose to annotate 5 additional segments specifically for their high density of speech. To select these segments of dense talk, we first conducted an automated analysis of the audio file using the voice type classifier for child-centered daylong recordings (Lavechin, Bousbib, Bredin, Dupoux, & Cristia, 2021) which identified all human speech in the recording. The entire recording was then broken into 2-minute chunks marked out at zero-second timestamps (e.g. 00:02:00.000 to 00:04:00.000). Each of these chunks was ranked highest to lowest by the total duration of speech contained within the boundaries. For our high volubility sample, we chose the highest-ranked 5 segments of each recording, excluding

those that overlapped with already-coded random segments. These high volubility segments allowed us first to characterize features of the language as proportions of the linguistic input children receive, and second, to more closely compare our findings to studies classifying the input during structured play sessions, which paint a denser and differently-proportioned makeup of the language input (Bergelson, Amatuni, Dailey, Koorathota, & Tor, 2019). In sum, 30 minutes of randomly sampled input and 10 minutes of high-volubility input produced 40 minutes of annotated recording time per child.

246 Annotation

Trained annotators listened through each 2-minute segment plus its surrounding 247 context and coded it using the Analyzing Child Language Experiences around the World 248 (ACLEW) Daylong Audio Recording of Children's Linguistic Environments (DARCLE) 249 annotation scheme (Soderstrom et al., 2021). Prior to annotating lab data, annotators are 250 trained on previously coded samples of child recordings and are required to reach 95% overall 251 agreement with the gold standard version of the file for three different age ranges: 0-7 252 months, 8-18 months, and 19-36 months. For more information about this annotation scheme 253 and the larger project, please see the ACLEW homepage. Following the first pass, all files 254 were reviewed by a highly-trained "superchecker" to ensure the consistency of annotations. 255

This annotation scheme is designed to capture both utterances by the target child and speech in the child's environment, including adults, other children, and pre-recorded electronic speech (e.g. toys, television, the radio). Annotators segment the duration of each utterance on a separate coding tier for each unique speaker. Speech by people other than the target child is transcribed using an adapted version of the CHAT transcription style (MacWhinney, 2019; Soderstrom et al., 2021). Because the majority of target children in the project are pre-lexical, utterances produced by the target child are not yet transcribed. Environmental speech is then classified based on the addressee of each utterance: speech directed to a child; adult-directed speech; speech directed to both an adult and a child;

speech directed to pets or other animals; speech with an unclear addressee; or speech directed towards a recipient that doesn't fit into another category (e.g., voice control of Siri or Alexa, prayer to a metaphysical entity).

Extracting Measures of Language Input

To go from our dimensions of interest (quantity, interactiveness, linguistic, conceptual), 269 to quantifiable properties, we used a combination of automated measures [generated by the 270 proprietary LENA algorithm; Xu, Yapanel, and Gray (2009)] and manual measures 271 (generated from the transcriptions made by our trained annotators). These manual 272 annotations can be analyzed for the random segments, the high-volume segments, or both. The decision of which segments to analyze was made according to the goal of the analysis: quantity and interactiveness analyses were conducted on the random samples only, to 275 capture a more representative estimate. Linguistic and conceptual analyses were conducted 276 on all available annotations in order to maximize the amount of speech over which we could 277 calculate them. These measures are summarized in Table 1. 278

Quantity.

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Adult Word Count.

To derive this count, first the LENA algorithm segments the recording into clips of 281 varying length. These segments are then classified as female adult speech, male adult speech, 282 target child, other child, overlapping vocalization/noise, electronic noise, noise, silence, or 283 uncertain, each of which is further categorized into "near" or "far". Only segments that are 284 classified as nearby male or female adult speech are included in the Adult Word Count estimation; Segments that the LENA algorithm identifies as "far", "child", or "overlapping", do not contribute to this count (Xu et al., 2009). Validation work suggests that this 287 automated count correlates strongly with word counts derived from manual annotations (r = 288 .71 – .92, Lehet, Arjmandi, Houston, & Dilley, 2021), but Lehet et al. (2021) and colleagues 289 find that the amount of error may vary substantially across families. Compared to short

samples that they had manually transcribed and counted, LENA's AWC estimate ranged from undercounting words by 17% to overcounting words by 208% (Lehet et al., 2021).

