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45 Abstract

From the earliest months of life, infants prefer listening to and learn better from infant-directed speech (IDS) than adult-directed speech (ADS). Yet, IDS differs within communities, across languages, and across cultures, both in form and in prevalence. This large-scale, multi-site study used the diversity of bilingual infant experiences to explore the impact of different types of linguistic experience on infants' IDS preference. As part of the multi-lab ManyBabies 1 project, we compared lab-matched samples of 333 bilingual and 385 51 monolingual infants' preference for North-American English IDS (cf. ManyBabies 52 Consortium, 2020 (ManyBabies 1)), tested in 17 labs in 7 countries. Those infants were 53 tested in two age groups: 6-9 months (the younger sample) and 12-15 months (the older sample). We found that bilingual and monolingual infants both preferred IDS to ADS, and 55 did not differ in terms of the overall magnitude of this preference. However, amongst bilingual infants who were acquiring North-American English (NAE) as a native language, 57 greater exposure to NAE was associated with a stronger IDS preference, extending the previous finding from ManyBabies 1 that monolinguals learning NAE as a native language showed a stronger preference than infants unexposed to NAE. Together, our findings indicate that IDS preference likely makes a similar contribution to monolingual and bilingual development, and that infants are exquisitely sensitive to the nature and frequency of different types of language input in their early environments.

Keywords: language acquisition; bilingualism; speech perception; infant-directed speech;
 reproducibility; experimental methods

66 Word count: 13054

A multi-lab study of bilingual infants: Exploring the preference for infant-directed speech

When caregivers interact with their infants, their speech often takes on specific,
distinguishing features in a speech register known as infant-directed speech (IDS; Fernald et
al., 1989). IDS is produced by caregivers of most (although not all) linguistic and cultural
backgrounds, and is typically characterized by a slow, melodic, high-pitched, and
exaggerated cadence (Farran, Lee, Yoo, & Oller, 2016; Fernald et al., 1989; Kitamura,
Thanavishuth, Burnham, & Luksaneeyanawin, 2001; Pye, 1986; Shute & Wheldall, 1999).
From early in life, infants tune their attention to IDS, preferring to listen to IDS over
adult-directed speech (ADS) both at birth (Cooper & Aslin, 1990), as well as later in infancy
(Cooper, Abraham, Berman, & Staska, 1997; Cooper & Aslin, 1994; Fernald, 1985; Hayashi,
Tamekawa, & Kiritani, 2001; Kitamura & Lam, 2009; Newman & Hussain, 2006; Pegg,
Werker, & McLeod, 1992; Santesso, Schmidt, & Trainor, 2007; Singh, Morgan, & Best, 2002;
Werker & McLeod, 1989; Werker, Pegg, & McLeod, 1994).

Infants' preference for IDS may play a useful role in early language learning. For
example, infants are better able to discriminate speech sounds in IDS than in ADS (Karzon,
1985; Trainor & Desjardins, 2002), more efficiently segment words from continuous speech in
an IDS register (Thiessen, Hill, & Saffran, 2005), demonstrate better long-term memory for
words spoken in IDS (Singh, Nestor, Parikh, & Yull, 2009) and learn new words more
effectively from IDS than ADS (Graf Estes & Hurley, 2013; Ma, Golinkoff, Houston, &
Hirsh-Pasek, 2011; but see Schreiner, Altvater-Mackensen, & Mani, 2016).

While most studies have confirmed a general, early preference for IDS, to date there is
very little research aimed at understanding how different linguistic experiences affect infants'
preferences. For instance, although the existence of IDS has been demonstrated in a large
number of cultures (see above citations), the vast majority of the research on infants' IDS
preferences has been conducted in North America, using English speech typically directed at

North American English-hearing infants (Dunst, Gorman, & Hamby, 2012). Most critically, past work has been limited to a particular kind of linguistic (and cultural) experience: that of the monolingual infant. Here, we present a large-scale, multi-site, pre-registered study on bilingual infants, a population that is particularly suited to explore the relationship between language experience and IDS preference. Moreover, this research provides important insight into the early development of bilingual infants, a large but understudied population.

### Does experience tune infants' preference for IDS?

What role might experience play in tuning infants' attention to IDS? We aggregated 99 results from a published meta-analysis (Dunst et al., 2012) with additional 100 community-contributed data (MetaLab, 2017) to examine their combined results. When all 101 62 studies are considered, we found a moderately-sized average effect of Cohen's d = .64. A 102 focus on the 22 studies most similar to ours (testing IDS preference using looking times 103 collected in a laboratory, among typically-developing infants from 3–15 months, with 104 naturally-produced English-spoken IDS from an unfamiliar female speaker), the effect size is 105 slightly lower, d = .6. Although this meta-analysis focused on infants in the first year of life, 106 other studies of infants aged 18–21 months have also reported a preference for IDS over ADS 107 (Glenn & Cunningham, 1983; Robertson, von Hapsburg, & Hay, 2013). There is some 108 evidence that older infants show a greater preference for IDS than younger infants (Dunst et 109 al., 2012), although an age effect was not found in the subsample of 22 studies mentioned above. More evidence is needed to explore the possibility that increased language experience 111 as children grow enhances their preference for IDS. 112

Another variable that would be important in understanding the role of experience in the preference for IDS is whether the speech stimuli were presented in a native or non-native language. Numerous studies in early perception find different developmental trajectories for perception of native versus non-native stimuli (e.g. discriminating human faces

vs. discriminating monkey faces, Lewkowicz & Ghazanfar, 2006; discriminating native 117 vs. discriminating non-native speech sound categories, Maurer & Werker, 2014; segmenting 118 word forms from fluent speech, e.g., Polka & Sundara, 2012). Generally, whereas infants 119 show increasing proficiency in discriminating the types of faces and sounds that are present 120 in their environment, they lose sensitivity to the differences between non-native stimuli over 121 time. This general pattern might lead us to predict that infants will initially be sensitive to 122 differences between IDS and ADS in both the native and non-native languages, but that this 123 initial cross-linguistic sensitivity will decline with age. In other words, at some ages, infants' 124 preference for IDS over ADS could be enhanced when hearing their native language. 125 However, to date, there is very little data on this question. Importantly, this general trend, if 126 it exists, may interact with differences across languages in the production of IDS. The 127 exaggerated IDS of North American English might be either more interesting or less interesting to an infant whose native language is characterized by a less exaggerated form IDS, than for an infant who regularly hears North American English IDS.

Only a handful of IDS preference studies have explicitly explored infants' preference for 131 IDS from infants' native versus a non-native language. Werker et al. (1994) compared 4.5-132 and 9-month-old English and Cantonese-learning infants' preference for videos of Cantonese 133 mothers using IDS versus ADS. Both groups showed a preference for IDS; however, the 134 magnitude of the preference between the two groups was not specifically compared (Werker 135 et al., 1994). Hayashi et al. (2001) studied Japanese-learning infants' (aged 4–14 months) 136 preference for native (Japanese) and non-native (English) speech. Japanese-learning infants 137 generally showed a preference for Japanese IDS over ADS, as well as an increasing preference for Japanese IDS over English IDS. The latter finding shows that infants tune into their native language with increased experience; however, as the study did not measure infants' interest in English ADS, we do not know whether Japanese infants were equally sensitive to the difference between ADS and IDS in the non-native stimuli, or whether/how this might 142 change over time.

Infants growing up bilingual are typically exposed to IDS in two languages. They 144 provide a particularly useful wedge in understanding experiential influences on infants' 145 attention to IDS. Bilingual infants receive less exposure to each of their languages than 146 monolingual infants, and the exact proportion of exposure to each of their two languages 147 varies from infant to infant. This divided exposure does not appear to slow the overall rate 148 of language acquisition: bilinguals pass their language milestones on approximately the same 149 schedule as monolingual infants, such as the onset of babbling and the production of their 150 first words (Werker & Byers-Heinlein, 2008). Nonetheless, children from different language 151 backgrounds receive different types of input, and must ultimately acquire different language 152 forms, which can alter some patterns of language acquisition (e.g., Choi & Bowerman, 1991; 153 Slobin, 1985; Tardif, 1996; Tardif, Shatz, & Naigles, 1997; Werker & Tees, 1984). As a 154 consequence, bilingual infants allow researchers to investigate how a given "dose" of experience with a specific language relates to phenomena in language acquisition, while holding infants' age and total experience with language constant (Byers-Heinlein & Fennell, 2014). 158

Aside from the opportunity to study dose effects, it is important to examine the 159 preference for IDS in bilingual infants for the sake of understanding bilingual development 160 itself. Several lines of research suggest that early exposure to two languages changes some 161 aspects of early development (Byers-Heinlein & Fennell, 2014), including bilinguals' 162 perception of non-native speech sounds (i.e., sounds that are in neither of their native 163 languages). For example, a number of studies have reported that bilinguals maintain 164 sensitivity to non-native consonant contrasts (García-Sierra, Ramírez-Esparza, & Kuhl, 2016; Petitto et al., 2012; Ramírez, Ramírez, Clarke, Taulu, & Kuhl, 2017), tone contrasts (Graf Estes & Hay, 2015; Liu & Kager, 2017a), and visual differences between languages (i.e., rhythmic and phonetic information available on the face of talkers; Sebastián-Gallés, 168 Albareda-Castellot, Weikum, & Werker, 2012) until a later age than monolinguals. Other 169 studies have suggested that bilinguals' early speech perception is linked to their language

dominance (Liu & Kager, 2015; Molnar, Carreiras, & Gervain, 2016; Sebastián-Gallés & Bosch, 2002), whereby bilinguals' perception most closely matches that of monolinguals in 172 their dominant language. Bilingual infants also demonstrate some cognitive differences from 173 monolinguals that are not specific to language, including faster visual habituation (Singh et 174 al., 2015), better memory generalization (Brito & Barr, 2014; Brito, Sebastián-Gallés, & 175 Barr, 2015), and greater cognitive flexibility (Kovács & Mehler, 2009a, 2009b). This might 176 reflect an early-emerging difference in information processing between the two groups. 177 Together, these lines of work raise the possibility that preference for IDS versus ADS could 178 have a different developmental course for bilingual and monolingual infants, and that 179 bilinguals' distinct course could interact with factors such as language dominance. 180

# Bilinguals' exposure to and learning from IDS

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Overall, there is very little research on whether bilinguals' experience with IDS is 182 comparable to monolinguals' experience. Some research has compared English monolinguals 183 and English-Spanish bilinguals in the United States (Ramírez-Esparza, García-Sierra, & 184 Kuhl, 2014, 2017). Here, researchers reported that bilingual infants around 1 year of age 185 received less exposure to IDS than monolingual infants on average. Moreover, in the bilingual families, input was more evenly distributed across infant- and adult-directed 187 registers. It is difficult to know whether the results reported in these studies generalize to 188 other populations of bilinguals, or whether it was specific to this language community. As acknowledged by the authors, the bilinguals in this study were of a lower SES than the 190 monolinguals, which could have driven differences in the amount of IDS that infants heard. 191 On the other hand, it might be the case that bilingual infants more rapidly lose their 192 preference for the IDS register than do monolinguals, and that caregivers of bilinguals 193 respond to this by reducing the amount of IDS input they provide. 194

Bilingual infants might also hear IDS that differs prosodically and phonetically from

that heard by monolingual infants. Bilingual infants often have bilingual caregivers, and 196 even when they are highly proficient speakers, their speech may vary from that of 197 monolinguals. One study compared vowels produced in the IDS of monolingual English, 198 monolingual French, and balanced French-English bilingual mothers living in Montreal 199 (Danielson, Seidl, Onishi, Alamian, & Cristia, 2014). Bilingual mothers' vowels were distinct 200 in the two languages, and the magnitude of the difference between French and English 201 vowels was similar to that shown by monolingual mothers. However, another study showed 202 that in a word-learning task, 17-month-old French-English bilinguals learned new words 203 better from a bilingual speaker than a monolingual speaker, even though acoustic 204 measurements did not reveal what dimension infants were attending to (Fennell & 205 Byers-Heinlein, 2014; similar findings were found in Mattock, Polka, Rvachew, & Krehm, 206 2010). Finally, a study of Spanish-Catalan bilingual mothers living in Barcelona found that 207 some mothers were more variable in their productions of a difficult Catalan vowel contrast 208 than monolingual mothers (Bosch & Ramon-Casas, 2011). Thus, bilingual infants may not only differ in the amount of IDS they hear in a particular language relative to monolingual 210 infants, but different populations of bilingual infants may also vary in how similar the IDS 211 they hear is to monolingual-produced IDS in the same languages. This could, in turn, lead to greater variability across bilinguals in their preference for IDS over ADS when tested with 213 any particular stimulus materials. 214

Regardless of bilingual infants' specific experience with IDS, evidence suggests that
bilinguals might enjoy the same learning benefits from IDS as monolinguals. For example,
Ramírez-Esparza et al. (2017) found that greater exposure to IDS predicted larger
vocabulary size in both monolingual and bilingual infants. Indeed, an untested possibility is
that exposure to IDS might be of particular benefit to bilingual infants. Bilinguals face a
more complex learning situation than monolinguals, as they acquire two sets of sounds,
words, and grammars simultaneously (Werker & Byers-Heinlein, 2008). This raises the
possibility that bilingual infants might have enhanced interest in IDS relative to

monolinguals, or that they might maintain a preference for IDS until a later age than
monolinguals, similiar to the extended sensitivity observed in bilingual infants' perception of
non-native phonetic contrasts.

