

OXFORD LIBRARY OF PSYCHOLOGY

Editor-in-Chief PETER E. NATHAN

The Oxford Handbook of Deaf Studies, Language, and Education

Volume 2

Edited by

Marc Marschark Patricia Elizabeth Spencer

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS 2010



Early Language Acquisition and Adult Language Ability: What Sign Language Reveals About the Critical Period for Language

Rachel I. Mayberry

Abstract

This chapter examines the critical period for language through the prism of deafness. The first topic is the concept of critical periods, followed by a summary of research investigating age of acquisition effects on the outcome of second-language learning (L2). The phenomenon of late first-language (L1) acquisition among deaf children is then described. The focus of this chapter is on a series of studies that compare and contrast the long-range outcome of L1 and L2 acquisition in relation to age of acquisition. The effects of late L1 acquisition are greater than those for L2 learning. The effects include a compromised ability to process and understand all forms of language. Late L1 acquisition has deleterious effects on the ability to learn other languages and on reading development. The findings come from experiments in American Sign Language (ASL) and English using a variety of psycholinguistic paradigms across levels of linguistic structure and include narrative comprehension and shadowing, sentence shadowing and memory, grammatical judgment, and reading comprehension. How these psycholinguistic phenomena illuminate the critical period for language is then discussed.

Keywords: critical period, sign language, ASL, language acquisition, second-language acquisition, reading, development, psycholinguistics, comprehension, phonology, grammar, education, early intervention, Wild Boy of Aveyron, ltard,

In 1806, Jean Itard wrote that adolescence was too late to learn language. He concluded this in a report to the government describing his 2-year attempt to teach the famous Wild Boy of Aveyron to speak French. Itard called the boy Victor because the only sound to which he responded was the French [31] (Itard, 1896/1962:29). Eventually Victor could communicate his desires to a limited degree with actions on objects, as in holding his bowl next to the porridge pot when he wanted more, but he never learned French despite intense and structured lessons (Itard, 1896/1962). The idea that language proficiency is linked to the age when the learning begins is known as the critical period for language and, as Itard's report demonstrates, is an old idea. Because Itard was the physician for the Institution Nationale de Sourdes-Muets, the world's first school

for deaf children and the birthplace of one of world's largest sign language families (Zeshan, 2006), it is curious that he never tried to teach Victor sign language (Lane, 1976). The school was 40 years old by then, and the historical record shows that French Sign Language was in full bloom (Van Cleve & Crouch, 1989). The idea that sign language is *language* was unheard of in the 1800s, however, and research uncovering its linguistic architecture would not begin for another hundred years (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Stokoe, Casterline, & Croneberg, 1965).

Could Victor have learned French Sign Language, even though he failed to learn spoken French? The question is whether there is a critical period for language acquisition that encompasses sign language. Because professionals who work with deaf children often appear to implicitly assume that there is a

critical period for spoken but not sign language, the question is central to clinical and educational practice. The question is also fundamental to language theory because it requires that we understand the complex relations among language acquisition, brain maturation, and sensory-motor modality. Germane to our discussion is research that investigates age of acquisition effects on the outcome of language acquisition, both spoken language and sign language. The linguistic details of these studies are outside the scope of this chapter, but discussing the research in broad strokes allows us to see the larger picture of how age of acquisition affects the outcome of language acquisition. To foreshadow the conclusion, Victor would not have acquired French Sign Language even though he developed rudimentary, nonvocal communication using objects. The goal of this chapter is to examine the reasons why. We begin by considering what a critical period is with respect to language.

Critical Period Learning

A critical period is a phase during development when learning is most efficient. Critical period phenomena were first observed and documented for animal behavior at a number of levels, for example in chicks' identification and attachment to mother birds (Lorenz, 1965) or in cats' visual perceptual development (Wiesel, 1982). Although critical periods are sometimes characterized as being limits on learning, they represent a unique form of learning in which an interaction between biology and environment produces quick and unconscious learning. Some researchers prefer to replace the term critical with adjectives such as sensitive or optimal to denote the facts that (a) learning can occur after a critical period and (b) that multiple subskills can be involved in a complex skill, each with its own temporal sensitivity in development (Werker & Tees, 2005).

Language acquisition is an example of a complex skill consisting of numerous subskills. Although scientists have observed and documented time-limited sensitivity over development for many types of learning, they disagree as to what the underlying mechanisms might be, both in terms of what causes the heightened sensitivity to a particular type of environmental input and why the sensitivity ends. One class of explanations proposes that environmental complexity directly affects the creation of neural networks (Greenough & Black, 1992), although this neural effect has not yet been found for language. Another type of explanation based on connectionist modeling proposes that early learning itself affects subsequent learning (Seidenberg & Zevin, 2005), especially with respect to second-language (L2) *vis à vis* first-language (L1) learning, as explained here.

