- Comparing Language Input in Homes of Blind and Sighted Children: Insights from Daylong
- 2 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 examine the role that perceptual input plays in shaping children's language environment, as well as 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 quantity alone (e.g., Roseberry, Hirsh-Pasek, & Golinkoff, 2014 May-Jun).

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 65 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 69 to quantify the extent to which caregivers and infants interact during language input is by 70 looking at how much speech is directed to the child (as opposed to, for example, an 71 overheard conversation between adults). The amount of child-directed speech in children's 72 input [at least in Western contexts; (casillas2020?)] is associated with children's vocabulary and lexical processing (Rowe, 2008; weisleder2013?; shneidman2013?) 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 aspect 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) and syntactic complexity. In accounts of the development of sighted children, toddlers who are exposed to greater diversity of words in their language input tend 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 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 88 language signal maps onto objects and events in the world (Rowe & Snow, 2020). The pieces of the conceptual content of language input 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) (though object permanence and related skills may be delayed in blind children, S. J. Rogers and Puchalski (1988)). 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 use—that is, talking about past, 98 future, or hypothetical events, or people and items that are not currently present in the environment—may be beneficial at later stages of development (Rowe, 2013). Indeed, greater 100 decontextualized language use in speech to toddlers predicts kindergarten vocabulary (Rowe, 101 2012), children's own decontextualized language use (Demir, Rowe, Heller, Goldin-Meadow, 102 & Levine, 2015), and academic achievement in adolescence (Uccelli, Demir-Lira, Rowe, 103 Levine, & Goldin-Meadow, 2019). Decontextualized language may support language learning 104 because it provides an opportunity to discuss a broader range of topics and in turn, can offer 105 more lexical and syntactic diversity. 106

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 110 absence of visual input, language is an important source of information about the world (E. 111 E. Campbell & Bergelson, 2022). Syntactic structure in particular provides cues to word 112 meaning that may be lost without visual cues, such as the relationship between two entities 113 that aren't within reach (Gleitman, 1990). In our review so far, we have presented a pattern 114 wherein the features of the input that are most helpful for language learning change over the 115 course of children's development: early on, many of these cues require visual access, such as 116 parental gaze, shared visual attention, pointing to remote object and the presence of salient 117 objects in the visual field. Only later in development do the handholds to language learning 118 become more abstract. This may be part of the reason why language delays are common in 119 blind toddlers, but often resolved in older childhood (Landau & Gleitman, 1985). If direct 120 sensory access to referents provides an initial "brute force" mechanism for mapping words onto meanings, it may take longer for blind children to acquire the first few words. By 122 hypothesis, once this initial seed of lexical knowledge is acquired, blind children and sighted children alike are able to use more abstract and linguistic features as cues, and learning can 124 proceed more rapidly thereafter (Babineau, de Carvalho, Trueswell, & Christophe, 2021; 125 Babineau, Havron, Dautriche, de Carvalho, & Christophe, 2022; E. E. Campbell & Bergelson, 2022). Nevertheless, we cannot assume that access to visual experience is the only 127 difference in the language learning experiences for blind and sighted children; the language 128 input itself may differ for blind children relative to sighted children. 129

# 130 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 143 adjust their conversation in accordance with the conversation partner's sensory access (Gergle, Kraut, & Fussell, 2004; Grigoroglou, Edu, & Papafragou, 2016). In a noisy environment, speakers will adapt the acoustic-phonetic features of their speech with the 146 intent to make it easier for their interlocutor to understand them (Hazan & Baker, 2011), 147 which demonstrates sensitivity to even temporary sensory conditions of their conversation 148 partner. When describing scenes, speakers aim to provide the information their listeners lack 149 but avoid redundant visual description (Grice, 1975; Ostarek, Paridon, & Montero-Melis, 150 2019). During in-lab tasks with sighted participants, participants tailor their descriptions 151 and requests by verbally providing visually-absent cues when an object is occluded to their 152 partner (Hawkins, Gweon, & Goodman, 2021; Jara-Ettinger & Rubio-Fernandez, 2021; 153 Rubio-Fernandez, 2019). These results suggest that adults and even infants (Chiesa, Galati, 154 & Schmidt, 2015; N. Ganea et al., 2018; Senju et al., 2013) can flexibly adapt communication 155 to the visual and auditory abilities of their partner. 156