### Replicability in research with bilingual infants

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Working with bilingual infant populations engenders unique replicability issues above 227 and beyond those common in the wider field of infant research (e.g., between-lab variability, 228 methodological variation, etc.; see Frank et al., 2017). These issues begin with the nature of 229 the population. Our discussion of bilingual infants thus far has used "bilingual" as a blanket 230 term to describe infants growing up hearing two or more languages. However, this usage 231 belies the large variability in groups of infants described as "bilingual". First, some studies of 232 bilinguals have included infants from a homogeneous language background (where all infants 233 are exposed to the same language pair; e.g. English-Spanish in Ramírez-Esparza et al., 2017), 234 while others have included infants from heterogeneous language backgrounds (where infants 235 are exposed to different language pairs, e.g., English-Other, where "Other" might be Spanish, 236 French, Mandarin, Punjabi, etc.; e.g., Fennell, Byers-Heinlein, & Werker, 2007). Second, 237 some bilinguals learn two typologically closely related languages (e.g. Spanish-Catalan) while 238 others learn two distant languages (e.g. English-Mandarin). Third, there is wide variability 239 between bilingual infants in the amount of exposure to each language, which introduces an 240 extra dimension of individual difference relative to studies with monolingual infants. Fourth, studies define bilingualism in different ways, ranging from a liberal criterion of at least 10% exposure to the non-dominant language to at least 40% exposure to the non-dominant 243 language (Byers-Heinlein, 2015). Finally, bilingual and monolingual populations can be difficult to compare because of cultural, sociological, and socio-economic status differences 245 that exist between samples. 246

All of the above difficulties have resulted in very few findings being replicated across

different samples of bilinguals. The limited research that has compared different types of bilingual learners has indicated that the particular language pair being learned by bilingual 240 infants influences speech perception of both native (Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005; Sundara 250 & Scutellaro, 2011) and non-native (Patihis, Oh, & Mogilner, 2015) sounds. In contrast, 251 other studies have not found differences between bilinguals learning different language pairs, 252 for example in their ability to apply speech perception skills to a word-learning task (Fennell 253 et al., 2007). Generally, we do not know how replicable most findings are across different 254 groups of bilinguals, or how previously reported effects of bilingualism on learning and 255 perception are impacted by the theoretically interesting moderators discussed above. 256

Research on bilingual infants also faces many of the same general concerns shared with 257 other fields of infancy research, such as challenges recruiting sufficient participants to 258 conduct well-powered studies (Frank et al., 2017). Finding an appropriate bilingual sample 259 further limits the availability of research participants, even in locations with significant 260 bilingual populations. Such issues are particularly relevant given the recent emphasis on the 261 replicability and best practices in psychological science (Klein et al., 2014; Open Science Collaboration, 2015; Simmons, Nelson, & Simonsohn, 2011). Of particular interest is whether bilingual infants as a group show greater variability in their responses than 264 monolingual infants, and how to characterize the variability of responses between the different types of samples of bilinguals that can be recruited by particular labs (i.e., 266 homogeneous vs. heterogeneous samples). Understanding whether variability differs 267 systematically across groups is vital for planning appropriately-powered studies. 268

#### Description of the current study

Here, we report a large-scale, multi-site, pre-registered study aimed at using data from bilingual infants to understand variability in infants' preference for IDS over ADS. This study, "ManyBabies 1 Bilingual", is a companion project to the "ManyBabies 1" project, published

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in a previous issue of this journal (Consortium, 2020). The two studies were conducted in
parallel, using the same stimuli and experimental procedure. However, while ManyBabies 1
analyzed all data collected from monolingual infants (including those data from monolinguals
reported here), the current study reports a subset of these data together with additional data
from bilingual infants not reported in that paper. Our multi-site approach gives us precision
in estimating the overall effect size of bilingual infants' preference for IDS, while also
allowing us to investigate how different types of language experience moderate this effect.

Our primary approach was to compare bilinguals' performance to the performance of 280 monolinguals tested in the same lab. This approach has two notable advantages. First, 281 within each lab, bilinguals shared one of their two languages with monolinguals (the 282 language of the wider community). Second, testing procedures were held constant within 283 each lab. Thus, this approach allowed us to minimize procedural confounds with infants' 284 bilingual status. However, a disadvantage of this approach is that it leaves out data from 285 monolingual infants tested in other labs (since not all laboratories provided data from 286 bilingual infants), which could potentially add precision to the measured effects. Thus, we performed additional analyses comparing all bilinguals to all monolinguals within the same age bins, regardless of the labs each had been tested in. 289

We tested bilinguals in two of age windows: 6–9 months, and 12–15 months <sup>1</sup>. The specific age bins selected were based on a preliminary survey of the availability of the age ranges from participating laboratories. The choice of non-adjacent age bins also increased the chances of observing developmental differences.

All infants were tested using the same stimuli, which consisted of recordings of
North-American English (NAE) accented IDS and ADS. Because of the international nature
of this multi-site project, these stimuli were native for some infants but non-native for other
infants, both in terms of the language of the stimuli (English), and the variety of

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ Note that ManyBabies 1 also monolingual also tested 3-6 month and 9-12 month groups.

infant-directed speech (NAE-IDS is particularly exaggerated in its IDS characteristics
relative to other varieties of IDS; see Soderstrom, 2007 for a review). Moreover, the stimuli
were produced by monolingual mothers. Thus, infants' exposure to the type of stimuli used
varied from low (monolinguals and bilinguals not exposed to NAE), to moderate (bilinguals
learning NAE as one of their two languages), to high (monolinguals learning NAE).

Infants were tested in one of three experimental setups regularly used to test infant 303 auditory preference: central fixation, eye-tracking, and headturn preference procedure. The 304 use of a particular setup was the choice of each lab, depending on their equipment and 305 expertise. Labs that tested both monolinguals and bilinguals used the same setup for both 306 groups. On all setups, infants heard a series of trials presenting either IDS or ADS, and their 307 looking time to an unrelated visual stimulus (e.g., a checkerboard) was used as an index of 308 their attention. In central fixation, infants sat in front of a single screen that displayed a 309 visual stimulus, and their looking was coded via button press using a centrally positioned 310 camera while the auditory stimulus played. Eye-tracking was similar, except that infants' 311 looking was coded automatically using a corneal-reflection eye-tracker. In the headturn preference procedure setup (HPP; see Kemler Nelson et al., 1995), infants sat in the middle of a room facing a central visual stimulus. Their attention was drawn to the left or right side of the room by a visual stimulus while the auditory stimulus played, and the duration of their looking was measured via button press using a centrally positioned camera.

#### Research questions

We identified three basic research questions addressed by this study. Note that it was not always possible to make specific predictions given the very limited data on infants' cross-language preferences for IDS over ADS, and particularly the absence of data from bilingual infants. We also note that the ManyBabies 1 project, focusing on monolingual infants, addresses other more general questions such as the average magnitude of the IDS

preference, changes in preference over age, and the effects of methodological variation
(Consortium, 2020). The main questions addressed by data from bilingual infants are:

- 1. How does bilingualism affect infants' interest in IDS relative to ADS? As described above, monolingual infants display an early preference for IDS that grows in strength at least through the first year of life. We anticipated that the bilingual experience might result in a different pattern of IDS preference; however, the direction and potential source of any difference is difficult to predict. For example, the more challenging nature of early bilingual environments might induce an even greater preference for IDS over ADS relative to monolinguals. This enhanced preference could be shown across development, or might be observed only at certain ages. On the other hand, given some evidence that parents of bilingual infants produce relatively less IDS than parents of monolingual infants, it may be that bilinguals show less interest in IDS than monolinguals. We also explored the following questions as potential sources for an emerging difference between populations: If an overall difference between monolingual and bilingual infants' preference for IDS is observed, can this be accounted for by systematic differences in socioeconomic status? Do bilinguals show greater variability in their preference for IDS than monolinguals?
- 2. How does the amount of exposure to NAE-IDS affect bilingual infants' listening preferences? While we expected infants across different language backgrounds to show greater interest in IDS over ADS, we investigated whether this was moderated by the amount of exposure to NAE. For monolinguals, this exposure would be either 100% (monolingual learners of NAE) or 0% (monolingual learners of other languages). For bilinguals, some infants would have 0\% exposure to NAE-IDS (e.g., bilingual infants learning Spanish and Catalan) while others would have a range of different exposures (e.g., bilingual infants learning NAE and French). This allowed us to at least partially disentangle dose effects of exposure to NAE-IDS from infants' bilingualism. An

additional possibility is that infants' exposure to NAE would predict overall attention to both infant-directed and adult-directed NAE, with no differential effects on interest to IDS versus ADS. Finally, it is possible that NAE-IDS is equally engaging to infants regardless of their experience with North American English.

3. Finally, we had planned to ask how bilingual infants' listening to NAE-IDS and ADS impacted by the particular language pair being learned. We intended to ask this question at both the group and at the individual level. At the group level, we planned to investigate whether different patterns of results would be seen in homogeneous versus heterogeneous samples of bilinguals, in terms of overall preference for IDS and group-level variability. However, ultimately we had insufficient homogeneous samples to address this question. At the individual level, we were interested in how the particular language pair being learned modulated infants' preference for IDS. As we did not know a priori what language pairs would have sufficient sample size for analysis, this was considered a potential exploratory analyses. Ultimately, due to the nature of our main results and the diverse language backgrounds of our final sample, we decided to leave this question open for future investigations.

365 Methods

### 56 Participation Details

Our monolingual sample originated from the ManyBabies 1 project (Consortium (2020)). Here we report some basic information about that sample - the reader is referred to the original study for further details, and focus primarily on the bilingual sample. We report how we determined our sample size, all data exclusions, all manipulations, and all measures in the study.

Time-frame. An open call for labs to participate was issued on February 2, 2017.

Participant testing began on May 1, 2017. Testing for monolinguals ended on April 30, 2018.

Because of the additional difficulty of recruiting bilingual samples, the end-date for collection of these data was extended by four months to August 31, 2018. Due to a miscommunication, one lab continued testing data beyond this deadline but prior to data analysis, and these data were included in the final sample.

Age distribution. Labs contributing data from bilingual infants were asked to test
participants in at least one of two (but preferably both) age bins: 6–9 month-olds (6:1 – 9:0)
and 12–15 month-olds (12:1 – 15:0). Labs were asked to aim for a mean age at the centre of
the bin, with distribution across the entire age window. Some labs chose to test additional
infants outside the target age ranges for future exploratory analyses, which were excluded
from the current study.

