- Estimating age-related change in infants' linguistic and cognitive development using
- 2 (meta-)meta-analysis
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Abstract

Developmental psychology focuses on how psychological phenomena emerge with age. In cognitive development research, however, the specifics of this emergence is often 15 underspecified. Researchers often provisionally assume linear growth by including 16 chronological age as a predictor in regression models. In this work, we aim to evaluate this 17 assumption by examining the functional form of age trajectories across 24 phenomena in 18 early linguistic and cognitive development using (meta-)meta-analysis. Surprisingly, for 19 most meta-analyses, the effect size for the phenomenon was relatively constant throughout development. We investigated four possible hypotheses explaining this pattern: (1) age-related selection bias against younger infants; (2) methodological adaptation for older infants; (3) change in only a subset of conditions; and (4) positive growth only after infancy. None of these explained the lack of age-related growth in most datasets. Our work challenges the assumption of linear growth in early cognitive development and suggests the 25 importance of uniform measurement across children of different ages. 26

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Developmental psychology focuses on how psychological constructs change with age. 31 Throughout the years, many theories have been proposed to characterize and explain how 32 and why developmental changes happen (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Carey, 2009; Elman, 1996; 33 Flavell, 1994; e.g., Piaget, 1971; Thelen & Smith, 2007). Among these theories, one common assumption is that skills increase with age (positive change assumption): children get better as they get older. Often, researchers treat age as a predictor in linear regression models, and therefore implicitly assume that the constructs of interests follow a linear trajectory (Lindenberger & Pötter, 1998). While both assumptions are widely adopted, especially in early cognitive and language development, their validity is rarely tested. One common approach to evaluating the functional form of age-related changes is 40 through longitudinal studies. Measurements of psychological constructs, when tracked 41 longitudinally, often reveal age trajectories that violate the linearity assumption. For instance, a longitudinal study that follows the development of executive function (EF) from 3 to 5 years-old using a battery of EF tasks show that EF follows a non-linear trajectory over age (Johansson, Marciszko, Brocki, & Bohlin, 2016). Similarly, vocabulary in early childhood, measured by MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories, also follows the exponential trend rather than the linear trend (Frank, Braginsky, Yurovsky, & Marchman, 2021). In many domains with established measurements, longitudinal research has been used to characterize the functional form of the development (Adolph, Robinson, Young, & Gill-Alvarez, 2008; Cole, Lougheed, Chow, & Ram, 2020; Karlberg, Engström,

Karlberg, & Fryer, 1987; McArdle, Grimm, Hamagami, Bowles, & Meredith, 2009; Tilling,

Macdonald-Wallis, Lawlor, Hughes, & Howe, 2014). However, longitudinal methods are

more rarely applied to experimental studies that identify proposed mechanisms underlying

54 development.

Many important findings in early language and cognitive development are primarily 55 attested in cross-sectional experimental studies. For example, in the language learning 56 domain, many studies have targeted specific mechanisms proposed to underlie how infants 57 acquire specific facets of language. Constructs such as mutual exclusivity (Markman & 58 Wachtel, 1988), statistical learning (Saffran, Aslin, & Newport, 1996), syntactic bootstrapping (Naigles, 1990) and so on, are all attested through decades of experimental 60 evidence acquired through cross-sectional studies. These works are critical to test the 61 causal mechanisms underlying age-related changes, but they are rarely measured in samples with sufficient size and age variation to test the positive change assumption or the assumption of linearity (cf. Frank et al., 2017). In an ideal world, one would run those experiments longitudinally on a large, diverse sample. In practice, this goal is difficult to achieve due to the constraints on both time and financial resources. As a result, the functional forms of age-related changes in critical constructs remain poorly understood. To address this issue, we turned to meta-analysis. Meta-analysis is a statistical 68 method to aggregate evidence across studies quantitatively. This approach has been widely adopted in many disciplines and subfields, including developmental psychology (Doebel & Zelazo, 2015; e.g. Hyde, 1984; Letourneau, Duffett-Leger, Levac, Watson, & Young-Morris, 2013). Compared to the single study approach, meta-analysis has several advantages. First, it allows us to examine the robustness of the phenomena documented in the literature. By combining results from multiple studies, meta-analysis enhances the statistical power to detect effects that might be too small to identify in individual studies. 75 Second, meta-analysis provides a framework for assessing the consistency of research findings across different contexts (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2021; Egger, Smith, & Phillips, 1997). Further, pooling across developmental studies with different 78 cross-sectional samples may yield sufficient variation to explore the functional form of age-related change with greater precision than individual studies. 80

