

Predicting ages of acquisition for children's early vocabulary across 28 languages and dialects

Anonymous CogSci submission

Abstract

What factors contribute to the growth of children's early vocabulary? One method for exploring this question is investigating predictors (e.g., frequency) that differentiate words learnt earlier from those learnt later. A more comprehensive account requires the examination of multiple language families and multiple levels of linguistic representation (e.g., phonological, morphosyntactic, semantic). Here, we studied 10 predictors of word ages of acquisition across 28 languages and dialects. We found that words that were more frequent, concrete, and associated with babies were learnt earlier, whereas words that had greater length in phonemes and mean length of utterance were learnt later. There was no reliable effect of other morphosyntactic predictors, or of phonological neighbourhood. We found evidence of a tradeoff between a language's morphological complexity and the predictivity of syntactic complexity for predicates, supporting the competition model. Predictor coefficients revealed broad consistency across all languages, along with variability that reflected language family classifications.

Keywords: language acquisition; word learning; vocabulary; cross-linguistic; age of acquisition

Introduction

Why are some words learnt earlier than others? Despite the large variation in the structure of different languages, children demonstrate remarkably similar early lexical development across a wide swath of languages, with highly overlapping first words (Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman, 2021; Tardif et al., 2008), and similar emergence of lexical categories (Caselli et al., 1995). The order of lexical development can thus be used as a tool to understand the commonalities and differences in the factors that predict word learning across languages and lexical categories.

Such questions have led to a productive line of inquiry, with previous research demonstrating that, in English, words learnt earlier tend to be more frequent (Goodman, Dale, & Li, 2008), be more iconic (Perry, Perlman, & Lupyan, 2015), and appear in shorter utterances (Swingley & Humphrey, 2018). The conclusions of these studies, however, were limited in generalisability as they considered different sets of predictors, and mostly focused only on English-learning children. In order to have a more comprehensive understanding of early language learning, it is important to capture two dimensions of variability: variability across languages, and variability across levels of linguistic representation (e.g., phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic). These dimensions jointly provide information about how different sources of in-

formation may be differentially relevant across languages of different structures.

One study that has attempted to adopt this approach comes from Braginsky, Yurovsky, Marchman, & Frank (2019), who conducted a larger scale cross-linguistic study across 10 languages, using a larger set of predictors to determine their independent contributions to the acquisition of different words (see also Frank et al., 2021). Overall, they found strong consistent effects for predictors such as frequency and concreteness, but little to no effect of predictors such as valence.

Nonetheless, there are two crucial limitations to their set of analyses. First, among the predictors they considered, most were distributional (frequency, frequency as sole word in utterance, frequency as last word in utterance) or semantic (concreteness, babiness, valence, arousal), with only one phonological predictor (length in phonemes) and one syntactic predictor (mean length of utterance). Although there are cross-linguistic and cultural differences in the distribution of words in naturalistic speech, word frequencies are remarkably consistent, especially for fundamental vocabulary (Calude & Pagel, 2011), and semantic representations also tend to exhibit similar organisations cross-linguistically, at least within semantic domains (Lewis, Cahill, Madnani, & Evans, 2023). It is thus important to consider the full range of levels of linguistic representation, particularly the levels which are more likely to exhibit larger variation across languages, viz. morphological and syntactic factors.

The second limitation is that, of the 10 languages examined by Braginsky et al. (2019), nine were Indo-European, and only one was not (Turkish). As such, it is possible that some of the consistency that they observed was in fact due to structural similarities among Indo-European languages, as opposed to underlying patterns in language learning across languages regardless of language family. To have a more accurate and generalisable understanding of the factors driving early word learning, it is imperative to study a more diverse set of languages, representing a greater number of language families (see Kidd & Garcia, 2022).

Hence, the present study aims to capture a more comprehensive view of early word learning by including a broad set of predictors encompassing phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic levels of representation, as well as a large set of languages with particular emphasis on non-Indo-European languages. We also examine the role of lexical cat-

egories, given the theoretical predictions that different lexical categories may be sensitive to different predictors. Together, these directions will improve our characterisation of the consistency and variation in early word learning across languages.

