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1 The function and evolution of child-directed 2 communication

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23 Abstract

24 Humans communicate with small children in unusual and highly conspicuous ways (child-directed
25 communication (CDC)), which enhance social bonding and facilitate language acquisition. CDC-like inputs
26 are also reported for some vocally learning animals, suggesting similar functions in facilitating
27 communicative competence. However, adult great apes, our closest-living relatives, rarely signal to their
28 infants, implicating communication surrounding the infant as the main input for infant great apes and
29 early humans. Given cross-cultural variation in the amount and structure of CDC, we suggest that child-
30 surrounding communication provides essential compensatory input when CDC is less prevalent— a
31 paramount topic for future studies.

32

33 Introduction

34 Human languages exhibit enormous variation at all linguistic levels, ranging from phonemes, the
35 smallest meaning-distinguishing units, to morphemes, the smallest meaning-bearing units, to words,
36 higher-level constructions, and rules of combination. Few, if any, of these features are under strong
37 genetic control. As a consequence, linguistic units must be learned from scratch by every maturing
38 individual: a process that, while often described as “effortless” [1], in fact takes many thousands of
39 hours of exposure over multiple years. Inevitably, the communicative environment must provide the
40 input required for learning a native language.

41

42 One prominent source of this input is a special speech register used by caregivers to address infants and
43 young children, frequently referred to as babytalk, motherese, parentese and, more recently, infant-
44 directed or child-directed speech [2]. In this Essay, we use a more neutral term child-directed
45 communication (CDC, see Box 1) since there is lack of agreement of what constitutes infancy in humans,

46 and moreover, the input is modality independent (i.e., it is also encountered in sign languages [3,4]).
47 Such cross-modal prevalence has even been argued to support the notion that CDC is an automatic and
48 potentially species-wide trait [5]. Both in signed and spoken languages, CDC includes other multi-modal
49 features such as more exaggerated facial expressions [6], modified gestures [7] and motions in general,
50 with the latter known as motionese [8].

51

52 **Box 1. Definitions of key terms**

53 Child-directed communication (CDC): All communication specifically directed at children, in which the
54 properties and structure of the signal often change in predictable ways, e.g. higher pitch, more
55 exaggerated gestures and more repetition. CDC supports language learning in children [2,9].

56 Child-surrounding communication (CSC): All communication that is perceptible to the child but not
57 directed at them.

58 Immature-directed communication: All communication specifically directed at the immature animal, as
59 indicated by the vocalizations or gestures being accompanied by body or head orientation towards the
60 immature animal, as well as a change in structural or acoustic features, for instance more repetition.

61 Natural pedagogy: The specific aspects of human communication that allow and facilitate the transfer of
62 generic knowledge to novices [10].

63 9-month revolution: A large set of cognitive and socio-cognitive skills that human infants typically
64 develop at around 9-12 months of age. Within this skill set they develop the ability to use gaze-
65 following, social referencing, pointing, joint attention and imitation to join the adult's attentional focus
66 [11]. They also become able to interpret adults' gestures as intentional acts [12].

67 Vocal learning: describes vocal production learning, which is traditionally defined as the production of
68 novel vocalizations as a result of learning from an acoustic signal [13]. Today, many dimensions and
69 degrees of vocal production learning are acknowledged [14]. Only few animal species are known to be

70 capable of vocal production learning (e.g. songbirds, hummingbirds, cetaceans and pinnipeds). In
71 contrast to vocal production learning stand usage and comprehension learning, which are more
72 common in a wide variety of species [15]. Usage learning is defined as learning to produce a signal in a
73 new context as a result of acoustic experience. Comprehension learning is defined as learning a new
74 meaning of a signal as a result of experience [13].

75

76 A second and much less researched source of input is child-surrounding communication (CSC, Box 1),
77 which includes all communication that is in perceptible proximity to, but not specifically directed
78 towards the child. Typically, this involves two or more individuals engaged in some type of social
79 interaction accompanied by a linguistic exchange. It may also include linguistic input from media
80 sources (e.g. TV, radio), but it remains unclear which impact this type of input might have on the child's
81 language development. CSC input is ubiquitous, and at least as omnipresent as CDC, yet we know much
82 less about its functional role in language acquisition. The few available studies on CSC suggest that it has
83 less impact than CDC on linguistic development in early ontogeny [16,17].