Infants and young children acquire the languages in their environment quickly and effortlessly. By contrast, most adults appear to struggle, and learn new languages only with sustained and conscious effort. The neurosurgeon Wilder Penfield, who first mapped the language areas of the brain during surgeries designed to limit recurrent seizures, observec that the brain has strong biological biases for language in early life. He noted the overwhelming tendency of the anterior left hemisphere to contro language-except in cases of injury to the lef hemisphere, when homologous regions in the righhemisphere then take control of language, but only if the injury occurs in early childhood (Penfield & Roberts, 1959). This suggests some level of plastic ity for language in brain development that is only present in early life.

Age of Acquisition Effects on Spoken Language Outcome

Scientific investigation of the critical period fo language requires that we study individuals whose initial exposure to a language varies temporally ove. the course of human development. One source o information comes from children who experience atypical social isolation during early childhood including feral children such as Victor, or severely abused children such as the well-known case of Genie who lived without human contact for the firs 13 years of her life (Curtiss, 1977). Genie was able to learn some spoken English with intense instruc tion, but she was unable to maintain her language in adulthood (Garmon, 1994). The multiple com plications suffered by these rare cases, such as nutri tional and emotional deficiencies, means that w must use caution in interpreting their difficulty with language acquisition because of these confounding factors.

The most common means of investigating ag constraints on the outcome of language acquisition has been to measure the language proficiency o people who learn a second language at varying ages Several studies have found a negative correlation between age of L2 acquisition and eventual L2 pro ficiency and/or significant differences in languag performance between native and non-native learn ers. These effects have been found across an arra of linguistic structures in morphology, syntax, an phonology, while mostly investigating English as th second language, using a number of measurement of spoken and written language, including quality ratings by judges, error counts, memory tasks, and grammaticality judgments (Birdsong & Molis, 2001; Flege, Yeni-Komshian, & Liu, 1999; Johnson & Newport, 1989).

Ţ

Although these findings confirm the widespread folk belief that learning a second language at a younger age leads to higher L2 proficiency, compared to learning it at older ages, researchers disagree as to how the trend should be interpreted. At issue is whether the decline in L2 proficiency in relation to age provides evidence for a critical period for language. The data suggest that there is no terminal age when a second language can no longer be learned. After the age of 8, the decline in L2 proficiency in relation to age continues throughout the lifespan into senescence (Hakuta, Bialystok, & Wiley, 2003). This finding is interpreted to mean that some factor other than a critical period causes the negative correlation between age of acquisition and L2 proficiency, such as cognitive aging. Moreover, age of acquisition is not the sole predictor of L2 proficiency. Many L2 learners attain near-native proficiency despite older ages of L2 acquisition. Factors such as the amount of education in the second language, and the linguistic relationship of the L1 and L2 also predict L2 outcome (Birdsong & Molis, 2001; Flege, Yeni-Komshian, & Liu, 1999).

When weighing the effects of age of acquisition on L2 proficiency, it is important to bear in mind that L2 learning entails, by definition, acquisition of a first language in early life. If there is a critical period for language acquisition, some researchers argue that it should affect acquisition of the *first* language, rather than the second, based on evidence from rare cases of social isolation in early childhood, in which the outcome of L1 acquisition is severely limited (Eubank & Gregg, 1999). However, these case studies do not provide straightforward evidence for a critical period due to the multiple and severe deprivations suffered by these children, as explained earlier (Mayberry, 1994).

Age of Acquisition Effects on Sign Language Outcome Variation in Age of Acquisition of Sign Language

A major contribution of sign language research to cognitive science is the discovery that linguistic structure and processing transcend sensory-motor modality (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Stokoe, Casterline, & Croneberg, 1965). Like spoken languages, sign languages are structured at the sentence (syntax), word (morphology), subword (phonology), and semantic (word and sentence meaning) levels. Unlike gesture or pantomime, but like spoken language, sign language comprehension requires the unpacking of meaning via the multilayered and hierarchical structure of language. In other words, the meaning of sign language sentences does not come for free by simply looking at signs as if they were pictures. Rather, sign language comprehension requires knowledge of its linguistic structure. Linguistic structure is what young children acquire so readily in early life, leading some researchers to hypothesize that acquisition of linguistic structure is governed by a critical period (Lenneberg, 1967).

That the signer's mind must use the linguistic structure of sign language to understand and produce it has been amply demonstrated in psycholinguistic experiments (for a review see Emmorey, 2002). Neurolinguistic research has further shown that the brain treats sign language like spoken language. Consistent with Penfield's early observations of how the brain represents spoken language (Penfield & Roberts, 1959), researchers have since discovered that anterior regions of the left hemisphere are responsible for sign language processing in deaf and hearing signers, and not regions which process nonlinguistic visual information (for a review see Corina & Knapp, 2006). Damage to these classic language regions cause aphasia in signers comparable to aphasia in speakers (Poizner, Klima, & Bellugi, 1987). Thus, language structure and processing are amodal; the mind and brain treat sign language as language because it is language.

