- 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 a 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 (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. In particular, the incidence of severe language delays in blind children (E. E. Campbell et al., submitted) yields questions about the process of language development in the absence of visual perception: what makes the language learning problem different and initially more difficult for the blind child? There are multiple possible contributors, including characteristics of the child (e.g., visual acuity, comorbid conditions, 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 explore the characteristics of the language environment of blind children as it compares to the language environment of their sighted peers. In doing so, we begin to narrow down the role that visual input plays in language development, among all other factors.

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 (often discussed as quality of language input, c.f. 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 video 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. In the present

study, we move away from describing these linguistic characteristics as "quality" measures¹.

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). These environmental features at

various stages interact with the child's own cognitive, linguistic, and conceptual abilities.

An important social feature of the language environment is the amount of interactivity 68 in parent-child communication. Prior literature reports that back-and-forth communicative 69 exchanges (also known as conversational turns) between caregivers and children predict 70 better language learning across infancy (Donnellan, Bannard, McGillion, Slocombe, & 71 Matthews, 2020; Goldstein & Schwade, 2008) and toddlerhood (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 2015; Romeo et al., 2018), indicating that parents' active response to their children's actions and utterances supports their learning. Adults' attunement to children's non-linguistic cues of attention and interest, like pointing or eye gaze, also contributes to interactivity. In infancy, words heard in contexts where the adult and child share joint attention are more likely to be learned (Lucca & Wilbourn, 2018; Tomasello & Farrar, 1986). 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.

¹ In the field thus far, the directionality of the term "quality" has favored the types of language used by white and abled groups as immutable universal standards, thereby framing racialized and disabled peoples' language as deficit and "low quality" by nature. Describing a singular source of input variation as "high quality" ignores the sociocultural variation of talk styles, and the presence of many rich sources of information from which children can learn (MacLeod & Demers, 2023).

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). Lexical diversity is intertwined with input quantity: parents who talk more provide more unique words (Hoff & Naigles, 2002 Mar-Apr). 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 91 language signal maps onto objects and events in the world (Rowe & Snow, 2020). As with the other dimensions, the pieces of the conceptual content of language input that are most 93 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 100 boost learning in that instance (Lucca & Wilbourn, 2018). By contrast, displaced language 101 use—that is, talking about past, future, or hypothetical events, or people and items that are 102 not currently present in the environment- may be beneficial at later stages of development 103 (Rowe, 2013). Indeed, greater decontextualized language use in speech to toddlers predicts 104 kindergarten vocabulary (Rowe, 2012), children's own decontextualized language use (Demir, 105 Rowe, Heller, Goldin-Meadow, & Levine, 2015), and academic achievement in adolescence

(Uccelli, Demir-Lira, Rowe, Levine, & Goldin-Meadow, 2019). Decontextualized language may support language learning because it provides an opportunity to discuss a broader range of topics and in turn, can offer more lexical and syntactic diversity.

From this review, it appears that sighted children learn about the world and language 110 simultaneously from many sources, including sensory perception, linguistic input, and 111 conceptual and social knowledge. For blind children, however, language input may constitute 112 a greater proportion of the available clues for learning than for sighted children; in the 113 absence of visual input, language is an important source of information about the world (E. 114 E. Campbell & Bergelson, 2022). Syntactic structure in particular provides cues to word 115 meaning that may be lost without visual cues, such as the relationship between two entities 116 that aren't within reach (Gleitman, 1990). In our review so far, we have presented a pattern 117 wherein the features of the input that are most helpful for language learning change over the 118 course of children's development: early on, many of these cues require visual access, such as 119 parental gaze, shared visual attention, pointing to remote object and the presence of salient 120 objects in the visual field. Only later in development do the handholds to language learning 121 become more abstract. This may be part of the reason why language delays are common in 122 blind toddlers, but often resolved in older childhood (Landau & Gleitman, 1985). If direct 123 sensory access to referents provides an initial "brute force" mechanism for mapping words 124 onto meanings, it may take longer for blind children to acquire the first few words. By 125 hypothesis, once this initial seed of lexical knowledge is acquired, blind children and sighted 126 children alike are able to use more abstract and linguistic features as cues, and learning can proceed more rapidly thereafter (Babineau, de Carvalho, Trueswell, & Christophe, 2021; 128 Babineau, Havron, Dautriche, de Carvalho, & Christophe, 2022; E. E. Campbell & Bergelson, 2022). Nevertheless, we cannot assume that access to visual experience is the *only* difference 130 in the language learning experiences for blind and sighted children. The language input itself 131 may very well differ for blind children relative to sighted children, for a variety of reasons. 132