Method

Acquisition data

To study word learning in young children, we make use of data collected via MacArthur–Bates Communicative Development Inventories (CDIs), which are parent-report vocabulary checklists (Marchman, Dale, & Fenson, 2023). CDIs are easy to administer and have been adapted into dozens of different languages, with demonstrated reliability and validity as a measure of language ability (Fenson et al., 2007; Mayor & Plunkett, 2011), making them an effective method for capturing children’s vocabularies in many different contexts.

We used vocabulary data from Wordbank (Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman, 2017), an open repository of CDI data contributed by various researchers. These data included item-level data for each child, along with associated demographic information such as the child’s age. We extracted productive vocabulary information from all forms, and expressive vocabulary information from Words & Gestures forms. Children with language exposure to more than one language were excluded, and for children with longitudinal data, only the first administration was used. We included data from all languages for which all necessary resources were available (see the Predictor data section for resources used), amounting to 83934 children across 28 languages and dialects. An overview of the data used is shown in Figure 1.

In order to conduct comparisons across languages, we mapped items to “universal lemmas” or “unilemmas”, which are approximate cross-linguistic conceptual abstractions. For example, the items “chat” (FRA) and “gato” (SPA) map to the same unilemma, CAT. These unilemmas were first constructed from glosses provided by the original dataset contributors, then verified by native or proficient speakers of the respective languages, and manually cleaned and consolidated to improve overall consistency; more information about unilemma construction can be found on Github [LINK REDACTED]. Note that some items do not have corresponding unilemmas (e.g., language-specific items that were not relevant cross-linguistically); these items were dropped for analysis.

From these data, we derived ages of acquisition (AoAs) by fitting Bayesian logistic regressions for each item, with word knowledge (produces vs does not produce; understands vs does not understand) as the outcome variable and age as the predictor variable. We used weakly informative priors of $\mathcal{N}(0, 2.5)$ for the intercept and $\mathcal{N}(0.3, 0.01)$ for the slopes. Then, the AoA is the age at which 50% of children are expected to know the word; this quantity can be calculated as the negative of the intercept divided by the slope from the fitted models (see Braginsky, Yurovsky, Marchman, & Frank,

Language family	Language	CDI Production			CHILDES	
		N	Ages	ULs	Types	Tokens
Indo-European: Germanic	Danish	6,112	8–36	601	4,955	195,658
	Dutch	1,828	8–36	806	24,423	1,546,926
	English (American)	10,939	8–30	670	72,704	17,899,676
	English (Australian)	1,497	12–30	544		
	English (British)	22,589	12–47	522		
	German	1,181	18–30	538	63,832	3,745,393
	Norwegian	7,358	8–36	658	10,428	224,402
Indo-European: Romance	Swedish	1,367	8–28	653	11,952	387,670
	Catalan	1,436	8–30	571	9,363	196,637
	French (French)	1,489	8–30	630	24,509	2,110,026
	French (Quebecois)	1,760	8–30	625		
	Italian	1,400	7–36	624	10,424	294,050
	Portuguese (European)	4,326	8–30	526	10,757	447,904
	Spanish (European)	1,005	8–30	533	25,360	1,263,959
	Spanish (Mexican)	1,985	8–30	619		
	Croatian	627	8–30	614	12,831	226,081
	Czech	493	16–30	477	16,636	193,573
Sino-Tibetan	Russian	1,805	8–36	653	4,184	38,591
	Cantonese	1,208	16–30	688	11,281	1,483,524
	Mandarin (Beijing)	1,938	12–30	807	18,532	1,740,448
	Mandarin (Taiwanese)	2,654	8–36	626		
Uralic	Estonian	1,235	16–30	570	28,803	560,396
	Hungarian	363	16–30	662	19,321	224,062
Japonic	Japanese	846	8–36	569	261,159	703,143
Koreanic	Korean	2,422	8–36	599	45,736	395,720
Semitic	Hebrew	534	11–35	591	16,772	515,542
Turkic	Turkish	3,537	8–36	652	7,006	55,303

Figure 1: Descriptive statistics for data from Wordbank and CHILDES. N indicates number of children. ULs indicates number of unilemmas (see text).

2016).

