

# Measuring Children’s Early Vocabulary Across Languages Using a ‘Swadesh’ Word List

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## Abstract

Early language skill is predictive of later life outcomes, and is thus of great interest to developmental psychologists and clinicians. The Communicative Development Inventories (CDI), including a parent-reported inventory of early-learned vocabulary items, have proven to be valid and reliable instruments for measuring children’s early language skill. CDIs have been painstakingly adapted to dozens of languages, and cross-linguistic comparisons thus far show both consistency and variability in language acquisition trajectories. However, hundreds of languages do not yet have CDIs, posing a significant barrier to increasing the diversity of languages that are studied. Here, we propose a method for selecting candidate words to include on new CDIs, leveraging analysis of psychometric properties of translation-equivalent concepts that are frequently included on existing CDIs. Leveraging 26 datasets from existing CDIs, we propose a list of 229 concepts that have low variability in their cross-linguistic learning difficulty. This pool of ‘universal’ concepts— analogous to the “Swadesh” lists used in glottochronology—can be used as a starting point for future CDI adaptations. We test how well the proposed list generalizes to data from 8 additional languages.

**Keywords:** early language learning; CDI; psychometrics; cross-linguistic comparison; Swadesh vocabulary;

## Introduction

Tools that enable valid assessments of children’s early language abilities are invaluable for researchers, clinicians and parents, as early language skill is predictive of educational outcomes years later (e.g., Bleses, Makransky, Dale, Højen, & Ari, 2016). The MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories [CDIs; Fenson et al. (2007); Marchman, Dale, & Fenson (2023)] are parent report assessments that provide reliable and valid estimates of children’s early vocabulary size and other aspects of early communicative development, such as gesture use and early use of word combinations. Parent report is a relatively quick and low-cost method to assess early language skills since it takes advantage of the fact that parents are “natural observers” of their child’s skills and does not depend on a child engaging with an (unfamiliar) experimenter.

Over the years, the CDIs have been adapted to dozens of languages, with forms now available in English, Spanish, French, Hebrew, and Mandarin, to name just a few. Recently, data from more than 85,000 CDIs in 38 languages have been archived in a central repository [Wordbank; Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman (2017)]. These data have revealed both cross-linguistic consistency and variability in early lan-

guage skills, with insights from these patterns informing theories of early language learning (Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman, 2021). For example, cross-linguistic analyses indicate that measures of vocabulary size are tightly correlated with other aspects of early language skill, like gesture and grammatical competence. Thus, over development, the language system is “tightly woven” (Bates et al., 1994; Frank et al., 2021) and early vocabulary size serves as a good proxy measure of children’s overall language skill.

On the CDIs, vocabulary size is assessed via a checklist format, which enables caregivers to scan and recognize words their child produces or understands, rather than relying on recall alone. For example, the American English CDI Words & Sentences (CDI:WS) form, targeting children 16-30 months of age, is comprised of 680 words from 22 semantic categories, including nouns (e.g., Body Parts, Toys, and Clothing), action words (e.g. verbs), descriptive words (e.g. adjectives), and closed-class words such as pronouns. The vocabulary checklist from the American English CDI Words & Gestures (CDI:WG) form, targeting younger children ages 8 to 18 months, is comprised of ~400 words from a similar set of categories. Items on these original forms were chosen to reflect a range of difficulty levels (i.e., both easy, moderate, and more difficult), as well as capture the linguistic and societal contexts of (most) children living in the US. Short versions of each of these forms are also available, each with about 100 items (e.g., Fenson et al., 2000), consisting of a set of items that generate scores that more strongly correlate with scores on the long forms, while retaining representation across a broad set of semantic categories.

Creating a new CDI requires a lot of effort and resources, presenting a daunting barrier to increasing the diversity of languages studied. Following the guidelines<sup>1</sup> from the MacArthur-Bates CDI Advisory Board, the process of adapting a CDI for a language other than American English goes well beyond simply translating items on these forms to that new language. While the process can begin with identifying translation equivalents (i.e., items that capture the same general concept in both languages, e.g., “dog” in English, and “perro” in Spanish), the final item set must then be filtered so that all items appropriately reflect the linguistic and socio-cultural context of the children learning that language. This

<sup>1</sup><https://mb-cdi.stanford.edu/adaptations.htm>

process usually requires considerable time and effort by researchers who are native speakers of a language, to first select and identify translation equivalents and to then iteratively add, refine, and pilot the new CDI in the target language. Because the goal is to obtain the set of items that best capture general trends and individual differences in that language, the items across CDIs in different languages do not necessarily overlap to a great extent. For example, the American English CDI:WS and Mexican Spanish CDI:WS forms – two of the first CDIs created – each have 680 words, but only have 463 overlapping concepts (68%).