33 Why would the input differ?

First, speakers regularly tailor input to communicate efficiently with the listener (Grice, 134 1975). Parents are sensitive to their child's developmental level and tune language input 135 accordingly (Snow, 1972; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Child-directed speech is one 136 example—whereby parents speak to young children with exaggerated prosody, slower speech 137 rate, and increased vowel clarity (Bernstein Ratner, 1984; Fernald, 1989), which is in some 138 cases helpful to the young language learner (Thiessen, Hill, & Saffran, 2005). Parents show 139 increased alignment (a tendency to re-use the conversation partner's expressions) for younger children, which decreases as children get older (Yurovsky, Doyle, & Frank, 2016). 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 144 language input, and less interactive input compared to typically-developing children (Dirks, Stevens, Kok, Frijns, & Rieffe, 2020; Yoshinaga-Itano, Sedey, Mason, Wiggin, & Chung, 2020). 147

In addition to tailoring communication to children's developmental level, speakers also 148 adjust their conversation in accordance with the conversation partner's sensory access 149 (Gergle, Kraut, & Fussell, 2004; Grigoroglou, Edu, & Papafragou, 2016). In a noisy 150 environment, speakers will adapt the acoustic-phonetic features of their speech with the 151 intent to make it easier for their interlocutor to understand them (Hazan & Baker, 2011), 152 which demonstrates sensitivity to even temporary sensory conditions of their conversation partner. When describing scenes, speakers aim to provide the information their listeners lack but avoid redundant visual description (Grice, 1975; Ostarek, Paridon, & Montero-Melis, 2019). During in-lab tasks with sighted participants, participants tailor their descriptions 156 and requests by verbally providing visually-absent cues when an object is occluded to their 157 partner (Hawkins, Gweon, & Goodman, 2021; Jara-Ettinger & Rubio-Fernandez, 2021; 158

Rubio-Fernandez, 2019). These results suggest that adults and even infants (Chiesa, Galati, & Schmidt, 2015; N. Ganea et al., 2018; Senju et al., 2013) can flexibly adapt communication to the visual and auditory abilities of their partner.

Curiously though, these patterns are not borne out in the existing literature on 162 interactions between blind infants and their sighted parents. We might expect parents to 163 verbally compensate for missing visual input, resulting in parents providing more description 164 of the child's environment. Instead, caregivers of blind children seem to restrict conversation 165 to things that the blind child is currently engaged with, rather than attempt to redirect their 166 attention to other stimuli (Andersen, Dunlea, & Kekelis, 1993; J. Campbell, 2003; Kekelis & 167 Andersen, 1984; though c.f., moore1994?). In naturalistic settings, parents of blind 168 children use fewer declaratives and more imperatives than parents of sighted children, suggesting that children might be receiving less description than sighted children (Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Landau & Gleitman, 1985). On the other hand, some parents may adapt to 171 their children's visual abilities in specific contexts. (tadic2013?) and colleagues find that in 172 a structured book reading task, parents of blind children provide more descriptive utterances than parents of sighted children. Further, parents of blind children provide more tactile cues 174 to initiate interactions or establish joint attention (Preisler, 1991; Urwin, 1983, 1984), which 175 may serve the same social role as shared gaze in sighted children. These mixed results 176 suggest that parents of blind children might alter language input in some domains but not 177 others. Blind children's own use of decontextualized language appears to develop later than 178 sighted children's (Urwin, 1984; bigelow1990?). 179

180 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 education 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. 185 By contrast, if there is no relationship between language input properties and children's 186 language outcomes, then trying to modify language input can be one less worry for 187 caregivers. In the present study, we examine daylong recordings of the naturalistic language 188 environments of blind and sighted children in order to characterize the input to each group. 189 Using both automated measures and manual transcription of these recordings, we measure 190 input quantity (adult word count) and analyze several characteristics that may be 191 information-rich learning cues, including interactivity (conversational turn counts, proportion 192 of child-directed speech), conceptual features (temporal displacement, sensory modality), and 193 linguistic complexity (type/token ratio and mean length of utterance). 194

195 Methods

196 Participants

29 blind infants and their families participated in this study. Blind participants were 197 recruited through ophthalmologist referral, preschools, early intervention programs, social 198 media, and word of mouth. To be eligible for this study, participants had to be 6-30 months 199 old, have no additional disabilities (developmental delays; intellectual disabilities, or hearing 200 loss), and be exposed to $\geq 75\%$ English at home. Caregivers were asked to complete a 201 demographics survey and the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory 202 (CDI, Fenson et al., 1994) within one week of the home language recording. Given the wide 203 age range of the study, to control for age, each blind participant was matched to a sighted 204 participant, based on age (\pm 6 weeks), gender, maternal education (\pm one education level: less than high school diploma, high school diploma, some college / Associate's, Bachelor's, graduate school), and number of siblings (± 1 sibling). When more than one match was 207 available, we prioritized matching the blind participants as closely as possible on each 208 characteristic in the preceding order. Caregivers were asked to complete a demographics 209 survey and the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory (CDI, Fenson et 210

211 al., 1994) within one week of the home language recording. See Table @ref(tab: participant-characteristics) for sample characteristics.

