## Language for reading:



#### Lessons from the crib for the classroom

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## Reading is complex

#### One second in the mind of a reader





• From processing visual print

To decoding sights to sounds (B-O-Y = boy) To infusing text with meaning

## In Scarborough's terms

The Many Strands that are Woven into Skilled Reading (Scarborough, 2001)

#### LANGUAGE COMPREHENSION

BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE (facts, concepts, etc.)

VOCABULARY (breadth, precision, links, etc.)

LANGUAGE STRUCTURES (syntax, semantics, etc.)

VERBAL REASONING (inference, metaphor, etc.)

LITERACY KNOWLEDGE (print concepts, genres, etc.)

#### WORD RECOGNITION

PHONOLOGICAL AWARENESS (syllables, phonemes, etc.)

DECODING (alphabetic principle, g spelling-sound correspondences)

SIGHT RECOGNITION (of familiar words)



### We know a tremendous amount about the word recognition or "code" skills

The Many Strands that are Woven into Skilled Reading (Scarborough, 2001)

#### LANGUAGE COMPREHENSION



And they are critical for learning to read

## But code skills are not enough!

Hebrew

בּרְאַשׂחת בַרָאַ אַלֶהֹחם אַת 1 הַשִּׂמֻחָם וְאָתָ ה אָרָץ: 2 וְה אָרָץ הַשִּׁמֻחָם וְאָתָ ה אָרָץ: על־פּנָח הְחַתְה תֹהוּ וְיָשֹׁך על־פּנָח הְחַתְה וּרִו יַ אַלֶהֹחם מְרַיָפָּת על־פּנָח תְהָחם חְהָח אוֹר וְחָהָח־אֹור:

Greek

Αυτή η αναφορά περιλαμβάνει σημαντικές πληροφορίες σχετικά με το πόσιμο νερό σας. Ζητήστε από κάποιον να σας τη μεταφράσει, ή μιλείστε με κάποιον που την καταλαβαίνει.

You have to translate print into meaning!

### And we know much less about how to support language for reading



### A Talk in 4 parts

Language is a critical foundation for reading

•A bird's-eye view of language development Language development: what you see Language development: what you don't see

•Lessons from the crib for the classroom: 6 principles of language learning

#### Looking forward

Using the 6 principles in pedagogy Using the 6 principles in language and reading research Policy implications

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### **The Evidence**

#### **\*** Early language abilities are directly related to later reading abilities

- \* Direct effects (NICHD ECCRN, 2002; Dickinson & Tabors, 2001)
  - \* 1137 diverse sample from 3 years to 1<sup>st</sup> and 3rd grade
  - Lee, 2011 (N=1073; early language relates to language and reading achievement up to 5<sup>th</sup> grade)
  - \* Grissmer, 2011 (language and attention in K predict 4<sup>th</sup> grade reading better than does reading at K)
- Early language abilities are indirectly related to reading through code skills like phonemic awareness; to finding the "b-sound" in "boy." These code skills are then related to reading. (Munson et al; 2004,2005; Storkel, 2001, 2003; Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998, 2001; Silven et al., 2007)
  - \* Indirect effects (Storch & Whitehurst, 2002)
    - \* 626 low-income children, 4 yrs to 4<sup>th</sup> grade
- \* Language skills become relatively more important than code skills for reading over time. The shift from *learning to read* to *reading to learn*. (Storch & Whitehurst, 2002; Catts et al., 2006; Vellutino et al, 2007).

## More recently...

- Reviews of the relationship between language and reading show a persistent, strong and significant role of early language on reading...
  - \* Harris, Golinkoff and Hirsh-Pasek, 2011
  - \* See Marulis & Neuman, 2011 for a review

## Despite these facts,

\* Most instruction in early school spends the bulk of its time on code skills rather than on the language skills that support reading.



Goodson, Layzer, Simon, & Dwyer, 2009

## And for low income children this can have dire consequences

The research suggests that children from low income environments do not have the basic language skills that will directly and indirectly support reading success.