Given that it is well-established that, all over the world, early learned words reflect the people and things that children are likely to experience, that is, words for family members, animals, and common household objects (Frank et al., 2021; Tardif et al., 2008), it is reasonable to ask: Is there a single set of translation equivalents that would meet the criteria for inclusion on CDIs from multiple languages? To facilitate this effort, it is useful to leverage recent work using Item-Response Theory (IRT, Embretson & Reise, 2013) models. IRT models infer both the abilities of test takers and the difficulty of individual test items (i.e., words), along standardized dimensions. Recent work using IRT models have facilitated our understanding of the psychometric properties of CDI instruments. As such, they offer the potential to not only yield more accurate measures of children’s language ability, but also to enable the construction of Computerized Adaptive Tests (CATs), which choose the next test item based on the responses to the previous items, and thus quickly hone in on the test-takers language ability. CAT-based CDIs presenting 50 or fewer items have been found to strongly correlate with scores on the full CDI:WS (Chai, Lo, & Mayor, 2020; Makransky, Dale, Havmose, & Bleses, 2016; Mayor & Mani, 2019). A general method for creating CDI CATs that work well across a broader age range (12-36 months) has been proposed, and tested for American English and Mexican Spanish (Kachergis, Marchman, Dale, Mankewitz, & Frank, 2022). However, the IRT model driving each CAT needs to be trained on a large and normative dataset, which may not be available in a given language. To date, the IRT models are also fitted separately for each language, and the fitted parameters (e.g., word difficulty) are likely to vary across languages.

The goal of the current study is to use IRT modeling in conjunction with data from Wordbank to examine whether there might be a core set of concepts that are frequently included on CDIs, and—importantly—whether many of them are of roughly equal difficulty across many languages. This work takes its inspiration from the fields of lexicostatistics and glottochronology, where researchers (notably, Swadesh, 1971) have proposed a list of ‘universal concepts’—concepts that exist in all catalogued languages—in order to quantify the genealogical relatedness and dates of divergence of languages. For example, the original Swadesh list contains 100 words, comprised of categories including common pronouns (“I”, “you”, “we”), animals (“man”, “fish”, “bird”, “dog”), objects

(“tree”, “leaf”, “sun”, “mountain”), and verbs (“kill”, “die”, “see”, “sleep”). Extending this work to the development of a universal CDI, or “Swadesh CDI,” would include all of the concepts that researchers have chosen to include on the vast majority of CDI:WS adaptations, and which have relatively similar difficulty across many languages.

More broadly, this work examines which types of words (and their corresponding concepts) are more or less similar across languages in terms of the ease with which they are learned, revealing commonalities as well as idiosyncrasies in children’s early experiences. We can ask: Which semantic categories, e.g., animals, household objects, food and drink, or another category, are most consistently learned across languages? Which are more variable? These types of cross-linguistic comparisons may give new insight into theoretical questions surrounding the similarity and differences between language experience and development in different cultural and linguistic contexts.

In particular, our contributions are 1) to revise and extend a set of translation-equivalent concepts (“universal lemmas”, i.e. uni-lemmas) in Wordbank, 2) to fit IRT models to 28 CDI:WS datasets, 3) to identify 229 candidate “Swadesh CDI” items from a cross-linguistic comparison of concept difficulty and inclusion, and 4) to test how well this Swadesh CDI generalizes to a set of eight additional low-data languages. We end by making a concrete proposal for how this Swadesh CDI list could be used in creating future CDI adaptations, and by discussing the strengths and weaknesses of our approach.

## Methods

### Item Response Theory

A variety of IRT models targeting different types of testing scenarios have been proposed (see Baker, 2001 for an overview), but for the dichotomous responses that parents make for each item (word) regarding whether their child can produce a given word, we will use the popular 2-parameter logistic (2PL) model that is best justified for CDI data (see Kachergis et al., 2022).