213 Recording Procedure

Eligible families were asked to complete two surveys and complete 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 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).

223 Processing

Audio recordings were first processed by LENA proprietary software, creating 224 algorithmic measures such as conversational turn counts. Each recording was then run 225 through an in-house automated sampler that selected 15- non-overlapping 5-minute 226 segments, randomly distributed across the duration of the recording. The process outputs a 227 codeable ELAN file (.eaf, Brugman & Russel, 2009). Each segment consists of 2 core minutes 228 of annotated time, with 2 minutes of listenable context marked out preceding the annotation 229 clip and 1 minute of additional context following the annotation clip. Each file therefore 230 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 232 conversational turns or adult speech density, the amount of time with codeable speech input varied for each recording. Indeed, across participants roughly 27% of the random 2-minute coding segments contained no speech at all. For questions of how much does a phenomenon 235 occur, random sampling schemes can help avoid overestimating speech in the input, but for 236

questions of input *content*, randomly selected samples may be too sparse (Pisani, Gautheron, & Cristia, 2021).

In order to capture denser regions, once the randomly selected segments were 239 annotated, we also chose to annotate 15 additional segments specifically for their high levels of speech. To select these segments of dense talk, we first conducted an automated analysis 241 of the audio file using the voice type classifier for child-centered daylong recordings 242 (Lavechin, Bousbib, Bredin, Dupoux, & Cristia, 2021) which identified all human speech in 243 the recording. The entire recording was then broken into 2-minute chunks marked out at 244 zero-second timestamps (e.g. 00:02:00.000 to 00:04:00.000). Each of these chunks was then 245 ranked highest to lowest by the total duration of speech contained within the boundaries. 246 For our high volubility sample, we chose the highest-ranked 15 segments of each recording, 247 excluding those that overlapped with already-coded random segments. 248

$\mathbf{Annotation}$

Trained annotators listened through each 2-minute segment plus its surrounding 250 context and coded it using the Analyzing Child Language Experiences around the World (ACLEW) Daylong Audio Recording of Children's Linguistic Environments (DARCLE) 252 annotation scheme (Soderstrom et al., 2021). Prior to annotating lab data, annotators are 253 trained on previously coded samples of child recordings and are required to reach 95\% overall 254 agreement with the gold standard version of the file for three different age ranges: 0-7 255 months, 8-18 months, and 19-36 months. For more information about this annotation 256 scheme and the larger project, please see the ACLEW homepage 257 (https://sites.google.com/view/aclewdid/home). Following the first pass, all files were 258 reviewed by a highly-trained "superchecker" to ensure the consistency of annotations. 250

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 262 utterance on a separate coding tier for each unique speaker. Speech by people other than the 263 target child is transcribed using an adapted version of CHAT transcription style 264 (MacWhinney, 2019), dubbed minCHAT for the ACLEW project (Soderstrom et al., 2021). 265 Because the majority of target children in the project are pre-lexical, utterances produced by 266 the target child are not yet transcribed. Environmental speech is then coded for the 267 addressee of each utterance: speech directed to a child; adult-directed speech; speech 268 directed to both an adult and a child; speech directed to pets or other animals; speech with 260 an unclear addressee; or speech directed towards a recipient that doesn't fit into another 270 category (e.g., voice control of Siri or Alexa, prayer to a metaphysical entity). 271

272 Extracting Measures of Language Input

These measures are summarized in Table 1. Proprietary LENA algorithm (Xu, Yapanel, & Gray, 2009) Manual annotations, which could be analyzed for the random segments, the high-volume segments, or both. This decision 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 on all available annotations.

Quantity.

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Adult Word Count.

To derive this count, first, the LENA algorithm segments the recording into clips of varying length. These segments are then classified as female adult speech, male adult speech, target child, other child, overlapping vocalization/noise, electronic noise, noise, silence, or uncertain, each of which is further categorized into "near" or "far". Only segments that are 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

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 colleagues find that the amount of error may vary substantially across families. Compared to 30 minute – 1 hour 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).