Given what is now known about the nature of sign language, it follows that children's acquisition of it from birth is similar to that of spoken language acquisition with respect to the timing and content of linguistic milestones (Anderson & Reilly, 2002; Mayberry & Squires, 2006; Reilly, 2006). Although sign and spoken language show parallel developmental trajectories when the acquisition begins at birth, most deaf signers are first exposed to sign language at ages well after birth. The crucial question is whether variation in age of acquisition affects sign language proficiency in adulthood. If so, then the question becomes whether such effects are similar to, or different from, those observed for L2 learning of spoken languages described earlier. Before turning to this body of work, it is important to consider why age of sign language exposure is heterogeneous among deaf signers.

A small percentage (less than 10%) of deaf children are born to deaf parents, and this subset of the population is likely to be exposed to sign language from birth. For the remaining 90% of deaf children, sign language acquisition begins at various ages. No single factor underlies this variation, even in cases in which the deaf child lacks functional spoken language. For example, the child may not have been enrolled in school until an older age, especially if the family lived in a rural area. A school that used sign language may not have been in close proximity to the family, and the parents may have been reluctant to send the child away to school or relocate. Alternatively, the family may have insisted that the child remain in an oral program, despite a notable lack of functional language, in the hope that the child would eventually develop spoken language with more time and instruction. Teachers and administrators often share these beliefs. Inaction in exposing a deaf child without functional language to sign language often reflects the assumption that exposing the child to sign language is "giving up" on spoken language, even though this is a mistaken idea. The deaf child's growing maturity and inability to function at school or home without language is often the catalyst for the decision to educate the child in sign language.

These varying circumstances create heterogeneity in the age of sign language exposure within the deaf population. At the same time, these diverse circumstances of sign language acquisition mean that no underlying pathology covaries and/or worsens with age of sign language acquisition, aside from human development with incomplete or sparsely developed language. The cognitive consequences of human development in the face of limited linguistic interaction with the environment have only begun to be investigated (Mayberry, 2002; Schick, de Villiers, de Villiers, & Hoffmeister, 2007).

Another factor in the heterogeneity of sign language acquisition among deaf individuals is whether it is acquired as a first or second language. Some deaf individuals learn sign language as a second language after successful acquisition of spoken language, but for other deaf individuals age of sign language acquisition is more representative of L1 acquisition. This occurs when deaf individuals begin to learn sign language with little or no functional language. Acquiring sign language at older ages with little or no functional language is common among deaf children, although no currently available data describe the frequency of the phenomenon. Some of this L1 language delay is educationally induced, for reasons explained earlier. Indeed, only among deaf signers do we find individuals who are otherwise intact and were lovingly cared for as children but nonetheless acquired little or no language in early childhood.

Experimental Studies of Age of Acquisition Effects

Similar to the L2 research summarized earlier, several studies have found a negative correlation between age of acquisition and sign language proficiency. Among college-aged students, accuracy of narrative and sentence recall declines as a linear function of American Sign Language (ASL) acquisition between the ages of birth and 15 years (Mayberry & Fischer, 1989). The negative correlation between age of ASL acquisition and sentence recall accuracy persists in adults who have had 20 to 40 years of ASL experience (Mayberry & Eichen, 1991), as shown in Figure 19.1. Similar results have been obtained using a battery of ASL tasks (Newport, 1990) and a sign monitoring task (Emmorey, Bellugi, Friederici, & Horn, 1995). These results show that age of acquisition affects language outcome independently of sensory-motor modality, consistent with what we now understand to be the amodal nature of linguistic structure and processing.

Another question is whether age of acquisition differentially affects the outcome of L1 as compared to L2 proficiency. One study investigated the accuracy of ASL sentence recall in deaf L2 and L1 learners who were matched for years of experience and age of ASL acquisition (Mayberry, 1993). The deaf L2 learners were born with normal hearing, which they lost in late childhood due to viral infections; they learned ASL in immersion settings when they became deaf. By contrast, the deaf L1 learners were first exposed to ASL at the same ages as the L2 learners, but were deaf from birth and had little or no functional spoken language when they began to acquire ASL. The L2 learners recalled the ASL sentences with significantly greater accuracy than the delayed L1 learners, as Figure 19.2 shows (Mayberry, 1993).

These findings demonstrate that age of acquisition has far greater effects on the outcome of the L1 compared to the L2 proficiency, suggesting that the scope of the critical period for language acquisition pertains to the first rather than the second language. A corollary implication is that L1 acquisition in early life facilitates later L2 learning. If early acquisition of spoken language facilitates later acquisition of sign language, the question is whether the reverse situation is true. Does early learning of a sign language facilitate subsequent acquisition of spoken language?