84

85 The reliance on child-directed communication for the acquisition of communicative competence may be
86 explained by three distinct evolutionary pathways (Fig 1). First, it might be shared with our closest living
87 relatives, the great apes. If this is the case we can assume that it is a feature that was also present in
88 early hominins (i.e. the "African Apes"; extant and extinct *Homo*, *Pan* and *Gorillini* genera). Second, it
89 may be derived in humans, and perhaps be one of the drivers of the evolution of language, potentially
90 as part of a wider change in cognitive architecture of early humans. This derived state can have arisen
91 uniquely in our ancestors or, third, it can be fully or partially shared with other, distantly related taxa, in
92 which case it arose via convergent evolution.

93

94 **Fig 1. Evolutionary pathways of child-directed communication.** A feature such as child-directed
95 communication with the function of aiding the acquisition of communicative competence can be (1)
96 ancestral: homologously derived among African great apes and thus also found in humans, (2) unique
97 among the great apes but convergently shared analogously with other, more distantly related species,
98 or (3) newly evolved within our own species. Red represents the presence of immature-directed
99 communication features. Outline credits: Human - T. Michael Keeseey; Chimpanzee: Jonathan Lawley;
100 Bonobo: T. Michael Keeseey; Gorilla: T. Michael Keeseey (after Colin M.L. Burnett); Orangutan: Gareth
101 Monger; Gibbon: Kai R. Caspar; Tamarin: Yan Wong and T.F. Zimmerman; Zebra Finch: Jim Bendon
102 (photography) and T. Michael Keeseey (vectorization); Bat: Yan Wong; Squamate: Ghedo and T. Michael
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107 <http://www.http://phylopic.org/>. The layout of the figure was achieved in R (version 4.1.2, R
108 Development Core Team, 2012).

109
110

111 Current evidence suggests that in non-human primates in general (hereafter primates) the ability to
112 produce species-specific vocalizations develops with relatively little environmental contribution, i.e.,
113 irrespective of auditory input [18-21]. Instead, input seems to have more of a role in guiding vocal usage
114 and comprehension [22-25]. Nonetheless, at least some vocal production, flexibility does exist in
115 primates, although mainly in terms of socially driven vocal accommodation [22,26-32]. Although this
116 suggests a role for social input, how much of this is immature-directed communication (IDC) versus
117 immature-surrounding communication remains unclear [33]. So far, the few studies that have assessed

118 immature-directed vocalizations in great apes have yielded low rates (chimpanzees, *Pan troglodytes*
119 [33]; bonobos, *Pan paniscus* [34]). A few studies have described vocalizations used by mothers in
120 chimpanzees [35] and orangutans [36]. However, this directed communication does not display any of
121 the features or functions of natural pedagogy. Overall, the current state-of-the-art suggests that
122 immature-directed input has only a small impact on great ape vocal ontogeny, if any. The preliminary
123 conclusion thus appears to be that most acoustic features of CDC are derived in humans. However, in
124 the structural domain some precursors of CDC might exist in apes.

125
126 However, a striking exception is found in the gestural domain. Orangutans [37], chimpanzees [38] and
127 bonobos [39] all use immature-directed gestures. Furthermore, one CDC-like feature, repetition, is
128 found in gorilla [40] and chimpanzee gestures [41]. The use of specific gestures and their repetition rates
129 by adult great apes towards immature individuals varies depending on the age and experience of the
130 immature animal, as in humans, suggesting functional significance in the acquisition of communicative
131 competence [40,41]. However, repetitions of gestures following lack of comprehension have also been
132 described in adult orangutans [42]. In addition, bonobos modify communication signals according to
133 recipient familiarity [43]. All of this suggests at least some shared cognitive features with humans.
134 Evidently, more research is needed to assess whether immature-directed gestures can be considered
135 the functional equivalent of CDC, especially in light of suggestions that at least part of the gestural
136 repertoire are the result of innovations and therefore have to be learned [44].

