Is Child-Directed Speech Effective Training Data for Language Models?

Anonymous ACL submission

Abstract

 While high-performing language models are typically trained on hundreds of billions of words, human children become fluent language users with a much smaller amount of data. What are the features of the data they receive, and how do these features support language 007 modeling objectives? To investigate this ques- tion, we train GPT-2 models on 29M words of English-language child-directed speech and a new matched, synthetic dataset (TinyDia- logues), comparing to a heterogeneous blend of datasets from the BabyLM challenge. We evaluate both the syntactic and semantic knowl-014 edge of these models using developmentally- inspired evaluations. Through pretraining ex-**periments**, we test whether the global develop-017 mental ordering or the local discourse order- ing of children's training data support high per- formance relative to other datasets. The local properties of the data affect model results, but somewhat surprisingly, global properties do not. Further, child language input is not uniquely valuable for training language models. These findings support the hypothesis that, rather than proceeding from better data, children's learn- ing is instead substantially more efficient than 027 current language modeling techniques.

028 1 Introduction

029 Transformer-based language models (LM) show very strong performance on a wide variety of down- stream tasks, but typically only after pretraining on [h](#page-4-0)undreds of billions to trillions of words [\(Brown](#page-4-0) [et al.,](#page-4-0) [2020\)](#page-4-0). In contrast, human learners use language fluently after far less training data – in the 10s to 100s of millions of words. This "data gap" [\(Frank,](#page-4-1) [2023a\)](#page-4-1) of several orders of magnitude poses a substantial challenge for machine learning.

 Is the source of human children's efficient learn- ing a function of their data or their learning algo- rithms? While children receive rich multi-modal input from their exploration of the world, here we

focus primarily on their language input, which has **042** been a major focus of study in developmental psy- **043** chology [\(MacWhinney,](#page-5-0) [2014\)](#page-5-0). One hypothesis is **044** that the language data that children receive is a **045** uniquely rich learning signal – conversational inter- **046** action with their caregivers – that is curricularized **047** optimally to support learning [\(Eaves Jr et al.,](#page-4-2) [2016;](#page-4-2) **048** [You et al.,](#page-5-1) [2021;](#page-5-1) [Newport,](#page-5-2) [1990\)](#page-5-2). Indeed, interven- **049** tions to increase the quality of caregiver language **050** do produce improvements in children's language **051** learning [\(Ferjan Ramírez et al.,](#page-4-3) [2020\)](#page-4-3), and inter- **052** ventions to simplify model training data also result **053** in stronger performance [\(Muckatira et al.,](#page-5-3) [2024;](#page-5-3) **054** [Eldan and Li,](#page-4-4) [2023\)](#page-4-4). **055**

Language model pretraining experiments pro- **056** vide a targeted method for investigating dataset **057** quality [\(Kallini et al.,](#page-5-4) [2024\)](#page-5-4): we can manipulate **058** the training data available to models to create "con- **059** trolled rearing" experiments. We take advantage of **060** this method to investigate the properties of child- **061** directed speech for learning the syntactic and se- **062** mantic structure of language. We use GPT-2 as **063** our simulated learner, and pretrain on natural and **064** synthetic child-language data. For each of these, **065** we conduct two experiments. First, we investigate 066 whether the natural curricularization of children's 067 input – from simpler utterances to more complex **068** conversations – affects language model learning. **069** Second, we test whether the local discourse coher- **070** ence structure of dialogue results in better learning. **071** Finally, we compare to learning on a more hetero- **072** geneous blend of data from various sources. **073**

We find that the curricularization of child lan- **074** guage does not provide a uniquely valuable signal **075** for language models, supporting the hypothesis that **076** other aspects of children's learning (not simply the **077** data) – perhaps interactions with their training data **078** – are responsible for their efficiency relative to lan- **079** guage models. On the other hand, the source, com- **080** position, and local properties of the training data **081** have measurable effects on model performance. **082**

⁰⁸³ 2 Related Work

 The efficiency of children's learning has been an [i](#page-5-5)mportant focal point for recent NLP efforts [\(Hueb-](#page-5-5) [ner et al.,](#page-5-5) [2021;](#page-5-5) [Zhang et al.,](#page-5-6) [2021\)](#page-5-6). For example, last year's BabyLM challenge held the training data for models constant, while encouraging en-**trants to investigate alternative learning architec-** tures [\(Warstadt et al.,](#page-5-7) [2023\)](#page-5-7). Smaller models of this type must be evaluated using targeted bench- marks more appropriate to their performance levels, including evaluations of semantic [\(Zhuang et al.,](#page-5-8) [2023\)](#page-5-8) and grammatical abilities [\(Huebner et al.,](#page-5-5) [2021;](#page-5-5) [Warstadt et al.,](#page-5-9) [2020\)](#page-5-9). These evaluations have even been used to benchmark performance based on data from a single child [\(Qin et al.,](#page-5-10) [2024\)](#page-5-10).

 The method of "controlled rearing" (manipulat- ing data while holding the model constant) for language models [\(Frank,](#page-4-5) [2023b\)](#page-4-5) has a long his- [t](#page-4-6)ory in cognitive science, e.g. [Christiansen and](#page-4-6) [Chater](#page-4-6) [\(1999\)](#page-4-6), but has recently become prominent [f](#page-5-11)or testing learnability claims [\(Warstadt and Bow-](#page-5-11) [man,](#page-5-11) [2024;](#page-5-11) [Kallini et al.,](#page-5-4) [2024;](#page-5-4) [Misra and Ma-](#page-5-12) [howald,](#page-5-12) [2024\)](#page-5-12). Often, models trained on naturally- occurring corpora are contrasted with counterfac- tual corpora constructed via targeted experimental manipulations – for example, shuffling sentence or- dering [\(Kallini et al.,](#page-5-4) [2024\)](#page-5-4) or removing particular constructions [\(Misra and Mahowald,](#page-5-12) [2024\)](#page-5-12).