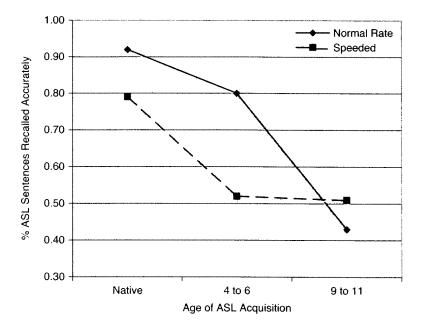
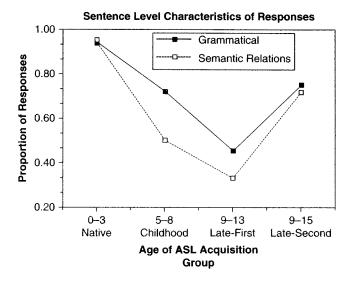


Fig. 19.1 Adjusted mean proportion of recall responses that were grammatical as a function of age of acquisition and sign presentation rate (normal and speeded). Figure 2 from Mayberry, R. I., & Eichen, E. B. (1991). The long-lasting advantage of learning sign language in childhood: Another look at the critical period for language acquisition. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 30, 486–512, with permission of the publisher.

The question was investigated by comparing the English syntactic processing of four groups of adults with contrasting types of L1 experience in early childhood (Mayberry & Lock, 2003). One hearing group served as the control and consisted of native English speakers. The second hearing group consisted of L2 learners of English who were immersed in it in school when they immigrated to Canada in early childhood; their native languages were Urdu, Spanish, German, and French. The third group was born deaf and exposed to ASL from birth; they subsequently learned English as a second language in school at the same ages as the hearing L2 learners. It is important to highlight the fact that two different types of English L2 learners participated in the study: one hearing group whose early first language was a spoken language other than English, and one deaf group whose early first language was sign language. The fourth group was also deaf but began to learn ASL and English in school at the same age as the other groups. However, their school enrollment marked their first experience with fully perceivable language; that is, they entered school with little or no previously acquired functional language.

Both groups of L2 learners, regardless of whether they were hearing or deaf, or whether their first language was spoken or signed, performed at near-native levels across the English syntactic structures tested,

Fig. 19.2 The mean proportion of the subjects' total responses that were grammatically acceptable and semantically parallel to the stimuli for subjects grouped by age of American Sign Language acquisition and first versus second language acquisition. Figure 4 from Mayberry, R. I. (1993). First-language acquisition after childhood differs from second-language acquisition: The case of American Sign Language. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research, 36*, 1258–1270, with permission of the publisher.



MAYBERRY | 2.85

as Figure 19.3 shows (Mayberry & Lock, 2003). These results are consistent with earlier described studies investigating the effects of age of L2 acquisition on spoken language, namely that L2 learners can sometimes attain near-native levels of L2 proficiency. The results show that this is true even when the first language is an early-acquired sign language, as was the case in this study. These results also replicate the previous finding that delayed L1 acquisition impedes language proficiency in adulthood: the deaf delayed L1 learners entered school with little functional language. A dearth of language acquisition in early childhood has deleterious effects on the outcome of all subsequent language learning in later life (sign language and written and read language); neither the first nor the second language is acquired to near-native levels in adulthood.

In another experiment, the English task was changed from grammatical judgment to sentenceto-picture matching. Despite the added nonverbal context of pictures, the delayed L1 learners, all of whom had normal nonverbal IQ, performed at low levels on several English structures including conjoined, passives, and relative clauses. Replicating the results of previous experiments, the two L2 groups, one hearing and one deaf, again performed at ne native levels. Thus, three experiments in two l guages (ASL and English) show, first, that age acquisition effects are robust and persist into adu hood for L1 acquisition. Second, the results show t L1 acquisition in early life supports and facilita subsequent L2 learning independently of senso motor modality (Mayberry, 2007).

When L1 Exposure Is Delayed Until Adolescence: Effects on Language Outcome

Experimental studies of groups of deaf adults sh that the scope of the critical period for langu pertains to the first language, and that a lack language acquisition in early life impedes the abi to learn language throughout life. The few availa case studies of deaf individuals' L1 acquisition beş in adolescence corroborate the main findings of th experiments. First, the rate of delayed L1 acqu tion is significantly slower than that of timely acquisition. Second, adult language proficiency significantly limited in comparison to early acquisition or later L2 acquisition.

Two studies longitudinally followed the spol L1 acquisition of a deaf adolescent and an ac

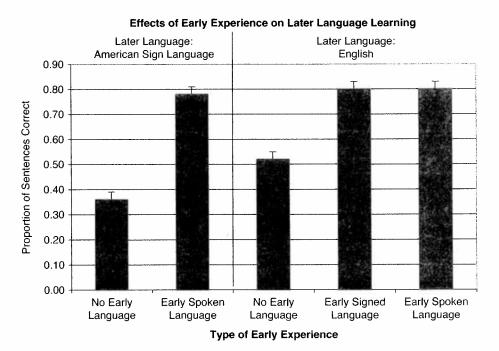


Fig. 19.3 Effects of early experience on later language learning. **a.** American Sign Language (ASL) performance of deaf adults who had experienced no language in early life. Subjects were tested using a task requiring recall of complex ASL sentences. **b.** English performance of deaf adults who had experienced ASL in infancy, and of hearing adults who had experienced a spoken language other than English in infancy. Subjects were tested using a task requiring judgments of whether complex English sentences given it print were grammatically correct; chance performance is 50%. Figure 1 from Mayberry, R. I., Lock, E., & Kazmi, H. (2002). Linguistic ability and early language exposure. *Nature*, *417*, 38, with permission of the publisher.

