

LANGUAGE
ACQUISITION IN
CROSSLINGUISTIC
PERSPECTIVE

E L E N A L I E V E N
S A B I N E S T O L L

M A X P L A N C K I N S T I T U T E F O R E V O L U T I O N A R Y
A N T H R O P O L O G Y

OVERVIEW

- Day 1: Background, questions, data, methods
- Day 2: Approaches to comparative language acquisition
- Day 3: Naturalistic, experimental and modelling studies across languages
- Day 4: The role of input and cultural context

QUESTIONS

- How do children learn language? How much is innate?
- Are there universals in language acquisition or at least universal strategies?
- Which factors are relevant for the order and time of acquisition (cognitive factors, language specific factors)?

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN CROSSLING. PERSPECTIVE

- Crosslinguistic language acquisition: study of the acquisition of individual languages other than English.
- Comparative language acquisition: study of how the acquisition of specific variables compares in different languages

Ultimate goal --> typological language acquisition

Linguistics

Corpus
linguistics

Typology

Comparative Language Acquisition Research

Psycholinguistics

Ethnolinguistics

Developmental
Psychology

Psychology

Ethnography

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION THEORIES

NATIVIST THEORIES

- ▶ characteristics of grammar are due to innate principles
- ▶ universal grammar is innate, language specific principles are innate
- ▶ deductive theories
- ▶ criterion for theory: descriptive adequacy, simplicity

USAGE-BASED THEORIES

- ▶ characteristics of grammar are due to communicative principles
- ▶ only general cognitive abilities are innate no language specific structures
- ▶ inductive theories
- ▶ criterion: learnability

PRELINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

Birth - 6 months:

- Recognition of mothers voice (de Casper & Fifer 1980)
- Distinguish native language from other languages (Mehler et al. 1988, Moon et al. 1993)
- Categorical perception of speech sounds (Eimas et al. 1971)
- Recog. of identity of sounds across contexts (Kuhl 1980)

HIGH-AMPLITUDE SUCKING (BIRTH - 4 MONTHS)



Abbildung aus Atkinson et al. (2000). Copyright Harcourt Publishers

1. [ba], [ba] acquisition phase (child learns that she can alter the sounds).

2. Habituation phase

control group:
no change in
stimulus

test group:
change in
stimulus

PRELINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

6 - 12 months:

- Discrimination of phonetic contrasts. Up to approx. 10 months discrimination of all contrasts. Then, only contrasts of native language/s are discriminated. (Werker & Tees 1984)
- By 7 1/2 months children listen longer to familiarized words (Jusczyk & Aslin 1995) within longer sentences.

PRELINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

Around 9 months (e.g. Tomasello 2003)

- recogniton of symbols
- pointing
- imitation
- joint attention
- intention reading

DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE

- 9 months to 1 year of age children start to use their first words
- strong variation when children start speaking and how they progress.

Table 4.3. Age of acquisition for 10- and 50-word vocabularies in six children

Child	Sex	Lexicon size	
		10 words	50 words
S1	M	1;0	1;5
S2	F	1;1	1;6
S3	M	1;2	1;7
S4	F	1;2	1;8
S5	M	1;4	1;10
S6	F	1;3	1;7

Source: Robb, Bauer, & Tyler 1994:40. Used with permission from Alpha Academic.

LEARNING WORDS

Very different task in different languages, e.g. polysynthetic languages vs. isolating languages

Example (Yup'ik Inuit)

- *tuntussuqatarniksaitengqiggtuq*
- *tuntu -ssur -qatar -ni -ksaite -ngqiggte -uq*
- *reindeer -hunt -FUT -say -NEG -again -3SG:IND*
- 'He had not yet said again that he was going to hunt reindeer.'

Source:

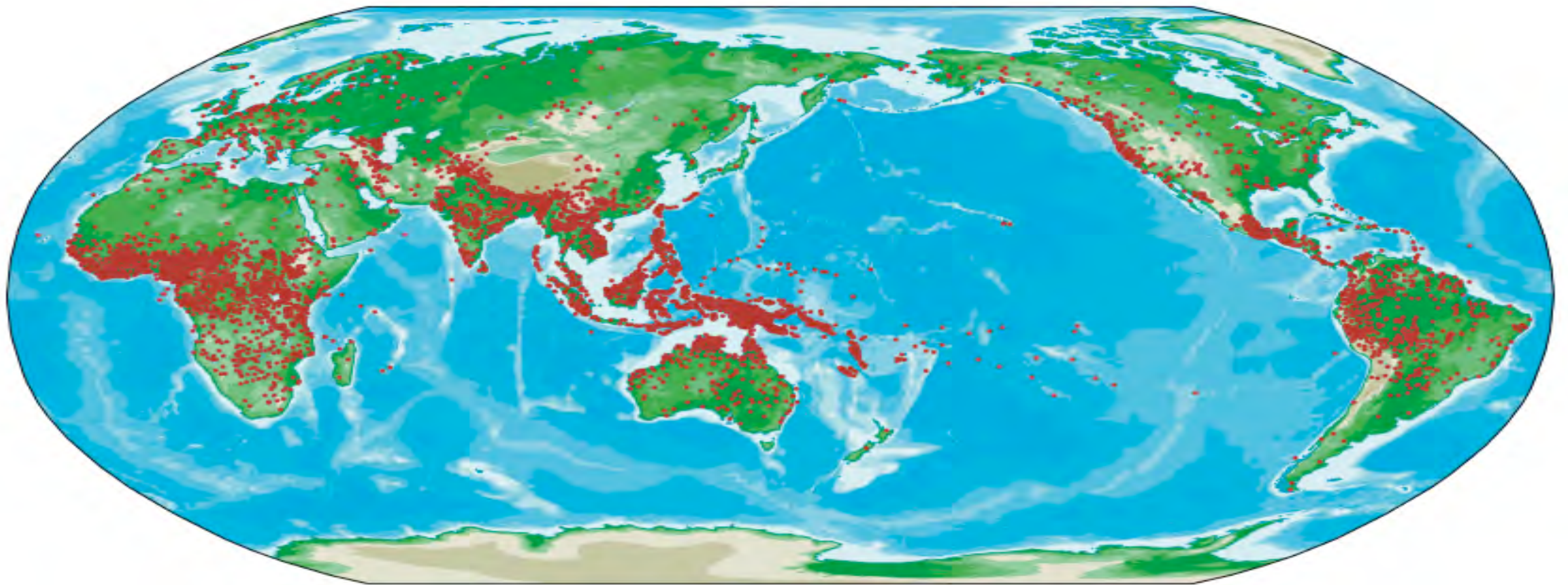
Eliza Orr, cited by [Payne, T. 1997a](#) 27–28

COMPARATIVE LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Basic Idea

If we want to understand the ability of children to learn any language and not only how a specific language is learned (like English or German) we need to look at the acquisition of a wide range of languages from different families and cultures.

LANGUAGES TODAY



VARIATION

Phoneme Inventories (Maddieson, 2005):

1. Consonant inventories

6 (Rotokas, Papua New Guinea) - 122 (!Xóõ, Southern Khoisan) out of a sample of 562 languages

2. Vowel inventories

- 2 (Yimas (Papua New Guinea) - 14 (German)

WORD FORMATION

Inflectional synthesis of the verb (Bickel & Nichols, 2005)

- Degree of synthesis as defined by the number of elements that make up a synthetic verb form
- Large variation from 0 categories per verb form (Vietnamese) to 13 (Koasati)