137
138 If CDC is fully or at least partially derived in humans, this raises two important questions. First, which
139 elements of the broad bundle of features that make up human CDC were already present in the last
140 common ancestor? Identifying which elements were pre-existing (homologies: present in great apes),
141 which are found in other animals (analogies: convergently evolved), and which are new and uniquely

142 derived in our lineage would improve our understanding of how language acquisition evolved (Fig 1).
143 Second, as IDC in primates in general appears to be rare, primates must acquire the learnt part of their
144 communication from the communication that surrounds them, but is largely not directed at them. Has
145 this originally predominant source of input remained significant in humans, or has CDC replaced it (Fig
146 2)?

147
148 **Fig 2. Transition of child-surrounding to child-directed communication.** The transition of the
149 importance of use of child-surrounding communication (CSC) to child-directed communication (CDC).
150 Darker color shows importance/presence and brighter color possible insignificance of CSC and CDC from
151 early hominins to extant humans.

152
153
154 In this Essay, we aim to address these two questions. In the first section, we deconstruct CDC into its
155 component parts and assess their proposed functions; we then ask for each of them whether
156 comparable phenomena exist in non-human animals (hereafter animals). In the second section, we
157 contrast CDC in humans with the lesser-studied CSC to shed light on the interplay between these two
158 forms of input and their respective roles in language acquisition. Answers to these questions should not
159 only improve our understanding of the development and acquisition of language but also its
160 evolutionary progression.

161
162 **The features and functions of CDC**

163 CDC differs from adult-directed communication in a wide range of acoustic and structural features. This
164 has been observed in numerous cultures and is widely considered a universal of human language [9, 45,

165 46]. Over the past few decades, a plethora of studies have shown that features of CDC (Table 1) support
 166 language acquisition by infants both in comprehension [47, 48] and production [49-51]. CDC is part of a
 167 more general package of child-directed behaviors that serve to pass on cultural knowledge and skills to
 168 the next generation, known as natural pedagogy [10] (Box 1). This active transmission process rests on
 169 an (arguably) uniquely human capacity, ostension, which underlies pointing and results in gaze following
 170 (often followed by joint attention on objects between caretaker and child [52] or a state of shared
 171 intentionality more broadly [11]), as well as child-directed speech [10]. In this Essay, we argue that CDC
 172 is a crucial part of this universal form of teaching. Such natural pedagogy is almost certainly derived
 173 relative to the non-human great apes (hereafter great apes) and potentially evolved in relation to the
 174 frequently highlighted shift in the breeding system from independent to more cooperative [53].
 175 Although the child-development literature may seem to suggest that natural pedagogy is primarily
 176 aimed at preverbal infants and mainly geared toward teaching cultural knowledge, CDC is an obvious
 177 and essential part of natural pedagogy extending well beyond early infancy. In fact, one might
 178 hypothesize that CDC is a core feature enabling the transmission of language and as a consequence the
 179 evolution of such a complex communication system.

180

181 **Table 1. Known features of child-directed communication (CDC).**

Type of feature	Known feature of CDC	Proposed function	Reference
Acoustic	Pitch variability	Attention grabbing	[54]
Acoustic	Lengthening of vowels and pauses	Segmentation and discrimination of sounds	[55,56]
Acoustic	Extended vowel triangle	Sound discrimination	[57]
Acoustic	Clear articulation	Facilitate comprehension	[46,58]
Acoustic	Increased voice-onset time	Sound discrimination	[59]

Acoustic	Slower speaking rate	Facilitate comprehension, discrimination and segmentation	[54,60]
Structural	Frequent repetitions	Structural generalization of word/unit classes	[61,62]
Structural	Short utterances	Facilitate comprehension	[63,64]
Structural	Low type/token ratio	Facilitate comprehension	[65,66]
Structural	Simplified syntax and semantics	Facilitate comprehension	[63,65]
Structural	Frequent use of diminutives	Simplification of certain morphological aspects (language specific)	[67,68]
Structural	Frequent questions	Invite response, repetition, attention grabbing	[69,70]
Structural	Variation sets	Structural generalization of word classes	[71,72]
Structural	Scaffolding	Learning of word constructions	[73]

182 The first eight entries above the bold dividing line represent elements where a corresponding form
183 could possibly be present in animal vocal communication.

