

LSci 51/CogS 56L: Acquisition of Language

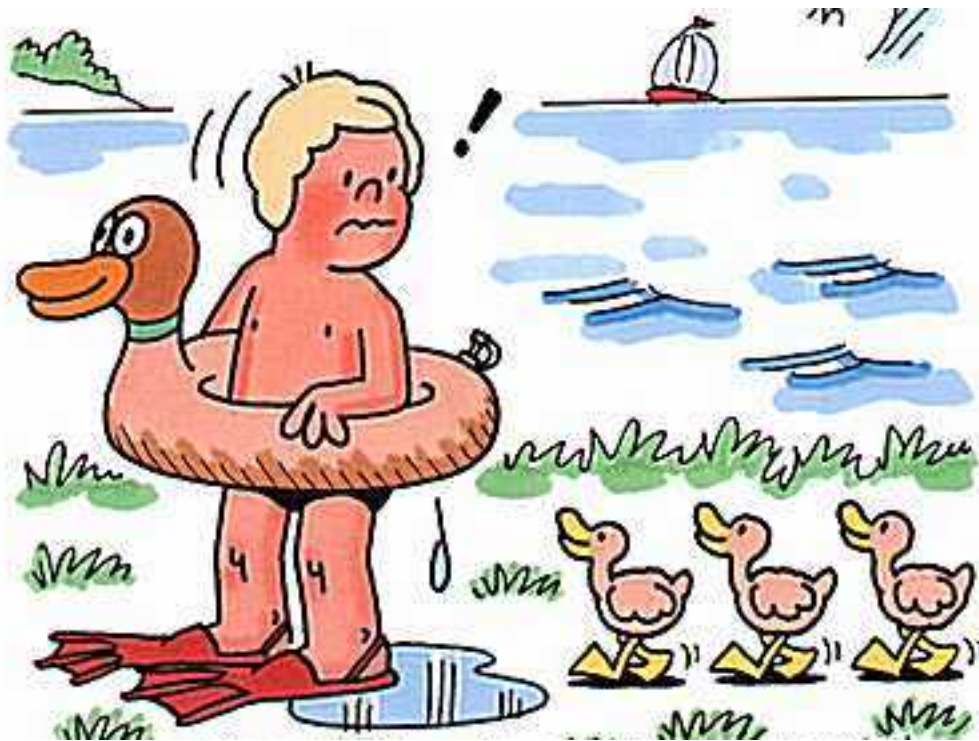
Lecture 5

Biological bases of language acquisition II

Announcements

Be working on the review questions and HW2

The critical period hypothesis

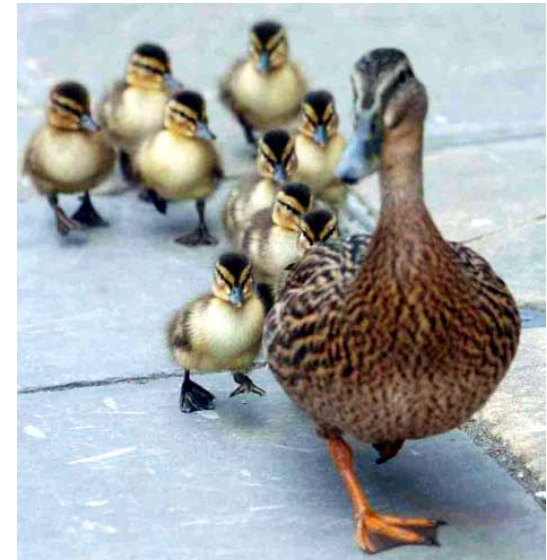


Critical & sensitive periods

“critical period for language” = biologically determined period during which language acquisition **must** occur in order for language to be learned fully and correctly

Other biologically determined deadlines:

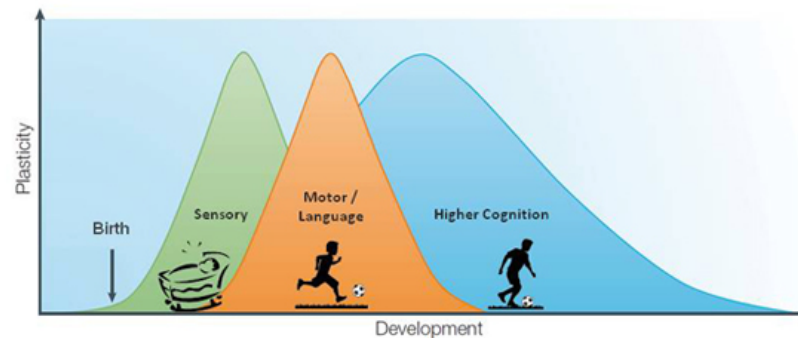
- **imprinting**: chicks & ducklings follow first thing they see forever (it's likely their mommy)
- **visual cells in humans**: if cells for both eyes don't receive visual input during the first year or so of life, they lose the ability to respond to visual input



Critical & sensitive periods

“**sensitive period**”: biologically determined period during which learning **must** occur for development to **happen correctly**, but development can **still occur partially after this period**

Fig 1: Windows of plasticity in brain development



Adapted from Hensch, T. K. (2005). Critical period plasticity in local cortical circuits. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 6(11), 877–888.

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?



(1) **Ideal experiment:** deprive children of all linguistic **input** during the purported critical/sensitive period and see how language development occurs.

Problem: ideal experiment isn't so ideal ethically or logistically



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

(2) Some historical and modern cases that have unintentionally provided lack of linguistic input to children:

“wild children”: like Victor of Aveyron,
Oxana Malaya of the Ukraine

<http://www.radiolab.org/story/293679-forbidden-experiment/>

Problem: unclear that lack of language is solely due to
lack of linguistic input (may be other factors)



Critical & sensitive periods

One success story for lack of linguistic input with a young child: [Isabelle](#)

1930s: 6-year-old Isabelle discovered hidden away in a dark room with a deaf-mute mother as her only contact.

She was taught to speak and by age 8, appeared to be normal. [Potential implication: Isabelle discovered before critical/sensitive period was over.](#)

Critical & sensitive periods

A more thorough study: [Genie](#)



Critical & sensitive periods

A more thorough study: **Genie**



1970s: 13-year-old Genie brought by her mother to social services after escaping mentally ill father; until mother's escape, had no language input (and very horrific living conditions)

By age 17, she had a five-year-old's vocabulary, and could express meanings by combining words together.

Critical & sensitive periods

A more thorough study: **Genie**



However...her syntactic skills lagged far behind - deficient in both production and comprehension.

“Mama wash hair in sink.”

“At school scratch face.”

“I want Curtiss play piano.”

“Man motorcycle have.”

“Like go ride yellow school bus.”

“Father take piece wood. Hit. Cry.”

“Applesauce buy store”

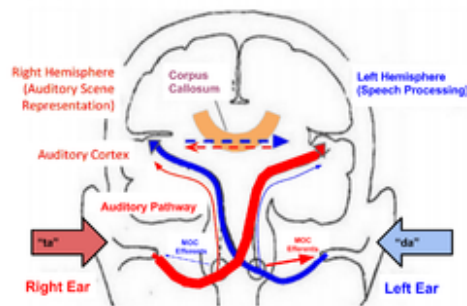
“Father hit Genie cry long time ago.”

Critical & sensitive periods

A more thorough study: **Genie**



Dichotic listening tasks showed language was a **right-hemisphere activity** for her (while it's a **left-hemisphere activity** for most adults and children, leading to a “right-ear advantage” for language sounds).



<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2017/12/171206090611.htm>

Critical & sensitive periods

A more thorough study: **Genie**



Dichotic listening tasks showed language was a **right-hemisphere activity** for her (while it's a **left-hemisphere activity for most adults and children**, leading to a “right-ear advantage” for language sounds).