Lab participation criterion. Considering the challenges associated with recruiting 384 bilingual infants and the importance of counterbalancing in our experimental design, we 385 asked labs to contribute a minimum of 16 infants per age and language group (note that 386 infants who met inclusion criteria for age and language exposure but were ultimately 387 excluded for other reasons counted towards this minimum N). We also expected that requiring a relatively low minimum number of infants would encourage more labs to 389 contribute a bilingual sample, and under our statistical approach a larger number of groups 390 is more important than a larger number of individuals (Maas & Hox, 2005). However, labs 391 were encouraged to contribute additional data provided that decisions about when to stop data collection were made ahead of time (e.g., by declaring an intended start and end date before data collection). A sensitivity analysis showed that, with a sample of 16 infants and assuming the average effect size of similar previous studies (Cohen's d = .7; Dunst et al., 395 2012; MetaLab, 2017), individual labs would have 74% power to detect a preference for IDS 396 in a paired-samples t-test (alpha = .05, one-tailed). Assuming a smaller effect size of 397

Cohen's d = 0.6, a conservative estimate of power based on the literature reviewed above, individual labs' power would be 61%. The moderate statistical power that individual labs would have to detect this effect highlights the importance of our approach to combine data across labs. We note that some labs were unable to recruit their planned minimum sample of labsingual infants that met our inclusion criteria in the timeframe available, a point we will return to later in the paper.

Labs were asked to screen infants ahead of time for inclusion criteria, typically by
briefly asking about language exposure over the phone. Despite this screening process, some
infants who arrived in the lab for testing fell between the criteria for monolingual and
bilingual status based on the comprehensive questionnaire. In such cases, the decision
whether to test the infant was left up to individual laboratories' policy, but we asked that
data from any babies who entered the testing room be submitted for data processing (even
though some such data might be excluded from the main analyses).

Ethics. Each lab followed the ethical guidelines and ethics review board protocols of their own institution. Labs submitted anonymized data for central analysis that identified participants by code only. Video recordings of individual participants were coded and stored locally at each lab, and where possible were uploaded to a central controlled-access databank accessible to other researchers.

#### 416 Participants

Defining bilingualism. Infants are typically categorized as bilingual as a function
of their parent-reported relative exposure to their languages. However, studies vary
considerably in terms of inclusion criteria for the minimum exposure to the non-dominant
language, which in previous studies has ranged from 10% to 40% of infants' exposure
(Byers-Heinlein, 2015). Some bilingual infants may also have some exposure to a third or

fourth additional language. Finally, infants can vary in terms of when the onset of exposure to their additional languages is, which can be as early as birth or anytime thereafter. We aimed to take a middle-of-the-road approach to defining bilingualism, attempting to balance a need for experimental power with interpretable data.

Thus, we asked each participating lab to recruit a group of simultaneous bilingual 426 infants who were exposed to two languages between 25% and 75% of the time, with regular exposure to both languages beginning within the first month of life. There was no restriction 428 as to whether infants were exposed to additional languages, thus some infants could be 429 considered multilingual (although we continue to use the term bilingual throughout this 430 manuscript). These criteria would include, for example, an infant with 40% English, 40% 431 French, and 20% Spanish exposure, but would exclude an infant with 20% English, 70% 432 French, and 10% Spanish exposure. We also asked labs to recruit a sample of bilingual 433 infants who shared at least one language – the community language being learned by 434 monolinguals tested in the same lab. For labs in bilingual communities (e.g., Barcelona, 435 Ottawa, Montréal, Singapore), labs were free to decide which community language to select 436 as the shared language. Within this constraint, most labs opted to test heterogeneous groups 437 of bilinguals, for example, English-Other bilinguals where English was the community 438 language, the other language might be French, Spanish, Mandarin, etc. Only one lab tested 439 a homogeneous group of bilinguals (in this case, all infants were learning English and 440 Mandarin), although we had expected that more labs would test homogeneous samples, 441 given both heterogeneous and homogeneous samples are used regularly in research with 442 bilingual infants. Because only one homogeneous sample was tested, we were not able to conduct planned analyses examining the impact of this type of sample on our results. Infants that were tested but that did not meet inclusion criteria into the group (for example because they did not hear enough of their non-dominant language, or were not hearing the community language) were excluded from the main analyses, but retained for exploratory 447 analyses where appropriate.

**Assessing bilingualism.** Each lab was asked to use a detailed day-in-the-life 449 parental interview questionnaire to quantify the percent of time that infants were exposed to 450 each language. This approach has been shown to predict bilingual children's language 451 outcomes better than a one-off parental estimate (DeAnda, Bosch, Poulin-Dubois, Zesiger, & 452 Friend, 2016). Moreover, recent findings based on day-long recording gathered using LENA 453 technology show that caregivers can reliably estimate their bilingual child's relative exposure 454 to each language (Orena et al., 2019). Labs were also asked to pay special attention to 455 whether infants had exposure to North American English (based on a parent report of the 456 variety of English spoken to their infant), and if so which caregiver(s) this input came from. 457 As most of the labs contributing bilingual data had extensive expertise in bilingual language 458 background assessment, we encouraged each lab to use whatever version of measurement 459 instrument was normally used in their lab (details of the assessment instruments are outlined below, including source references for most measures). Where possible, labs conducted the interview in the parents' language of choice, and documented whether the parents' preferred language was able to be used.

While standardization of measurement tools is often desirable, we reasoned that 464 different questions and approaches might be best for eliciting information from parents in 465 different communities and from different cultures. Indeed, many labs reported that their own 466 instruments had undergone considerable refinement over the years as a function of their 467 experience working with the families in their communities. However, in order to maximize 468 the overall sample size and the diversity of bilingual groups tested, we encouraged 469 participation from laboratories without extensive experience testing bilingual infants. Labs that did not have an established procedure were paired with more experienced labs working 471 with similar communities to refine a language assessment procedure. Twelve of the labs administered a structured interview-style questionnaire based on the one developed by Bosch and Sebastián-Gallés (1997, 2001; for examples of the measure see the online supplementary 474 materials of Byers-Heinlein et al., 2019; DeAnda et al., 2016), and the remaining 5 labs

administered other questionnaires. We describe each of these approaches in detail below.

The Bosch and Sebastián-Gallés (1997, 2001) questionnaire is typically referred to in 477 the literature as the Language Exposure Questionnaire (LEQ; e.g., Byers-Heinlein, Fennell, 478 & Werker, 2013), or the Language Exposure Assessment Tool (LEAT; DeAnda et al., 2016). 479 Administration of these questionnaires takes the form of a parental interview, where a 480 trained experimenter systematically asks at least one of the infant's primary caregivers detailed questions about the infant's language environment. The interviewer obtains an exposure estimate for each person who is in regular contact with the infant, as defined by a 483 minimum contact of once a week. For each of those people, the caregiver gives an estimate of 484 how many hours per day they speak to the infant in each language for each of the days of 485 the week (e.g., weekdays and weekends may differ depending on work commitments). 486 Further, the caregiver is asked if the language input from each regular-contact person was 487 similar across the infant's life history. If not, such as in the case of a caregiver returning to 488 work after parental leave, or an extended stay in another country, an estimate is derived for 489 each different period of the infant's lifespan. The interviewer also asks the caregiver about 490 the language background of each person with regular contact with the infant (as defined 491 above), asking the languages they speak and whether they are native speakers of those 492 languages. The caregiver also gives an estimate of language exposure in the infant's daycare, 493 if applicable. Finally, the caregiver gives a global estimate of their infant's percent exposure 494 to the two languages, which includes input from those people in regular contact with the 495 infant and other people with whom the infant has less regular contact (e.g., playgroups, 496 friends of caregivers, etc.). Importantly, this global estimate does not include input from television or radio, as such sources have no known positive impact, and may even have a negative impact on monolingual and bilingual language development in infancy (see Hudon, Fennell, & Hoftyzer, 2013). The estimate of an infant's percent exposure to their languages 500 is derived from the average cumulative exposure based on the data from the primary 501 individuals in the infant's life. Some labs use the global estimate simply to confirm these

percentages. Other labs average the primary and global exposure to take into account all language exposure, while still giving more weight to the primary individuals. Also, some labs asked additional questions, for example about videoconferencing with relatives, whether caregivers mix their languages when speaking to the infant, or caregivers' cultural background. Finally, while the original form was pen-and-paper, there have been adaptations which include using a form-fillable Excel sheet (DeAnda et al., 2016).

For the other language exposure measures used by 5 of the labs, we will simply 509 highlight the differences from the LEQ/LEAT measure described above, as there is much 510 overlap between all the instruments used to measure infants' exposure to their languages. 511 Two labs used custom assessment measures designed within each lab. The major difference 512 from the LEQ for the first of these custom measures is that parents provide percentage 513 exposure estimates for each language from primary individuals in the infant's life, rather 514 than exposure estimates based on hours per day in each language. The other custom 515 measures, unlike the LEQ, specify estimates of language exposure in settings where more 516 than one speaker is present by weighting each speaker's language contribution. A further two 517 labs used other child language exposure measures present in the literature: one used the 518 Multilingual Infant Language Questionnaire (MILQ; Liu & Kager, 2017b) and the other used 519 an assessment measure designed by Cattani et al. (2014). For the MILQ, one major 520 difference is that parents complete the assessment directly using an Excel sheet with clear 521 instructions. The other major difference is that the MILQ is much more detailed than the 522 LEQ/LEAT: breaking down language exposure to very specific activities (e.g., car time, book 523 reading, meal time); asking more detail about the people in regular contact with the infant (e.g., accented speech, level of talkativeness); and obtaining estimates of media exposure 525 (e.g., TV, music). The measure from Cattani et al. (2014) focuses on parental exposure and uses Likert scales to determine exposure from each parent. The ratings are converted to 527 percentages and maternal exposure is weighted more in the final calculation based on data 528 showing that mothers are more verbal than fathers. Finally, one lab did not use a detailed

measure, but rather simply asked parents to give an estimate of the percentage exposure to each of the languages their infant was hearing.

For monolinguals, labs either did the same assessment as with bilinguals, or minimally checked participants' monolingual status by asking parents a single question: estimate the percent of time that their infant was exposed to their native language. Under either approach, if that estimate exceeded 90% exposure to a single language, the infant was considered monolingual.

Demographics. Each lab administered a questionnaire that gathered basic
demographic data about infants, including age, health history, gestation, etc. Infants'
socioeconomic status (SES) was measured via parental report of years of maternal education.
To standardize across different education systems where formal schooling may begin at
different ages, we counted the number of years of education after kindergarten. For example,
in the United States, mothers who had completed high school would be considered to have
12 years of education.

Final sample. Our final sample of bilinguals who met our infant-level inclusion 544 criteria included 333 infants tested in 17 labs; 148 were 6–9 months, and 185 were 12–15 545 months (a full account of exclusions is detailed in the results section). These 17 labs also collected data from monolingual infants (N = 385 who met infant-level inclusion criteria), of 547 whom 182 were 6-9 months, and 203 were 12-15 months. While all analyses required that data meet the infant-level inclusion criteria, some analyses further required that the data met the lab-level inclusion criteria (lab-level inclusion criteria are discussed in the Results section where they were implemented for specific analyses). Data from monolingual infants in these age ranges were available from 59 additional labs (n = 583 6-9 month-olds; n = 46812-15 month-olds) who did not contribute bilingual data. Bilingual infants and lab-matched 553 monolingual samples tested by each lab are detailed in Table 1. For further description of 554 our participants, please refer to the Appendix, where we list gender distributions across 555

subsamples (Table A1) and the language pairs being learned by bilingual infants (Table A2).

education (SES), and average NAE exposure for blingual infants by lab. The table is ordered by NAE exposure. Note that because Number of monolingual and bilingual infants in each age group that met infant-level inclusion criteria, average years of maternal of lab-level inclusion criteria, cells with n < 10 were excluded from the meta-analyses, but were included in the mixed-effects regression analyses. Labs that only tested monolingual infants are not listed.

lab	method	om 6-9	0m 6-9	12-15 mo	12-15 mo	average years	bilinguals'
		bilingual	monolingual	bilingual	monolingual	of maternal	average NAE
						education	
babylabbrookes	singlescreen	17	15	17	16	16.76	0.00
babylabkingswood	ddų	6	15	15	15	16.98	0.00
babylab paris descartes 1	ddy	10	0	1	16	16.33	0.00
cdcceu	eyetracking	0	0	14	13	18.15	0.00
Illliv	eyetracking	7	19	9	15	17.38	0.00
lscppsl	eyetracking	0	0	16	14	16.98	0.00
nu sinfant language centre	eyetracking	26	10	12	10	14.99	0.00
weltentdeckerzurich	eyetracking	0	0	28	30	15.17	0.00
wsigoettingen	singlescreen	6	31	7	15	16.06	0.00
isplabmcgill	ddy	0	0	16	11	18.07	28.63
bllumanitoba	ddq	7	26	∞	16	15.54	47.16
in fant studies ubc	ddy	15	20	0	0	16.38	48.88
irlconcordia	eyetracking	16	17	18	18	16.63	48.98

education (SES), and average NAE exposure for blingual infants by lab. The table is ordered by NAE exposure. Note that because Number of monolingual and bilingual infants in each age group that met infant-level inclusion criteria, average years of maternal of lab-level inclusion criteria, cells with n < 10 were excluded from the meta-analyses, but were included in the mixed-effects regression analyses. Labs that only tested monolingual infants are not listed. (continued) Table 1

bilinguals' average NAE		49.07	53.04	54.79	55.69
average years of maternal	education	18.00	14.91	17.99	16.50
12-15 mo monolingual	0	0	3	11	0
12-15 mo bilingual	0	0	6	18	0
6-9 mo	0	1	0	17	11
6-9 mo	0	15	0	2	10
method		ddų	ddy	singlescreen	eyetracking
lab		babylabprinceton	langlabucla	ldlottawa	infantcogubc

#### Materials

Visual stimuli. Labs using a central fixation or eye-tracking method presented
infants with a brightly-coloured checkerboard as the main visual stimulus. A video of a
laughing baby was used as an attention-getter between trials to reorient infants to the screen.
Labs using the headturn preference procedure used the typical visual stimulus employed in
their labs, which was sometimes light bulbs (consistent with the original development of the
procedure in the 1980s) or sometimes colourful stimuli presented on LCD screens. All visual
stimuli are available via the ManyBabies 1 Open Science Framework site at osf.io/re95x/.