The 2PL model jointly estimates for each child  $j$  a latent ability  $\theta_j$  (here, language skill), and for each item  $i$  two parameters: the item’s difficulty  $b_i$  and discrimination  $a_i$ , described below. In the 2PL model, the probability of child  $j$  producing a given item  $i$  is

$$P_i(x_i = 1 | b_i, a_i, \theta_j) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-Da_i(\theta_j - b_i)}}$$

where  $D$  is a scaling parameter ( $D = 1.702$ ) which makes the logistic more closely match the ogive function used in a standard factor analysis (Chalmers, 2012; Reckase, 2009). Children with high latent ability ( $\theta$ ) will be more likely to produce any given item than children with lower latent ability, and more difficult items will be produced by fewer children (at any given  $\theta$ ) than easier items. The discrimination ( $a_i$ ) adjusts the slope of the logistic (in the classic 1-parameter

logistic (1PL or Rasch) model, the slope is always 1). Items with higher discrimination (i.e. slopes) better distinguish children above vs. below that item’s difficulty level, and hence are generally more useful. While other standard IRT models exist (e.g., the 3-parameter logistic model adds a ‘guessing’ parameter for each test item), a recent study found the 2PL model most appropriate for multiple Wordbank datasets (Kachergis et al., 2022).

## Datasets

Language	items	N
Norwegian	731	9304
English (American)	680	8828
Danish	725	3714
Portuguese (European)	639	3012
Turkish	711	2422
Spanish (Mexican)	680	2025
Mandarin (Taiwanese)	696	1897
English (Australian)	558	1520
French (French)	690	1410
Korean	641	1376
Cantonese	804	1295
German	588	1181
Slovak	609	1066
Mandarin (Beijing)	799	1056
Russian	728	1037
French (Quebecois)	664	929
Swedish	710	900
Spanish (Argentinian)	699	784
Italian	670	752
Spanish (European)	588	593
Hebrew	605	518
Latvian	723	500
Czech	553	493
Croatian	717	377
Hungarian	802	363
Dutch	704	303
Greek (Cypriot)	815	176
Spanish (Peruvian)	600	105
Kigirama	696	100
English (Irish)	660	99
Irish	691	99
Kiswahili	705	90
Finnish	581	70
Persian	558	50

Table 1: Number of CDI:WS items and subjects (N) per dataset.

We report IRT analyses for twenty-six languages from Wordbank (Frank et al., 2017), comprising production data from CDI:WS vocabulary checklists that have at least 200 administrations.<sup>2</sup> Data from the first twenty-six rows of Table 1

(Norwegian through Dutch) will be used to select a pool of words with approximately equal cross-linguistic difficulty. CDI:WS production data from an additional eight languages (bottom of Table 1: Greek (Cypriot) through Persian) had too few participants to be analyzed with IRT. Datasets for these languages will be used to test how well the selected pool of words generalize can be expected to new languages.

**Uni-lemmas** In order to do so, we need a method to map between words across languages that correspond to broadly similar concepts. As such, we mapped each item on the CDI:WS for each language onto a set of “universal lemmas” or “unilemmas”, which are approximate cross-linguistic conceptual mappings of words. For example, “dog” (English) and “perro” (Spanish) both correspond to the same unilemma, dog. These mappings were recently updated for Wordbank 2.0 to improve their quality and systematicity, and to increase coverage across items and languages. This new set of unilemmas was constructed based on glosses provided by the original contributors of the Wordbank datasets, which were then verified by native or advanced proficient speakers of the language, and cleaned to increase their consistency across languages. All unilemmas are accessible from Wordbank; details about the recent update can be found at <https://github.com/langcog/update-unilemmas>.

**Participants** The CDI:WS production dataset consists of the combined Wordbank production data for 48444 children aged 16-30 months on 23020 items across 34 forms. Note that the distributions of demographic variables (age, sex, maternal education, etc.) of these datasets are not matched, so comparing overall language ability estimates across languages would be impossible. (See Frank et al. (2021) for a discussion of effects of demographic variables on vocabulary development.) Thus, we will focus only on the estimated item parameters, and in particular the variability of item difficulty ( $b_i$ ).