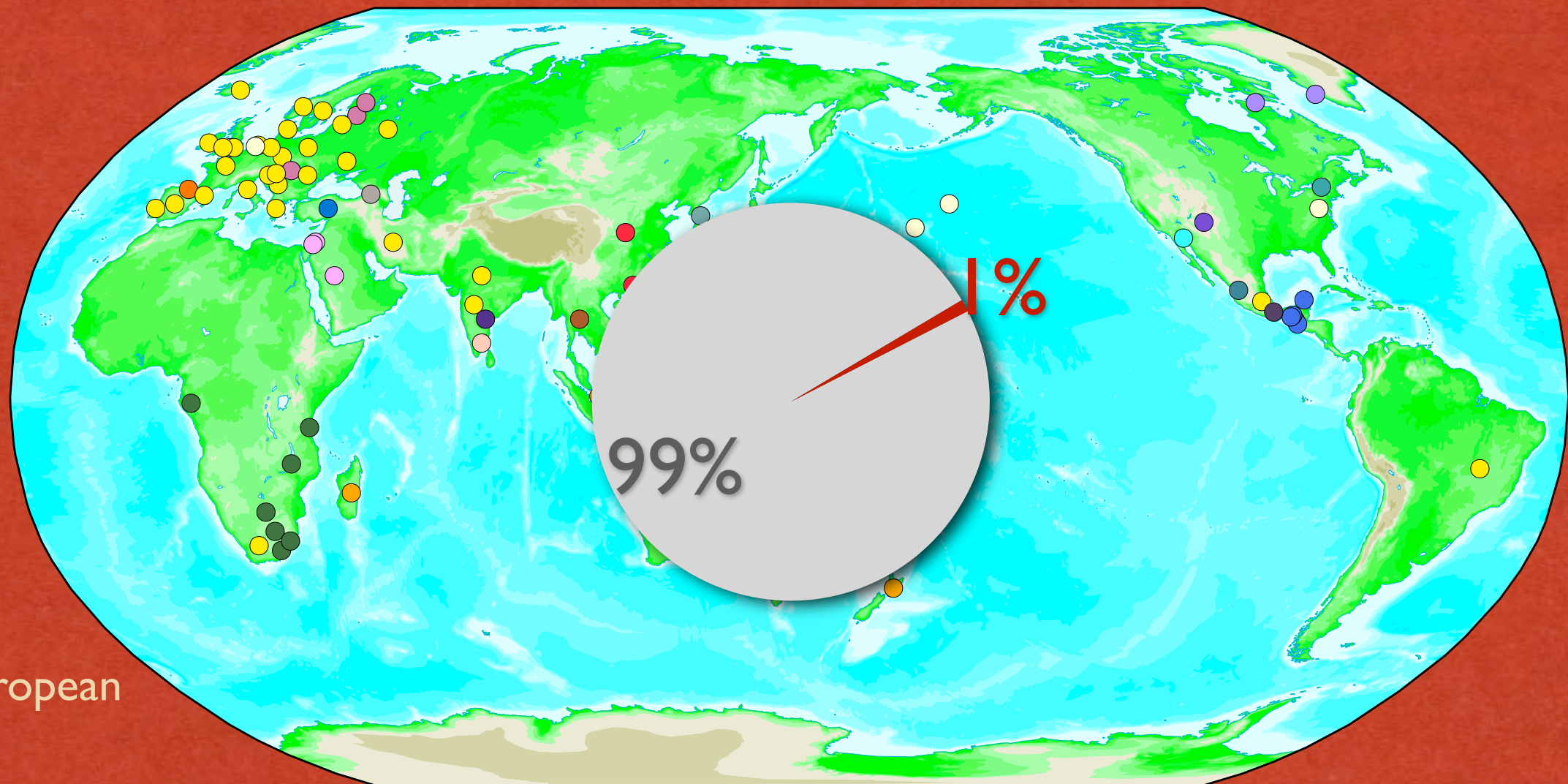
VARIATION IN WORD ORDER

Word order (Subject, Verb, Object) (Dryer, 2005)

- All 6 logically possible orders are attested

- SOV (Japanese)
- SVO (Mandarin)
- VSO (Irish)
- VOS (Nias, Austronesian)
- OVS (Hixkaryana, Carib, Brazil)
- OSV (Nadëb, Brazil)
- No predominant order

LANGUAGES WITH ACQUISITION STUDIES



- Bantu
- Indo-European
- Semitic
- Maya
- Sinitic

DATA WE WORK WITH

- Diaries
- Experiments
- Longitudinal studies (corpora)

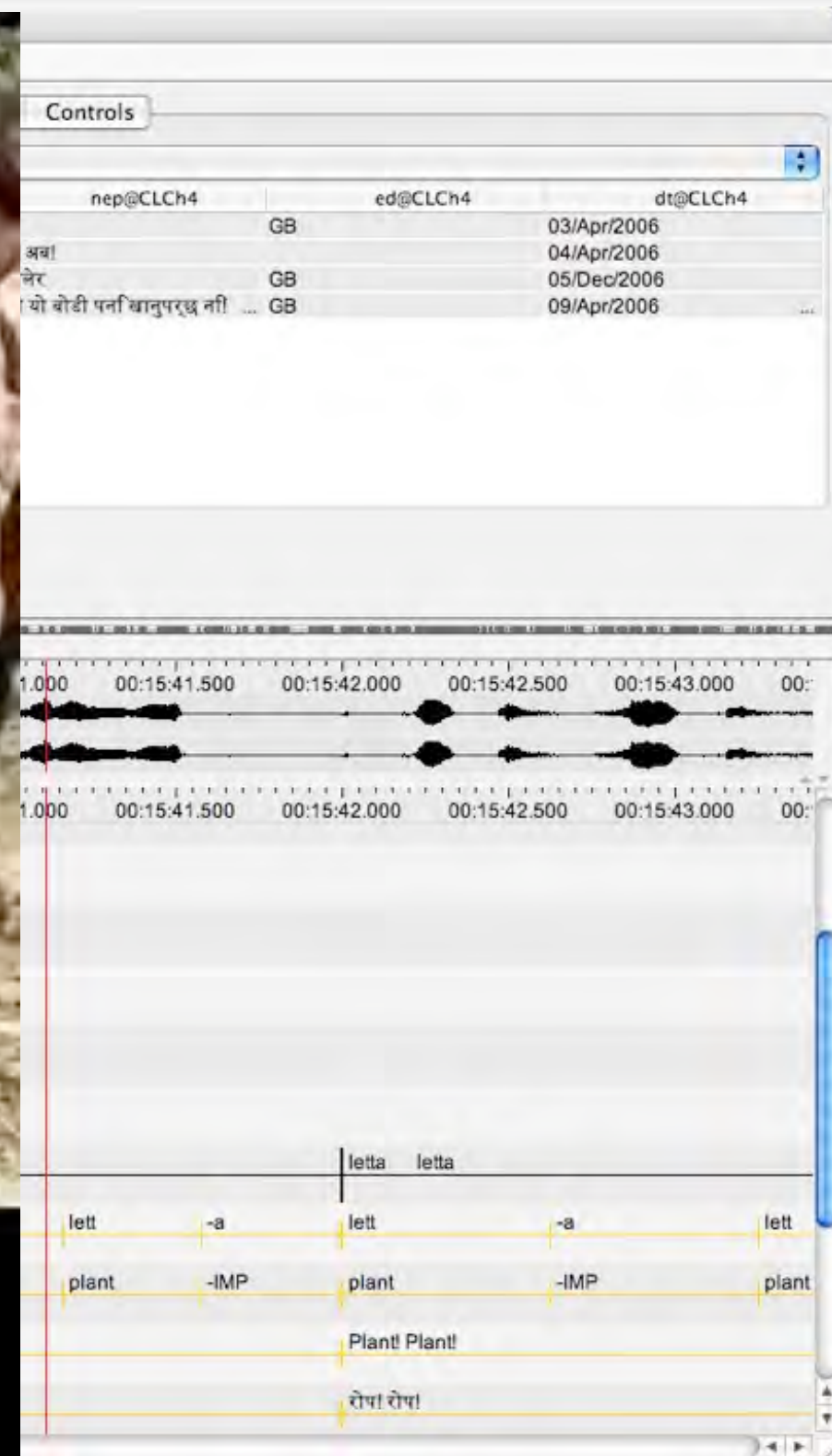
LONGITUDINAL STUDIES

1. Audio or video record the child and her caretakers
Transcribe the data.
2. (Translate the data).
3. Tagging of the data (morphological glossing, and parts of speech glossing).
4. Further annotations, if necessary.
5. (Link to video or audio).
6. Analyze

Daten



Ia Kuluke tusande
Look, Kuluke, digged!



Elan - CLLDCh4R11S06.eaf

File Edit Annotation Tier Type Search View Options Window Help

Grid Text Subtitles Controls

☒ ref@CLCh4

Nr	Annotation	rt@CLCh4	eng@CLCh4	nep@CLCh4	ed@CLCh4	dt@CLCh4
1	CLLDCh4R11S06.021	Yes!		अँ	GB	03/Apr/2006
2	CLLDCh4R11S06.154a	Now! Now!		अब! अब!		04/Apr/2006
3	CLLDCh4R11S06.245	pick and		उचालेर	GB	05/Dec/2006
4	CLLDCh4R11S06.461	Elder sister, this bean also (...)		ददि यो बोडी पनखानुपर्छ नँ! ...	GB	09/Apr/2006

00:15:41.112 Selection: 00:15:39.800 - 00:15:39.810 10

Selection Mode Loop Mode

15:37.000 00:15:37.500 00:15:38.000 00:15:38.500 00:15:39.000 00:15:39.500 00:15:40.000 00:15:40.500 00:15:41.000 00:15:41.500 00:15:42.000 00:15:42.500 00:15:43.000 00:15:43.500 00:15:44.000

nep@CLCh4

tx@Kuluk tusandace

mph@Kuluk tus -a -dhend -a -ce

mgl@Kuluk dig -PST -TEL -PST -ns

rt@Kuluk (we) digged.

nep@Kuluk खनहिल्यौ

tx@LDCh4 hana carko mettoke aba letta letta letta

mph@LDCh4 hana carko mett -u -kV abo lett -a lett -a lett

mgl@LDCh4 2s very do -3P -NPS now plant -IMP plant -IMP plant

rt@LDCh4 You very much doing, plant now! Plant! Plant!