Predictors of age of acquisition

For each language, we used corpora of child-directed speech from CHILDES (MacWhinney, 2000) to calculate distributional information as well as MLU-w.¹ We also used these corpora in conjunction with morphological segmentation information from UniMorph (Batsuren, Bella, & Giunchiglia, 2021; Sylak-Glassman, 2016) and morphosyntactic parsing from UDPipe (Straka, 2018) to calculate morphosyntactic predictors. In addition, we used previously collected adult psycholinguistic norms for the semantic predictors (detailed below), and eSpeak NG (Vitoļņš, 2022) to obtain phonological representations for the calculation of phonological properties. An overview of the data and resources used for each item property is shown in Figure 2.

¹Note that some of the languages (Hebrew and Russian) had CHILDES corpora that were transcribed in transliterated form instead of the original script; we used ad-hoc custom untransliteration

Type	Item properties	Data origin	Processing resources
Phonological	Length in phonemes		eSpeak NG
	Phonological neighbourhood		eSpeak NG
Morphological	Entropy over inflected forms	CHILDES	UDPipe
	Number of morphological features	CHILDES	UDPipe
	Number of morphemes	CHILDES	UniMorph
Syntactic	Mean length of utterance in words	CHILDES	
	Entropy over subcategorisation frames	CHILDES	UDPipe
Semantic	Concreteness	Adult norms (Brysbaert et al., 2014)	
	Babiness	Adult norms (Perry et al., 2015)	
Distributional	Frequency	CHILDES	

Figure 2: Item properties used, along with the data origins and resources used to derive item property values.

Phonological properties. For each item in each language, we obtained all possible realisations of the item (e.g., “cat”, “cats”) and generated phonological representations with eSpeak NG (Vĩtoliņš, 2022). These were directly used to calculate the mean length in phonemes, as well as to measure the size of the phonological neighbourhood, which was the number of other items that differed from the target item by at most a Levenshtein distance of 2.

Morphological properties. To capture the morphological properties of words, we considered both paradigmatic and syntagmatic complexity. A paradigm refers to the set of related word forms of a particular lemma (e.g., “run”, “runs”, “running”), whereas a syntagm refers to the set of words that can occur in sequence with a particular lemma (e.g., “the”, “cat”, “is”, “running”).

We used two measures of morphological paradigmatic complexity, namely entropy over inflected forms and number of morphological features, both of which involved morphological parsing from UDPipe (Straka, 2018). For each item, we found all tokens in CHILDES which had the same lemma as the item, and calculated the Shannon entropy over the inflected forms (Çöltekin & Rama, 2023). The parsing also output morphological features in the Universal Dependencies format (Nivre, Zeman, Ginter, & Tyers, 2017), and we calculated the mean number of morphological features for each item as an approximation of the size of the inflectional paradigm.

We also included one measure of morphological syntagmatic complexity, namely mean number of morphemes; this made use of morphological segmentation information from UniMorph (Batsuren et al., 2021; Sylak-Glassman, 2016).

Syntactic properties. For each item, we calculated the MLU-w for utterances in which the item appeared using CHILDES corpora, as a proxy for the syntactic complexity of the item. We also used UDPipe to parse the dependency struc-

scripts to enable matching to Wordbank, UniMorph, and UDPipe.

ture of utterances, extracting the core and oblique verbal dependents (objects, clausal complements, and obliques), which served as a proxy for subcategorisation frames. We then calculated the entropy over subcategorisation frames (Sharpe, Reddigari, Pyłkkänen, & Marantz, 2019).

Semantic properties. We used previously collected adult norms for concreteness (Brysbaert, Warriner, & Kuperman, 2014) and babiness (Perry et al., 2015) as our semantic predictors.

Distributional properties. We used CHILDES to calculate item unigram frequencies, which were Laplace smoothed and log-transformed.

Lexical categories. Lexical categories were determined on the basis of the conceptual categories presented on the CDIs (e.g., “Animals”, “Action words”, “Descriptive words”). We used the categories “nouns” (for common nouns), “predicates” (for verbs, adjectives, and adverbs), and “function words” (for closed class words); all other items were classified as “other”.

Predictor processing

Residualisation. Some of the item properties were a priori correlated with one another. For example, shorter words tend to have larger phonological neighbourhoods, and words with more morphological features are likely to exhibit greater entropy over inflected forms. As such, we conducted residualisation for phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties. For each property type, we residualised the first property (e.g. length in phonemes) out of all other properties (e.g., phonological neighbourhood), such that the coefficients of the other properties would reflect their effects over and above any variance explained by the first property.