Curiously though, these patterns are not borne out in the existing literature on interactions between blind infants and their sighted parents. We might expect parents to verbally compensate for missing visual input, resulting in parents providing more description of the child's environment. Instead, caregivers of blind children seem to restrict conversation to things that the blind child is currently engaged with, rather than attempt to redirect their

attention to other stimuli (Andersen, Dunlea, & Kekelis, 1993; J. Campbell, 2003; Kekelis & 162 Andersen, 1984; though c.f., moore1994?). In naturalistic settings, parents of blind 163 children use fewer declaratives and more imperatives than parents of sighted children, 164 suggesting that children might be receiving less description than sighted children (Kekelis & 165 Andersen, 1984; Landau & Gleitman, 1985). On the other hand, some parents may adapt to 166 their children's visual abilities in specific contexts. Tadić, Pring, and Dale (2013 Nov-Dec) 167 and colleagues find that in a structured book reading task, parents of blind children provide 168 more descriptive utterances than parents of sighted children. Further, parents of blind 169 children provide more tactile cues to initiate interactions or establish joint attention 170 (Preisler, 1991; Urwin, 1983, 1984), which may serve the same social role as shared gaze in 171 sighted children. These mixed results suggest that parents of blind children might alter 172 language input in some domains but not others.

## 174 The Present Study

Reaching a better understanding of how sensory perception and linguistic input interact 175 to influence blind children's language outcomes is of great scientific, clinical, and education 176 importance. If properties of language input influence the likelihood of language delays among 177 blind infants and toddlers (E. E. Campbell et al., submitted), capturing this variation may 178 reveal a more nuanced picture of how infants use the input to learn language. In the present 179 study, we examine daylong recordings of the naturalistic language environments of blind and 180 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 as 183 information-rich learning cues, including interactivity (conversational turn counts, proportion 184 of child-directed speech), conceptual features (temporal displacement, sensory modality), and 185 linguistic complexity (type/token ratio and mean length of utterance).

187 Methods

## 188 Participants

29 blind infants and their families participated in this study. Blind participants were 180 recruited through ophthalmologist referral, preschools, early intervention programs, social 190 media, and word of mouth. To be eligible for this study, participants had to be 6–30 months 191 old, have no additional disabilities (developmental delays; intellectual disabilities, or hearing 192 loss), and be exposed to  $\geq$  75% English at home. Given the wide age range of the study, to 193 control for age, each blind participant was matched to a sighted participant, based on age (± 194 6 weeks), gender, maternal education (± one education level: less than high school diploma, 195 high school diploma, some college / Associate's, Bachelor's, graduate school), and number of siblings (± 1 sibling). When more than one match was available, we prioritized matching the blind participants as closely as possible on each characteristic in the preceding order. 198 Caregivers were asked to complete a demographics survey and the MacArthur-Bates 190 Communicative Development Inventory (CDI, Fenson et al., 1994) within one week of the 200 home language recording. See Table @ref(tab: participant-characteristics) for sample 201 characteristics. 202

#### 203 Recording Procedure

Eligible families were asked to complete two surveys as well as a daylong home language recording. 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 vest nearby during bath, nap, and car times). They were also instructed on 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).

### Processing

Audio recordings were first processed by LENA proprietary software, creating 214 algorithmic measures such as conversational turn counts. Each recording was then run 215 through an in-house automated sampler that selected 15- non-overlapping 5-minute 216 segments, randomly distributed across the duration of the recording. The process outputs a 217 codeable ELAN file (.eaf, Brugman & Russel, 2009). Each segment consists of 2 core minutes 218 of annotated time, with 2 minutes of listenable context preceding the annotation clip and 1 219 minute of additional context following the annotation clip. Each file therefore contains 30 minutes of coded recording time and 75 minutes of total time listened. Because these segments were sampled randomly, and not on a high-volubility measure such as conversational turns or adult speech density, the amount of time with codeable speech input 223 varied for each recording. Indeed, across participants roughly 27% of the random 2-minute 224 coding segments contained no speech at all. For questions of how much does a phenomenon occur, random sampling schemes can help avoid overestimating speech in the input, but for 226 questions of input *content*, randomly selected samples may be too sparse (Pisani, Gautheron, 227 & Cristia, 2021). 228

Therefore, we also chose to annotate 5 additional segments specifically for their high 229 density of speech. To select these segments of dense talk, we first conducted an automated 230 analysis of the audio file using the voice type classifier for child-centered daylong recordings 231 (Lavechin, Bousbib, Bredin, Dupoux, & Cristia, 2021) which identified all human speech in 232 the recording. The entire recording was then broken into 2-minute chunks marked out at 233 zero-second timestamps (e.g. 00:02:00.000 to 00:04:00.000). Each of these chunks was then 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, 236 excluding those that overlapped with already-coded random segments. These high volubility 237 segments allowed us to characterize features of the language as proportions of the linguistic 238

input children receive and to compare our findings more closely 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 input produced 40 minutes of
annotated recording time per child.

