Parents fine-tune their speech to children's vocabulary knowledge

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Author Note

- All data and code for these analyses are available at
- 7 https://osf.io/3f8hy/?view_only=9a196db0444c4867bc899cc70a7a1e9c. Videos of
- experiment sessions are available on Databrary.
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Abstract

Young children learn language at an incredible rate. While children come prepared with 12 powerful statistical learning mechanisms, the statistics they encounter are also prepared for 13 them: children learn from caregivers motivated to communicate with them. How precisely do 14 parents tune their speech to their children's individual language knowledge? To answer this 15 question, we asked parent-child pairs (n=41) to play a reference game in which the parent's 16 goal was to guide their child to select a target animal from a set of three. Parents fine-tuned 17 their referring expressions to their children's knowledge at the lexical level, producing more 18 informative references for animals they thought their children did not know. Further, parents learned about their children's knowledge over the course of the game, and tuned their referring expressions accordingly. Child-directed speech may thus support children's learning 21 not because it is uniformly simplified, but because it is tuned to individual children's language development.

Statement of Relevance

The pace at which children learn language is one of the most impressive feats of early cognitive development. One possible explanation for this rapid pace is that the language caregivers produce is tuned to children's developing linguistic knowledge, maintaining just the right level of complexity to support rapid learning. We present the first experimental evidence of just how precise this tuning is, showing that parents tune not just to children's holistic language development, but their knowledge of individual words. We developed a new method in which we experimentally controlled what parents talked about, but not how they could talk or what they could say, increasing the chance that these results will generalize outside the lab. This work points to the importance of studying the parent-child dyad as a unit instead of focusing on children as isolated learners, both in the domain of language and in social learning more broadly.

36 Keywords: parent-child interaction; language development; communication

Word count: 749

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In just a few short years, children master their native language. Undoubtedly, a large share of the credit for this feat is due to powerful learning mechanisms that children bring to their input (Kuhl, 2004; Saffran, Aslin, & Newport, 1996; Smith, Suanda, & Yu, 2014).

However, a share of the credit may also be due to the structure of linguistic input itself: individual differences in both the quantity and quality of the language children hear are associated with individual differences in those children's language learning (Hart & Risley, 1995; Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Rowe, 2012). Further, associations between input and uptake are primarily driven by differences in speech directed to children. Differences in overheard speech do not predict differences in language learning, even in communities where child-directed speech is relatively rare (Romeo et al., 2018; Shneidman & Goldin-Meadow, 2012; Weisleder & Fernald, 2013). Why is child-directed speech so important to language learning?
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The way we speak to children is markedly different from the way we speak to adults.

For instance, child-directed speech tends to be slower, higher pitched, and exaggerated in
enunciation relative to adult-directed speech (Cooper & Aslin, 1990; Grieser & Kuhl, 1988).

Beyond acoustic and prosodic differences, child-directed speech is also marked by repetition,
simpler syntactic structures, and higher proportions of questions (Fernald & Simon, 1984;
Newport, Gleitman, & Gleitman, 1977; Snow, 1972). Children preferentially listen to
child-directed speech over adult-directed speech (Cooper & Aslin, 1990; ManyBabies
Consortium, 2020), and their increased attention to child-directed speech may play a part in
driving language acquisition (Soderstrom, 2007).

In addition to attentional effects, structural simplifications in child-directed speech
have been tied to specific benefits in children's language learning (e.g. Brent & Siskind, 2001;
Ma, Golinkoff, Houston, & Hirsh-Pasek, 2011). For instance, when parents refer to a
particular object, they tend to place this object in the final position of their utterances, even

in languages where this is not the canonical word order (Aslin, Woodward, LaMendola, & Bever, 1996). This structural tendency has been tied directly to ease of word segmentation and subsequent word learning (Endress, Nespor, & Mehler, 2009; Yurovsky, Yu, & Smith, 2012).