286 | EARLY LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND ADULT LANGUAGE ABILITY

who had no exposure to sign language. In one study, the spoken Spanish acquisition of an adolescent boy was observed once he obtained hearing aids (Grimshaw, Adelstein, Bryden, & MacKinnon, 1998). After 4 years, he acquired limited vocabulary, could combine single words with gestures, but produced only a single two-word utterance. Another study followed the spoken English acquisition of a woman whose hearing loss was not identified until she was 31 years old. After 10 years of hearing aid use and spoken English instruction, she was reported to have a vocabulary of approximately 2,000 words and a grade 2-3 reading level, but her spoken utterances were described as being ungrammatical (Curtiss, 1988). The slow rate of delayed L1 acquisition observed in this adolescent and adult contrasts sharply with the rate of L1 acquisition in young deaf and hearing children. Early childhood language acquisition is characterized by voracious vocabulary learning (Anderson & Reilly, 2002; Bates & Goodman, 1997). By the age of 6 years, hearing children can comprehend as many as 14,000 words and most grammatical structures of their language (Clark, 2003).

Another study longitudinally observed the L1 acquisition of ASL begun at age 13 by two deaf adolescents who had received no special services in their home countries prior to immigrating with their families to North America (Morford, 2003). After 31 months of ASL exposure, both adolescents had replaced the bulk of their gestures with ASL signs. No vocabulary assessment was made, but comprehension tasks given after 7 years of exposure showed both adolescents to suffer from severe comprehension deficits in ASL (Morford, 2003). These comprehension deficits caused by delayed L1 acquisition corroborate the experimental findings summarized earlier (Mayberry, 1993; Mayberry, Lock, & Kazmi, 2002).

Deaf individuals who are not exposed to language in childhood are not completely devoid of communication with those in their surroundings. Deaf children who acquire little functional, spoken language in early childhood have been observed to gesture for communicative purposes with their families, a phenomenon called *home sign* in ASL. Detailed analyses of home sign show that deaf children combine points with iconic gestures in a rulegoverned fashion to name things in their environment, make comments, and make their needs known to some extent (Goldin-Meadow, 2003). This line of research shows that the deaf child creates the gesture system and, although they understand it, hearing parents do not appear to use it with the deaf child

· ---- \$

instead of speech. Home sign has been documented to occur cross-culturally among deaf children who have otherwise not acquired a spoken or sign language (Goldin-Meadow, 2003). Home sign was the means of communication used by the two adolescent L1 learners of ASL studied by Morford (2003). Although home sign displays many language-like features, it does not appear to function as early L1 acquisition in the critical period phenomenon. The deaf delayed L1 learners who participated in the experimental and case studies described here did not attain near-native levels of ASL proficiency despite years of using it, even though they had used home sign as young children.

Together the results of these diverse studies indicate the effects of critical period for language to be threefold: (1) early L1 acquisition leads to nativelike language proficiency in adulthood; (2) early L1 acquisition supports and facilitates subsequent L2 learning, often leading to near native-like L2 proficiency in adulthood; and (3) a lack of early L1 acquisition impairs the ability to learn language throughout life, that is, L1 acquisition that begins uncommonly late in human development leads to limited language proficiency for any language in adulthood.

The critical period phenomenon described here may explain the frequent clinical anecdotes from several countries, including the United States, Canada, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, that young deaf children who have acquired sign vocabulary are more successful with cochlear implants than those with no sign vocabulary. Early language acquisition facilitates subsequent language acquisition crosslinguistically (Mayberry, Lock, & Kazmi, 2002). The first stage of language acquisition is vocabulary learning. Computer modelling shows that the amount of language input and size of early vocabulary affects the organization of semantic categories across the early lexicon (Borovsky & Elman, 2006). Vocabulary acquisition in sign may thus help the young child with a cochlear implant identify the meaning of distorted acoustic stimuli and bind it to already acquired word meaning and semantic categories. This is an area where research is needed due to the substantial rise in the number of deaf children receiving cochlear implants (see Chapters 9 and 29, this volume).

Preliminary research suggests that delayed L1 acquisition has significant neural consequences as well. The degree to which the classic language areas of the anterior left hemisphere are activated during sign language processing are negatively correlated to

MAYBERRY | 287

1.1

the age at which the first language was acquired in childhood (Mayberry, Klein, Witcher, & Chen, 2006).