184

185

186 Adults and older children use the bundle of acoustic and structural features of CDC in varying
187 combinations when talking to infants and younger children (Table 1). For many of these features, there
188 is evidence that they facilitate the child's language learning.

189

190 Regarding the prosodic and acoustic features of the speech, CDC involves the production of higher and
191 more variable pitch [54], systematic lengthening of vowels and pauses [55,56,74] and an extended

192 “vowel triangle” or vowel hyperarticulation [57,75]. Studies have shown that these prosodic
193 modifications attract the child’s attention [76] from an early age and that CDC is more salient to children
194 than adult-directed communication and is actually preferred by them [60,77-79]. Indeed,
195 neurobiological research has revealed that an infant’s exposure to CDC in their first year of life results in
196 a higher brain activation in their left and right temporal areas compared with adult-directed speech [80].
197 These prosodic modifications also elicit increased infant vocal responses during their prelinguistic phase
198 [81], a form of active participation crucial to language acquisition [2]. Infants listening to CDC rather
199 than adult-directed speech also show greater sensitivity to syllable and vowel discrimination [75,82].
200 Lastly, caregivers tend to use exaggerated prosody to mark new or relevant vocabulary [74,83,84]. These
201 prosodic characteristics of CDC not only support the detection of word boundaries [85], but also word
202 comprehension [48,86] and production [49]. In sum, acoustic alternations of the speech signal appear to
203 accelerate various aspects of language acquisition (see [87] for a review), suggesting that CDC serves as
204 an evolved teaching tool.

205

206 Regarding the structural features, CDC is characterized by short utterances [63,64], a low type/token
207 ratio [65,66], which indicates that caregivers use a simplified vocabulary, and the use of many questions
208 [69,70], diminutives [67,68] and repetitions [61,62]. One structural feature in particular is known to have
209 a significant role in the acquisition of language: frequency effects. The more frequently an element
210 occurs in the child’s input, the faster it is expected to be learned [88,89]. Recent research has also
211 shown that frequent repetitions are structured in CDC. Repetitions of constructions at the beginning of
212 utterances (e.g., this is an X [62,90]) and discontinuous repetitions (e.g., I X you [91,92]) are ubiquitous
213 and support the generalization of word classes, such as nouns and verbs [93]. In addition, repetitive
214 structures or distribution of words surrounding specific verbs support the generalization of meaning
215 [94], and the high number of repetitions found in CDC are positively correlated with word

216 comprehension [95,96]. A specific form of repetitions frequently used in CDC is variation sets, successive
217 utterances with partial self-repetitions produced by caregivers [71,72], which themselves are positively
218 related to better linguistic outcomes in naturalistic longitudinal [97] and experimental settings [98].
219 These findings again support the hypothesis that CDC functions to accelerate language acquisition.

220

221 In addition to the prosodic and structural features of CDC, another important factor is the absolute
222 amount of linguistic input children receive. A number of studies have indicated that the amount of CDC
223 children experience is correlated with their later vocabulary development [16,99-102] and their word
224 processing skills [101]. The quality (variety of words and syntactic structures) of CDC also impacts
225 language development. Longitudinal studies have shown how input quality at an earlier stage of
226 development predicts subsequent diversity and variance in language outcome at a later stage of
227 development [103,104]. Quality and quantity may even have different roles during the child's language
228 development. For example, a longitudinal study of vocabulary acquisition revealed that input quantity
229 mattered most during the second year of development, whereas input quality was more important
230 during the third year [50]. The child's ability to profit from different properties of CDC might therefore
231 vary across development.

