- How WEIRD-biased is CHILDES' data on children's linguistic input
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7 Abstract

In recent years, the importance of estimating demographic biases in research has become apparent. Here we provide a systematic review of the CHILDES archive, the major source of data on naturalistic recordings of children's linguistic environment. We analyzed the 10 archive at the country and corpus level for four dimensions considered central for language 11 learning: SES, urbanization, family structure and language. We compared these descriptive 12 statistics to world statistics to assess whether the archive was biased in terms of the 13 demographics of the countries represented and the families recorded within them. We found that at the country level, the 47 countries from which there were recordings in CHILDES overrepresented countries with higher educational level; were more urban; and had smaller 16 households with less children. At the corpus level, middle- and higher-class participants were over-represented in relation to the statistics of their own countries. Corpora also 18 included more educated families, with academics being especially over-represented. The 19 corpora were not representative of their countries in terms of urbanization either - with a 20 larger percentage of families residing in urban settings than is overall true for the 21 respective countries. In terms of family structure, nuclear families were more prevalent 22 than in the countries the data was collected in, and - surprisingly - children with no 23 siblings appeared to be under-represented. Last, we found that corpora were linguistically diverse, but we estimate that data in CHILDES under-represents bilingual and multilingual 25 households. We conclude that when generalizing from analysis of data obtained from CHILDES, researchers should acknowledge the potential biases of the archive. 27

28 Keywords: childes, verbal input, infant-directed speech, language, weird

Word count: XXwords

How WEIRD-biased is CHILDES' data on children's linguistic input

31 Research highlights

CHILDES should acknowledge these biases.

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We examined CHILDES, the major source of data on children's linguistic
environment for potential sampling bias in terms of SES, urbanization, family structure
and languages. We found that the 47 countries present in CHILDES overrepresented rich,
educated, urbanized countries with small nuclear families. Within these countries, corpora
overrepresented rich, educated, urban and nuclear families - and single-child families, as
well as bilingual families were underrepresented. Interpretation of studies based on

Since its foundation in 1984, CHILDES (the Child Language Data Exchange System, 39 MacWhinney, 2000) has been the major source of naturalistic recordings and transcript 40 data for researchers studying language acquisition. Naturalistic recordings provide insight 41 into how children acquire language in everyday contexts and capture the richness and complexity of language use in everyday conversations. They also constitute a valuable and ecologically valid source of data necessary for computational models seeking to reverse engineer language acquisition or simulate natural language development. This repository of naturalistic recordings has been the foundation for many influential concepts in developmental science and beyond, illustrated by more than 7,000 scientific publications 47 (MacWhinney, 2019). It has contributed to establishing seminal work in various domains such as the theory of mind (Bartsch & Wellman, 1995) and human memory (Anderson & Schooler, 1991). It has also inspired theories that help us understand the connection between language input and language development (Christiansen, Allen, & Seidenberg, 1998).

However, naturalistic recordings may also contain potential biases. One notable
concern is that participants might not represent the diverse socio-economic backgrounds,
cultures, or linguistic environments children typically experience. As a result, the
generalizability of the related findings may be limited, necessitating cautious interpretation.
Researchers in many fields are increasingly aware of the bias towards WEIRD populations
(Western, Educated, Industrial, Rich, Democratic, Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010) in
the samples they study (Cychosz & Cristia, 2022; Moriguchi, 2022; Nielsen, Haun,
K??rtner, & Legare, 2017; Singh, Cristia, Karasik, Rajendra, & Oakes, 2023). Recent calls
have been made to diversify research in psychology, cognitive, and developmental science to
address this issue (Blasi, Henrich, Adamou, Kemmerer, & Majid, 2022; Kidd & Garcia,
2022; Majid & Levinson, 2010). For instance, Kidd and Garcia (2022) systematically
reviewed publications from child-language journals. They revealed biases towards specific
continents (North America and Europe) and languages (English. Spanish, French),

highlighting the need for increased diversity in populations and languages studied.

Similarly, Blasi et al. (2022) emphasize the potential consequences of generalizing
observations derived solely from English speakers and how fit they are to represent our
entire human species. While these studies focused on biases towards specific languages,
other sources of variance might be as important for research on language development.

Every area of research conceptualizes different dimensions relevant to explaining variance
for a given research topic. In what follows we present the four most relevant dimensions
thought to play a role in child language acquisition, particularly related to naturalistic
recordings: socioeconomic status, urbanization, family structure, and language.

