Pokemon go go go

Anjie Cao¹ (anjiecao@stanford.edu) and Michael C. Frank¹ (mcfrank@stanford.edu)

¹Department of Psychology, Stanford University,

Abstract

HAHA

Keywords: pikachu; mimikyu; ditto; jigglypufff

Introduction

In the first three years of life, children undergo a plethora of developmental changes, transitioning from newborn infants who possess a limited understanding of language and categories to toddlers who are able to master a wide range of linguistic and cognitive skills. Despite a wealth of research examining cognitive development, constructing a comprehensive theory of cognitive development remains a formidable challenge. Research in this area generally falls under two categories: observational research and experimental research. The former provides a holistic picture of an individual child's development [e.g.@bayley2006bayley], yet it does not provide any concrete insights into the underlying mechanisms. In contrast, experimental research allows causal tractions on potential mechanisms, but it tends to focus on one single construct and does not reveal the connections between different processes and mechanisms. In this paper, we aim to provide a quantitative synthesis of experimental work across multiple areas of developmental psychology, providing insights into the interrelatedness between psychological constructs. We achieve this goal by consolidating and integrating 23 metaanalyses of cognitive and language development compiled on MetaLab, a community-augmented meta-analysis platform.

Statistical meta-analysis, the technique of aggregating effect sizes across a systematic sample of experiments, has some unique advantages as a source of data about developmental processes in early childhood. First and foremost, it allows researchers to explore questions that are difficult to address with individual studies. One such example is the functional form of developmental curves, or how different psychological processes change over time. Many developmental studies use linear regression models with age as a predictor, but this assumption of linearity may not capture the complexities of developmental processes, especially as they interact with developmental changes in measurement. For example, some cognitive abilities – such as relational reasoning – might follow an inverted-U shape (Carstensen et al., 2019; Walker, Bridgers, & Gopnik, 2016), while others – like early vocabulary size – show an exponential increase (Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman, 2021). These non-linear trends can be challenging to identify and interpret with limited data from individual studies, but meta-analytic methods can provide a large amount of data across a broad age range, enabling researchers to evaluate and compare different functional forms of developmental trajectories.

Meta-analysis can also shed light on the relationships between methods and theories. Research methods and theories are fundamentally intertwined, and this is especially true for developmental psychology [@dale2022fundamental]. Developmental theories are often based on interpretations of experimental results, which are produced by methods that even small changes to the parameters would substantially change the outcomes. One example is the influence of familiarization time. It has been proposed that the amount of exposure infants have prior to the test events can influence infants' direction of preference (i.e. novelty preference or familiarity preference) (Hunter & Ames, 1988). Although the empirical evidence for this theory is mixed, this ambiguity has significant downstream consequences on our understanding of infants' cognitive capabilities (Bergmann & Cristia, 2016). Debates about infants' arithmetic competencies or their evaluations of social agents are often centered around the direction of preferences (Infants arithmetic competencies: Clearfield & Westfahl, 2006; Wakeley, Rivera, & Langer, 2000; Wynn, 1993; Evaluation of social agents: Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom, 2007; Salvadori et al., 2015). Due to the time and resources required for developmental studies, it is often difficult to directly evaluate the impact of subtle changes in parameters. Therefore, meta-analytic methods provide a unique opportunity to investigate the effects of methodological factors on research findings.

Last but not least, meta-analytic methods make it possible to compare and connect research findings across research areas. The use of effect size as the fundamental unit of analysis allows for comparisons across different domains and research areas. These comparisons can provide insight into how different processes facilitate learning at different stages of development and can aid in the development of data-driven cognitive development theories (Cao & Lewis, 2022; Lewis et al., 2016). However, a synthesis across multiple domains requires a database of multiple meta-analyses. Towards that aim, MetaLab was established to provide an open database of meta-analyses (Bergmann et al., 2018). Developmental researchers

are invited to deposit their meta-analysis dataset into Meta-Lab, and they are encouraged to use the datasets for custom analyses. As of November 2022, Metalab contains X effect sizes from 30 different meta-analyses. This resource would allow us to quantitatively synthesize the insights across different research areas in developmental psychology.

The plan for this paper is as follows. We first describe the datasets included in the current synthesis, including our selection criteria and the descriptive statistics associated with our final dataset. We then turn to model comparison, comparing the fits of age models under different functional forms. Next, we present methodological moderators analysis. Four methodological moderators are selected due to their theoretical relevances: behavioral measure type, exposure phase type, stimuli type (audio and visual), and major author effect. Finally, we present a synthesis of the developmental curves across all of the domains considered. We end the paper by discussing the implications and limitations of our current work.