 Curricularization of training data is widely inves- tigated in machine learning [\(Bengio et al.,](#page-4-7) [2009\)](#page-4-7), with the guiding idea being that an appropriate or- dering of training examples can lead to a smoother path to the desired objective. Children's develop- ment is argued to create a curriculum to facilitate **their learning [\(Smith et al.,](#page-5-13) [2018;](#page-5-13) [Cusack et al.,](#page-4-8)** [2024\)](#page-4-8). In one study from the visual domain, [Shey-](#page-5-14) [bani et al.](#page-5-14) [\(2024\)](#page-5-14) trained self-supervised models on data from infants and found that a developmental ordering leads to stronger eventual performance compared with a reversed ordering. Our study tests this hypothesis in the language domain.

¹²⁴ 3 Methods

125 3.1 Datasets

 CHILDES The Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) is a repository of human- transcribed corpora of children and caregivers' talk [\(MacWhinney,](#page-5-0) [2014\)](#page-5-0), with children ranging from birth to age 13. We take the English subset, which consists of approximately 29M total words (includ-ing speaker labels and other metadata) across ≈11k

conversations. CHILDES is heavily skewed to- **133** wards younger ages; $\approx 90\%$ of the data is for children ages 2-5 (see Figure [1](#page-8-0) in Appendix [C\)](#page-6-0). **135**

[T](#page-4-4)inyDialogues Inspired by TinyStories [\(Eldan](#page-4-4) **136** [and Li,](#page-4-4) [2023\)](#page-4-4), we collect a synthetic dataset con- **137** sisting of approximately 29M words called TinyDi- **138** alogues (TD). Using GPT-4, we prompted the gen- **139** eration of realistic conversations involving children **140** of ages 2, 5, 10, and 15 years as the central partici- **141** pant, along with a list of other potential participants **142** (e.g. mom, teacher, babysitter). To diversify, we **143** seeded each conversation based on a list of words **144** known by children at the relevant age and varied **145** the conversation type and length (see Appendix [A\)](#page-5-15). **146**

BabyLM We further compare to the dataset dis- **147** tributed by the BabyLM challenge [\(Warstadt et al.,](#page-5-7) **148** [2023\)](#page-5-7), a 100M word dataset that is a mixture of **149** several sources including transcribed speech, child- **150** directed speech (e.g. CHILDES), children's sto- **151** rybooks, and simple Wikipedia. It is designed to **152** approximate the language data that a 10-year-old **153** child could receive. We sub-sampled \approx 29M words 154 from BabyLM to match the size of this dataset to **155** our CHILDES and TinyDialogues data. **156**

Preprocessing Training data for CHILDES and **157** TD was set up so that each line corresponded to a **158** single conversation. Training data for BabyLM **159** was set up using the pre-existing format in the 160 BabyLM challenge, which varied depending on the **161** sub-dataset. Each dataset was then split into 85/15 162 train/val splits, of approximately 24.5M training **163** words and 4.5M validation words. During train- **164** ing, GPT-2 breaks up the data into chunks of 1024 **165** consecutive tokens which are fed into the model. **166**

3.2 Evaluation 167

Zorro [\(Huebner et al.,](#page-5-5) [2021\)](#page-5-5) is designed for **168** child-directed language and aims to quantify the **169** syntactic and grammatical knowledge of language **170** models. It does so by assessing their capability to **171** distinguish between minimal pairs of sentences that **172** exhibit various grammatical contrasts. We report **173** final averages (of accuracy, higher is better) across **174** individual Zorro tasks in Section [4.](#page-2-0) **175**

Word Similarity To assess the semantic knowl- **176** edge of our models, we employ a word similarity **177** (WS) metric [\(Zhuang et al.,](#page-5-8) [2023\)](#page-5-8), which mea- **178** sures the ability of models to capture semantic **179** similarities between pairs of words. Many assess- **180** ments of children's language learning are multi- **181**

 modal and involve visual stimuli; in contrast, word similarity is a language-only measurement that can be adapted for assessing LMs. We extract word embedding representations from hidden layers of each model, compute pairwise cosine similarities between these embeddings, and report Spearman correlations between human and model similarity judgments (higher is better). The best layer of each model is chosen. We average results across sev- eral word similarity benchmarks including RG-65 [\(Rubenstein and Goodenough,](#page-5-16) [1965\)](#page-5-16), WordSim- [3](#page-5-17)53 [\(Finkelstein et al.,](#page-4-9) [2001\)](#page-4-9), SimLex-999 [\(Hill](#page-5-17) [et al.,](#page-5-17) [2015\)](#page-5-17), SimVerb-3500 [\(Gerz et al.,](#page-5-18) [2016\)](#page-5-18), and MEN (MTest-3000) [\(Bruni et al.,](#page-4-10) [2012\)](#page-4-10).

196 3.3 Experiments

 Global Ordering To test whether the natural or- dering of speech to children presents an effective curriculum for model learning, we ordered our CHILDES and TD conversations (training exam- ples) in three ways: 1) age order (from younger to older), 2) reverse order (from older to younger), and 3) random order (equivalent to default LM training practices of randomly shuffling the training data). CHILDES includes fine-grained age infor- mation of the target (main) child involved in each conversation, down to fractions of months (essen- tially days), and we ordered conversations based on this information. TD was ordered based on the conversation seed ages of 2, 5, 10, and 15 years old. For the random order experiments, we randomly shuffled the conversations and kept this shuffled order for all experiments for consistency purposes.

 Local Ordering To investigate the effects of lo- cal conversation and discourse coherence on learn- ing, we ordered utterances within each CHILDES and TD conversation in two ways: 1) normal (orig- inal) order, and 2) random order. The latter breaks the local discourse coherence, by randomly shuf-fling utterances within each conversation.

221 3.4 Model Training

 We use GPT-2 [\(Radford et al.,](#page-5-19) [2019\)](#page-5-19) with 124M parameters (small version), following prior "con- [t](#page-5-12)rolled rearing" work [\(Kallini et al.,](#page-5-4) [2024;](#page-5-4) [Misra](#page-5-12) [and Mahowald,](#page-5-12) [2024;](#page-5-12) [Qin et al.,](#page-5-10) [2024\)](#page-5-10). We trained a separate tokenizer on each of our datasets, and pretrained GPT-2 from scratch using a learning 228 rate (LR) of $1e - 04$, linear LR scheduler with no warmup steps, varying batch sizes (e.g. 4, 8, 16) per GPU, training seed of 42, and Adam optimizer

Model	Zorro	WS
CHILDES	77.77%	0.24
TD	79.42%	0.41
BabyLM	81.75%	0.42

Table 1: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models across datasets, using standard iterative training for 20 epochs (used to train BabyLM) and random global ordering.