Decades of research have examined the linguistic Socioeconomic Status. 75 differences among families with varying socio-economic status (SES). In the developmental 76 literature, this is primarily indexed by parents' education (Ensminger & Fothergill, 2014; 77 Hoff, 2014), but can also be indexed otherwise, such as by parental income, occupation, or a composite measure of these three (e.g. Hollingshead, 1975). It is beyond the scope of this paper to detail all the theories that attempt to account for the complex causal pathways that may connect SES to children's language environments. We recommend Rowe (2018) 81 as a starting point for readers interested in this literature, along with Golinkoff, Hoff, Rowe, Tamis-LeMonda, and Hirsh-Pasek (2019) and Sperry, Sperry, and Miller (2019) for diverse theoretical perspectives. It should be noted, however, that some of this literature has been found to reflect Global North biases, including what kinds of language input are counted, and what features of linguistic experiences are valued (Scaff, Casillas, Stieglitz, & Cristia, 2024; Sperry et al., 2019). Without desiring to take a stance on how SES and language environments relate to each other, we merely indicate here that SES is undoubtedly one of the factors that has been repeatedly studied in the context of early language acquisition, particularly related to input. For example, Hoff (2014) compared the speech of high- versus low-SES American mothers. College-educated parents produced 91 more utterances to their child, with more diverse vocabulary, longer phrases, and higher

number of utterances continuing a topic the child had brought up. Similar findings can be seen in other studies [Hart and Risley (1995); Hoff-Ginsberg (1990); Hoff (2003); Huttenlocher, Vasilyeva, Waterfall, Vevea, and Hedges (2007); see also Dailey and Bergelson (2022); Leonardo, Havron, and Cristia (2022); for meta-analyses supporting the link; and Bergelson et al. (2023) for a large-scale study finding non-significant SES effects].

Urbanization. Urbanization is the process of moving from rural to urban areas 98 along with noticeable changes in job opportunities and living conditions. It involves the gg growth and development of cities, leading to increased access to infrastructure and 100 amenities. Within the general theoretical framework of language socialization, there have 101 been proposals that societies varying in their urbanization process have differing views and 102 values about the role of children in conversations, and more generally in the community 103 (Sharma & LeVine, 1998; Draper & Harpending, 2017; Keller, 2012; Richman, Miller, & 104 LeVine, 1992). For instance, Keller (2012) discusses three prototypical cases: urban, rural, 105 and hybrid. These three groups differ in terms of their goals for children, with urban 106 families aiming for child psychological independence, rural families for child physical 107 autonomy and interdependence, and hybrid families aiming for some mix across these 108 values. Vogt, Masson-Carro, and Jong (n.d.) employ this conceptual classification to interpret their results on multimodal language use across three samples: urban Dutch, 110 urban Mozambique, and rural Mozambique. They found that the number of gestures, 111 gesture-speech alignment, and gesture types all vary across the three groups in ways that 112 can be related to Keller's typology. Similarly, Cristia (2023) systematic review concludes 113 that children's urbanization status maps onto the amount of input afforded by caregivers: 114 children from rural communities are exposed to less input from caregivers than children in 115 urban ones. 116

Family structure. Family structure refers to the arrangement within a household, forming the basis of a family unit. This dimension encompasses aspects such as the number of siblings, birth order, the number of caregivers in the household, and the number of

individuals sharing or competing for household resources (including caregiving attention); each of which has a significant impact on child and language development (Blake, 1981; 121 Bornstein, Putnick, & Suwalsky, 2019; Duncan & Paradis, 2020; Havron et al., 2022, 2019; 122 Hoff-Ginsberg & Krueger, 1991; Tomasello & Mannle, 1985). For example, birth order 123 effects reveal that children with older siblings show lower language skills than first-born 124 children in various cultures (e.g., Peyre et al., 2016 in France; Havron et al., 2022 for 125 Singapore: Zambrana, Ystrom, & Pons, 2012 for Norway). Other birth order effects suggest 126 that second-born children might benefit in production through overheard speech from their 127 caregivers and older siblings (Oshima-Takane, Goodz, & Derevensky, 1996). Regarding 128 household composition, in many middle-class Euro-American families, parents typically 129 assume primary responsibility for children, often focusing on the mother as the primary 130 caregiver (e.g. Bakermans-Kranenburg et al., 2004; Huttenlocher et al., 2010; Ispa et al., 2004; Pan et al., 2005). However, certain cultures, like Turkish families described by 132 Isleyen (2021), may adopt a different approach, with nuclear families living in separate 133 apartments but sharing common spaces and caregiving responsibilities, resulting in 134 extensive support networks. 135