However, newborn babies who have damage to the left hemisphere have enough **neural plasticity** to develop their right hemisphere enough to have “normal” language.



<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/02/180217184834.htm>

Critical & sensitive periods

A more thorough study: **Genie**



Potential Implication: **Genie discovered after critical period was over.**

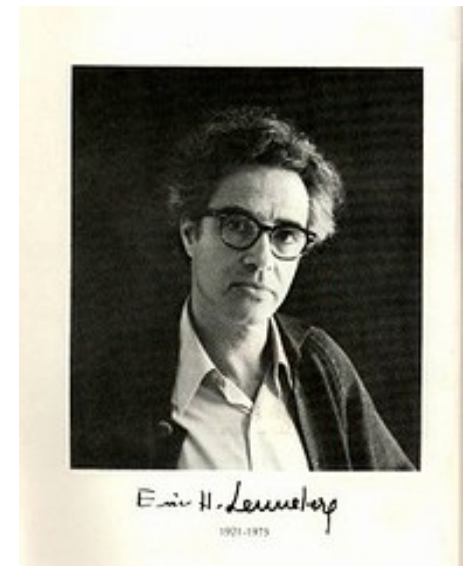
However, Genie may have had other cognitive disabilities...

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Lenneberg (1967):

“the only safe conclusions to be drawn from the multitude of reports is life in dark closets, wolves’ dens, forests, or sadistic parents’ backyards is **not conducive to good health or normal development**”



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Another study: [Chelsea](#) (Curtiss 1988)

Family background: A partially deaf woman incorrectly diagnosed as “retarded”. From a loving home.

Discovered at age 31, and fitted with hearing aids

Outcome: Learned a large vocabulary, but [syntax](#) and [morphology](#) worse than Genie.

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Another study: [Chelsea](#) (Curtiss 1988)

Sample speech from Chelsea:

- (1) *The small a the hat*
- (2) *Orange Tim car in*
- (3) *I Wanda be drive come*
- (4) *Breakfast eating girl*
- (5) *They are is car in the Tim*



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

- (2) Late acquisition of sign language (ASL): deaf-of-hearing children whose parents don't know sign language. Children are eventually exposed to sign language when they encounter other deaf children.

Ethically better: individuals have normal early childhood experience, except for lack of language input



Note: 95% of Deaf children are born to hearing, non-signing parents, who most frequently use only spoken language (Mitchell and Karchmer, 2005)

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

- (2) **Late acquisition of sign language (ASL): deaf-of-hearing** children whose parents don't know sign language. Children are eventually exposed to sign language when they encounter other deaf children.

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016: Hearing parents often expose their Deaf children to sign language by enrolling them into schools for the Deaf, where both peers and teachers use ASL. **First exposure to ASL for Deaf children is thus frequently the age of entrance to a school for the Deaf.**



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

If a critical or sensitive period is true, children who learn earlier should be better than children who learned later...

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

If a critical or sensitive period is true, **children who learn earlier should be better than children who learned later** - this is what Newport (1990) found. Children who were 4 to 6 years old when first exposed to ASL were far superior in their sign language ability when compared to children who were exposed after age 12.



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Also important: not just about how long sign language speakers had known the language. **Speakers who had been signing for more than 30 years** showed this same difference. Those **exposed younger were far superior** in their language skills to those exposed when they were older.



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Age of ASL acquisition has long-lasting effects on [syntactic acquisition](#), [narrative comprehension](#), [sentence memory](#), [sentence interpretation](#), and [online grammatical processing](#) that appear even when learners were adults who were tested after years of sign language experience (Mayberry and Fischer, 1989, Mayberry 1992, Mayberry and Lock 2003, Boudreault and Mayberry 2006).



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016: Testing ASL-learning children between 7 and 18 years old, with different histories of exposure to ASL

- Native [= 1+ Deaf parent at home] vs. non-native signer
- age of entry into the signing school



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016

Syntax judgment task: Choose a response to a question like
“Who thinks we have a test tomorrow?”

(1a) Correct response: MY FRIEND_i HE_j THINK WE HAVE TEST TOMORROW.

(1b) Word order violation: TEST TOMORROW THINK WE HAVE MY FRIEND HE_j.

(1c) Word order violation: TOMORROW MY FRIEND HE_j HAVE THINK TEST.

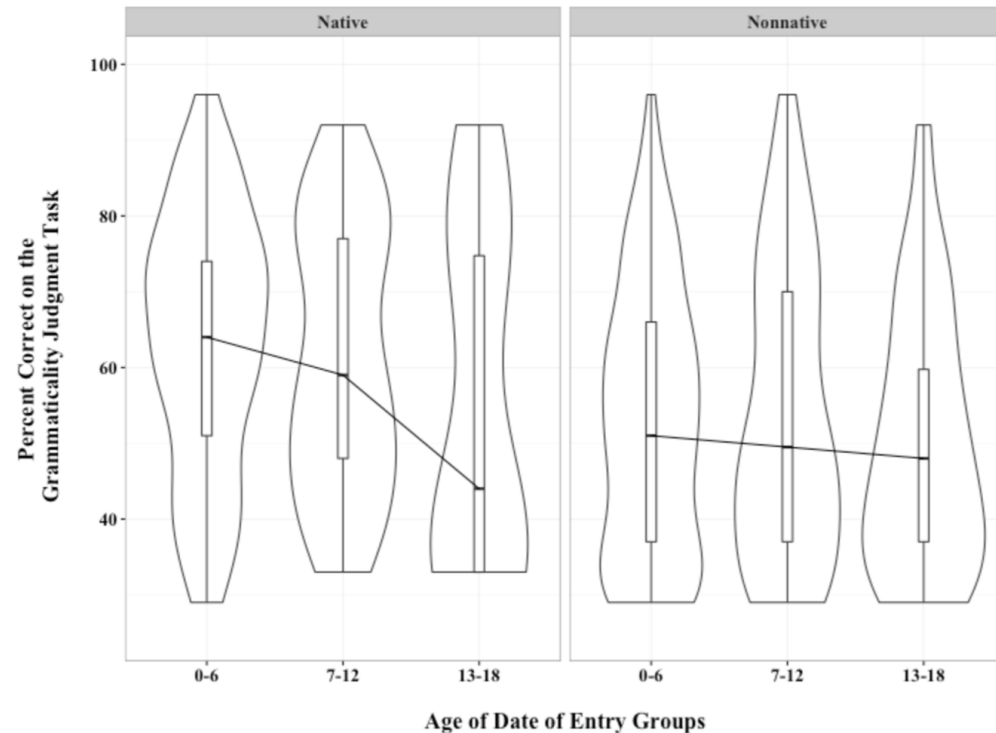
(1d) Syntactic violation: MY FRIEND_i HE_j THINK WE HAVE TEST TOMORROW