Further,

"learning minority" learners who entered kindergarten with limited English proficiency had large persistent deficiencies in English reading achievement...Even the students who acquired English most rapidly, in the course of a year of kindergarten, continued to lag behind the national average for native English speakers by more than .33 standard deviation in 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grade.

p. 865, Kieffer, 2008

## 1995: Hart and Risley



Young American Children



Examines language input to children from...

Welfare Working class Professional families

(see also Hoff, 2002, 2003; Pancsofar & Vernon-Feagans, 2010)

### **Results?**



Number of words heard per hour by children in each group: Welfare - 616 Working Class - 1,251 Professional - 2,153

## Significance?

#### Children's recorded vocabulary size? Professional - 1,116 Working Class - 749 Welfare - 525

• Vocabulary assessed at age 3 predicted PPVT scores at age 9-10 (r = .58) and TOLD (more comprehensive) r = .72

• Vocabulary at age 3 correlated with reading comprehension scores on Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills r = .56

### 1996: Saffran, Aslin & Newport

The amount of language you hear matters because babies do statistical learning on the input they hear to find patterns of sounds and words!



## 2009: Fernald finds

That the amount of language a child hears also affects processing speed and hence later acquisition of vocabulary – findings that hold in English and Spanish

And early vocabulary is one of the best predictors of later reading ability!

## 2010: Hackman & Farah

SES is an important predictor of neuro-cognitive performance, particularly of language and executive function, and that SES differences are found in neural processing even when performance levels are equal.



### These findings are particularly important for those learning English as a second language

As lower SES families, they will have depressed input even in their first language

Spanish speaking low-income parents are unlikely to offer much input at all in their new "foreign" language

Among English Language Learning children:
65.9% - lower-income households
40.8% come from families with less than a high-school degree

If reading is parasitic on language and not just on decoding, the question before us is how we can strengthen the language outcomes that children will need for reading



It is here that lessons from the crib might be important for the classroom

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## What you see

### What you see: The Doctor's chart



0-3mo: coos, burps

3-6 mo: coos; laughs, cries, gurgles

6-9 mo: babbling (e.g., bababa) turn taking; pat-a-cake
9-12 mo: points; first words; Bam Bam

12-18mo: 2 words per week; 50 words

18-24 mo: naming explosion; "Whas sat?; Talk about here and now; loves stories over and over; follows simple commands

2-3 yrs: 500 words; asks questions; past tense; Wh-; sits 20 minutes; WHY?; pronounce clearly - m,n,f,b,d,h,y; uses fuller sentences with "in," and "on."; girls might appear to stutter

### Between 3 and 4 years ...

~800 words; contractions - won't; or "amn't" (instead of "I'm not") - not always correct but searching for rules

- Can follow plot in story line
- Use time words morning; afternoon;
- Wonderful new made-up words like, "Michael wave"
- Elio: "Where is my backpack go?" [auxiliary did missing]

**Question formation and response:** 

•Marina to her pregnant Mom: "Is the baby in your belly in a boat? Where is the baby going to live?

### Doctor's chart continued

- 4-5 yrs: 2000 words; speaks clearly most of the time; can make up stories; use complex sentences; still might mispronounce s,r,th,t,v,sh,ch, j.
- 5-7 yrs: retells stories with more depth; participates in discussions; learns relationships like big/little/happy/sad
- 1st grade: 11,000 words

•

- 3rd grade: 20,000 words
- 5th grade: 40, 000 words
- YOU: 52,000 words

A cautionary note – the issue of WIDE variability

## And for dual language learners?

\* We are biologically primed to learn multiple languages

- \* Over 50% of the children in the world learn more than one
  - \* Grosjean 1982, 2010, Petitto & Kovelman, 2003; Werker & Byers Heinlein, 2008
- \* 25% of US children under age 5 live in homes where English is not the prime language
  - \* US Census 2006
- \* Milestones for second language learners generally follow same timetable as first language learners (Petitto et al., 2001) but some studies find that even though they are within the normal range...learning two languages takes a bit longer than learning one.
  - \* Slightly slower in vocabulary within any one language
    - \* Hoff & Place, in press
  - \* Slightly behind in grammar for any one language
    - \* Marchman, Fernald, Hurtado, 2010

### The real news, however, is not in what you see, but What you don't see!



There's a lot more going on than meets the eye!