Manual Word Count.

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We also compare a manual count of speech in 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 manual annotations, is the accuracy gold-standard for 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). After tagging vocalizations for speaker identity, 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 between adult and target

child vocalizations, which can erroneously include non-contingent interactions (e.g., mom 314 talking to dad while the infant babbles to herself nearby), and therefore inflate the count 315 especially for younger ages and in houses with multiple children (Ferjan Ramírez, Hippe, & 316 Kuhl, 2021). Still, this measure correlates moderately well with manually-coded 317 conversational turns (Busch, Sangen, Vanpoucke, & van Wieringen, 2018; Ganek & 318 Eriks-Brophy, 2018), and because participants in our sample are matched on both age and 319 number of siblings, CTC overestimation should not be biased towards either groups. 320 Conversational turn count is calculated over the entire recording, but to normalize for 321 recording length, we divided this by recording length. 322

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, 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, 331 2006; e.g., Templin, 1957), we calculated type-token ratio by dividing the number of unique 332 words in by the total number of words. Because the type-token ratio changes as a function of 333 the size of the language sample (Montag et al., 2018; Richards, 1987), we first standardize 334 the sample length by cutting children's input (from the manual annotations) in each 335 recording into 100-word bins. We then calculate type-token ratio within each of these bins by 336 dividing the number of unique words by the number of total words (100). For each child, 337 type-token ratio is the average of the type-token ratios for each of the bins in their input. 338

MLU.

We also analyzed the syntactic complexity of children's language input, approximated as mean utterance length in morphemes. Each utterance was tokenized into morphemes using the 'morphemepiece' R package (Bratt, Harmon, & Learning, 2022). We then calculated the mean length of utterance (number of morphemes) per speaker in each audio recording. We manually checked utterance length in a random subset of 10% of the utterances, and reached XXX agreement with the udpipe approach, indicating high reliability.

Conceptual Features. Our analysis of the conceptual features aims to measure whether the extent to which language input centers around the "here and now": 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 with a related noun label (P. A. Ganea & Saylor, 2013; Osina, Saylor, & Ganea, 2013). The 350 audio format of our data make it difficult to ascertain object presence, so instead of object 351 displacement, in this analysis, we approximate here-and-nowness using lexical and syntactic 352 properties of the input. We do this by comparing 1) What proportion of words are 353 temporally displaced?: 2) To what extent can children physically engage in / interact with 354 words' referents?; and 3) What proportion of words have referents that can only be 355 experienced through vision? 356

Proportion temporally displaced verbs.

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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
features of the language environment; however, given the constraints of large-scale textual
analysis, we are categorizing utterances based on a combination of closely related syntactic
and morphological features of verbs, since these contain time-relevant information. We
assigned each utterance a **temporality** value: utterances tagged displaced describe events
that take place in the past, future, or irrealis space, while utterances tagged present describe
current, ongoing events. This coding scheme roughly aligns with both the temporal
displacement and future hypothetical categories in Grimminger, Rohlfing, Lüke, Liszkowski,

and Ritterfeld (2020; Hudson, 2002; see also: Lucariello and Nelson, 1987). To do this, we 367 used the udpipe package (Wijffels, 2023) to tag the transcriptions with parts of speech and 368 other lexical features, such as tense, number agreement, or case inflection. To be marked as 369 present, a verb either had to be marked with both present tense and indicative mood, or 370 appear in the gerund form with no marked tense (e.g. you talking to Papa?). Features that 371 could mark an utterance as displaced included past tense, presence of a modal, presence of if, 372 or presence of gonna/going to, have to, wanna/want to, or gotta/got to, since these typically 373 indicate belief states and desires, rather than real-time events. In the case of utterances with 374 multiple verbs, we selected the features from the first verb or auxiliary, as a proxy for 375 hierarchical dominance. A small number of utterances in our corpus were left uncategorized 376 (n = 1306/7867) because they were fragments or because the automated parser failed to tag 377 any of the relevant features. We manually checked verb temporality in a random subset of 10% of the utterances, and reached XXX agreement with the NLP approach, indicating 379 moderate reliability.

$CBOI\ distribution.$

Next, we measure 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). 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 = 5188/28821) were removed.

Proportion highly visual words.

