Early language experience in a Papuan village

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7 Abstract

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### 13 Introduction

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In their first five years of life, children hear an extraordinary amount of language in a wide variety of interactional contexts. Tracking the distribution and characteristics of this linguistic input over the day, across age, and between children is a difficult task. Until recently, developmental language science has relied on short video recordings of caregiver-child interaction, at home or in the lab, to get a grasp on what kinds of language children typically hear. This has been a fruitful approach in teasing out individual and group-based differences in interactional style (REFS). However, short recordings are limited in their insight because they represent only a small slice of the child's language abilities and experiences (REFS).

Improved recording hardware and advances in speech technology have recently allowed
us to use daylong recordings to get a peek into children's broader language landscapes.

Daylong recordings are made with a device, usually positioned on the target child's chest,
while that child freely navigates their social environment for most of a waking day (REFS).

This style of audio recording has allowed researchers to track children's verbal language use
across a range of activity and interlocutor contexts, yielding more representative and
generalizable measures of their language environments (REFS). While daylong recording
collections are typically too large for comprehensive transcription and annotation, a
combination of automated tools, (REFS) sampling techniques (REFS), and standardized
annotation approaches (REFS) can lead to rich, but efficiently-gained glimpses into the
at-home language environment. However, properly collecting, processing, and archiving
daylong data is not easily achieved and may not be well suited for a range of research
questions (REFS). At time of writing, there are few options for capturing visual information
across the day (but see REFS), limiting this method primarily to acoustic phenomena

37 (REFS).

Daylong recording methods are still relatively new, and their reliability and predictive value for language development have not yet been fully established. For example, one collection of recordings made in the US Northwest suggests that there is so much variability across activities and days in basic talk characteristics (e.g., how much speech comes from what types of speakers) that researchers need several days of recordings before they can expect their input estimates to stabilize (Anderson & Fausey, in prep). Even if one can achieve a reliable estimate of a language environment measure (e.g., overhearable adult words per hour), how and why that estimate relates to deeper factors shaping the learning situation, including caregiving ideologies and language outcomes, is often indirect at best. Relatedly, meaningful differences between individual children may be minimized when averaging across the entirety of the day's high and low moments; it may well be that a few key interactions throughout the day provide sharper resolution on individual and group-based differences compared to whole-day averages.

Recent studies have directly investigated the effect of recording duration on caregiver speech, finding that short recordings display much denser, and somewhat different input than longer recordings (Bergelson, Amatuni, Dailey, Koorathota, & Tor, 2019; Tamis-LeMonda, Kuchirko, Luo, Escobar, & Bornstein, 2017). Bergelson and colleagues (Bergelson et al., 2019) analyzed the contexts of noun use encountered by 44 6- and 7-month-old children in the US in both hour-long at-home videos and comparable sub-samples of daylong recordings. They found that, while the videos tended to have very dense noun-related input and significantly more nouns embedded in questions, daylong samples contained more nearby speakers and more noun types (see (Bergelson et al., 2019) for the full range of differences). Frequently heard nouns were more consistent across families in the daylong data compared to the video data, suggesting that daylong data may more more robustly capture stable, group-level similarities in child-proximal speech. Interestingly, children heard more dense

noun input during their "peak" hour for the day compared to the video, which also highlights
peak interactions from daylong recordings as a promising compromise between ecological
validity and concentrated measures of language environment and development. Importantly,
a child's relative rank across a range of speech environment measures may be stable across
recording contexts, at least for US children (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2017). Based on these
findings, one could infer that at-home short recordings are influenced by some (but not all)
of the same underlying factors that drive language patterns during daylong recordings (e.g.,
caregiver ideologies about child development, child responsiveness, household composition).