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016

Syntax judgment task



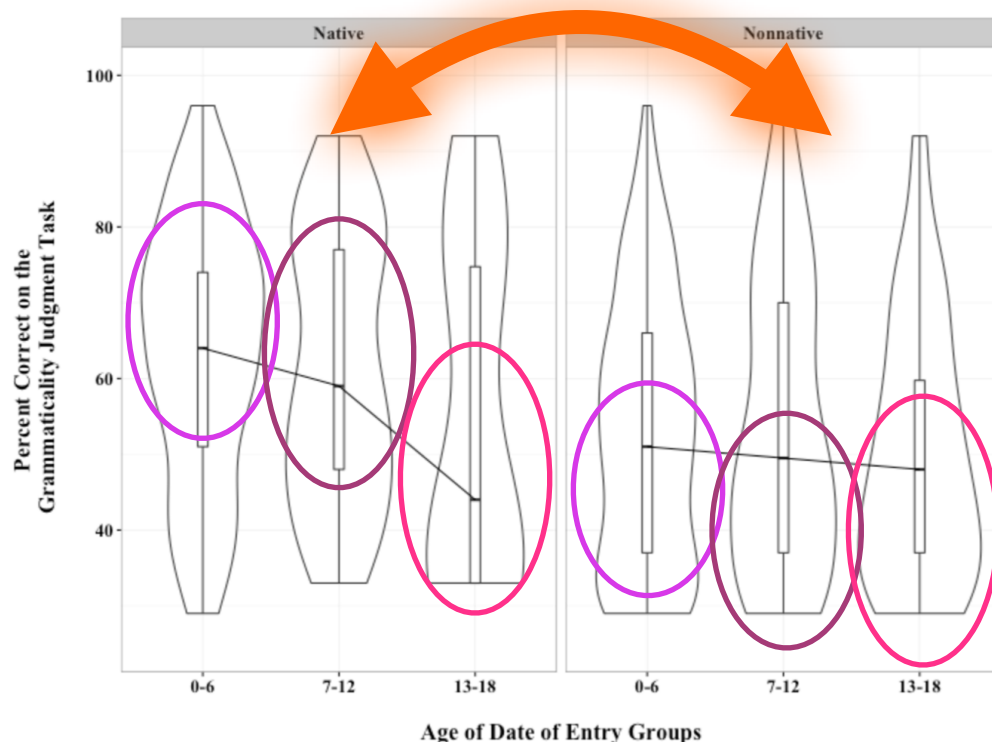
Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016

Syntax judgment task

Input effect 1:
Generally **poorer performance** when you don't have a Deaf parent at home to give you systematic ASL input (**non-native worse than native**).



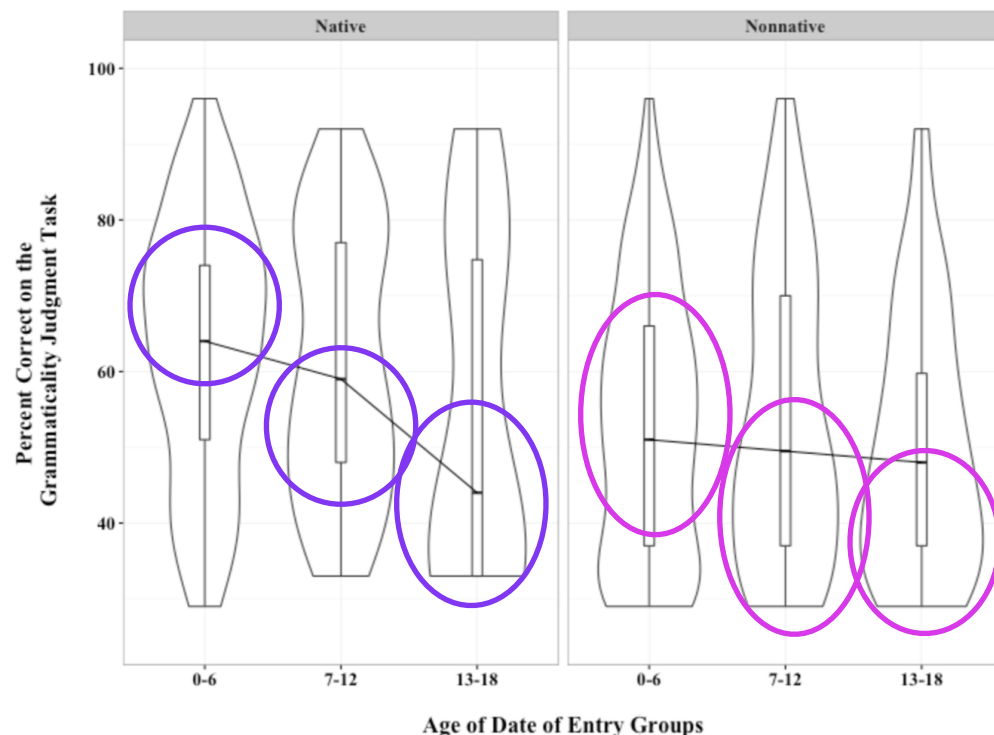
Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016

Syntax judgment task

Input effect 2:
Poorer performance the
older you are when you
first enter the signing
school (and are exposed
to systematic input).



Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Henner, Caldwell-Harris, Novogrodsky, & Hoffmeister 2016

Implication: Age of systematic language exposure matters. The older you are, the harder it is to achieve native ASL proficiency, especially for the syntactic components of ASL.

Critical & sensitive periods

How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

(3) Look at second language learning.

Why? Children who learn a second language when they are young often become indistinguishable from their native-born peers. In contrast, people who are older have very different outcomes.



Critical & sensitive periods

Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) studies confirm **different neural processing for language** in individuals who learned before age 7 to 8 vs. individuals who learned after this age (Kim et al. 1997, Dehaene et al. 1997, Wartenburger et al. 2003, Saur et al. 2009)



Critical & sensitive periods

Event-related potential (ERP) studies confirm differing **left-hemisphere specialization for language** in individuals who learned before age 4 vs. individuals who learned between 4 and 7 vs. individuals who learned after 7 (Weber-Fox & Neville 1996, 1999, Isel 2005)



Critical & sensitive periods

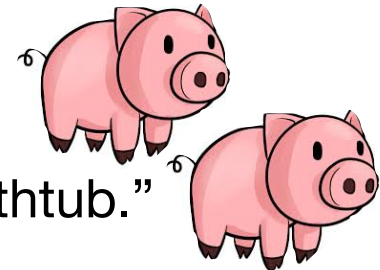
How do we test for a critical/sensitive period for language acquisition?

Testing age differences in second language acquisition:

Johnson & Newport 1989: testing grammatical competency of Chinese & Korean natives living in the US