Auditory stimuli consisted of semi-naturalistic recordings of Auditory stimuli. 565 mothers interacting with their infants (ranging in age from 122–250 days) in a laboratory 566 setting. Mothers were asked to talk about a set of objects with their infant, and also 567 separately with an experimenter. A set of 8 IDS and 8 ADS auditory stimuli of 20 s each 568 were created from these recordings. Details regarding the recording and selection process, 560 acoustic details and ratings from naive adult listeners can be found in the ManyBabies 1 570 study (Consortium, 2020) and the associated Open Science Framework project at 571 osf.io/re95x. 572

#### Procedure Procedure

Basic Procedure. Each lab used one of three common infant study procedures,
according to their own expertise and the experimental setups available in the lab: central
fixation (3 labs), eye-tracking (7 labs), or headturn preference procedure (7 labs). The
testing procedure was identical to that used in the ManyBabies 1 project [Consortium (2020);
deviations from the protocol are also described there], and we describe key aspects here.

Infants sat on their parents' laps or in a high chair, and parents listened to masking music over headphones throughout the study. Infants saw 2 training trials that presented an

unrelated auditory stimulus (piano music), followed by 16 test trials that presented either 581 IDS or ADS speech. Trials were presented in one of four pseudo-random orders that 582 counterbalanced the order of presentation of the two stimulus types. Note that within each 583 order, specific IDS and ADS clips were presented adjacently in voked pairs to facilitate 584 analyses. On each trial, the auditory stimulus played until the infant looked away for 2 585 consecutive seconds (for labs that implemented an infant-controlled procedure) or until the 586 entire stimulus played, up to 19 seconds (for labs that implemented a fixed trial-length 587 procedure). The implementation of the procedure depended on the software that was 588 available in each lab. Trials with less than 2 seconds of looking were excluded from analyses. 580 Attention-grabbing stimuli were played centrally between trials to reorient infants to the task.

The main differences between the setups were the type and position of visual stimuli presented, and the onset of the auditory stimuli. For central fixation and eye-tracking procedures, infants saw a checkerboard on a central monitor, whose presentation coincided with the onset of the auditory stimuli on each trial. For the headturn preference procedure, the visual stimulus (either flashing light bulbs or a colourful stimulus) played silently on a monitor/bulb in the centre of the room and on one of two side monitors/bulbs, and the auditory stimulus began playing when the infant turned their head towards the side stimulus.

The dependent variable was infant looking time during each trial. For eye-tracking setups, looking time was measured automatically via corneal reflection. For central fixation and headturn preference procedure setups, looking time was measured by trained human coders who were blind to trial type, according to the lab's standard procedures.

Parents completed questionnaires about participants' demographic and language background either prior to or after the main experiment.

Results

### $\mathbf{Analysis}$ overview

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Data exclusion. Labs were asked to submit all data collected as part of the
bilingual study to the analysis team, and this section focuses on exclusions for infants
collected as part of the bilingual sample. The initial dataset contained 501 infants, of which
333 met each of the inclusion criteria, which are detailed below. We note that exclusions
were applied sequentially (i.e., percentages reflect exclusions among remaining sample after
previous criteria were applied).

- Full-term. We defined full term as gestation times greater than or equal to 37 weeks.

  There were 4 (1.11%) infants who were tested but did not meet this criterion.
- No diagnosed developmental disorders. We excluded infants whose parents reported
  developmental disorders (e.g., chromosomal abnormalities, etc.) or were diagnosed with
  hearing impairments. There were 2 (0.56%) infants who were tested but did not meet
  this criterion. Due to concerns about the accuracy of parent reports, we did not plan
  exclusions based on self-reported ear infections unless parents reported
  medically-confirmed hearing loss.
  - Age. We included infants in two age groups: 6-9 and 12-15 month-olds. There were 59 (11.78%) infants who were tested in the paradigm, but who fell outside our target ages. Some labs chose to test such infants for future exploratory analyses, knowing they would be excluded from the current paper.
- Bilingualism. We excluded infants from the sample whose language background did not meet our pre-defined criteria for bilingualism (see above for details). There were 74

  (16.74%) infants whose exposure did not meet this criterion. We also excluded 7

- (1.90%) additional infants who met this criterion, but who were not learning the community language as one of their languages.
- Session-level errors. Participants were also excluded on the basis of session-level errors, including 2 infants for equipment error, 1 infant for experimenter error, and 3 infants for outside interference.
- Adequate trials for analysis. We excluded any infant who did not have at least one 632 IDS-ADS trial pair available for analysis: 5 (1.45%) infants were tested but did not 633 meet these criteria. For infants with at least one good trial pair, we additionally 634 excluded any trial with less than 2 s of looking (n = 890 trials; 16.92\% of trials), which 635 was set as a trial-level minimum so that infants had heard enough of the stimulus to 636 discriminate IDS from ADS. As infants did not have to complete the entire experiment 637 to be included, this meant that different infants contributed different numbers of trials. 638 On average, infants contributed 15.67 trials to the analysis. 639

**Data analysis framework.** All planned analyses were pre-registered at 640 https://osf.io/zauhg/; data and code are available at 641 https://github.com/manybabies/mb1b-analysis-public. Our primary dependent variable of 642 interest was looking time (LT), which was defined as the time spent fixating on the visual stimulus during test trials. Given evidence that looking times are non-normally distributed, we log-transformed all looking times prior to statistical analysis in the mixed-effects model (Csibra, Hernik, Mascaro, Tatone, & Lengyel, 2016). We refer to this transformed variable as 646 "log LT". For the meta-analysis, we analyzed effect sizes computed from raw difference scores, which did not require log transformation. We pre-registered a set of analyses to examine whether monolinguals, heterogeneous samples of bilinguals, and homogeneous samples of bilinguals showed different levels of variability. Unexpectedly, only 1 lab (Table 1) tested a 650 homogenous sample of bilinguals, thus we deviated from our original plan and did not 651 analyze data as a function of whether our bilingual groups were homogenous versus 652

heterogeneous. For the main analyses, we adopted two complementary data analytic frameworks parallel to the ManyBabies 1 project (Consortium, 2020): meta-analysis and mixed-effects regression.

Under the meta-analytic framework, data from each sample of infants (e.g., 6 to 9 656 month-old bilinguals from Lab 1) was characterized by a) its effect size (here Cohen's d), and b) its standard deviation. Effect size analyses addressed questions about infants' overall 658 preference for IDS, while group-based standard deviation analyses addressed questions about 659 whether some groups of infants show higher variability in their preference than others. Note that meta-analyses of intra-group variability are relatively rare (Nakagawa et al., 2015; Senior, Gosby, Lu, Simpson, & Raubenheimer, 2016). Unfortunately, our pre-registration did not account for the eventuality that several labs would contribute very small numbers of 663 infants to certain groups, as each lab had committed to a minimum sample of 16 infants per 664 group. In two cases where a lab contributed data with a single infant in a particular 665 language group, it was impossible to compute an effect size. Thus, we implemented a 666 lab-level inclusion criterion for the meta-analysis such that each effect size was computed 667 only if the lab had contributed at least 10 infants in that particular language group and age. 668 For example, if lab A had contributed 7 bilingual infants between 6- to 9-months and 15 669 monolingual infants between 6- to 9-months, we only computed the effect size for the 670 monolingual group, but not for the bilingual group. This criterion ensured that each effect 671 size was computed based on a reasonable sample size (i.e., a minimum of 10 infants) and also 672 was consistent with the lab-level inclusion criteria in the ManyBabies 1 study. Because this 673 exclusion criterion was not part of the pre-registration, we also ran a robustness analysis 674 with a looser minimum contribution of 5 infants, which yielded very similar findings (analysis 675 code and results can be found in our Github repository). 676

An advantage of the meta-analytic approach is that it is easy to visualize lab-to-lab differences. Further, the meta-analytic framework most closely mirrors the current approach

for studying monolingual-bilingual differences, which typically compares groups of
monolingual and bilingual infants tested within the same lab. We used this approach
specifically to test the overall effect of bilingualism and its possible interactions with age on
the magnitude of infants' preference for IDS over ADS. We also compared standard
deviations for the bilingual group and monolingual group in a meta-analytic approach. This
analysis closely followed Nakagawa et al. (2015).

Under the mixed-effects regression model, trial-by-trial data from each infant were 685 submitted for analysis. Further, independent variables of interest could be specified on an 686 infant-by-infant basis. This approach had the advantage of potentially increasing statistical 687 power, as data are analyzed at a more fine-grained level of detail. As with the meta-analytic 688 approach, this analysis tested the effects of bilingualism and their potential interactions with 680 age. We also investigated whether links between bilingualism and IDS preference were 690 mediated by socio-economic status. Additionally, this approach allowed us to assess how the 691 amount of exposure to NAE-IDS, measured as a continuous percentage, affected infants' 692 listening preferences. Note that unlike for the meta-analysis, we did not need to apply a 693 lab-level inclusion criterion, which maximized our sample size. Thus, data from all infants 694 who met the infant-level criteria were included in this analysis, resulting in slightly different sample sizes under the meta-analytic and mixed-effects approaches.

Under both frameworks, we used a dual analysis strategy to investigate how infants'
IDS preference is related to bilingualism. First, we examined the lab-matched subset of data
from labs that contributed a monolingual and bilingual sample at a particular age. Second,
we examined the complete set of data including data from labs that contributed both
monolinguals and bilinguals, as well as additional data from labs that only tested
monolinguals at the ages of interest as part of the larger ManyBabies 1 project.

### Confirmatory analyses

Meta-analytic approach. This approach focused on the analysis of group-level
datasets. We defined a dataset as a group of at least 10 infants tested in the same lab, of the
same age (either 6-9 or 12-15 months), and with the same language background
(monolingual or bilingual). For analyses of within-group variability, we compared bilingual
infants to monolingual infants.

To estimate an effect size for each dataset, we first computed individual infants' 709 preference for IDS over ADS by 1) subtracting looking time to the ADS stimulus from 710 looking time to the IDS stimulus within each voked trial pair, and 2) computing a mean 711 difference score for each infant. Pairs that had a trial with missing data were excluded 712 (42.93\% pairs in lab-matched dataset, 40.34\% pairs in the full dataset), which constituted a 713 total of 30.77% of trials in lab-matched dataset, and 31.02% of trials in full dataset. Note 714 that we expected many infants to have missing data particularly on later test trials, given 715 the length of the study (16 test trials). Then, for each dataset (i.e., combination of lab, 716 infant age group, and whether the group of participants was bilingual or monolingual), we 717 calculated the mean of these difference scores  $(M_d)$  and its associated standard deviation 718 across participants (sd). Finally, we used the derived  $M_d$  and sd to compute a within-subject 719 Cohen's d using the formula  $d_z = M_d/sd$ . 720

In the following meta-analyses, random effects meta-analysis models with a restricted 721 maximum-likelihood estimator (REML) were fit with the metafor package (Viechtbauer, 722 2010). To account for the dependence between monolingual and bilingual datasets stemming 723 from the same lab, we added laboratory as a random factor. As part of our pre-registered analyses, we planned to include method as a moderator in this analysis if it was found to be 725 a statistically significant moderator in the larger ManyBabies 1 project - which it was 726 (Consortium, 2020). However, because only 17 labs contributed bilingual data, we deviated 727 from this plan because of the small number of labs per method (e.g., only three labs used a 728 single-screen method). 729

#### Effect size-based meta-analysis.

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Our first set of meta-analyses focused on effect sizes  $(d_z)$ : how our variables of interest contributed to effect size comparing looking time to IDS versus ADS trials. As a reminder, we ran the analyses in two ways: (i) the analysis was only restricted to the labs that contributed lab-matched data (lab-matched dataset), and (ii) the analysis included all available data labs that tested only monolinguals or only bilinguals at the ages of interest (full dataset).