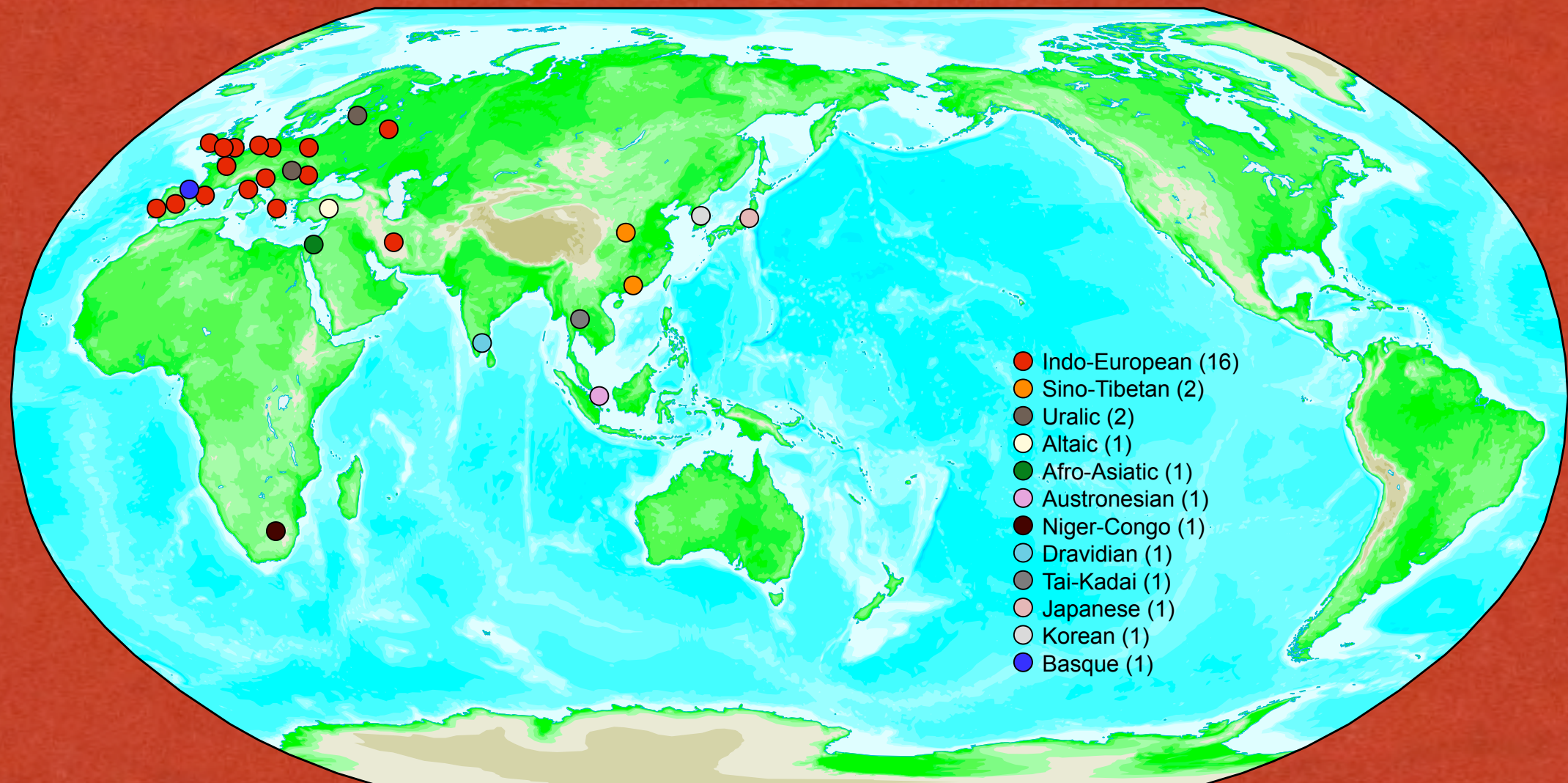
nep@LDCh4 तमि चर्को गर्दैथि, अब रोप! रोपा रोपा

CHILD LANGUAGE DATA EXCHANGE SYSTEM

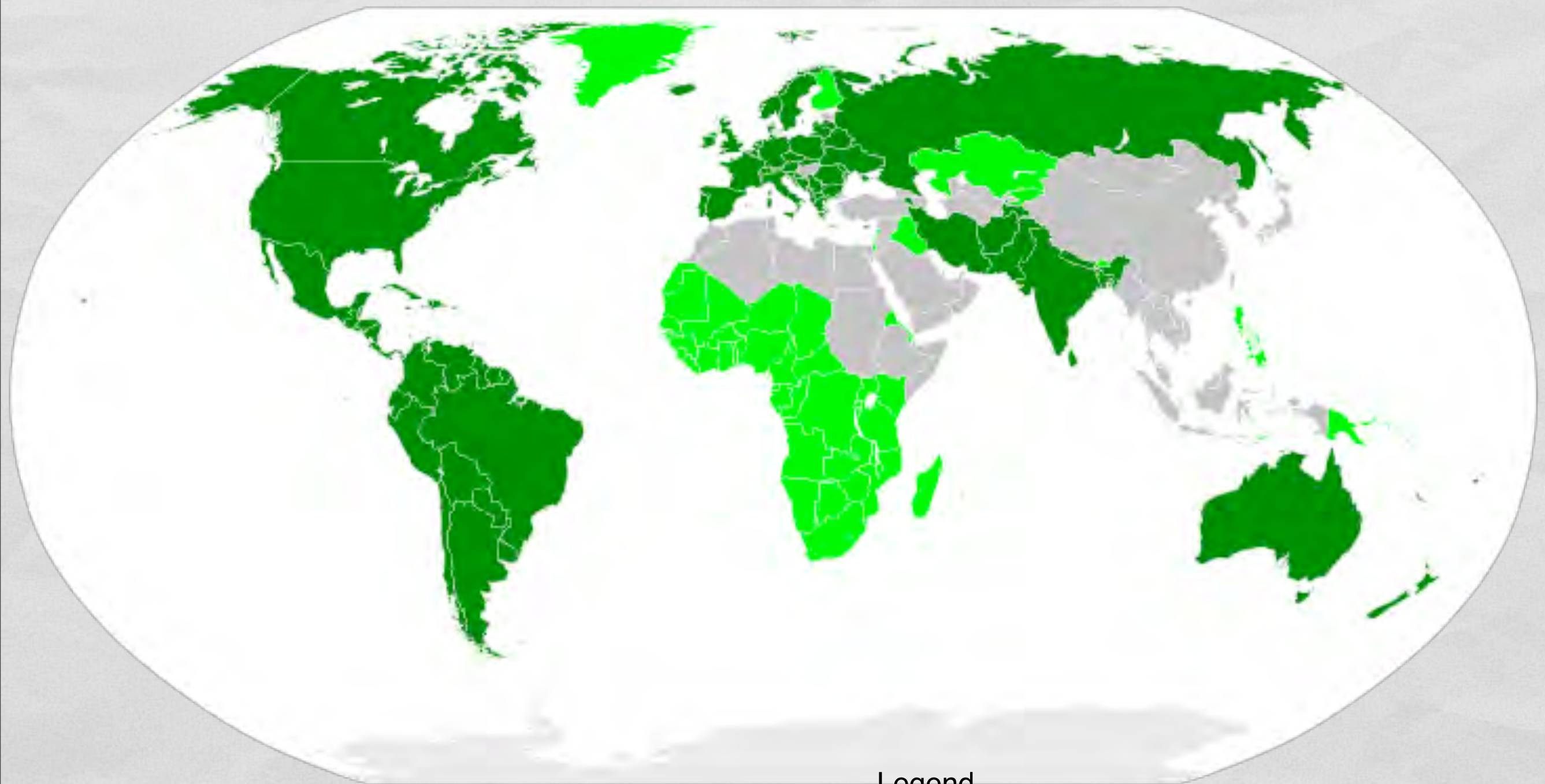
<http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/>