Crucially, both acoustic and structural properties of child-directed speech change over development, with sentences getting longer, more complex, and less acoustically variable (e.g. Huttenlocher et al., 2010; Liu, Tsao, & Kuhl, 2009; Phillips, 1973). The linguistic tuning hypothesis suggests that this changing nature of child-directed speech is what allows it to be such a powerful driver of language development (Snow, 1972). If parents tune their speech to children's developmental level, increasing the complexity of input at the same rate that children are developing their linguistic knowledge, input may always be at the optimal level of complexity to support language learning (Vygotsky, 1978).

How precisely do parents tune their speech? One possibility is that tuning is coarse:

caregivers could tune the complexity of their speech generally, using a holistic sense of their

children's developing linguistic abilities. Consistent with a coarse-tuning hypothesis, parents

tune their utterance lengths, articulation of vowels, and diversity of clauses to children age

(Bernstein Ratner, 1984; Huttenlocher et al., 2010; Moerk, 1976). Over and above this

coarse-tuning, parents might fine-tune their speech, taking into account not only children's

global linguistic development, but their specific knowledge of smaller units of language, such

as lexical items. Fine-tuning would provide a particularly powerful and efficient vehicle for

scaffolding language acquisition because of its specificity. If parents could fine-tune

utterances containing specific words, phrases, or constructions, they could keep each aspect

of language at just the right desirable difficulty to support learning, retention, and

generalization (Bjork & Kroll, 2015; Vlach & Sandhofer, 2014).

To date, the only evidence for fine-tuning comes from two observational studies, one showing that parents are more likely to provide their child with labels for novel as compared

to familiar toys (Masur, 1997), and the second showing that one child's caregivers produce their shortest utterances containing a particular word just before the child first produces that word (Roy, Frank, & Roy, 2009). Here, we present the first *experimental* evidence for fine-tuning.

Children and their parents played a reference game in which the parent's goal was to guide their child to select a target animal from a set of three. Parents tuned the amount of information in their utterances not just to the average difficulty of each animal word, but to their prior estimates of their individual child's knowledge of that animal. Further, parents sensitively adapted over the course of the game, providing more information on subsequent trials when they discovered that their child did not know an animal. Together, these results show that parents leverage their knowledge of their children's language development to fine-tune the linguistic information they provide.

102 Method

103 Participants

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Toddlers (aged 2-2.5 years) and their parents were recruited from a database of families 104 in the local community or approached on the floor of a local science museum in order to 105 achieve a planned sample of 40 parent-child dyads. Because our method was novel, we chose 106 a sample size that would give us 95% power to detect a medium-sized effect (d=.6) 107 within-subjects and rounded up to the nearest multiple of 10. A total of 48 parent-child pairs were recruited, but data from 7 pairs were dropped from analysis because of failure to 109 complete the experiment as designed. Of the 7 pairs that were dropped, 5 children fussed out, 1 had an older sibling interfering with the study, and 1 was a twin (only the twin that participated first was included). The final sample consisted of 41 children aged 24 mo.; 5 112 days to 29 mo.; 20 days (M = 26 mo.; 0 days), 21 of whom were girls. 113

In our recruitment, we made an effort to sample children from a variety of racial and

socio-economic groups. Our final sample was roughly representative of the racial composition of the Chicago Area and the US more broadly (56% White, 27% Black, 8% Hispanic).

However, our sample was significantly more educated than the broader community (85% of mothers had a College or Graduate Degree).