Model	Zorro	WS.
CHILDES	74.24%	0.18
ТĐ	77.05%	0.32

Table 2: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models, comparing natural (CHILDES) vs. synthetic (TD) conversation data. These results are averaged across all relevant experiments: different global and local ordering methods and curricularization strategies.

with $\beta = (0.9, 0.999)$ and $\epsilon = 1e - 08$. 231

For our global ordering experiments, we split **232** each dataset into b approximately equal sections **233** (buckets), and trained on each repeatedly (n times) **234** before moving to the next bucket or section of the **235** dataset. This technique was intended as a compro- **236** mise between standard techniques for model train- **237** ing – which require iterated training on a dataset – **238** and human learning – which operates via a single **239** pass through ordered training data. In Section [4,](#page-2-0) **240** we report results averaging across $n = 3, 5, 10, 20$. For TD, we used the data corresponding to the four **242** seed ages as the four *buckets*. For CHILDES, we **243** experimented with different numbers of buckets **244** (b) and settled on $b = 5$ for most experiments. To 245 compare to BabyLM (which cannot be *bucketed*), **246** we also trained iteratively on each dataset for 20 **247** epochs, selecting the epoch that performed best on **248** the respective validation split (lowest val loss). **249**

4 Results and Analysis **²⁵⁰**

Major results of our experiments can be found in **251** Tables [1,](#page-2-1) [2,](#page-2-2) [3,](#page-3-0) and [4.](#page-3-1) More detailed results of the **252** curricularization experiments (i.e. broken down **253** by different values of b and n) can be found in 254 Appendix [G.](#page-9-0) **255**

As seen in Tables [1](#page-2-1) and [2,](#page-2-2) training on BabyLM **256** yields noticeably better results than CHILDES and **257** TD on Zorro (syntax), and substantially better re- **258** sults than CHILDES on WS (semantics). Overall, **259** these results are surprising: a mixture of different **260** data sources may be more effective for training **261**

Model	Order	Zorro	WS
CHILDES	Age	73.54%	0.19
CHILDES	Reverse	74.18%	0.18
CHILDES	Random	74.76%	0.18
TD	Age	77.24%	0.31
TD	Reverse	75.77%	0.31
TD	Random	77.54%	0.32

Table 3: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models, comparing global ordering methods, broken down by dataset. These results are averaged across relevant experiments (different training and curricularization methods).

Model	Order Zorro	WS
CHILDES CHILDES Random 77.23% 0.16	Normal 77.65% 0.21	
TD TD	Normal 80.67% 0.37 Random 79.03\% 0.37	

Table 4: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models, comparing local ordering methods, broken down by dataset. These results are averaged across two experiments each: standard 20-epoch training and repeated buckets ($b = 5, n = 10$) using random global ordering.

 smaller models on a limited amount of data, and even synthetic conversation data appears to be more effective than natural conversation data for training small-scale models on limited data.

 Some potential explanations include fundamen- tal differences in the data itself. CHILDES is heav- ily skewed towards younger ages (see Figure [1](#page-8-0) in Appendix [C\)](#page-6-0), whereas TD is a more uniform distri- bution across ages with more sophisticated conver- sations intended to simulate speech to older chil- dren. As such, it contains a higher fraction of more grammatical utterances and text. While collecting TD, we ensured that TD was also diverse in the type of conversation, participants, and content. This fea- ture likely leads to a more comprehensive coverage of the distribution of potential conversations. Both these factors may lead to more effective learning of syntax and semantics. Lastly, high-quality syn- thetic data – in contrast to naturalistic data, which contains disfluencies and occasional garbled tokens due to transcription issues – may simply be better suited for training LMs, especially when data is limited (and quality is likely even more important).

285 As seen in Table [3,](#page-3-0) the effects of global ordering **286** seem to have negligible effects on model performance. Zorro and WS values remain relatively **287** stable despite changes to global order. This result **288** is also surprising, as one would expect that, simi- **289** lar to humans, curricularization based on difficulty **290** would affect model learning and performance, i.e. **291** it would be easier to learn from simpler utterances **292** and conversations before moving to more difficult **293** ones. Aligning with this, model convergence be- **294** havior, especially training loss, differed on a local **295** level (e.g. per epoch or bucket) depending on the **296** ordering method, but general high-level behavior **297** (especially of the validation loss) was relatively **298** stable (see Appendix [I\)](#page-9-1). Language models, unlike **299** humans, may be less affected by curricularization, **300** especially when the amount of data is limited. **301**

From Table [4,](#page-3-1) we see that local ordering affects **302** model performance. Breaking local discourse co- **303** herence negatively impacts both Zorro and WS **304** evaluations, even though Zorro consists of single **305** sentence evaluations. Effects on WS are more ev- **306** ident for CHILDES training than TD, where WS 307 remains the same. A potential explanation is that **308** CHILDES contains noticeably shorter utterances, **309** on average, than TD (\approx 4 words vs. 13). Hence, reordering CHILDES utterances likely has a greater **311** effect on the model's ability to learn semantics from **312** similarity across a larger set of short utterances. **313**

5 Conclusion & Future Work **³¹⁴**

Why do children require so much less training 315 data than language models to become fluent lan- **316** guage users? We ran experiments using GPT-2 on **317** CHILDES, BabyLM, and a new synthetic conversa- **318** tion dataset that we collected called TinyDialogues. **319** A heterogeneous mixture of different data sources **320** performed better than homogeneous conversation **321** data – further, high-quality synthetic conversation **322** data yielded better performance than natural conver- **323** sation data. Additionally, we found that global de- **324** velopmental ordering and curricularization did not **325** have noticeable effects on performance, whereas **326** local discourse coherence structure did. In sum, it **327** seems that the curricularization of child language **328** does not provide a uniquely valuable signal for **329** language models. However, the source, composi- **330** tion, and local properties of the training data affect **331** model learning. We hope that future work builds **332** on our work here to expand upon the available eval- **333** uation benchmarks and data mixtures for compari- **334** son between models and children, and extends this **335** comparison to multi-modal datasets and models. **336**

³³⁷ Limitations

 Some limitations of our work include our current suite of evaluation benchmarks and models. We can expand our benchmarks to include more theory of mind and developmental psychology-inspired benchmarks, and ones for longer coherency evalua- tion. We can also experiment with larger language models such as LLama-3. Furthermore, we lim- ited our investigations to conversation data and the BabyLM mixture. We could explore more types and sources of data, and different varieties and proportions of data mixtures. Additionally, the CHILDES dataset is heavily skewed towards younger ages. Unfortunately, to the best of our knowledge, a more balanced and uniform dataset of high-quality textual transcriptions of child-directed conversations is not currently available, but we could consider collecting one in the future. Over- all, these are directions to potentially improve and expand upon our work in the future. We feel that, despite these limitations, our current work is an insightful and focused contribution.