Languages. Characterizing the diversity of participant samples in terms of 136 language (Blasi et al., 2022; Kidd & Garcia, 2022) is an important factor in language 137 acquisition, as variations in language exposure and language use among different groups 138 allow to explore how purely linguistic factors shape and influence the development of 139 language skills in children. For example, based on transcriptions of conversations, it was 140 shown that K'iche' Mayan children frequently use and understand passive constructions from a very young, unlike their English-speaking peers, refuting the idea that passive constructions can only emerge later in development (C. L. Pye, 1980; C. Pye & Poz, 1988). Similarly, many Indo-European languages show a strong noun bias in early vocabularies (a bias for acquiring words for concrete referential objects rather than actions), it has been 145 claimed to be a universal feature of early language acquisition. However, studies have

shown that in some Mayan languages, including Tseltal and Tsotsil (Casillas, Foushee,
Méndez Girón, Polian, & Brown, 2024; De León, 1999), there is little to no evidence for a
noun bias and argue for a verb bias instead. This highlights significant cross-linguistic
variation and underscores the importance of studying naturalistic children's recordings for
describing different linguistic developmental trajectories (Casillas et al., 2024).

Another major dimension and entire sub-field in developmental science is the study of 152 bilingualism or multilingualism McCabe et al. (2013). There is evidence that monolingual 153 and bilingual early language development differs in some aspects, particularly regarding 154 phonological acquisition and word learning. For example, monolingual infants' ability to 155 discriminate non-native sounds declines during the first year of age, whereas infants 156 exposed to one or more languages maintain the discrimination window for a longer period. 157 Also, in terms of input, bilingual linguistic exposure is divided between two or more native 158 languages. It has been shown that the amount of exposure to each native language can 159 affect bilingual infants' speech discrimination abilities (Garcia-Sierra et al., 2011). 160

The current study. Here, we provide a systematic analysis of the naturalistic 161 speech corpora of the CHILDES database by quantifying the diversity of each dimension 162 presented above (see Table 1). Though some of these dimensions overlap with each other 163 (See Figure SM1 in the supplementary materials for illustration), we decided to illustrate 164 each as best as possible independently. Our systematic analysis follows three steps. First, 165 we screened the CHILDES database, excluding the clinical and task-driven recordings. Second, we extracted information related to the four central factors in language acquisition described in the introduction. Finally, we follow Ghai (2021) recommendation to improve the description of diversity in behavioral sciences by looking at different levels: from a 169 macro-level, with broad country comparisons to a corpus-level, where we delved into 170 individual corpora to gain a more detailed and nuanced understanding of the data. 171

172 Methods

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Analyses and visualizations were carried out using R (version 4.1.2, R Core Team, 2020) and ggplot2 [wickham2011ggplot2]. Data, scripts, and online Supplementary

Materials are available on OSF

[https://osf.io/q9w82/?view_only=a013f1b25b8c4556b8248f12870402c9].

Inclusion criteria. Although valuable insights occur from corpora on clinical 177 populations and elicitation tasks, we deliberately excluded them from our review. This is 178 because they introduce additional sources of variation and biases. For example, the 170 inclusion of clinical populations may highlight differences in the prevalence and access to 180 diagnosis of language disorders in different regions or countries. Additionally, the structure 181 of elicitation tasks may not reflect spontaneous language use in everyday conversations. We 182 thus excluded the following corpora: a) clinical populations or non-typically developing 183 children, b) structured tasks such as toy narratives, personal narratives, frog stories, 184 picture or movie descriptions, structured storytelling, and other elicitation tasks; c) only child or adult speech without a conversational partner; and d) non-naturalistic setups, such as recordings conducted exclusively in a lab environment or in a diary format.

Screening. Following a thorough examination of each corpus, which involved reviewing the corpus description available on the CHILDES website, checking for any accompanying references such as articles, book chapters, or dissertations, and conducting spot-checks on associated transcripts, we identified 180 corpora that met our inclusion criteria mentioned above. Please refer to the flowchart in Supplementary Materials (SM2) for a detailed breakdown of the included corpora.