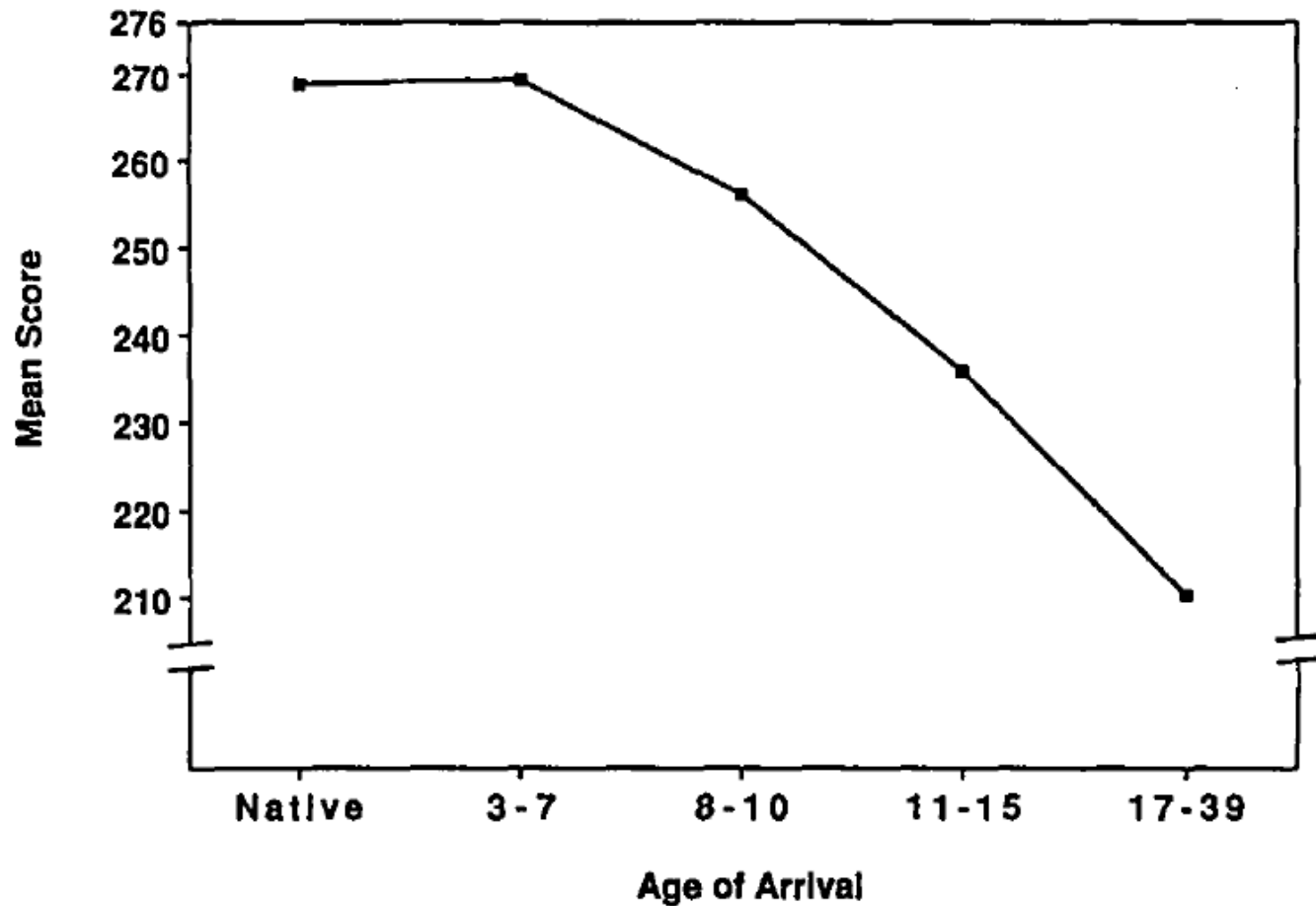
Heard recorded voices speaking sentences, and had to judge whether they were correct or not.

“The farmer bought **two pig** at the market.”



“Tom is **reading book** in bathtub.”

Second-language proficiency dependent on age of initial language exposure (even with same number of years of exposure total)

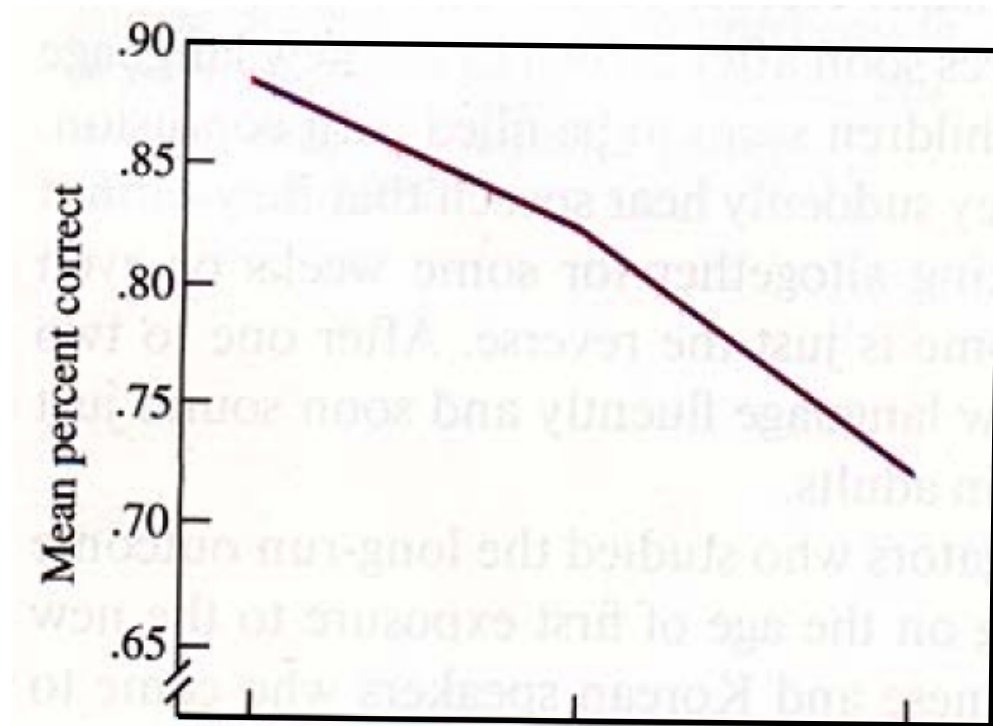


Second-language proficiency dependent on age of initial language exposure (even with same number of years of exposure total)

Morphology:

e.g. **verb agreement** in production

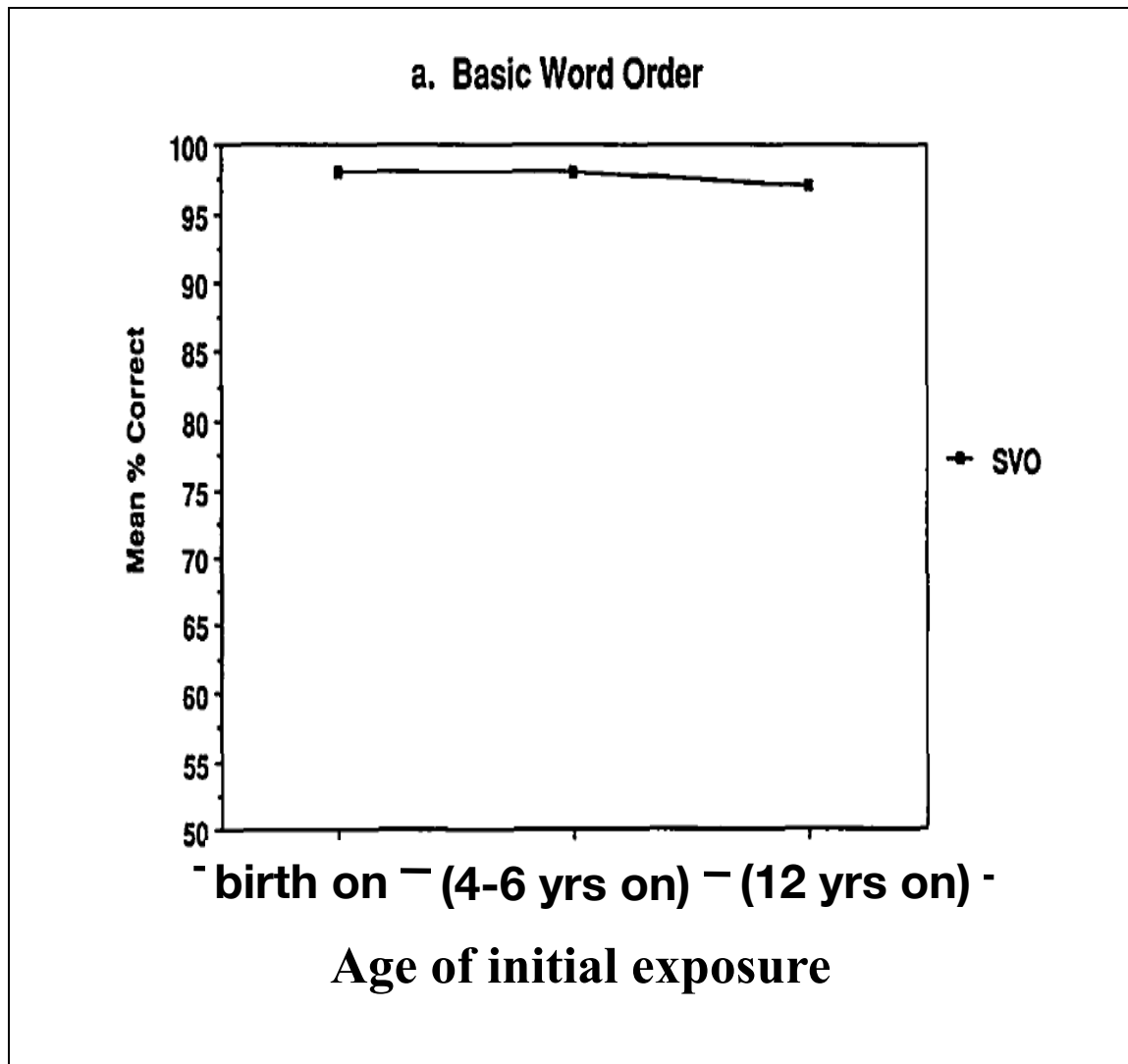
Tom **is**/***are** reading
book in bathtub