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In addition to these two more traditional measures of decontextualized language, we 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

exclusively visual. We categorize the perceptual modalities of words' referents using the 393 Lancaster Sensorimotor Norms, ratings from typically-sighted adults about the extent to 394 which a word evokes a visual/tactile/auditory/etc. experience (Lynott, Connell, Brysbaert, 395 Brand, & Carney, 2020). Words with higher ratings in a given modality are more strongly 396 associated with perceptual experience in that modality. A word's dominant perceptual 397 modality is the modality which received the highest mean rating. We tweak this 398 categorization in two ways: words which received low ratings (< 3.5) across all modalities 399 were re-categorized as amodal, and words whose ratings were distributed across modalities 400 were re-categorized as multimodal. Using this system, each of the content words in children's 401 input (adjectives, adverbs, nouns, and verbs) were categorized into their primary perceptual 402 modality. For each child, we extracted the proportion of "visual" words in their language 403 environment

405 Results

406 Measuring Properties of Language Input

We first seek to assess whether language input to blind children is categorically 407 different from the language input to sighted children, along the dimensions of quantity, 408 interactivity, linguistic properties, and conceptual properties. We test for group differences 409 using Bonferroni-corrected t-tests or the non-parametric Wilcoxon signed rank tests, when a 410 Shapiro-Wilks test indicates that the variable is not normally distributed. Because this 411 analysis involves multiple tests against the null hypothesis (that there is no difference in the 412 language input to blind vs. sighted kids), we use the conservative Bonferroni correction to set 413 our threshold for significance (p = 0.05 / 8 tests = 0.01). 414 Language Input Quantity. We first compare the quantity of language input to 415

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)

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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(44.85) = -1.17, p = .248). 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(27.00) = 0.08, p = .939); see Figure 1.

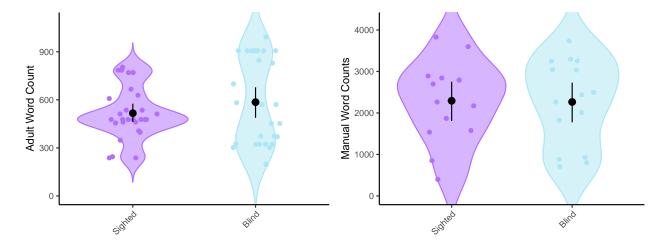


Figure 1. Comparing LENA-generated adult word counts (left) and transcription-based word counts in the input of blind and sighted children. Each dot represents the estimated number of words in one child's recording.

Interactivity. We compared the proportions of child-directed speech (CDS) between the blind children and their sighted matches. A two-sample test for equality of proportions revealed no significant difference in the overall proportions of child-directed speech to blind children versus to sighted children (W = 0.86, p = .399).

We next compare the number of conversational turn counts for blind and sighted children, using LENA's automated Conversational Turn Count measure. This measure is normally distributed (W = 0.88, p = .924). Despite wide variability in conversational turns (7–45 blind, 4–42 sighted), we find no evidence for group-level differences between blind and

sighted children (t = 515, p = .143).

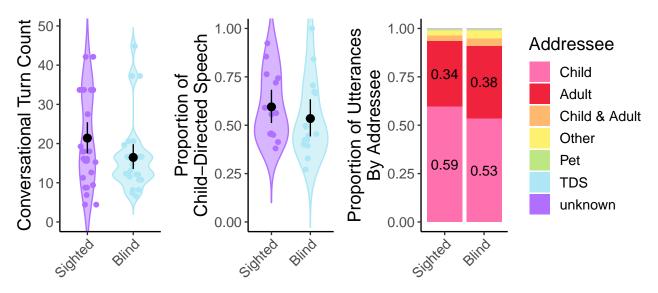
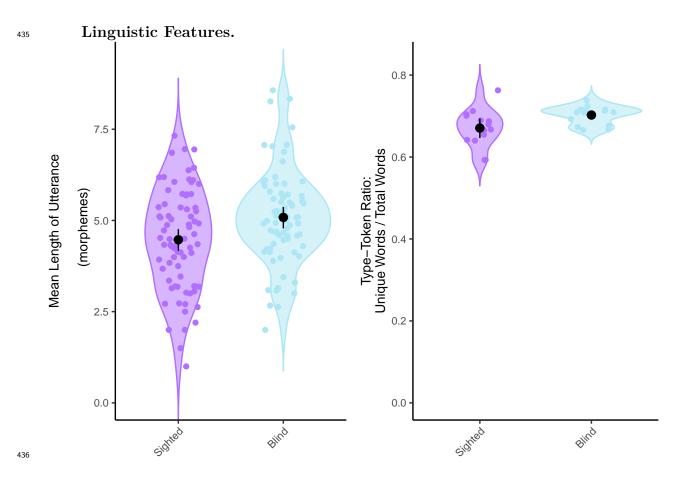


Figure 2. Comparing LENA-generated conversational turn counts (left) and proportion of utterances in child-directed speech (center). Each dot represents one child's recording. The full breakdown by addressee is shown in the rightmost panel.