Descriptive-statistics. Descriptive statistics Firstly, we show descriptive statistics
of the countries represented in the CHILDES database presented in FigureS 1 and 2 of the
results. Our goal is to provide insights into the representativeness of our CHILDES
sub-sample when compared to global statistics. Figure 2 draws data from official sources:

the CWorld Bank, Our World in Data (WDI), and the United Nations (UN). For additional details on Figure 2 and the corresponding variables, please refer to Supplementary Materials (SM3).

Secondly, we present corpus-level statistics to assess the representativeness of our sub-sample of CHILDES in a more detailed manner across our four dimensions: SES, urbanization, family structure, and languages (See Table 1 for the complete list of variables and definitions).

Data was extracted from the provided sources mentioned in CHILDES such as articles, book chapters, dissertations, and transcripts to pre-fill the categories. Corpus curators were contacted to request missing or incomplete information, and an online table was provided to facilitate data entry. Over a third of the contacted curators (103 corpora, 32%) provided additional data or confirmed missing information. Unfortunately, curators for 50 corpora (15%) could not be contacted due to unresponsive email addresses (38), or the curator's passing (12).

212 Results

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The 180 corpora included in this study represent 48 different countries or territories 213 across all populated continents. The country with the most corpora is the United States 214 with 30 different corpora, followed by Spain with 24 (including a bilingual corpus), and a 215 tie between the United Kingdom and France with 11 (see SM4 for a full summary by 216 country and continent). The most represented country in terms of individual children 217 recorded is the United Kingdom with 560, followed by the United States with 405 and then 218 Spain with 212. The most represented continent in terms of individual children recorded is 219 Europe with 1090. The least represented continent is Oceania with only 5 recorded children 220 (all from Papua New Guinea, Sarvasy, 2017). 221

Out of the 48 countries or territories, 28 belong to the OECD (Organisation for

Table 1

Definition of the corpus-level variables

Dimension	Corpus.level.variable	
SES	Parents' socio-economic status	Low, mid and/or high
SES	Parents' education level	Highest level of education completed: Primary, High
SES	Parents' occupation	Parents' activity or profession
Urbanization	Type of community	Urban, rural, mixed
Family structure	Household composition	Whether the family was composed primarily of care
Family structure	Percent children with sibling(s)	The percentage of children in the corpus who had a
Family structure	Average number of siblings	How many siblings children had on average (includi
Language	Language(s) spoken	Which languages were spoken in the transcripts and
Language	Lingual status	Whether more than one language is spoken in the c

Economic Co-operation and Development). This corresponds to 151 out of 180 corpora or 84% of this sample of CHILDES. Meanwhile, OECD countries represent only 19.5% of world countries.

We assessed the extent to which the countries with data in our sub-sample of CHILDES were a representative sample of countries in the world. Density plots are portrayed in Figure 2.

By comparing our sub-sample of CHILDES to the world statistics using unpaired samples t-tests without assuming equality of variance (Welch's t). Countries in our sub-sample of CHILDES had a higher proportion of the population completing lower secondary school than the world wide sample (% compl. LSS, t(130.41)=-6.19, p = 0); they were more urban (% urban, t(79.48)=-3.44, p = 0); richer (log GDP per capita, t(102.35)=-6.02, p = 0) and had smaller households (average household size,

Participants by Country



Figure 1. Geographical distribution of the different corpora of CHILDES. Each circle represents a corpus, and the size of the circle is proportional to the number of participants.

t(118.80)=7.12, p=0.

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We then investigated at the corpus level the variables described in Table 1. The information collected gives us more detail about the characteristics of the individual families that compose our sub-sample of CHILDES. However, it is important to acknowledge that this information was missing for a substantial number of the corpora.

SES. Our analysis of 102 corpora including SES information reveals that only 5% (n = 5 corpora) were described as families of low SES, 16 (n = 16) described as a mixed sample spanning between lower and middle or higher SES. The vast majority, 79% (n = 81), exclusively represented families of middle or higher SES. Most countries in our CHILDES sample are members of the OECD. According to a 2016 report, "Almost

two-thirds of people live in middle-income households in OECD countries." While less than 66% of families from OECD countries are considered middle-to-high SES, over 80% of our sample falls into this category. It's important to note that OECD countries generally have higher SES populations compared to the global average. Given this context, it's likely that CHILDES overrepresents middle-to-high SES families to an even greater extent when considered on a global scale.