Sign Language Skill and Reading Development

Given that early L1 acquisition facilitates subsequent L2 learning to near-native levels, but late L1 acquisition impedes it, the next question is whether this critical period phenomenon relates to reading development in the deaf population. Some, but not all, theories of reading development posit that the reader must be able to speak the language represented in the written text in order to comprehend it. In these models, recognizing word meaning occurs only after written letters have been mentally transformed into the speech sounds they represent. Such theories predict that readers who are deaf and do not speak well will have difficulty reading. Note that this prediction is at odds with the research findings summarized earlier in this chapter, in which early and robust language acquisition supports other kinds of language acquisition independently of sensory-motor modality. Early spoken language acquisition supports later sign language acquisition and vice versa, including written representations of spoken language. This line of research suggests an alternative explanation for low, median literacy levels in the deaf population. If L1 acquisition in early life scaffolds subsequent L2 learning, then it should support L2 reading too, even when the first language is ASL and the second is English. Many deaf individuals have weakly developed language skills in any language, for all the reasons just described. The question is how such weakly developed language skill relate to reading achievement.

To answer the question, adult deaf signers were classified as having either strong or weak ASL skills as measured by grammatical judgment and narrative comprehension tasks (Chamberlain & Mayberry, 2008). The two groups of signers were also given standardized reading tests. The results were striking. There was a bimodal distribution of reading achievement between the two groups with no overlap, as Figure 19.4 shows. Average English reading achievement for the group with strong ASL skill was between the grade 10 to college level, depending upon the particular reading test. By contrast, the average reading achievement of the group with weak ASL skill was between grade 3 and 4 (Chamberlain & Mayberry, 2008). Thus, sign language proficiency is a strong predictor of reading achievement among

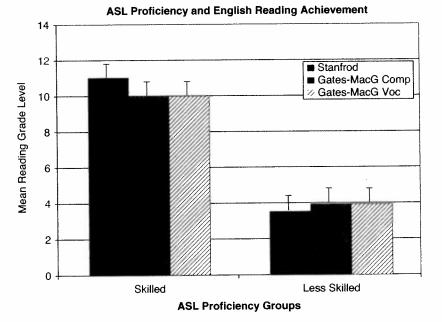


Fig. 19.4 Mean performance of deaf adults grouped by American Sign Language proficiency level, skilled and less skilled, on the reading comprehension subtest of the Stanford Achievement Test and the Gates-MacGinitie passage and vocabulary comprehension subtests of the Gates-MacGinitie. Data from Chamberlain, C., & Mayberry, R. I. (2008). ASL syntactic and narrative comprehension in skilled and less skilled adult readers: Bilingual-bimodal evidence for the linguistic basis of reading. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 28*, 537–549.

288 | EARLY LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND ADULT LANGUAGE ABILITY

deaf signers, just as language proficiency has been found to be a strong predictor of reading achievement in the hearing population (Dickensen, McCabe, Anastasopoulos, Peisner-Feinberg, & Poe, 2003). Note that the average reading level of the signers with weak ASL skill was identical to the median reading achievement reported for the deaf schoolaged population in the United States, namely between grades 3 and 4 (Traxler, 2000). This provides preliminary evidence that delayed L1 acquisition may be a significant factor in the attenuated reading achievement in the deaf population (Chamberlain & Mayberry, 2008).

Implications of the Critical Period for Language

This review of research investigating age of acquisition effects on L1 and L2 outcomes allows us to reconsider the question of whether Victor could have become proficient in French Sign Language in the early 1800s had the idea to use it occurred to Itard. Victor was believed to be about 12 years old when Itard began to teach him French (Frith, 2003). Itard described the boy as having no gestures and no language, although eventually, after being socialized, he spontaneously used objects to communicate some of his needs (Itard, 1896/1962). Toddlers use objects to communicate with their caretakers and then begin to use their hands and arms to point at objects and people before they speak their first words (Bates, 1979). This means that Victor achieved a prelinguistic level of communication. The research summarized here completes the picture by suggesting that Victor would not have become proficient in French Sign Language because he had grown into adolescence without having acquired any language. Scholars have suggested that Victor may have been autistic (Lane, 1976). Socially isolated children, including feral children, often develop autistic-like tendencies, but young autistic children can and do acquire sign and spoken language (Frith, 2003).

If the critical period phenomenon for language described here is robust and a key factor in adult sign language proficiency, why are incomplete language acquisition and low sign language proficiency among deaf signers not more often identified and urgently treated by clinical and educational professionals? One reason is a lack of educational or clinical models of normal versus delayed sign language acquisition, such as are in place for spoken language acquisition, including assessment tools and specialists. Educators and clinicians need to be trained to assess language development in sign.