Methods

Datasets

The datasets were retrieved from metalabr, the R package built from Metalab. As of November 2022, the package includes 30 individual meta-analysis datasets covering different research domains in language learning and cognitive development. We removed 5 datasets from the final analysis, including 2 due to data quality reasons (Word segmentation (neuro); Phonotactic learning), 2 due to being observational studies (Pointing and vocabulary (concurrent) and Pointing and vocabulary (longitudinal)), and 1 due to being theoretically irrelevant (Video deficit). We modified 2 datasets to reflect a more accurate representation of the literature and combined two pairs of datasets because they measure theoretically identical constructs. To minimize the heterogeneity in our datasets, we also excluded effect sizes calculated from participants with clinical diagnoses.

The final dataset contains 23 meta-analysis datasets. Table 1 provides a summary of the meta-analyses included in the dataset, along with the number of effect sizes and participants included in each dataset.

The final dataset and analysis scripts are available at X.

Analytic Methods

All analyses reported in this paper are conducted in R using the metafor package (Viechtbauer, 2010). We specified multi-level random effect models with random effect structure that includes grouping by paper and by participant group. We removed the clustering if either grouping information was missing from the dataset. All moderators are included as additional fixed-effect in the models. Unless otherwise specified, all model comparisons are based on the corrected Akaike Information Criterion (AICc).

Results

Functional form of developmental curves

Four functional forms of developmental curves were considered: linear, logarithmic, quadratic, and constant. For each of the functional forms except constant, we include mean age in months with the corresponding form as a fixed effect. Then we evaluated the models based on the corrected AICc (Table 1). 10 out of the 23 datasets has the constant model as the best-fitting model. 7 and 5' datasets' best-fitting models are the Quadratic model and logarithmic model, respectively. Finally, among all datasets considered, Online Word Cognition is the only domain in which the linear age model provides the best fit.

Model evaluation based on Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) yielded similar results with little discrepancy. Under BIC-based evaluation, X domains' best-fitting models became constant models from higher-order models (From Quadratic: N=3; From Logarithmic: N=2). One domain, Statistical sound category learning (habituation), has the best fitting model changed from Constant to Quadratic.

Methodological Moderators

In this section, we considered methodological moderators shared by multiple datasets. Given the limited number of studies conducted with neuroimaging methods, we focused our analyses on studies conducted with behavioral methods. Therefore, we excluded studies that were conducted with either fNIRS or EEG. Moreover, to minimize irrelevant heterogeneity, we only included studies with participants' mean age below 36 months. All analyses were conducted on the subset of research domains with multiple levels for the moderator of interests.

Figure 1 provides a summary of the estimates for moderators.

Behavioral Measures We created the moderator behavioral measure based on Method, an existing moderator in the Metalab. Behavioral Measure has three levels, looking, sucking, and other. The level "other" includes studies with dependent measures such as pointing or manual exploration time.

We added Behavioral Measure as an additional fixed effect to the age model with the best-fitting functional form from the previous analysis. Behavioral Measure is a significant predictor of effect sizes in two domains, Vowel Discrimination (Native) and Sound Symbolism. In Vowel Discrimination (native), studies with Other or Sucking behavioral measure has larger effect sizes than studies using looking as the behavioral measure (Other: $\beta = 0.58$ [0.33, 0.82], z = 4.6, p < 0.01; Sucking: $\beta = 0.96$ [0.53, 1.4], z = 4.34, p < 0.01). Similarly, in Sound Symbolism, studies with "Other" behavioral measures also yield larger effect sizes than looking studies ($\beta = 0.61$ [0.24, 0.97], z = 3.29, p < 0.01).

Exposure Phase Exposure phase refers to the type of exposure infants have during the experiments prior to the test events. There are four levels in this moderator: Conditioning,