(birth on) (4-6 yrs on) (12 yrs on)

Age of Initial Language Exposure

Second-language proficiency dependent on age of initial language exposure – but not all aspects are dependent



Basic word order: SVO

Subject Verb Object

Ex: “Penguins like fish.”

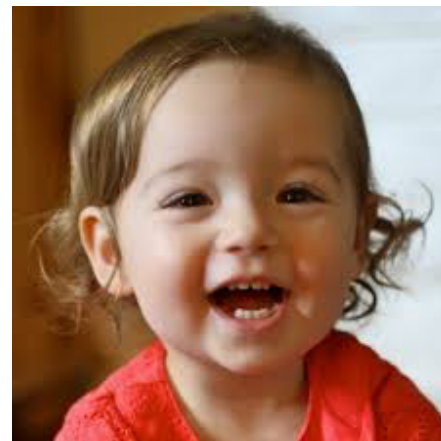
As opposed to

“Fish penguins like”
(Object Subject Verb)

Second-language proficiency dependent on age of initial language exposure – but not all aspects are dependent

Balari & Lorenzo 2015:

Phonology and certain aspects of **morphosyntax** (how words and word pieces combine together to form phrases) seem to be **set earlier** while **lexical** knowledge seems to **remain attainable for quite some time**.

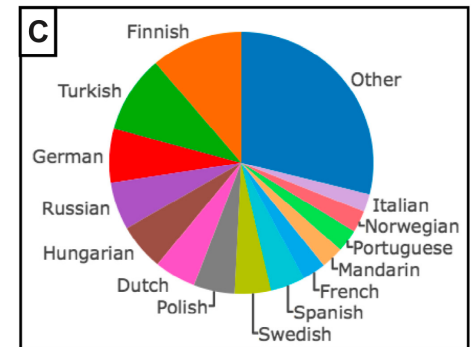
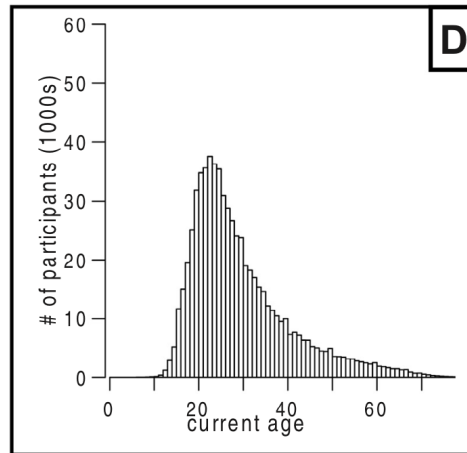
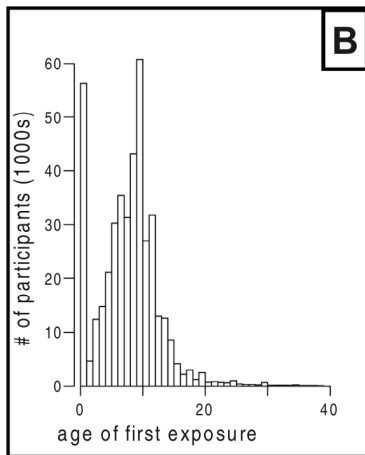


Second-language proficiency...is more complicated

<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/05/180501083830.htm>

Hartshorne, Tenenbaum, & Pinker 2018, Chen & Hartshorne 2021, Hartshorne 2024

“...several hundred thousand subjects of diverse ages and linguistic backgrounds would be required to disentangle age of first exposure, age at testing, and years of exposure...”



<http://archive.gameswithwords.org/WhichEnglish/>

The resulting dataset is available at <http://osf.io/pyb8s>.

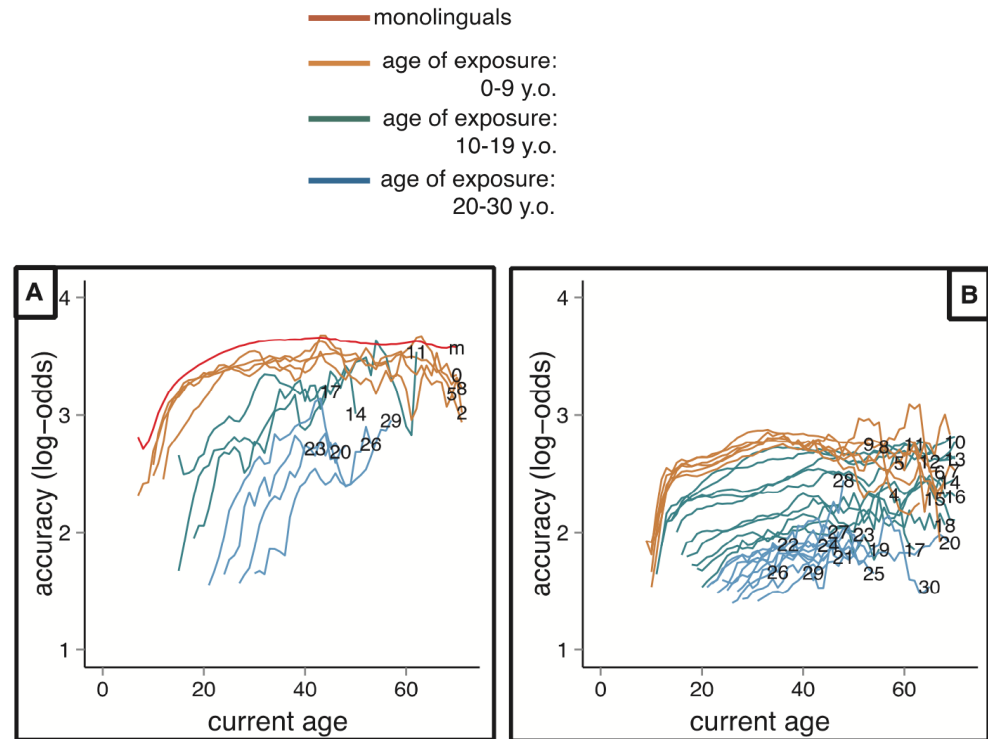
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Hartshorne, Tenenbaum, & Pinker 2018, Chen & Hartshorne 2021, Hartshorne 2024

Learning **rate** cut-off around 17

“...good support for the existence of a critical[/sensitive] period for language acquisition, and suggests that our estimate of **when the learning rate declines (17.4 years old)** is likely to be reasonably accurate.”



