

1 Running head: PREDICTION CANNOT BE DIRECTLY TRAINED

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An extension to Jones and Westermann (2021)

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Word count: 1930

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Author Note

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This work was supported by Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)

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International Centre for Language and Communicative Development (LuCiD)

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[ES/S007113/1 AND ES/L008955/1]. We have no conflicts of interest to disclose.

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Abstract

27 In January 2021 we published a viewpoint article entitled ‘Predictive processing and
28 developmental language disorder’ (DLD) in the *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing*
29 *Research*. The current commentary provides an important extension to this work.
30 Specifically, we aim to head off the suggestion that a child’s ‘predictive capacity’ may be
31 trained independently of improving the quality of their long-term speech representations.

32 *Keywords:* developmental language disorder (DLD), predictive processing, speech-
33 language pathology

34 **Prediction cannot be directly trained:**

35 **An extension to Jones and Westermann (2021)**

36 In January 2021 we published a viewpoint article entitled ‘Predictive processing and
37 developmental language disorder’ (DLD) in the *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing*
38 *Research* (S. D. Jones & Westermann, 2021). In this article, our aim was to introduce the
39 predictive processing framework to a perhaps unfamiliar readership, and to consider how this
40 framework may help re-focus our understanding of the challenges facing children with
41 language learning difficulties.

42 In our target article, we cited evidence that children with well-developed language
43 skills implicitly anticipate the sorts of linguistic features that they later expect to hear,
44 whether these features are acoustic-phonetic, lexical, syntactic, or semantic (Blank & Davis,
45 2016; Borovsky et al., 2012; Davis & Johnsruide, 2003; S. D. Jones & Westermann, 2021;
46 Mani & Huettig, 2012; Sohoglu et al., 2012). Active, top-down anticipation of this sort may
47 enable the child to get ahead of the curve and to rapidly resolve perceived ambiguities,
48 supporting efficient speech comprehension. A striking example of this advantage can be seen
49 in tasks involving sentences containing distorted words. Here, top-down anticipatory
50 processing enables adult listeners to accurately decode distorted words, on the basis of
51 perceived sentential context and prior language knowledge (Blank & Davis, 2016; Davis et
52 al., 2005; Sohoglu et al., 2012).

53 Where language develops more slowly, as it does in children diagnosed with DLD,
54 the effective anticipation of upcoming speech will be necessarily compromised, leaving the
55 child less well prepared to navigate the noise that characterizes natural speech and giving rise
56 to apparently laboured language comprehension (Borovsky et al., 2012, 2012; Hestvik et al.,
57 2022; Mani & Huettig, 2012). Rather than exploiting online anticipatory processing during
58 exposure to the features of an unfolding sentence, a child with language learning difficulties

59 may be relatively more dependent on post hoc sentence element integration and ambiguity
60 resolution (S. D. Jones & Westermann, 2021).

61 There is a strong possibility that the predictive processing framework can enrich our
62 understanding of the challenges facing children with language learning difficulties. Very
63 different assumptions follow, for instance, from the albeit compatible positions that speech
64 comprehension appears laboured in DLD because; (i) cognitive deficits, for instance
65 commonly assumed working memory capacity limitations (Archibald & Gathercole, 2006),
66 affect the efficiency of processing subsequent to speech making contact with the basilar
67 membrane, which has long been the dominant view within the field (e.g., Montgomery &
68 Evans, 2009), or (ii) because deficits in long-term language memory prevent the child from
69 fully engaging in the top-down anticipation of unfolding speech.

70 However, one line of discussion that we have encountered since the publication of our
71 target article has caused us some concern. Specifically, on a number of occasions we have
72 encountered the suggestion that, since top-down anticipation forms an integral feature of
73 well-developed language processing (Sohoglu et al., 2012), the communication skills of a
74 child who is struggling with language may be boosted by training that child's 'predictive
75 capacity', independently of improving the quality of their long-term speech representations.
76 This is a direction we cautioned against in our target article, notably in our discussion of an
77 intervention programme developed by Plante et al. (2014) (see S. D. Jones & Westermann,
78 2021, p. 184), but which we believe deserves further attention.