³⁵⁹ Ethical Considerations

360 The majority of our datasets and evaluation bench-**361** marks are already existing, publicly available **362** datasets and benchmarks, intended for public use.

 We collected TinyDialogues using GPT-4, fol- lowing all intended use purposes and OpenAI's policies. Further, the dataset is entirely synthetic, and does not include personal or private informa- tion. As a safe and controlled language model, there is an incredibly low risk of offensive content, especially as it involves conversations with younger children. We also manually examined a large sub- set of the data and ensured there were no ethical issues. This includes profanities, racism, bias, of-fensive words, and other malicious language.

 We acknowledge the potential weaknesses of our trained models, which are small in scale and limited in performance. We will never use or encourage their use for real-world purposes. Our initial ex- periments are conducted purely for investigation purposes to test our hypotheses. We feel that our work is an important contribution to the ML, NLP, cognitive science, and psychology communities, and we encourage researchers to expand upon it.

 Our models, TinyDialogue dataset, and accom- panying publication are intended only for research purposes and to assess the effectiveness of child-directed speech for training language models. We

do not foresee any explicit way that malicious ac- **387** tors could specifically misuse our trained models **388** or models that could be trained on our dataset. **389**

- Yoshua Bengio, Jérôme Louradour, Ronan Collobert, **391** and Jason Weston. 2009. Curriculum learning. In **392** *Proceedings of the 26th annual international confer-* **393** *ence on machine learning*, pages 41–48. **394**
- Tom Brown, Benjamin Mann, Nick Ryder, Melanie **395** Subbiah, Jared D Kaplan, Prafulla Dhariwal, Arvind **396** Neelakantan, Pranav Shyam, Girish Sastry, Amanda **397** Askell, et al. 2020. Language models are few-shot **398** learners. *Advances in neural information processing* **399** *systems*, 33:1877–1901. **400**
- Elia Bruni, Gemma Boleda, Marco Baroni, and Nam- **401** Khanh Tran. 2012. [Distributional semantics in tech-](https://aclanthology.org/P12-1015) **402** [nicolor.](https://aclanthology.org/P12-1015) In *Proceedings of the 50th Annual Meeting* **403** *of the Association for Computational Linguistics (Vol-* **404** *ume 1: Long Papers)*, pages 136–145, Jeju Island, **405** Korea. Association for Computational Linguistics. **406**
- Morten H Christiansen and Nick Chater. 1999. Toward a **407**
connectionist model of recursion in human linguistic connectionist model of recursion in human linguistic **408** performance. *Cognitive Science*, 23(2):157–205. **409**
- Rhodri Cusack, Marc'Aurelio Ranzato, and Christine J **410** Charvet. 2024. Helpless infants are learning a foun- **411** dation model. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*. **412**
- Baxter S Eaves Jr, Naomi H Feldman, Thomas L Grif- **413** fiths, and Patrick Shafto. 2016. Infant-directed **414** speech is consistent with teaching. *Psychological* **415** *review*, 123(6):758. **416**
- Ronen Eldan and Yuanzhi Li. 2023. Tinystories: How **417** small can language models be and still speak coherent **418** english? *arXiv preprint arXiv:2305.07759*. **419**
- Naja Ferjan Ramírez, Sarah Roseberry Lytle, and Pa- **420** tricia K Kuhl. 2020. Parent coaching increases con- **421** versational turns and advances infant language de- **422** velopment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of* **423** *Sciences*, 117(7):3484–3491. **424**
- Lev Finkelstein, Evgeniy Gabrilovich, Yossi Matias, **425** Ehud Rivlin, Zach Solan, Gadi Wolfman, and Ey- **426** tan Ruppin. 2001. [Placing search in context: The](https://doi.org/10.1145/503104.503110) **427** [concept revisited.](https://doi.org/10.1145/503104.503110) *ACM Transactions on Information* **428** *Systems - TOIS*, 20:406–414. **429**
- Michael C Frank. 2023a. Bridging the data gap be- **430** tween children and large language models. *Trends in* **431** *Cognitive Sciences*. **432**
- Michael C Frank. 2023b. Openly accessible llms can **433** help us to understand human cognition. *Nature Hu-* **434** *man Behaviour*, 7(11):1825–1827. **435**
- Michael C Frank, Mika Braginsky, Daniel Yurovsky, **436** and Virginia A Marchman. 2021. *Variability and* **437** *consistency in early language learning: The Word-* **438** *bank project*. MIT Press. **439**

-
-
-
-
-

 Daniela Gerz, Ivan Vulic, Felix Hill, Roi Reichart, and ´ Anna Korhonen. 2016. [SimVerb-3500: A large-scale](https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/D16-1235) [evaluation set of verb similarity.](https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/D16-1235) In *Proceedings of the 2016 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natu- ral Language Processing*, pages 2173–2182, Austin, Texas. Association for Computational Linguistics.