76% of the corpora (n = 58) include children whose parents had at 251 least a graduate, if not a postgraduate, degree. 4% (n=3) had at least some parents with 252 primary-level education; 12% (n=9) had parents with secondary school education as the lower bound of the education range, and a further 8% (n=6) had some college as the lower bound. 4 corpora were described as "diverse", without clarifying the range of education 255 covered. These numbers do not accurately represent the demographics of the countries 256 they were obtained from. For instance, while the U.S. Census Bureau reported that only 257 36% of the adult population held a bachelor's degree or higher in 2020, our data indicates 258 that 100% of the corpora of the parents from the United States had a college education or 259 higher. As seen in Figure 3, the same result is seen for corpus from China, Denmark, 260 Egypt, Hong Kong, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, The Netherlands, Poland, 261 Russia, Singapore, South Korea, Switzerland and the United States where 100% of parents 262 with data are college-educated or above. Thus, it seems that our sub-samples of CHILDES 263 are very skewed toward higher-educated parents. 264

Occupation. Professions were overall varied. The majority, comprising 62% (n=52), was associated with the field of education. Notably, within this category, 56% (n=47) of the individuals were identified as parents with professions linked to graduate-level education. This included roles such as Master's or Ph.D. students, professors, linguists, researchers, scientists, and academics. Some of the other occupations reported were psychologists, speech therapist or home makers.

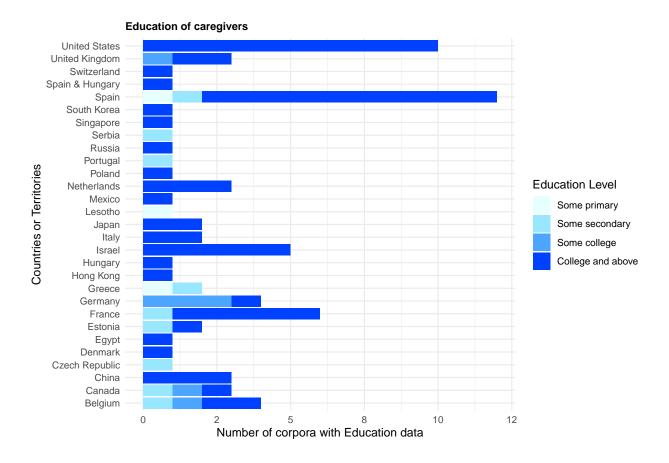


Figure 2. (#fig:figure3) Distribution of parental education by country.

Urbanization. 89% of the corpora (n=58) were described as industrialized or 271 urban, with one additional corpus described as both rural and urban (Rigol corpus, Lieven 272 & Stoll, 2013). Only 8% of the corpora (n = 5) were labeled as farming or rural, 273 representing countries such as Canada, Lesotho, Jamaica, Papua New Guinea, and the 274 United States. While this categorization may be arbitrary, it offers insight into the 275 representation of each country within their corpora. For instance, countries like Lesotho and Papua New Guinea, where approximately 70% and 86% of the population resides in 277 rural areas (World Bank estimates based on the United Nations Population Division's 278 World Urbanization Prospects: 2018 Revision), are categorized as rural corpora (Demuth, 2022; Sarvasy, 2017). Conversely, the most urbanized countries in our sample, including 280 Kuwait (100%), Belgium (97.70%), and the Netherlands (93%), are represented only by 281

urban corpora. Overall, the sample is predominantly composed of urban countries, with
more than half of the countries being over 80% urban (see SM5 for a table of urban
indicators by country), and the data reflects this urbanization tendency accordingly (see
Figure 4).

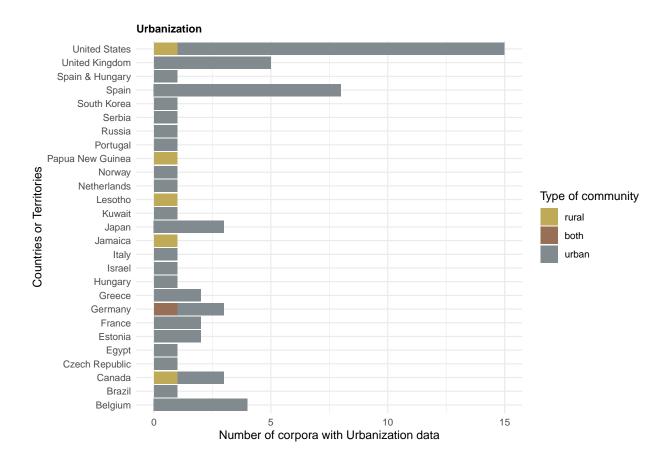


Figure 3. Urbanization by country.

Family structure.