119 Stimuli

Eighteen animal images were selected from the Rossion and Pourtois (2004) image set, 120 a colorized version of the Snodgrass and Vanderwart (1980) object set. Animals were 121 selected based on estimates of their age of acquisition (AoA) for American English learners. To obtain these estimates, we used two sources of information: parent-report estimates of 123 children's age of acquisition from Wordbank (Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman, 124 2017), and retrospective self-report estimates of AoA from adults (Kuperman, Stadthagen-Gonzalez, & Brysbaert, 2012, see Supplemental Materials for details). The AoA of the selected animals ranged from 15 to 32 months. Half of the animals were chosen to have an early AoA (15-23 months), and the other half were chosen to have a late AoA (25-32 128 months). Each trial featured three animals, all from either the early AoA or late AoA 120 category. This separation was designed to lower the likelihood that children could use 130 knowledge of early AoA animals to infer the correct target on late AoA trials. 131

A modified version of the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory
Short Form (CDI; Fenson et al., 2007), a parent-reported measure of children's vocabulary,
was administered before the testing session via an online survey. The selected animal words
were added to the standard words, producing an 85 word survey. Two of the animal
words—one in the early AoA (pig) and one in the late AoA category (rooster)—were
accidentally omitted, so trials for those words were not included in analyses as we could not
obtain individual-level estimates of children's knowledge.



Figure 1. A parent-child dyad playing the reference game. On each trial, the parent's goal was to use language to communicate to their child which animal to choose.

Design and Procedure

Each parent-child pair played an interactive reference game using two iPads (Figure 1). 140 Children began with two warm-up trials in which they tapped on circles that appeared on 141 the iPads. Following these warm-up trials, children and their parents moved on to practice 142 and then experimental trials. On each trial, three images of animals were displayed side by side on the child's screen, and a single word appeared on the parent's screen. Parents were 144 instructed to communicate as they normally would with their child, and to encourage their 145 child to choose the object corresponding to the word on their screen. The child was 146 instructed to listen to their parent for cues. Once the child tapped an animal, the trial ended, and a new trial began. There were a total of 36 experimental trials, such that each animal appeared as the target twice. Trials were randomized for each participant, with the 149 constraint that the same animal could not be the target twice in a row. Practice trials 150 followed the same format as experimental trials, with the exception that images of fruit and 151 vegetables were shown. All sessions were videotaped for transcription and coding. 152

Data analysis

Our primary quantity of interest was the amount of information that parents provided 154 in each of their utterances. To approximate this, we measured the length of parents' referring 155 expressions—the number of words they produced on each trial before their child selected an 156 animal. Length is an imperfect proxy for information, but it is easy to quantify and 157 theory-agnostic. Because utterance length is highly right-skewed (i.e. most utterances are 158 short), we log-transformed length in all analyses. However, to facilitate interpretability, we 159 show raw utterance length in our figures. Subsequently, utterances were manually coded for the following: (1) Use of an animal's canonical label (e.g., "leopard"), (2) Use of a descriptor 161 (e.g., "spotted"), (3) Use of a comparison (e.g., "like a cat"), (4) Use of a superordinate level 162 category label (e.g., "bird" for peacock), and (5) Use of a subordinate level category label 163 (e.g., "Limelight Larry," a fictional character from a children's book, for peacock). Parent 164 utterances irrelevant to the game (e.g. asking the child to sit down) were not analyzed. 165 Children's utterances were coded when audible, but were not analyzed. Our second source of 166 data was the vocabulary questionnaire that parents filled out prior to participation. Parents 167 indicated whether their child produced each of the 85 words on the survey. In addition to 168 analyzing parents' judgments for the animals in the task, we also computed the total number 169 of words judged to be known for each child as a proxy for total vocabulary. 170

All of our analyses were done using mixed-effects models. In all cases we began with
maximal random effects structures and pruned random effects until the models converged.
We removed interaction terms before removing main effects, and opted to keep the most
theory-relevant random effects when only a subset of main effects could be kept. For clarity,
we present only the key findings and statistics here, but full model details can be found in
the Supplemental Materials.

