



# A critical period for acquisition of second language syntax

## Evidence from 669,498 English speakers

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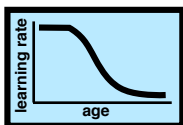
Steven Pinker (Harvard University)



### Why are children more successful at learning new languages?

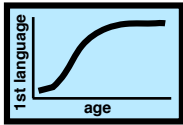
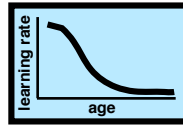
#### 1. Language-specific critical period?

(Lenneberg, 1967; Johnson & Newport, 1989)



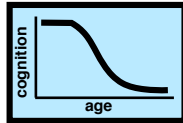
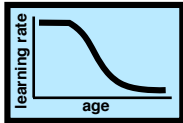
#### 4. Interference from 1st language?

(Hernandez, Li, & MacWhinney, 2005; Sebastián-Gallés et al., 2005)



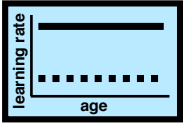
#### 2. General cognitive decline?

(Hakuta et al., 2003)



#### 5. Environment / motivation?

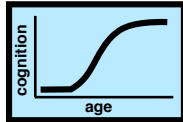
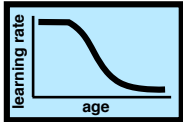
(Bongaerts et al., 2000; Hakuta et al., 2003)



— motivated immersion learners  
- - - unmotivated school learners

#### 3. Less is more?

(Newport, 1988)



To compare theories:

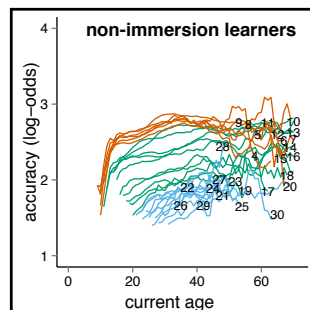
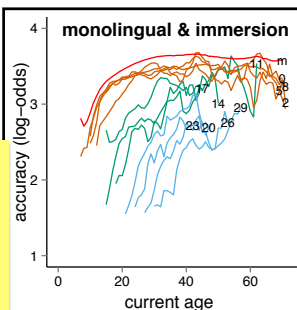
- Measure developmental change in learning rate
- compare with other processes

### Primary analyses: How does learning rate change with age?

- monolinguals
- age of exposure: 0-9
- age of exposure: 10-19
- age of exposure: 20-30

No diff. in trajectories for:

- immersion learners starting before 10yo.
- non-immersion learners starting before 12yo.



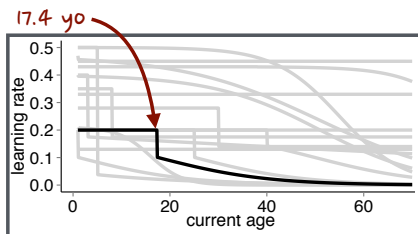
#### analytic model (ELSD)

$$g(t) = 1 - e^{-\int_{t_e}^t r(t) dt}$$

$$r(t) = \begin{cases} r_0, & t \leq t_c \\ r_0 \left(1 - \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\alpha(t-t_c-\delta)}}\right), & t > t_c \end{cases}$$

$g(t)$  = gramm. knowledge at age  $t$   
 $r(t)$  = learning rate at age  $t$

$t$  = current age  
 $t_c$  = critical age  
 $t_e$  = age of exposure  
 $\alpha, \delta$  = rate of decline  
 $r_0$  = initial learning rate  
 $E$  = rate of exposure



— best-fitting learning rate curve ( $R^2 = 0.89$ )  
— curves considered by model (examples)

### Previous attempts unsuccessful

#### Strategy #1: Measure learning rate in real time

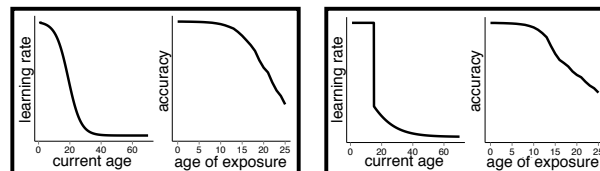
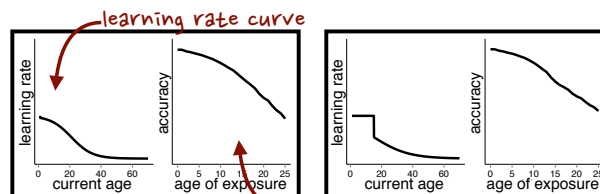
Problem: Adults always learn faster.

- superior attention
- explicit strategies

(Krashen, Long, & Scarcella, 1979; Snow & Hoefnagel-Hohle, 1978)

#### Strategy #2: Compare learners' ultimate attainment

Problem: Mapping from ultimate attainment curves to learning ability curves is many-to-many



Note: Quantitative predictions based on ELSD model, but the basic point is model-independent.

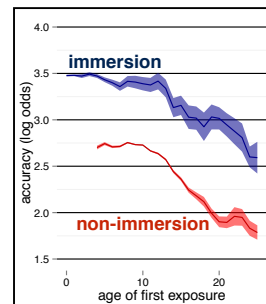
### Ultimate Attainment Curves

Inconsistent prior findings:

- last chance for native-like prof: 0-17yo
- Floor in curve by puberty or never

Probably due to low power

- cf. Vanhove (2013)
- Confirmed by bootstrap simulation (ask me)



learners with >29 yrs. experience

### Conclusions

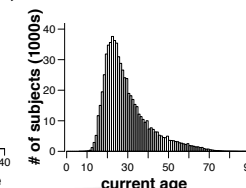
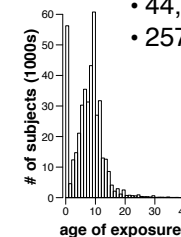
- Learning rate falls at 17-18 yo
- Calls for new theories (old theories focused on much earlier ages)

### Method: Internet Quiz

[www.gameswithwords.org/WhichEnglish](http://www.gameswithwords.org/WhichEnglish)

- Items: • 95 critical items (+ 37 filler)
- grammaticality judgment
  - sentence-picture matching
  - Chronbach's alpha: 0.86

- Subjects: • 244,840 monolinguals  
• 44,412 immersion  
• 257,998 non-immersion



#### Features

- Adequate sample size
- Internet data is high quality
- Diverse 1st langs
- Diverse stimuli

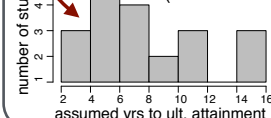
#### Limitations

- Relatively few items
- cross-sectional
- cannot choose subjects
- Diverse 1st langs
- Diverse stimuli

### Does Learning Take 30 years?

- Frequently claimed that 5yos have mastered L1
- i.e., above-chance performance
- BUT above-chance  $\neq$  adult-like
- No prior measure of asymptote
- Debate about when L2 learning ends

• But no prior measurement (but see Johnson & Newport, 1989)



### Future Directions

- Other L2s
- Phonology & semantics
- production