## 244 Annotation

Trained annotators listened through each 2-minute segment plus its surrounding 245 context and coded it using the Analyzing Child Language Experiences around the World 246 (ACLEW) Daylong Audio Recording of Children's Linguistic Environments (DARCLE) 247 annotation scheme (Soderstrom et al., 2021). Prior to annotating lab data, annotators are 248 trained on previously coded samples of child recordings and are required to reach 95% overall 249 agreement with the gold standard version of the file for three different age ranges: 0-7 250 months, 8-18 months, and 19-36 months. For more information about this annotation 251 scheme and the larger project, please see the ACLEW homepage 252 (https://sites.google.com/view/aclewdid/home). Following the first pass, all files were 253 reviewed by a highly-trained "superchecker" to ensure the consistency of annotations.

This annotation scheme is designed to capture both utterances by the target child and 255 speech in the child's environment, including adults, other children, and pre-recorded 256 electronic speech (e.g. toys, television, the radio). Annotators segment the duration of each 257 utterance on a separate coding tier for each unique speaker. Speech by people other than the 258 target child is transcribed using an adapted version of the CHAT transcription style (MacWhinney, 2019), dubbed minCHAT for the ACLEW project (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 coded for the 262 addressee of each utterance: speech directed to a child; adult-directed speech; speech 263 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).

### 267 Extracting Measures of Language Input

To go from our dimensions of interest (quantity, interactiveness, linguistic, conceptual), 268 to quantifiable properties, we used a combination of automated measures [generated by the 269 proprietary LENA algorithm; Xu, Yapanel, and Gray (2009)] and manual measures 270 (generated from the transcriptions made by our trained annotators). These manual 271 annotations can be analyzed for the random segments, the high-volume segments, or both. 272 The decision on 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 try to capture a more representative estimate. Linguistic and conceptual analyses were conducted 275 on all available annotations in order to maximize the amount of speech over which we could 276 calculate them. These measures are summarized in Table 1. 277

# Quantity.

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#### Adult Word Count.

To derive this count, first the LENA algorithm segments the recording into clips of 280 varying length. These segments are then classified as female adult speech, male adult speech, 281 target child, other child, overlapping vocalization/noise, electronic noise, noise, silence, or 282 uncertain, each of which is further categorized into "near" or "far". Only segments that are 283 classified as nearby male or female adult speech are included in the Adult Word Count 284 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 automated count correlates strongly with word counts derived from manual annotations [r =.71 – .92; Lehet, Arjmandi, Houston, and Dilley (2021), but Lehet et al. (2021) and 288 colleagues find that the amount of error may vary substantially across families. Compared to 289 short samples that they had manually transcribed and counted, LENA's AWC estimate 290

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 [Wang, Williams, Dilley, and
Houston (2020); e.g., autism, hearing loss]. 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. In order 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.,
2009). Like AWC, a recent meta-analysis finds that CTC is associated with children's
language outcomes (Wang et al., 2020). After tagging vocalizations for speaker identity,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> To make this comparable to the manual word count estimates, which are derived from the 30 minutes of random sample annotation, we calculate AWC per half hour.

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

### 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 (**cychosz2021a?**), 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 type-token ratio by dividing the number of unique words by the total number of words. 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.