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Nuclear households. Regarding household composition, 60 corpora (87%) were
based exclusively on nuclear families (e.g., parents and their children); 7 (10%) on extended
families (e.g., relatives other than parents or siblings); and 2 (3%) varied (e.g., a mix of
nuclear and extended family corpora). Most of our sample—18 countries or territories (see
Figure 5)—exclusively have corpora on nuclear families, whereas only 6 have exclusively
recordings of extended family households. It is important to bear in mind that we have

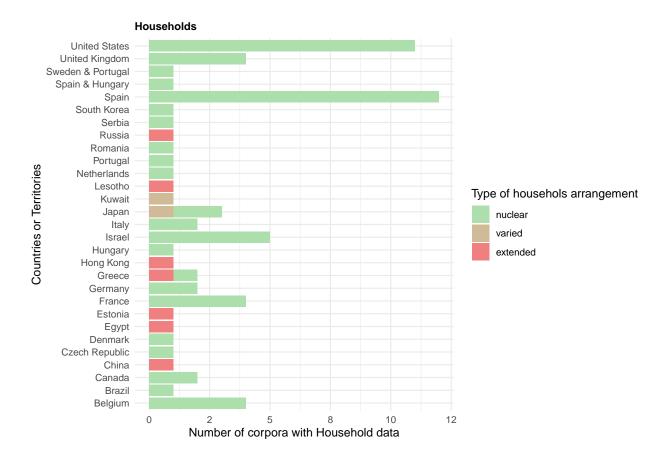


Figure 4. Household by country.

information for only 38% of the included corpora for this variable, making generalizations
difficult. When examining country statistics more closely, we see how this sample may not
be representative of the actual situation in these countries. For example in Egypt,
according to the UN Database on Household Size and Composition (2022), 65% of
households are comprised of couples with children, and only about 11% were categorized as
extended families. In our sample, the only corpus recorded in Egypt (Salama & Alansary,
2017) families were classified as extended.

Sibling presence. The majority of corpora in our sub-sample of CHILDES include children who have siblings. Only 28% (n = 26) of the corpora were constituted exclusively of singletons (children with no siblings), while the remaining had at least one sibling 72% (n = 67). About a quarter of the corpora with a least one sibling pertain exclusively on

first borns (n=17) Since 84% of the countries in CHILDES are in the OECD, we draw a 304 comparison point for such countries: among households with children in the OECD, 305 roughly 46% of children were singletons according to 2015 data. In the sub-sample of only 306 OECD CHILDES corpora with information about siblings, we see that 29% (n = 23) 307 corpora pertain exclusively on singletons. In this sense, singletons are slightly 308 underrepresented in CHILDES. Only for Russia and Hong Kong do we have corpora relying 309 exclusively on singletons at the recording date. However, it is important to note that even 310 if the recorded child had a reported sibling, it does not mean that the sibling was recorded 311 or transcribe or even present during the recording session (see Loukatou, Scaff, Demuth, 312 Cristia, & Havron, 2022). 313

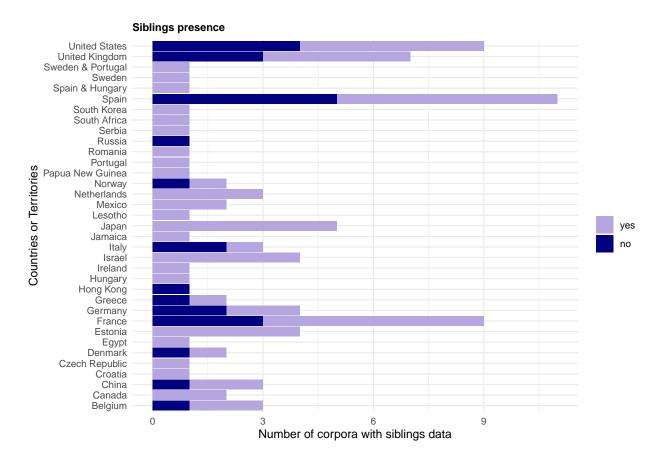


Figure 5. Siblings presence by country.

Languages. We had two variables of interest here: language spoken in the corpus and lingual status. A total of 63 different languages or language combinations (for bilingual and multilingual children) were reportedly spoken in the corpora (see SM6).