- 130 corpora of 30 different languages
- Tools include:
 - Methods for linguistic coding
 - Systems for linking transcripts to digitized audio and video
 - Programs for computer analysis of transcripts

CORPORA CHILDES



IndoEuropean Languages today

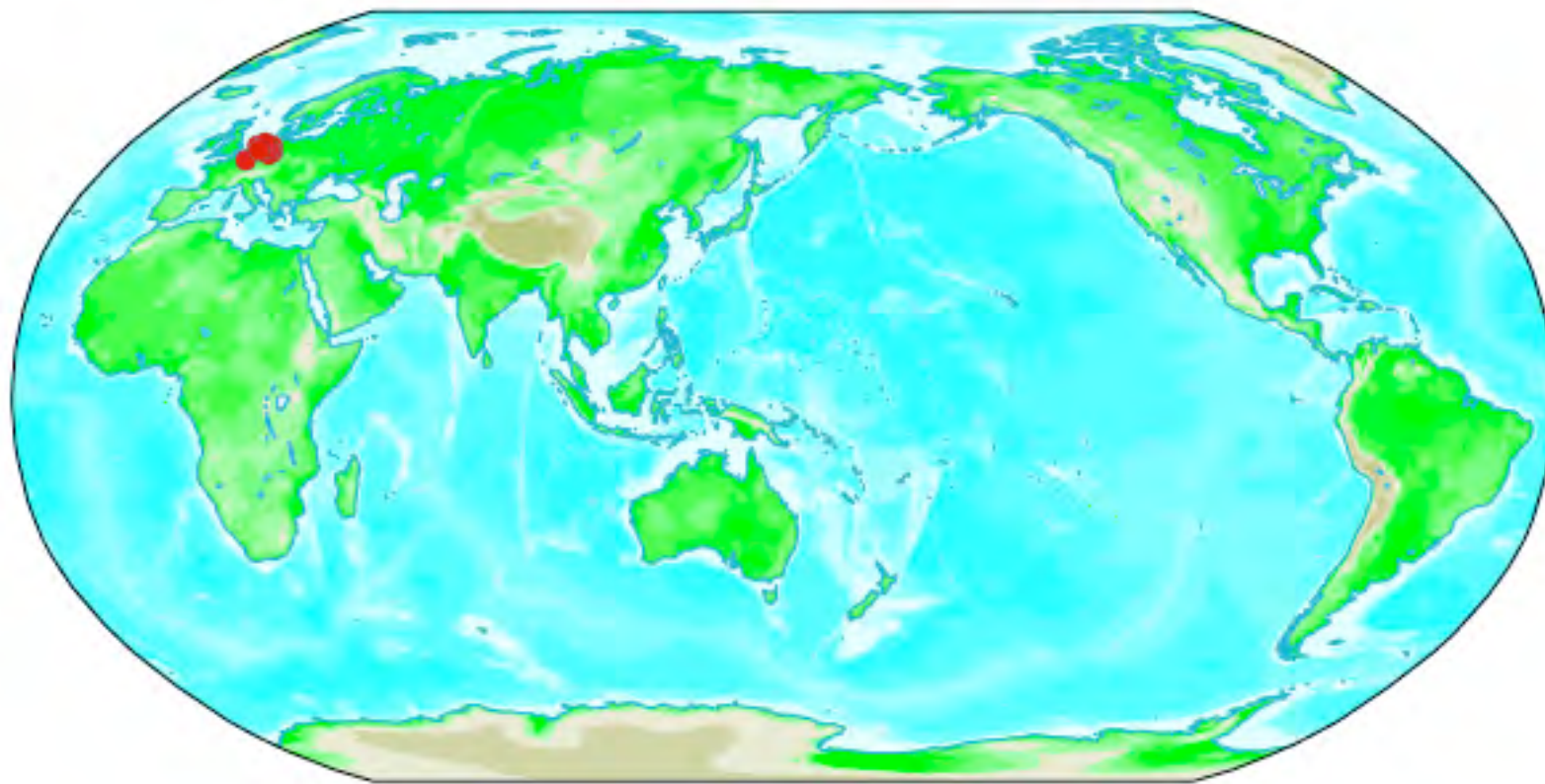


Legend

- Dark Green: countries with a majority of speakers of IE languages.
- Light Green: countries with an IE minority language with official status.
- Grey: other countries

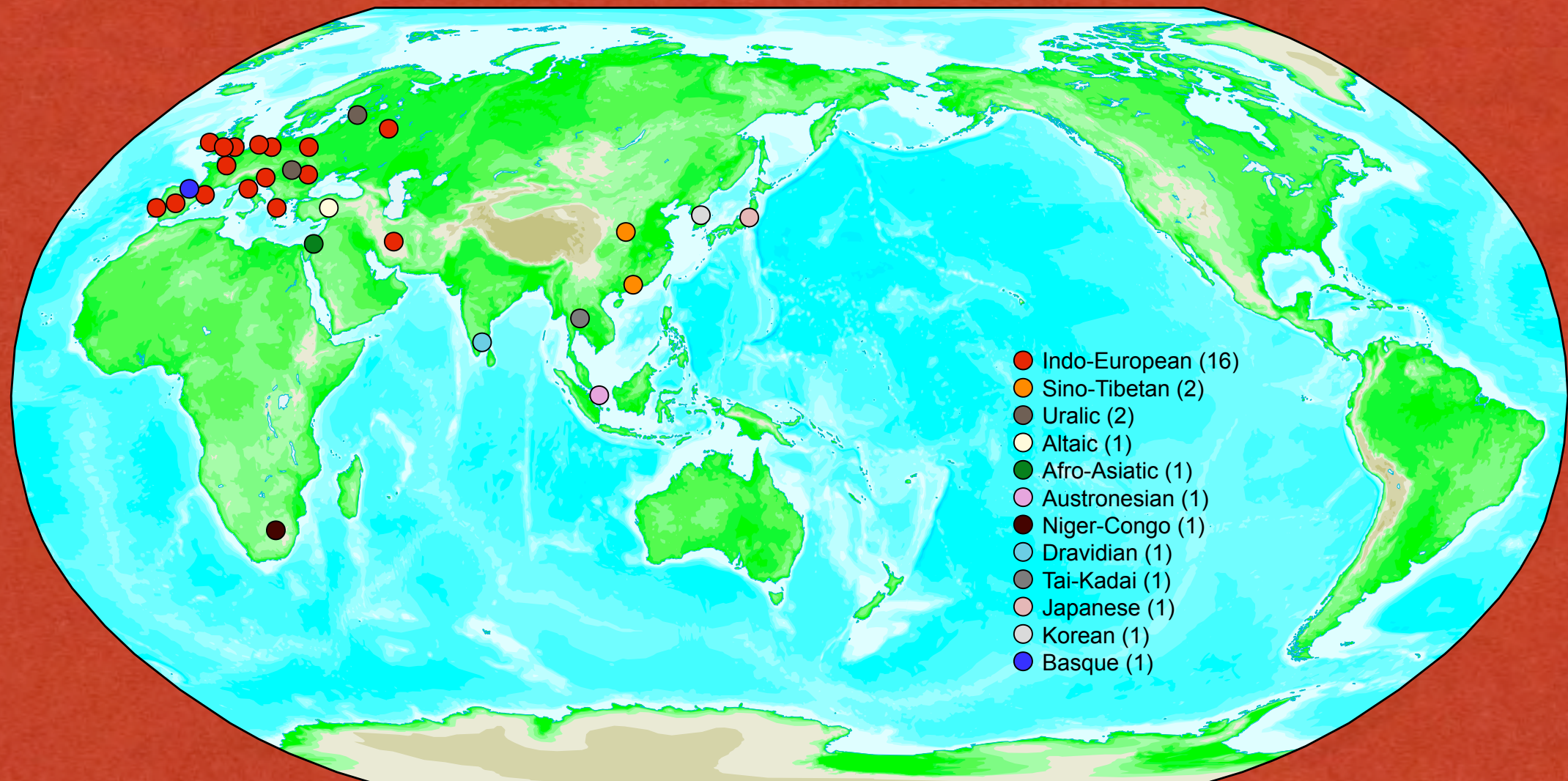
AREA WITH MOST RARE FEATURES

Northwest Continental Europe



(Cysouw, 2005)