177 Results

We begin by confirming that our a priori divisions of animals into early and late age of 178 acquisition (AoA) in the study design were reflected in parents' survey judgments, and that 179 children were able to follow parents' references to select the correct target animal on each 180 trial. After this, we show that parents fine-tune their referring expressions, producing more 181 information in their references to animals that they think their individual children do not 182 know. Further, parents update their tuning over the course of the experiment, producing 183 more information on subsequent references to animals they thought their children knew but 184 observed evidence to the contrary (i.e. children made an incorrect selection). 185

186 Target animal difficulty

We first confirm that the early AoA animals were more likely to be marked "known" by the parents of children in our studies. As predicted, parents judged that their children knew 94% of the animals in the early AoA category, and 33% of the animals in the late AoA category, which were reliably different from each-other ($\beta = -6.48$, p < .001, d = -3.57 [-4.48, -2.67]). Parents' judgments for each target word are shown in the Supplemental Materials.

192 Selection accuracy

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On the whole, parents communicated effectively with their children, such that children 193 selected the correct target on 69.05% of trials, reliably greater than would be expected by 194 chance (33%, $\beta = 2.07$, p < .001, d = 1.14 [0.93, 1.36]). Children were above chance both for 195 animals that parents thought they knew ($M=75.08\%,\,\beta=2.61,\,p<.001,\,d=1.44$ [1.18, 196 1.70]), and for animals that parents thought their children did not know (M = 55.19%, $\beta =$ 197 1.23, p < .001, d = 0.68 [0.52, 0.84]). Thus, parents successfully communicated the target 198 referent to children, even when parents thought their children did not know the name for the 199 animal at the start of the game. 200

Was this accuracy driven by children's knowledge or parents' referential expressions?

Because we did not measure children's knowledge of each animal directly, we use parents' 202 estimates of children's knowledge as a proxy to answer this question. We fit a mixed-effects 203 logistic regression predicting children's accuracy on each trial from children's total estimated 204 vocabulary, parent-reported knowledge of the target animal, and the (log) length of parents' 205 expressions. We found that children with bigger vocabularies were more accurate in general 206 $(\beta = 0.40, p = .001, d = 0.22 [0.09, 0.36])$, and that children were less accurate for animals 207 whose names parents thought they did not know ($\beta = -1.86$, p < .001, d = -1.02 [-1.46, 208 -0.58) Longer referential expressions were associated with lower accuracy for animals that 209 parents thought their children knew ($\beta = -0.40$, p = .007, d = -0.22 [-0.38, -0.06]), but 210 greater accuracy for animals that parents thought their children did not know ($\beta = 0.46$, p =211 .025, d = 0.25 [0.03, 0.47]. 212

Thus, longer referential expressions were associated with more successful
communication for animals that parents thought their children did not know, but were
unhelpful for animals that parents thought they did know. We next ask whether parents
tuned the lengths of their utterances appropriately, producing longer expressions for animals
they believe their children do not know.

218 Tuning

If parents calibrate their referring expressions to their children's linguistic knowledge, 219 they should provide more information to children for whom a simple bare noun 220 (e.g. "leopard") would be insufficient to identify the target. Parents did this in a number of 221 ways: with one or more adjectives (e.g. "the spotted, yellow leopard"), with similes (e.g. "the 222 one that's like a cat"), and with allusions to familiar animal exemplars of the category 223 (e.g. "Limelight Larry"). In many of these cases, parents would be required to produce more 224 words (see below for further qualitative analyses). Thus, we first analyzed the (log) length of 225 parents' referring expressions as a proxy for informativeness. 226

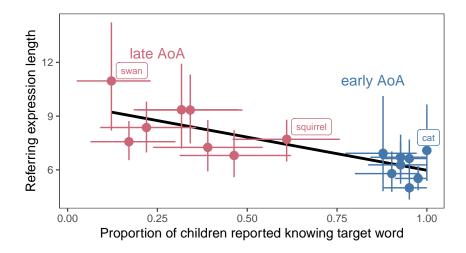


Figure 2. Parents produced longer referring expressions to communicate about animals that children were generally less likely to know. Animals in blue are those that were estimated to be earlier learned from prior norms, animals in red are those that were estimated to be later learned. Error bars show 95% confidence intervals computed by non-parametric bootstrap.

