

Beyond the "30-Million-Word Gap" Children's Conversational Exposure is Associated with Language-Related Brain Function

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Socioeconomic Status (SES)

- "An individual's access to economic and social resources, as well as the benefits and social standing that come from these resources." Brito & Noble 2014
 - "All societies have "worse off" and "better off" individuals." Farah, 2017
- Common (objective) measures include educational attainment, income, and occupational/social prestige. Ensminger & Fothergill, 2003
 - Though correlated, these factors exert unique influences on development. Duncan & Magnusen 2012
- SES indexes a number of correlated factors:
 - Chronic/toxic stress
 - Violence exposure
 - Nutrition
 - Access to health care
 - Exposure to toxins/pollutants
 - Educational resources
 - Parental/caregiver availability
 - · Cognitive stimulation

The "30 Million Word Gap"

"Time and amount of talking varied systematically with the socioeconomic status of the family... Parents in [higher SES] families devoted twice as much time to interaction and said three times as many words to their children."



Hart & Risley, Meaningful Differences in the Everyday Experience of Young American Children, 1995

Word Gap \rightarrow Vocabulary Gap

- "By age 3, some children were as far above the average in vocabulary resources as other children were below; we saw a widening gap beginning as early as age 24 months." Hart & Risley, 1995
- Fernald et al. 2013 found that the widening gap starts even earlier.



Hypothesized Mechanisms



Methods

- n = 63 children of varying SES (Parent Edu + family total income)
 - Ages 4-6 years (in pre-K or K grades)
 - Native English, no developmental delay/history of language impairment
- Standardized language/cognition assessments
 - Verbal composite: Receptive & expressive language via PPVT-4 and CELF-5
 - Non-verbal composite: Fluid reasoning, working memory, processing speed via WPPSI-IV
- Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI)
 - First a 5-min. structural MRI, followed by 6-min. language listening task
 - 11 did not complete, 3 fell asleep, 7 moved too much
- Home Language Recording
 - 2 complete weekend days of LENA
 - Sampled everyone's "best hour" the one hour with the most speech
 - 6 did not complete (final n = 36)

Pediatric Neuroimaging



Language ENvironment Analysis (LENA)

- Small, child-worn recorder than can hold a whole day's worth of audio (16 hrs)
- Software automatically analyzes recordings and determines:
 - How many "adult words" the child heard
 - · How many "child vocalizations" the child said
 - How many "conversational turns" occurred between the child and any adult





Behavioral results part 1: SES is correlated with Cognitive Scores



Behavioral results part 2: SES is correlated with Language Exposure



SES not correlated with Child Utterances

Behavioral results part 3: Number of Conversational Turns explains Verbal Scores, independent of SES



fMRI Task





More active

All participants use receptive language areas during language processing

Group Mean Forward > Backward



Greater Broca's Area activation in children who experienced more Conversational Turns



A Tale of Two Brains

Two lower SES girls (high school edu + \$50K total family income)

1,220 turns per day Verbal score = 121 580 turns per day Verbal score = 90



Correlation independent of SES, IQ, EF, and adult/child speech alone

Correlation with # conversational turns, controlled for:



Broca's activation explains relation between conversational turns and language scores



Additionally, Broca's activation + conversational turns together explain 23% of the total SES gap in children's language skills.

$$*p < .01, **p < .001$$

Summary and Discussion

- "Conversational turns (but not adult words alone) are associated with Broca's area activation during language processing.
 - These measures mediate the achievement gap in language skills.
- Why Broca's Area?
 - Convergence zone" of smaller elements of language (e.g., phonemes, words) are unified into a coherent whole (Hagoort, 2014)
 - Task (natural language processing) requires integration across phonological, semantic, and syntactic units
 - Greater activation = "deeper engagement" with language?
- Why conversational turns?
 - Incorporates exposure *quality* as well as *quantity*
 - Language development relies on social interaction (Kuhl, 2007)
 - Increased opportunity for language "practice"

Future Directions

- Can we demonstrate long-term malleability of parent language? If so, can parental interventions cause lasting pediatric neuroplasticity & behavioral outcomes?
- Are there specific populations such as children at genetic/familial risk for language disabilities – who are more sensitive to their language environments?
- Are there other qualitative aspects of language exposure that predict neural and cognitive development better than conversational turns?

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