CORPORA IN CHILDES



SAMPLING PROBLEMS

```
@Begin
@Languages: kor
@Participants: CHI Target_Child, MOT Mother
@ID: kor|Jiwon|CHI|2;0.20|female||Target_Child||
@ID: kor|Jiwon|MOT||||Mother||
@Comment: collected on 27-JUL-1992
@Comment: coded on 5-April-2004
*MOT: 누구니, 이 사람?
*CHI: 엄마.
*MOT: 엄마가 어떡하고 있어?
*CHI: 코자.
*MOT: 코자?
*MOT: 하하 야 엄마가 지원이 안고 있잖아 눈 감았다고
      코 잔다고?
*MOT: 아니야, 엄마 안 잤어.
*CHI: 마냐
*MOT: 지원이 하도 이빠서 웃다 보니까, 눈이 감긴거야.
*CHI: 마냐
*MOT: 코 자는 거야?
*MOT: 응 그래 코 자.
*MOT: 엄마 코 자고 누구냐?
*CHI: 아빠 코 자.
*MOT: 아빠가 또 코 자꾸?
*MOT: 응.
```

U1303[EI][CHAT] 1

CANTONESE (CHILDES)

*MOT: aa3_2 zeon3zeon3 gong2 bei2_2 ze4zeI_I tengI jau5 mou5 lok6 jyu5 ?

%ort: 阿 俊俊 講 比 姐姐 聽 有 冇 落 雨 ?

%mor: adj|aa3_2=the n:prop|zeon3zeon3=propernoun vt|gong2=say prep|bei2_2=to

n|ze4zeI_I=sister vt|tengI=hear vf|jau5=have neg|mou5=not_have

vdir|lok6=down n|jyu5=rain ?

*CHI: lok6 jyu5 .

%ort: 落 雨 .

%mor: vdir|lok6=down n|jyu5=rain .

DATA

- To make general claims about language acquisition and not the acquisition of a particular language we need to diversify sampling. It is not enough to restrict studies of language acquisition to one family (or even subfamily).

POSSIBLE WORDS

German

ge-troff-en

an-ge-troff-en

but:

**ge-an-troff-en*

**ge-troff-an-en*

Chintang

u-ma-tup-yokt-e-hẽ

3-NEG-meet-NEG-PST-1

‘He didn’t me’

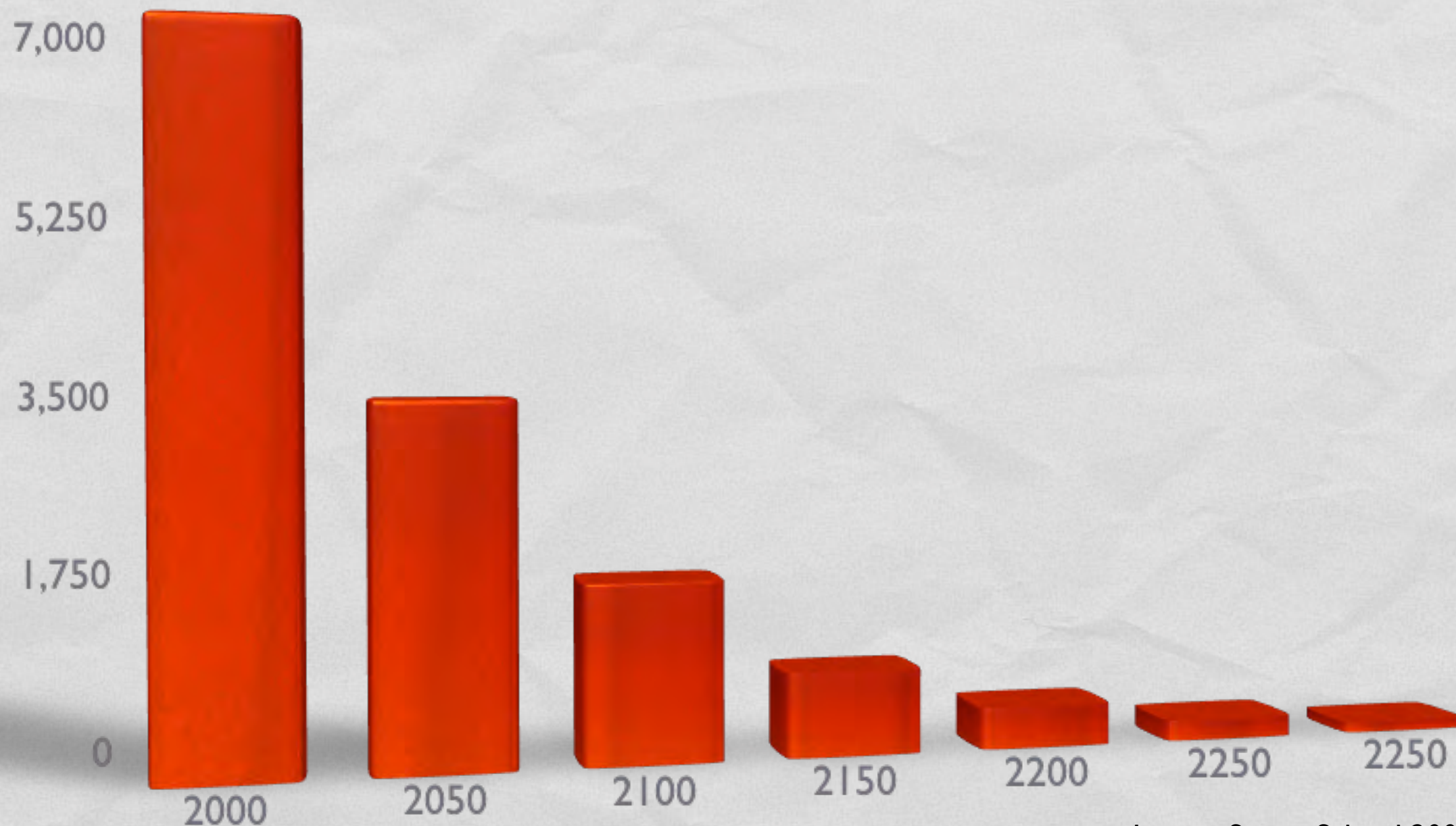
or:

ma-u-top-yokt-e-hẽ

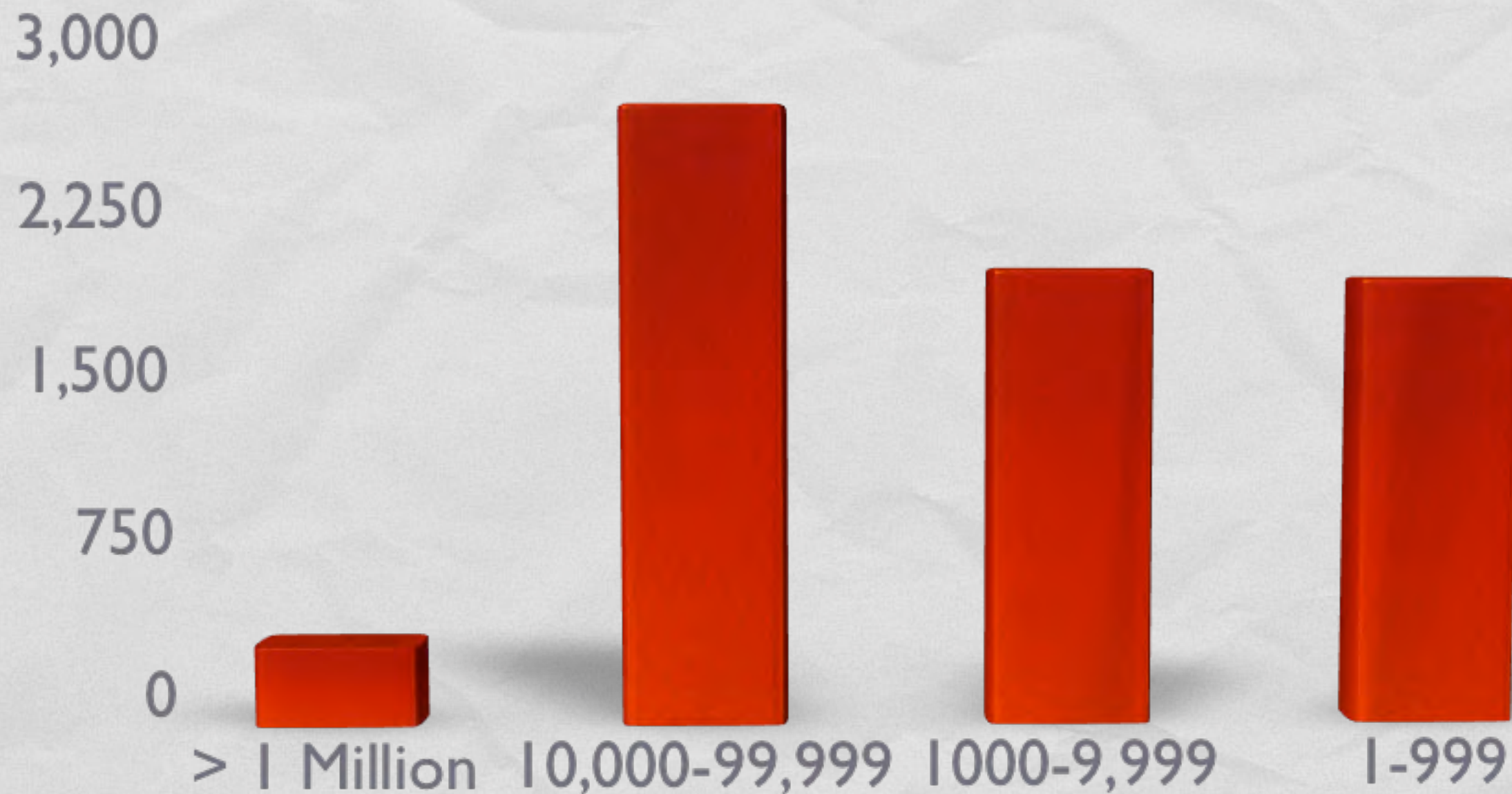
ma-top-u-yokt-e-hẽ

All theories about the word have assumed that there is a fixed order of morphemes in words. (But cf. Bickel et al. 2007)

ESTIMATION OF LANGUAGE DEATH (50% EVERY 50 YEARS)



LANGUAGES AND THEIR NUMBER OF SPEAKERS



COMPARATIVE LANGUAGE ACQUISITION (SLOBIN)

Crosslinguistic method to reveal developmental universals and language-specific patterns:

H0: Language development is everywhere the same

H1: Hypothesis of specific language effects

LANGUAGES IN THE SAMPLE

Indo-European:

(a) Germanic: English, German

Romance: French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish

Slavic: Polish

- Semitic: Hebrew

Finno-Ugric: Hungarian

Ural-Altaic: Turkish

Japanese

Trans-New Guinea Non-Austronesian: Kaluli

Polynesian: Samoan

STRUCTURE OF LANGUAGE CHAPTERS IN SLOBIN

1. Introductory materials about the language
2. Language acquisition data (errors, error-free acquisition, time of acquisition)
3. Data on the setting of language acquisition (cognitive pacesetting, linguistic pacesetting, input and adult-child interaction)

PROBLEMS TO COMPARE ACQUISITION PATTERNS

- Huge variation within a language
- Small sample longitudinal studies
- Variation in sampling and methods across languages
- Different age ranges
- How and what exactly to compare?

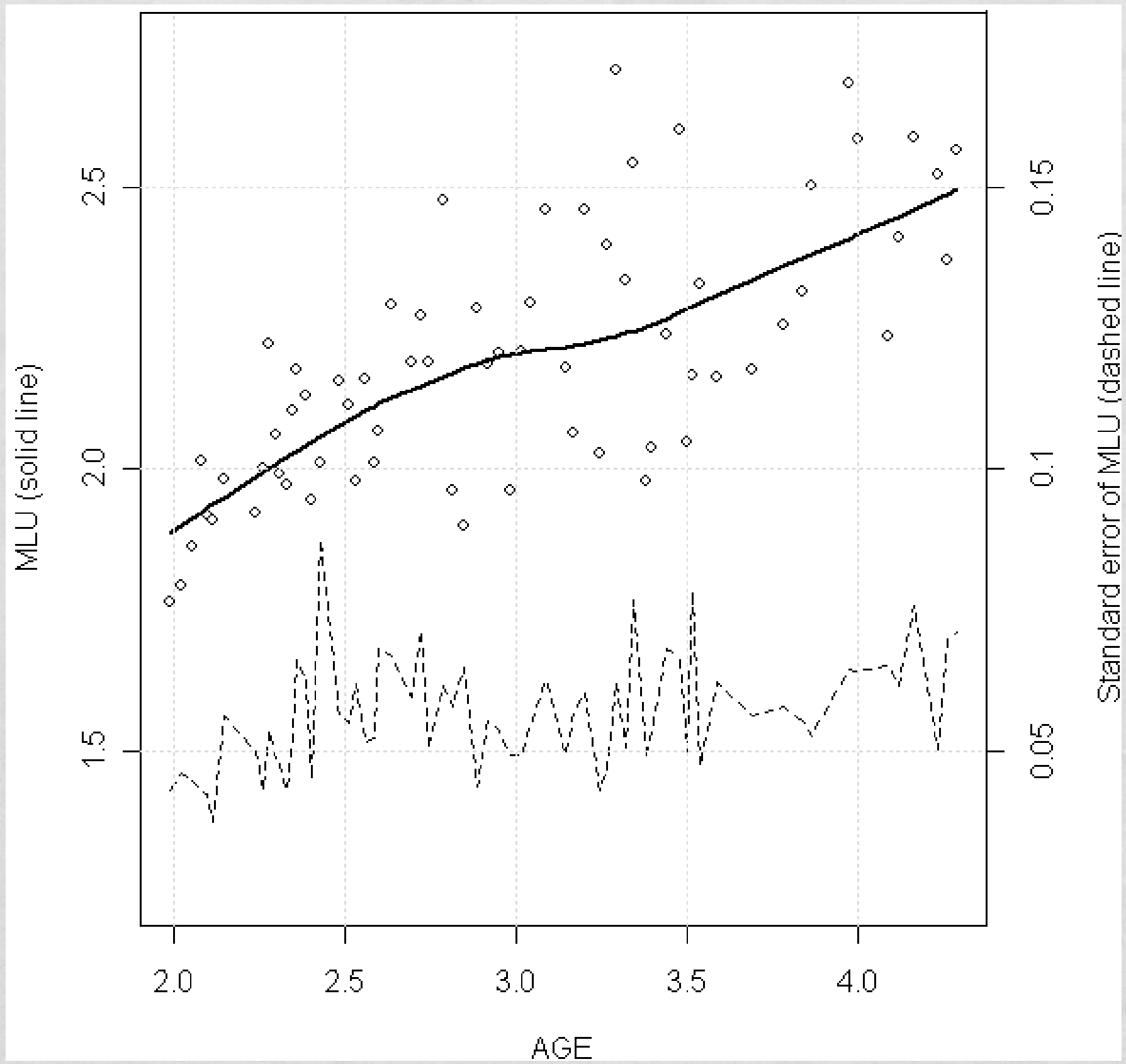
PROBLEMS TO COMPARE ACQUISITION PATTERNS

- Criteria to make comparisons:
 - Age
 - Mean length of utterance (MLU)

Table 3.4 *A summary of Brown's (1973) five stages of grammatical development*

Stage	Range of MLU (morphemes)	Upper Bound	Midpoint	Stage name and description
	1.00			<i>The period of single-word utterances</i> The use of single words without any grammatical knowledge
I	1.00–1.99			<i>Semantic roles and syntactic relations</i>
early	1.00–1.49			The onset and acquisition of the basic semantic relations used in language like Agent, Patient.
late	1.50–1.99	5	1.75	Word order is first syntactic device acquired.
II	2.00–2.49	7	2.25	<i>Modulation of meaning</i> The child begins to acquire inflections and grammatical morphemes. Most are actually acquired in subsequent stages.
III	2.50–2.99	9	2.75	<i>Modalities of the simple sentence</i> The active acquisition of the English auxiliary as it appears in yes–no questions, <i>wh</i> -questions, imperatives, and negative questions.
IV	3.00–3.99	11	3.50	<i>Embedding of one sentence within another</i> Complex sentences appear with object noun phrase complements, embedded <i>wh</i> -questions, and relative clauses.
V	4.00 and up	13	4.00	<i>Coordination of simple sentences and propositional relations</i> The active development of sentence, noun phrase, and verb phrase coordination with the use of conjunctions.