Studies of children growing up in two indigenous Mayan communities of Southern 71 Mexico (Tseltal and Yucatec Mayan) suggest that short and long recordings may yield 72 substantial differences in how the speech environment is characterized (REFS). Previous 73 studies on these communities have tended to use ethnographic and microanalytic analyses of short interactions to examine the character of children's speech environments. They have 75 found that caregivers shape infants' and young children's worlds such that the children learn to attend to what is going on around them rather than expecting to be the center of 77 attention (REFS). Consistent with this goal, direct talk to infants, particularly from adults, is rare until children themselves begin to elicit responses from others (REFS). Because young children are often cared for by older siblings and cousins, a substantial portion of talk to young children was also expected to come from other children (REFS). Similar observations 81 have been reported for multiple other distinct (but ethnolinguistically related) communities in the region (REFS). Following up on this ethnographic work, Shneidman (REFS) used short videos of interaction to conduct a quantitative, longitudinal study of the speech young Yucatec children heard. She found that interactional patterns aligned well with observations in previous work in that community: infants were rarely spoken to at first, but their language input increased enormously with age, mostly due to an influx of speech from other children (REFS). However, when Casillas and colleagues (REFS) used daylong recordings with a Tseltal Mayan community, where a similar caregiver interactional style has been

described previously on the basis of short videos, the pattern of findings diverged from
expectations. In brief, they found that infants and young children were indeed spoken to
rarely, but that there was no increase in speech input with age and the majority of speech
came from adult women, even when children were old enough to independently follow their
older siblings and cousins around the house. These divergent results betweeh daylong and
short video recordings don't imply that the latter is wrong, only that it is not representative
with respect to the child's language experience over an entire day.

These findings do raise an important issue faced by developmental psychology as it 97 continues to expand the study of child language to more diverse speech communities: when 98 researchers are not members of the community they are studying, it is difficult to know a 99 priori what is typical, representative, or meaningful in children's language experience. By 100 observing as much speech as possible in a context as ecologically valid as possible and by 101 sampling, annotating, and analyzing the data on the basis of the most established 102 development measures we have, researchers using daylong recordings might hope to approach 103 this issue without first needing to conduct deep ethnographic studies in the community on 104 caregiving practices and ideologies around language use and language development (REFS). 105 When studying members of our own cultural group, we can bridge between simple, observable 106 behaviors and rich interpretations of, thereby expanding our explanatory model beyond the 107 measures directly analyzed (e.g., why child-directed talk might relate to faster vocabulary 108 development). We cannot hope to gain such enriched understandings cross-culturally 109 without ethnographic work; and in the absence of such work we must accept that there may 110 be a dissociation between how we have traditionally understood an operationalized language behavior (e.g., child-directed speech) and what drives the use and form of that behavior in a 112 given community or interactional context (e.g., pedagogical concerns, entertainment of the 113 caregiver, getting the child to assist). Until there are trained researchers working on this 114 topic who were born and raised as members of these communities (what we should be trying 115 to cultivate for the longer term) this is a quandary we will continue to face.

Pairing ethnographic work with broader-scope studies of children's language 117 environments may be the most fruitful way to ensure that their speech environments and 118 speech development are captured well enough to propose and test meaningful theories 119 cross-culturally. These two methods have complementary roles to play in exploring the 120 landscape of at-home language, and neither should be taken to reflect the "true" language 121 input for a given child; after all, in the example of Tseltal above, many interactions with 122 infants during the daylong recordings came during moments where visitors using a video 123 camera, or even other community members, would not typically be invited (e.g., after the 124 parent was roused by the child, who was waking from an afternoon sleep). If we want to 125 encourage more work on small-scale and/or understudied language learning contexts, it will 126 be important to continue establishing how different methods of measuring the input impact 127 the conclusions that are likely to be made.

In this study we present analyses of daylong recordings from a small-scale indigenous 129 group, on Rossel Island, Papua New Guinea (PNG), in which prior ethnographic work has 130 painted a clear picture of early caregiver-child interaction: child-centric, face-to-face 131 interaction from the first days of infancy. Based on the prior ethnographic work, detailed 132 below, we made four predictions about children's speech environments. First, we predicted 133 that children on Rossel Island would hear frequent child-directed speech from a wide variety 134 of caregiver types throughout the day. Second, given how frequently they are passed between 135 caregivers, we expected to see weaker effects of the subsistence farming schedule on Rossel 136 children's input than has been found in other societies (Casillas et al., forthcoming). Third, 137 as children get older, we expected to see a large increase in the proportion of child-directed speech coming from other children (see also Shneidman REFS). Fourth, we expected a large quantity of other-directed speech around them, given the large number of family numbers typically present. Based on prior work with daylong recordings with both Western and 141 non-Western small-scale populations, we additionally expected (a) no age-related increase in 142 child-directed speech (Scaff, Casillas, Bergelson, REFS), (b) an age-related decrease in