In this work, we aim to leverage meta-analysis to examine the shape of the

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- developmental trajectory in key constructs in infant language and cognitive development.
- Specifically, we use existing meta-analyses from Metalab
- 84 (https://langcog.github.io/metalab/), a platform that hosts community-augmented
- meta-analyses. Metalab was established to provide dynamic databases publicly available to
- 86 all researchers (Bergmann et al., 2018). Researchers can deposit their meta-analysis
- dataset in the platform, and they can also use the dataset for custom analyses (e.g. Cao,
- Lewis, & Frank, 2023; Lewis et al., 2016 this date, Metalab contains 2967 effect sizes
- from 32 different meta-analysis, spanning different areas of developmental psychology. This
- 90 resource allows us to examine the suitability of meta-analysis as a tool to characterize
- 91 developmental trajectory and if suitable, provides insights into how these key constructs
- 92 develop across the early months of childhood.

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We acknowledge at the outset that meta-analysis has significant limitations. The 93 quality of a meta-analysis is necessarily constrained by the quality of the existing studies (Simonsohn, Simmons, & Nelson, 2022). If the studies being aggregated are flawed, the 95 conclusions drawn from the meta-analysis will also be questionable. Moreover, one significant issue in interpreting meta-analysis is the heterogeneity among studies. 97 Heterogeneity refers to the variability in study participants, interventions, outcomes, and methodolog This diversity can make it challenging to aggregate results meaningfully, because differences between studies may reflect true variation in effects rather than a 100 singular underlying effect size (Fletcher, 2007; Higgins & Thompson, 2002; Huedo-Medina, 101 Sánchez-Meca, Marín-Martínez, & Botella, 2006; Thompson & Sharp, 1999). Critically, 102 understanding the source of heterogeneity often requires detailed coding of the potential moderators; this process is frequently hampered by the inadequate reporting standards prevalent in psychological literature, which often leaves essential information for coding 105 these moderators absent (Nicholson, Deboeck, & Howard, 2017; Publications & Journal 106 Article Reporting Standards., 2008). In other words, whether meta-analysis can provide 107

insights into the nature of age-related change is dependent upon the quality of the existing

109 literature.



This paper is organized as follows. In the first section, we provide an overview on the 110 estimated general shape of age-related change across the datasets in Metalab. To preview 111 our findings, we found that most datasets showed relatively constant effect size across age. 112 This finding challenges the commonly held linearity assumption and the positive increase 113 assumption. In the second section, we test four hypotheses on why the current 114 meta-analyses failed to reveal age-related changes: (1) age-related selection bias against 115 younger infants; (2) methodological adaptation for older infants; (3) change in only a 116 subset of conditions; and (4) positive growth only after infancy. We found that none of the 117 four explanations provided a satisfying explanation for the lack of age-related change in most meta-analyses.

# Estimating the functional forms of the developmental change in meta-analytic data

### 2 Datasets

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Datasets were retrieved from Metalab. As of February 2024, Metalab hosted 32
datasets in total, with research areas ranging from language learning to cognitive
development. All datasets included effect size estimates converted to standardized mean
difference (SMD; also known as Cohen's d) as well as estimates of effect size variance and a
variety of other moderators (e.g., average age of participants) provided by the contributors.
There were 2 desiderata for the datasets to be included in the final analysis:

- 1. The dataset must describe an experimental (non-correlational) effect that uses behavioral measures, and
  - 2. For a dataset that has already been published, the meta-analytic effect reported in the published form must not be null (i.e., must be significantly different than zero).
- Five datasets did not meet the first desideratum (Pointing and vocabulary (concurrent); Pointing and vocabulary (longitudinal); Video deficit; Symbolic play; Word segmentation (neuro)), and one dataset did not meet the second desideratum (Phonotactic learning). These datasets were not included in the analysis.
- For the remaining 26 datasets, we made the following modifications. Following the organization in the original meta-analysis (Gasparini, Langus, Tsuji, & Boll-Avetisyan, 2021), we separated the Language discrimination and preference dataset into two datasets, one for discrimination and one for preference. We also combined two pairs of datasets because they were testing the same experimental effects: Gaze following (live) and Gaze following (video) was combined into Gaze following (combined); Function word segmentation and Word segmentation (behavioral) was combined into Word segmentation

(combined). We also replaced the Infant directed speech preference dataset with a more up-to-date version reported in Zettersten et al. (2023).

To make the comparison more equivalent to each other, we would run models with
the same random effect structure specifications across all datasets. To achieve this goal, we
recoded the relevant grouping variables in the datasets with missing grouping variables.

Since we were mostly interested in the age trajectory of these constructs in early
childhood, we further trimmed the datasets to include only effect sizes from participants
under 36 months of age. This decision did not qualitatively affect our findings as most
datasets did not include data above age 36 months. The final analysis included 25 datasets
in total. Table 1 presented the names of all the datasets, along with the number of effect
sizes and participants included for each dataset.

#### $^{55}$ Methods

All of the statistical analyses were conducted in R. Meta-analytic models were fit using the metafor package (Viechtbauer, 2010). This was an exploratory study in which no hypotheses were pre-registered.

For each dataset, we considered four functional forms as possible candidates for the 159 shape of the developmental trajectory: linear, logarithmic, quadratic, and constant. A 160 linear form is the most common assumption in the literature, whereas logarithmic and 161 quadratic were chosen to represent sublinear growth and superlinear growth, respectively. 162 The constant form served as a baseline null hypothesis for the other alternative growth patterns. Although other, more complex growth patterns are of course possible, we opted to compare these forms as a first pass. Note that the constant model includes one 165 parameter (an intercept), linear and logarithmic models include two parameters (an 166 intercept and a slope), and the quadratic model includes three parameters (intercept, slope, 167 and quadratic growth term). 168

For all analyses, we fit multilevel random-effects meta-regression models using nested random intercepts to account for both the testing of individual samples in multiple conditions (e.g., in a between-participants design) and multiple studies within a single paper. Meta-regression models predicted effect sizes (standardized mean difference / Cohen's d) with mean age in months in different functional forms. We fit four meta-regression models in total for each dataset.

#### 5 Results

**Model comparison.** Our initial goal was to compare the fit of models with 176 different functional forms for each meta-analysis. Because models differed in their complexity (number of parameters), we extracted the corrected AIC (AICc) for each 178 model. The model with the lowest AICc was considered the baseline model, and all the 179 remaining models were compared against the baseline. The remaining model each received 180 a  $\Delta_{AIC}$ , which was the difference between the AIC of the model and the AIC of the 181 baseline model. Following statistical convention, we treated  $\Delta_{AIC} > 4$  as the statistical 182 significance threshold (Burnham & Anderson, 2004). A baseline model was significantly 183 better than an alternative model if and only if the alternative model had  $\Delta_{AIC} > 4$ . 184

Surprisingly, the four functional forms could not be meaningfully distinguished in 19 out of 25 datasets.. (This situation typically arises because the data are constant and hence more complex models with zero parameters fit the data equally well <sup>1</sup>). The remaining 6 datasets yielded meaningful contrasts between different functional forms, but the linear form was not the best-fitting form for any dataset. Table 2 shows the model comparison results for each dataset. Figure 1 shows the prediction of each functional form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the situation of a completely constant pattern of effects across age, the maximal difference in model fit would be an AICc of exactly 4 between the constant and quadratic model, reflecting a two-parameter difference.