Perhaps reassuringly however, meta-analytic work finds that AWC is associated with children's language outcomes across developmental contexts (e.g., autism, hearing loss, Wang, Williams, Dilley, & Houston, 2020). Because the recordings varied in length (8 hours 17 minutes to 15 hours 59 minutes), we normalized AWC by dividing by recording length ¹.

Manual Word Count.

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We also compare a manual count of speech in the children's environment. Manual word count is simply the number of intelligible words in our transcriptions of each child's recording. Speech that was too far or muffled to be intelligible, as well as speech from the target child and electronic speech (TV, radio, toys) are excluded from this count. To try to get a representative estimate of the amount of talk in a children's environment, we use the random samples only for this measure.

By using Adult Word Count and Manual Word Count, we hope to capture
complementary estimates of the amount of speech children are exposed to. AWC is less
accurate, but commonly used, and provides an estimate of the speech across the whole day.
MWC, because it comes from human annotations, is the gold-standard for accurate speech
estimates, but is only derived from 30 minutes of the recording.

Interactivity.

Conversational Turn Count.

One commonly used and easily-extracted metric of communicative interaction (e.g.,
Ganek & Eriks-Brophy, 2018; Magimairaj, Nagaraj, Caballero, Munoz, & White, 2022) is
conversational turn count (or CTC), an automated measure generated by LENA (Xu et al.,
Like AWC, a recent meta-analysis finds that CTC is associated with children's

¹ To make this comparable to the manual word count estimates, which are derived from the 30 minutes of randomly sampled annotation, we calculate AWC per half hour.

language outcomes (Wang et al., 2020). After tagging vocalizations for speaker identity, LENA algorithm looks for alternations between adult and target child speech in close 316 temporal proximity. The algorithm counts any temporally close (within 5 seconds) switch 317 between adult and target child vocalizations, which can erroneously include non-contingent 318 interactions (e.g., mom talking to dad while the infant babbles to herself nearby), and 319 therefore inflate the count especially for younger ages and in houses with multiple children 320 (Ferjan Ramírez, Hippe, & Kuhl, 2021). Still, this measure correlates moderately well with 321 manually-coded conversational turns (Busch, Sangen, Vanpoucke, & van Wieringen, 2018; 322 Ganek & Eriks-Brophy, 2018), and because participants in our sample are matched on both 323 age and number of siblings, CTC overestimation should not be biased towards either groups. 324 Conversational turn count is calculated over the entire recording, but to normalize for 325 recording length, we divided this by recording length.

Proportion of Child-Directed Speech.

Our other measure of interactivity is the proportion of utterances that are child-directed, derived from the manual annotations. Each proportion was calculated as the number of utterances (produced by someone *other* than the target child) tagged with a child addressee out of the total number of utterances. To try to get a representative measure of child-directed speech in the environment overall (Cychosz, Villanueva, & Weisleder, 2021), we use the random samples only for this calculation.

Linguistic Features.

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Type-Token Ratio.

As in previous work (Montag, Jones, & Smith, 2018; Pancsofar & Vernon-Feagans, 2006; e.g., Templin, 1957), we calculated the lexical diversity of the input by dividing the number of unique words by the total number of words (i.e., the type-token ratio). Because the type-token ratio changes as a function of the size of the language sample (Montag et al., 2018; Richards, 1987), we first standardized the sample length by cutting children's input

(from the manual annotations) in each recording into 100-word bins. We then calculated the type-token ratio within each of these bins by dividing the number of unique words in each bin by the number of total words (~100). For each child, type-token ratio is the average of the type-token ratios for each of the bins in their input.

as mean utterance length in morphemes. Both type-token ratio and mean length of

We also analyzed the syntactic complexity of children's language input, approximated

MLU.