We initially fit the following model to examine contributions of age and bilingualism to infants' IDS preference, as well as potential interactions between these variables:

$$d_z \sim 1 + \text{bilingual} + \text{age} + \text{bilingual} * \text{age}$$

Bilingualism was dummy coded (0 = monolingual, 1 = bilingual), and age (a continuous variable) was coded as the average age for each lab's contributed sample for each language group (centered for ease of interpretation).

In the lab-matched dataset, we did not find any statistically significant effects of age  $(d_z = 0.17, \text{CI} = [-1.01, 1.36], \text{z} = 0.29, p = .775)$ , bilingualism  $(d_z = -0.17, \text{CI} = [-0.44, 0.10], \text{z} = -1.22, p = .224)$ , or interactions between age and bilingualism  $(d_z = -0.19, \text{CI} = [-1.84, 1.46], \text{z} = -0.22, p = .822)$ .

Similarly, in the full dataset, we did not find any significant main effects of age,  $(d_z = 0.01, \text{CI} = [-0.65, 0.67], \text{z} = 0.02, p = .982)$ , bilingualism  $(d_z = -0.10, \text{CI} = [-0.29, 0.09], \text{z} = -1.04, p = .299)$ , nor a significant interaction between age and bilingualism  $(d_z = 0.01, \text{CI} = [-0.93, 0.95], \text{z} = 0.02, p = .981)$ .

As bilingualism is the key moderator of research interest in the current paper, here we

report the effect sizes of monolingual and bilingual infants separately. In the lab-matched 751 dataset, the effect size for monolinguals was  $d_z = 0.42$  (CI = [0.21, 0.63], z = 3.94, p < .001), 752 while for bilinguals the effect was  $d_z = 0.24$  (CI = [0.06, 0.42], z = 2.64, p = .008). In the 753 full dataset, the effect size for monolinguals was  $d_z = 0.36$  (CI = [0.28, 0.44], z = 9.20, 754 p < .001), while for bilinguals the effect was  $d_z = 0.26$  (CI = [0.09, 0.43], z = 2.97, p = .003). 755 In sum, numerically monolinguals showed a stronger preference for IDS than bilinguals, but 756 this tendency was not statistically significant in the effect size-based meta-analyses. A forest 757 plot for this meta-analysis is shown in Figure 1. 758

## Within-group variability meta-analysis.

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Our second set of pre-registered meta-analyses examined whether the variability in 760 infants' preference for IDS within a sample (within-study variability) was related to language 761 background (monolingual vs. bilingual). Note that this question of within-sample 762 heterogeneity is different than questions of between-sample heterogeneity that can also be 763 addressed in meta-analysis (see Higgins & Thompson, 2002; Higgins, Thompson, Deeks, & Altman, 2003 for approaches to between-group variability in meta-analysis). Specifically, the 765 within-group variability meta-analysis approach provides additional insights into how two groups differ in terms of their variances, not merely their mean effect sizes. This approach is 767 useful when the language backgrounds of the infants influence not only the magnitude of 768 infants' IDS preference, but also the variability of infants' IDS preference. In the following, the standard deviations measure looking time variability of infants' preference for IDS over ADS in each language group (either monolingual or bilingual). Again, we report  $d_z$ , an effect size that measures the magnitude of infants' preference for IDS over ADS. 772

Our pre-registered plan was to follow Nakagawa et al. (2014) and Senior et al. (2015), and we further elaborate on this plan here. According to Nakagawa et al. (2015), there are two approaches to run within-group variability meta-analysis: one approach uses lnCVR, the natural logarithm of the ratio between the coefficients of variation, to compare the

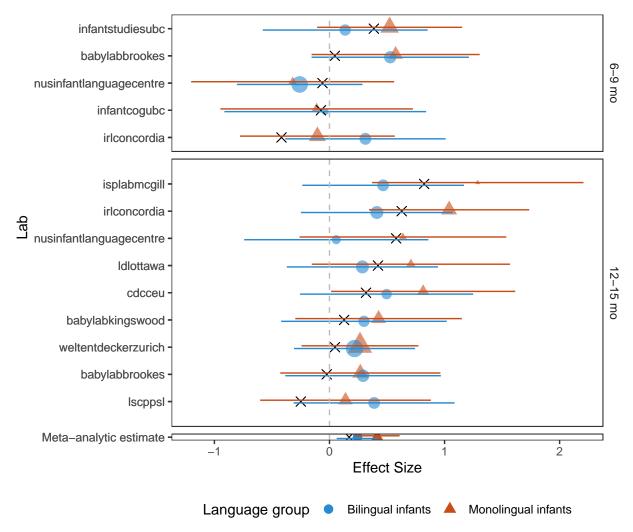


Figure 1. Forest plot for the lab-matched dataset, separated by age group. Standardized effect sizes are shown for each lab, with error bars showing 95% confidence intervals. Each lab reported two effect sizes: one for the monolingual group (red triangles) and the other one for the bilingual group (blue circles). Within each age group, points are ordered by the difference between the monolingual and bilingual effect sizes, and this effect size difference is indicated by a black X. Points are scaled by inverse variance (i.e., more precise estimates are denoted by larger shapes). The points in the bottom panel show the global meta-analytic estimate.

variability of two groups; a second approach enters lnSD (the natural logarithm of standard 777 deviations) and  $ln\bar{X}$  (the log mean) into a mixed-effect model. When data meet the 778 assumption that the standard deviation is proportional to the mean (i.e., the two are 779 correlated), the first approach should be used, and otherwise, the second approach should be 780 used. Our data did not meet the necessary assumption, therefore we used the second, 781 mixed-effect approach. In the following meta-regression model, the natural logarithm of the 782 standard deviations (lnSD) from each language group is the dependent variable. This 783 dependent variable (group variance) is the log-transformed standard deviation of infants' 784 preference for IDS over ADS that corresponds to infants' language group (either 785 monolingual/bilingual). We note that this log transformation is entirely unrelated to the log 786 transformation of raw looking times used in the linear mixed-effects models. 787

$$lnSD \sim 1 + bilingual + ln(d'_z) + (bilingual|lab)$$

where  $d'_z$  is the absolute value of  $d_z$  because we needed to ensure that values entered into the logarithm were positive, bilingual is the binary dummy variable that indicates bilingualism whether the language group is monolingual or bilingual. Further, we entered a random intercept and a random slope for bilingualism, which were allowed to vary by lab.

In the lab-matched dataset, we did not find statistically significant evidence for bilingualism as a moderator of the differences in standard deviations across language groups,  $(d_z = -0.08, p = .235)$ . Similarly, we also did not find statistical significance for bilingualism in the full dataset,  $(d_z = 0.03, p = .660)$ . In short, we did not find support for the hypothesis that bilingual infants would show larger within-group variability than monolingual infants.

Mixed-effects approach. Mixed-effects regression allows variables of interest to be specified on a trial-by-trial and infant-by-infant basis. We had anticipated that we would be able to include additional data from labs that aimed to test homogeneous samples (i.e.,

because we could include infants from these labs who were not learning this homogeneous language pair), but in practice this did not apply as only one lab contributed a homogeneous data set, and that lab did not test additional infants. We were also able to include data from all valid trials, rather than excluding data from yoked pairs with a missing data point as was necessary for the meta-analysis. As under the meta-analytic approach, we ran the models twice, once including only data from labs that contributed lab-matched samples of monolinguals and bilinguals, and once including all available data from 6-9 and 12-15 month-olds.

The mixed-effects model was specified as follows:

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$$DV \sim IV_1 + IV_2 + ... + (... | subject) + (... | item) + (... | lab)$$

The goal of this framework was to examine effects of the independent variables (IV) on 809 the dependent variable (DV), while controlling for variation in both the DV ("random 810 intercepts") and the relationship of the IV to the DV ("random slopes") based on relevant 811 grouping units (subjects, items, and labs). Following recent recommendations (Barr, Levy, 812 Scheepers, & Tily, 2013), we planned to initially fit a maximal random effects structure, such 813 that all random effects appropriate for our design were included in the model. However, we 814 also recognized that such a large random effects structure might be overly complex given our 815 data, and would be unlikely to converge. After reviewer feedback during Stage 1 of the 816 Registered Report review process, we pre-registered a plan to use a "Parsimonious mixed models" approach for pruning the random effects (Bates et al., 2015a; Matuschek, Kliegl, 818 Vasishth, Baayen, & Bates, 2017). However, we found that it was computationally difficult 819 to first fit complex models (i.e., our models had multiple interactions and cross-levels 820 grouping) under the maximal random effects structure and then prune the models using a 821 parsimonious mixed models approach. Further, we note that this was not the approach used 822

in ManyBabies 1, which would make a direct comparison between ManyBabies 1 and the 823 current study difficult. As such, following ManyBabies 1, we fitted and pruned the following 824 models using the maximal random effects structure only (Barr et al., 2013). We fit all 825 models using the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015b) and computed p values using the 826 lmerTest package (Kuznetsova, Brockhoff, & Christensen, 2016). All steps of the pruning 827 process we followed are detailed in the analytic code on our Github repository. Following a 828 reviewer's suggestion during Stage 2 review, we checked our models for potential issues with 820 multicollinearity by examining variance inflation factors (VIF) for each model. Variables 830 that have VIF values exceeding 10 are regarded as violating the multicollinearity assumption 831 (Curto & Pinto, 2011). None of our models violated this assumption. Below is a description 832 of our variables for the mixed-effects models: 833

• log\_lt: Dependent variable. Log-transformed looking time in seconds.

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- trial\_type: A dummy coded variable with two levels, with ADS trials as the baseline,

  such that positive effects of trial type indicate longer looking to IDS.
- bilingual: A dummy coded variable with two levels, with monolingual as the baseline,
  such that positive effects of bilingualism reflect longer looking by bilinguals.
- language: A dummy coded variable for whether infants were learning North American

  English as a native language (i.e., >= 90% exposure to NAE for monolinguals, or >=

  25% exposure to NAE for bilinguals).
- exp\_nae: A continuous variable for the percent of time infants heard North-American
  English.
- method: A dummy-coded variable to control for effects of different experimental setups, with single-screen central fixation as the reference level.
  - age days: Centered for interpretability of main effects.
  - trial number: The number of the trial pair, recoded such that the first trial pair is 0.
  - ses: The number of years of maternal education, centered for ease of interpretation.

Note that in this analysis plan, we have used a concise format for model specification,
which is the form used in R. As such, lower-order effects subsumed by interactions are
modeled even though they are not explicitly written. For example, the interaction trial\_type
trial\_num also assumes a global intercept, a main effect of trial type, and a main effect of
trial number.

## Homogeneity of variance.

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We pre-registered a Levene's test to examine whether monolinguals and bilinguals 855 showed different amounts of variance in their IDS preference. Our analysis focused on the 856 residual variance for monolinguals and bilinguals in the main linear mixed-effects models, in 857 order to partition out variance associated with other factors (e.g., age, method, etc.). The 858 Levene's test revealed a statistically significant difference in variance between monolinguals 850 and bilinguals for the full samples (p = 0.02) but not the lab-matched samples (p = 0.68). 860 We note that the difference in residual variances between monolingual (variance = 0.24) and 861 bilingual language groups (variance = 0.25) was small, suggesting that the statistically 862 significant Levene's test for the full samples was mainly driven by a larger sample size, rather 863 than by meaningful differences between monolinguals and bilinguals.