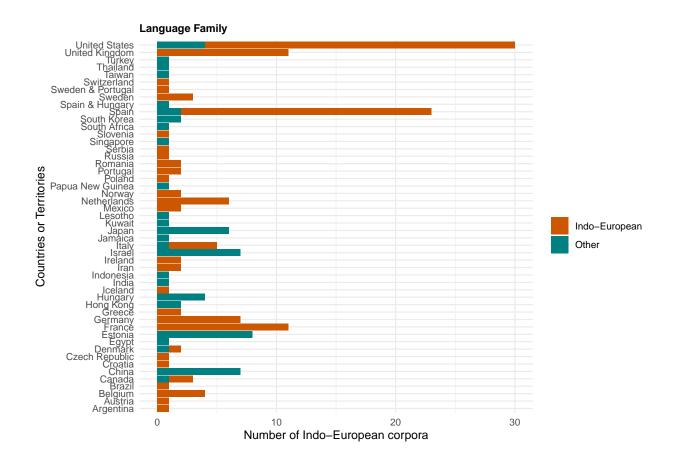


Figure 6. Indo-European languages by country.

About a third (32%, n=35) of the included corpora were not monolingual. It is difficult to find reliable estimates of the percentage of the global population that grew up in bilingual or multilingual homes. This is partly because estimates rely on adult data, which includes second language learners without considering proficiency. For instance, in Europe in 2016, 65% of adults reported knowing multiple languages (Eurostat, 2022), but most of them probably did not grow up in bilingual homes. Still, some estimates claim that around half or two-thirds of children are raised bilingual or multilingual (Grosjean, 2024). According to such estimates, it would appear that input data in our sub-sample of

²⁵ CHILDES underrepresents bilingual and multilingual households.

As for linguistic diversity, most of the corpora pertain to Indo-European languages 326 (68%, n=122). The most represented language in terms of individuals and corpora is 327 English. English appears in 50 corpora (30 exclusively monolingual), representing 28% of 328 the included corpora and 611 individual children (447 monolinguals). Additionally, it is the 329 language most studied for bilingualism or multilingualism, with language combinations 330 including Cantonese, Danish, Dutch, Farsi, French, Hebrew, Hungarian, Japanese, 331 Mandarin, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish. The next most represented 332 language in terms of different corpora is Spanish, with 25 corpora (14 monolingual) and 169 children (75 monolingual). The following most represented languages in terms of 334 individual children are Welsh (n=475) and Mandarin (total=223; monolinguals=157) (see SM7 for more information).

Discussion

The current paper provides a systematic review of naturalistic recordings from the
CHILDES database. We assessed and characterized sampling bias by examining the
database through four macro dimensions: SES, urbanization, family structure, and
languages, all representing dimensions believed to influence early language acquisition. We
aimed to address the question of how biased the sample was in terms of these four
dimensions when compared to the world's population.

The systematic review included 180 corpora from 48 different countries, mainly representing OECD countries (84%). OECD countries have higher income on average than non-OECD countries (CITE). Our results revealed several measures where the corpora do not represent the world population across SES, urbanization, family structure, and linguistic dimensions within the CHILDES database. Despite a remarkable diversity in terms of languages and countries, naturalistic recordings seem to encompass quite similar

socio-ecological backgrounds.

The socioeconomic status (SES) dimension encompassing education, income, and 351 occupation, shows a stark bias of our CHILDES sample from global statistics. Specifically, 352 represented countries demonstrate a higher percentage of individuals completing lower 353 secondary school compared to global averages. A more detailed examination reveals that 354 78% of the dataset represents families where parents attained at least a college education. 355 Data for 17 out of 48 countries represented exclusively reported parents with college-level 356 education or above, whereas for some countries such as Greece, Lesotho, Serbia, or 357 Portugal, only parents who attended some primary or secondary school are represented. In 358 addition, our CHILDES sample countries exhibit higher Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 350 per capita than the world average, and more than 80% of the families recorded reported 360 middle or high SES. 361

Taken together, it is clear that naturalistic input samples in CHILDES represent
higher SES and more educated countries and households. Considering the extensive
literature linking SES and language acquisition, these are important biases to take into
account.