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utterance in speech to infants remain consistent for individual caretakers, in and out of lab 348 settings (Stevenson, Leavitt, Roach, Chapman, & Miller, 1986). Each utterance was 349 tokenized into morphemes using the 'morphemepiece' R package (Bratt, Harmon, & 350 Learning, 2022). We then calculated the mean length of utterance (number of morphemes) 351 per speaker in each audio recording. We manually checked utterance length in a random 352 subset of 10% of the utterances (n =), which yielded a intra-class correlation coefficient of 353 0.94 agreement with the udpipe approach (p < .001), indicating high consistency. 354 Conceptual Features. Our analysis of the conceptual features aims to measure 355 whether the extent to which language input centers around the "here and now": 356 objects/events/people that are currently present/occurring vs. displaced objects/events. 357 Prior work has quantified such here-and-nowness by counting object presence co-occurring 358 with a related noun label (P. A. Ganea & Saylor, 2013; Harris, Jones, Brookes, & Grant, 359 1986; Moore & McConachie, 1994; e.g., Osina, Saylor, & Ganea, 2013). The audio format of our data make it difficult to ascertain object presence, so instead of object displacement, we 361 approximate here-and-nowness using lexical and morphosyntactic properties of the input. We do this by comparing 1) What proportion of utterances are temporally displaced?; 2) To what extent can children physically engage in or interact with words' referents?; and 3) 364 What proportion of words have referents that can only be experienced through vision?

Proportion of temporally displaced verbs.

We examined the displacement of events discussed in children's linguistic environment, 367 via properties of the verbs in their input. Notably, we are attempting to highlight semantic 368 features of the language environment; however, given the constraints of large-scale textual 369 analysis, we are categorizing utterances based on a combination of closely related syntactic 370 and morphological features of verbs, since these contain some time information in their 371 surface forms. We assigned each utterance a temporality value: utterances tagged 372 displaced describe events that take place in the past, future, or irrealis space, while 373 utterances tagged present describe current, ongoing events. This coding scheme roughly 374 aligns with both the temporal displacement and future hypothetical categories in 375 (Grimminger, Rohlfing, Lüke, Liszkowski, & Ritterfeld, 2020; Hudson, 2002; see also: 376 Lucariello & Nelson, 1987). To do this, we used the udpipe package (Wijffels, 2023) to tag 377 the transcriptions with parts of speech and other lexical features, such as tense, number agreement, or case inflection. To be marked as present, a verb either had to be marked with 379 both present tense and indicative mood, or appear in the gerund form with no marked tense (e.g. you talking to Papa?). Features that could mark an utterance as displaced included past 381 tense, presence of a modal, presence of if, or presence of qonna/qoing to, have to, 382 wanna/want to, or gotta/got to, since these typically indicate future events, belief states and 383 desires, rather than real-time events. In the case of utterances with multiple verbs, we 384 selected the features from the first verb or auxiliary, as a proxy for hierarchical dominance. 385 A small number of utterances in our corpus were left uncategorized (n = 1512/9776), either 386 because they were fragments or because the automated parser failed to tag any of the 387 relevant features. We manually checked verb temporality in a random subset of 10% of the 388 utterances (n = 936); human judgments of event temporality aligned with the automated 380 tense tagger 76%, indicating reasonably high reliability of this measure. 390

$CBOI\ distribution.$

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Next, we measured whether the distribution of Child-Body-Object Interaction (CBOI) rating differed across groups (Muraki, Siddiqui, & Pexman, 2022). These norms were generated by asking parents of six-year-olds to rate the extent to which children physically interact with words' referents, from 1 (things that a typical child does not easily physically interact with) to 7 (things a typical child would easily physically interact with). These ratings are another measure of the amount of sensorimotor information wrapped up in language input to children, which may make certain words easier to learn and process (Muraki et al., 2022). We first use the udpipe part-of-speech tags to filter to content words (adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs). Words without a CBOI rating (N = 5639/32704) were removed.

Proportion of highly visual words.