## Effects of bilingualism on IDS preference.

We planned a mixed-effects model which was based on the structure of the final model
fit for the ManyBabies project, including bilingualism as an additional moderator. Note that
because data collection for both projects was simultaneous, we did not know prior to
registration what the final model structure for the monolingual-only sample would be (it was
expected that pruning of this model would be necessary in the case of non-convergence). The
original model proposed for the monolingual-only sample was designed to include simple
effects of trial type, method, language (infants exposed vs. not exposed to NAE-IDS), age,
and trial number, capturing the basic effects of each parameter on looking time (e.g., longer

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looking times for IDS, shorter looking times on later trials). Additionally, the model included two-way interactions of trial type with method and with trial number, a two-way interaction of age with trial number, as well as two- and three-way interactions between trial type, age, and language (see Consortium, 2020, for full justification). This model was specified to minimize higher-order interactions while preserving theoretically-important interactions.

Note that to reduce model complexity, both developmental effects and trial effects are treated linearly. The planned initial model was:

It was expected that pruning would be necessary in the case of non-convergence.

Our analysis plan specified that we would add bilingualism to the fixed effects of the
final pruned model that fitted to the monolingual sample. For higher-order interactions in
the model, we ensured that we had at least 20 infants per group. For example, for a
three-way interaction between bilingualism, language and age, we included at least 20 infants
per group: at least 20 infants in the group of 6-9 month-old bilinguals who were not exposed
to NAE. We applied the same rules to all other groups.

In our preregistration, we were uncertain as to whether our sample size would support a model with a four-way-interaction of trial type, age, bilingual status, and language. Given our final sample size, we elected to fit our main model without including the four-way

interaction effect<sup>2</sup>. In our main model, we included two fixed three-way interactions: (i) the interaction between bilingualism, age and trial type, and (ii) the interaction between language, age and trial type, as well as other subsumed lower-order interactions.

Regardless of our fixed effect structure, the model included the random slope of
bilingualism on lab and item, as well as appropriate interactions with other random factors.
Our initial unpruned model was:

After pruning random effects for non-convergence and singularity, the final models for the lab-matched dataset and full dataset were different. The following was the final model for the lab-matched dataset:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>We did not enter the above-mentioned four-way interaction into our main model, but note that in the more complex model, the four-way interaction was not statistically significant in the matched dataset ( $\beta = 0.00$ , SE = 0.02, p = 0.85) or the full dataset ( $\beta = 0.01$ , SE = 0.01, p = 0.63).

In contrast, the final model for the full dataset was:

log lt 
$$\sim$$
trial type \* method + trial type \* trial num + age \* trial num + trial type \* age \* language + trial type \* age \* bilingual + (1 | subid) + (1 | lab) + (1 | item) (4)

Overall, the mixed-level analyses in both lab-matched and full datasets yielded similar results (Table 2 and 3). More coefficients were statistically significant in the full dataset, likely due to the larger sample size. Thus, in the following, we focus on the results of the mixed-level model for the full dataset. We found that infants showed a preference for IDS, as indicated by a positive coefficient on the IDS predictor (reflecting greater looking times to IDS stimuli). We did not find any effects of the bilingualism on IDS preference nor any interaction effects between bilingualism and other moderators. This finding is consistent

Table 2
Linear Mixed Model 1 testing bilingualism effect on IDS in a matched dataset.

	Estimate	SE	t	p
Intercept	1.93	0.0744	26	4.05e-19
IDS	0.0933	0.0466	2	0.05
HPP	0.103	0.0924	1.11	0.283
Single Screen	0.113	0.103	1.09	0.288
Age	-0.0273	0.00801	-3.41	0.000675
Trial #	-0.0361	0.0026	-13.9	9.85e-33
NAE	-0.0594	0.075	-0.792	0.435
Bilingual	0.000268	0.0345	0.00776	0.994
IDS * HPP	0.0165	0.0292	0.566	0.571
IDS * Single Screen	0.00385	0.031	0.124	0.901
Age * Trial #	0.000977	0.00043	2.27	0.0232
IDS * Trial #	0.000637	0.00365	0.175	0.862
IDS * Age	0.0133	0.00608	2.18	0.0293
IDS * NAE	0.0508	0.0261	1.95	0.0517
Age * NAE	0.00651	0.0101	0.646	0.519
IDS * Bilingual	-0.0124	0.0237	-0.522	0.602
Age * Bilingual	-0.00613	0.00913	-0.671	0.503
IDS * Age * NAE	0.0156	0.00841	1.86	0.0629
IDS * Age * Bilingual	-0.00945	0.00782	-1.21	0.227
R2 Conditional		0.317		
R2 Marginal		0.0874		
N		717		

908 with the results of our meta-analysis above.

Surprisingly, the fitted model did not show an interaction between infants' IDS
preference and the method used in the lab, a result that is different from the results in the
ManyBabies 1 project. However, this finding is likely due to smaller sample sizes in the
current paper, as we restricted the analysis to participants at particular ages. Apart from
this, our findings were largely consistent with the ManyBabies 1 study. There was a
significant and positive two-way interaction between IDS and NAE, suggesting greater IDS
preferences for children in NAE contexts. The interaction between IDS and age was also
significant and positive, suggesting that older children showed a stronger IDS preference.

Table 3
Linear Mixed Model 1 testing bilingualism effect on IDS in a full dataset.

	Estimate	SE	t	p
Intercept	1.89	0.0469	40.4	1.15e-60
IDS	0.106	0.0383	2.77	0.00932
HPP	0.19	0.0575	3.31	0.00162
Single Screen	0.243	0.0539	4.51	1.46e-05
Age	-0.0292	0.00514	-5.68	1.47e-08
Trial #	-0.0373	0.00176	-21.2	3.82e-87
NAE	0.00303	0.0483	0.0628	0.95
Bilingual	-0.00594	0.0254	-0.234	0.815
IDS * HPP	0.0289	0.0179	1.62	0.106
IDS * Single Screen	-0.0204	0.0193	-1.06	0.291
Age * Trial #	0.00105	0.000268	3.91	9.14e-05
IDS * Trial #	-0.00237	0.00247	-0.961	0.337
IDS * Age	0.0131	0.00343	3.8	0.000143
IDS * NAE	0.0375	0.0155	2.42	0.0154
Age * NAE	0.00161	0.00659	0.244	0.807
IDS * Bilingual	0.00271	0.0191	0.142	0.887
Age * Bilingual	-0.00283	0.00768	-0.369	0.712
IDS * Age * NAE	0.00946	0.00484	1.96	0.0506
IDS * Age * Bilingual	-0.00702	0.0063	-1.11	0.265
R2 Conditional		0.361		
R2 Marginal		0.11		
N		1754		

Finally, we found a marginally significant three-way interaction between IDS, age, and NAE, suggesting that older children in NAE contexts tended to show stronger IDS preference than those in the non-NAE contexts.

## Dose effects of exposure to NAE-IDS in bilingual infants.

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In this analysis, we tested whether we could observe a dose-response relationship
between infants' exposure to NAE-IDS (measured continuously) and their preference for IDS
over ADS.

We decided to conduct this analysis only including data from bilinguals. Our reasoning

was that bilingualism status and exposure to NAE-IDS are confounded, as monolinguals' 925 exposure to NAE will be either near 0\% or 100\%, while bilinguals' NAE experience can be 926 either 0%, or 25-75%. Because the monolingual sample is larger and their NAE exposures 927 are more extreme, their effects would dominate that of the bilinguals in a merged analysis. 928 Therefore, we reasoned that if there is a dose effect, it should be observable in the bilingual 920 sample alone. Finally, although excluding monolingual infants reduced power overall, we 930 decided that given the relatively large sample of bilingual infants, this disadvantage would be 931 offset by the ease of interpretation afforded by restricting the analysis to bilinguals. On 932 average, bilingual infants in our sample were exposed to 20.17% NAE (range: 0 to 75%). 933

Once again, we based this model on the final pruned monolingual model, substituting
the binary measure of exposure to NAE-IDS (language) with the continuous measure of
exposure(exp\_nae), and including a random slope for exp\_nae by item (which was
ultimately pruned from the model). After pruning, our model was specified as follows:

Table 4 contains the details of the results in this model. The main effect of infants' exposure to NAE (exp\_nae) was not significant ( $\beta = -0.00067$ , SE = 0.0012, p = 0.57).
This indicates that bilingual infants who were exposed to more NAE did not pay more attention to the NAE speech stimuli than those who were exposed to less NAE. However, the interaction between trial type and exp\_nae was significant ( $\beta = 0.0023$ , SE = 0.00081,

Table 4
Linear Mixed Model testing the effects of exposure to NAE-IDS in bilingual infants.

	Estimate	SE	t	р
Intercept	1.91	0.0736	25.9	6.68e-17
IDS	-0.00853	0.0618	-0.138	0.891
HPP	0.0879	0.0913	0.963	0.353
Single Screen	0.168	0.111	1.51	0.16
Age	-0.0235	0.0104	-2.27	0.0236
Trial #	-0.0361	0.00356	-10.1	4.38e-18
EXP_NAE	-0.000669	0.00118	-0.565	0.575
IDS * HPP	0.0537	0.0529	1.02	0.331
IDS * Single Screen	0.0278	0.0598	0.465	0.654
Age * Trial #	0.000195	0.00065	0.3	0.764
IDS * Trial #	0.00581	0.00504	1.15	0.251
IDS * Age	0.0062	0.00794	0.781	0.435
IDS * EXP_NAE	0.0023	0.000806	2.86	0.0106
$Age * EXP\_NAE$	-5.26e-05	0.000263	-0.2	0.842
IDS * Age * EXP_NAE	0.000205	0.00023	0.891	0.373
R2 Conditional		0.318		
R2 Marginal		0.0891		
N		333		

p = 0.011). That is, bilingual infants who were exposed to more NAE showed stronger IDS preferences, confirming a dose-response relationship between infants' exposure to NAE and their preference for IDS over ADS (Figure 2) even among bilinguals who are learning NAE as one of their native languages.

# $Socio\text{-}economic\ status\ as\ a\ moderator\ of\ monolingual\text{-}bilingual$

Because socio-economic status can vary systematically between monolinguals and bilinguals in the same community, we were interested in whether relationships between bilingualism and IDS preference would hold when controlling for socio-economic status. It is possible that an observed effect of bilingualism on IDS preference could disappear once SES was controlled. Alternatively, it is possible that the effect of bilingualism on IDS preference

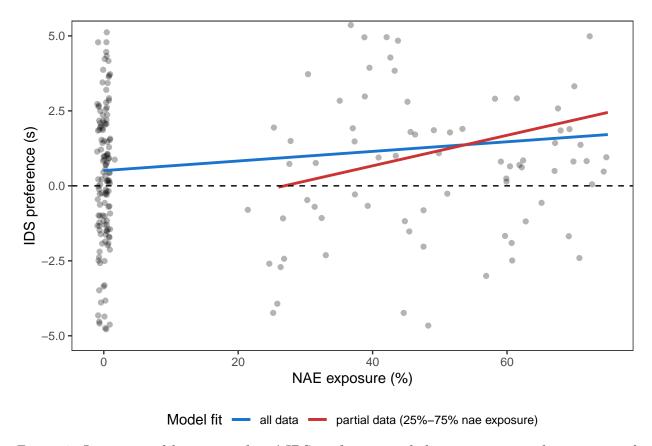


Figure 2. Linear trend between infants' IDS preference and their percentage of time exposed to North American English (NAE). Blue line indicates a regression model between infants' IDS preference and their NAE exposure (starting from zero). Red line indicates another regression model of the same relationship with a focus of NAE exposure between 25 to 75%. We note that the y-axis was truncated to highlight the trend such that some individual points are not plotted.

could only be apparent once SES was controlled. Thus, this analysis was important regardless of an observed relationship between IDS preference and bilingualism in the previous model.

First, we computed descriptive statistics for the two groups. Mothers of the bilingual sample had an average of 16.71 years of education (SD = 2.47, range = 10-26), those of the lab-matched monolingual sample had an average of 16.33 years of education (SD = 2.83, range = 5-28), and those of the full monolingual sample had an average of 16.52 years of education (SD = 2.47, range = 8-25).