232

233 Most of the previously reviewed evidence is from children growing up in modern Western societies,
234 characterized by child-rearing practices that are very different from what is typically seen in hunter-
235 gatherer groups, our evolved and species-typical way of life [17]. In addition, there is substantial
236 variation both within and across cultures in the amount of CDC that occurs and its features. Also
237 important is that, in terms of sheer amount, there are linguistic communities in which children are only
238 rarely directly addressed by their caregivers [105,106], suggesting that CDC is not essential for language
239 acquisition, at least not as the main source of linguistic experience. A comparative study by Shneidman

240 et al. [16] demonstrated that for 1-year-old children growing up in a Yucatec Mayan community the
241 mean number of utterances a child encountered per hour amounted to approximately 400 utterances,
242 with only 20% of it being directed to the child. The US group of 1-year olds that served as a comparison
243 were exposed to approximately 900 utterances per hour, with more than 70% of these utterances being
244 directed. More recent studies from non-WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich and Democratic
245 [107]) cultures confirmed that the amount of directed communication children are exposed to can vary
246 strongly (e.g., Netherlands: 303 vs. Mozambique: 58 utterances of CDC/30 min [108]; Tseltal: 3.63 min of
247 CDC/hour [109]; Tsimane: >1 min/daylight hour [17]; North American: 11.36 min of CDC/hour [110]),
248 raising questions about the relevance of CDC as the critical source of language acquisition. So far the
249 factors determining the amount of CDC are unclear. In particular the role of the child in the society
250 might be crucial, i.e., whether a society adapts situations to the child or expects to the child to adapt to
251 the situation [106,111].

252

253 Nonetheless, various studies revealed the presence of CDC features in non-WEIRD cultures (e.g. higher
254 pitch [112]; slower speaking rate [113]; repetitions, diminutives and simpler syntax [114]). Overall the
255 results suggest that both similarities (e.g. in pitch [113]) and differences [115] between WEIRD and non-
256 WEIRD cultures do exist. However, not all CDC features can be found in every culture. In Quiché Mayan,
257 for example, mothers do not seem to produce higher pitch when talking to their children, potentially
258 because they must use this register when speaking to a person of higher status [116].

259

260 At this stage, it seems that the only universal characteristic of CDC is the presence of repetitive
261 structural patterns in the input. Clearly, generalizations would be premature until more research reveals
262 patterns linked to the social organization of a linguistic community. However, if one considers CDC as a
263 toolkit, the main features of CDC (Table 1) presumably change gradually as the infant progresses to

264 being a toddler and preschooler [117-120]. During the earliest stage before the 9-month revolution [12]
265 (see Box 1), acoustic and structural features appear to be very prominent, whereas structural features
266 seem to gain greater prominence at later stages (Table 1). Thus, initially the function of CDC may be to
267 establish and strengthen the social bond with infants, direct attention [121], introduce turn-taking via
268 proto-conversations [122], and scaffold the learning of the prosody, phonemes, morphemes and first
269 words of the local language. After the 9-month revolution, once joint attention, intention reading,
270 symbol recognition and rational imitation [11] have emerged, CDC may instead be geared more toward
271 the learning of vocabulary and grammar.

272

273 A key next step in research would be to determine, for each culture, which features occur at what stage
274 in development and in which combination, and how these tools interact. CDC might turn out to be
275 heterogeneous across cultures. This variation might then be linked to the age at which children achieve
276 adult-level competence in the various components of language.

277

278 **The features and functions of immature-directed vocalizations** 279 **in animals**

280 To identify both the evolutionary roots and adaptive functions of CDC in humans we must examine
281 similar phenomena in animals. We already noted that preliminary work on great apes suggests our
282 common ancestor featured few, if any, of the elements of CDC as listed in Table 1, at least in the vocal
283 domain. However, it must be stressed that this absence may simply reflect a lack of focused research
284 effort rather than actual absence. But if it is confirmed, this would suggest that surrounding
285 vocalizations provide the primary input for the learned part of the vocal development in great apes and

286 that CDC originated *de novo* in the human lineage (Fig 1), presumably linked to the emergence of natural
287 pedagogy, which may have preceded, and in fact facilitated, language evolution [53].