Psychology has developed a host of methods that allow us to peer at language learning beneath the surface –



High Amplitude Sucking

The Intermodal Preferential Looking Paradigm





Habituation



Head Turn Preference Procedure

#### And as we move into brain research...



Baby ERP



Near Infrared Spectroscopy



Meg Imaging studies

(From Kuhl)

# What we have found is that infants are....

Processing multiple input cues Differentially weighing these cues over time.

> Hollich, Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff, 2000 Golinkoff & Hirsh-Pasek , 2008

## Multiple Cues



## Differential Weighting: Time 1



## Differential Weighting: Time 2



## Differential Weighting: Time 3



Looking at some of the major new findings that support language growth

- \* In perception
  - \* Of sounds
  - **\*** Of events in the world
- \* In social skills

\* In word learning and grammar

New research in perception supporting language learning


In the first year of life, babies discriminate sounds from all of the world's languages and become specialists in finding the words and sounds in their native tongue.

(Mehler & colleagues; Werker &

colleagues)



# The evidence?

- Womb works- remember stories and songs heard in the womb! DeCasper & Spence, 1986
- 4.5 months: baby recognizes sound pattern of own name e.g, Lauren vs. Suzanne

Mandel & Jusczyk, 1999

 6 months – use own name or momma to segment speech and learn a new word presented in a passage
 Bertfeld et al. 2005

Bortfeld et al., 2005

- 7 months speech perception relates to 24 mo vocabulary (Tsao et al., 2004)
- 8 months: statistician

Saffran et al., 1996

• 9 months: homes in on native language becoming language specialist Jusczyk, 1996

#### An example: Baby as Statistician Saffran, Aslin, & Newport, 1996



High probability Low High probability probability PRE 80% TTY.02% BA BY

Could 8-month old babies detect these low and high probabilities in an artificial sample and find the word boundaries?

tokibugikobagopilatipolutokibu gopilatipolutokibugikobagopila gikobatokibugopilatipolugikoba tipolugikobatipolugopilatipolu tokibugopilatipolutokibugopila tipolutokibugopilagikobatipolu tokibugopilagikobatipolugikoba gopilatipolugikobatokibugopila

#### YES! Listening to only two minutes of speech

tokibugikobagopilatipolutokibu gopilatipolutokibugikobagopila gikobatokibugopilatipolugikoba tipolugikobatipolugopilatipolu tokibugopilatipolutokibugopila tipolutokibugopilagikobatipolu tokibugopilagikobatipolugikoba gopilatipolugikobatokibugopila

They discovered that tokibu was a word and latipo was not.

## And babies are not only statisticians, but also physicists who find the building blocks of events!

\*

\*



\* 4-month-olds are sensitive to properties of objects

Spelke, 1990; Baillargeon, 1987

\* 6-month-olds detect repeated actions in events

Wynn, 1996

7- to 9-month-olds attend to properties of event structure like paths, manners, containment and support

Pulverman et al., 2008; Pruden, 2007; Casasola & Cohen, 2002; Golinkoff & Hirsh-Pasek, 2008

13- to 15-month-olds home in on the way these event structures are packaged in their native tongue

> Hespos & Spelke, 2004; Choi et al., 1999; Goksun, Hirsh Pasek, & Golinkoff, 2010

#### New Research in Social Skills supporting language learning



## The evidence

## Children use joint attention, joint intention and eye gaze as a cue to learning new words

- ★ 5- month-olds are sensitive to social contingency
  - \* Goldstein & Schwade, 2009; Goldstein, Schwade & Bornstein, 2009
- 8-month-olds link audio-visual events better with social cues than with non-social cues
   Wu & Kirkham (in press)
- \* 12-month-olds can follow an adult's eye gaze to one of several targets, establishing joint attention
  - \* Butterworth & Grover, 1988; Adamson, 1995; Carpenter & Tomasello, 2000
- \* Children whose parents engage in more episodes of joint attention in infancy have more advanced vocabularies at age 2
  - \* Akhtar et al.; Masur et al., 2005; Adamson, 1995; Tomasello & Farrar, 1986
- By 24 months, infants follow social over perceptually salient cues to word reference
   Hollich, Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff, 2000

And research from our lab suggests that children move from focusing more on perceptual information in the input to processing social input in the input.

