

1 An information-seeking account of children's eye movements during grounded signed and
2 spoken language comprehension

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Abstract

Language comprehension in grounded, social interactions involves extracting meaning from the linguistic signal and mapping it to the visual world. Information that is gathered through visual fixations can facilitate this comprehension process. But how do listeners decide what visual information to gather and at what time? Here, we propose that listeners flexibly adapt their gaze behaviors to seek visual information from their social partners to support robust language understanding. We present evidence for our account using three case studies of eye movements during real-time language processing. First, compared to children ($n=80$) and adults ($n=25$) learning spoken English, young ASL-learners ($n=30$) and adults ($n=16$) delayed gaze shifts away from a language source, were more accurate with these shifts, and produced a smaller proportion of random shifts. Next, English-speaking adults ($n=30$) produced fewer random gaze shifts when processing serially printed text compared to processing spoken language. Finally, English-speaking preschoolers ($n=39$) and adults ($n=31$) delayed the timing of shifts away from a speaker while processing speech in noisy environments, gathering more visual information while generating more accurate responses. Together, these results provide evidence that listeners adapt to the demands of different processing contexts by seeking out visual information from social partners.

Keywords: eye movements; language comprehension; information-seeking; speech in background noise; American Sign Language

Word count: X

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Introduction

Extracting meaning from language represents a formidable challenge for young language learners. Consider that even in the simple case of understanding grounded, familiar language (e.g., "look at the ball"), the listener must continuously integrate linguistic and non-linguistic information from continuous streams of input. Moreover, language unfolds within dynamic interactions where there is often insufficient information to figure out what is being said, and yet the listener must decide how best to respond. Even young children, however, can map language to the world quite efficiently, shifting visual attention to a named object in a scene within hundreds of milliseconds upon hearing the name of an object (Allopenna, Magnuson, & Tanenhaus, 1998; Spivey, Tanenhaus, Eberhard, & Sedivy, 2002; Tanenhaus, Spivey-Knowlton, Eberhard, & Sedivy, 1995). How do young listeners successfully interpret linguistic input despite these challenges?

One solution is for the language comprehension system to integrate multiple sources of information to constrain the set of possible interpretations (MacDonald & Seidenberg, 2006; McClelland & Elman, 1986). Under this interactive account, listeners comprehend words by partially activating several candidates that are consistent with the incoming perceptual information. Then, as more information arrives, words that do not match the perceptual signal are no longer considered, and words that are more consistent become strongly activated until a single interpretation is reached (see McClelland, Mirman, and Holt (2006) for a review). Critically, information from multiple sources – e.g., the linguistic signal and visual world – mutually influence one another to shape interpretation. For example, if a speaker's mouth movements suggest one sound while their acoustic output indicates another, the conflict results in the listener perceiving a third, intermediate sound ("McGurk effect") (MacDonald & McGurk, 1978). Other research shows that listeners will use information in the visual scene to help parse syntactically ambiguous utterances (Tanenhaus et al., 1995).

Thus, information gathered from the visual world can serve as a useful constraint on language comprehension. But the incoming linguistic information is ephemeral, meaning listeners must quickly decide how to direct their gaze to informative locations. Consider a speaker who asks you to “Pass the salt” in a noisy restaurant. Here, comprehension could be supported by looks that better encode the objects in the scene (e.g., the type of food she is eating), or by looks to the speaker (e.g., reading her lips or the direction of her gaze). A second interesting case is the processing a visual-manual language such as American Sign Language (ASL). Here, deciding to look away from another signer is inherently risky because the listener stops the flow of information from the linguistic signal to gather information about the visual world.

Eye movements during language comprehension can be characterized an active decision-making process taking into account limits on visual attention. We propose that listeners are sensitive to this tradeoff, flexibly adapting the dynamics of their gaze in contexts that place a higher value on gathering visual information. That is, we suggest that listeners’ eye movements are shaped by an interaction between their sensorimotor constraints and information features of the environment.

Our account is inspired by ideas from several research traditions. First, work on language-mediated visual attention showing rapid interactions between visual attention and language (Allopenna et al., 1998; Tanenhaus et al., 1995). Second, research on vision in everyday tasks shows that people allocate fixations to *goal-relevant* locations – e.g., an upcoming obstacle while walking (Hayhoe & Ballard, 2005). Finally, work on multisensory integration showing that listeners leverage multimodal cues (e.g., gestures, facial expressions, mouth movements) to support communication. In the following sections, we review each of these literatures to motivate our information-seeking account of eye movements in social, grounded language comprehension.

Vision-Language interactions during language comprehension

Eye movements during language comprehension have provided insight into the interaction between concepts, language, and visual attention. The majority of this work has used the Visual World Paradigm (VWP) where listeners' eye movements are recorded at the millisecond timescale while processing language and looking at a set of objects (see Salverda, Brown, and Tanenhaus (2011) for a review). Crucially, these analyses rely on the fact that people will initiate gaze shifts to named referents with only partial information, in contrast to waiting until the end of a cognitive process (Gold & Shadlen, 2000). Thus, the timecourse of eye movements provides a window onto how and when people integrate information to reach an interpretation of the incoming linguistic signal.

A classic finding using the VWP shows that listeners will rapidly shift visual attention upon hearing the name of an object ("Pick up a beaker.") in the visual scene with a high proportion of shifts occurring soon after the target word begins (Allopenna et al., 1998). Moreover, adults tended to look at phonological onset-competitor (a beetle) early in the target noun, suggesting that they had activated multiple interpretations and resolved ambiguity as the stimulus unfolded. These behavioral results fall out of predictions made by interactive models of speech perception where information from multiple sources is integrated to constrain language understanding (McClelland et al., 2006).

The visual world can also constrain the set of plausible interpretations of language (Dahan & Tanenhaus, 2005; Yee & Sedivy, 2006). For example, Altmann and Kamide (2007) showed that people will allocate more looks to an empty wine glass as compared to a full beer glass upon hearing the past tense verb "has drunk." They propose that anticipatory eye movements reflect the influence of the visual information in a scene activating a multi-featured, conceptual representation prior to the arrival of the linguistic signal (see also Huettig and Altmann (2005)).

In addition to work on adult psycholinguistics, the VWP has been useful for studying developmental change in language comprehension skill in children. Researchers have adapted

the task to measure the timing and accuracy of children’s gaze shifts as they look at two familiar objects and listen to simple sentences naming one of the objects (Fernald, Zangl, Portillo, & Marchman, 2008; Venker, Eernisse, Saffran, & Weismer, 2013). Such research finds that children, like adults, shift gaze to named objects occur soon after the auditory information is sufficient to enable referent identification. Moreover, individual differences in the speed and accuracy of eye movements predict vocabulary growth and later language and cognitive outcomes (Fernald, Perfors, & Marchman, 2006; Marchman & Fernald, 2008; Rigler et al., 2015). Finally, the VWP illustrated interesting developmental parallels and differences between children’s language processing in different populations, including sign language (MacDonald, LaMarr, Corina, Marchman, & Fernald, 2018), bilingualism (Byers-Heinlein, Morin-Lessard, & Lew-Williams, 2017), and children with cochlear implants (Schwartz, Steinman, Ying, Mystal, & Houston, 2013).

Goal-based accounts of eye movements in everyday tasks

The majority of the work on language-mediated visual attention has used eye movements as an index of the underlying interaction between linguistic and visual information. This approach reflects a somewhat passive construal of how people allocate visual attention during language comprehension. In contrast, goal-based accounts of vision start from the idea that eye movements reflect an active information-gathering process where visual fixations are driven by task goals (Hayhoe & Ballard, 2005).

Under this account, people allocate visual attention to reduce uncertainty about the world and maximize the expected future reward. For example, Hayhoe and Ballard (2005) review evidence that people fixate on locations that are most helpful for their current goal (an upcoming obstacle) as opposed to other aspects of a visual scene that might be more salient (a flashing light). Moreover, other work shows that people gather task-specific information via different visual routines as they become useful for their goals. For example, Triesch et al 2003 found that people were much less likely to gather and store visual

information about the size of an object when it was not relevant to the task of sorting and stacking the objects.