When do parents produce longer referring expressions? One possibility is that parents 227 tune at the coarsest level, using more words when speaking to children with smaller 228 vocabularies. This was not the case—the total number of words parents thought their children 229 knew did not reliably affect the length of their referring expressions ($\beta = -0.02$, p = .595, d 230 = -0.17 [-0.79, 0.45]). A second possibility is that parents have a sense for how difficult each 231 animal is in general, and tune coarsely to this. Our analyses confirmed this coarse-tuning: 232 parents said reliably fewer words for animals that more children were reported to know (β = 233 -0.17, p = .034, d = -1.19 [-2.26, -0.09]); Figure 3A). Finally, parents could fine-tune their 234 referential expressions to their children's individual knowledge, over and above the average difficulty of each animal. Our analyses supported this conclusion: parents used reliably fewer 236 words to refer to animals that they thought their individual child knew ($\beta = 0.25$, p = .003, 237 d = 0.98 [0.34, 1.61]); Figure 3B). Thus parents fine-tuned the amount of information in 238 their referential expressions, calibrating the amount of information they provided to their 239 children's knowledge, even after accounting for the average difficulty of the target animal. 240

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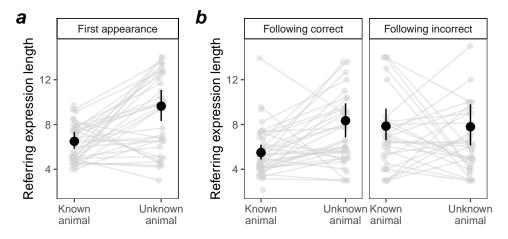


Figure 3. (A) Parents produced longer referring expressions for animals they thought their child did not know (first appearance). (B) When children chose the correct animal, parents continued to produce longer expressions for animals they thought their children did not know (left). However, if parents thought their child knew an animal, and they chose incorrectly, parents produced longer expressions on its second appearance (right). Gray points and lines represent individual participants, colored points and lines show group averaged proportions; error bars show 95% confidence intervals computed by non-parametric bootstrap.

In addition, because each animal appeared as a target twice, we asked whether parents 241 tuned their referential expressions over successive appearances. We found that parents used 242 fewer words on the second appearance of each animal ($\beta = -0.08$, p = .044, d = -1.06 [-2.07, 243 -0.03), but that the difference in utterance length between animals they thought their 244 children knew versus didn't know was smaller on their second appearance ($\beta = -0.14$, p <245 .001, d = -0.17 [-0.22, -0.12]). Why might that be? One possibility is that parents obtain 246 information from the first appearance of each animal: they may have thought their child 247 knew "leopard," but discovered from their incorrect choice that they did not. If so, they might provide more information the second time around.

To test this prediction, we fit a model predicting the (log) length of parents' referring expressions from appearance type (first, following correct, following incorrect), whether the parent thought their child knew the animal prior to the experiment, and their interaction

between appearance type and prior belief. Relative to their utterances on an animal's first 253 appearance, parents produced shorter referring expressions on an animal's second 254 appearance following both correct responses ($\beta = -0.14$, p = .036, d = -0.12 [-0.23, -0.01]) 255 and incorrect responses ($\beta = -0.28$, p = < .001, d = -0.22 [-0.34, -0.11]). As before, parents 256 produced shorter utterances for animals they thought their child knew ($\beta = -0.31$, p = <257 .001, d = -0.92 [-1.43, -0.41]). When children were correct on an animal's first appearance, 258 parents' referring expressions on its second appearance did not differ in length based on 259 whether they thought their child knew the animal prior to the experiment ($\beta = -0.02$, p =260 .771, d = -0.02 [-0.13, 0.10]). However, when children were incorrect on an animal's first 261 appearance, and parents thought they knew the animal prior to the experiment, they 262 produced reliably longer referring expressions on it's second appearance ($\beta = 0.43$, p = <263 .001, d = 0.24 [0.13, 0.35]; Figure 3B).