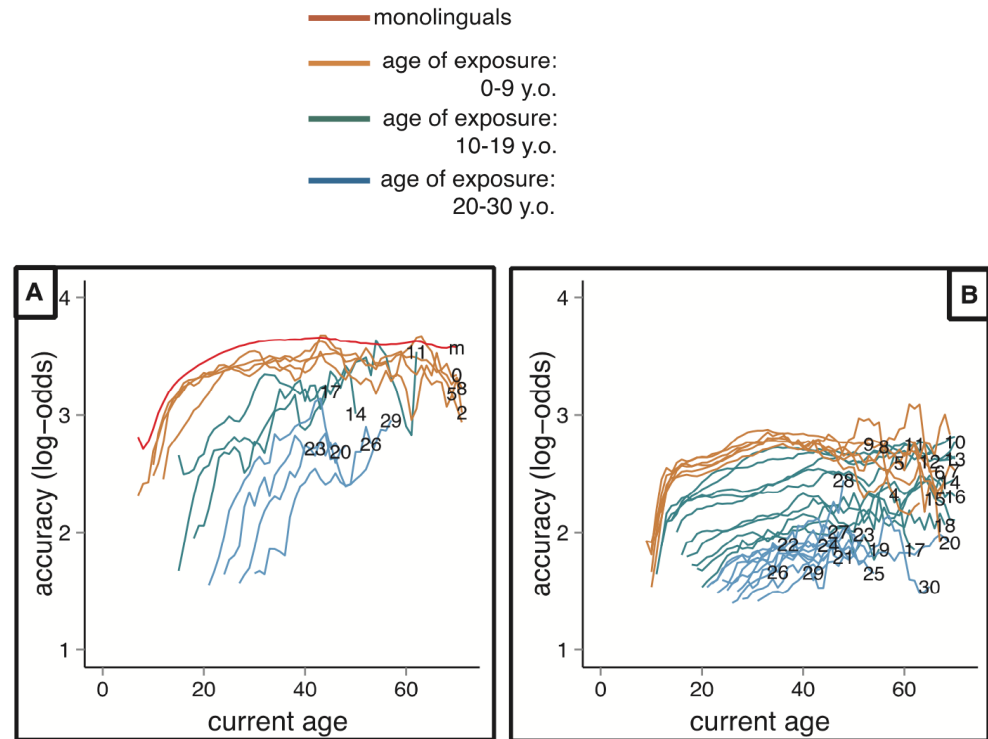
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Effects on ultimate attainment

“...Thus, even native speakers—who are able to make full use of the critical period—take a very long time to reach mature, native-like proficiency. By implication, someone who started relatively late in the critical period—that is, someone who had limited time to learn at the high rate the critical period provides—would simply run out of time.”



Second-language proficiency...is more complicated

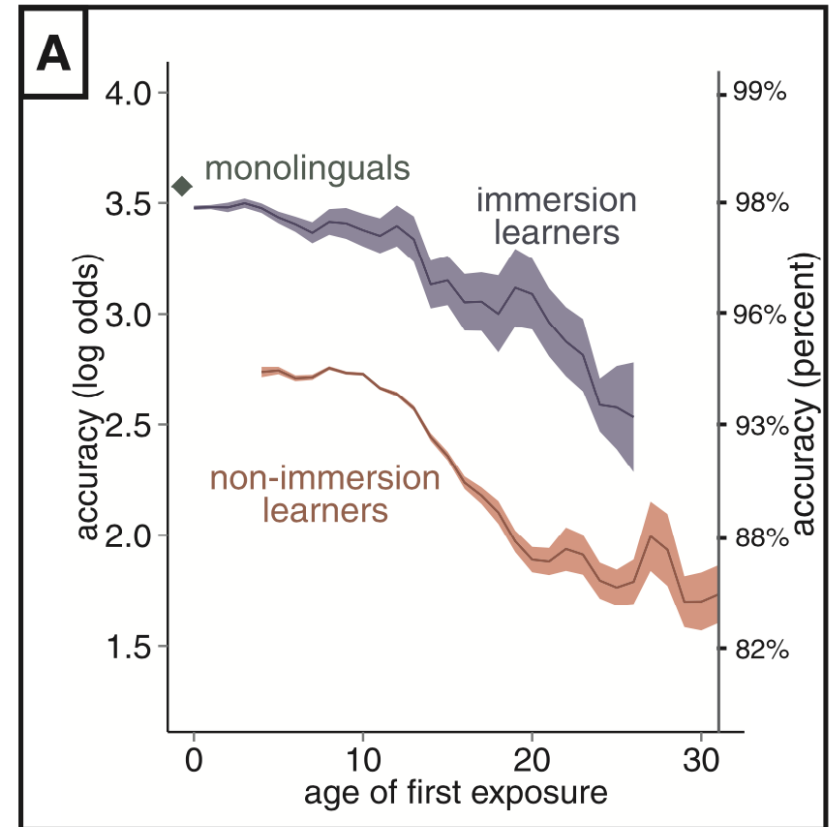
<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/05/180501083830.htm>

Hartshorne, Tenenbaum, & Pinker 2018, Chen & Hartshorne 2021, Hartshorne 2024

“...we analyzed **ultimate attainment** curves by focusing on the 11,371 immersion learners and 29,708 non-immersion learners **who had at least 30 years of experience** (ensuring asymptotic learning) and who were at most 70 years old (avoiding age-related decline)”

“Immersion learners showed only a minimal decline in ultimate attainment **until an age of first exposure of 12 years.**”

“Non-immersion learners showed similar results: From 4 years to 9 years, proficiency showed no decline...**followed by a steep decline.**”



Second-language proficiency...is more complicated

<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/05/180501083830.htm>

Hartshorne, Tenenbaum, & Pinker 2018, Chen & Hartshorne 2021, Hartshorne 2024

Protracted development

“...we found that native and non-native learners both require around 30 years to reach asymptotic performance, at least in immersion settings...”

Important period for native-like ultimate attainment up to 10-12

“...we found that ultimate attainment—that is, the level of asymptotic performance—is fairly consistent for learners who begin prior to 10–12 years of age...”

Sensitive period shape

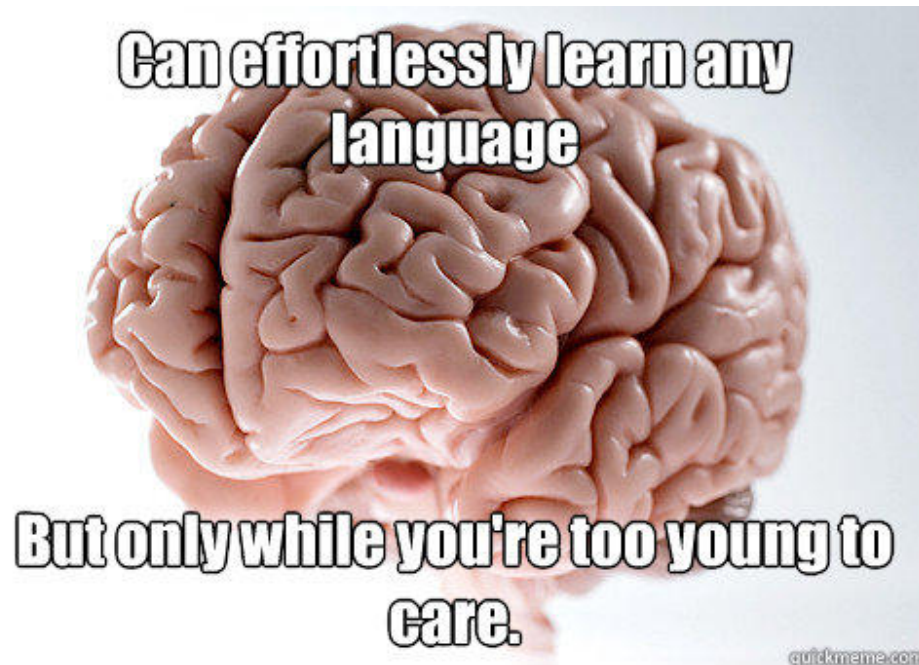
“...a plateau followed by a continuous decline. The end of the plateau period must be due to changes in late adolescence rather than childhood, whether they are biological, social, or environmental.”