79 Despite numerous important points of disagreement, theoretical frameworks invoking
80 a notion of prediction are seemingly united in the position that the implicit expectation of an
81 upcoming percept, such as a noisy word in a spoken sentence, is the product of (i) an active,
82 multimodal sensory state, for example the perception of an unfolding speech string in a given
83 communicative context, and (ii) long-term probabilistic knowledge of the ways in which

84 speech sounds, words, and structures co-occur in associated contexts (e.g., Sohoglu et al.,
85 2012). Real problems arise, therefore, if we attempt to detach predictive processing from
86 activated long-term memory, and to treat prediction both as a functionally discrete faculty
87 and, crucially, as a potential target of clinical intervention.

88 As a field, it is not the first time that we have made this mistake. Numerous studies
89 have pursued the hypothesis that the proximal cause of DLD is a capacity limitation in a
90 working memory system of the form first proposed by Baddeley and Hitch (1974). The claim
91 that this system, specifically the *phonological loop* buffer component of working memory,
92 was both functionally discrete from long-term speech memory and capacity limited in
93 children with language learning difficulties (e.g., Archibald & Gathercole, 2006), led to the
94 emergence of empirical research and commercial packages of intervention that claimed to be
95 able to boost working memory capacity and in doing so confer gains in communication skills
96 and wellbeing (Alloway et al., 2013; Spencer-Smith & Klingberg, 2015). Working memory
97 training has, however, proved an abject failure, with little compelling evidence that training
98 effects either last over time or transfer across tasks (Melby-Lervåg & Hulme, 2013). As we
99 have written elsewhere, our view is that the absence of any convincing effect here reflects the
100 likelihood that much of the explainable variance in working memory task performance (e.g.,
101 in nonword repetition) reflects differences in the precision of activated long-term speech
102 representations, and in associated skills such as motor planning and articulation, and not in
103 the capacity of a functionally discrete working memory buffer system (G. Jones et al., 2020;
104 S. D. Jones & Westermann, 2022).

105 The move towards working memory training began with a body of research that
106 functionally isolated and attributed a causal role to the phonological loop in early language
107 difficulties. And there is some evidence that we are approaching similar territory with respect
108 to predictive processing. In a recent empirical study, Hestvik et al. (2022) found no neural

109 signature of prediction error during anomalous sentence processing among children with
110 DLD, suggesting that these children were not actively anticipating the upcoming syntactic
111 features of the sentences to which they were exposed. On this basis, Hestvik et al. (2022)
112 characterise DLD as a “syntactic prediction impairment” and attribute a causal role to
113 atypical predictive behaviour, writing that; “this lack of a prediction error signal can interact
114 with language acquisition and result in DLD” (p. 1).

115 Our own view is rather different. We do not see DLD as a “syntactic prediction
116 deficit” but instead as a deficit principally in long-term speech representation, at all levels of
117 linguistic analysis (e.g., acoustic-phonetics, words, and constructions), which is attributable
118 to an as yet poorly understood constellation of factors including atypical auditory processing
119 (Bishop & McArthur, 2005). Successful predictive language processing is, in our view, the
120 automatic and inevitable consequence of successful language learning, that is, of implicitly
121 knowing what sorts of sounds, words, or constructions tend to co-occur in a given
122 communicative context, and the resulting pre-emptive, top-down activation of this
123 information in an associated context. Reciprocally, prediction error feedback helps to fine
124 tune long-term speech representations in the event of a mismatch between an individual’s
125 mental model of their speech environment and the speech that they actually perceive.

126 Atypicality in the active anticipation of upcoming speech is, under this view, the inevitable
127 by-product of low-quality long-term speech and language representations, and should be
128 expected in any area in which language skills are weak, not only in syntax (S. D. Jones &
129 Westermann, 2021, p. 182).