### MLU.

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We also analyzed the syntactic complexity of children's language input, approximated 345 as mean utterance length in morphemes. Both type-token ratio and mean length of 346 utterance in speech to infants remain consistent for individual caretakers, in and out of lab 347 settings (Stevenson, Leavitt, Roach, Chapman, & Miller, 1986). Each utterance was 348 tokenized into morphemes using the 'morphemepiece' R package (Bratt, Harmon, & 349 Learning, 2022). We then calculated the mean length of utterance (number of morphemes) 350 per speaker in each audio recording. We manually checked utterance length in a random 351 subset of 10% of the utterances, and reached XXX agreement with the udpipe approach, 352 indicating high reliability. 353

Our analysis of the conceptual features aims to measure Conceptual Features. 354 whether the extent to which language input centers around the "here and now": 355 objects/events/people that are currently present/occurring vs. displaced objects/events. Prior work has quantified such here-and-nowness by counting object presence co-occurring 357 with a related noun label (P. A. Ganea & Saylor, 2013; Harris, Jones, Brookes, & Grant, 358 1986; e.g., Osina, Saylor, & Ganea, 2013; moore1994?). The audio format of our data make it difficult to ascertain object presence, so instead of object displacement, in this analysis, we approximate here-and-nowness using lexical and syntactic properties of the input. We do this by comparing 1) What proportion of words are temporally displaced?; 2) To what extent can children physically engage in / interact with words' referents?; and 3) 363 What proportion of words have referents that can only be experienced through vision? 364

## Proportion temporally displaced verbs.

We examined the displacement of events discussed in children's linguistic environment,

via properties of the verbs in their input. Notably, we are attempting to highlight semantic 367 features of the language environment; however, given the constraints of large-scale textual 368 analysis, we are categorizing utterances based on a combination of closely related syntactic 369 and morphological features of verbs, since these contain time-relevant information. We 370 assigned each utterance a temporality value: utterances tagged displaced describe events 371 that take place in the past, future, or irrealis space, while utterances tagged present describe 372 current, ongoing events. This coding scheme roughly aligns with both the temporal 373 displacement and future hypothetical categories in Grimminger, Rohlfing, Lüke, Liszkowski, 374 and Ritterfeld (2020; Hudson, 2002; see also: Lucariello and Nelson, 1987). To do this, we 375 used the udpipe package (Wijffels, 2023) to tag the transcriptions with parts of speech and 376 other lexical features, such as tense, number agreement, or case inflection. To be marked as 377 present, a verb either had to be marked with both present tense and indicative mood, or appear in the gerund form with no marked tense (e.g. you talking to Papa?). Features that 379 could mark an utterance as displaced included past tense, presence of a modal, presence of if, or presence of gonna/going to, have to, wanna/want to, or gotta/got to, since these typically 381 indicate belief states and desires, rather than real-time events. In the case of utterances with 382 multiple verbs, we selected the features from the first verb or auxiliary, as a proxy for 383 hierarchical dominance. A small number of utterances in our corpus were left uncategorized 384 (n = 1589/9362) because they were fragments or because the automated parser failed to tag 385 any of the relevant features. We manually checked verb temporality in a random subset of 386 10% of the utterances, and reached XXX agreement with the NLP approach, indicating 387 moderate reliability. 388

#### $CBOI\ distribution.$

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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 394 are another measure of the amount of sensorimotor information wrapped up in language 395 input to children, which may make certain words easier to learn and process (Muraki et al., 396 2022). We first use the udpipe part-of-speech tags to filter to content words (adjectives, 397 adverbs, nouns, and verbs). Words without a CBOI rating (N = 13114/40703) were removed. 398 399

Proportion highly visual words.

In addition to these two more traditional measures of decontextualized language, we 400 include one measure that is uniquely decontextualized for the blind children relative to their sighted matches: the proportion of words in the input with referents that are highly and 402 exclusively visual. We categorize the perceptual modalities of words' referents using the Lancaster Sensorimotor Norms, ratings from typically-sighted adults about the extent to which a word evokes a visual/tactile/auditory/etc. experience (Lynott, Connell, Brysbaert, 405 Brand, & Carney, 2020). Words with higher ratings in a given modality are more strongly 406 associated with perceptual experience in that modality. A word's dominant perceptual 407 modality is the modality which received the highest mean rating. We tweak this 408 categorization in two ways: words which received low ratings (< 3.5) across all modalities 409 were re-categorized as amodal, and words whose ratings were distributed across modalities 410 were re-categorized as multimodal. Using this system, each of the content words in children's 411 input (adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs) were categorized into their primary perceptual 412 modality. For each child, we extracted the proportion of exclusively "visual" words in their 413 language environment. 414

Results 415

#### Measuring Properties of Language Input 416

We first seek to assess whether language input to blind children is different from the 417 language input to sighted children, along the dimensions of quantity, interactivity, linguistic 418 properties, and conceptual properties. We test for group differences using paired, t-tests or 419

the non-parametric Wilcoxon signed rank tests, when a Shapiro-Wilks test indicates that the
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
for each set of analyses (quantity, interaction, linguistic, conceptual) is determined by the
dividing 0.05 by the number of variables tested for that dimension. The results of these
analyses are summarized in Table 2.