Imputation. Some of the item properties contained missing data depending on resource availability. We thus conducted iterative imputation to fill in the missing values for each language by iteratively imputing these values based on a linear regression fitting that property from all other properties.

Normalisation. Finally, we centred and scaled all properties to allow for direct comparison of standardised regression coefficients.

Collinearity. One possible concern for comparing coefficients across languages is multicollinearity among predictor values. We calculated variance inflation factors (VIFs) on models including all predictors except for lexical categories (since models with interaction effects are known to have inflated VIFs). The VIFs for each predictor in each language was < 3.5, indicating low multicollinearity among predictors.

Analysis

We fit Bayesian linear models for each language, predicting the AoA of each item from all item properties as well as their interactions with the lexical category of the item. We used conservative informative priors based on coefficient values from Braginsky et al. (2016), which broadly fell in the

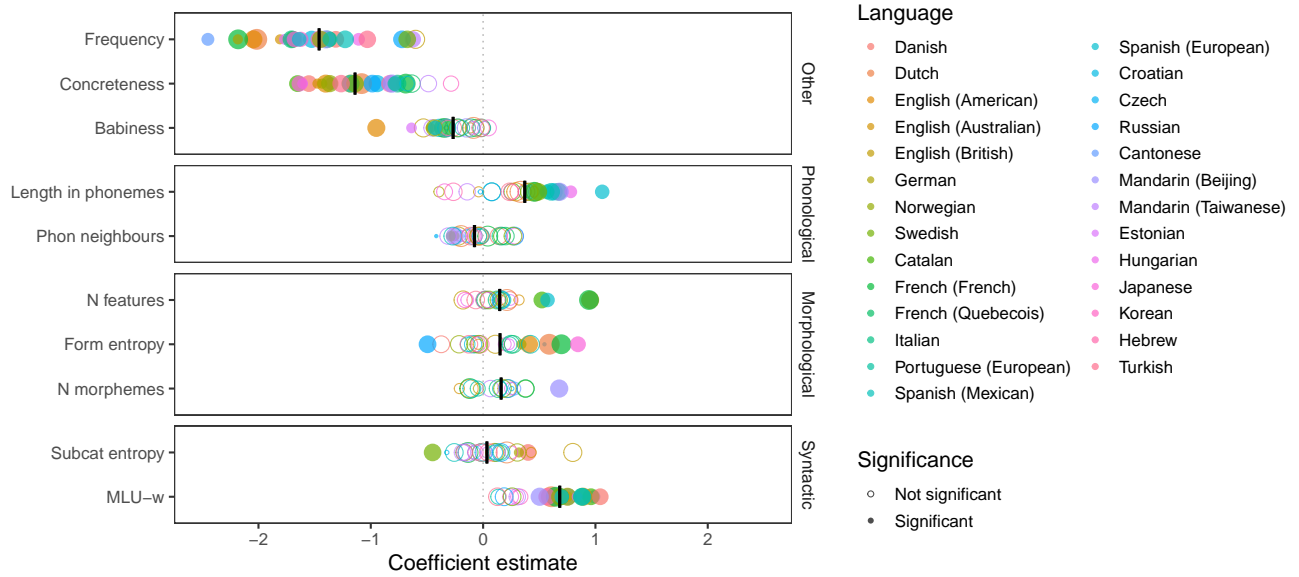


Figure 3: Maximum a posteriori estimates of coefficients predicting age of acquisition across all languages. Black vertical bars indicate estimate medians across all languages. Significance indicates whether the credible interval includes zero. Dot size indicates number of unilemmas.

range $(-2, 2)$; thus, we used a non-standardised t distribution, $t(3, 0, 2)$ as priors for coefficients. The resultant standardised coefficients for each item property would reflect its independent contribution to the AoA of the item, and interactions with lexical categories would reflect how this contribution varies across categories.

All code for data processing and analysis can be found on Github [LINK REDACTED].

Results

As a concise method to display model results, we plotted the maximum a posteriori estimates for each predictor from the model fit on data from each language. The main effects from all languages are shown in Figure 3.