Dataset	N ES	N Participants	ES	Linear	Log	Quadratic	Constant
Label advantage in concept learning	100	1644	0.36	169.48	168.53	170.16	170.89
Vowel discrimination (native)	143	2418	0.59	256.49	256.13	256.78	255.15
Vowel discrimination (non-native)	49	600	0.65	73.25	73.36	73.15	71.69
Statistical word segmentation	103	804	-0.08	128.84	129.01	128.62	127.50
Online word recognition	14	330	1.37	46.50	46.73	46.65	48.72
Mutual exclusivity	131	2222	1.27	421.60	415.85	432.76	453.07
Sound symbolism	44	425	0.16	58.20	58.16	58.83	61.04
Categorization bias	80	382	0.25	300.29	299.99	300.37	300.90
Familiar word recognition	34	586	0.54	27.46	28.32	27.18	28.86
Abstract rule learning	95	1123	0.22	140.80	141.34	140.47	140.91
Switch task	143	2764	-0.16	204.79	204.81	204.73	203.67
Mispronunciation sensitivity	249	2122	0.45	620.05	628.16	613.67	644.40
Prosocial agents	61	1244	0.40	82.16	81.95	82.23	80.08
Simple arithmetic competences	14	369	0.25	22.91	23.01	22.81	16.26
Symbolic play	196	7148	0.63	234.15	234.11	234.13	233.57
Natural speech preference	55	786	0.44	111.40	112.01	110.97	111.83
Cross-situational word learning	48	2241	0.67	79.81	81.62	79.70	83.71
Language discrimination and preference	153	2060	-0.13	264.70	265.59	262.65	264.95
Syntactic bootstrapping	60	832	0.24	107.28	106.99	107.57	107.47
Statistical sound category learning (habituation)	11	350	0.56	33.47	34.54	32.94	30.46
Gaze following (combined)	81	1407	0.81	151.53	159.88	149.47	193.20
Word Segmentation (combined)	315	2910	0.20	328.83	328.60	329.16	327.55
Infant directed speech preference	83	985	0.47	70.17	70.87	70.06	69.13

Table 1: Your caption.

Familiarization, Habituation, and Test Only. If a study does not include pre-test training for infants, it is coded as "Test Only".

Exposure phase is a significant predictor of effect sizes in four domains. In Language Discrimination and Preference, habituation studies yield smaller effect sizes than conditioning studies (β = -0.3 [-0.55, -0.04], z = -2.28, p = 0.02). A similar trend is found in Vowel discrimination (native), where both habituation studies and familiarization studies have smaller effect sizes than conditioning studies (Habituation: β = -0.71 [-1.11, -0.31], z = -3.48, p < 0.01; Familiarization: β = -0.43 [-0.87, 0.01], z = -1.94, p = 0.05).

Interestingly, the results of the comparison between familiarization studies and conditioning studies are mixed. In the Vowel discrimination (non-native) dataset, both familiarization and test-only studies produce smaller effect sizes than the conditioning studies (Familiarization: $\beta = -1.4$ [-2.35, -0.46], z = -2.93, p < 0.01; Test-only: $\beta = -1.26$ [-2.42, -0.1], z = -2.13, p = 0.03). However, the opposite trend is found in Natural Speech Preference, with familiarization studies producing larger effect sizes than the conditioning studies ($\beta = 1.65$ [0.33, 2.97], z = 2.44, p = 0.01).

Stimuli Naturalness Next, we considered the effect of stimuli type. We focused on one key dimension: naturalness. Since naturalness could be represented differently for primarily visual stimuli versus primarily auditory stimuli, we did not collapse across domains.

For primarily visual stimuli, we considered "naturalness" to mean stimuli that use real-world objects (e.g. puppets, blocks). We compared these natural stimuli with representation-type stimuli, such as pictures, videos, or drawings. We found that naturalness is a significant predictor for Label advantage in concept learning, with natural stimuli yielding larger effect sizes than representation-type stimuli ($\beta = 0.23 \ [0.01, 0.45], z = 2.06, p = 0.04$). In primarily auditory stimuli, we compared natural speech with synthesized stimuli. In both Statistical word segmentation and Abstract rule learning, we found a natural speech advantage (Statistical word segmentation: $\beta = 0.47 \ [0.23, 0.72], z = 3.8, p < 0.01$; Abstract rule learning: $\beta = 0.27 \ [0.05, 0.5], z = 2.35, p = 0.02$).

Major author Margoni & Surian (2018) found evidence for authors-based bias in Prosocial Agents, where results produced by certain authors are consistently larger than others. We evaluated how prevalent this phenomenon is in the literature by coding a "By Major Author" moderator. Authors are considered "Major Author" if they are listed as authors in more than 15% of the papers in the literature.

We found evidence for Major Author effect in 7 datasets, where studies produced by the major author are larger than the rest of the papers. In 3 datasets, however, we also found the opposite patterns, where certain authors produced on average smaller effect sizes than the rest of the literature.