Hayhoe and Ballard (2005)’s review also highlights the role of learning gaze patterns. They point out that visual routines are developed over time, and it is only when a task becomes highly-practiced that people allocate fewer looks to less relevant parts of the scene. For example, Shinoda, Hayhoe, and Shrivastava (2001) show that drivers, with practice, learn to spread visual attention more broadly at intersections to better detect stop signs. Other empirical work shows that the visual system rapidly learns to use temporal regularities in the environment to control the timing of eye movements to detect goal-relevant events (Hoppe & Rothkopf, 2016). Moreover, the timing of eye movements in these tasks often occur before an expected event (i.e., anticipatory), suggesting that gaze patterns reflect an interaction between people’s expectations, information available in the visual scene, and their task goals.

Recent theoretical work has argued for a stronger link between goal-based perspectives and work on eye movements during language comprehension. For example, Salverda et al. (2011) highlight the immediate relevance of visual information with respect to the goal of language understanding, suggesting that listeners’ goals should be a key predictor of fixation patterns. Moreover, they point out that factors such as the difficulty of executing a real world task should change decisions about where to look during language comprehension. One example of starting from a goal-based approach comes from Nelson and Cottrell (2007)’ study of gaze patterns during category learning. Nelson and Cottrell (2007) modeled eye movements as a type of question-asking about features of a concept and showed that the dynamics of eye movements changed as participants became more familiar with the novel concepts. Early in learning people generated a broader distribution of fixations to explore all features. Later in learning, eye movements shifted to focus on a single stimulus dimension to maximize accuracy on the task. This shift in gaze patterns, from exploratory to efficient, suggests that fixation behavior changed as a function of changes in learning goals during the experiment.

In the current studies, the goal-based model of eye movements predicts that gaze dynamics during language comprehension should adapt to the processing context. That is, listeners should change the timing and location of eye movements when fixation locations become more useful for language understanding. This proposal dovetails with a growing body of research that explores the role of multisensory information available in face-to-face communication such as gesture, prosody, facial expression and body movement.

Language perception as multisensory integration

Language comprehension is not just one stream of linguistic information. Instead, face-to-face communication provides access to a set of multimodal cues that can facilitate comprehension and there is a growing emphasis on studying language as a multimodal and multisensory process (for a review, see Vigliocco, Perniss, and Vinson (2014)). For example, empirical work shows that when gesture and speech provide redundant cues to meaning, people are faster to process the information and make fewer errors (Kelly, Özyürek, & Maris, 2010). Moreover, developmental work shows that parents use visual cues such as gesture and eye gaze to help structure language interactions with their children (Estigarribia & Clark, 2007). Finally, from a young age, children also produce gestures such as reaches and points to share attention with others to achieve communicative goals (Liszkowski, Brown, Callaghan, Takada, & De Vos, 2012).

Additional support for multisensory processing comes from work on audiovisual speech perception, showing how spoken language perception is shaped by visual information coming from a speaker's mouth. In a review, Peelle and Sommers (2015) point out that mouth movements provide a clear indication of when someone has started to speak, which cues the listener to allocate additional attention to the speech signal. Moreover, a speaker's mouth movements convey information about the phonemes in the acoustic signal. For example, visual speech information distinguishes between consonants such as /b/ vs. /d/ and place of articulation can help a listener differentiate between words such as "cat" or "cap." Finally,

classic empirical work shows comprehension benefits for audiovisual speech compared to auditory- or visual-only speech, especially in noisy listening contexts (Erber, 1969).

In sum, the work on multisensory processing shows that both auditory and visual information interact to shape language perception. These results dovetail with the interactive models of language processing reviewed earlier and suggest that visual information can support comprehension (MacDonald & Seidenberg, 2006; McClelland et al., 2006). Finally, these results highlight the value of studying language comprehension during face-to-face communication, where listeners have the choice to gather visual information about the linguistic signal from their social partners.

The present studies

The studies reported here synthesize ideas from research on language processing as a multimodal, goal-based, and social phenomenon. We propose an information-seeking account of eye movements during grounded language comprehension in social interaction. We characterize the timing of gaze patterns as reflecting a tradeoff between gathering visual information about the incoming linguistic signal from a speaker and seeking information about the surrounding visual scene. We draw on models of eye movements as active decisions that gather information to achieve reliable interpretations of incoming language. We test predictions of our account using three case studies: sign language, text processing, and processing spoken language in noisy environments. These case studies represent a broad sampling of contexts that share a key feature: The interaction between the listener and context changes the value of fixating on the language source to gather visual information for comprehension.

A secondary goal of this work was to test whether children and adults would show similar patterns of adaptation of gaze patterns. Recent developmental work shows that, like adults, preschoolers will flexibly adjust how they interpret ambiguous sentences (e.g., “I had carrots and *bees* for dinner.”) by integrating information about the reliability of the incoming

perceptual information with their expectations about the speaker (Yurovsky, Case, & Frank, 2017). While children’s behavior paralleled adults, they relied more on top-down expectations about the speaker perhaps because their perceptual representations were noisier. These developmental differences provide insight into how children succeed in understanding language despite having partial knowledge of word-object mappings.

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, we compare children and adult’s eye movements while processing signed vs. spoken language. Then, we present a comparison of adults’ eye movements while processing serially printed text vs. spoken language. Finally, we compare children and adults’ gaze patterns while they process speech in noisy vs. clear auditory environments. The key behavioral prediction (see Table 1 for more detailed predictions) is that both children and adults will adapt the timing of their eye movements to facilitate better word recognition. We hypothesized that when a language source provides higher value visual information, listeners would prioritize fixations to their social partner, and, in turn, would be slower to shift gaze away, generating (a) more accurate responses and (b) fewer random, exploratory eye movements to the objects in the visual scene.

Before describing the studies, it is worth motivating our analytic approach. To quantify the evidence for our predictions, we analyze the accuracy and reaction times (RTs) of listeners’ initial gaze shifts after hearing the name of an object. The timescale of this analysis is milliseconds and focuses on a single decision within a series of decisions about where to look during language processing. We chose this approach because first shifts are rapid decisions driven by accumulating information about the identity of the named object. Moreover, these measurements provide a window onto changes in the underlying dynamics of how listeners integrate linguistic and visual information to make fixation decisions. Finally, by focusing our analysis on a specific decision, we could leverage models of decision making developed over the past decades to quantify changes in the underlying dynamics of eye movements in different processing contexts (see the analysis plan for more details).

Experiment 1

Experiment 1 provides an initial test of our adaptive tradeoffs account. We compared eye movements of children learning American Sign Language to children learning a spoken language using parallel real-time language comprehension tasks where children processed familiar sentences (e.g., “Where’s the ball?”) while looking at a simplified visual world with 3 fixation targets (a center stimulus that varied by condition, a target picture, and a distracter picture; see Fig 1). The spoken language data are a reanalysis of three unpublished data sets, and the ASL data are reported in MacDonald et al. (2018). We predicted that, compared to spoken language processing, processing ASL would increase the value of fixating on the language source and decrease the value of generating exploratory, nonlanguage-driven shifts even after the disambiguating point in the linguistic signal.

Analysis plan

First, we present behavioral analyses of First Shift Accuracy and Reaction Time (RT). RT corresponds to the latency to shift away from the central stimulus to either picture measured from the onset of the target noun. Accuracy corresponds to whether participants’ first gaze shift landed on the target or the distracter picture. It is important to note that this analysis of accuracy does not measure the overall amount of time spent looking at the target vs. the distracter image – a measure typically used in analyses of the Visual World Paradigm. We chose to focus on first shifts to provide a window onto how processing contexts change the underlying dynamics of information gathering decisions. All analysis code can be found in the online repository for this project: <https://github.com/kemacdonald/speed-acc>.

We used the `rstanarm` (Gabry & Goodrich, 2016) package to fit Bayesian mixed-effects regression models. The mixed-effects approach allowed us to model the nested structure of our data – multiple trials for each participant and item, and a within-participants manipulation – by including random intercepts for each participant and item, and a random slope for each item and noise condition. We used Bayesian estimation to

quantify uncertainty in our point estimates, which we communicate using a 95% Highest Density Interval (HDI). The HDI provides a range of credible values given the data and model. Finally, to estimate age-related differences, we fit two types of models: (1) age group (adults vs. children) as a categorical predictor and (2) age as a continuous predictor (measured in days) within the child sample.