other-directed speech (Casillas, Bergelson, REFS), and (c) that children's input would be
non-uniformly distributed over the day (Abney, Smith, & Yu, 2017; Blasi, Schikowski,
Moran, Pfeiler, & Stoll, in preparation) such that interactional peaks present a much denser
view of their input (Casillas et al., forthcoming), similar to that observed in short videos.

In what follows we will review the ethnographic work done with this community 148 previously, describe our methods for following up on these findings with daylong recordings, 149 present the current findings, and discuss the differences that arose. This study was 150 completed as part of a larger comparative project focusing on children's speech environments 151 and linguistic development at two sites: the Tseltal Mayan community mentioned above 152 (Casillas et al., forthcoming) and this Rossel Island community. Therefore all methods for 153 annotation and analysis in this study parallel those reported elsewhere for Tseltal Mayan 154 children's speech environments (Casillas, Brown, & Levinson, forthcoming). 155

156 Method

### Corpus

The participants in this study live in a collection of small hamlets on north-eastern 158 Rossel Island, approximately 250 nautical miles off the southern tip of mainland Papua New 159 Guinea. The traditional language of Rossel Island is Yélî Dnye, a presumed Papuan isolate, 160 which features a phonological inventory and set of grammatical features that are unlike any 161 other in the (predominantly Austronesian) languages of the region. Rosselers are skilled farmers, cultivating taro, sweet potato, manioc, yam, coconut, and more for their daily 163 subsistence, with protein coming from fishing and (occasionally) slaughtering pigs or local 164 animals. Most children on Rossel Island grow up speaking Yélî Dnye monolingually at home, 165 beginning to learn English as a second language once they begin school around age 7 or 8. 166 Children grow up in patrilocal household clusters (i.e., their family and their father's brothers 167

families), usually arranged such that there is some shared open space between households.

During their waking hours, infants are typically carried in a caregiver's arms as they go 169 about daily activities. Infants, even very young ones, are frequently passed between different 170 family members (male and female, young and elderly) throughout the day, returning to the 171 mother to suckle when hungry. The arc of a typical day for an infant might include waking, 172 being dressed and fed, then a mix of (a) spending time with nearby adults or older children 173 as they walk around socializing and completing tasks with others and (b) more feeding, 174 perhaps followed by short bouts of sleep in the late morning and afternoon, usually with the 175 mother. Afternoon meals are cooked from around 15:00 onward, with another meal time and more socializing at home before resting for the night. Starting around age two or three, children also begin to spend a lot of their time in large, independent child playgroups involving up to 10 or more cousins at a time who freely travel near and around the village 179 searching for nuts and fruits, bathing in nearby rivers, and engaging in group games (e.g., 180 tag, pretend play, etc.). 181

Interaction with infants and young children on Rossel Island is initiated by women, 182 men, girls, and boys alike in a face-to-face, contingency-seeking, and affect-laden style 183 (Brown REFS). Children are considered a shared responsibility, but also a source of joy and 184 entertainment for the wider network of caregivers in their community. In her prior 185 ethnographic work, Brown details some ways in which interactants make bids for joint 186 attention and act as if the infant can understand what is being said (REFS). Infants pick up 187 on this pattern of caregiving, intiating interactions with others twice as frequently as Tseltal children, who are encouraged instead to be observers of the interactions going on around them (Brown 2011 REFS). At the same time, Brown (REFS) documents how Rossel caregivers encourage early independence in their children, observing their autonomy in 191 choosing what to do, wear, eat, and say while finding other ways to promote pro-social 192 behavior (e.g., praise; REFS). Overall, Rossel Island could be characterized as a 193

child-centered language environment (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984; REFS but see Brown & Casillas REFS), in which children, even very young ones, are considered interactional and conversational partners whose interests are allowed to shape the topic and direction of conversation.