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In addition to these two more traditional measures of decontextualized language, we 402 include one measure that is uniquely decontextualized for the blind children relative to their 403 sighted matches: the proportion of words in the input with referents that are highly and 404 exclusively visual. We categorize the perceptual modalities of words' referents using the 405 Lancaster Sensorimotor Norms, ratings from typically-sighted adults about the extent to 406 which a word evokes a visual/tactile/auditory/etc. experience (Lynott, Connell, Brysbaert, 407 Brand, & Carney, 2020). Words with higher ratings in a given modality are more strongly 408 associated with perceptual experience in that modality. A word's dominant perceptual 400 modality is the modality which received the highest mean rating. We tweak this 410 categorization in two ways: words which received low ratings (< 3.5) across all modalities were re-categorized as amodal, and words whose ratings were distributed across modalities 412 (perceptual exclusivity < 0.5) were re-categorized as multimodal. Using this system, each of 413 the content words in children's input (adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs) were 414 categorized into their primary perceptual modality. For each child, we extracted the 415 proportion of exclusively "visual" words in their language environment. 416

Results

418 Measuring Properties of Language Input

Our study assesses whether language input to blind children is different from the 419 language input to sighted children, along the dimensions of quantity, interactivity, linguistic 420 properties, and conceptual properties. We test for group differences using paired t-tests or 421 the non-parametric Wilcoxon signed rank tests, when a Shapiro-Wilks test indicates that the 422 variable is not normally distributed. Because this analysis involves multiple tests against the null hypothesis (that there is no difference in the language input to blind vs. sighted kids), we use the Bonferroni correction to control family-wise error rate. The threshold for significance 425 for each set of analyses (quantity, interaction, linguistic, conceptual) is determined by 426 dividing the standard 0.05 cut-off by the number of variables tested for that dimension. The 427 results of these analyses are summarized in Table 2. 428

Language Input Quantity. We first compare the quantity of language input to blind and sighted children using two measures of the number of words in their environment: LENA's automated Adult Word Count and word token count from our manual annotations. Shapiro-Wilks tests indicated that both of these variables were normally distributed (ps > .05). Because the quantity analysis consists of two statistical tests, our Bonferroni-corrected threshold for significance is p < 0.03.

Turning first to LENA's automated measure, a two-sample t-test shows that despite wide variability in the number of words children hear (Range: 195–992 words_{blind}, 238–804 words_{sighted}), blind and sighted children do not differ in language input quantity (t(28) = -1.19, p = .245). If we instead measure this using word counts from the transcriptions of the audio recordings, we find parallel results: blind and sighted children do not differ in language input quantity (t(28.39) = 1.07, p = .294); see Figure 1.

Interactivity. Next, we ask whether the language environments of blind vs. sighted participants differ in the amount of interaction with the child, by comparing the proportion

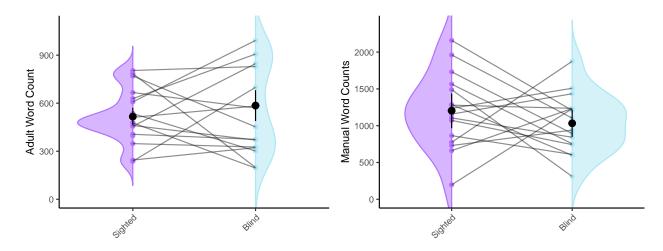


Figure 1. Comparing LENA-generated adult word counts (left) and transcription-based word counts in the input of blind and sighted children. Each dot represents the estimated number of words in one child's recording.

of child-directed speech and the number of conversational turns. Both measures were normally distributed (Prop. CDS: W = 0.97, p = .969; CTC: W = 0.88, p = .878). This set of analyses involves two tests, so our Bonferroni-corrected threshold for significance is $p < \infty$ 0.03. Paired t-test revealed no significant difference in the proportion of child-directed speech (t = 0.06, p = .952) or in conversational turn counts to blind children versus to sighted children.