A clinical anecdote illustrates the serious nature of the problem. An adolescent boy who had been educated in total communication in a public school for deaf students was brought to a university clinic for an educational assessment. His ability to read English was limited, as was his ability to comprehend simple sentence structure in ASL or signed English. When asked about his sign language skills, his teachers uniformly replied that they could not understand him and attributed this to his quick signing rate. His parents, who did not sign, were aware of his limited reading ability but assumed him to be a proficient signer, again due to his fast signing rate. In short, neither his teachers nor his family were aware of his aphasic-like symptoms in sign language. Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) scans revealed numerous and widespread brain lesions due to birth complications. The lesions explained the aphasic-like symptoms in his signing, but they were invisible to professionals unprepared to ascertain the difference between normal and aphasic development in sign language.

In conclusion, research investigating whether a critical period exists for language acquisition has used several kinds of variation in the temporal onset of language acquisition over human development: spoken language, sign language, case studies of childhood social/linguistic isolation, and two types of acquisition, L1 and L2. L2 research with sign and spoken language has found a negative correlation between age of acquisition and L2 attainment. Nonetheless, near-native skills are often achieved by older L2 learners depending upon amount of education undertaken in the second language and the linguistic similarities between the first and second languages. However, unlike the findings for L2 acquisition, delayed L1 acquisition impedes the ultimate proficiency attained in any language, signed or spoken.

Acknowledgments

The research reported here was supported by grants from the National Institutes of Health, the Natural Sciences & Engineering Council of Canada (#171239), and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (#410-2004-1775). The author thanks Deaf communities in Chicago, Detroit, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, and Nova Scotia for their invaluable assistance with this research; Drucilla Ronchen, Patricia Viens, and Pamela Witcher for their ASL insights and testing help; and Amy Lieberman and Carl Vonderau for helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

References

- Anderson, D., & Reilly, J. (2002). The MacArthur Communicative Development Inventory: Normative data for American Sign Language. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 7, 83–106.
- Bates, E. (1979). The emergence of symbols: Cognition and communication in infancy. New York: Academic Press.
- Bates, E., & Goodman, J. C. (1997). On the inseparability of grammar and the lexicon: Evidence from acquisition, aphasia and real-time processing. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 12, 507–584.
- Birdsong, D., & Molis, M. (2001). On the evidence for maturational constraints in second language acquisition. *Journal of Memory & Language*, 44, 235–249.
- Borovsky, A., & Elman, J. (2006). Language input and semantic categories: A relation between cognition and early word learning. *Journal of Child Language*, 36, 759–790.
- Chamberlain, C., & Mayberry, R. I. (2008). ASL syntactic and narrative comprehension in skilled and less skilled adult readers: Bilingual-bimodal evidence for the linguistic basis of reading. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 28, 537–549.
- Clark, E. V. (2003). First language acquisition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Corina, D., & Knapp, H. (2006). Sign language processing and the mirror neuron system. *Cortex*, 42, 529–539.
- Curtiss, S. (1977). Genie: A psycholinguistic study of a modern-day "wild child." New York: Academic Press.
- Curtiss, S. (1988). Abnormal language acquisition and the modularity of language. In F. J. Newmeyer (Ed.), *Linguistic theory: Extensions and implications* (Vol. 2, pp. 96–116). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dickensen, D. K., McCabe, A., Anastasopoulos, L., Peisner-Feinberg, E. S., & Poe, D. M. (2003). Bringing it all together: The multiple origins, skills, and environmental supports of early literacy. *Learning Disabilities Research and Practice*, 16, 186–202.
- Emmorey, K. (2002). *Language, cognition and the brain*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Emmorey, K., Bellugi, U., Friederici, A. D., & Horn, P. (1995). Effects of age of acquisition on grammatical sensitivity: Evidence from on-line and off-line tasks. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 16, 1–23.
- Eubank, L., & Gregg, K. R. (1999). Critical periods and (second) language acquisition: Divide et impera. In D. Birdsong (Ed.), Second language acquisition and the critical period hypothesis (pp. 65–99). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Flege, J. E., Yeni-Komshian, G. H., & Liu, S. (1999). Age constraints on second-language acquisition. *Journal of Memory* and Language, 41, 78–104.
- Frith, U. (2003). Autism: Explaining the enigma, 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Garmon, L. (Writer) (1994). The secret of the wild child. In L. Garmon (Producer), *Nova*. USA: WGBH Boston.
- Goldin-Meadow, S. (2003). The resilience of language. New York: Psychology Press.
- Greenough, W. T., & Black, J. E. (1992). Induction of brain structure by experience: substrates for cognitive development. In M. R. Gunna & C. A. Nelson (Eds.), *Developmental behavioral neuroscience* (Vol. 24, pp. 155–200). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Grimshaw, G. M., Adelstein, A., Bryden, M. P., & MacKinnon, G. E. (1998). First language acquisition in adolescence: Evidence for a critical period for verbal language development. *Brain and Language*, 63, 237–255.