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<sub>blind</sub>, 238–804 words<sub>sighted</sub>), 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(30.00) = 0.48, p = .636); 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 blind the proportion of child-directed speech and the number of conversational turns. Both measures were normally distributed (Prop. CDS: W = 0.97, p = .967; CTC: W = 0.88, p = .878). This set of analyses involves two tests, so our Bonferroni-corrected threshold for significance is p < 0.03. Paired t-test revealed no significant difference in the proportion of child-directed speech (t = 0.12, p = .903) or in conversational turn counts to blind children versus to sighted children.

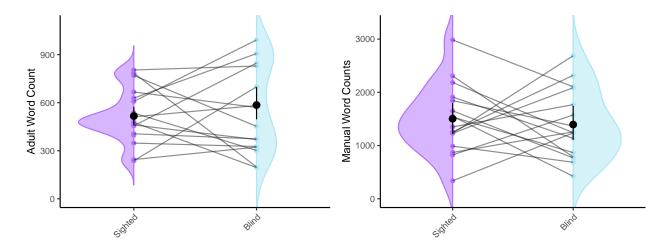


Figure 1. Comparing LENA-generated adult word counts (left) and transcription-based word counts in the input of blind and sighted children. Each dot represents the estimated number of words in one child's recording.

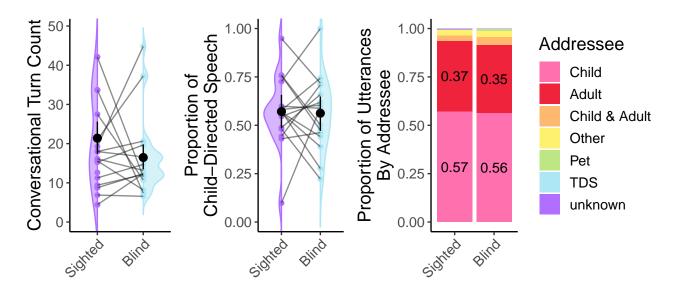


Figure 2. Comparing LENA-generated conversational turn counts (left) and proportion of utterances in child-directed speech (center). Each dot represents one child's recording. The full breakdown by addressee is shown in the rightmost panel.

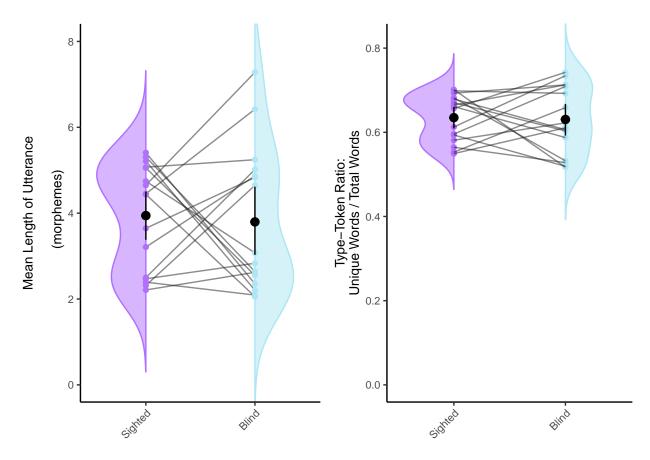


Figure 3. Comparing linguistic features: Mean length of utterance (left); each dot represents one speaker. Type-token ratio (right). Each dot represents one child's recording.

Linguistic Features. For linguistic features, we measure type-token ratio and mean length of utterance, two variables derived from the manual annotations. Because these variables met the normality assumption (TTR: W = 0.95, p = .946; MLU: (W = 0.90, p = .897)), we performed paired t-tests. Again, Bonferroni-corrected significance was set to p < 0.03. Results indicated that there was no significant difference in type-token ratio between the two groups (t(15) = 0.15, p = .880). For MLU, we found that utterances were slightly longer to blind children than to their sighted peers (t(15) = 0.25, p = .805), but this difference does not survive Bonferroni correction; see Figure 3).