Linearity and Positive Increase Assumption. One limitation of the model
comparison approach is that it does not quantify growth over time. To further examine the
positive increase assumption, we estimated linear meta-regression models and examined the
estimates on the age predictor. We found that the slope estimate for age was not
significantly different from zero the in majority of the datasets (16/25; Figure 2).

## Discussion

We conducted model comparisons to assess the functional forms of age-related change 197 across 25 datasets. Four functional forms—Logarithmic, Linear, Quadratic, and 198 Constant—were largely indistinguishable within most datasets. Notably, in datasets where 190 contrasts were meaningful, linear models received no support, challenging the prevalent 200 linearity assumption for early linguistic and cognitive development. Further, we only 201 detected any positive growth in 8/25 meta-analyses. Past work has successfully revealed 202 age-related changes using meta-analysis (e.g. Best & Charness, 2015; McCartney, Harris, & 203 Bernieri, 1990; Sugden & Marquis, 2017 t in most datasets that we have considered, 204 effect size does not increase with age. Why? 205

Here we consider four explanations for the lack of age-related change in most of the
meta-analyses we examined. First, meta-analyses are susceptible to publication bias
(Ferguson & Brannick, 2012; Ferguson & Heene, 2012; Francis, 2012; Thornton & Lee,
2009 2000). And the bias could be related to the characteristics of the study, such as the
inclusion of younger participants (Kathleen M. Coburn & Vevea, 2015). Consequently,
studies with younger participants may have effect sizes that were more inflated, compared
to the studies with older participants. The selectivity of publication bias would thus
obscure the possible developmental changes in the dataset (Figure 3, Panel 1).

Second, researchers may change methods as infants expand their behavioral repertoire (Figure 3, Panel 2). For example, the high-amplitude sucking paradigm is most likely to be

deployed on very young infants, whereas the looking paradigm is most likely to be used on older infants. We did see some evidence for method adaptation in some datasets. For example, in *Language discrimination*, the average age for studies using a sucking paradigm was 0.58 months (SD = 0.89), but 5.30 months (SD = 1.78) for studies using looking time paradigm. This age-related change in research paradigms could lead to a case of Simpson's paradox: the age-related trend within a single method might be lost when multiple methods are combined (Kievit, Frankenhuis, Waldorp, & Borsboom, 2013; Simpson, 1951).

Third, other methodological factors unrelated to age could also contribute to the lack 223 of developmental effects. 22 of the 25 datasets included in the current analyses has a 224 manuscript associated. Among the manuscripts, 8 identified that the meta-analytic effects 225 were only robust in a subset of the studies. Some of the subsets were identified by certain 226 methodological characters (e.g. in Syntactic Bootstrapping, the effect was only present in 227 studies with transitive conditions, Cao & Lewis, 2022), and other subsets were identified by 228 participants characteristics (e.g. in Familiar word recognition, the effect was stronger in 229 infants whose primary language exposure was from Romance languages, Carbajal, 230 Peperkamp, & Tsuji, 2021). Perhaps the apparent lack of developmental effects in the 231 current analysis could be attributed to a complex interaction between methodological 232 factors and participant characteristics, rather than a true absence of developmental 233 changes (Figure 3, Panel 3).

Fourth, developmental change in infancy and early childhood might be distinct from one another. Bergelson (2020) has speculated that word comprehension in the looking-while-listening paradigm only shows significant developmental changes after 12 months of age, with infants younger than 12 months showing mostly flat developmental trajectories in this task. This contrast could be attributed to the fact that older infants are not only more experienced compared to younger infants, but also better learners who can more effectively take advantage of the input they receive. Could this pattern generalize to other tasks and domains? There is much evidence suggesting that developmental changes

occurring in one domain would have cumulative, cascading effects on changes in other
domains (Ahmed, Kuhfeld, Watts, Davis-Kean, & Vandell, 2021; Bornstein, Hahn,
Putnick, & Pearson, 2018; Oakes & Rakison, 2019). The outcome of such developmental
cascades might not be measurable in the experimental tasks included in the meta-analyses
until infants are above 12 months of age (Figure 3, Panel 4).