- **446** Felix Hill, Roi Reichart, and Anna Korhonen. 2015. **447** [SimLex-999: Evaluating semantic models with \(gen-](https://doi.org/10.1162/COLI_a_00237)**448** [uine\) similarity estimation.](https://doi.org/10.1162/COLI_a_00237) *Computational Linguis-***449** *tics*, 41(4):665–695.
- **450** Philip A Huebner, Elior Sulem, Fisher Cynthia, and **451** Dan Roth. 2021. Babyberta: Learning more gram-**452** mar with small-scale child-directed language. In **453** *Proceedings of the 25th conference on computational* **454** *natural language learning*, pages 624–646.
- **455** Julie Kallini, Isabel Papadimitriou, Richard Futrell, **456** Kyle Mahowald, and Christopher Potts. 2024. Mis-**457** sion: Impossible language models. *arXiv preprint* **458** *arXiv:2401.06416*.
- **459** Victor Kuperman, Hans Stadthagen-González, and **460** Marc Brysbaert. 2012. [Age-of-acquisition ratings](https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:22137152) **461** [for 30,000 english words.](https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:22137152) *Behavior Research Meth-***462** *ods*, 44:978–990.
- **463** Brian MacWhinney. 2014. *The CHILDES project:* **464** *Tools for analyzing talk, Volume I: Transcription for-***465** *mat and programs*. Psychology Press.
- **466** [K](https://arxiv.org/abs/2403.19827)anishka Misra and Kyle Mahowald. 2024. [Language](https://arxiv.org/abs/2403.19827) **467** [models learn rare phenomena from less rare phe-](https://arxiv.org/abs/2403.19827)**468** [nomena: The case of the missing aanns.](https://arxiv.org/abs/2403.19827) *Preprint*, **469** arXiv:2403.19827.
- **470** Sherin Muckatira, Vijeta Deshpande, Vladislav Lialin, **471** and Anna Rumshisky. 2024. [Emergent abilities in](https://arxiv.org/abs/2404.02204) **472** [reduced-scale generative language models.](https://arxiv.org/abs/2404.02204) *Preprint*, **473** arXiv:2404.02204.
- **474** Elissa L Newport. 1990. Maturational constraints on **475** language learning. *Cognitive science*, 14(1):11–28.
- **476** Yulu Qin, Wentao Wang, and Brenden M. Lake. 2024. **477** A systematic investigation of learnability from single **478** child linguistic input. In *Proceedings of the 46th* **479** *Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*.
- **480** Alec Radford, Jeffrey Wu, Rewon Child, David Luan, **481** Dario Amodei, Ilya Sutskever, et al. 2019. Language **482** models are unsupervised multitask learners. *OpenAI* **483** *blog*, 1(8):9.
- **484** Herbert Rubenstein and John B. Goodenough. 1965. **485** Contextual correlates of synonymy. In *Communica-***486** *tions of the ACM (CACM) 8 (10)*.
- **487** Saber Sheybani, Himanshu Hansaria, Justin Wood, **488** Linda Smith, and Zoran Tiganj. 2024. Curriculum **489** learning with infant egocentric videos. *Advances in* **490** *Neural Information Processing Systems*, 36.
- **491** Linda B Smith, Swapnaa Jayaraman, Elizabeth Clerkin, **492** and Chen Yu. 2018. The developing infant creates a **493** curriculum for statistical learning. *Trends in cogni-***494** *tive sciences*, 22(4):325–336.
- [A](https://arxiv.org/abs/2208.07998)lex Warstadt and Samuel R. Bowman. 2024. [What](https://arxiv.org/abs/2208.07998) **495** [artificial neural networks can tell us about human](https://arxiv.org/abs/2208.07998) **496** [language acquisition.](https://arxiv.org/abs/2208.07998) *Preprint*, arXiv:2208.07998. **497**
- Alex Warstadt, Aaron Mueller, Leshem Choshen, Ethan **498** Wilcox, Chengxu Zhuang, Juan Ciro, Rafael Mos- **499** quera, Bhargavi Paranjabe, Adina Williams, Tal **500** Linzen, et al. 2023. Findings of the babylm chal- **501** lenge: Sample-efficient pretraining on developmen- **502** tally plausible corpora. In *Proceedings of the* **503** *BabyLM Challenge at the 27th Conference on Com-* **504** *putational Natural Language Learning*. **505**
- Alex Warstadt, Alicia Parrish, Haokun Liu, Anhad Mo- **506** hananey, Wei Peng, Sheng-Fu Wang, and Samuel R. **507** Bowman. 2020. [BLiMP: The benchmark of linguis-](https://doi.org/10.1162/tacl_a_00321) **508** [tic minimal pairs for English.](https://doi.org/10.1162/tacl_a_00321) *Transactions of the* **509** *Association for Computational Linguistics*, 8:377– **510** 392. **511**
- Guanghao You, Balthasar Bickel, Moritz M Daum, and **512** Sabine Stoll. 2021. Child-directed speech is opti- **513** mized for syntax-free semantic inference. *Scientific* **514** *Reports*, 11(1):16527. **515**
- Yian Zhang, Alex Warstadt, Xiaocheng Li, and **516** Samuel R. Bowman. 2021. [When do you need bil-](https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/2021.acl-long.90) **517** [lions of words of pretraining data?](https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/2021.acl-long.90) In *Proceedings* **518** *of the 59th Annual Meeting of the Association for* **519** *Computational Linguistics and the 11th International* **520** *Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing* **521** *(Volume 1: Long Papers)*, pages 1112–1125, Online. **522** Association for Computational Linguistics. **523**
- Chengxu Zhuang, Evelina Fedorenko, and Jacob An- **524** dreas. 2023. Visual grounding helps learn word **525** meanings in low-data regimes. *arXiv preprint* **526** *arXiv:2310.13257*. **527**

A TinyDialogues: Dataset Collection **⁵²⁸ Details & Examples** 529

Here we discuss some further dataset collection **530** details for TinyDialogues (TD), with examples of **531** TD conversations in Table [5.](#page-7-0) **532**

The specific GPT-4 model we use for collecting **533** our entire dataset is *gpt-4-1106-preview*, which is **534** GPT-4 Turbo with training data up to Apr 2023. **535** To increase the diversity of the generated conver- **536** sations, when prompting GPT-4, we also specify 537 the particular type of conversation (Table [6\)](#page-7-1), the **538** approximate length or number of turns $(5 \text{ or } 10),$ $(5 \text{ or } 10),$ $(5 \text{ or } 10),$ ¹ other potential participants in the conversation (Ta- **540** ble [7\)](#page-8-1), and certain words (one noun, one verb, and 541 [o](#page-4-11)ne adjective) sampled from Wordbank CDI [\(Frank](#page-4-11) **542** [et al.,](#page-4-11) [2021\)](#page-4-11) (ages 2 & 5) and AoA [\(Kuperman](#page-5-21) **543**

539

 1 [GPT-4 had a tendency to generate longer conversations,](#page-5-21) [around 10 and 20 turns instead, respectively.](#page-5-21)

 [et al.,](#page-5-21) [2012\)](#page-5-21) (ages 10 & 15), cut off by the seeded age, that must be included in the conversation for content diversity. The list of potential participants and content words varied by age, e.g. a 15-year- old teenager would likely not talk regularly with a babysitter. We also collect some additional meta- data: a list and description of all participants in the conversation, and a brief description of the con- text/setting. We only use the dialogue portions for our experiments. The GPT-4 prompt is below.