We were interested to investigate the language environment of children acquiring Yélî
Dnye because prior ethnographic work had suggested that child-directed speech is highly
frequent in this community, from mothers and other adult caregivers, but also from other
children. Therefore we were interested in understanding how children's input environment
influenced their acquisition of this language with all its rare structures.

The data presented here come from Rossel Island subset of the Casillas HomeBank 203 Corpus (Casillas, Brown, & Levinson, 2017), a collection of raw daylong recordings and more 204 from over 100 children under age four growing up on Rossel Island and in the Tseltal Mayan 205 community described elsewhere (Casillas et al. forthcoming). The Rossel Island subcorpus 206 was collected in 2016 and includes daylong audio recordings and experimental data from 57 207 children born to XX mothers. On average, the target children in these recordings had X-X 208 vounger siblings (mean = X; median = X) and X-X older siblings (mean = X; median = X); 200 most participating parents were on the younger end of parents in the community (mothers: 210 mean = XX years; median = XX; range = XX-XX and fathers: mean = XX; median = XX;211 range = XX—XX). Based on our demographic data we estimate that mothers are typically 212 XX years old when they give birth to their first child (median = XX; range = XX-XX) with 213 an average inter-child interval of X years (median = X; range = X-X). Notably, however, we received several reports, including from nursing staff at the local health clinic, that mothers 215 now are having children younger and closer together than in generations past. Household 216 size, defined here as the number of people sharing kitchen and sleeping areas on a daily basis, 217 ranged between X and XX (mean = X; meadian = X). Households are clustered into small 218 hamlets which form a wider group of communal caregivers and playmates. The hamlets 219

themselves are clustered together into broader patches of patrilocal residents. The average hamlet in our corpus comprises X households (median = X; range = X-X); assuming an 221 average of X children under age seven (i.e., not schooling) and X adults per household, we 222 estimate that there are between XX and XX children and between XX and XX adults 223 present throughout the day, not including visitors, visits to neighboring hamlets or other 224 nearby resident areas. Therefore, while XX% of the target children in our corpus are first 225 born to their mothers, they are immediately incorporated into a much larger pool of young 226 children whose care is divided among numerous caregivers. Among our participating families, 227 most mothers had finished primary school (XX%; X years of education) or secondary school 228 (XX%; X years of education), with a few having completed preparatory school (XX%; X 229 years of education) or beyond (XX%; X years of education). Only XX% of mothers had less 230 than a primary school education. Similarly, most fathers had finished primary school (XX%; X years of education) or secondary school (XX%; X years of education), with a few having 232 completed preparatory school (XX%; X years of education) or beyond (XX%; X years of education), with only XX% having less than a primary school education. To our knowledge 234 at the time of recording, all but two children were typically developing; one showed signs of 235 significant language delay and one showed signs of multiple developmental delay (motor, language, intellectual), both children's delays were consistently observed in follow-up trips in 237 2018 and 2019. 238

Dates of birth for children were initially gotten from parent report. We were able to
verify the vast majority of birth dates using the records at the island health clinic. Because
not all mothers give birth at the clinic and because dates are written by hand, some births
are not recorded, are inaccurately recorded, or otherwise significantly diverge from what the
parents report. In these cases we gathered information from as many sources as possible and
followed up with the families, often using the dates of neighboring children born around the
same time to home in on the correct date.

The data we present come from 7–9-hour recordings of a waking day at home for the 246 child. Children wore the recording device, which was an elastic vest containing a small stereo 247 audio recorder (Olympus WS-832 or WS-853) and a miniature camera that captured photos 248 of the child's frontal view at a fixed interval (every 15 seconds; Narrative Clip 1). The 249 camera was outfitted with a fisheye lens that, while distorting the images, allowed us to 250 capture 180 degrees of children's frontal view. This technique allows us to use daylong 251 recordings while also partially getting around the traditional sacrifice of no visual context, 252 thereby increasing ease and reliability of our transcrition and annotation. However, because 253 the camera and recorder are separate devices, we had to synchronize them manually after 254 the recordings were made. To do this, we used an external wristwatch to record the current 255 time at start of recording on each device individually, with accuracy down to the second 256 (photographed by the camera and spoken into the recorder). The camera timestamps each photo such that we can calculate the number of seconds that have elapsed between each one. 258 These timestamps can be used with the cross-device time synchronization cue to create photo-linked audio files of each recording, which we then format as video files (see 260 https://github.com/marisacasillas/Weave for post-processing scripts and more information). 261 The informed consent process used with participants, as well as data collection and storage, were conducted in accordance with ethical guidelines approved by the Radboud University 263 Social Sciences Ethics Committee. 264