The dataset's overrepresentation of highly educated parents extends beyond this 366 educational/income bias. Notably, approximately half of the corpora feature parents 367 engaged in research-related professions, with academics frequently studying their own 368 (grand)children. In comparison, in the US general population, in 2020, only 6% of 369 American citizens would fall under such definitions. The danger of extrapolating from such a sample goes beyond issues previously discussed in the context of convenience 371 (homogeneous or heterogeneous) samples (Bornstein, Jager, & Putnick, 2013), and may 372 concern the very fact that parents who pursue a career in academia (and likely in 373 language-related areas) could be particular in their linguistic behavior. Something to 374 consider when studying parental input from these recordings or transcripts. 375

When examining the urbanization dimension, we see that in the countries of this 376 sample of CHILDES the majority of the population resides in urban areas. And that % of 377 corpora were urban, as opposed to in the world population, and only corpora were 378 exclusively rural. It has been shown that urban and rural families often have different 379 expectations about child development, and that urban settings have more access to services 380 and amenities such as daycares, libraries, or playgrounds, creating particular early 381 language environments that research has shown affects vocabulary growth, exposure to 382 diverse linguistic input, and overall language acquisition (CITE). On the other hand, 383 recent research also shows the negative effects of urban areas on health and particularly, 384 related to noise pollution (Simon, Merz, He, & Noble, 2022) and residential crowding, for 385 which links with early language development have been found - in this respect too, the 386 biased data could be problematic.

Further analysis of CHILDES reveals significant biases in the urbanization dimension. 388 Regarding urbanization, 91% of corpora were urban, compared to 59% of the world 389 population, with only 5 corpora exclusively rural. This urban bias is important, as urban 390 and rural families often have different expectations about child development (Keller, 2012). 391 Furthermore, urban settings provide more access to services like daycares and libraries, 392 creating unique early language environments that affect vocabulary growth, exposure to 393 diverse linguistic input, and overall language acquisition (CITATION NEEDED). However, 394 recent research also highlights negative aspects of urban areas, such as noise pollution 395 (Simon et al., 2022) and residential crowding (Havron et al., 2022), which can also impact 396 early language development. In terms of family structure, the represented countries had smaller households compared to the world average, with an overrepresentation of nuclear families. This bias limits our understanding of diverse caregiving structures, particularly alloparental involvement, in language acquisition. While multi-child families are 400 well-represented, the absence of siblings' speech in some transcripts (e.g., Loukatou et al., 401 2022) hinders insights into typical daily language interactions. Limited data on birth order 402

also restricts robusts conclusions on sibling composition in CHILDES. This scenario
underscores the need for broader exploration of non-parental caregiving roles and sibling
relationships, typically overlooked in studies focusing on predominantly WEIRD
households. Finally, English and Indo-European languages are overrepresented in
CHILDES corpora. This aligns with trends in child development literature (Kidd &
Garcia, 2022) and overall data quantity (Christiansen, Contreras Kallens, & Trecca, 2022).
Moreover, the majority of data comes from monolingual children, likely misrepresenting the
world's population (Grosjean, 2024).

We focused on four central dimensions in language acquisition, but others may well 411 be relevant. For example, Hofstede (2001) conceptualized dimensions such as 412 individualism, masculinity, and indulgence. Moreover, given that most samples are nuclear 413 families with well-educated parents living in urban sites, it will be impossible to tease apart 414 these three dimensions, which are in effect confounded in these CHILDES corpora (and 415 probably in the world, see SM1). Even in a case where we do have some variation, namely 416 the presence of siblings, it would be hard to understand the intersectionality of such effects 417 in naturalistic input samples. 418

The absence of comprehensive data for certain variables restricted a thorough 419 analysis of representativeness on some dimensions. This should not be seen as the fault of the corpus creator or curator, as these data are not always available to them or were not 421 considered relevant before. However, people re-using the data should try at least to make 422 an effort to inform themselves about the characteristics of the people recorded as they 423 could be of interest to interpret findings. Researchers should acknowledge the database's limitations in representing diverse naturalistic language environments, especially when exploring socioeconomic, urbanization, or family structure influences on language acquisition. In addition, as AI technologies and other types of scraping tools become 427 prevalent, it is important to acknowledge the socio-ecological landscape of this repository 428 in order to keep in mind what are the generalizations that automatic tools might arrive at,

and how they represent the overarching mechanisms of language acquisition. To conclude, 430 we found that data from many countries and languages are represented in CHILDES, but 431 that these countries did not constitute a representative sample of the world's countries, and 432 that families could not be viewed as representative of their own countries. We also noted 433 low variability along certain dimensions (saliently family structure) and the predominance 434 of Indo-European languages, with English being the language with more recorded 435 participants. Our discussion leads us to argue for the systematic inclusion of certain 436 descriptors in speaker-level and corpus-level metadata, to track and quantify both diversity 437 and representativity (see OSF folder for a list of descriptors). 438

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