As we predicted, when parents thought their children knew an animal, but then 265 observed evidence to the contrary, they provided more information in their referring 266 expressions for children to make the correct selection the second time. However, we did not 267 find the opposite pattern: when children were successful for animals that parents thought 268 they did not know, parents did not update their beliefs. Why should parents update their 269 beliefs in one direction but not the other? One likely explanation comes from parents' 270 linguistic tuning itself. Parents' goal in this task is to produce a referential expression that 271 allows their children to select the target animal whether or not they know its canonical label. 272 Consequently, when children select correctly on these trials, parents cannot know whether 273 their child actually knew the animal in question, or whether their referential expression 274 provided information that allowed the child to select the target despite not knowing its 275 canonical label. 276

Together, these two sets of analyses suggest that parents tune their referring expressions not just coarsely to how much language their children generally know, nor their

knowledge about how hard animal words are on average, but finely to their beliefs about
their individual children's knowledge of specific lexical items. Further, when interaction
allows them to discover that they have incorrect beliefs about their children's knowledge,
they update these beliefs in real-time and leverage them on subsequent references to the
same lexical item.

Content of referring expressions

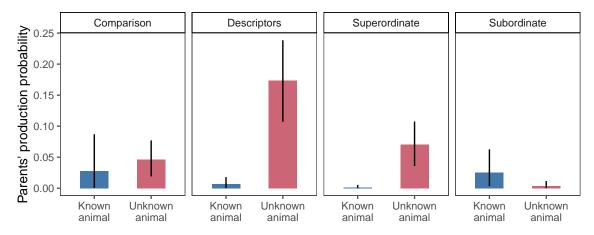


Figure 4. Proportion of trials on which parents used comparison, descriptors, superordinate category labels, and subordinate category labels in their referring expressions. Colored bars show means across parents, error bars show 95% confidence intervals computed by non-parametric bootstrap.

Parents produced reliably longer referring expressions when trying to communicate 285 about animals that they thought their children did not know. In the analyses presented so 286 far, we used length as a theory-agnostic, quantitative measure of information. How did 287 parents successfully refer to animals that their children did not know? As a post-hoc descriptive analysis, we coded five qualitative features of referring expressions: (1) Use of the 289 animal's canonical label (e.g., "leopard"), (2) Use of a descriptor (e.g., "spotted"), (3) Use of 290 a comparison (e.g., "like a cat"), (4) Use of a superordinate level category label (e.g., "bird" 291 for peacock), and (5) Use of a subordinate level category label (e.g., "Limelight Larry" for 292 peacock). Because the rates of usage of each of these kinds of reference varied widely 293

(e.g. canonical labels were used on 94.48% of trials, but subordinates were used on 1.21% of trials), we fit a logistic mixed effects model separately for each reference kind, estimating whether it would be used on each trial from whether the parent thought their child knew the animal.

Canonical labels were used on almost all trials, and did not differ in frequency between 298 animals parents thought their children did not know (M = 94.68%) and animals they 299 thought their children knew $(M = 93.43\%, \beta = 0.43, p = .216, d = 0.23 [-0.14, 0.61]).$ 300 Parents thus produced canonical labels even when they thought their children did know 301 these labels. One plausible explanation for this is that the target animal on each trial was 302 identified in writing for the parent, activating the canonical label and thus lowering the cost 303 of retrieving and producing it (Wingfield, 1968). Another possibility is that this reflects 304 parents' general tendency to produce basic-level category labels when talking to children 305 (Blewitt, 1983; Callanan, 1985). Finally, it could have been produced for implicitly or 306 explicitly pedagogical reasons even though it was not referentially necessary. We expand on 307 this possibility in the Discussion below. 308