 GPT-4 Prompt: *Please construct a realistic, approximately {5, 10}-turn dialogue directly in- volving a {2, 5, 10, 15}-year-old {toddler, child, teenager}*[2](#page-6-1) **557** *as a participant. The {toddler, child, teenager} is the central participant in the dialogue, with most/all speech directed towards them. Hence, for this dialogue, please limit the vocabulary to that of which a typical {2, 5, 10, 15}-year-old {toddler, child, teenager} would understand. The dialogue should be {type}.*[3](#page-6-2) **563** *The dialogue should use the verb '{verb}', the noun '{noun}', and the adjective '{ad- jective}'. Please include the following participants along with the child: {participants}.*[4](#page-6-3) **566** *Participant labels should be surrounded by double asterisks, i.e. '**participant**'. If there are several of the same type of participant (e.g. multiple friends or class- mates), please label them distinctly, e.g. '**Friend 1**' and '**Friend 2**'. Please list and describe the participants after 'PARTICIPANTS:', briefly describe the context/setting of the dialogue after 'SETTING:', and present the dialogue itself after 'DIALOGUE:'. The turns of the dialogue should be separated by '*\n\n*'. Remember, please ensure the dialogue is realistic, and one that would likely occur in the real world directly involving a {2, 5, 10, 15}-year-old {toddler, child, teenager}."*

580 B Data Format & Preprocessing

 CHILDES & TD: We noticed some duplicate ut- terances in CHILDES conversations and removed these to the best of our ability. See below for an example of part of a single training example for CHILDES. Double asterisks surround speaker la- bels, double newline tokens separate utterances, and an end-of-text token marks the end of the conversation. This format was consistent across all **588** conversations in both CHILDES and TD datasets. **589**

***CHI**: Are those your stars?* \n\n **590** ***MOT**: Can you say star?* \n\n ***CHI**: Star.* **591** \n\n ***CHI**: Look.* \n\n ***CHI**: Stars.* \n\n **592** ***MOT**: Stars. See? Look, look at the yellow* **593** *star, a golden star.* </radiated>
594

BabyLM: We concatenated the data across **595** the BabyLM sub-datasets, then sampled approx- **596** imately 29M words to match the amount of data **597** in CHILDES and TD, while keeping the original **598** distribution among its sub-datasets intact. We sam- **599** pled in order (i.e. starting from the beginning of **600** each sub-dataset), as several BabyLM examples **601** (e.g. for Wikipedia) span multiple lines, and ran- **602** dom sampling would have broken up individual **603** examples and eliminated coherence. We do no fur- **604** ther preprocessing to the BabyLM data and keep **605** the format of the original sub-datasets. In partic- **606** ular, we do not add an <lendoftext > token to the **607** end of each example (like we do with CHILDES **608** and TD) as it is unclear where each example ends. **609**

The Python NLTK package's *word_tokenize* **610** function was used as part of our statistics calcu- **611** lations (discussed in Appendix [C\)](#page-6-0). The parameters **612** for this function are: *language* is 'english' (default) **613** and *preserve* line is 'False' (default) so line breaks 614 are ignored. Specifically, it was used for calculat- **615** ing the number of unique words in Appendix [C.](#page-6-0) **616** For consistency purposes, data processing and sam- **617** pling, and other word-related statistics (e.g. total **618** word count, avg. words per utterance) were done **619** by simply splitting the text by space. **620**

C Dataset Statistics **⁶²¹**

CHILDES consists of \approx 11k conversations over 622 ≈29M words. The mean length of utterances is low, **623** at only 3.85 words (minus speaker label), which is **624** likely partially due to the skew in age, where $\approx 90\%$ 625 of the data is for children ages 2-5 (see Figure **626** [1\)](#page-8-0). CHILDES contains ≈74.5k unique words and **627** ≈448 utterances (on avg.) per conversation. **628**

BabyLM consists of \approx 443k unique words in 629 the \approx 29M word subsample we take for our ex- 630 periments. Individual example statistics are not **631** available as some examples (e.g. Wikipedia) span **632** multiple lines, and no end of example markers were **633** given. More specific details and statistics about the **634** dataset (including its sub-datasets) can be found in **635** [Warstadt et al.](#page-5-7) [\(2023\)](#page-5-7), e.g. Table 1 in their paper. **636**

TinyDialogues consists of \approx 130k conversations 637

² *toddler* is used for age 2, *child* for ages 5 and 10, and *teenager* for age 15.

³A random conversation type along with its explanation is sampled each time from the ones in Table [6.](#page-7-1)

⁴If $turn = 5$, we randomly sample one additional partici-pant from the corresponding list in Table [7.](#page-8-1) For $turn = 10$, we randomly sample two additional participants.

Table 5: Examples of collected TinyDialogues conversations by seed age.

Conversation Type	Explanation
Explanatory	It should involve explaining something(s) and potentially answering question(s).
Functional	It should involve attempting to get something(s) done or accomplishing particular goal(s).
Narrative	It should involve telling a story (real or fictional) or sharing/recounting an experience.
Argumentative	It should involve conflict(s) or disagreement(s) that lead to an argument.
	In most cases, the argument should be resolved, resulting in the {child, toddler, teenager} learning.