Our approach was to add SES as a moderator of our final model for bilinguals. We expected that any effects of socio-economic status could interact with age, thus this model included interactions of trial type, age, and socio-economic status as a fixed effect, as well as the corresponding random slope by item. Based on the potential model detailed above for the bilinguals, our expected ses-mediated model was:

```
log lt ~trial type * method + trial type * trial num + age * trial num+

trial type * age * language+

trial type * age * bilingual+

trial type * age * ses+

(final type * trial num | subid)+

(trial type * age * bilingual | lab)+

(method + age * language + age * bilingual + age * ses | item)
```

After pruning for non-convergence, our final model specifications are listed below. For the lab-matched dataset, the final model was:

By contrast, the final model of the full dataset was:

```
log lt ~trial type * method + trial type * trial num + age * trial num +

trial type * age * language+

trial type * age * bilingual+

trial type * age * ses+

(1 | subid)+

(1 | lab)+

(1 | item)
```

In general, across the lab-matched and full datasets (Table 5 and 6), SES did not have a significant effect on infants' looking time nor did it affect infants' preference for IDS.

However, for the lab-matched dataset only, we found a statistically significant three-way interaction between IDS, age, and SES. Specifically, infants from 6- to 9-month-olds showed stronger IDS preference when they were from higher SES families, but older infants from 12- to 15-month-olds showed similar IDS preference across families with different SES levels. However, this interaction was not observed in the full dataset, raising the possibility that it is a spurious, and arose only in the lab-matched dataset because it is substantially smaller than the full data set.

### 979 Exploratory analyses

The relationship between NAE and IDS for bilingual infants who have
some exposure to NAE. In our second confirmatory analysis model (linear mixed model
2), we found that bilingual infants with more exposure to NAE showed stronger IDS

Table 5
Linear Mixed Model examining socio-economic status as a
moderator of monolingual-bilingual differences SES in the matached
dataset.

	Estimate	SE	t	p
Intercept	1.91	0.0664	28.8	6.75e-18
IDS	0.133	0.0327	4.06	5.01e-05
HPP	0.12	0.0893	1.34	0.199
Single Screen	0.0943	0.1	0.939	0.359
Age	-0.0294	0.00817	-3.59	0.000337
Trial #	-0.0326	0.0019	-17.2	1.18e-64
NAE	-0.0889	0.0719	-1.24	0.225
Bilingual	0.0222	0.0279	0.795	0.427
SES	-0.00265	0.00516	-0.513	0.608
IDS * HPP	0.0192	0.0303	0.633	0.527
IDS * Single Screen	0.00648	0.0323	0.201	0.841
Age * Trial #	0.00104	0.000445	2.33	0.0199
IDS * Trial #	-0.00464	0.00266	-1.74	0.0811
IDS * Age	0.012	0.00625	1.92	0.0551
IDS * NAE	0.0542	0.0277	1.96	0.0503
Age * NAE	0.0118	0.0105	1.13	0.26
IDS * Bilingual	-0.0182	0.0248	-0.734	0.463
Age * Bilingual	-0.0105	0.00904	-1.16	0.246
IDS * SES	0.00349	0.00453	0.77	0.441
Age * SES	-0.000247	0.00169	-0.147	0.883
IDS * Age * NAE	0.0158	0.00874	1.81	0.0711
IDS * Age * Bilingual	-0.00495	0.00817	-0.606	0.545
IDS * Age * SES	-0.00351	0.00151	-2.33	0.0199
R2 Conditional		0.304		
R2 Marginal		0.0879		
N		717		

Table 6
Linear Mixed Model 3 examining socio-economic status as a
moderator of monolingual-bilingual differences SES in the full
dataset.

	Estimate	SE	t	p
Intercept	1.93	0.0521	37	2.85e-50
IDS	0.114	0.041	2.78	0.00858
HPP	0.189	0.0634	2.99	0.00446
Single Screen	0.202	0.0636	3.17	0.00252
Age	-0.0363	0.00576	-6.3	3.69e-10
Trial #	-0.0372	0.00191	-19.5	2.68e-74
NAE	-0.0185	0.051	-0.363	0.718
Bilingual	0.00287	0.0263	0.109	0.913
SES	-0.000755	0.0037	-0.204	0.838
IDS * HPP	0.0287	0.0204	1.41	0.16
IDS * Single Screen	-0.0223	0.0213	-1.04	0.296
Age * Trial #	0.00125	0.000291	4.28	1.85 e - 05
IDS * Trial #	-0.00254	0.00268	-0.949	0.343
IDS * Age	0.0113	0.00382	2.94	0.00324
IDS * NAE	0.031	0.0172	1.8	0.0724
Age * NAE	0.00315	0.00711	0.443	0.657
IDS * Bilingual	-0.0068	0.0202	-0.336	0.737
Age * Bilingual	-0.00164	0.00796	-0.206	0.837
IDS * SES	0.00382	0.00313	1.22	0.222
Age * SES	-0.000921	0.00118	-0.781	0.435
IDS * Age * NAE	0.0117	0.00523	2.23	0.0257
IDS * Age * Bilingual	-0.00395	0.00661	-0.597	0.55
IDS * Age * SES	-0.000612	0.00102	-0.599	0.549
R2 Conditional		0.349		
R2 Marginal		0.109		
N		1754		

preference. However, this initial analysis included a number of bilingual infants who were not exposed to NAE at all (Figure 2). This raises the question of whether the relation between NAE and IDS preference was primarily driven by the infants who were not learning NAE. In the following analysis, we re-ran the pre-registered NAE-IDS model, this time restricting the model to infants who were exposed to NAE between 25% and 75% of the time. After pruning for non-convergence, the final model was:

log lt 
$$\sim$$
trial type \* method + trial type \* trial num + age \* trial num + trial type \* age \* exp nae+ (1 | subid)+ (1 | lab)+ (1 | item) (9)

Based on 135 infants, the interaction between IDS and NAE exposure was still statistically significant ( $\beta = 0.01$ , SE = 0.00, p = 0.00). This result suggested that a dose-response relationship between infants' exposure to NAE and their preference for IDS over ADS was not driven by infants living in non-NAE contexts alone (see Table 7 for details of the model).

#### General Discussion

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The current study was designed to better understand the effects of experience on the tuning of infants' preference for infant-directed speech (IDS) compared to adult-directed speech (ADS). Bilingual infants' language experience is split across input in two different languages, which are being acquired simultaneously. Bilinguals and monolinguals may thus differ in their preference for IDS. To explore this question, we used a collaborative, multi-lab

Table 7
Linear Mixed Model testing the effects of exposure to NAE-IDS
(restricted to bilingual infants living in NAE contexts).

	Estimate	SE	t	р
Intercept	1.91	0.168	11.4	5.85e-09
IDS	-0.211	0.132	-1.6	0.112
HPP	0.227	0.142	1.6	0.18
Single Screen	0.0942	0.2	0.472	0.663
Age	-0.0094	0.0355	-0.265	0.791
Trial #	-0.0413	0.00557	-7.41	8.16e-12
EXP_NAE	-0.00159	0.00203	-0.783	0.434
IDS * HPP	0.0163	0.0627	0.26	0.795
IDS * Single Screen	-0.115	0.0811	-1.42	0.156
Age * Trial #	0.0012	0.000973	1.23	0.219
IDS * Trial #	0.0158	0.00793	1.99	0.0483
IDS * Age	0.0219	0.0304	0.72	0.472
IDS * EXP_NAE	0.00528	0.00182	2.9	0.00384
$Age * EXP\_NAE$	-0.000426	0.000653	-0.653	0.515
IDS * Age * EXP_NAE	3.14e-05	0.000578	0.0543	0.957
R2 Conditional		0.362		
R2 Marginal		0.119		
N		135		

(N = 17 labs) approach to gather a large dataset of infants who were either 6-9- or 1000 12-15-months old and growing up bilingual (N = 333 bilingual infants in the final sample, 1001 and a lab-matched sample of N = 385 monolingual infants from the same communities). 1002 Data were collected as a companion project to ManyBabies 1 (Consortium, 2020), which was 1003 limited to infants growing up monolingual. Overall, we found that bilingualism neither 1004 enhanced nor attenuated infants' preference for IDS, with bilinguals showing a similar 1005 magnitude and developmental trajectory of IDS preference as monolinguals from age 6 to 15 1006 months. 1007

Although bilingual experience did not appear to moderate infants' preference for IDS,
we found striking evidence that experience hearing North-American English (NAE, the
language of our stimuli) contributed to the magnitude of bilingual infants' IDS preference.

Bilinguals with greater exposure to NAE showed greater IDS preferences (when tested in 1011 NAE) than those who had less exposure to NAE. This relationship between NAE exposure 1012 and IDS preference was also observed in a subsample of bilingual infants all acquiring NAE, 1013 but who varied in how much they were exposed to NAE relative to their other native 1014 language. These results converge with those from the larger ManyBabies 1 study, which 1015 reported that monolinguals acquiring NAE had a stronger preference for IDS than 1016 monolinguals acquiring another language. Importantly, our approach provides a more 1017 nuanced view of the relationship between NAE and IDS preference, and suggests that there 1018 is a continuous dose effect of exposure on preference. Together, our findings have a number 1019 of implications for bilingual language acquisition during infancy. In the following, we will 1020 first discuss each of our research questions in turn, followed by limitations and implications 1021 of our study. 1022

Our first research question asked whether bilingualism affects infants' attention to IDS 1023 relative to ADS. We hypothesized that the complexity of the bilingual infant's learning 1024 experience might lead to greater reliance on/preference for IDS, given that IDS may be 1025 viewed as an enhanced linguistic signal. However, this hypothesis was not confirmed. We 1026 observed a meta-analytic effect size in the full dataset for monolinguals of  $d_z = 0.36$  [CI = 1027 0.28, 0.44] and for bilinguals of  $d_z = 0.26$  [CI: 0.09, 0.43]. While monolinguals showed a 1028 numerically larger effect size, this difference was not statistically significant in either the 1029 meta-analyses or the mixed-effects linear models. Although small differences are still 1030 possible, our data generally support the conclusion that bilingual and monolingual infants 1031 show a similar preference for IDS over ADS. Specifically, both groups show a preference for 1032 IDS at 6-9 months of age, which gets stronger by 12-15 months. 1033

An additional part of our first research question asked whether bilinguals might show more variability than monolinguals in their IDS preference, beyond any differences in the magnitude of the preference. We reasoned that given their diversity of language experiences,

bilingual groups may have a higher heterogeneity in terms of their IDS preference compared 1037 to monolingual groups (see also Orena & Polka, 2019, for a recent experiment that observed 1038 this pattern). Both monolingual and bilingual groups showed high variability. The 1039 magnitude of the observed difference in variability was very small. We carried three analyses 1040 to compare the variability between the monolinguals and bilinguals. Only one of the three 1041 variability analyses (i.e., the Levene's test with the full dataset) was statistically significant. 1042 This statistical significance was mainly driven by the large sample size in the full dataset (N)1043 = 1754) because the difference in variability between the monolinguals and bilinguals 1044 remained negligible. Thus, our results did not support the idea that bilingual infants show 1045 meaningfully more variability in their IDS preference than their monolingual peers. 1046

Given that monolinguals and bilinguals can systematically differ in their 1047 socio-economic status (SES), the third part of our first research question asked whether SES 1048 might moderate bilingualism effects. Using the years of maternal education as a proxy for 1049 SES, we found mixed support for the role of SES in our datasets. In our smaller lab-matched 1050 dataset, we found a statistically significant interaction between age, SES, and IDS preference: 1051 6-9-month-olds from higher SES families showed stronger IDS preference than those from 1052 lower SES families, whereas 12-15-month-olds showed similar IDS preference regardless of 1053 SES. The direction of this effect aligns with other research reporting that children from 1054 higher SES families generally receive more language input and/or higher quality input (e.g., 1055 engaging in conversations with more lexical diversity, complexity, and structural variations) 1056 than children from lower SES families (Fernald, Marchman, & Weisleder, 2013; Hart & 1057 Risley, 1995; Hoff, 2006; Tal & Arnon, 2018). Thus, this could suggest that infants from 1058 higher SES families may show stronger IDS preference earlier in life as they hear more or 1059 higher quality IDS in their daily lives. Further, this positive SES impact may be most 1060 beneficial to younger infants whose IDS preference is still developing. However, given that in 1061 our larger (full) dataset SES was unrelated to IDS preference in either 6-9- or 1062 12-15-month-olds, this result might be spurious and should be interpreted with caution. 1063

Further, it is important to note that our samples (both monolingual and bilingual group)
were mainly from higher SES families. Indeed, in the lab-matched dataset, '67.79% of
children whose mothers had earned at least a bachelor degree after kindergarten. Our
samples, therefore, have low variability in infants' SES, thus this question would be better
tested with future studies that have participants from more diverse SES backgrounds.