#### Data selection and annotation

From the daylong recordings of XX Rossel children, we selected 10 representative children between ages 0;0 and 3;0 for transcription and analysis in the current study. The 10 children were selected to be spread between the target age range (0;0–3;0) while also representing a range of typical maternal education levels found in the community and being evenly split between male and female children (see also ACLEW REFS). For each child we

then selected a series of non-overalapping sub-clips from the day for transription in the
following order: nine randomly-selected 2.5-minute clips, five manually-selected "peak"
turn-taking activity 1-minute clips, five manually-selected "peak" vocal activity 1-minute
clips, and one manually-selected 5-minute expansion of the best one-minute clip, for a total
of 37.5 minutes of transcribed audio for each child (6.25 audio hours in total). The criteria
for manual clip selection are identical to those described for the parallel study on Tseltal by
Casillas and colleagues (forthcoming).

We were limited to selecting sub-clips from 10 children for analysis because of the
time-intensive nature of transcribing these naturalistic data; 1 minute of audio typically took
us approximately 60–70 minutes to be segmented into utterances, transcribed, annotated,
and loosely translated into English (~400 hours total). Given that Yélî Dnye is nearly
exclusively spoken on Rossel Island, where there is no electricity and unreliable access to
mobile data, transcription could only be completed over the course of three 4–6 week visits
by our research group to the island in 2016, 2018, and 2019.

We used the ACLEW Annotation Scheme (REFS) in ELAN (ELAN REFS) to 285 transcribe and annotate all hearable speech—both near and distant—in the clips. We first 286 segmented out the utterances and ascribed them to individual speakers (e.g., older brother, 287 mother, aunt, etc.). We then annotated the vocal maturity of each utterance produced by 288 the target child (non-canonical babble/canonical babble/single word/multi-word/unsure) 280 and annotated the addressee of all speech from other speakers (addressed to the target 290 child/one or more other children/one or more adults/a mix of adults and children/any animal/other/unsure). Transcription and annotation was done together by the first author and one of three community members (all native speakers of Yélî Dnye). The community-based research assistants personally knew all the families in the recordings, and were able to use their own experience, the discourse context, and information from the 295 accompanying photos in reporting what was said and to whom speech was addressed for each 296

utterance. Detailed manuals and self-guided training materials, including a "gold standard test" for this annotation scheme can be found at URL (REFS).

In what follows we first analyze the nine randomly selected 2.5-minute clips from each 299 child to establish a baseline view of their speech environment, focusing on the effects of child 300 age, time of day, household size, and number of speakers on the rate of target child-directed 301 (TCDS) and other-directed speech (ODS) present. Next, we repeat these analyses, focusing 302 instead only on the turn-taking clips to gain a view of the speech environment as it appears 303 during the peak interactions for the day. This latter set of analyses may more closely mirror 304 results from prior ethnographic work. To demonstrate typical development in this context we 305 briefly present one measure of language development: a coarse trajectory mapping children's 306 use of babble, first words, and multi-word utterances. Finally, we wrap up by integrating the 307 divergent perspectives on Yélî children's speech environment across methods and relating 308 these findings to the larger literature on child-directed speech and its role in language 309 development. 310

#### Statistical models

We conducted all analyses in R, using the glmmTMB package to run generalized linear 312 mixed-effects regressions on our dependent measures (Brooks et al., 2017; R Core Team, 313 2018). We used ggplot2 to generate all plots (Wickham, 2009). The dataset and scripts used 314 in this study can be found at https://github.com/marisacasillas/Yeli-CLE. As in previous 315 work on child speech environment measures (REFS Casillas et al. forthcoming, Bunce et al, in prep), TCDS and ODS minutes per hour are naturally restricted to non-negative 317 (0-infinity) values, causing the distributional variance of those measures to become positively skewed. To address this issue we use negative binomial regressions, which can better fit 319 non-negative, overdispersed data (Brooks et al., 2017; Smithson & Merkle, 2013). There 320 were also many cases of zero minutes of TCDS across the clips—for example, this often 321

Table 1

Demographic overview of the 10 children whose recordings are sampled in the current study, including from left to right: child's age (years;months.days); child's sex (M/F); mother's age (years); level of maternal education (none/primary/secondary/preparatory/university); and the number of people living in the child's household.