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

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highly visual words. This set of analyses involves three tests, so our Bonferroni-corrected 458 threshold for significance is p < 0.02. Because the proportion of displaced verbs does not 459 follow a normal distribution (W = 0.98, p = .978), we tested this measure with a paired 460 Wilcoxon test: we find that blind children hear proportionally more displaced verbs than 461 sighted children (W = 17, p = .006). Next, we compared the distribution of CBOI ratings in 462 word tokens in blind children's input to that in sighted children's input using a two-sample 463 Kilgomorov-Smirnov test. These distributions significantly differ (D = 0.98, p < .001). 464 Descriptively, low CBOI words were more common in language input to blind children, and 465 high CBOI words were more common in language input to sighted children; see Figure ??. 466 For the proportion of highly visual words, a Shapiro-Wilks test showed that this variable was 467 normally distributed (W = 0.98, p = .984). A paired t-test found no significant difference 468 across groups in the proportion of highly visual words (t(15) = 0.55, p = .591).

470 Discussion

This study 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.

## 475 Quantity

Across both of these 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.

## 485 Interactivity

We quantified interactivity in two ways: through the LENA-estimated conversational 486 turn count and through the proportion of child-directed speech in our manual annotations. 487 Again, we found no differences across groups in the amount of parent-child interaction. This 488 finding contrasts with previous research; other studies report less interaction in dyads where 489 the child is blind (Pérez-Pereira & Conti-Ramsden, 2001; Rowland, 1984; Andersen et al., 1993; Grumi et al., 2021; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Preisler, 1991;, moore1994?). Using a 491 non-visual sampling method (i.e., our audio recordings) might provide a different, more 492 naturalistic perspective on parent-child interactions, particularly in this population. For one thing, many of these studies (e.g., Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Pérez-Pereira & Conti-Ramsden, 2001; Preisler, 1991; moore1994?) involve video recordings in the child's home, with the researcher present. Like other young children, blind children distinguish 496 between familiar individuals and strangers, and react with trepidation to the presence of a stranger (Fraiberg, 1975; McRae, 2002); for blind children, this reaction may involve 498 "quieting", wherein children cease speaking or vocalizing when they hear a new voice in the 490 home (Fraiberg, 1975; McRae, 2002). By having a researcher present during the recordings<sup>2</sup>, 500 prior research may have artificially suppressed blind children's initiation of interactions. 501 Even naturalistic observer-free video-recordings appear to inflate aspects of parental input, 502 relative to daylong recordings (Bergelson et al., 2019). In these cases, the video camera acts 503 as an observer itself, making participants aware of its presence, limiting participants' 504 mobility, and therefore shrinking the pragmatic scope of possible interactions. Together, 505 these factors could explain why past parent-child interaction research finds that blind

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 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).

children initiate less (Andersen et al., 1993; Dote-Kwan, 1995; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984;
Tröster & Brambring, 1992; moore1994?), that parents do most of the talking (Andersen et
al., 1993; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984), and that there is overall less interaction (Nagayoshi et
al., 2017; Sally J. Rogers & Puchalski, 1984; Rowland, 1984; Tröster & Brambring, 1992).

Additionally, a common focus in earlier interaction literature is to measure visual cues 511 of interaction, such as shared gaze or attentiveness to facial expressions (Baird, Mayfield, & 512 Baker, 1997; Preisler, 1991; Sally J. Rogers & Puchalski, 1984). We can't help but wonder: 513 are visual markers of social interaction the right vardstick to measure blind children against? 514 In line with MacLeod and Demers (2023), perhaps the field should move away from sighted 515 indicators of interaction "quality", and instead try to to situate blind children's interactions 516 within their own developmental niche, one that may be better captured with auditory- or 517 tactile-focused coding schemes. 518

## 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 had 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 disabilities tend to find that parents use shorter, simpler utterances (e.g., Down syndrome, lorang2019?; hearing loss, Dirks et al., 2020). In many cases, however, this advice is not supported by the literature; evidence suggests that longer, more complex utterances are associated with better child language outcomes in both typically-developing children (Hoff & Naigles, 2002 Mar-Apr) and children with cognitive differences (Sandbank & Yoder, 2016). In our sample, we found similar (and perhaps even *higher*) MLUs in blind children's language environment, relative to sighted children, indicating that if anything, the language environments of blind children trend towards *longer* utterances.