Linguistic Features. For linguistic features, we measure type-token ratio and mean length of utterance, two variables derived from the manual annotations. Because these 450 variables met the normality assumption (TTR: W = 0.97, p = .965; MLU: (W = 0.94, p = .965) 451 .937)), we performed paired t-tests. Again, Bonferroni-corrected significance was set to p < p452 0.03. Results indicated that there was no significant difference in type-token ratio between 453 the two groups (t(15) = -2.25, p = .040), but that for MLU, utterances were slightly longer 454 to blind children than to their sighted peers (t(15) = -2.51, p = .024); see Figure 3). 455

Conceptual Features. Lastly, we compared three measures of the conceptual 456 features of language input: the proportion of temporally displaced verbs, the distribution of 457 Child-Body-Object Interaction ratings across words in the input, and the proportion of

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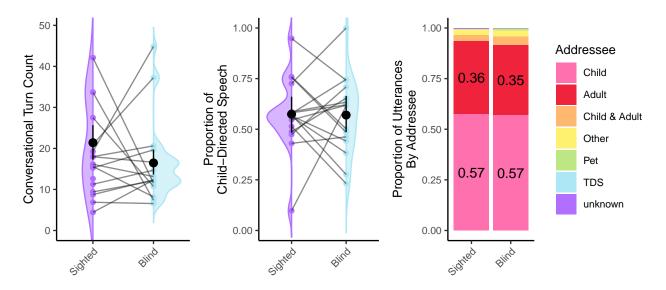


Figure 2. Comparing LENA-generated conversational turn counts (left) and proportion of utterances in child-directed speech (center). Each dot represents one child's recording. The full breakdown by addressee is shown in the rightmost panel.

highly visual words. This set of analyses involves three tests, so our Bonferroni-corrected 459 threshold for significance is p < 0.02. Because the proportion of displaced verbs does not 460 follow a normal distribution (W = 0.96, p = .960), we tested this measure with a paired 461 Wilcoxon test: we find that blind children hear proportionally more displaced verbs than 462 sighted children (W = 24, p = .021). Next, we compared the distribution of CBOI ratings in 463 word tokens in blind children's input to that in sighted children's input using a two-sample Kilgomorov-Smirnov test. These distributions significantly differ (D = 0.98, p < .001). Descriptively, low CBOI words were more common in language input to blind children, and high CBOI words were more common in language input to sighted children; see Figure ??. For the proportion of highly visual words, a Shapiro-Wilks test showed that this variable was 468 normally distributed (W = 0.88, p = .880). A paired t-test found no significant difference 469 across groups in the proportion of highly visual words (t(15) = 0.80, p = .439). 470

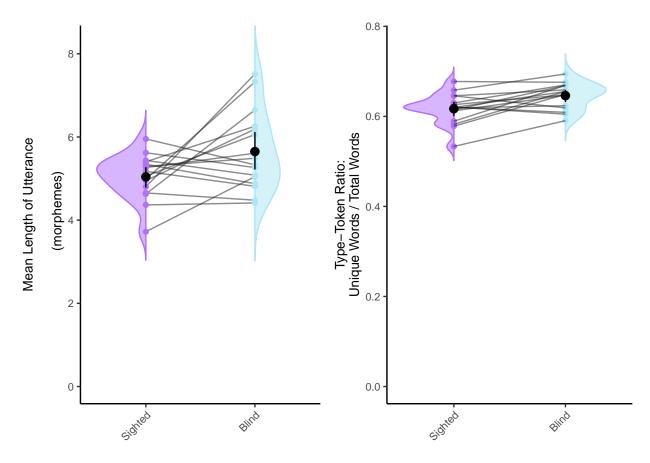


Figure 3. Comparing linguistic features: Mean length of utterance (left); each dot represents one speaker. Type-token ratio (right). Each dot represents one child's recording.

471 Discussion

This study, which contains more blind participants than prior research alongside a
carefully peer-matched sighted sample, measured language input to young blind children and
their sighted peers, using the LENA audio recorder to capture naturalistic speech in the
home. We found that across many dimensions of language input, parents largely talk
similarly to blind and sighted children, with a few nuanced differences, that we discuss
further below.

78 Quantity

Across two measures of language input quantity, one estimated from the full sixteen hour recording (Adult Word Count) and one precisely measured from a 30-minute window of

that day (Manual Word Count), blind and sighted children were exposed to similar amounts
of speech in the home. Quantity was highly variable within groups, but we found no
evidence for between group differences in input quantity. This runs counter to two folk
accounts of language input to blind children: 1) that sighted parents of blind children might
talk less because they don't share visual common ground with their children; 2) that parents
of blind children might talk more to compensate for their children's lack of visual input.