Age	Sex	Mother's age	Level of maternal education	People in household
00;01.09	F	31	secondary	8
00;03.19	M	37	primary	9
00;04.13	M	24	preparatory	5
00;07.18	M	24	secondary	5
00;09.03	F	29	secondary	5
01;00.29	F	30	primary	9
01;05.02	M	25	secondary	6
01;08.03	F	33	primary	9
02;01.22	F	21	secondary	4
02;11.29	M	41	primary	8

occurred in the randomly sampled clips when the child was sleeping in a quiet area. To
handle this additional distributional characteristic of the data, we added a zero-inflation
model to TCDS analysis which, in addition to the count model of TCDS (e.g., testing effects
of age on the input rate), creates a a binary model to evaluate the likelihood of TCDS being
used at all. More conventional, gaussian linear mixed-effects regressions with logged
dependent variables are available in the Supplementary Materials. The results of those
alternative models are qualitatively similar to what we report here.

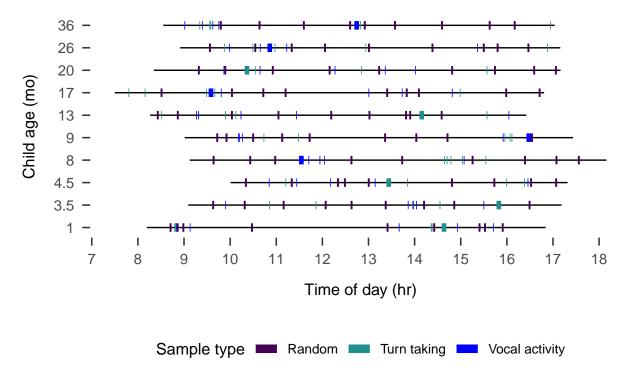


Figure 1. Recording duration (black line) and sampled clips (colored boxes) for each of the 10 recordings analyzed, sorted by child age in months.

Results

The models included the following predictors: child age (months; centered and 330 standardized), household size (number of people; centered and standardized), number of 331 non-target-child speakers present in that clip (centered and standardized), and time of day 332 at the start of the clip (factor: "morning" = before 11:00; "midday" = 11:00-13:00; 333 "afternoon" = after 13:00). In addition, we included two-way interactions: (a) child age and 334 the number of speakers present and (b) child age and time of day. We also added a random 335 effect of child. For the zero-inflation model of TCDS, we included the number of speakers 336 present. We limit our discussion here to significant effects in the models; full model results, 337 including gaussian alternative models, are available in the Supplementary Materials.

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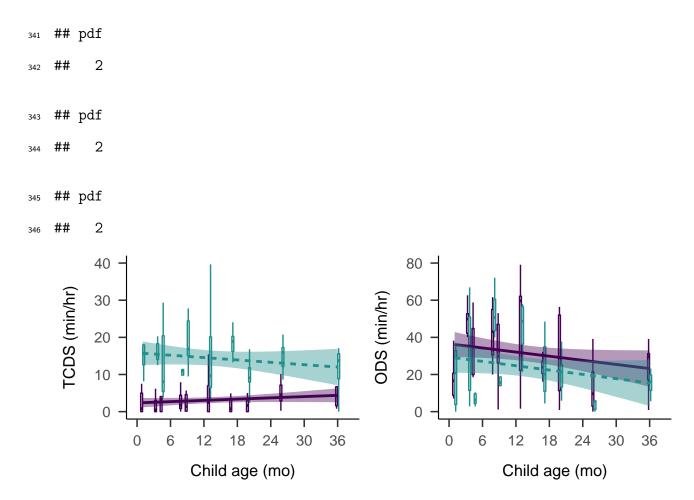


Figure 2. Estimates of TCDS min/hr (left) and ODS min/hr (right) across the sampled age range. Each box plot summarizes the data for one child from the randomly sampled clips (purple; solid) or the turn taking clips (green; dashed). Bands on the linear trends show 95% confidence intervals.