288
289 We now turn to possible convergent cases. First, we already discussed calls by great ape mothers, but
290 they also occur in other primates [123,124], as well as in many non-primate species, where mothers call
291 to their infants to retrieve them. Examples include domestic cats (*Felis silvestris catus* [125]), and
292 ungulates such as domestic sheep (*Ovis aries* [126]), cattle (*Bos taurus* [127]), goitred gazelles (*Gazella*
293 *subgutturosa* [128]) or saiga antelopes (*Saiga tatarica tatarica* [129]). Second, immature-directed calls
294 may serve to aid recognition of the mother's voice, as in domestic cats [125], Mexican free-tailed bats
295 (*Tadarida brasiliensis mexicana* [130]), fur seals (*Arctocephalus tropicalis* [131]), or domestic sheep
296 [126]. These examples show that even if IDC exists in an animal species, it is unlikely that these cases are
297 functionally equivalent to human CDC.

298
299 However, in a third category of species, we find immature-directed calls related to their capacity for
300 vocal accommodation (small alterations of vocalizations as a result of experience [132]) and vocal
301 learning (Box 1). Orcas (*Orcinus orca*) produce family-typical calls at higher rates after the birth of a calf
302 [133]. Likewise, common marmosets (*Callithrix jacchus*), which show evidence of accommodation
303 learning, and thus some level of vocal plasticity [134], modify call rates and repeat various different call
304 types before and after birth of infants [135]. In agile gibbons (*Hylobates agilis*), duetting by mothers with
305 inexperienced young has also been argued to represent IDC, serving to aid the acquisition of the species-
306 specific song [136]. In these cases, the calls may serve to acquire the group's vocal signature.

307
308 Finally, some cases show suggestive parallels to human CDC. In cooperatively breeding marmosets,
309 adults give contingent vocal feedback specifically to infants, which is suggested to impact vocal

310 ontogeny since infants exposed to more of such calls by adults produce and properly use adult-like calls
311 earlier [28,137], possibly owing to increased practice or because vocal feedback reduces stress [13]. This
312 contingent vocal feedback may help infants acquire the underlying rules of dyadic vocal communication
313 (i.e., turn-taking [138], but see [139]). Outside primates, in zebra finches, male tutors use a more
314 stereotypic song when they are near immature birds [140]. In greater sac-winged bats (*Saccopteryx*
315 *bilineata*), mothers adjust the pitch and timbre when they use immature-directed vocalizations [141].
316
317 Despite these parallels, no study has asked exactly which features of the vocalizations (Table 1) are
318 essential and which functions they serve. It is therefore too early to conclude the common incidence of
319 CDC-like functions of immature-directed vocalizations in either primate or non-primate species
320 [28,40,140-142]. Systematic comparisons are needed to assess the extent of convergence and the
321 determinants, but it remains plausible that IDC serves to facilitate the learning of vocal signatures (in
322 accommodators) or call repertoires (in vocal learners sensu stricto), similar to the language-acquisition
323 function of human CDC.

324

325 **The function of CDC relative to CSC in humans**

326 Although considerable attention has been paid to CDC and its structuring and function, comparatively
327 less is known about the relative role of surrounding communication that children are exposed to (CSC).
328 Indeed, in some linguistic communities surrounding communication is the primary source of input since
329 adults rarely directly address infants (e.g. Kaluli and Samoan [106]; Yucatec Mayan [16], Tsimane [17]),
330 at least in their first year of life. Despite these differences in input type, children still become competent
331 native speakers [106,109,143,144]. This inevitably begs the question how important CDC actually is for
332 speech development and suggests that CSC, though currently still under-researched, may have an

333 equally important, perhaps compensatory role in facilitating language acquisition. In small-scale
334 societies, which arguably represent the more typical human condition, children are continuously
335 surrounded by individuals of all ages [145], suggesting that the amount and variation of CSC will be
336 higher than in WEIRD societies. To date, the few studies that to our knowledge have quantitatively
337 assessed this [17,109,146] have not revealed an effect of CSC on vocabulary development [16,101].
338 However, more work is needed to understand whether CSC supports the learning of other properties of
339 language such as grammatical features.