Comparisons were used reliably more for animals parents believed their children did 309 not know than for animals they thought their children knew, ($\beta = 2.29$, p = .001, d = 1.26310 [0.49, 2.04]), as were descriptors ($\beta = 3.09, p < .001, d = 1.71 [1.07, 2.35]$) and superordinate 311 category labels ($\beta = 3.01$, p = .026, d = 1.66 [0.20, 3.12]). Subordinates were used less for 312 animals parents thought their children did not know than for animals they thought their 313 children knew ($\beta = -2.19$, p = .025, d = -1.21 [-2.26, -0.15]). Thus, parents used a variety of 314 strategies to refer to animals that they believed their children did not understand, but the 315 use of descriptors was the most prominent (Figure 4). These descriptors are particularly apt 316 to facilitate children's learning, connecting parents' fine-tuning for reference with their 317 children's language acquisition. 318

319 Discussion

Parents have a wealth of knowledge about their kids, including their linguistic 320 development (Fenson et al., 2007). In this study, we asked whether parents leverage this 321 knowledge to communicate successfully with their children. When playing a referential 322 communication game, parents drew on their knowledge of their children in three ways: (1) 323 parents produced longer, more informative referring expressions for animals that children 324 generally learn later, (2) over and above this coarse-tuning, parents fine-tuned information to 325 their individual children's knowledge of specific animals, and (3) when children did not know 326 an animal that parents thought they did, parents subsequently produced longer referring 327 expressions for that animal. Further, this tuning was associated with more successful 328 communication: children were more likely to correctly select animals whose names parents 329 thought they did not know if parents produced more informative referring expressions.

These data are consistent with prior evidence of coarse-tuning in child-directed speech, 331 but importantly provide the first experimental evidence for fine-tuning at the lexical level. 332 When communicating with their children, parents not only take into account the average 333 difficulty of each animal word, but they also rely on (and update) their estimates of their 334 individual child's knowledge of those animals. Coarse-tuning and fine-tuning may be distinct 335 adaptations that happen independently at different timescales, but our data suggest an 336 intriguing alternative possibility: parents' coarse-grained estimates of their children's 337 language development may be built hierarchically from estimates of their developing 338 knowledge of individual lexical, syntactic, and other linguistic items. Hierarchical 330 representations are a powerful vehicle for maximizing both speed and generalizability of learning, and they may play the same role here, allowing parents to efficiently track and use 341 their knowledge of their children's language development (Gelman & Hill, 2006; Tenenbaum, 342 Kemp, Griffiths, & Goodman, 2011).

While parents' speech to children is unlikely to reflect an explicit goal to teach, it is

nonetheless goal-oriented: parents want to communicate successfully (Bruner, 1983). Our 345 reference game was designed to manipulate and measure a particular communicative goal 346 that can be instantiated in the laboratory, but similar communicative pressures structure the 347 daily conversations between children and their parents (Tamis-LeMonda, Kuchirko, Luo, 348 Escobar, & Bornstein, 2017). When talking about animals that they thought their children 349 did not know, parents used referential expressions rich with descriptors and comparisons, as 350 in previous observational studies (Blewitt, 1983; Masur, 1997; Mervis & Mervis, 1982). 351 These strategies scaffold communication—parents use what they think their children know 352 (e.g. colors) in order to communicate about animals they think their children do not know. 353 Because communication and learning are intertwined, these same strategies may work in the 354 service of language acquisition as well (Yurovsky, 2018). While parents produced rich 355 descriptions to help their children select unfamiliar animals, they almost always produced the canonical label as well. These referential expressions are thus an ideal opportunity to 357 learn the relationship between the referent, its label, and its important identifying features. We did not independently measure children's knowledge of each animal, so we cannot 359 determine whether they learned any new animals while playing the game. The relationship 360 between referential strategies and ultimate learning is a promising direction for future work.

Parents fine-tune language to their children's knowledge in order to communicate
successfully. In the service of proximal communicative goal, they may also provide children
with input that ultimately accelerates learning. Focusing on the interactive and
communicative nature of language captures a more complete picture of language
development: while children bring powerful learning mechanisms to language acquisition,
these mechanisms are supported by an ecological niche designed for their success.

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