Instead, we find a similar quantity of speech across groups.

488 Interactivity

We quantified interactivity in two ways: through the LENA-estimated conversational 489 turn count and through the proportion of child-directed speech in our manual annotations. Again, we found no differences across groups in the amount of parent-child interaction. This finding contrasts with previous research; other studies report less interaction in dyads where the child is blind (Pérez-Pereira & Conti-Ramsden, 2001; Rowland, 1984; Andersen et al., 1993; Grumi et al., 2021; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Moore & McConachie, 1994; Preisler, 494 1991). Using a non-visual sampling method (i.e., our audio recordings) might provide a 495 different, more naturalistic perspective on parent-child interactions, particularly in this 496 population. For one thing, many prior studies (e.g., Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Moore & 497 McConachie, 1994; Pérez-Pereira & Conti-Ramsden, 2001; Preisler, 1991) involve video 498 recordings in the child's home, with the researcher present. Like other young children, blind 499 children distinguish between familiar individuals and strangers, and react with trepidation to 500 the presence of a stranger (Fraiberg, 1975; McRae, 2002); for blind children, this reaction 501 may involve "quieting", wherein children cease speaking or vocalizing when they hear a new 502 voice in the home (Fraiberg, 1975; McRae, 2002). By having a researcher present during the 503 recordings², prior research may have artificially suppressed blind children's initiation of

² Fraiberg (1975) writes "these fear and avoidance behaviors appear even though the observer, a twice-monthly visitor, is not, strictly speaking, a stranger." (pg. 323).

interactions. Even naturalistic observer-free video-recordings appear to inflate aspects of 505 parental input, relative to daylong recordings (Bergelson et al., 2019). In these cases, the 506 video camera acts as an observer itself, making participants aware of its presence, limiting 507 participants' mobility, and therefore shrinking the pragmatic scope of possible interactions. 508 Together, these factors could explain why past parent-child interaction research finds that 500 blind children initiate fewer interactions (Andersen et al., 1993; Dote-Kwan, 1995; Kekelis & 510 Andersen, 1984; Moore & McConachie, 1994; Tröster & Brambring, 1992), that parents do 511 most of the talking (Andersen et al., 1993; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984), and that there is 512 overall less interaction (Nagayoshi et al., 2017; Sally J. Rogers & Puchalski, 1984; Rowland, 513 1984; Tröster & Brambring, 1992). 514

Additionally, a common focus in earlier interaction literature is to measure visual cues of interaction, such as shared gaze or attentiveness to facial expressions (Baird, Mayfield, & Baker, 1997; Preisler, 1991; Sally J. Rogers & Puchalski, 1984). We can't help but wonder: are visual markers of social interaction the right yardstick to measure blind children against? In line with MacLeod and Demers (2023), perhaps the field should move away from sighted indicators of interaction "quality", and instead situate blind children's interactions within their own developmental niche, one that may be better captured with auditory- or tactile-focused coding schemes.

Linguistic Features

Along the linguistic dimension, we measured type-token ratio and mean length of
utterance. Type-token ratio was similar across groups and similar to type-token ratios
reported in other child-centered corpora (e.g., Newman, Rowe, & Bernstein Ratner, 2016),
suggesting that blind and sighted children are exposed to similar amounts of lexical diversity.

For MLU, we expected to find lower MLU in language input to blind children relative to sighted children. Parents of children with disabilities (Chernyak, n.d.; including parents of

blind children! e.g., FamilyConnect, n.d.) are often advised to use shorter, simpler sentences with their children, and correspondingly, previous work finds that parents of children with 531 disabilities tend to find that parents use shorter, simpler utterances (e.g., Down syndrome, 532 Lorang, Venker, & Sterling, 2020; hearing loss, Dirks et al., 2020). In many cases, however, 533 this advice is not supported by the literature; evidence suggests that longer, more complex 534 utterances are associated with better child language outcomes in both typically-developing 535 children (Hoff & Naigles, 2002) and children with cognitive differences (Sandbank & Yoder, 536 2016). In our sample, we found similar (and perhaps even higher) MLUs in blind children's 537 language environment, relative to sighted children. If anything, the language environments of 538 blind children trend towards *longer*, more complex utterances. 539