Model results demonstrated strong and consistent effects of frequency ($\bar{b} = -1.46$), concreteness ($\bar{b} = -1.14$), and babiness ($\bar{b} = -0.27$), as were previously found, such that words which were more frequent, more concrete, and more associated with babies were learnt earlier. For phonological predictors, longer words as measured in phonemes were learnt later ($\bar{b} = 0.37$), but there was no reliable effect of phonological neighbourhood size ($\bar{b} = \text{NA}$). For morphological predictors, the number of morphological features ($\bar{b} = 0.15$), entropy over inflected forms ($\bar{b} = 0.15$), and number of morphemes ($\bar{b} = 0.16$) all did not have reliable effects. For syntactic predictors, entropy over subcategorisation frames did not have a reliable effect ($\bar{b} = 0.03$), while words that had a greater MLU-w were learnt later ($\bar{b} = 0.68$).

Lexical categories

Estimates of predictor coefficients for different lexical categories are shown in Figure 4. Effects were mostly consistent

across lexical categories, with a few notable deviations. The effect of babiness was attenuated for function words ($\bar{b} = -0.01$), and the effect of length in phonemes was attenuated for predicates ($\bar{b} = 0.11$). On the other hand, the effect of MLU-w was enhanced for function words ($\bar{b} = 0.43$).

Correlations

To understand the consistency and variability of predictors across languages, we calculated the correlations between the coefficients of the main effects for each language with all other languages, as well as for other languages within its language family (for language families with ≥ 2 included languages), as shown in Figure 5. The average correlation across languages was relatively high ($\bar{r} = 0.85$), comparable to results found by Braginsky et al. (2019). Mean correlations within language families were broadly numerically greater than those across language families, indicating greater consistency within language families, except for families in which particular languages had more idiosyncratic predictor coefficients (English (British), Swedish, and Russian). We also calculated a bootstrapped randomised baseline by permuting the predictor labels for coefficients within each language and recalculating the correlations with other languages; this procedure represented the correlations that would be expected by chance. This baseline was consistently close to 0, and was also consistently smaller than the observed correlations.

Exploratory analysis: Morphological complexity

As an exploratory analysis, we sought to understand the variation in the effect sizes of the morphosyntactic predictors as a function of the morphological complexity of the language, which may affect the importance or informativeness of other

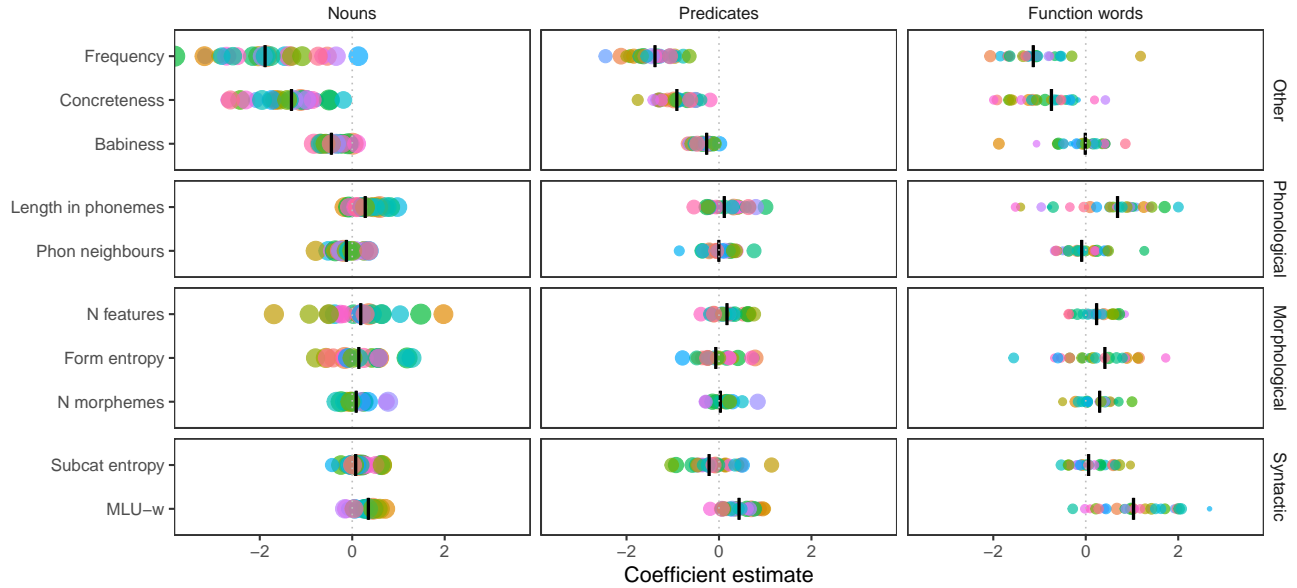


Figure 4: Maximum a posteriori estimates of coefficients predicting age of acquisition across all languages, by lexical category. Black vertical bars indicate estimate medians across all languages. Dot size indicates number of unilemmas.