For linguistic features, we first measure, or type-token ratio, from the manual annotations. Because this variable met the normality assumption, we performed a two-sample t-test. Results indicated that there was no significant difference in the type-token ratio between the two groups (t(18.46) = -2.36, p = .030). This suggests that, on average, the type-token ratio is similar for blind (M: 0.70) and sighted (M: 0.67) children (see Figure ??). These results provide evidence that the variety of words in the input is not affected by children's vision.

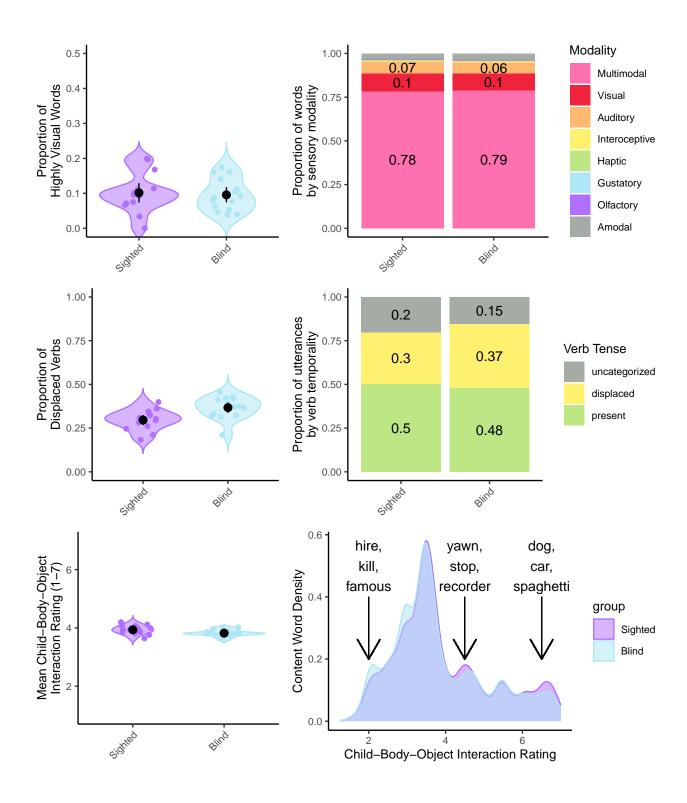
We then compared the MLU of environmental speech to blind children (M(SD) = 5.08 (1.29)) to that of sighted children (M(SD) = (M(SD) = 4.47 (1.39)); this variable was normally distributed (W = 0.92, p = .924). A two-sample t-test revealed that the MLU was slightly but significantly higher in speech to blind children than to their sighted peers (t(147.71) = -2.80, p = .006); see Figure ??).

Conceptual Features. We compare the proportion of temporally displaced verbs using a Wilcoxon rank-sum test, given that a Shapiro-Wilks test indicates that the proportion of displaced verbs does not follow a normal distribution (W = 0.98, p = .977). We find that blind children hear proportionally more displaced verbs than sighted children (W = 36.50, p = .003).

We then compared the distribution of CBOI ratings in word tokens in blind children's input to that in sighted children's input using a two-sample Kilgomorov-Smirnov test. We find that these distributions significantly differ (D = 0.98, p < .001); this difference survives Bonferroni correction. 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.

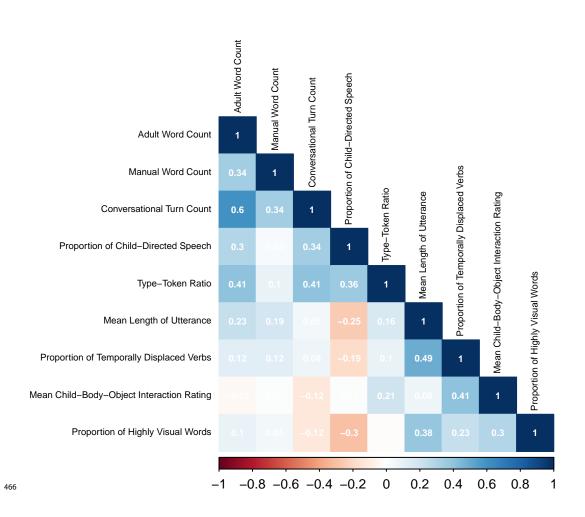
Lastly, we measure whether the language input to blind children contains a different proportion of words referring to visual objects/actions/properties; this variable was normally distributed (W = 0.96, p = .962). We found no differences across groups in the proportion of

highly visual words (t(25.11) = 0.32, p = .755).