Table 6: The four TinyDialogues conversation types along with their explanations.

across \approx **29M** words. There are \approx 14 utterances (on avg.) per conversation, ≈96k unique words, and 13.42 words (on avg.) per utterance (minus speaker label). Since TD contains a uniform distribution across ages (including older ages), it is not surpris- ing that the word diversity and average length of utterance are higher than CHILDES. Further, the average TD conversation is shorter than CHILDES, resulting in a higher number of individual conver- sations. More detailed statistics for TD (broken down by age) are in Table [8.](#page-8-2) As expected, the vocabulary (unique words) and average length of utterance increase with age. Conversely, the total number of conversations and average utterances

per conversation decrease with age. **652**

D Further Training & Compute Details **⁶⁵³**

We searched through different values of the learn- **654** ing rate (LR) for GPT-2 training. Specifically, **655** $LR = \{1e - 06, 5e - 06, 1e - 05, 5e - 05, 1e - 656\}$ 04, 5e−04, 1e−03}. Through initial experiments, **657** we found that $LR = 1e - 04$ seemed to result in the 658 best convergence behavior across the board, and **659** used that for all our training experiments. **660**

Our experiments were run on varying GPUs. **661** This included a single RTX 3090TI (24GB 662 VRAM), up to eight A40s (48GB VRAM each), up **663** to eight A100s (80GB VRAM each), and up to four **664**

TD Seed Age	Potential Participants
	[mom, dad, older sibling, babysitter]
	(mom, dad, older sibling, younger sibling, teacher, friend, classmate, grandparent, babysitter, neighbor
10	{mom, dad, older sibling, younger sibling, teacher, friend, classmate, grandparent, babysitter, neighbor
15	{mom, dad, older sibling, younger sibling, teacher, friend, classmate, grandparent, neighbor, coach, tutor, boyfriend, girlfriend}

Table 7: The list of other potential participants in each TinyDialogues conversation by seed age.

Age	Conversations		Total Words Unique Words	Avg. Utterances per Convo	Avg. Words per Utterance
◠	43.697	7,183,704	16.269	15.75	8.32
	33.248	7.194.902	15,534	14.01	13.36
10	27,198	7,196,356	42,508	13.61	17.35
15	25.589	7,199,752	73,484	12.88	19.77
Total	129,732	28,774,714	95,868	14.29	13.42

Table 8: TinyDialogues dataset statistics broken down by seed age.

Figure 1: Total CHILDES word counts (utterances only, no metadata) by age.

665 H100s (80GB VRAM each). Training time varied **666** by the type and number of GPUs and the particular **667** experiment (e.g. number of repeated buckets).

⁶⁶⁸ E Zorro Evaluation Details

 Zorro was inspired by BLiMP [\(Warstadt et al.,](#page-5-9) [2020\)](#page-5-9) and is a modification for child-directed lan- guage (e.g. lower vocabulary). However, it was designed specifically for masked language models such as RoBERTa. To adapt it to GPT-2, we refor- matted the Zorro data to match the BLiMP format and used the BLiMP evaluation in the BabyLM 676 since the difference is mainly just **busished** evaluation suite^{[5](#page-8-3)} since the difference is mainly just the data. Further, we use the full Zorro test suite and do not filter examples by vocabulary. Hence, our results are not comparable to [Qin et al.](#page-5-10) [\(2024\)](#page-5-10)

5 [https://github.com/babylm/](https://github.com/babylm/evaluation-pipeline-2023)

[evaluation-pipeline-2023](https://github.com/babylm/evaluation-pipeline-2023)

who filter Zorro examples by training vocabulary. 680

To better match the training data format and **681** assess the effects of speaker labels, we came up **682** with three variations of Zorro: 1) the original 683 Zorro sentences (used to assess BabyLM), 2) the **684** sentences with a common CHILDES speaker la- **685** bel prepended (used to assess CHILDES), and 3) **686** the sentences with a common TD speaker label **687** prepended (used to assess TD). To further match **688** the training data as shown in Appendix [B,](#page-6-4) the **689** speaker labels were surrounded by double aster- **690** isks, and sentences included double newline tokens **691** (before and after). We used the mother speaker **692** label (MOT) for CHILDES, and the child speaker **693** label (Child) for TD (see paragraph below), as these **694** were some of the most frequent speaker labels for **695** each dataset respectively (see Table [9\)](#page-9-2). Further, pre- **696** liminary experiments showed that these particular **697** labels worked best for assessing each model. **698**

One inconsistency in the collected TD data was **699** that the speaker label for the target child varied **700** across conversations and ages. For 2-year-olds, **701** GPT-4 labeled the child *toddler*, and 15-year-olds **702** were labeled *teenager*. This is likely due to our **703** prompt as discussed in Appendix [A.](#page-5-15) Further, within **704** the same age, sometimes the label also differed **705** (e.g. *Child*, *5-year-old child*, *5-year-old*). To align **706** with CHILDES, which only used the speaker label 707 CHI for every target child, and make Zorro eval- **708** uation consistent across the board, we converted **709** most plausible target child speaker labels in our TD **710** dataset (based on manual examination) to *Child*. **711**

Table 9: List of the top speaker labels for CHILDES and TD training splits along with their frequencies and proportions. This is after converting all target child labels for TD to *Child*, as described in Appendix [E.](#page-8-4) For CHILDES: MOT stands for *mother*, CHI for *child*, INV for *investigator*, and FAT for *father*.

⁷¹² F Further Experimental Motivation

 If a dataset can be described as a concatenation of equal-sized buckets A, B, and C, the repeated bucket approach can be described as An Bn Cn. The inspiration for this approach is due to several reasons, other than being a compromise between standard iterated training and human learning (as discussed in Section [3.4\)](#page-2-3). Firstly, the iterative ap- proach (training across the entire dataset several times) can potentially *wash away* global ordering effects (especially when the epoch count is high) as global order differences mainly exist within each individual epoch. When trained across several epochs, its effects may be less noticeable. The repeated buckets approach maintains the global or- der across training as a whole. The model can learn more from each bucket before moving to the next.