Ingram (1989: 50)



(Gries & Stoll, in press)

PROBLEMS TO COMPARE ACQUISITION PATTERNS

- Relevance problem
- Variability problem
- Data-sparsity problem
- Arbitrariness problem

(Gries & Stoll, in press)

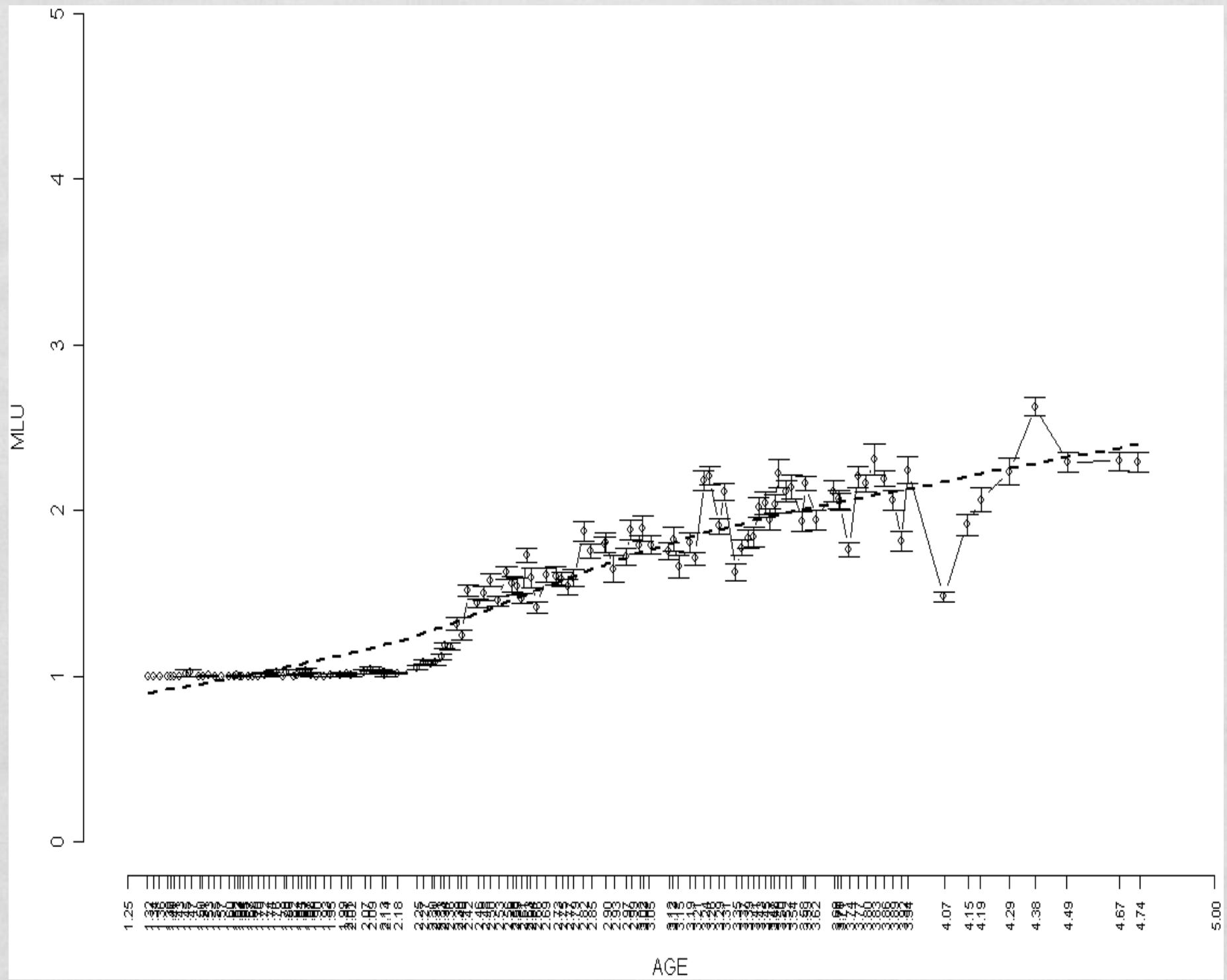
DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES IN CORPORA

- Suggestion: Variability based-neighbor clustering
 - all neighboring elements are compared on the basis of some distance measure
 - the two neighboring elements that are most similar to each other get merged
 - compute the distance measure on the basis of this merger

(Gries & Stoll, in press)

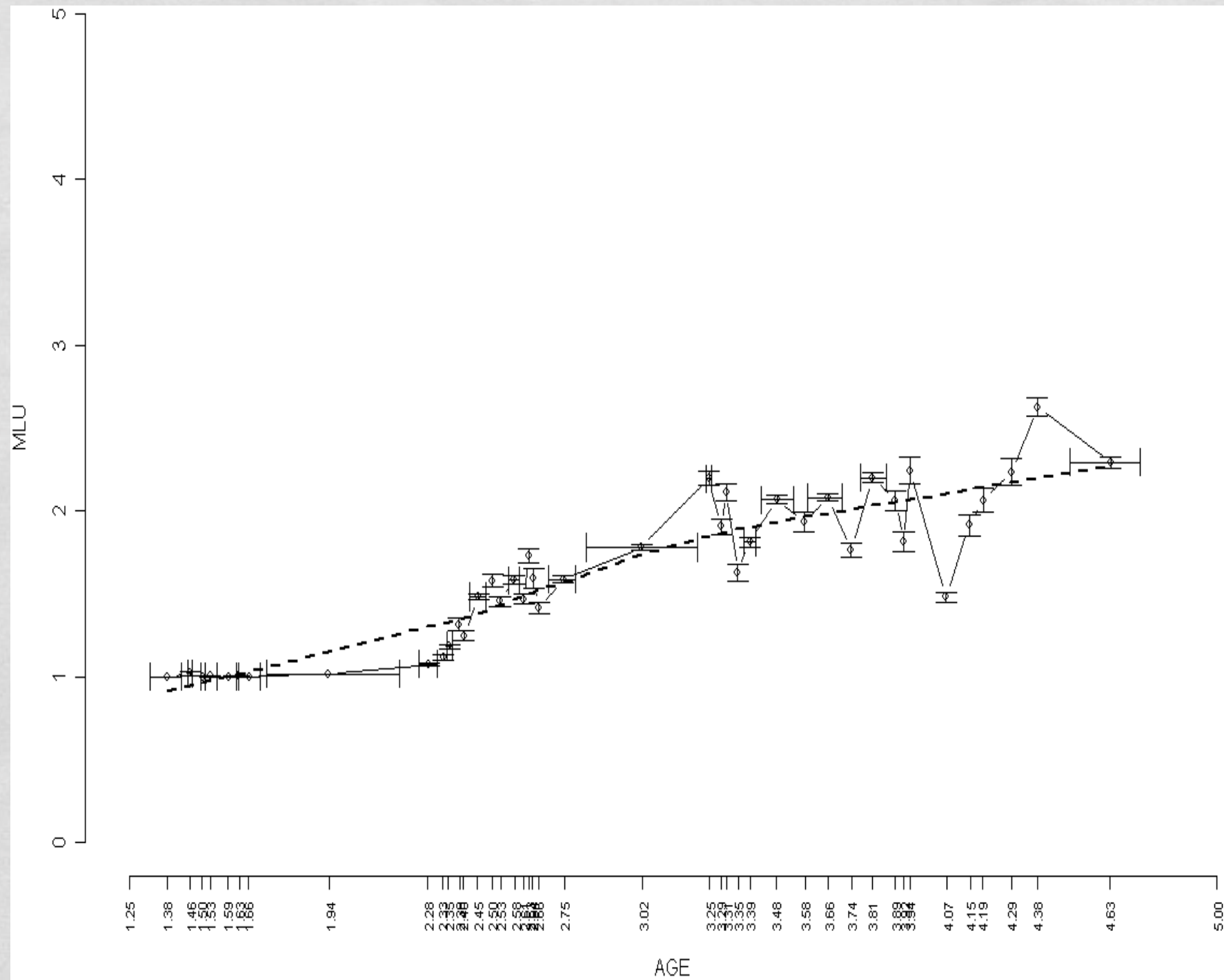
-
- 1 compute a distance or a similarity matrix,³ which provides the (dis-) similarity of all elements to each other on the basis of some distance measure
 - 2 repeat
 - 3 identify the two elements that are most similar to each other
 (in the case of ties, choose one pair randomly);
 - 4 merge the two elements that are most similar to each other and compute new distances on the basis of this merger
 - 5 until the number of elements is one
 - 6 draw a dendrogram that summarizes the groupings arrived at in steps 1 to 4
-

(Gries & Stoll, in press)