**Instruments** When a CDI:WS forms was administered, caregivers were asked to indicate for each vocabulary item on the instrument whether or not their child can recognizably produce (say) the given word.

“Produces” responses were coded as 1 and all other responses were coded as 0. Our datasets consist of a dichotomous-valued response matrix for each language, of size  $N$  subjects  $\times$   $W$  words. All models, data, and code for reproducing this paper are available on OSF<sup>3</sup>.

## Results

Across the 26 IRT models for different CDI:WS forms, difficulty and discrimination parameters for a total of 23020 items were fitted. Of those items, 95% had uni-lemmas defined; a median of 693 per CDI:WS form (range: 553 (Czech) to 804 (Cantonese)). A total of 1839 uni-lemmas are defined across the 26 CDI:WS forms, but 528 of these are singletons, appearing on only one of the 26 forms. These singletons are

<sup>2</sup><http://wordbank.stanford.edu/contributors>

<sup>3</sup>OSF repository: <https://osf.io/8swhb/>.

significantly more difficult than the 1311 uni-lemmas appearing more than once ( $M_1 = 1.45$ ;  $M_{>1} = 0.85$ ;  $t(899) = 7.66$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Indeed, there is a significant relation between the number of times a uni-lemma appears and its difficulty: the more times a uni-lemma appears, the *easier* it tends to be ( $r = -0.37$ ,  $t(1837) = -17.15$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Moreover, there is a weak but significant relation between the number of forms a uni-lemma appears on and its cross-linguistic variability ( $r = 0.17$ ,  $t(1309) = 6.35$ ,  $p < .001$ ). It is perhaps intuitive that more ‘universal’ concepts—which are thus selected to be on more CDI forms—also tend to be earlier learned, and this echoes earlier work characterizing the consistency of children’s first words across several languages (Tardif et al., 2008). However, these modest but significant correlations are also important to keep in mind as we choose our Swadesh CDI candidates, as selecting too many easy items could result older children being at ceiling.

**Identifying Swadesh CDI Candidates** The goal was to choose uni-lemmas that have low variability in their cross-linguistic difficulty – that is, uni-lemmas that are similarly difficult-to-learn across languages, as this is our operationalization of *universal*. There are two thresholds that must be defined to select Swadesh CDI (S-CDI) candidates: 1)  $k$ , the number of current CDI:WS forms a uni-lemma must appear on, and 2)  $v_{min}$ , the threshold for variability in cross-linguistic difficulty. For  $v_{min}$ , we simply look at the uni-lemmas with half a standard deviation less variation in cross-linguistic difficulty than average, among the set of uni-lemmas that are on at least  $k$  forms.

It less clear how to choose  $k$ , the minimum number of forms a uni-lemma must appear on to be considered eligible. As reported above, the more forms a uni-lemma appears on, the easier that concept tends to be, and the greater its cross-linguistic variability in difficulty ( $sd(d)$ ) tends to be. Thus, the higher the threshold  $k$ , the more the Swadesh candidates will be biased to be easier, and the less *universal* they may be. This could result in a Swadesh list that is overall easier than the CDI:WS (and thus may show ceiling effects for older children), and that is less universal in difficulty than, say, a random selection of uni-lemmas. Of course, the higher  $k$ , the fewer uni-lemmas there are available to choose from: 1303 uni-lemmas appear on 2 or more CDIs, but only 30 appear on all 26 CDIs. Because choosing  $k$  is difficult *a priori*, we opted to do a grid search across all possible values. For each  $k$ , we found the set of  $N$  uni-lemmas appearing  $k$  times on each form, calculated the mean and standard deviation of the difficulty of those items, and then identified the subset of those  $N$  items with  $sd(d) < v_{min}$ : these comprised the  $k^{th}$  Swadesh list, as shown in Figure 1 (top). For each candidate Swadesh list, we evaluated the total test information<sup>4</sup> yielded by that Swadesh list for each of the 26 CDI:WS forms. Find-