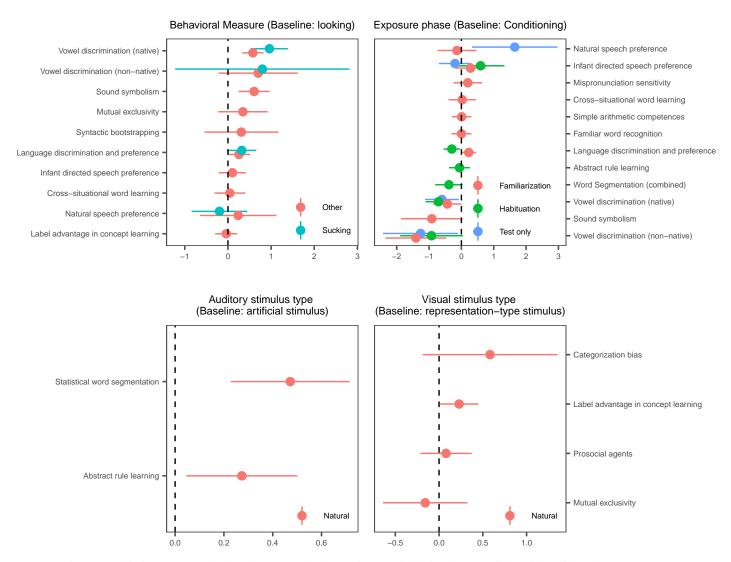


Figure 1: This image spans both columns. And the caption text is limited to 0.8 of the width of the document.

Synthesis

Finally, we synthesized 23 datasets by grouping them based on the type of theoretical constructs: Cognitive, Communication, Sounds, and Words. We integrated the predictions from the best-fitting age-based models in Figure 2. We found a striking range of functional forms in the developmental trajectories across all types of theoretical constructs.

Discussion

In this paper, we presented a bird-eye view of developmental psychology by synthesizing 23 meta-analyses available on MetaLab. We evaluated four functional forms of the developmental trajectories and we found great diversity in the shapes of the best-fitting models for each domain. We also considered the moderating effects of different methodological factors, including the type of behavioral measure, the type of exposure phase, stimuli naturalness, and whether the work is done by a "major author". These factors moderate effect sizes from different domains in heterogeneous ways. Finally,

we synthesized the data by integrating the predictions from all of the best-fitting models based on the type of theoretical constructs. We found a variety of developmental trajectories across all types of theoretical constructs.

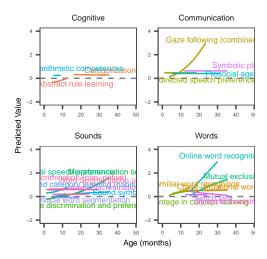


Figure 2: One column image.

This current synthesis highlights the variation in developmental trajectories, challenging the traditional "milestone" view of cognitive development. Under the milestone view, infants would acquire different cognitive and linguistic skills as they grow (Meylan & Bergelson, 2022; Wilks, Gerber, & Erdie-Lalena, 2010). Our findings suggest that this view is missing two important details. First, at any given age, psychological constructs could have a wide range of effect sizes. For example, at 15 months of age, the predicted effect sizes for communication skills range from X (DOMAIN NAME) to X (DOMAIN NAME). The differences between the strengths of the effect may reflect the differences in how these skills contribute to communication, with some playing a more significant role than others. In addition, the development of these skills could follow significantly different trajectories, with some increasing exponentially with age and others staying constant throughout early childhood. The heterogeneity of the developmental process calls for developing a more nuanced and integrated developmental theory.

The heterogeneity can also partly be attributed to the wide variety of research methods. In the current analysis, we focused on in-lab experimental work, and thus the effect sizes may as well reflect how well the research methods capture the phenomenon of interest. Indeed, we have shown that subtle experimental procedure changes (e.g. exposure phase) could significantly alter the effect sizes. Moreover, methods' impact varies across domains, with some domains being more susceptible to methodological factors than others. Therefore, the developmental trajectories that we document could be influenced by researchers adapting their methods to participants of different ages. In fact, we have found that the inclusion of methodological moderators could change the functional form of the best-fitting models. For example, in Infant Directed Speech preference, the winning functional form for an ageonly model is constant (STATS?). However, when the Exposure Phase moderator is included, the best-fitting model includes age as a linear term (STATS?). Our findings call attention to the importance of understanding methods' nuances: rather than treating methods as a perfect mirror perfectly reflecting the phenomenon, they should be regarded as an imperfect lens that could distort our perception of the phenomenon.

Of course, the same can be said about meta-analysis. Metaanalysis is not a perfect tool, and can often produce effect sizes significantly larger than a comparable large-scale replication (Kvarven, Strømland, & Johannesson, 2020). Part of the discrepancy can be attributed to the heterogeneity of research methods that are often minimized in a large-scale replication (Lewis, Mathur, VanderWeele, & Frank, 2020). While we have included methodological moderators in our analysis, it is highly likely that the coded moderators did not fully reflect the subtlety of research methods. However, the "Major author" effect found in many research domains could provide a window into understanding the workings of the research method. In the future, we could compare and contrast the methods used by "major authors" and those by others. Doing so would allow us to pinpoint the differences and understand which aspects of the methods really matter, and which do not.