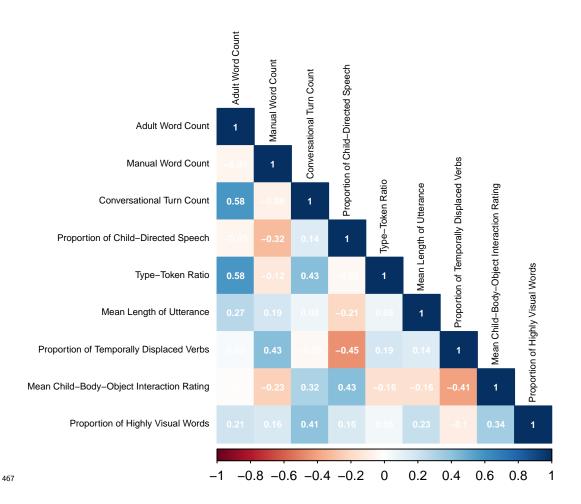


Patterns in Language Input. סווום (ש=וס)

465



Signieu (N=13



Lastly, we also ran an exploratory analysis testing for patterns among these measures of language input. First, we re-aggregated the language input variables such that each child had a single value for each variable; this required calculating MLU over child rather than over speaker and giving each child's input a mean child-body-object interaction rating. Next, we generated correlation matrices separately for the blind sample and the sighted sample, using Kendall's Tau correlations; see Figure ??. We then compared correlations among variables across groups. To reiterate, this analysis is purely exploratory and descriptive in nature.

Looking across matrices, we found similarities in how properties of children's language 475 input patterned across groups. To highlight one of the strongest common relationships, in 476 both samples, children who heard more adult words were involved in more conversational 477 turns ($r_{\rm blind}=0.58,\ p_{\rm blind}=.002;\ r_{\rm sighted}=0.47,\ p_{\rm sighted}=.011$) and had lower type-token 478 ratios ($r_{\rm blind}=0.10,\ p_{\rm blind}=.667;\ r_{\rm sighted}=0.58,\ p_{\rm sighted}=.003$). However, we also found 479 some differences, where associations ran in the opposite direction: For blind kids but not 480 sighted kids, higher BOI ratings was associated with a greater proportion of temporally 481 displaced verbs; for sighted kids, higher BOI was associated with less temporal displacement 482 $(r_{\rm blind}=0.41,\ p_{\rm blind}=.047;\ r_{\rm sighted}=$ -0.41, $p_{\rm sighted}=.047).$ For blind kids only, proportion 483 of child-directed speech was associated with a lower proportion of highly visual words ($r_{\rm blind}$ 484 $= -0.30, p_{\text{blind}} = .157; r_{\text{sighted}} = 0.16, p_{\text{sighted}} = .451).$ 485

486 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.

491 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 40-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.

497 Interactivity

We quantified interactivity in two ways: through the LENA-estimated conversational 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 500 finding runs counter to previous research; other studies report less interaction in dyads 501 where the child is blind (Pérez-Pereira & Conti-Ramsden, 2001; Rowland, 1984; Andersen et 502 al., 1993; Grumi et al., 2021; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Preisler, 1991; moore1994?). 503 Using a non-visual sampling method (i.e., our audio recordings) might provide a different, 504 more naturalistic perspective on parent-child interactions, particularly in this population. 505 For one thing, many of these studies (e.g., Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Pérez-Pereira & 506 Conti-Ramsden, 2001; Preisler, 1991; moore1994?) involve video recordings in the child's 507 home, with the researcher present. Like other young children, blind children distinguish 508 between familiar individuals and strangers, and react with trepidation to the presence of a 509 stranger (Fraiberg, 1975; McRae, 2002); for blind children, this reaction may involve 510 "quieting", wherein children cease speaking or vocalizing when they hear a new voice in the home (Fraiberg, 1975; McRae, 2002). By having a researcher present during the recordings², 512 prior research may have artificially suppressed blind children's initiation of interactions. 513 Even naturalistic observer-free video-recordings appear to inflate aspects of parental input, 514 relative to daylong recordings (Bergelson, Amatuni, Dailey, Koorathota, & Tor, 2019). In 515 these cases, the video camera acts as an observer itself, making participants aware of its 516 presence, limiting participants' mobility, and therefore shrinking the pragmatic scope of 517 possible interactions. Together, these factors could explain why past parent-child interaction 518 research finds that blind children initiate less (Andersen et al., 1993; Dote-Kwan, 1995; 519 Kekelis & Andersen, 1984; Tröster & Brambring, 1992; moore1994?), that parents do most 520 of the talking (Andersen et al., 1993; Kekelis & Andersen, 1984), and that there is overall 521 less interaction (Nagayoshi et al., 2017; Sally J. Rogers & Puchalski, 1984; Rowland, 1984; 522 Tröster & Brambring, 1992).