# Target-child-directed speech (TCDS)

In the random sample, these 10 children heard an average of 3.13 minutes of speech directly addressed to them per hour (median = 2.95; range = 1.58–6.26; Figure 3). For comparison, this is slightly less than reported values using a near-identical method of data collection, annotation, and analysis in a Tseltal Mayan community (3.6 minutes per hour for children under 3;0; Casillas et al., fortchoming) and comparable to what has been reported

using a similar method in a Tsimane community (4.8 minutes per hour for children under 3;0 including all hearable speech; 1.6 minutes when excluding overlap and far-away speech; Scaff et al., in prep).

The zero-inflated negative binomial regression of TCDS minutes per hour (N = 90,356 log-likelihood = -195.26, overdispersion estimate = 3.37) suggested significant effects of child age, time of day, and their interaction on the rate at which children hear speech addressed 358 directly to them. First, the older children heard significantly more TCDS per hour (B = 359 0.73, SD = 0.23, z = 3.20, p = 0.00), with an average increase of 0.73 minutes per hour for every month of development. Overall, these children were also more likely to hear TCDS in 361 the mornings (see Figure 4 for an overview of time-of-day findings), with significantly higher 362 TCDS rates in the morning compared to both midday (B = 0.80, SD = 0.36, z = 2.23, p = 363 0.03) and the afternoon (B = 0.54, SD = 0.26, z = 2.10, p = 0.04), and no significant 364 difference in TCDS rate between midday and the afternoon. However, the time-of-day 365 pattern changed with child age. Older children were more likely than younger children to 366 show a peak in TCDS during midday instead; they were more likely to hear a decrease in 367 TCDS between midday and the afternoon (B = -0.60, SD = 0.29, z = -2.04, p = 0.04) and 368 were marginally more likely to hear less TCDS in the morning than at midday (B = -0.59, 369 SD = 0.30, z = -1.94, p = 0.05). There were no other significant effects in either the count or 370 the zero-inflation model. 371

Children heard TCDS from a variety of different speakers. Overall, most TCDS came from adults (mean = 72.65%, median = 75.51%, range = 41.41–100%). On average, 77.23% of the adult TCDS per clip came from women, and an average of 82.35% of the total adult TCDS minutes came from women. That said, an increasing quantity of TCDS came from other children (child-TCDS; "C-TCDS"); a Spearman's correlation showed a significant positive relationship between the average proportion of child TCDS in a clip and target child age (Spearman's rho = 0.78; p = 0.01; Figure 5).

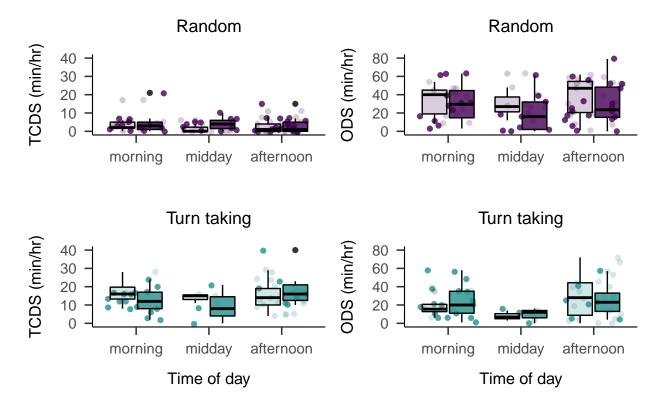


Figure 3. Estimates of TCDS min/hr (left panels) and ODS min/hr (right panels) across the recorded day in the random clips (top panels) and turn-taking (bottom panels) clips. Each box plot summarizes the data for children age 1;0 and younger (light) or age 1;0 and older (dark) at the given time of day.