Sum up: Critical/sensitive period

- Language learning becomes harder after age 10-12, with learning rate declining sharply after age 17
- Applies to both first and second language learning
- Applies to spoken and signed languages
- Critical/sensitive periods may be similar to other biologically-programmed abilities in humans and other species



Sum up: Critical/sensitive period

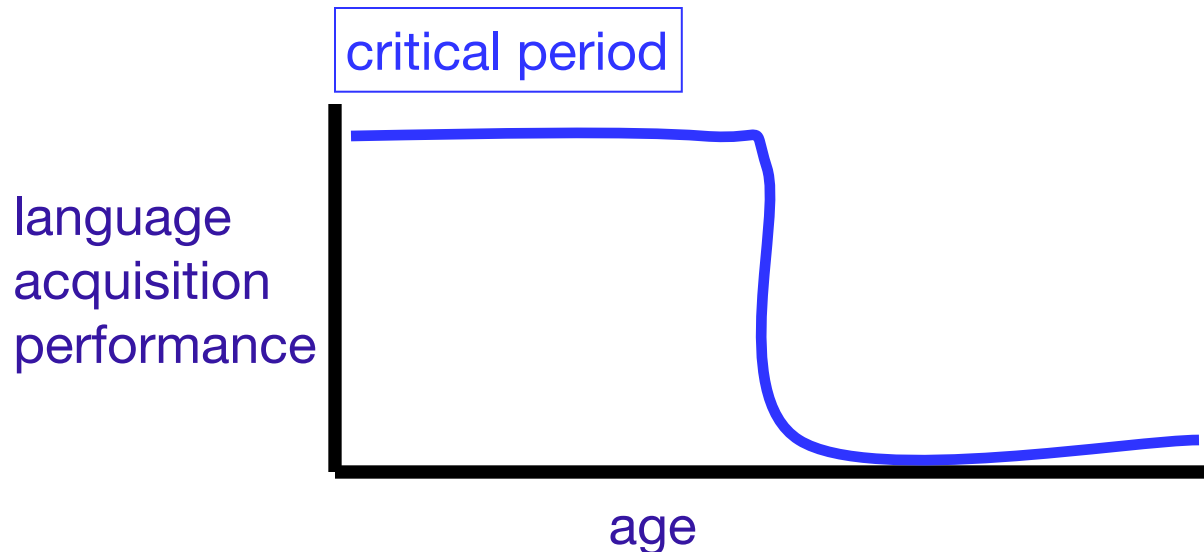


<http://www.quickmeme.com/meme/36f39x/>

Critical vs. sensitive, revisited

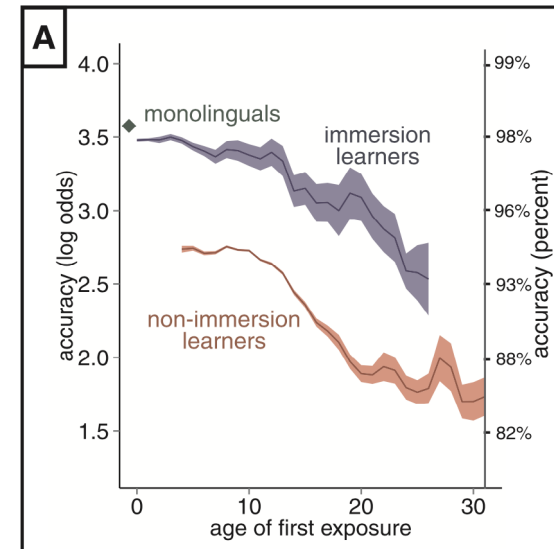
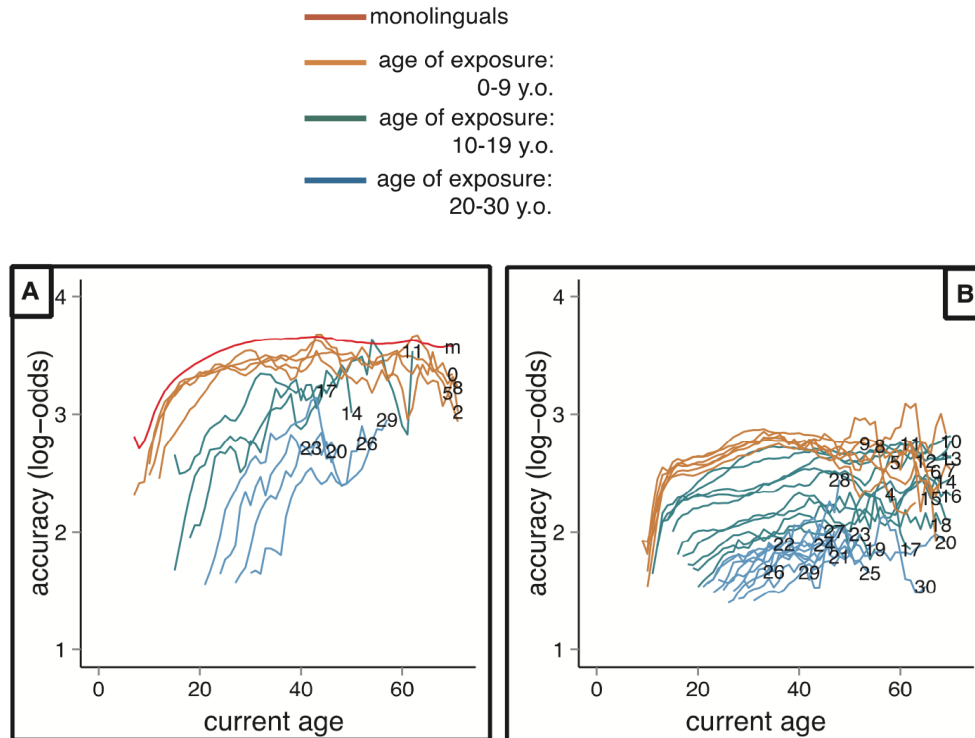
If there is truly a **critical period** of language acquisition, people learning language after this period should not succeed very well at all (they should be equally bad). In contrast, people within the critical period should do very well (they should be equally native-like).