### A demonstration from Pruden et al. (2006)



#### Focus on the changing character of word learning in the first two years of life

### Fido versus Freddy



Fido learns words associatively



Freddy learn words by noting the social intent of the speaker

Hollich, Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff, 2000; Pruden et al., 2006; Golinkoff & Hirsh-Pasek, 2006

# What did we find?

#### 10 months:

Child systematically assumes that a label refers to an interesting object -- *even in the conflict condition when we looked at and labeled the boring object.* 

#### **Fido lives!**



#### 12 months:

Can learn name only for interesting object; no longer mismap.

#### **Fido fading!**



Pruden, Hirsh-Pasek, Golinkoff, & Hennon. (2006). The birth of words. Child Development.

#### 18 months emerging!

Can learn name for boring object but still lured by perceptual salience.

# Freddy

#### 24 months

Mature word learning. Uses social cues to label boring object; overrides perceptual salience.



New research on grammatical cues that support language learning



#### The evidence?



#### Babies connect sounds, objects, and events through words and grammar

- \* 7 months extract algebraic patterns from sound sequences
  - \* -- e.g., roo tee roo the 'same' as ben ka ben but not ben ka (Marcus et al, 1999)
- \* 8 months sensitive to fundamental grammatical device word order.
  - Prefer to hear phrases using typical order of their native language (Japanese Object-Verb; Italian Verb-Object). Frequency and placement of function words like *the, a* vs content words responsible. (Gervain et al., 2008)
- \* 12 months: comprehends on average 100 words (Fenson et al., 1994)
- \* 17 months: Babies can find events that map to differences in word order ! Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff, 1996; Golinkoff & Hirsh-Pasek, 2008

#### Are you impressed?



And babies hearing more than one language show these skills in both languages!

# Conclusions

•We know a lot about the trajectory of language development

•Language development involves the integration of multiple systems

•There's a lot going on beyond the doctor's chart!

#### NOTE:

Milestones for second language learners generally follow same timetable as first language learners (Petitto et al., 2001) but some studies find that even though they are within the normal range...learning two languages takes a bit longer than learning one. Slightly slower in vocabulary within any one language Hoff & Place, in press Slightly behind in grammar for any one language Marchman, Fernald, Hurtado, 2010

## The question is whether we can use what we know about early language development to optimize outcomes

6 Principles of language learning that can be used to enhance language (and hence reading) outcomes

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•Looking forward Using the 6 principles in pedagogy Using the 6 principles in language and reading research Policy implications Distilling from the literature, we **boldly** (or was that tentatively) suggest 6 principles of language learning that can be used to enhance language outcomes and the foundation for reading

# The 6 principles

- 1. Children learn what they hear most-- frequency matters
- 2. Children learn words for things and events that interest them
- 3. Interactive and responsive environments build language learning
- 4. Children learn best in meaningful contexts
- 5. Children need to hear diverse examples of words and language structures
- 6. Vocabulary and grammatical development are reciprocal processes

## **1**. Children learn what they hear most-frequency matters

- Hart & Risley (1995)
- Amount of speech is important for statistical learning (Saffran et al., 1996)
- Amount of speech is important for speed of processing (Fernald, 2009)

#### A closer look at Fernald (2009): Amount matters because it increases processing speed!

#### Enter "looking while listening"

Looking-while-Listening procedure





Fernald, Zangl, Portillo, & Marchman (2008)



24 months: Distracter-to-Target shift



## Results over time for English (n=76) and Spanish (n=50) children



And this processing speed relates to language and cognitive outcomes (e.g. reading) at age 5 years!