Our ultimate goal is to offer a data-driven synthetic theory of cognitive development. Here we have made our first step toward that goal by offering a synthesis of meta-analyses across 23 different research domains. Moving forward, we aim to expand and refine our synthesis by including more research areas, correcting potential publication biases, and accounting for more detailed methodological factors. We would also like to make more connections between our meta-analysis-based work and the many ongoing analyses based on large-scale multi-site replication projects (e.g. ManyBabies: Frank et al., 2017). Ultimately, we hope our analysis could provide a solid empirical foundation to help us to better understand the complex and diverse processes involved in cognitive development.

References

10 Bergmann, C., & Cristia, A. (2016). Development of infants' segmentation of words from native speech: A meta-analytic approach. *Developmental Science*, *19*(6), 901–917.

Bergmann, C., Tsuji, S., Piccinini, P. E., Lewis, M. L., Braginsky, M., Frank, M. C., & Cristia, A. (2018). Promoting replicability in developmental research through meta-analyses: Insights from language acquisition research. *Child Development*, 89(6), 1996–2009.

Cao, A., & Lewis, M. (2022). Quantifying the syntactic bootstrapping effect in verb learning: A meta-analytic synthesis. *Developmental Science*, 25(2), e13176.

Carstensen, A., Zhang, J., Heyman, G. D., Fu, G., Lee, K., & Walker, C. M. (2019). Context shapes early diversity in abstract thought. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(28), 13891–13896.

Clearfield, M. W., & Westfahl, S. M.-C. (2006). Familiarization in infants' perception of addition problems. *Journal of*

- Cognition and Development, 7(1), 27–43.
- Frank, M. C., Bergelson, E., Bergmann, C., Cristia, A., Floccia, C., Gervain, J., et al. others. (2017). A collaborative approach to infant research: Promoting reproducibility, best practices, and theory-building. *Infancy*, 22(4), 421–435.
- Frank, M. C., Braginsky, M., Yurovsky, D., & Marchman, V. A. (2021). *Variability and consistency in early language learning: The wordbank project*. MIT Press.
- Hamlin, J. K., Wynn, K., & Bloom, P. (2007). Social evaluation by preverbal infants. *Nature*, 450(7169), 557–559.
- Hunter, M. A., & Ames, E. W. (1988). A multifactor model of infant preferences for novel and familiar stimuli. *Advances in Infancy Research*.
- Kvarven, A., Strømland, E., & Johannesson, M. (2020). Comparing meta-analyses and preregistered multiple-laboratory replication projects. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *4*(4), 423–434.
- Lewis, M., Braginsky, M., Tsuji, S., Bergmann, C., Piccinini, P. E., Cristia, A., et al. (2016). A quantitative synthesis of early language acquisition using meta-analysis.
- Lewis, M., Mathur, M., VanderWeele, T., & Frank, M. C. (2020). The puzzling relationship between multi-lab replications and meta-analyses of the rest of the literature.
- Margoni, F., & Surian, L. (2018). Infants' evaluation of prosocial and antisocial agents: A meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, *54*(8), 1445.
- Meylan, S. C., & Bergelson, E. (2022). Learning through processing: Toward an integrated approach to early word learning. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, 8, 77–99.
- Salvadori, E., Blazsekova, T., Volein, A., Karap, Z., Tatone, D., Mascaro, O., & Csibra, G. (2015). Probing the strength of infants' preference for helpers over hinderers: Two replication attempts of hamlin and wynn (2011). *PloS One*, *10*(11), e0140570.
- Viechtbauer, W. (2010). Conducting meta-analyses in r with the metafor package. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *36*(3), 1–48.
- Wakeley, A., Rivera, S., & Langer, J. (2000). Can young infants add and subtract? *Child Development*, 71(6), 1525–1534.
- Walker, C. M., Bridgers, S., & Gopnik, A. (2016). The early emergence and puzzling decline of relational reasoning: Effects of knowledge and search on inferring abstract concepts. *Cognition*, *156*, 30–40.
- Wilks, T., Gerber, R. J., & Erdie-Lalena, C. (2010). Developmental milestones: Cognitive development. *Pediatrics in Review*, *31*(9), 364–367.
- Wynn, K. (1993). Erratum: Addition and subtraction by human infants. *Nature*, *361*(6410), 374–374.