## Other-directed speech (ODS)

In the random sample, these children heard an average of 35.90 minutes of
other-directed speech per hour (median = 32.37; range = 20.20–53.78): that is more than
eleven times the average quantity of speech directed to them, with some children
experiencing near-continuous background speech. For comparison, a prior estimate for
Tseltal Mayan children using parallel methods to the present study found an average of 21
minutes of overhearable speech per hour (Casillas et al., forthcoming), and a recent study of
North American children's daylong recordings found that adult-directed speech occurred at a
rate of 7.3 minutes per hour (Bergelson et al., 2019).

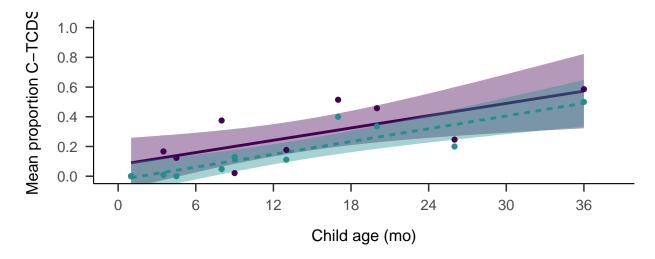


Figure 4. By-child average proportion of TCDS from other children in a clip; shown for the random (purple) and turn taking (green) samples, and sorted by child age.

The negative binomial regression of other-directed speech rate (N = 90, log-likelihood)388 = -370.87, overdispersion estimate = 9.14) revealed effects of child age, number of speakers 389 present, and time of day on the rate of ODS encountered. The rate of ODS significantly 390 decreased with child age (B = -0.57, SD = 0.17, z = -3.28, p = 0.00) and significantly 391 increased in the presence of more speakers (B = 0.50, SD = 0.05, z = 10.07, p < 0.001). 392 Across clips, there were an average of 6.19 speakers present other than the target child in the 393 randomly selected clips (median = 6; range = 1-19), an average of 59.99% of whom were 394 adults. Comparing again to Tseltal and North American English, in which the average 395 number of speakers present was 3.44 and XX respectively (REFS)(???), we can infer that 396 the increased rate of ODS on Rossel Island is due in part to there simply being more 397 speakers present. Time-of-day effects on ODS only came through in an interaction with child 398 age. In particular, older children heard a pattern of ODS mirroring the general pattern of TCDS; significantly more ODS in the mornings compared to midday (midday-vs-morning: B 400 = 0.65, SD = 0.20, z = 3.23, p = 0) and the afternoon (afternoon-vs-morning: B = 0.37, SD 401 = 0.15, z = 2.50, p = 0.01). There were no other significant effects on ODS rate, and no 402 significant effects in the zero-inflation models. 403

### Vocal maturity

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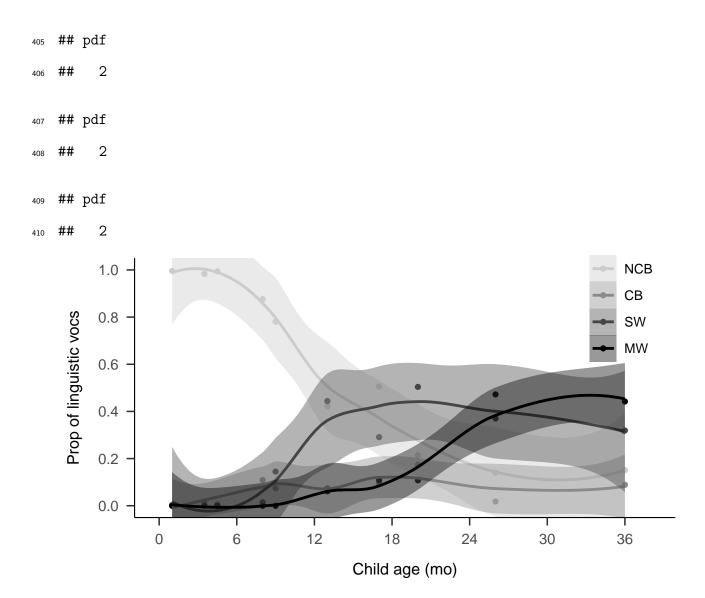


Figure 5. Proportion of vocalization types used by children across age (NCB = Non-canonical babble, CB = Canonical babble, SW = single word utterance, MW = multi-word utterance).

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