Our second research question asked whether and how the amount of exposure to NAE 1069 would affect bilingual infants' listening preferences. Given that our stimuli were produced in 1070 NAE, we expected that greater exposure to NAE would be linked to greater attention to 1071 NAE IDS relative to NAE ADS. Indeed, ManyBabies 1 (Consortium, 2020), which was 1072 conducted concurrently with the current study, found that monolinguals acquiring NAE 1073 showed a stronger IDS preference than monolinguals not acquiring NAE. However, in the 1074 ManyBabies 1 study, exposure to NAE-IDS was a binary variable – either the infants heard 1075 only NAE or heard only a different language in their environments. In the current paper, 1076 bilinguals provide a more nuanced way to address this question, as bilinguals' exposure to 1077 NAE varied continuously between 25% and 75% (for infants learning NAE as one of their 1078 native languages) or was near 0% (for infants learning two non-NAE native languages). We 1079 found clear evidence for a positive dose-response relationship between exposure to NAE and 1080 infants' preference for NAE-IDS. This evidence – that bilinguals with more exposure to NAE 1081 showed a stronger NAE-IDS preference – was also present when focusing only on bilinguals 1082 who were learning NAE as one of their native languages (i.e., those exposed to NAE 25-75% 1083 of the time). Importantly, we did not find a similar effect of exposure to NAE on infants' 1084 overall looking. This suggests that the effect of NAE exposure on preference for IDS is a 1085 meaningful relationship, rather than an artefact due to the stimuli being presented in NAE. 1086 Further studies with stimuli in other languages would be necessary to solidify this conclusion. 1087

Our analyses included both meta-analyses and linear mixed-effects models, which allowed us to compare these two approaches. As our field moves toward more large scale

studies of this type, it will be important to determine appropriate standards for analysis. 1090 Our meta-analysis allows for better and more direct comparison with prior meta-analysis 1091 (e.g., (Dunst et al., 2012)). However, an important limitation of this approach is that infants' 1092 data is collapsed to a single data point per group, thus obscuring potentially interesting 1093 variability. Moreover, because we could not model trial number directly, this average was 1094 based on valid adjacent trial pairs, which resulted in many trials being excluded from the 1095 analysis. In contrast, the mixed effect models analyzed data at the individual trial level, 1096 allowing us to examine how data variability can be explained by moderators at the trial and 1097 participant level, which increases statistical power. Our finding of a significant age effect in 1098 the mixed models, but not in the meta-analysis, can be attributed to this difference in 1099 statistical power. Moving forward, we believe that these complementary approaches each 1100 have their place, but that the mixed effect model is preferred as it improves statistical power. 1101

As the first study to recruit and test bilingual infants at such a large scale and at so 1102 many sites, we encountered several challenges (see also Byers-Heinlein et al., 2020, for a 1103 fuller discussion of challenges in planning and conducting ManyBabies 1). First, several 1104 laboratories were not able to recruit the number of bilingual infants they had originally 1105 planned. All labs committed to collecting a minimum of 16 bilingual infants per age group. 1106 This ended up being unfeasible for some labs within the timeframe available (which was 1107 more than a year), in some cases due to a high number of participants not meeting our strict 1108 criterion for inclusion as bilingual. This undoubtedly highlights the challenges for labs in 1109 recruiting bilingual infant samples, and moreover raises questions about how bilingualism 1110 should be defined, and whether it should be treated as a continuous vs. categorical variable 1111 (Anderson, Mak, & Bialystok, 2018; Bialystok, Luk, Peets, & Yang, 2018; Incera & 1112 McLennan, 2018). Second, we had planned to explore the effect of different language pairs 1113 on IDS preference. We had expected that some labs would be able to recruit relatively 1114 homogeneous samples of infants (i.e., all learning the same language pair), but in the end 1115 only one of 17 labs did so (another lab had planned to recruit a homogeneous sample but 1116

deviated from this plan when it appeared unfeasible). Thus, we leave the question of the
effect of language pair on infants' IDS preference an open issue to be followed up in future
studies. By and large, we believe that our large-scale approach to data collection may in the
future allow for the creation of homogeneous samples of infants tested at different
laboratories around the world. As such, large-scale and multi-site bilingual research projects
provide researchers with a powerful way to examine how the diversity and variability of
bilinguals impact their language and cognitive development.

Overall, our finding that bilinguals show similar a preference for IDS as monolinguals 1124 reinforces theoretical views that emphasize the similarities in attentional and learning mechanisms across monolingual and bilingual infants (e.g., Curtin, Byers-Heinlein, & Werker, 1126 2011). IDS appears to be a signal that enhances attention in infants from a variety of 1127 language backgrounds. Yet, bilingual infants appear to be exquisitely fine-tuned to the 1128 relative amount of input in each of their languages. It could have been the case that 1129 language exposure has a threshold effect with any regular exposure to NAE enhancing 1130 infants' preference for NAE-IDS, marking it is a highly relevant speech signal. Instead, we 1131 observed a graded effect such that the magnitude of bilingual infants' preference varied 1132 continuously with the amount of exposure to NAE. Just as bilingual infants' relative 1133 vocabulary size and early grammar skills in each language are linked to the amount of input 1134 in that language (Hoff et al., 2012; Place & Hoff, 2011), the current study shows that the 1135 amount of language input may also play an important role in other language acquisition 1136 processes. Indeed, an intriguing but untested possibility is that different input-related 1137 attentional biases (i.e., IDS preference) across bilinguals' two languages explain important 1138 variability in the early development of bilingual children's vocabulary and grammar. Future 1139 bilingual work can investigate the above possibility to further delineate the interplay between 1140 infants' language input, IDS preference, vocabulary, and grammar skills. 1141

To conclude, the findings of the current study provide a more nuanced view of the

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development of infants' preference for IDS than prior studies have allowed. IDS preference 1143 develops along a similar trajectory across infants from monolingual and bilingual 1144 backgrounds. Importantly, by testing bilingual infants, our results revealed that this IDS 1145 preference operates in a dose-response fashion, where the amount of exposure to NAE 1146 positively moderated infants' (NAE-) IDS preference in a continuous way. Our experience 1147 highlights the challenges in recruiting and testing bilingual infants, but also reveals the 1148 promise of large-scale collaborations for increasing sample sizes, and thus improving the 1149 replicability and generalizability of key findings in infant research. 1150

#### **Author Contributions**

Author contribution initials reflect authorship order. KBH, MCF, JG, MS contributed 1152 to the study concept. KBH, MCF, JG, KK, CLW, MM, MS contributed to the study design. 1153 KBH, CB contributed to the final protocol. KBH contributed to study documentation. KBH 1154 contributed to study management. KBH, ASMT, AB, AB, SD, CTF, ACF, AG, JG, NGG, 1155 JKH, NH, MH, SK, KK, CLW, LL, CM, MM, VM, CN, AJO, LP, CEP, LS, MS, MS, CW, 1156 JW contributed to data collection. KBH, ASMT, CB, MCF, JK contributed to data analysis. 1157 KBH, CB, AB, MJC, CTF, MCF, JG, NGG, JKH, CLW, LS, MS contributed to the stage 1 1158 manuscript. KBH, ASMT, CTF, MCF, JG, LS, MS contributed to the stage 2 manuscript. 1159

## Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare that there were no conflicts of interest with respect to the authorship or the publication of this article.

## 1163 Preregistration

Our manuscript was reviewed prior to data collection (https://osf.io/wtfuq/files/); in addition, we registered our instructions and materials prior to data collection (https://osf.io/zauhq/).

## 1167 Data, materials, and online resources

All data and analytic code are available at

https://github.com/manybabies/mb1b-analysis-public. All materials are available via the

ManyBabies 1 Open Science Framework site at osf.io/re95x/.

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## Appendix

Table A1 Number of monolingual and bilingual infants in each gender group by lab which met infant-level inclusion criteria.

lab	monolingual	monolingual	bilingual	bilingual
	female	male	female	male
babylabbrookes	18	12	14	20
babylabkingswood	11	19	9	15
babylabparisdescartes1	7	9	5	6
babylabprinceton	1	0	10	5
bllumanitoba	18	24	9	6
cdcceu	8	5	8	6
infantcogubc	8	3	7	3
infantstudiesubc	8	12	9	6
irlconcordia	15	20	16	18
isplabmcgill	5	6	8	8
langlabucla	1	2	5	4
ldlottawa	16	12	14	11
lllliv	17	17	4	9
lscppsl	7	7	7	9
nus in fant language centre	8	12	24	14
weltentdeckerzurich	14	16	16	12
wsigoettingen	17	29	5	11

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Table~A2} \\ {\it Number~of~bilingual~infants~per~unique~language~pairs} \end{array}$ 

language_pairs	n
albanian ; non_nae_english	1
albanian ; swissgerman	1
arabic ; french	5
arabic; german	1
arabic ; nae_english	2
arabic; non_nae_english	2
armenian ; french	1
bahasa ; non_nae_english	1
belizean creole ; nae_english	1
bengali ; non_nae_english	1
bosnian ; non_nae_english	1
bulgarian ; german	1
cantonese; german	1
cantonese ; nae_english	14
cantonese ; non_nae_english	2
dutch; french	1
farsi ; non_nae_english	2
finnish; german	1
finnish; swissgerman	1
french; georgian	1
french; german	2
french; hungarian	2
french; italian	4
french; korean	1
french; lebanese	1

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Table~A2} \\ {\it Number~of~bilingual~infants~per~unique~language~pairs~(continued)} \end{array}$ 

language_pairs	n
french; mandarin	1
french; nae_english	64
french; non_nae_english	9
french; persian	1
french; polish	1
french; portuguese	2
french; romanian	1
french; russian	1
french; spanish	6
french; swissgerman	5
french.; kabyle	1
german; hungarian	1
german ; kurdish	1
german; lithuanian	1
german ; nae_english	5
german ; non_nae_english	9
german ; polish	2
german; russian	2
greek ; non_nae_english	2
greek ; swissgerman	1
hebrew; hungarian	3
hebrew; nae_english	3
hindi ; non_nae_english	1
hungarian; italian	1
hungarian ; nae_english	1

 $\begin{array}{c} {\rm Table~A2} \\ {\it Number~of~bilingual~infants~per~unique~language~pairs~(continued)} \end{array}$ 

language_pairs	n
hungarian; non_nae_english	4
hungarian; russian	2
hungarian; spanish	1
indonesian ; nae_english	1
indonesian ; non_nae_english	1
italian ; nae_english	1
italian ; non_nae_english	2
italian ; swissgerman	3
japanese ; non_nae_english	3
khmer ; non_nae_english	1
korean ; nae_english	2
malayalam ; nae_english	1
mandarin ; nae_english	7
mandarin ; non_nae_english	44
nae_english; persian	1
nae_english; polish	1
nae_english ; punjabi	3
nae_english ; russian	3
nae_english; spanish	17
nae_english; swedish	2
nae_english; swissgerman	1
nae_english ; tagalog	2
nae_english ; telugu	1
nae_english ; urdu	1
nepali ; non_nae_english	1

Table A2
Number of bilingual infants per unique language pairs (continued)

language_pairs	n
non_nae_english; patois	1
non_nae_english; polish	7
non_nae_english ; portuguese	7
non_nae_english ; punjabi	1
non_nae_english ; russian	1
non_nae_english ; slovenian	1
non_nae_english ; spanish	7
non_nae_english ; swissgerman	5
non_nae_english ; tagalog	2
non_nae_english ; tamil	1
non_nae_english ; turkish	1
non_nae_english ; ukrainean	1
non_nae_english ; urdu	1
non_nae_english ; vietnamese	1
non_nae_english ; welsh	2
non_nae_english ; wu	1
portuguese ; swissgerman	1
romansh; swissgerman	1
serbian; swissgerman	1
slowenian; swissgerman	1
spanish; swissgerman	6
swissgerman ; turkish	1