Next, we present the two model-based analyses – the EWMA and DDM. The goal of these models is to move beyond a description of the data and map behavioral differences in eye movements to underlying psychological variables. The EWMA method models changes in random shifting behavior as a function of RT. For each RT, the model generates two values: a “control statistic” (CS, which captures the running average accuracy of first shifts) and an “upper control limit” (UCL, which captures the pre-defined limit of when accuracy would be categorized as above chance level). Here, the CS is an expectation of random shifting to either the target or the distracter image (nonlanguage-driven shifts), or a Bernoulli process with probability of success 0.5. As RTs get slower, we assume that participants have gathered more information and should become more accurate (language-driven), or a Bernoulli process with probability success > 0.5 . Using this model, we can quantify the proportion of gaze shifts that were language-driven as opposed to random responding.

Following Vandekerckhove and Tuerlinckx (2007), we selected shifts categorized as language-driven by the EWMA and fit a hierarchical Bayesian drift-diffusion model (HDDM). The DDM quantifies differences in the underlying decision process that lead to different patterns of behavior. The model assumes that people accumulate noisy evidence in favor of one alternative with a response generated when the evidence crosses a pre-defined decision threshold. We chose to implement a hierarchical Bayesian version of the DDM using the HDDM Python package (Wiecki, Sofer, & Frank, 2013) since we had relatively few trials from child participants and recent simulation studies have shown that the HDDM approach was better than other DDM fitting methods for small data sets (Ratcliff & Childers, 2015). Here, we focus on two parameters of interest: *boundary separation*, which indexes the

Table 1

Age distributions of children in Experiment 1. All ages are reported in months.

Center Stimulus	Mean	Min	Max	n
ASL	27.90	16.00	53.00	30.00
Face	26.00	25.00	26.00	24.00
Object	31.90	26.00	39.00	40.00
Bullseye	26.10	26.00	27.00	16.00

amount of evidence gathered before generating a response (higher values suggest more cautious responding) and *drift rate*, which indexes the amount of evidence accumulated per unit time (higher values suggest more efficient processing).

Methods

Participants. Table 1 contains details about the age distributions of children in all of four samples.

Spoken English samples. Participants were 80 native, monolingual English-learning children divided across three samples. Participants had no reported history of developmental or language delay.

ASL sample. Participants were 30 native, monolingual ASL-learning children (18 deaf, 12 hearing). All children, regardless of hearing status, were exposed to ASL from birth through extensive interaction with at least one caregiver fluent in ASL and were reported to experience at least 80% ASL in their daily lives. The ASL sample included a wider age range compared to the spoken English samples because this is a rare population.

Stimuli. There are differences between ASL and English question structures. However, all linguistic stimuli shared the same trial structure: language to attract

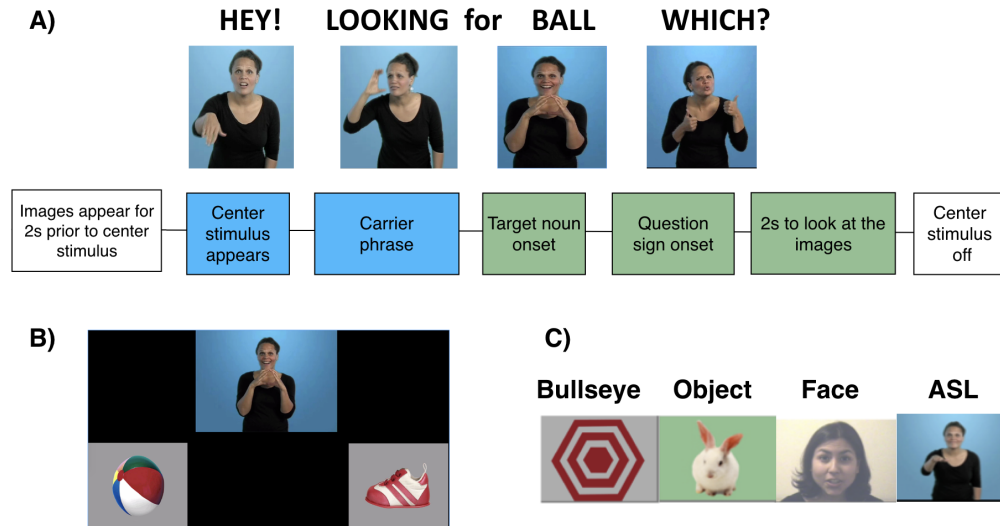


Figure 1. Stimuli for Experiment 1. Panel A shows the timecourse of the linguistic stimuli for a single trial. Panel B shows the layout of the fixation locations for all tasks: the center stimulus, the target, and the distracter. Panel C shows the four center stimulus items: a static geometric shape (Bullseye), a static image of a familiar object (Object), a person speaking (Face), and a person signing (ASL).

participants' attention followed by a sentence containing a target noun.

ASL linguistic stimuli. We recorded two sets of ASL stimuli, using two valid ASL sentence structures for questions: 1) Sentence-initial wh-phrase: "HEY! WHERE [target noun]?" and 2) Sentence-final wh-phrase: "HEY! [target noun] WHERE?" Two female native ASL users recorded several tokens of each sentence in a child-directed register. Before each sentence, the signer produced a common attention-getting gesture. Mean sign length was 1.25 sec, ranging from 0.69 sec to 1.98 sec.

English linguistic stimuli. All three tasks (Object, Bullseye, and Face) featured the same female speaker who used natural child-directed speech and said: "Look! Where's the (target word)?" The target words were: ball, banana, book, cookie, juice, and shoe. For the Face task, a female native English speaker was video-recorded as she looked straight ahead

and said, “Look! Where’s the (target word)?” Mean word length was 0.79 sec, ranging from 0.60 sec to 0.94 sec.

ASL and English visual stimuli. The image set consisted of colorful digitized pictures of objects presented in fixed pairs with no phonological overlap (ASL task: cat—bird, car—book, bear—doll, ball—shoe; English tasks: book-shoe, juice-banana, cookie-ball). Side of target picture was counterbalanced across trials.

Trial structure. On each trial, the child saw two images of familiar objects on the screen for two seconds before the center stimulus appeared. This time allowed the child to visually explore both images. Next, the target sentence – which consisted of a carrier phrase, target noun, and question sign – was presented, followed by two seconds without language to allow the child to respond to the signer’s sentence. The trial structure of the Face, Object, and Bullseye tasks were highly similar: children were given two seconds to visually explore the objects prior to the appearance of the center stimulus, then processed a target sentence, and finally were given two seconds of silence to generate a response to the target noun.

Design and procedure. Children sat on their caregiver’s lap and viewed the task on a screen while their gaze was recorded using a digital camcorder. On each trial, children saw two images of familiar objects on the screen for two seconds before the center stimulus appeared (see Figure 1). Then they processed the target sentence – which consisted of a carrier phrase, a target noun, and a question – followed by two seconds without language to allow for a response. Participants saw 32 test trials with several filler trials interspersed to maintain interest.

Coding. Participants’ gaze patterns were coded (33-ms resolution) as being fixated on either the center stimulus, one of the images, shifting between pictures, or away. To assess inter-coder reliability, 25% of the videos were re-coded. Agreement was scored at the level of individual frames of video and averaged 98% on these reliability assessments.