130 Indeed, undeveloped anticipatory processing skills (inferred by Hestvik et al., 2022, in
131 the absence of a neural signature of prediction error) would be expected in any individual
132 who is unfamiliar with the target structure of the target language being tested, including
133 younger children without neurodevelopmental disorder (Friederici, 2006) or second language

134 learners (controlling, of course, for cross-linguistic similarity). In testing only age-matched
135 control children, Hestvik et al. (2022) do not rule out the possibility that the atypical
136 predictive behaviour observed in their sample is the by-product of low language familiarity,
137 and perhaps adopt a causal position accordingly. In our target article, however, we cited
138 evidence continuous with the view that speech prediction emerges naturally and
139 incrementally as the individual reaches ever higher standards of linguistic awareness (S. D.
140 Jones & Westermann, 2021, p. 182). It was emphasized, for instance, that a neural signature
141 commonly associated with syntax-driven prediction error emerges only when language skills
142 are relatively well developed (see Friederici, 2006, for review). This is an important insight,
143 because it may prevent us from automatically invoking language-independent explanations
144 (e.g., attentional or working memory deficits) upon observing that speech processing and
145 comprehension appear laboured in DLD. Such performance deficits may, instead, be the
146 inevitable consequence of an immature mental model of the speech environment. A child
147 who struggles with language may not actively anticipate upcoming linguistic features not
148 because of an impaired prediction faculty, but because of well-recorded deficits in long-term
149 speech representation.

150 While low language familiarity means that the advantages of top-down anticipatory
151 processing (e.g., robustness to noise, active feature integration, and rapid ambiguity
152 resolution) may be relatively out of reach for a child with speech and language problems, this
153 does not mean either that a discrete prediction deficit plays a primary causal role in language
154 learning difficulties or, vitally, that prediction should form a target of clinical intervention.
155 This latter claim would, in our view, put us in the impossible position of attempting to ‘fix’
156 an emergent phenomena (i.e., prediction) while ignoring the constituent underlying processes
157 (i.e., multimodal sensory processing and activated long-term memory). Some form of
158 predictive capacity training may feasibly deliver limited gains in speech skills because the

159 tasks used may be likely to involve structured exposure to speech. However, as in the
160 working memory literature, we would expect such gains to be fragile, showing little evidence
161 of longevity or transfer across tasks relative to the evidence-based methods of improving
162 long-term speech representation quality that already form an important part of the speech and
163 language therapist's toolkit (Melby-Lervåg & Hulme, 2013; Rinaldi et al., 2021).

164 Careful consideration of this issue is essential because, as noted above, we have been
165 here before, with numerous programmes of research and intervention established on the
166 conviction that the phonological loop buffer system within working memory can be trained
167 independently of long-term speech representations to confer transferable and long-lasting
168 language gains. This track record illustrates how the reification of an emergent phenomena in
169 translational research can result in the ineffective use of resources and a potential collapse in
170 both the confidence of the individual undergoing intervention and trust in professionals when
171 speech and language gains are not seen due to a child being put through support programmes
172 of questionable efficacy.

173 Predictive processing remains a highly active research area, and as with all things in
174 science it is possible that we will need to revise our view in light of new data. However, the
175 current best evidence suggests that, despite implicating dissociable neural substrates (Ficco et
176 al., 2021), activated long-term memory forms a functionally indivisible component of top-
177 down anticipatory processing. On navigating the world as it unfolds through time, and
178 generating and propagating prediction error signals, the brain can *only* look to its current
179 sensory state and to associated, previously encoded memory traces. A rich mental model of
180 the speech environment is required in order to engage in and benefit from the automatic
181 anticipation of upcoming speech, and such a model is, by definition, deficient in children
182 diagnosed with DLD, as well as those with other forms of language difficulty. Our focus as
183 researchers and practitioners should remain on improving the quality of the long-term speech

184 representations formed by children with language learning difficulties through the continued
185 development and delivery of evidence-based methods (Rinaldi et al., 2021). Gains in
186 anticipatory processing would then be expected to follow as the natural corollary of gains in
187 long-term linguistic awareness.

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