540 Conceptual Features

Relative to other aspects of language input, the conceptual dimension varied most
across groups. Although there are many potential ways to measure the conceptual features
of language, we chose to capture here-and-now-ness by measuring the proportion of
temporally displaced verbs, the distribution of high vs. low child-body-object interaction
ratings for content words, and the proportion of highly visual words. Though blind and
sighted participants were exposed to a similar proportion of highly visual words, blind
children heard more temporally displaced verbs and their content words were distributed
slightly more to the "not-interactable" end of the child-body-object interaction scale.

The extent to which blind children's language input is centered on the here-and-now has been contested in the literature (Andersen et al., 1993; J. Campbell, 2003; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Moore & McConachie, 1994; Urwin, 1984). This aspect of language input is of particular interest because, for sighted children, decontextualized language in the input is associated with children's own use of decontextualized language, and early reports suggest that blind children's own use of decontextualized language develops later than sighted

children's³ (A. Bigelow, 1990; Urwin, 1984). Could this be related to an absence of decontextualized language in the input? Our sample says no: we find that blind children's 556 input contains more decontextualized language. One possible explanation is that because 557 children have less access to immediate visual cues, caregivers might instead refer to past or 558 future events to engage with their child. To illustrate, while riding on a train, instead of 559 describing the scenery passing outside the window, parents may choose to talk about what 560 happened earlier in the day or their plans upon home. Without further information about 561 the social and perceptual context, it is difficult to determine the communicative function of 562 the differences we find in conceptual features we find or how they might explain differences 563 in children's decontextualized language use. As more dense annotation becomes available, we 564 can explore the social and environmental contexts of conceptual information as it unfolds 565 across discourse.

Patterns in Language Input

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Before synthesizing an account of these differences, we wish to highlight again how
much variability there is *within* groups and how much consistency there is *between* groups.

One could imagine a world in which the language environments of blind and sighted children
are radically different from each other. Our data do not support that hypothesis. Rather, we
find far more similarity across groups than differences, and all differences were small in
magnitude. This is worth emphasizing and re-emphasizing: across developmental contexts,
including, as we show here, visual experience, children's language input is resoundingly
similar (Bergelson et al., 2022).

When we zoom into more fine-grained aspects of the input, we find that blind children's language environments contain longer utterances, more temporal displacement, and content words that are harder for children to interact with. Together, these features

³ Perhaps relatedly, object permanence and related skills may be delayed in blind children, S. J. Rogers and Puchalski (1988).

suggest that blind toddlers' input is more similar to speech directed towards older children or adults (Rowe, 2012; Snow, 1972) than sighted toddlers'. We cannot singularly attribute this to differences in addressee: our manual annotations indicate a similar proportion of child-.vs.adult-directed speech across the two groups.

One explanation for the (minimal) differences between blind and sighted children's language environments is parents' ability to assess their children's engagement and cognitive level, and thereby tailor their speech accordingly. Sighted parents may be less readily able to recognize blind children's signals of interest (Perez-Pereira & Conti-Ramsden, 1999), and as a result, may respond less often to infants' vocalizations and bids for communication (Rowland, 1984), instead defaulting to more adultlike language.

Connecting to Language Outcomes

Returning to the larger equation of language development, blind and sighted infants 590 differ in their access to perceptual input, and we have shown that language input is different 591 along only a few axes: conceptual features, where language and the perceptual world 592 interact, and complexity, with blind children hearing slightly longer and more adult-like 593 utterances, on average. Initial vocabulary delays in blind children may then primarily be a 594 result of the conflict between their lack of visual access and the majority-visual cues to early 595 "brute-force" word learning (e.g., shared gaze, pointing, visual perception of referents). It could be precisely this linguistic input complexity which aids blind children in acquiring semantic knowledge later in development, once the first words are acquired. Under this theory, language input interventions or specific compensatory strategies for input to blind children become unnecessary for cognitively-typical blind children: the rich information in 600 the language input and the infants' own learning capacity are plenty sufficient for acquiring 601 language. Testing this prediction awaits further research.