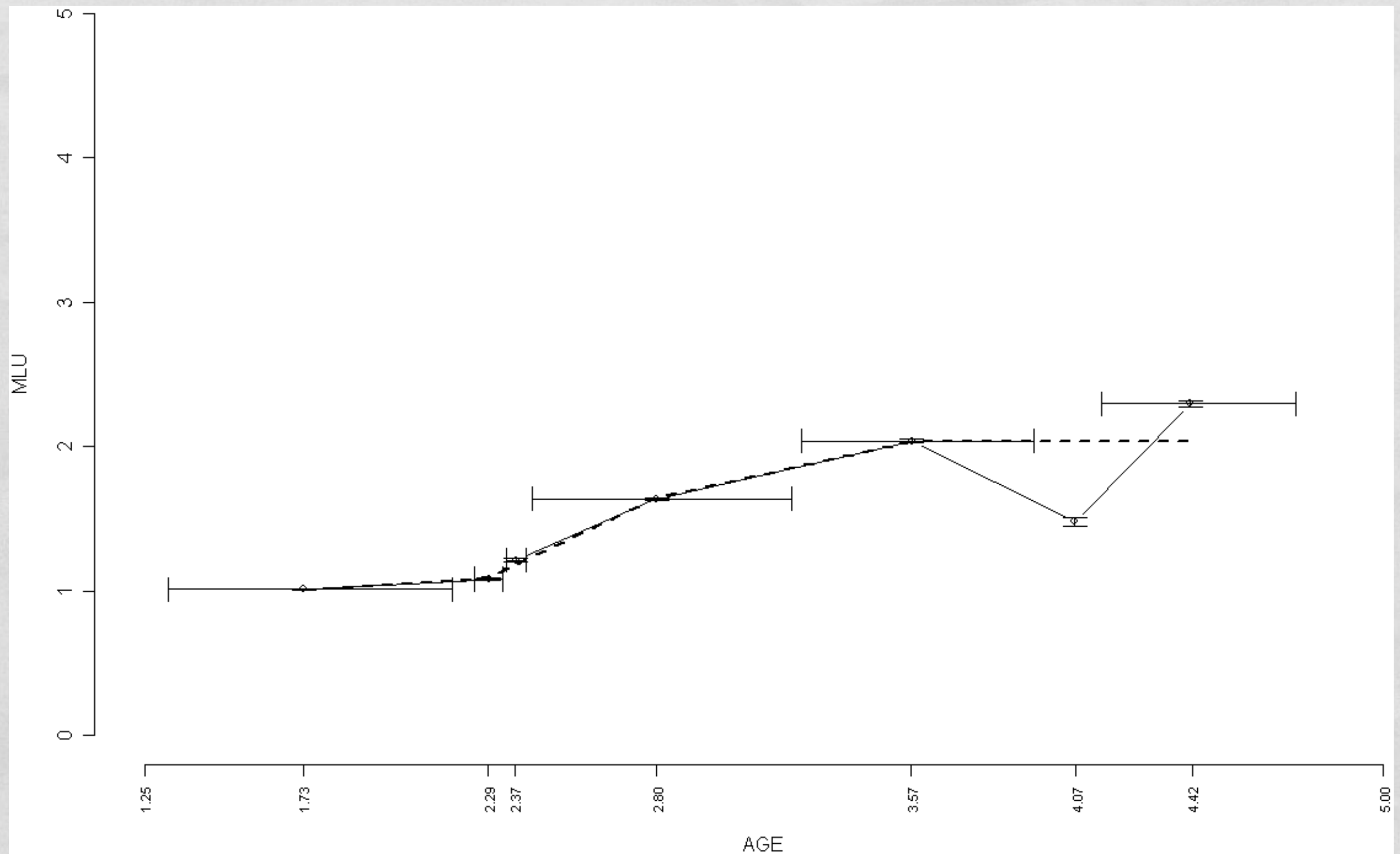
(Gries & Stoll, in press)

MLUs of 123 recordings of Child 3 between 1;03.26 and 4;09.30: step 40

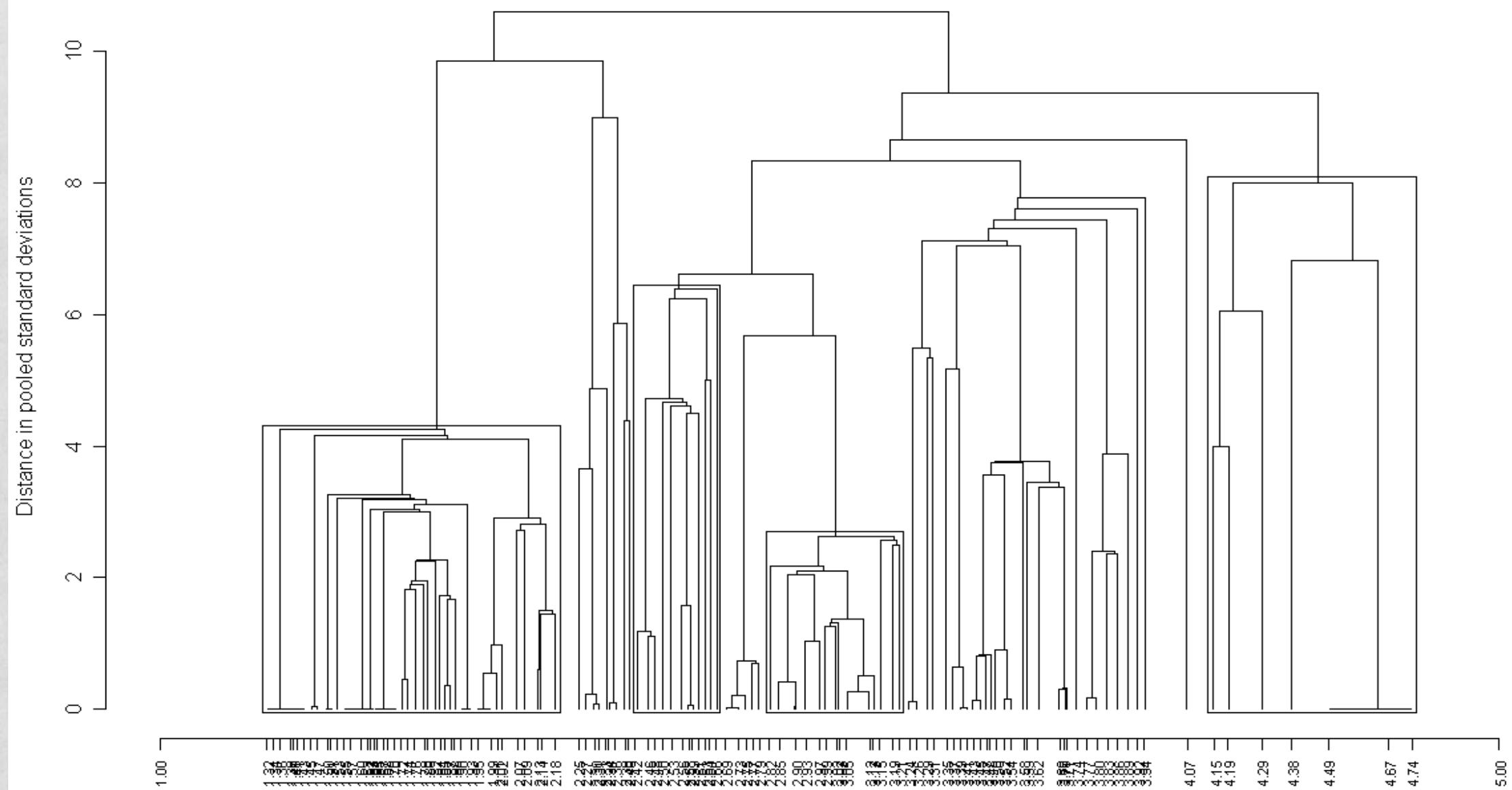


(Gries & Stoll, in press)

MLUs of 123 recordings of Child 3 between 1;03.26 and 4;09.30: step 115



(Gries & Stoll, in press)



(Gries & Stoll, in press)

SUGGESTION HOW TO PROCEED

- Identify pattern in individual children
- Compare each pattern to respective caretaker
- Compare caretakers across sessions
- Compare children across sessions
- Compare across languages.

(Stoll in prep.)

EXPERIMENTS

- Experiments are used to test a specific question with a clearly stated hypothesis.
- Experiments in general:
 - large enough number of participants for the variables tested.
 - control of variables possible.
 - good knowledge about the language/languages.

EXPERIMENTS

- Potential interfering variables
- Participants
- Stimuli
- Procedure
- Practical questions

Thank you!