Results and Discussion

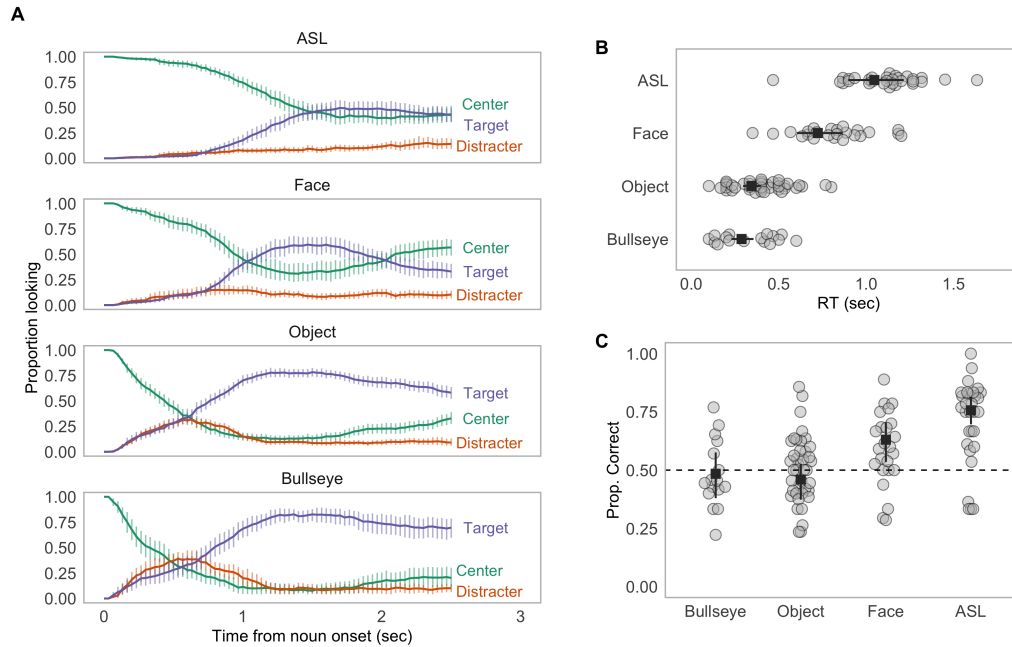


Figure 2. Timecourse looking, first shift Reaction Time (RT), and Accuracy results for children in Experiment 1. Panel A shows the overall looking to the center, target, and distracter stimulus for each context. Panel B shows the distribution of RTs for each participant. Each point represents a participant’s average RT. Color represents the processing context. Panel C shows the same information but for first shift accuracy.

Behavioral analyses. *Time course looking.* The first question of interest was how

do young ASL and English learners distribute attention while processing language in real-time? Panel A of Fig. 2 presents an overview of children’s looking to the center stimulus, target, and distracter images for each processing context. This plot shows changes in the mean proportion of trials on which participants fixated the signer, the target image, or the distracter image at every 33-ms interval of the stimulus sentence. At target-noun onset, children were looking at the center on all trials. As the target noun unfolded, the mean proportion looking to the center decreased rapidly as participants shifted their gaze to the target or the distracter image. Proportion looking to the target increased sooner and reached a higher asymptote, compared to proportion looking to the distracter, for all four processing

contexts.

After looking to the target image, participants tended to shift their gaze back to the center, shown by the increase in proportion looking to the center around two seconds after target-noun onset. There were several qualitative differences in children’s looking behavior across the different center stimulus types. First, ASL-learners and English-learners who processed sentences from a video of speaker spent more time looking to the center as indicated by the shallower slope on their center-looking curves. Second, when the center stimulus was a static geometric object (Bullseye) or a static familiar object (Object), spoken language learners were more likely to look at the distractor image, especially early in the time course of the target noun as indicated by the parallel increase in target and distractor-looking curves in Fig. 2. In contrast, spoken language learners in the Face context spent less time looking at the distractor, and ASL-learners rarely looked to the distractor image at any point in the trial. This pattern of behavior provides qualitative evidence that the children were adapting the dynamics of their looking depending on the nature of the visual world and language modality.

RT. Panel B of Fig. 2 shows the full RT data distribution and the full posterior distribution of the estimated RT difference between the noise and clear conditions. To quantify differences across the groups, we fit a Bayesian linear mixed-effects regression predicting first shift RT as a function of center stimulus type, controlling for age, and including user-defined contrasts to test specific comparisons of interest: $\text{Log}(\text{RT}) \sim \text{center stimulus type} + \text{age} + (1 \mid \text{subject}) + (1 \mid \text{item})$. We found that (a) ASL learners generated slower RTs compared to all of the spoken English samples ($\beta = 595$ sec, 95% HDI [445 sec, 761 sec]), (b) ASL learners’ shifts were slower compared directly to children processing spoken language in the Face condition ($\beta = 323$ sec, 95% HDI [132 sec, 523 sec]), and (c) children in the Face condition shifted gaze slower compared to participants in the Object and Bullseye tasks ($\beta = 408$ sec, 95% HDI [287 sec, 546 sec]).

Accuracy. Next we compared the accuracy of first shifts across the different tasks by

fitting a mixed-effects logistic regression with the same specifications and contrasts as the RT model. We found that (a) ASL learners were more accurate compared to all of the spoken English samples ($\beta = 0.23$ sec, 95% HDI [0.17], 0.29), (b) ASL learners were more accurate when directly compared to participants in the Face task ($\beta = 0.13$ sec, 95% HDI [0.04 sec, 0.23 sec]), (c) children learning spoken language were more accurate when processing language from dynamic video of a person speaking compared to the Object and Bullseye tasks ($\beta = 0.16$ sec, 95% HDI [0.07 sec, 0.24 sec]), and (d) English-learners' first shifts were no different from random responding in the Object ($\beta = -0.04$ sec, 95% HDI [-0.13 sec, 0.03 sec]) and Bullseye ($\beta = -0.02$ sec, 95% HDI [-0.12 sec, 0.08 sec]) contexts.

Model-based analyses. *EWMA.* Panel A of Fig. 3 shows changes in the control statistic (CS) and the upper control limit (UCL) as a function of RT. Each CS starts at chance performance and below the UCL. In the ASL and Face tasks, the CS value begins to increase with RTs around 0.7 seconds after noun onset and eventually crosses the UCL, indicating that responses > 0.7 sec were on average above chance levels. In contrast, the CS in the Object and Bullseye tasks never crossed the UCL, indicating that children's shifts were equally likely to land on the target or the distracter, regardless of when they were initiated. This result suggests that first shifts in the Bullseye/Object tasks were not language-driven and may instead have reflected a different process such as gathering more information about the referents in the visual world.

Next, we compared the EWMA model fits for participants in the ASL and Face processing contexts. We found that ASL learners generated fewer shifts when the CS was below the UCL compared to children learning spoken language ($\beta = 0.14$, 95% HDI [0.08, 0.23]). This result indicates that ASL-learners were more likely to have gathered sufficient information about the linguistic signal prior to shifting gaze away from the language source (i.e., gaze shifts were language-driven). We found some evidence that ASL learners started producing language-driven shifts earlier in the RT distribution as indicated by the point at which the CS crossed the UCL ($\beta = 0.22$ ms, 95% HDI [0.05 ms, 0.39 ms]).