Expectation: **discontinuous function** of performance



Critical vs. sensitive, revisited

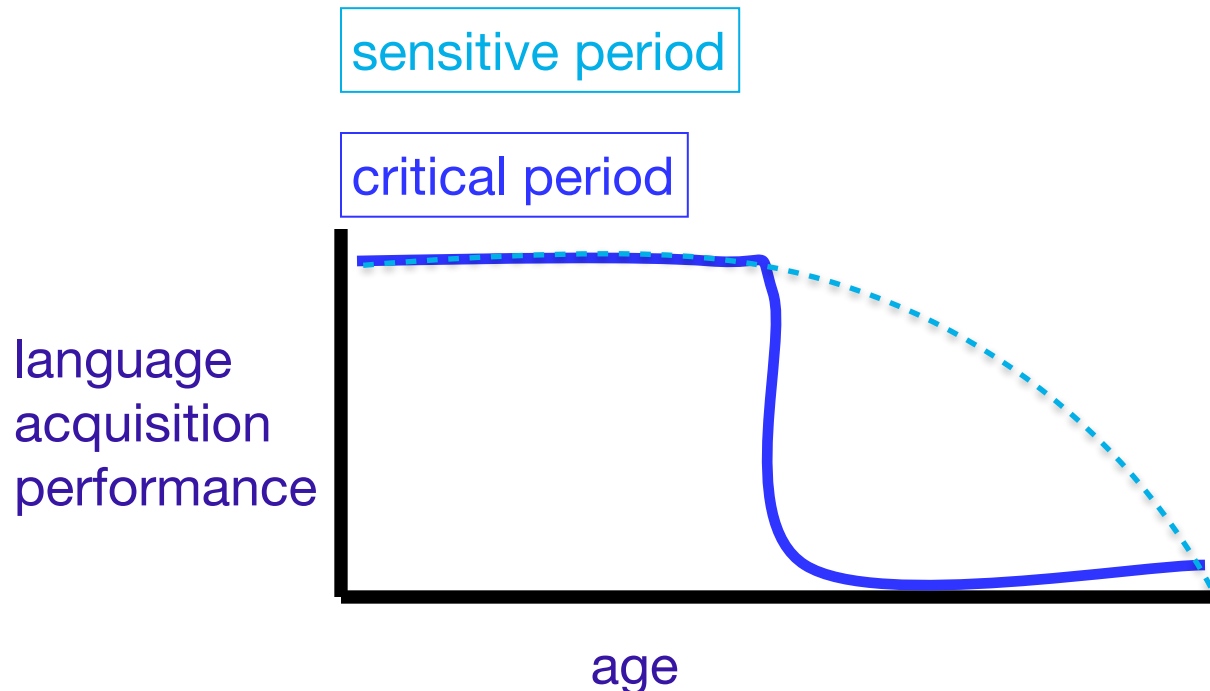
However, most of the evidence we've seen suggests that there is a **smoother drop-off**. (support for **sensitive period**)



Hartshorne et al. 2018

Critical vs. sensitive, revisited

Since we don't often see this sharp drop-off in performance, it's more likely there is a **sensitive period** for learning aspects of language, rather than a critical period.



So why are younger children better?

Short answer: Under active debate

Harthorne 2022: “However, on the question of why... researchers variously cite greater neural plasticity, greater motivation, more ample opportunity for learning, superior cognitive function, lack of interference from a first language, or something else (e.g., compare Birdsong 2014, DeKeyser 2018, Flege 2019, Hernandez et al. 2021, Hyltenstam 2018, Mayberry & Kluender 2018, and Ullman 2015).”



So why are younger children better?

“Less is more” hypothesis: Newport 1991

Children can remember less than adults (and have other cognitive limitations, like less attention). Perhaps language is actually easier to figure out if the input is limited to smaller chunks. Adults remember more and can store longer chunks, which makes their analytical task harder.



So why are younger children better?

“Less is more” hypothesis: Newport 1991

Studies supporting the idea that a **limitation on the way children process input leads to better learning performance**: Perkins, Feldman, & Lidz 2021, Yang 2020, Pearl & Phillips 2018, Phillips & Pearl 2015, Perkins, Feldman, & Lidz 2017, Phillips & Pearl 2012, Pearl, Goldwater, & Steyvers 2011, Pearl, Goldwater, & Steyvers 2010, Pearl 2009, Pearl & Lidz 2009, Pearl 2008, Pearl & Weinberg 2007, Dresher 1999, Lightfoot 1999, Lightfoot 1991



So why are younger children better?

Some experimental support for the utility of “Less is more” when learning a foreign language as an adult: Chin & Kersten 2010

Adults learning French over two one-hour sessions

- full sentences vs. small phrases that incrementally increased length to full sentences (to simulate children’s steadily expanding processing abilities)

Adults learning incrementally outperformed adults learning from full sentences on language proficiency tests of vocabulary and grammar.



So why are younger children better?

Some experimental support for the utility of “Less is more” when learning a language as an adult: Finn et al. 2014

Adult subjects listened to an artificial language they were meant to learn. One group was told to pay close attention (active listeners) while the other group listened more passively — they were distracted by doing a puzzle or coloring while they listened.



Active listeners: **More cognitive resources** focused on task.

Passive listeners: **Fewer cognitive resources** focused on task.

The **passive listeners outdid the active listeners** when it came to learning morphology (how words combine together)!

So why are younger children better?

Some experimental support for the utility of “Less is more” when learning a language as an adult: Finn et al. 2014

"We found that effort helps you in most situations, for things like figuring out what the units of language that you need to know are, and basic ordering of elements. But when trying to learn morphology, at least in this artificial language we created, it's actually worse when you try." — Amy Finn



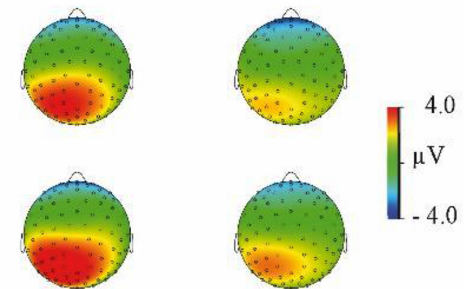
<http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2014/07/140721142211.htm>

So why are younger children better?

Some additional neuroscientific support for the utility of “Less is more” when learning a language as an adult:

Kurkela, Hämäläinen, Leppänen, Shu, & Astikainen 2019

Adults who listened **passively** to unfamiliar speech sounds **over a period of several consecutive days** had “change detection” responses in their brains when trying to detect differences between those speech sounds. This means passive listening was beneficial, as opposed to more active listening.



<https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2018/12/181217120017.htm>

So why are younger children better?

But just mimicking aspects of children's language exposure doesn't always work: Hudson Kam 2017

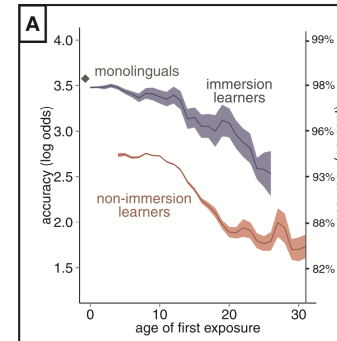
Adults exposed to an artificial language either learned both **sounds and meaning together** (adult-like) or **sounds** first and then **meanings** later (**infant-like**). In this case, the **infant-like** exposure **didn't help** adults learn any better.

“Giving adult learners a chance to focus (either explicitly or implicitly) on the **forms** themselves and the patterns and correlations amongst the forms **absent any search for meaning** simply does not improve learning aspects of the language that rely on the sound patterns—if anything, the opposite is true...” — Carla Hudson Kam



Recap

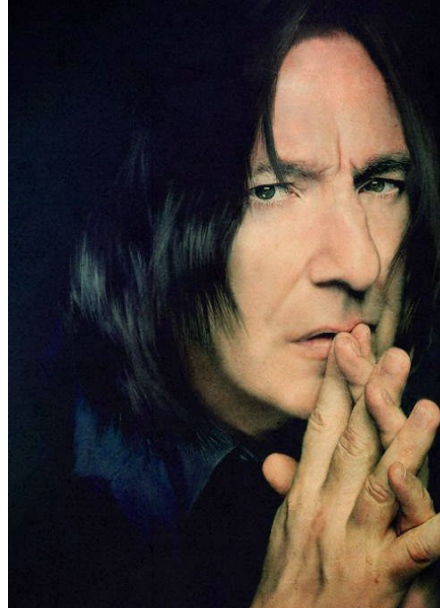
There appears to be a period during which language is acquired most easily - whether this is a critical period or sensitive period may vary depending on what specific linguistic knowledge we look at. However, most knowledge currently seems to obey a sensitive rather than critical period.



The “less is more” hypothesis is one idea for why children’s minds might be more suited to language learning than adults’ minds.



Questions?



You should be able to answer up through question 21 of the bio bases of acquisition review sheet, and up through question 14 on HW2.