morphosyntactic factors as cues for word learning. Hence, for each combination of morphosyntactic factor and lexical category, we conducted a linear regression with morphosyntactic factor coefficient as the outcome variable and morphological complexity as the predictor variable. We estimated morphological complexity using the method from Bentz, Ruzsics, Koplenig, & Samardžić (2016), who used a composite index from 28 features of the World Atlas of Linguistic Structures (Dryer & Haspelmath, 2013), ranging from 0 (least morphologically complex) to 1 (most morphologically complex).

Only one model demonstrated a significant main effect of morphological complexity, which was the model with MLU-w for predicates as the outcome variable, as shown in Figure 6. The coefficient of the effect of morphological complexity was negative ($b = -1.05$, $p = 0.02$), suggesting that languages with greater morphological complexity had a smaller effect of MLU-w for the AoA of predicates.

Discussion

By examining the predictors of AoA across different languages, we found that words with higher frequency, concreteness, and babiness were learnt earlier, whereas words with greater length in phonemes and MLU-w were learnt later. We found that these effects were generally consistent across typologically diverse languages, suggesting that early word learning broadly taps on similar sources of linguistic information despite disparities in the realisations of such information across languages (see Braginsky et al., 2019).

In contrast, there was little evidence overall of any effect of morphosyntactic predictors. This finding is surprising, given the diversity in morphosyntax across the languages included in our study. One possible explanation for the lack of a re-

liable effect is the operationalisation of our metrics. When completing the CDI, caregivers may indicate that their child is able to say a word even if the specific produced form is reduced or otherwise idiosyncratic, and thus the child need not have a complete grasp of the inflectional paradigm of the word. As such, we adopted metrics that were appropriate at the lemma level (e.g., information about the complexity of lemma paradigms). Morphosyntactic predictors may not matter for the age of first production of an item, but they may be more crucial when learning other aspects of morphosyntax, particularly in deploying appropriately inflected forms.

We also did not find an effect of phonological neighbourhood size, which contrasts with previous work suggesting that words with larger phonological neighbourhoods were more likely to be learnt (Fourtassi, Bian, & Frank, 2020; Jones & Brandt, 2019). In particular, Fourtassi et al. (2020) used a relatively similar method of calculation to the present study (considering only CDI words as potential neighbours and controlling for frequency), but still found an effect of phonological neighbourhood. The difference in results may be due to the fact that they restricted their analyses to CDI nouns, whereas we also included predicates and function words in our reference corpora. Further research is necessary to determine whether lexical category-specific phonological networks may be more relevant for early word learning.

Our results also demonstrated broad consistency across lexical categories, with some variation for particular predictors. This variation supports the hypothesis that words from different lexical categories may be learnt in different ways, such that different word properties may contribute to differing extents. For example, semantic factors (such as babiness) may be less important for function words, whereas syntac-

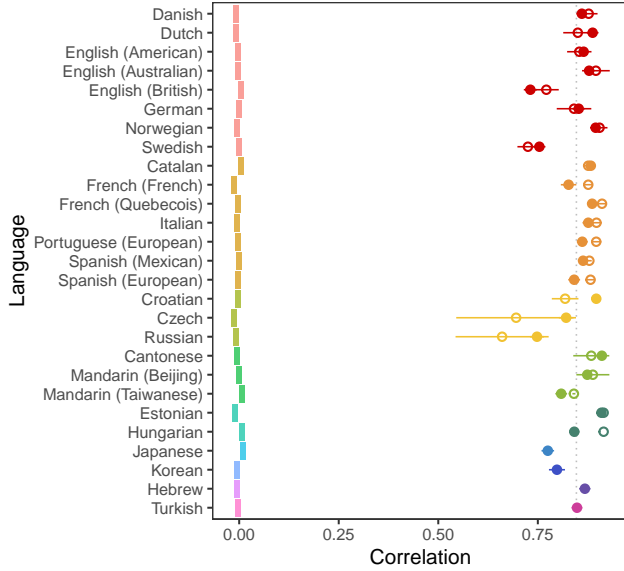


Figure 5: Correlations of main effect coefficients across languages. Filled circles indicate correlations with all other languages. Empty circles indicate correlations with other languages within the same language family. Shaded areas represent the bootstrapped randomised baseline. All ranges indicate 95% confidence intervals. Dotted line indicates mean correlation. Colours represent language families.