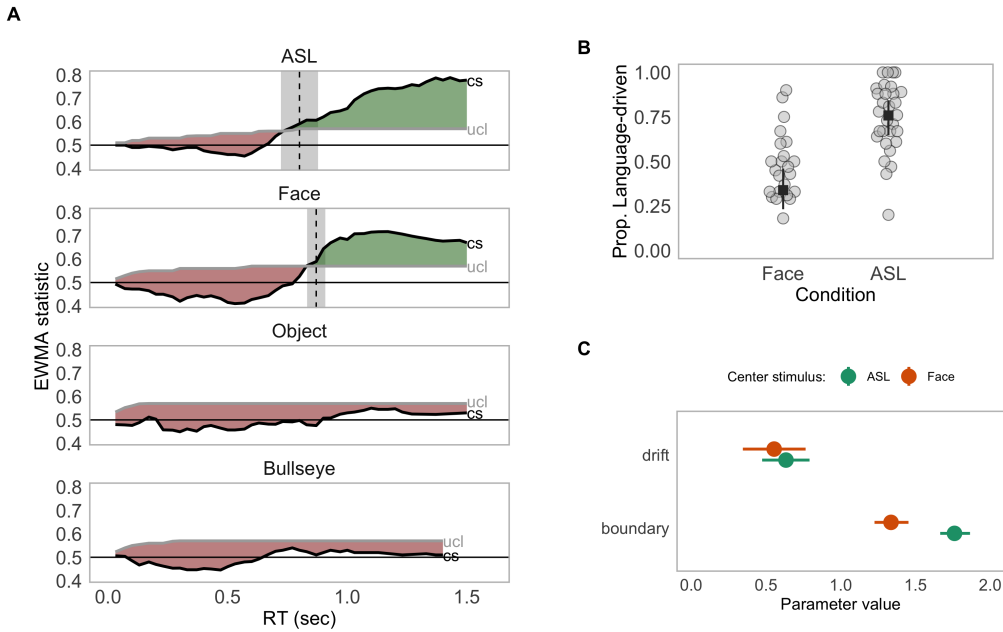


Figure 3. Results for the model-based analyses in Experiment 1. Panel A shows a control chart representing the timecourse of the EWMA statistic. The black curve represents the evolution of the control statistic (CS) as a function of reaction time. The grey curve represents the upper control limit (UCL). The vertical dashed line is the median cutoff value (point when the control process shifts out of a guessing state). The grey shaded area represents the 95% confidence interval around the estimate of the median cutoff point, and the shaded ribbons represent the proportion of responses that were categorized as guesses (red) and language-driven (green). Panel B shows a summary of the proportion of shifts that were categorized as language-driven for the Face and ASL processing contexts. Panel C shows the posterior distributions for the boundary and drift rate parameters for the Face and ASL processing contexts.

HDDM. Using the output of the EWMA, we compared the timing and accuracy of language-driven shifts for participants in the ASL and Face tasks.¹ We found that ASL

¹We report the mean and the 95% highest density interval (HDI) of the posterior distributions for each parameter. The HDI represents the range of credible values given the model specification and the data. We chose not to interpret the DDM fits for the Bullseye/Face tasks since there was no suggestion of any

learners had a higher estimate for the boundary separation parameter compared to the Face participants (ASL boundary = 1.76, HDI = [1.65, 1.88]; Face boundary = 1.34, HDI = [1.21, 1.47]), with no overlap in the credible values (see Fig 4). This suggests that ASL learners accumulated more evidence about the linguistic signal before generating an eye movement. We found high overlap for estimates of the drift rate parameter, indicating that both groups processed the linguistic information with similar efficiency (ASL drift = 0.63, HDI = [0.44, 0.82]; Face drift = 0.55, HDI = [0.30, 0.80]).

Results summary. Taken together, the behavioral analyses and the EWMA/HDDM results provide converging support that ASL learners were sensitive to the value of delaying eye movements away from the language source. Compared to spoken language learners, children learning ASL prioritized accuracy over speed, produced fewer nonlanguage-driven shifts away from the center stimulus, and were more accurate with these gaze shifts. Importantly, we did not see evidence in the HDDM model fits that these accuracy differences could be explained by differential rates of information accumulation. Instead, the model-based analyses suggest that ASL learners increased their decision threshold for generating a response.

We hypothesized that this prioritization of gathering additional information is an adaptive response to the channel competition present when processing a visual-manual language. That is, when ASL learners shift gaze away a signer, they are deciding to leave an area of the visual world that provides a great deal of useful and interesting information. Moreover, unlike children learning spoken languages, ASL learners cannot gather more of the linguistic signal while looking at the objects. Thus, an adaptive language comprehension system would increase levels of certainty before generating a response to maintain robust understanding.

It is important to point out that these findings are based on exploratory analyses, and our information seeking account was developed to explain this pattern of results. There are,

non-guessing signal.

however, several, potentially important differences between the stimuli, apparatus, and populations that limit the strength of our interpretation of these data and the generality of our account. Thus, in Experiments 2 and 3, we set out to perform well-controlled, confirmatory tests of our adaptive information seeking account of eye movements during grounded language comprehension.

Experiment 2

In Experiment 2, we aimed to replicate a key finding from Experiment 1: that increasing the competition between fixating the language source and the nonlinguistic visual world reduces nonlanguage-driven eye movements. Moreover, we conducted a confirmatory test of our hypothesis that also controlled for the population differences present in Experiment 1. We tested a sample of English-speaking adults using a within-participants manipulation of the center stimulus type. We used the Face and Bullseye stimulus sets from Experiment 1 and added two new conditions: Text, where the verbal language information was accompanied by a word-by-word display of printed text (see Figure 3), and Text-no-audio, where the spoken language stimulus was removed. We chose text processing since, like sign language comprehension, information relevant to the linguistic signal is concentrated in one location in the visual scene.

Our key behavioral prediction is that processing serially-presented text will shift the value of allocating fixations to the center stimulus as the linguistic information unfolds in time. This shift in information value should result in listeners allocating more fixations to the center stimulus and fewer to the objects in the visual scene. This behavioral pattern should be indexed by proportion guessing and cutoff point parameters of the EWMA model. We did not have strong predictions for first shift accuracy and reaction time or the DDM parameter fits since the goal of the text manipulation was to modulate participants' strategic allocation of visual attention and not the accuracy/efficiency of information processing.

Methods

Participants. 25 Stanford undergraduates participated (5 male) for course credit.

All participants were monolingual, native English speakers and had normal vision.

Stimuli. Audio and visual stimuli were identical to the Face and Bullseye tasks in Experiment 1. We included a new center fixation stimulus type: printed text. The text was displayed in a white font on a black background and was programmed such that only a single word appeared on the screen, with each word appearing for the same duration as the corresponding word in the spoken language stimuli.

Design and procedure. The design was nearly identical to Experiment 1, with the exception of a change to a within-subjects manipulation where each participant completed all four tasks (Bullseye, Face, Text, and Text-no-audio). In the Text condition, spoken language accompanied the printed text. In the Text-no-audio condition, the spoken language stimulus was removed. Participants saw a total of 128 trials while their eye movements were tracked using automated eye-tracking software.

Results and Discussion

Behavioral analyses. *Timecourse analyses.* TODO (add text and maybe a permutation analysis of the center and target looking curves).

RT. Visual inspection of Figure 5, panel C suggests that mean response times of first shifts were similar across the four center stimulus conditions ($M_{bull} = 0.55$, $M_{face} = 0.59$, $M_{text} = 0.58$, $M_{textNoaudio} = 0.56$). We fit a linear mixed-effects regression with the same specification as in Experiment 1, but we added by-subject intercepts and slopes for each center stimulus type to account for our within-subjects manipulation. We did not see evidence that RTs were different across conditions, with the null value of zero condition differences falling within the 95% CIs for each comparison of interest (see table XX in the appendix for full model output).

Accuracy. Next, we modeled accuracy using a mixed-effects logistic regression with the same specifications (see Panel B of Figure 5). We found that adults' first shifts were highly