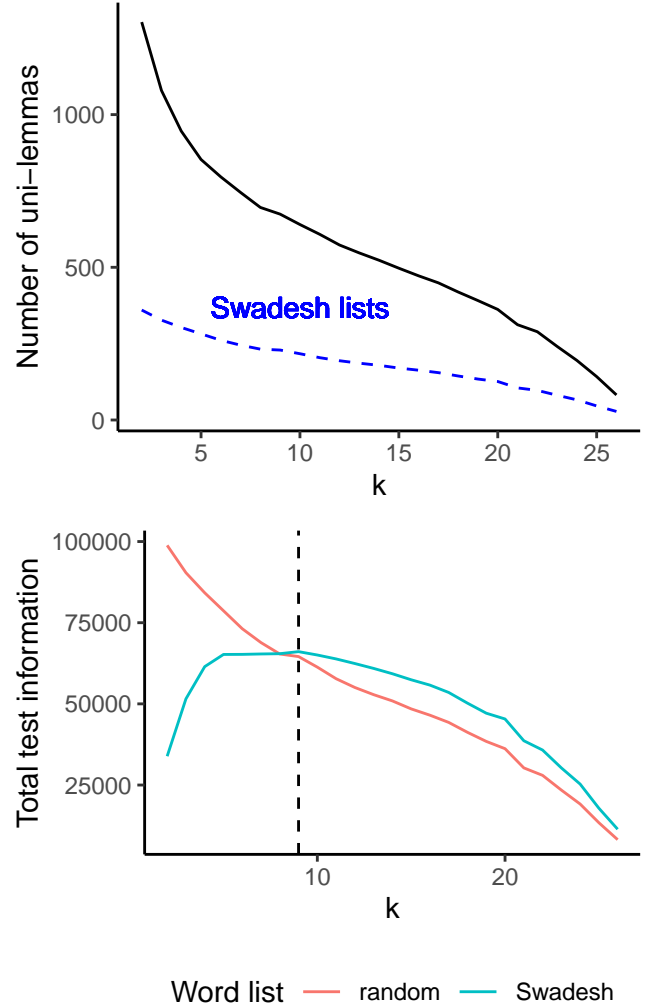


Figure 1: Number of uni-lemmas appearing on at least  $k$  lists (top). Total test information for Swadesh lists, and random tests of the same length (bottom).

ing the  $k$  that yielded the highest total test information was the main objective (see online Appendix for details). As shown in Figure 1 (bottom), test information was maximized with  $k = 9$ , and from these 1309 uni-lemmas appearing on at least 9 forms, 229 Swadesh-CDI items were selected for having cross-linguistic variability below the threshold. These S-CDI items were strongly predictive of full CDI:WS scores, with an average  $r = 0.995$ . The mean difficulty of the S-CDI items was also quite close to the difficulty of the other uni-lemmas in the set ( $M(d_{Swad}) = 0.31$ ;  $M(d_{\text{other}}) = 0.36$ ), suggesting that the S-CDI items are fairly representative, and may not suffer much from ceiling effects.

### Characterizing the Swadesh-CDI

The 229 Swadesh-CDI items represents 21 of the 22 semantic categories present on the original American English CDI:WS form, with action words, animals, household, food/drink,

<sup>4</sup>Total test information is the integral across a range of test-taker abilities (here,  $\theta \in \{-4, 4\}$ ) of the information yielded on a test, calculated using the IRT difficulty and discrimination parameters for those test items.

body parts, and descriptive words being most prevalent, and connecting words, quantifiers, helping verbs, and articles being rare, and question words being unrepresented. 54% of the Swadesh CDI concepts are nouns, 22% are predicates, 17% are function words, and 7% are other. This breakdown is comparable to the lexical category percentages on the 680-item English CDI:WS (46% nouns, 24% predicates, 15% function words, and 5% other), suggesting that the S-CDI list is not showing a particular lexical category bias. The S-CDI items were also present on more forms than typical in the selection set: on average, each item appeared on 19 forms, despite only being required to appear on at least 9 forms. Finally, 28 S-CDI uni-lemmas are not present on the American English CDI:WS (e.g., ‘fruit’, ‘ambulance’, ‘enter’), suggesting that this method may help us move beyond an English-centric approach to studying early language.

Figure 2 shows the average cross-linguistic difficulty of CDI items by semantic category, grouped by Swadesh and non-Swadesh uni-lemmas. The difficulty of Swadesh items generally tracks with that of non-Swadesh items, although there are cases where one or the other is more/less difficult than the other.