⁷²⁹ G Further Experimental Results

 In addition to the experiments discussed in Section [4,](#page-2-0) we tried different values of n (number of times to repeat each bucket) for CHILDES and TD repeated 733 buckets experiments. In particular, $n = 3, 5, 10, 20$. The chosen models for the repeated bucket exper- iments are the final models at the end of training. For CHILDES, we also tried different values of b (number of buckets, or approximately equal sec- tions to divide the dataset into) using the global 739 age order. In particular, $b = 3, 5, 10$. We report average results for different values of n and b in Tables [10](#page-9-3) and [11,](#page-9-4) respectively. We also compare the typical iterative training approach (20 epochs) 743 to repeated buckets using $n = 20$ (analogous to 20 epochs). Results are in Table [12.](#page-10-0)

Model	η	Zorro	WS
CHILDES	3	68.89%	0.10
CHILDES	5	72.02%	0.14
CHILDES	10	77.01%	0.19
CHILDES	20	75.75%	0.23
TD	3	71.51%	0.18
TD	5	74.48%	0.23
TD	10	79.21%	0.32
TD	20	79.65%	0.41

Table 10: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models, comparing different values of n, broken down by dataset. These results are averaged across three different global ordering methods: age order, reverse order, and random order. For CHILDES, we use $b = 5$.

Model	h	Zorro	WS
CHILDES	3	73.36%	0.35
CHILDES	5	72.12%	0.35
CHILDES	10	70.06%	0.35

Table 11: Evaluation results of our CHILDES GPT-2 models, comparing different values of b. These results are averaged across three experiments each: global age order with $n = 3, 5, 10$.

H Importance of Speaker Labels **⁷⁴⁵**

As an additional experiment, we also assess the **746** importance of having speaker labels for each utter- **747** ance. We train some versions of our models after re- **748** moving all speaker labels (including their surround- **749** ing double asterisks). The results are reported in **750** Table [13.](#page-10-1) As seen, removing speaker labels greatly **751** detriments syntax and grammar learning (Zorro), **752** but semantics (WS) appears unaffected. **753**

I Convergence Behavior of Models **⁷⁵⁴**

We plot the convergence graphs (train and vali- **755** dation losses vs. epoch) for several sets of our **756** experiments in Figures [2](#page-10-2) to [8.](#page-13-0) For the repeated **757** buckets experiments, we treat the entire training **758** run as a single epoch. We can notice interesting pat- **759** terns/trends in the convergence behavior of models **760** depending on several factors including the global **761** ordering and curricularization method. **762**

From Figure [2,](#page-10-2) we see that BabyLM converges 763 to higher losses than CHILDES and TD, although it **764** seems to perform better at test-time for syntax and **765** semantics (as discussed in Section [4\)](#page-2-0). Losses during training could simply be higher as the dataset is **767** more complicated and varied since it is a mixture. **768**

From Figure [3,](#page-11-0) we can see that when we train using the typical iterative epochs approach, the train- **770**

Model	Approach	Zorro	WS
CHILDES	20-epochs	77.13%	0.52
CHILDES	$b = 5, n = 20$	75.75%	0.48
TD	20-epochs	79.41\%	0.54
TD	$n=20$	79.65%	0.54

Table 12: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models, comparing typical iterative training (20 epochs) vs. repeated buckets with $n = 20$ (and $b = 5$ for CHILDES), broken down by dataset. These results are averaged across three experiments each: the three different global ordering methods (age order, reverse order, random order).

Model	Speaker Label?	Zorro	WS
CHILDES	Yes	77.65%	0.21
CHILDES	Nο	71.84%	0.22.
TD	Yes	80.67%	0.37
TD	Nο	76.53%	0.37

Table 13: Evaluation results of our GPT-2 models, comparing speaker label vs. no speaker label for conversation utterances, broken down by dataset. These results are averaged across two experiments each: global random order with the typical iterative approach (20 epochs) and $n = 10$ (with $b = 5$ for CHILDES).

 ing loss has a cyclical pattern using global age or- der and reverse order, while it converges smoothly for random order. From Figures [4](#page-11-1) and [5,](#page-12-0) we see that when using the repeated buckets approach for both CHILDES and TD, global age order leads to a slowly cyclical increase in the training loss, while it generally decreases for reverse and random order. Throughout these experiments, while the training loss differs and individual buckets exhibit differing patterns, the high-level behavior of the validation loss and hence overall learning is similar. This aligns with the results we saw in Section [4.](#page-2-0)

 From Figures [6](#page-12-1) and [7,](#page-13-1) we see that varying b and n result in minor changes in behavior for the train-785 ing loss. Specifically, by increasing n , the training loss has a more clearly defined cyclical pattern, and the losses converge to lower values. This is ex- pected, since increasing n is analogous to training on more epochs. From Figure [8,](#page-13-0) we see that local interventions – randomly shuffling utterances and removing speaker labels (see Appendix [H\)](#page-9-5) – have minor effects on convergence behavior.

⁷⁹³ J Licenses and Intended Use

794 We used all existing datasets and models for their **795** intended use. GPT-2 is licensed under the Mod-**796** ified MIT License. CHILDES is made available

Figure 2: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) by dataset, using iterative training for 20 epochs. From top to bottom: CHILDES, TinyDialogues, BabyLM.

under TalkBank which is governed by the Creative **797** Commons CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 copyright license **798** (see <https://talkbank.org/share/rules.html>). We **799** plan to release the TinyDialogues dataset under **800** the standard MIT license. Information about the **801** BabyLM challenge and its dataset (which is a col- **802** lection of portions of several sub-datasets) is at **803** <https://babylm.github.io/index.html>. **804**

K Code & Data **805**

We plan to publicly release all our code and data. **806** Some of the code was written with the assistance **807** of ChatGPT (specifically, GPT-4 and GPT-4o). **808**

Figure 3: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) of TinyDialogues using the typical iterative training approach for 20 epochs, for different global orders. From top to bottom: age order, reverse order, random order.

Figure 4: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) of CHILDES using the repeated buckets training approach with $b = 5, n = 10$, for different global orders. From top to bottom: age order, reverse order, random order.

Figure 5: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) of TinyDialogues using the repeated buckets training approach with $n = 10$, for different global orders. From top to bottom: age order, reverse order, random order.

Figure 6: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) of CHILDES using the repeated buckets training approach with $b = 5$, for different values of n. From top to bottom: $n = 3, 5, 10, 20$.

Figure 7: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) of CHILDES using the repeated buckets training approach with $n = 5$, for different values of b. From top to bottom: $b = 3, 5, 10$.

Figure 8: Convergence graphs (train and val loss) of CHILDES, looking at the effects of local interventions – shuffling utterances and removing speaker labels – using the repeated buckets approach with $b = 5, n = 10$. From top to bottom: original data (no changes), random shuffling of utterances, no speaker labels.