603 Conclusion

In summary, our study compared language input in homes of 15 blind and 15 sighted 604 infants/toddlers. We found that both groups received similar quantities of adult speech and 605 had similar levels of interaction. However, blind children were exposed to longer utterances 606 and more decontextualized language, suggesting that they are being exposed to a rich and 607 complex linguistic environment that differs from the language input of sighted children. Our 608 study does not imply that parents should change their communication styles, but rather 609 highlights the importance of recognizing and appreciating the unique language experiences of 610 blind children. Future research could investigate how these input differences impact the 611 language development and cognitive abilities of blind and sighted children alike. 612

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Variable	Blind	Sighted	Overall
Age in months			
Mean (SD)	15.77 (8.20)	16.15 (8.15)	15.96 (8.04)
Min, Max	6.41, 30.38	6.18, 31.76	6.18, 31.76
Gender			
(Col %)			
${f F}$	7 (43.75%)	7 (43.75%)	14 (43.75%)
\mathbf{M}	9 (56.25%)	9 (56.25%)	18 (56.25%)
Maternal education level			
(Col %)	0 (0 0007)	0 (0 0007)	0 (0 0007)
Some college Associate's degree	0 (0.00%) 3 (23.08%)		0 (0.00%) 4 (15.38%)
Bachelor's degree	1 (7.69%)		3 (11.54%)
Master's degree	5 (38.46%)	,	14 (53.85%)
Missing	4 (30.77%)	,	,
Maternal education level	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Number of older siblings			
Mean (SD)	0.50 (0.82)	1.09 (1.04)	0.74 (0.94)
Min, Max	0.00, 2.00	0.00, 3.00	0.00, 3.00

 $\label{thm:condition} \begin{tabular}{ll} Table 1 \\ Language input variables extracted from recordings. \end{tabular}$

Variable	Coding	Portion of	Description
		Recording	
Adult Word Count /	Automated	Whole day	Estimated number of words in recording
half hour (AWC)			categorized as nearby adult speech by LENA
			algorithm
Manual Word Count	Manual	Random	Number of word tokens from speakers other than
(WC)			target child
Conversational Turn	Automated	Whole day	Count of temporally close switches between adult
Count / half hour			and target-child vocalizations, divided by
(CTC)			recording length
Proportion of	Manual	Random	Number of utterances tagged with child addressee
Child-Directed Speech			out of total number of utterances, from speakers
(Prop. CDS)			other than target child
Type-Token Ratio	Manual	Random +	Average of the type-token ratios (number of
		High Volume	unique words divided by number of total words)
			for each of the 100-word bins in their sample
Mean Length of	Manual +	Random +	Average number of morphemes per utterance
Utterance	NLP parsing	High Volume	
Proportion of	Manual +	Random +	Proportion of verbs that refer to past, future, or
Temporally Displaced	NLP tagging	High Volume	hypothetical events
Verbs (Prop. Displaced)			
Child-Body-Object	Manual +	Random +	Distribution of ratings of "how much a child can
Interaction Ratings	NLP tagging	High Volume	interact with" each word (adjectives, adverbs,
(CBOI)			nouns, verbs)
Proportion of Highly	Manual	Random +	Proportion of words in the input with high visual
Visual Words		High Volume	association ratings and low ratings for other
			perceptual modalities

 $\label{eq:continuous_summary} Table~2$ Summary~of~analyses~over~language~input~variables.

Variable	Direction	p value	Survives
			Bonferroni
			Correction?
Adult Word Count	Blind ~ Sighted	.245	
Manual Word	Blind ~ Sighted	.294	
Count			
Prop.	Blind ~ Sighted	.952	
Child-Directed			
Speech			
Conversational	Blind ~ Sighted	.096	
Turn Count			
Type-Token Ratio	Blind > Sighted	.040*	
Mean Length of	Blind > Sighted	.024*	*
Utterance			
Prop. Displaced	Blind > Sighted	.021*	
Child-Body-Object	Blind < Sighted	< .001*	*
Interaction			
Prop. Visual	Blind ~ Sighted	.439	