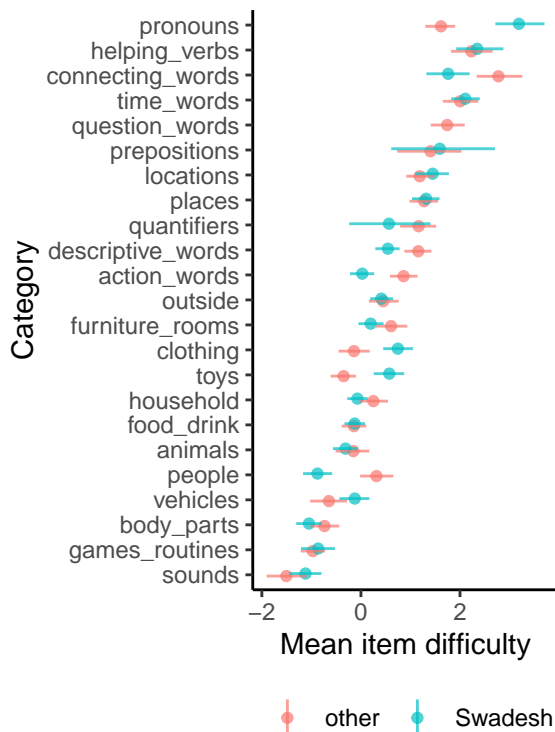


Figure 2: Mean cross-linguistic difficulty of CDI words by semantic category. Bars represent bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals.

Comparing the IRT parameters of the Swadesh CDI uni-lemmas to the rest of the items showed that the discrimination parameter (i.e., slope) of the Swadesh items did not significantly differ from the others. However, the candidate

Swadesh items were significantly easier than the other uni-lemmas (mean Swadesh  $d = 0.11$ , other items’ mean  $d = 0.53$ ,  $t(8749) = -13.09$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

### Comparing Swadesh CDI to Full CDI:WS

How well do simulated raw scores from the Swadesh CDI items correlate with full CDI:WS scores? On average, for the 26 large CDI:WS datasets, the Swadesh CDI’s sumscores were strongly related to the full CDI:WS scores (mean  $r = 0.990$ ;  $min = 0.976$ ,  $max = 0.996$ ; full table on OSF). These correlations were compared to a random baseline in which uni-lemmas were selected from the set of unique uni-lemmas, weighted by the frequency of that uni-lemma appearing on the existing CDI:WS forms. The correlations of scores on these random vs. the full CDI:WS were quite similar to the Swadesh list (TODO SHOW THESE), but the random tests also yielded lower total test information.

### Generalization Test of the Swadesh CDI

For the eight low-data languages, a similar comparison revealed that the Swadesh CDI’s raw scores were again strongly related to the full CDI:WS scores (mean  $r = 0.990$ ;  $min = 0.983$ ,  $max = 0.997$ ). As with the training set, however, the Swadesh list correlations were slightly but significantly lower than scores based on randomly-selected items (mean  $r = 0.995$ ;  $min = 0.987$ ,  $max = 0.997$ ;  $t(7) = 3.22$ ,  $p = .01$ ). Table 2 shows the results of this comparison.

language	N	Rand r	Swadesh r
English (Irish)	161	0.995	0.990
Finnish	161	0.997	0.997
Greek (Cypriot)	142	0.994	0.987
Irish	160	0.995	0.988
Kigirama	179	0.996	0.996
Kiswahili	179	0.996	0.992
Persian	103	0.987	0.983
Spanish (Peruvian)	141	0.996	0.991

Table 2: Generalization test results.

28 of the Swadesh candidates are on the 100-item CDI:WS short (form A), and 26 of the Swadesh candidates are on the WS short (form B). (Actually lower than expected by chance? 27%, and we have selected 34% of the length of the EN CDI:WS) 26 Swadesh CDI concepts are also on the original Swadesh-100 list – and 12 are overlapping with the ASJP (a subset of the Swadesh-100 that performs as well as the Swadesh-100 for purposes of glottochronology).