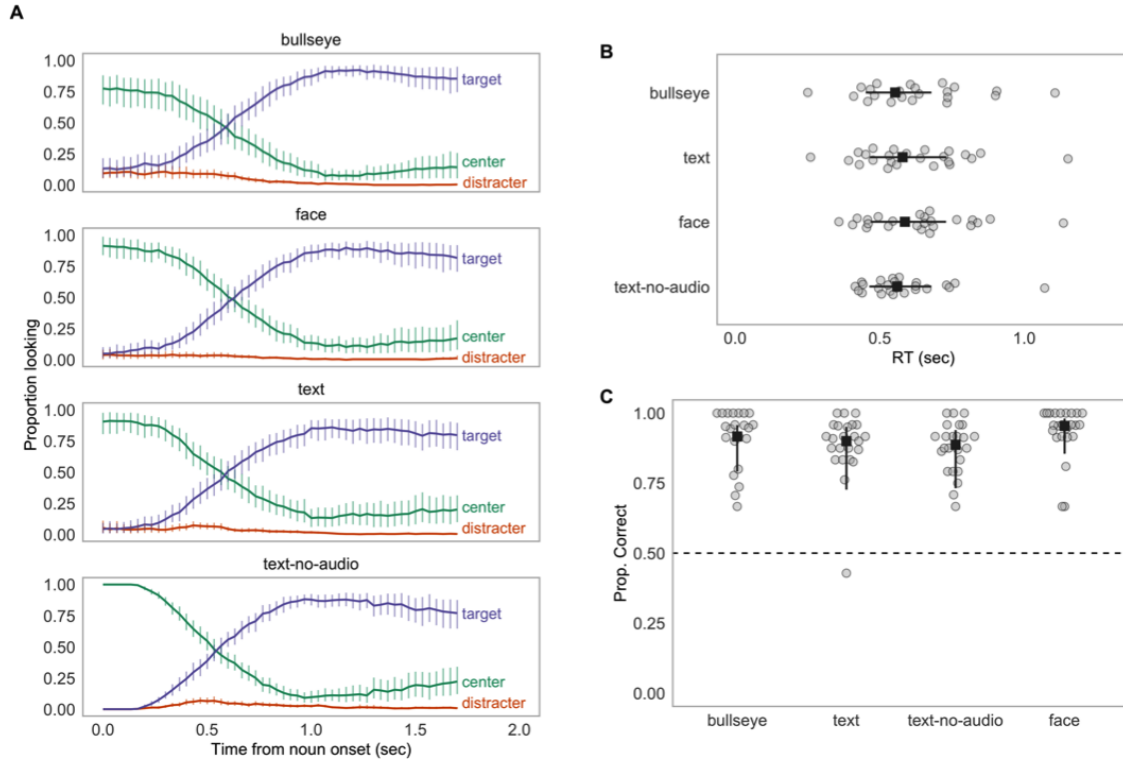


Figure 4. Results for the model-based analyses in Experiment 2. All plotting conventions are the same as in Figure 2.

accurate ($M_{bull} = 0.92$, $M_{face} = 0.95$, $M_{text} = 0.90$, $M_{textNoaudio} = 0.89$). And, in contrast to the children in Experiment 1, adults' responses were above chance level even in the Bullseye condition when the center stimulus was not salient or informative.

Adults' accurate first shifts suggests an interesting developmental difference in the construal of the center stimulus in our task. This is speculative, but it seems plausible that adults thought the Bullseye was designed to be a valid starting point for fixating gaze while the sentence unfolded (i.e., someone put this here for a reason). As a result, if adults maintained their fixation on the center stimulus for enough time to gather sufficient linguistic signal, then they were highly accurate across all four processing condition, which is reasonable since these were highly familiar words presented in child-directed speech.

Visual inspection of the timecourse looking curves, however, suggests that the effect of the text manipulations occurred earlier in timecourse of decisions about visual fixation. That

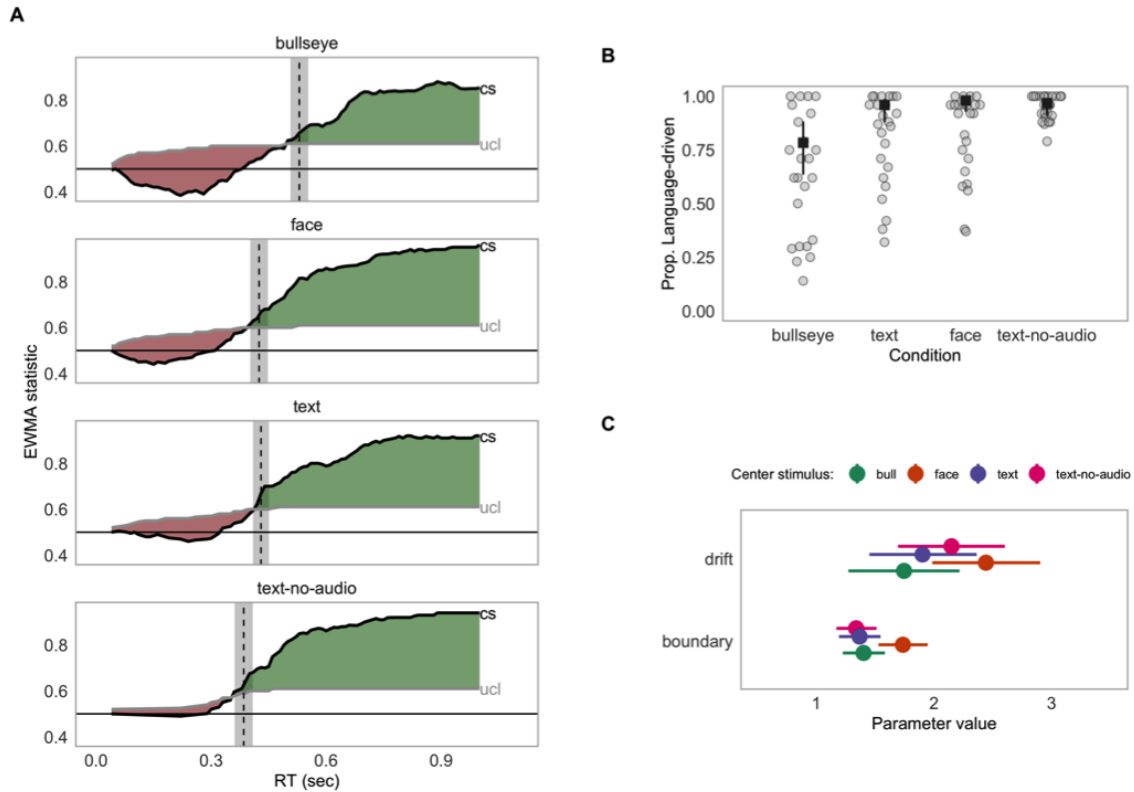


Figure 5. Results for the model-based analyses of Experiment 2. All plotting conventions are the same as Figure 3.

is, in the first 300 ms after the start of the target word, adults in the Bullseye, Face, and Text conditions, where they had access to linguistic information via the auditory channel, were already allocating fixations away from the center stimulus and to the objects. In contrast, in the Text-No-Audio condition, all of adults' fixation were directed to the center stimulus location, which contained the language-relevant information. Next, we use our model-based analyses to quantify these differences in adults' decisions about where to fixate as a function of time.

Model-based analyses. *EWMA.* For all four conditions, the control statistic crossed the upper control limit (see Panel A of Figure 6), suggesting that at some point in the RT distribution adults' shifts were reliably driven by linguistic information. Interestingly, we found a graded effect of condition on the cutoff point (see the shift in the vertical dashed lines in Panel A of Figure 5). That is, the CS crossed the UCL earliest in the Text-no-audio

condition ($M_{text-no-audio} = 0.39$, 95% HDI [0.37, 0.41]), followed by the Text ($M_{text} = 0.44$, 95% HDI [0.42, 0.46]) and Face ($M_{face} = 0.45$, 95% HDI [0.43, 0.47]) conditions, and finally the Bullseye condition ($M_{bullseye} = 0.54$, 95% HDI [0.52, 0.56]).²

We also found a similar pattern of a graded difference in the proportion of shifts that occurred when the control statistic was below the upper control limit ($M_{bullseye} = 0.78$, $M_{text} = 0.86$, $M_{text-no-audio} = 0.89$, $M_{face} = 0.93$). Adults generated fewer language-driven eye movements in the Bullseye condition compared to the other contexts ($\beta = -0.12$, 95% HDI [-0.26, -0.01]). And the highest proportion of language-driven shifts in the Text-no-audio context ($\beta = 0.04$, 95% HDI [-0.02, 0.08]). These results provide evidence for our key prediction: that increasing the value of fixating the center stimulus for gathering linguistic information reduced gaze shifts to the rest of the visual world. This shift in gaze dynamics, in turn, resulted in adults gathering more of the linguistic signal prior to generating eye movements away from the center stimulus, leading to a higher proportion of language-driven shifts earlier in the distribution of reaction times.

HDDM. Using the classifications generated by the EWMA, we fit a HDDM to the language-driven shifts with the same specifications as in Experiment 1. There was high overlap of the posterior distributions for the drift rate parameters (see panel C of Figure 5), suggesting that participants gathered the linguistic information with similar efficiency. We also found high overlap in the distribution of boundary separation estimates for the Bullseye, Text, and Text-no-audio conditions. We saw some evidence for a higher boundary separation in the Face condition compared to the other three center stimulus types (Face boundary = 1.73, HDI = [1.49, 1.98]; Bullseye boundary = 1.40, HDI = [1.19, 1.62]; Text boundary = 1.37, HDI = [1.16, 1.58]; Text-no-audio boundary = 1.34, HDI = [1.14, 1.55]), indicating that adults' higher accuracy in this condition was driven by accumulating more information before generating a response. Note that the higher boundary separation and drift rate parameters for the Face condition differs from the results of the standard Accuracy analyses,

²See Table XX in the appendix for the relevant statistics for the pairwise comparisons of interest.

which found similar patterns of performance. This occurs because the HDDM estimates parameter fits using reaction times distributions for both correct and incorrect responses.