tic complexity (as measured by MLU-w) may be more important, and word length may not be the bottleneck for acquiring predicates. These results align with the predictions made by other theories of early language acquisition. Notably, syntactic bootstrapping theory (Gleitman, 1990) suggests that syntactic information may be more crucial for acquiring the meanings of function words, while comparatively, noun semantics can be learnt more easily from direct cross-situational mapping (Monaghan, Mattock, Davies, & Smith, 2015).

Indeed, the differing roles of various predictors across lexical categories is also demonstrated by the relationship between morphological complexity and the effect of MLU-w, specifically for predicates (but not nouns or function words). This finding provides some support for the competition model (Bates & Macwhinney, 1982), which suggests that differential cue availability and reliability across languages may lead to differences in the AoA of different linguistic structures. For languages with greater morphological complexity, the reliability of morphological markers may lead to a lessened effect of syntactic complexity, and vice versa, suggesting a trade-off between the two dimensions of complexity (see Bentz, Gutierrez-Vasques, Sozinova, & Samardžić, 2022; but cf. Benítez-Burraco, Chen, & Gil, 2024). It is important to emphasise that this analysis is exploratory in nature, and the results should be interpreted with caution, especially because of the small number of data points.

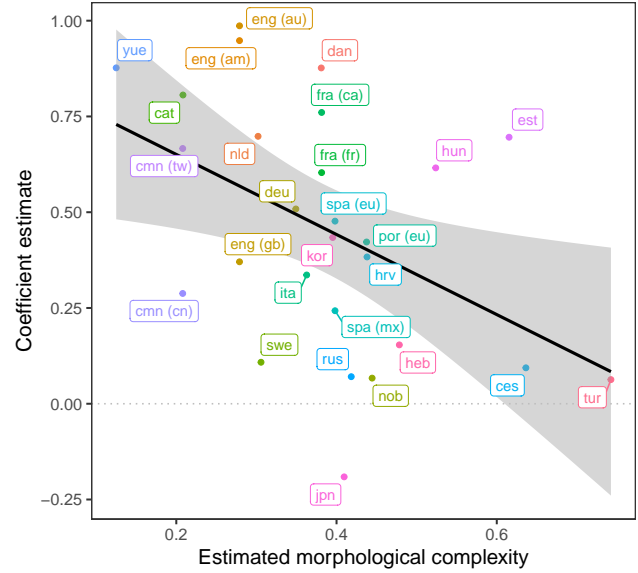


Figure 6: Coefficient of MLU-w for predicates against estimated morphological complexity. Shaded area indicates standard error.

The current study represents an attempt to understand the process of word learning across a large range of languages, so as to better characterise the role of linguistic diversity in early language learning. In particular, we expanded the range of languages under consideration, using data from 28 languages and varieties, of which 10 (i.e., more than a third) were non-Indo-European. Nonetheless, there remained an Indo-European bias, and certain language families were also underrepresented, especially language families across Africa and Oceania; much more research in those languages is necessary for a truly comprehensive view of early word learning.

Additionally, even for the languages included in our study, there was variation in the amount and quality of coverage for the different resources used. For example, some languages have more UniMorph data on verbs than other lexical categories, which may have resulted in biased predictor values. The consistency in observed predictor values suggests that such a potential bias was not very large in magnitude, but it remains crucial to increase resource availability in understudied languages to permit more accurate research.

Nonetheless, the current work presents a case for the use of a diverse range of language samples to study the consistency and variability of early language learning across languages and across levels of representation. Additionally, it is worth highlighting that this research was only made possible through the availability of multiple open data and open science resources, emphasising the importance of open science practices. Continued advancements in data collection and sharing from a greater breadth of languages will certainly help to further our understanding of language acquisition in young children.

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