### Discussion

This study compared psychometric models fitted to 26 CDI datasets in order to find concepts that have low variability in their cross-linguistic difficulty, and that are frequently included on parent-reported measures of children’s early vocabulary. We identified 229 concepts that appeared on at least 9 of the CDIs, and which have more consistent cross-linguistic

<b>Actions</b>	dance, drink, sing, blow, draw, swim, wait, catch, tickle, lick, stay, knock
<b>Animals</b>	cat, cow, <i>dog</i> , lion, animal, ant, horse, chicken, spider, goat, turkey
<b>Body Parts</b>	<i>nose</i> , <i>tongue</i> , <i>tooth</i> , head, lip, shoulder, penis, vagina
<b>Clothing</b>	button, necklace, belt, shorts, skirt
<b>Connectives</b>	and
<b>Descriptives</b>	blue, green, yellow, black, first, heavy, sticky, dirty, awake
<b>Food/Drink</b>	milk, banana, yogurt, peas, popcorn, potato chips, lollipop, hamburger
<b>Furniture/ Rooms</b>	door, washing machine, TV, drawer, garage
<b>Games/ Routines</b>	yes, shh, breakfast, shopping
<b>Household</b>	key, spoon, telephone, towel, broom, hammer, radio, toothbrush, brush, paper, glasses, nail, pacifier
<b>Locations</b>	in, under, out, behind, back
<b>Outside</b>	moon, <i>star</i> , sky, hose
<b>People</b>	mommy, daddy, doctor, pet's name, child's name, police, mailman
<b>Places</b>	school, church, gas station
<b>Sounds</b>	meow, cockadoodledoo, grrr, choo choo, yum yum
<b>Time Words</b>	yesterday, tonight, tomorrow
<b>Vehicles</b>	airplane, helicopter, firetruck

Figure 3: NOT UPDATED The most frequently-selected 100 Swadesh CDI concepts by semantic category? (No room for 229 words, I think..

difficulty than the majority of the concepts appearing on multiple CDIs. We showed that using this set of “Swadesh CDI” items as a short assessment would generate scores that are strongly related to full CDI:WS scores, both for the original 26 datasets, and in a generalization test to eight low-data languages. The Swadesh CDI contains items with relatively good difficulty estimates cross-linguistically, and in the absence of access to researchers who are familiar with relevant local cultures and concepts, they may serve as a rapid, simple means of approximating children’s ability levels, even in the absence of a large norming dataset.

However, the Swadesh CDI items were also significantly easier than other items, meaning that older children may perform at ceiling if given only the Swadesh CDI items. (This may be unsurprising from the perspective that Swadesh words are meant to be universal, and are therefore more frequent and

basic—both within and across individual children’s experiences.) Thus, our suggested use case for the Swadesh CDI list is as a starting point for researchers seeking to develop a CDI in a new language, rather than as a complete short-form CDI. In particular, researchers should seek to add contextually appropriate items from the categories that were notably absent from the Swadesh list: quantifiers, ..

Another potential limitation of this work is that most existing CDIs (and most datasets available in Wordbank) target languages in the Indo-European language family. It is not clear to what extent this bias in the existing data might interfere with generalizing to non-Indo-European languages. Nonetheless, our original 26 datasets include 7 non-Indo-European languages (3 Sino-Tibetan, 1 Afro-Asiatic, 1 Uralic, 1 Koreanic, 1 Turkic), and the generalization datasets include 1 Uralic language and 2 Niger–Congo languages (a language family that is not even represented in the original datasets); the broad consistency across language families thus suggests that the effectiveness of the Swadesh list may be sufficiently robust.

Developing a list of appropriate vocabulary words is not the only challenge researchers face when seeking to develop and use parent-report measures in a new language and culture. The pragmatics of language between children and adults can differ greatly across cultures, and has been found to interfere with administration of parent-report measures of early vocabulary, for example in Kiswahili (Alcock, 2017) and Wolof (Weber, Marchman, Diop, & Fernald, 2018). As such, local cultural knowledge remains essential in appropriately developing and administering novel CDI adaptations.

Despite the myriad challenges that remain in creating new measures of early language development, we believe that the proposed Swadesh CDI list will give researchers a solid foundation to start from, lowering the barrier to the adaptation of CDI forms in new languages. Certainly, increasing the diversity of languages studied is a critical step towards developing a truly general understanding of how young children learn language.

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