#### 536 Conceptual Features

The conceptual features of language input feel slipperiest to operationalize. For our purposes, 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. Relative to other aspects of language input, the conceptual dimension seemed to vary most across groups: though blind and sighted participants were exposed to a similar proportion of highly visual words, blind children heard more displaced verbs and their content words were distributed slightly more to the not-interactable side of the child-body-object interaction ratings.

The extent to which blind children's language input is centered on the here-and-now 545 has been contested in the literature (Andersen et al., 1993; J. Campbell, 2003; Kekelis & 546 Andersen, 1984; Urwin, 1984; moore1994?). Our sample, which contains more blind 547 participants than prior research alongside a carefully peer-matched sighted sample, finds that blind children's input is less focused on the here-and-now. One possible explanation is that 540 because children have less access to immediate visual cues, caregivers might instead refer to 550 past or future events. To illustrate, while riding on a train, instead of describing the scenery 551 passing outside the window, parents may choose to talk about what happened earlier in the day or their plans upon home. Interestingly however, early reports suggest that blind children's own use of decontextualized language appears to develop later than sighted children's (A. Bigelow, 1990; Urwin, 1984). Without further information about the social 555 and perceptual context, it is difficult to determine the communicative function of our input 556 results or how they might explain differences in production. As more dense annotation 557

becomes available, we can explore the social and environmental contexts of conceptual information as it unfolds across discourse.

### Patterns in Language Input

Before synthesizing any 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 found that blind children's language environments contained longer utterances, more temporal displacement, and content words that are harder for children to interact with. Together, these features seem to suggest that blind children's input is more similar to speech directed towards older children or adults (Rowe, 2012; Snow, 1972) than sighted children's. This does not seem attributable to differences in addressee: our annotations indicate that there is 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 unfamiliar with 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. On the other hand, we found between-group differences in how these measures relate to each other. In speech to sighted children, there is

a small positive relationship between the amount of child-directed speech and the quantity of highly visual words, but in speech to blind children the opposite is true: parents who use more child-directed speech use *less* highly visual language, which suggests that at least some caregivers are tailoring their language to their child's sensory access when speaking to their child specifically.

Yet, despite all this variation both within and between groups, both blind and sighted children grow up to be competent speakers (Röder et al., 2003; Röder et al., 2000). Future work should explore the relationship between these input measures and the children's own language outcomes; however, given the high variability of all of these variables, we do not expect parental input to be rigidly deterministic of successful language acquisition.

## Connecting to Language Outcomes

Returning to the larger equation of language development, blind and sighted infants differ in their access to perceptual input, and we have shown that language input is different along only a few axes: conceptual features, where language and the perceptual world interact, and complexity, with blind children hearing slightly longer and more adult-like utterances, on average. Initial vocabulary delays in blind children may then primarily be a result of the conflict between their lack of visual access and the majority-visual cues to early "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 in the absence of visual input. Testing this prediction awaits further research.

603 Conclusion

In summary, our study compared language input in homes of 15 blind and 15 sighted infants/toddlers. We found that both groups received similar quantities of adult speech and had similar levels of interaction. However, blind children were exposed to longer utterances and more decontextualized language, suggesting that they are being exposed to a rich and

complex linguistic environment that differs from the language input of sighted children. Our study does not imply that parents should change their communication styles, but rather highlights the importance of recognizing and appreciating the unique language experiences of blind children. Future research could investigate how these input differences impact the language development and cognitive abilities of blind children, and how we can better support their language and learning needs.

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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 (by
Utterance	NLP parsing	High Volume	speaker)
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.

-			T
Variable	Direction	p value	Survives
			Bonferroni
			Correction?
Adult Word Count	Blind ~ Sighted	.245	
Manual Word	Blind ~ Sighted	.636	
Count			
Prop.	Blind ~ Sighted	.903	
Child-Directed			
Speech			
Conversational	Blind ~ Sighted	.096	
Turn Count			
Type-Token Ratio	Blind ~ Sighted	.880	
Mean Length of	Blind > Sighted	.805	
Utterance			
Prop. Displaced	Blind > Sighted	.006*	*
Child-Body-Object	Blind < Sighted	< .001*	*
Interaction			
Prop. Visual	Blind ~ Sighted	.591	