Results summary. Together, these results suggest that adults were sensitive to the tradeoff between gathering different kinds of visual information. When processing text, people generated fewer nonlanguage-driven shifts (EWMA results) but their processing efficiency of the linguistic signal itself did not change (HDDM results). Interestingly, we found a graded difference in the EWMA results between the Text and Text-no-audio conditions, with the lowest proportion of early, nonlanguage-driven shifts occurring while processing text without the verbal stimuli. This behavior makes sense; if the adults could rely on the auditory channel to gather the linguistic information, then the value of fixating the text display decreases. In contrast to the children in Experiment 1, adults were highly accurate in the Bullseye condition, perhaps because they construed the Bullseye as a center fixation that they *should* fixate, or perhaps they had better encoded the location/identity of the two referents prior to the start of the target sentence.

Experiment 3

In this experiment, we recorded adults and children’s eye movements during a real-time language comprehension task where participants processed familiar sentences (e.g., “Where’s the ball?”) while looking at a simplified visual world with three fixation targets. Using a within-participants design, we manipulated the signal-to-noise ratio of the auditory signal by convolving the acoustic input with brown noise (random noise with greater energy at lower frequencies).

We predicted that processing speech in a noisy context would make participants less likely to shift before collecting sufficient information.³ This delay, in turn, would lead to a lower proportion of shifts flagged as random/exploratory in the EWMA analysis, and a pattern of DDM results indicating a prioritization of accuracy over and above speed of

³See <https://osf.io/g8h9r/> for a pre-registration of the analysis plan.

responding (see the Analysis Plan section below for more details on the models). We also predicted a developmental difference – that children would produce a higher proportion of random shifts and accumulate information less efficiently compared to adults; and a developmental parallel – that children would show the same pattern of adapting gaze patterns to gather more visual information in the noisy processing context.

Methods

Participants. Participants were native, monolingual English-learning children ($n = 39$; 22 F) and adults ($n = 31$; 22 F). All participants had no reported history of developmental or language delay and normal vision. 14 participants (11 children, 3 adults) were run but not included in the analysis because either the eye tracker failed to calibrate (2 children, 3 adults) or the participant did not complete the task (9 children).

Stimuli. *Linguistic stimuli.* The video/audio stimuli were recorded in a sound-proof room and featured two female speakers who used natural child-directed speech and said one of two phrases: “Hey! Can you find the (target word)” or “Look! Where’s the (target word)” – see panel A of Fig. ???. The target words were: ball, bunny, boat, bottle, cookie, juice, chicken, and shoe. The target words varied in length (shortest = 411.68 ms, longest = 779.62 ms) with an average length of 586.71 ms.

Noise manipulation. To create the stimuli in the noise condition, we convolved each recording with Brown noise using the Audacity audio editor. The average signal-to-noise ratio⁴ in the noise condition was 2.87 dB compared to the clear condition, which was 35.05 dB.

Visual stimuli. The image set consisted of colorful digitized pictures of objects presented in fixed pairs with no phonological overlap between the target and the distractor image (cookie-bottle, boat-juice, bunny-chicken, shoe-ball). The side of the target picture was counterbalanced across trials.

⁴The ratio of signal power to the noise power, with values greater than 0 dB indicating more signal than noise.

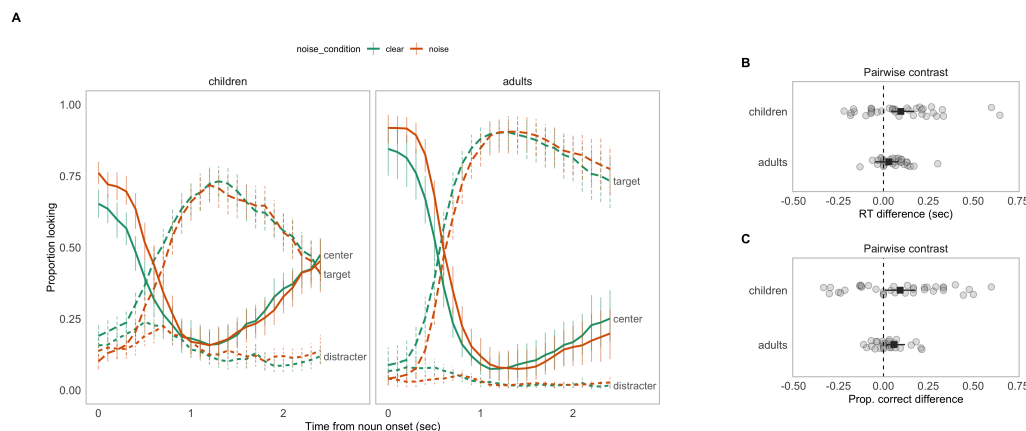


Figure 6. Behavioral results for children and adults in Experiment 3. Panel A shows the overall looking to the center, target, and distracter stimulus for each processing condition and age group. Panel B shows the distribution of RTs for each participant and the pairwise contrast between the noise and clear conditions. The square point represents the mean value for each measure. The vertical dashed line represents the null model of zero condition difference. The width each point represents the 95% HDI. Panel C shows the same information but for first shift accuracy.

Design and procedure. Participants viewed the task on a screen while their gaze was tracked using an SMI RED corneal-reflection eye-tracker mounted on an LCD monitor, sampling at 60 Hz. The eye-tracker was first calibrated for each participant using a 6-point calibration. On each trial, participants saw two images of familiar objects on the screen for two seconds before the center stimulus appeared (see Fig. ??). Next, they processed the target sentence – which consisted of a carrier phrase, a target noun, and a question – followed by two seconds without language to allow for a response. Child participants saw 32 trials (16 noise trials; 16 clear trials) with several filler trials interspersed to maintain interest. Adult participants saw 64 trials (32 noise; 32 clear). The noise manipulation was presented in a blocked design with the order of block counterbalanced across participants.

Results and discussion

Behavioral analyses: RT. To make RTs more suitable for modeling on a linear scale, we analyzed responses in log space with the final model specified as:
 $\log(RT) \sim \text{noise_condition} + \text{age_group} + (\text{noise_condition} \mid \text{sub_id}) + (\text{noise_condition} \mid \text{target_item})$. Panel A of Figure ?? shows the full RT data distribution and the full posterior distribution of the estimated RT difference between the noise and clear conditions. Both children and adults were slower to identify the target in the noise condition (Children $M_{\text{noise}} = 500.19$ sec; Adult $M_{\text{noise}} = 595.23$ sec), as compared to the clear condition (Children $M_{\text{clear}} = 455.72$ sec Adult $M_{\text{clear}} = 542.45$ sec). RTs in the noise condition were 48.82 seconds slower on average, with a 95% HDI ranging from 3.72 sec to 96.26 ms, and not including the null value of zero condition difference. Older children responded faster than younger children ($M_{\text{age}} = -0.44$, $[-0.74, -0.16]$), with little evidence for an interaction between age and condition.

Accuracy. Next, we modeled adults and children's first shift accuracy using a mixed-effects logistic regression with the same specifications (see Panel B of Fig. ??). Both groups were more accurate than a model of random responding (null value of 0.5 falling well outside the lower bound of the 95% HDI for all group means). Adults were more accurate ($M_{\text{adults}} = 90\%$) than children ($M_{\text{children}} = 61\%$). The key result is that both groups showed evidence of higher accuracy in the noise condition: children ($M_{\text{noise}} = 67\%$; $M_{\text{clear}} = 61\%$) and adults ($M_{\text{noise}} = 92\%$; $M_{\text{clear}} = 90\%$). Accuracy in the noise condition was on average 4% higher, with a 95% HDI from -1% to 12%. Note that the null value of zero difference falls at the very edge of the HDI. But 95% of the credible values are greater than zero, providing evidence for higher accuracy in the noise condition. Within the child sample, there was no evidence of a main effect of age or an interaction between age and noise condition.