340

341 To obtain a full understanding of how communicative competence develops in both humans and
342 animals, it is critical to account for both sources of input — CDC and CSC — and the interplay between
343 them. Are both CSC and CDC essential for proper language learning, or are they to some extent
344 compensatory? If so, do the large amounts of CDC in WEIRD societies serve to compensate for the much
345 lower quantity of CSC? In animals, immature-surrounding vocalizations might well be the predominant
346 form of input, yet very little research has attempted to quantify their occurrence and assess their
347 influence on the development of communicative competence. Filling this gap should be a high priority
348 for research.

349

350 The question arises whether the relative amounts of CDC and CSC seen in humans are comparable to
351 those found in great apes. The one study on chimpanzee infants suggests that immature-surrounding
352 communicative events total approximately 15 gestures, 50 vocalizations and 3 gesture-call combinations
353 per hour [147]. This is considerably more than what is known so far about the above mentioned low rate
354 of immature-directed vocalizations. In all likelihood, therefore, immature-surrounding vocalizations
355 were the most important source for the learnt part of the vocal system (usage and comprehension
356 learning) in early hominins.

357

358 **Conclusion and future directions**

359 In human language learning, the amount and quality of CDC is one of the key facilitators of learning. But
360 how the various features that make up CDC change with age, especially relative to the 9-month
361 revolution, is not clear, and should be the target of future studies because they may vary in function
362 from creating attachment, to establishing joint attention, to supporting specific details of language
363 acquisition.

364

365 Despite its universality, research across and within cultures has shown enormous variation in a child's
366 exposure to directed communication. Studies of a few non-WEIRD societies show much lower rates of
367 CDC than found in the typical studies of WEIRD societies. This suggests that the amount of CDC children
368 are exposed to in WEIRD societies might be atypical for the rest of the world and most of human history.
369 Given the fact that all children learn the language of their culture, independent of culture-specific
370 variation in input, the role of CSC for language learning might have been underestimated. The increased
371 amount of CDC in WEIRD societies seems to result mainly in a refinement of skills, involving the size of
372 the vocabulary and the construction inventory involved. This raises the question how CDC produces this
373 refinement. Its impact may relate to the interactional situations in which it occurs. In these contexts
374 joint attention is the key component that actually facilitates learning [52,148,149]. Such joint-attentional
375 frames allow the reduction of interpretation space of form-meaning associations. Given the extreme
376 cross-linguistic variability of CDC we must ask the questions of whether and how much CDC is really
377 essential to language learning, whether CSC would do an equivalent job but just more slowly, or
378 whether CDC is essential at particular stages only. Daylong recordings in naturalistic conditions are likely
379 to provide answers to these questions.

380

381 To shed light on how CDC evolved, we examined research on our closest relatives, the great apes. So far
382 very little directed input to infants has been documented. Concerning the features of human CDC (Table
383 1), few have been found in ape communication, except for repetition of gestures. Repetition is arguably
384 the best predictor of language acquisition in human infants and children [88,89,150]. These findings
385 suggest that short-term repetitive use of communicative acts is potentially an ancestral feature of CDC.
386 We therefore propose more research is needed on structural repetition to complement the usual
387 emphasis on acoustic features of CDC.

388

389 With regard to other animal species there is more evidence for immature-directed vocalizations in
390 species that engage in vocal learning. This supports the idea that CDC in hominins arose to support the
391 acquisition of highly culturally variable acoustic and structural features of language. However, much
392 more systematic comparisons are needed, which should indicate which of the features characterizing
393 human CDC are also found in these convergent cases. Obviously, more targeted work on great apes is a
394 high priority, if only to see whether repetition is the only CDC-like feature present and why gestures
395 appear to be the exception.

396

397 In sum, the current state of research suggests that most features of human CDC have evolved anew in
398 our hominin ancestors. It serves to engage children in social interaction with caretakers and thus to
399 facilitate language acquisition, and in later phases more explicitly in the acquisition of semantics and
400 grammar. In other words, there is no doubt that CDC is an implicit teaching device. Doubt remains,
401 however, whether it is the only facilitator.

402

403

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405

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