We investigate each of these explanations in turn, assessing empirical support in our data. We summarise the results of these analyses in Table 3; in brief, no explanation provided traction for more than a small number of datasets.

# Understanding the lack of developmental change in meta-analytic data

# $_{252}$ Age-related selection bias against younger infants

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We first consider whether age-related selection bias can explain the lack of
developmental changes in our datasets. If studies with younger infants suffered from
publication bias more, then their effect sizes would be more inflated, obscuring possible
developmental changes.

There are many methods to detect publication bias. One of the most 257 common approaches is Egger's test (Egger, Smith, Schneider, & Minder, 1997), which 258 examines the relationship between the studies' effect sizes and their precision. A significant 259 result from Egger's test indicated an asymmetry in the funnel plot, suggesting the presence 260 of publication bias. This method is more sensitive than the rank correlation approach, 261 another common publication bias detection method (Begg & Mazumdar, 1994). However, Egger's test can not accommodate predictors other than the study's precision. As a result, 263 we also turned to the weight-function model developed by Vevea and Hedges (1995). This method detects publication bias by likelihood ratio tests: a bias-corrected model is pitted 265 against the original model to see if the former provides a better fit than the latter. A 266 positive result indicates the presence of publication bias. 267

To detect age-related publication bias, we split each dataset by the median of the 268 average participant age associated with each effect size (in months). We then run both 269 Egger's test and the weight-function model on each half of the dataset. We compared the 270 test outcomes from both tests across the two halves of the datasets. For Egger's test, we 271 used the regtest function implemented in metafor (Viechtbauer, 2010). For the 272 weight-function model, we used the package weightr (Kathleen M. Coburn & Vevea, 2019) 273 and specified random-effect meta-regression models predicting effect sizes with mean age in 274 months. 275

Results and discussion. Egger's test was run on all but the 4 datasets in which
either half of the datasets contained less than 20 effect sizes. Previous study has shown that
Egger's test has reduced sensitivity in datasets with less than 20 studies (Sterne, Egger, &
Smith, 2001). For similar reasons, 7 datasets were excluded in the weight-function analysis.

Egger's test suggested that in 3 datasets there was evidence for publication bias in 280 the younger half but not in the older half (Audio-Visual Congruence, Categorization bias, 281 Syntactic bootstrapping). However, this result was not corroborated by the weight-function 282 analysis. For these three datasets, the weight function analysis did not find evidence for 283 publication bias in either half of the three datasets. This suggests that the significant 284 results found by Egger's test might be due to factors other than publication bias. The 285 weight-function analysis did find evidence for publication bias in the younger half but not the older half in two datasets: Mutual exclusivity (Younger:  $\chi^2 = 11.07$ , p < 0.01; Older:  $\chi^2 = 0.02, p = 0.89$ ) and Vowel discrimination (non-native) (Younger:  $\chi^2 = 5.18, p =$ 288 0.02; Older:  $\chi^2 = 1.88$ , p = 0.17). These two datasets yielded significant results for both halves in Egger's test.

Overall, we found little evidence for more severe publication bias among the younger infants. The Egger's test and the function-weight analysis did not yield converging evidence, suggesting that factors other than publication bias may be at play in contributing to the results. Interestingly, out of the five datasets that yield significant

results for the younger participants, only Mutual Exclusivity originally showed significant age-related changes ( $\beta=0.04$ , SE=0.01, z=6.01, p<0.01), which was in contrast with the other three datasets in which the age estimates were trending at the negative direction (Audio-Visual Congruence:  $\beta=-0.02$ , p=0.39; Syntactic bootstrapping:  $\beta=-0.01$ , p=0.13; Vowel discrimination (non-native):  $\beta=-0.01$ , p=0.45). Taken together, we found some evidence that selective publication bias explains the lack of age-related change across the board.