# The **amount of input also** affects processing efficiency!

#### Does input affect *processing efficiency* as well as vocabulary growth?

- Children of mothers who talked with them more heard:
  - 7 times more words
  - 3 times more different words
  - Sentences twice as long
- Children of mothers who talked more at 18 mo had larger vocabularies at 24 mo AND increased more in processing speed

[controlling for differences in CDI & RT at 18 mo]

Hurtado, Marchman, & Fernald (2008)





Hurtado, Marchman, & Fernald (2008)

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#### The evidence?

#### Children learn words for things and events that interest them

#### \* L. Bloom's Principle of Relevance

- \* "Language learning is enhanced when the words a child hears bear upon and are pertinent to the objects of engagement, interest and feelings..." (p.19)
- \* Babies attach labels to interesting not boring objects
  - \* Pruden, Hirsh-Pasek, Golinkoff & Hennon, 2006
- \* Evidence from babies and toddlers in joint attention: talk about what baby is looking at and examining and baby is more likely to learn a word than if you try and change the child's focus of attention
  - \* Akhtar, Dunham & Dunham, 1991; Tomasello & Farrar, 1986

# Introducing the 6 principles

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#### The evidence: Interactive and responsive environments build language learning

What counts as sensitive and responsive language?

Talking *with* not talking *at* Expanding on what the child says and does Noticing what the child finds interesting and commenting Asking questions rather than just making demands

#### **Evidence 1: Back to Hart and Risley**

## Encouragements

(Affirmatives, praising)



#### Discouragements

(Prohibitions, negative evaluations)



There is wide variability in the sensitivity and responsivity parents show to child language

#### **Evidence 2: Focus on Hirsh-Pasek & Burchinal (2005) using the NICHD ECCRN Data Base**



The type of sensitivity pattern children experienced over time related to 54 month outcomes in language and in academic achievement (e.g. reading).

#### Evidence 3: Video chats vs TV

Roseberry, Hirsh-Pasek and Golinkoff, in preparation

Tested word learning from 24- to 30-month-olds in one of three ways:

- \* Video Chat Training (responsive and contingent but 2D)
- \* Live Interaction Training (responsive and contingent 3D)
- Yoked Video Training (a pre-recorded video not responsive or contingent)



# Results – How did children respond to video chats compared to live interactions?

Learning from video chats was more like LIVE than like TV



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# The evidence: Children learn best in meaningful contexts

Recent studies from our lab suggest that children learn richer vocabulary in playful learning where the information is meaningful than they do in direct instruction methods devoid of meaningful engagement.

This has been found in...

- \* Studies on shape learning with 4year-olds
  - \* Hirsh-Pasek, Newcombe & Golinkoff, in progress
- Spatial language through block play with 4-year-olds
  - \* Ferrara, Shallcross, Hirsh-Pasek, Newcombe & Golinkoff, in press



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#### The Evidence: Children need to hear diverse examples of words and language structures

\* Amount and diversity of verbal stimulation fosters early and rich language outcomes

\* Beebe, Jaffee & Lachman, 1992, Snow, 1986. Tamis-LeMonda, in preparation

- \* When fathers used a more diverse vocabulary in interactions with their infants at 6 months of age, their children developed more advanced communication skills at 15 months accounting for 7% of the variance.
  - ★ Pancsofar & Vernon Feagans, 2010
- \* Children's vocabulary performance in kindergarten and later in second grade related more to the occurrence of sophisticated lexical items than to quantity of lexical amount of child's talk produced during the interactive settings, at age 5, predicted 50% of the variance in children's second grade vocabulary
  - **\*** Weizman & Snow (2000)
# The 6 principles

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### The evidence: Vocabulary and grammatical development are reciprocal processes