- Hakuta, K., Bialystok, E., & Wiley, E. (2003). Critical evidence A test of the critical-period hypothesis for second-languagacquisition. *Psychological Science*, 14, 31–38.
- Itard, J. M. G. (1894/1962). The wild boy of Aveyron (L'enfan sauvage). (Rapports et memoires sur le sauvage de l'Averyron G. Humphrey & M. Humphrey, Trans.). New York: Appleton Century Crofts.
- Johnson, J., & Newport, E. L. (1989). Critical period effects in second language learning: The influence of maturationa state on the acquisition of English as a second language *Cognitive Psychology*, 21, 60–69.
- Klima, E. S., & Bellugi, U. (1979). The signs of language Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lane, H. (1976). The wild boy of Aveyron. Cambridge: Harvar-University Press.
- Lenneberg, E. H. (1967). Biological foundations of language. Nev York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Lorenz, K. (1965). Evolution and modification of behavio. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mayberty, R. I. (1993). First-language acquisition after chilc hood differs from second-language acquisition: The case of American Sign Language. *Journal of Speech and Hearin. Research*, 36, 1258–1270.
- Mayberry, R. I. (1994). The importance of childhood to lar guage acquisition: Insights from American Sign Language. I J. C. Goodman & H. C. Nusbaum (Eds.), *The development of speech perception: The transition from speech sounds to wore* (pp. 57–90). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Mayberry, R. I. (2002). Cognitive development of deaf childret The interface of language and perception in neuropsycho ogy. In S. J. Segalowitz & I. Rapin (Eds.), *Handbook of neu ropsychology*, 2nd edition. (Vol. 8, pp. 71–107). Amsterdan Elsevier.
- Mayberry, R. I. (2007). When timing is everything: Age of firs language acquisition effects on second-language learnin; *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 28, 537–549.
- Mayberry, R. I., & Eichen, E. B. (1991). The long-lasting advat tage of learning sign language in childhood: Another look the critical period for language acquisition. *Journal of Memo* and Language, 30, 486–512.
- Mayberry, R. I., & Fischer, S. D. (1989). Looking through phenological shape to lexical meaning: The bottleneck of nonative sign language processing. *Memory and Cognition*, 1 740–754.
- Mayberry, R. I., Klein, D., Witcher, P., & Chen, J.-K. (2006 Neural systems underlying early language experience. Paper pr sented at the Society for Neuroscience, Atlanta, GA.
- Mayberry, R. I., & Lock, E. (2003). Age constraints on fir versus second language acquisition: Evidence for linguist plasticity and epigenesis. *Brain and Language*, 87, 369–38.
- Mayberry, R. I., Lock, E., & Kazmi, H. (2002). Linguistic abili and early language exposure. *Nature*, 417, 38.
- Mayberry, R. I., & Squires, B. (2006). Sign language acquisitio In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language & linguistics*, 21 edition. (Vol. 11, pp. 291–296). Oxford: Elsevier.
- Morford, J. (2003). Grammatical development in adolesce first-language learners. *Linguistics*, 41(4), 681–721.
- Newport, E. L. (1990). Maturational constraints on langua learning. *Cognitive Science*, 14, 11–28.
- Penfield, W., & Roberts, L. (1959). Speech and brain-mechanism Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Poizner, H., Klima, E. S., & Bellugi, U. (1987). What the han reveal about the brain. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Reilly, J. (2006). How face comes to serve grammar: The development of nonmanual morphology in American Sign Language. In B. Schick, M. Marschark, & P. Spencer (Eds.), Advances in sign language development of deaf children (pp. 261–290). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schick, B., de Villiers, P., de Villiers, J., & Hoffmeister, R. (2007). Language and theory of mind: A study of deaf children. *Child Development*, 78, 376–396.
- Seidenberg, M. S., & Zevin, J. D. (2005). Connectionist models in developmental cognitive neuroscience: Insights about critical periods. In Y. Munakata & M. H. Johnson (Eds.), Attention and performance XXI: Processes of change in brain and cognitive development. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stokoe, W. C., Casterline, D. C., & Croneberg, C. G. (1965). A dictionary of American Sign Language on linguistic principles. Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press.

- Traxler, C. B. (2000). The Stanford Achievement Test, 9th Edition: National norming and performance standards for deaf and hard-of-hearing students. *Journal of Deaf Studies* and Deaf Education, 5, 337–348.
- Van Cleve, J. V., & Crouch, B. A. (1989). A place of their own: Creating the deaf community in America. Washington DC: Gallaudet University Pfess.
- Werker, J., & Tees, R. C. (2005). Speech perception as a window for understanding plasticity and commitment in language systems of the brain. *Developmental Psychobiology*, 46, 233–251.
- Wiesel, T. N. (1982). Postnatal development of the visual cortex and the influence of the environment. *Nature*, 299, 583–591.
- Zeshan, U. (2006). Sign languages of the world. In R. E. Asher (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, 2nd edition. (pp. 335-365). Oxford: Elsevier.