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).

Additionally, a common focus in earlier interaction literature is to measure visual cues 524 of interaction, such as shared gaze or attentiveness to facial expressions (Baird, Mayfield, & 525 Baker, 1997; Preisler, 1991; Sally J. Rogers & Puchalski, 1984). We can't help but wonder: 526 are visual markers of social interaction the right vardstick to measure blind children against? 527 In line with MacLeod and Demers (2023), perhaps the field should move away from sighted 528 indicators of interaction "quality", and instead try to to situate blind children's interactions 520 within their own developmental niche, one that may be better captured with auditory- or 530 tactile-focused coding schemes. 531

532 Linguistic Features

Along the linguistic dimension, we measured type-token ratio and mean length of 533 utterance. Type-token ratio was similar across groups, and in line with type-token ratio in 534 other child-centered corpora (e.g., Newman, Rowe, & Bernstein Ratner, 2016). However, we 535 found slightly but significantly higher MLU in blind children's language environment. The 536 MLU finding runs counter to common advice: Parents of children with disabilities (including 537 parents of blind children! e.g., FamilyConnect (n.d.); Chernyak (n.d.)) are often advised to 538 use shorter, simpler sentences with their children, in order to promote children's 539 understanding. We find instead that the language environments of blind children contain 540 longer utterances, which could suggest that consciously modifying your linguistic behavior is 541 difficult for parents. In any case, this advice is not supported by the literature: evidence 542 suggests that longer, more complex utterances are associated with better child language 543 outcomes in both typically-developing children (Hoff & Naigles, 2002 Mar-Apr) and children with cognitive differences (Sandbank & Yoder, 2016). 545

546 Conceptual Features

The conceptual features of language input feel slipperiest to operationalize. For this analysis, 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 555 has been contested in the literature (Andersen et al., 1993; J. Campbell, 2003; Kekelis & 556 Andersen, 1984; Urwin, 1984; moore1994?). Our sample, which contains more blind 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 because children have less access to immediate visual cues, caregivers might instead refer to 560 past or future events. To illustrate, while riding on a train, instead of describing the scenery 561 passing outside the window, parents may choose to talk about what happened earlier in the 562 day or their plans upon home. Without further information about the social and perceptual 563 context, it is difficult to determine the communicative function of these results. 564

To that end, our exploratory analysis points to potential group differences in the 565 context of conceptual information. Blind children's proportion of temporally displaced verbs 566 was inversely correlated with their mean child-body-object interaction rating, whereas 567 sighted children showed the reverse relationship. Could this suggest that when sighted 568 children hear about words that are perceivable or manipulable, it tends to be in the context of co-present objects / events, but when blind children hear about things that can be interacted with, it tends to be related to past/future events? Additionally, while we found 571 that overall, blind and sighted children hear a similar proportion of highly visual words (blue, mirror, rainbow, see), blind children (but not sighted children) who receive more 573 child-directed speech seem to receive less of this highly visual language. Our present 574 analyses can only hint at potential relationships between these variables at the child level, 575

but as more dense annotation becomes available, we can explore the social and environmental context 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 difference, 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.

However, the evidence that each of these input measures differs in its relationship to 606 other measures when examined across these two groups underscores the idea that no feature 607 or its proportion relative to other features can be an indicator of input "quality" in and of 608 itself. Speech to children is highly variable; even the dimensions of language input that we 609 attempt to measure are not static in their orientation nor the ways we can operationalize 610 them. 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 613 language outcomes; however, given the high variability of all of these variables and their relationship to one another, we do not expect parental input to be rigidly deterministic of successful language acquisition. 616

617 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
world learning (e.g., shared gaze, pointing, visual perception of referents). it could be
precisely this input complexity which aids blind children in acquiring semantic knowledge in
the absence of visual input. Testing this prediction awaits further research.

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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 %)			
Some college	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)
Associate's degree	3 (23.08%)	1 (7.69%)	4 (15.38%)
Bachelor's degree	1 (7.69%)	2 (15.38%)	3 (11.54%)
Master's degree	5 (38.46%)	,	,
Missing	4 (30.77%)	1 (7.69%)	5 (19.23%)
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