- \* Words and grammar are "developing in synchrony across the first few years of life" (Conboy & Thal, p.209)
- \* In a bilingual sample, the amount of English words predicts English grammar and amount of Spanish words predicts the onset of Spanish grammar (Conboy & Thal, 2006)
- \* There is a reciprocal relationship between words and grammar: sometimes grammar allows children to learn words (Naigles, 1990; Gillette, Gleitman, Gleitman & Lederer (1999) Imai, Li, Haryu, Hirsh-Pasek, Golinkoff, & Shigematsu (2008); Fisher & Song (2006)

### Reprise: We can define language learning through 6 basic principles

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# And one shocking note

\* Bilingualism is the norm....not the exception

\* So these principles work well for children learning more than one

\* SO...if we use these principles as a guide, we should also be able to help low income and ELL children improve their language and school readiness skills!

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## What we know is ...

#### That Reading depends on a strong language foundation

#### •That Low SES children are getting significantly less language input

- •This affects their ability to do the statistical learning that supports language
- •This affects their processing speed
- •This affects their brain development
- •This will affect later school readiness

•When we see that ESL children are learning less well it is likely because they are poor, not because they are learning two languages

#### •What typical development looks like

- there is wide variability in trajectories for language learning
- language development is malleable

#### •And how we can change trajectories: 6 principles

Putting the theory to the test. The practical and empirical challenge.

### The practical challenge: The 6 Principles in practice



#### **Three Mothers and an Eggplant**

Foundation for Child Development (2009)



### The 6 Language principles in two language styles

		Mother 3	Mother 1
~	Children learn what they hear most	* yes	no
~	Children learn words for things and events that interest them	* yes	maybe
~	Interactive and Responsive environments build language learning	* yes	no
~	Children learn best in meaningful contexts	* yes	no
~	Children need to hear diverse examples of words and language structures	* yes	no
~	Vocabulary and grammatical development are reciprocal processes	* yes	maybe

# Can we train parents and teachers to be more like mother 3?



### We are trying... by making supermarkets into museums



In collaboration with Fresh Grocer



Ridge, Ilgaz, Weisberg, Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff, in progress







# We also trained parents and caregivers in our work on the California Preschool Curricula

- \* The California Curricula
- \* The Goal: Building language to support reading and school outcomes
- \* The Design: Putting the 6 principles to work
- \* An example:

Armand finds a worm on the playground and gently carries it to show the teacher. A group of excited children follow him, eager to learn more about the worm. Ms. Krim asks, "What did you find there, Armand?" as she signals to others to join the conversation. "Is it alive?" one child asks. The teacher responds, "What do you think? How could we tell?"

*Principles: interest, interactive and responsive, meaning, vocabulary and grammar* 





# The empirical challenge

To show that by changing input --- by systematically manipulating the 6 principles, we can change language trajectories for young children by starting early



The language for reading is malleable!

# In fact, our current research is doing just that...

asking whether ...

Children who learn language in ways consistent with the 6 principles learn more language and vocabulary that translates into reading outcomes?

Dickinson, Hirsh-Pasek & Golinkoff (2011)

## STAY TUNED



#### In sum...

- 1. Reading is a complex process
- We know about how to support code skills and less about language to support reading
- 1. Yet those who study language development in the crib have lessons for the classroom
- 1. Six principles of language learning can help us promote strong language for reading for all children
- 2. More research needs to establish links between these principles from the crib and reading outcomes in the classroom.



#### **Strong language predicts strong reading**



# And we need to support strong language skills not just in classrooms....

\* But in communities where parents live....





From the subways

to the supermarkets

## Policy implications??

- Reading outcomes will not be strong unless a child's language is strong
- Start early (4 years is too late)
- Use high teacher to child rations (so that children get enough direct input)
- Ensure high quality language in not TV, but meaningful interaction
- Mandate professional development to link research and practice
- Need a curriculum that covers all domains of development and goes beyond the classroom
- Ensure that teachers use the curricula (assess through observation & process meas.)
- Ensure that evidence based practice in preschool aligns with practice in higher grades by...
   Using effective practices that translate from preschool into elementary school
   NOT merely pushing down 1<sup>st</sup> grade into preschool
- Respect that having 2 language is a GOOD not BAD thing for children!

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