Model-based analyses: EWMA. Fig. ?? shows the proportion of shifts that the model classified as random vs. language-driven for each age group and processing context. On average, 41% (95% HDI: 32%, 50%) of children's shifts were categorized as language-driven, which was significantly fewer than adults, 87% (95% HDI: 78%, 96%).

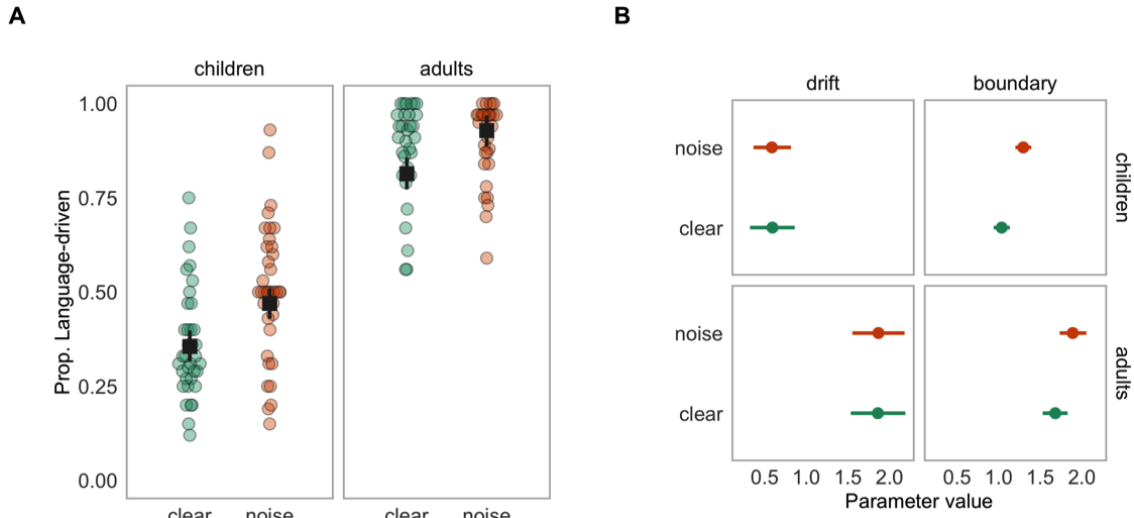


Figure 7. Results for the model-based analyses for Experiment 3. The majority of plotting conventions are the same as Figure 3. In Panel C, linetype and alpha value represent age group: children vs. adults.

Critically, processing speech in a noisy context caused both adults and children to generate a higher proportion of language-driven shifts (i.e., fewer random, exploratory shifts away from the speaker), with the 95% HDI excluding the null value of zero condition difference ($\beta_{noise} = 11\%$, $[7.00\%, 16\%]$). Within the child sample, older children generated fewer random, early shifts ($M_{age} = -0.21$, $[-0.35, -0.08]$). There was no evidence of an interaction between age and condition. This pattern of results suggests that the noise condition caused participants to increase visual fixations to the language source, leading them to generate fewer exploratory, random shifts before accumulating sufficient information to respond accurately.

HDDM. Fig. ?? shows the full posterior distributions for the HDDM output.

Children had lower drift rates (children $M_{drift} = NA$; adults $M_{drift} = NA$) and boundary separation estimates (children $M_{boundary} = 1.02$; adults $M_{boundary} = 1.33$) as compared to adults, suggesting that children were less efficient and less cautious in their responding. The noise manipulation selectively affected the boundary separation parameter, with higher estimates in the noise condition for both age groups ($\beta_{noise} = 0.26$, $[0.10, 0.42]$). This result suggests that participants' in the noise condition prioritized information accumulation over

644 speed when generating an eye movement in response to the incoming language. This
645 increased decision threshold led to higher accuracy. Moreover, the high overlap in estimates
646 of drift rate suggests that participants were able to integrate the visual and auditory signals
647 such that they could achieve a level of processing efficiency comparable to the clear
648 processing context.

649 Taken together, the behavioral and EWMA/HDDM results provide converging support
650 for the predictions of our information-seeking account. Processing speech in noise caused
651 listeners to seek additional visual information to support language comprehension. Moreover,
652 we observed a very similar pattern of behavior in children and adults, with both groups
653 producing more language-driven shifts and prioritizing accuracy over speed in the more
654 challenging, noisy environment.

655 General Discussion

656 Language comprehension in grounded contexts involves integrating information from
657 the visual and linguistic signals. But the value of integrating visual information depends on
658 the processing context. Here, we presented a test of an information-seeking account of eye
659 movements during language processing: that listeners flexibly adapt gaze patterns in
660 response to the value of seeking visual information for accurate language understanding. We
661 showed that children and adults generate slower but more accurate gaze shifts away from a
662 speaker when processing speech in a noisy context. Both groups showed evidence of
663 prioritizing information accumulation over speed (HDDM) while guessing less often
664 (EWMA). Listeners were able to achieve higher accuracy in the more challenging, noisy
665 context. Together, these results suggest that in settings with a degraded linguistic signal,
666 listeners support language comprehension by seeking additional language-relevant
667 information from the visual world.

668 These results synthesize ideas from several research programs, including work on
669 language-mediated visual attention (Tanenhaus et al., 1995), goal-based accounts of vision

during everyday tasks (Hayhoe & Ballard, 2005), and work on effortful listening (Van Engen & Peelle, 2014). Moreover, our findings parallel recent work by McMurray, Farris-Trimble, and Rigler (2017) showing that individuals with Cochlear Implants, who are consistently processing degraded auditory input, are more likely to delay the process of lexical access as measured by slower gaze shifts to named referents and fewer incorrect gaze shifts to phonological onset competitors. McMurray et al. (2017) also found that they could replicate these changes to gaze patterns in adults with typical hearing by degrading the auditory stimuli so that it shared features with the output of a cochlear implant (noise-vocoded speech).

The results reported here also dovetail with recent developmental work by Yurovsky et al. (2017). In that study, preschoolers, like adults, were able to integrate top-down expectations about the kinds of things speakers are likely to talk about with bottom-up cues from auditory perception. Yurovsky et al. (2017) situated this finding within the framework of modeling language as a *noisy channel* where listeners combine expectations with perceptual data and weight each based on its reliability. Here, we found a similar developmental parallel in language processing: that 3-5 year-olds, like adults, adapted their gaze patterns to seek additional visual information when the auditory signal became less reliable. This adaptation allowed listeners to generate more accurate responses in the more challenging, noisy context.

Limitations

This work has several important limitations that pave the way for future work. First, we chose to focus on a single decision about visual fixation to provide a window onto the dynamics of decision-making across different language processing contexts. But our analysis does not consider the rich information present in the gaze patterns that occur leading up to this decision. In our future work, we aim to measure how changes in the language environment might lead to shifts in the dynamics of gaze across a wider timescale. For

example, perhaps listeners gather more information about the objects in the scene before the sentence in anticipation of allocating more attention to the speaker once they start to speak. Second, we chose one instantiation of a noisy processing context – random background noise. But we think our findings should generalize to contexts where other kinds of noise – e.g., uncertainty over a speaker’s reliability or when processing accented speech – make gathering visual information from the speaker more useful for language understanding.

Conclusion

This experiment tested the generalizability of our information-seeking account of eye movements within the domain of grounded language comprehension. But the account could be applied to the language acquisition context. Consider that early in language learning, children are acquiring novel word-object links while also learning about visual object categories. Both of these tasks produce different goals that should, in turn, modulate children’s decisions about where to allocate visual attention – e.g., seeking nonlinguistic cues to reference such as eye gaze and pointing become critical when you are unfamiliar with the information in the linguistic signal. More generally, this work integrates goal-based models of eye-movements with language comprehension in grounded, social contexts. This approach presents a way forward for explaining fixation behaviors across a wider variety processing contexts and during different stages of language learning.

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