# Methodological adaptation for older infants

In experiments with young children, many design decisions are made to ensure the 303 paradigms are age appropriate (Byers-Heinlein, Bergmann, & Savalei, 2022). For older 304 children, more behavioral measures are available and longer experiments are made possible by increased attention span. As a result, experimenters might test more subtle 306 experimental contrasts. Perhaps the increasing difficulty or subtlety of experimental 307 conditions for older infants mask age-related increase in effect sizes related to a particular 308 construct. For example, imagine that different experimenters wanted to study word 309 learning with 12- and 24-month-olds. The experimenter working with the younger group 310 might choose a paradigm in which only two novel words were taught, while the 311 experimenter working with the older children might choose to teach four. The resulting 312 effect for older children might be weaker despite overall improvement in the underlying 313 construct. 314

The accessibility of different methods could also potentially cause an instance of
Simpson's paradox (Kievit et al., 2013). Imagine there were two methods, method A and
method B, with the former having lower task demands than the latter. Due to its low task
demands, method A would be more likely to be used on younger infants and causes larger
effect sizes. In contrast, method B would be more likely to be used on older infants and
results in smaller effect sizes. Although the age trend could be positive within each

method, when pooling across studies from the two methods, the trend would then be negative, canceling out age-related changes patterns.

Since it is difficult to code for task demands across all studies, we explore whether
methodological adaptation influences the developmental trend from the other side: instead
of looking at method adaptation with age, we focus on studies using identical methods to
test multiple age groups. This subset of datasets should provide the best chance of
detecting age-related changes in the absence of methodological variation.

#### 328 Methods

We first needed to identify the subset of studies in each dataset that satisfy the
following two criteria: (1) the same paper tested multiple age groups, and (2) the multiple
age groups were all tested using the same experimental design and measure. The first
criterion was operationalized as having a paper with multiple age groups with an age
difference greater than one month. The second criterion was operationalized based on
methodological moderators coded by the original authors and available in MetaLab.

Within the effects selected for each dataset, we calculated  $\Delta_{age}$  for each effect size.  $\Delta_{age}$  was the difference between the age associated with a particular effect size and the minimum age in each subset of the dataset.

19 datasets had subsets of studies fitting our criteria. We focused on the 15 subsets that having 10 and more effect sizes. For each subset, we applied a multilevel meta-regression model using the same nested random intercept as previously described. The model predicts effect sizes based on  $\Delta_{age}$ . This analysis follows the logic that, if on average there is a greater effect size when the same experiment is conducted with older children relative to younger children, then the relation of effect size to  $\Delta_{age}$  should be positive.

#### 5 Results and discussion

We found no significant relationship between  $\Delta_{age}$  and the effect sizes in any of the dataset (all p > 0.05).

This analysis was necessarily constrained by the granularities of the coded 348 moderators. The number of coded methodological moderators ranged from 1 to 9, which 349 means that the experimental design needs to be reduced into at maximum 9 dimensions. 350 However, even at 9 dimensions, it is possible that elements of experiment design influencing 351 task demands were overlooked. For instance, in many domains that use visual stimuli, the 352 particular choice of visual stimuli might significantly vary in complexity (e.g. Cao & Lews, 353 2022). Visual complexity has long been proposed as a key factor influencing the task 354 demands (Hunter & Ames, 1988), but stimulus complexity was not coded in any of our 355 meta-analyses. In conclusion, the findings presented here should be interpreted with 356 caution due to potential limitations in the coding of methodological moderators. 357

## 358 Change in only a subsest of conditions

Across the 25 datasets, 22 datasets were published through manuscripts in 359 peer-reviewed venues Among these manuscripts, we found that 8 papers reported that the 360 meta-analytic effect was significantly stronger in a subset of the data. The subset was often 361 identified by a particular condition in the experimental paradigm (e.g. experiment that 362 shows "giving and taking action" to infants, Margoni & Surian, 2018), or certain 363 characteristics of the participants (e.g. bilingual infants, Tsui, Byers-Heinlein, & Fennell, 2019). In the rest of the data, the meta-analytic effect was either significantly weaker or not present at all. There are many reasons for why the effect would be stronger or only present in a subset of the data. Here, we remain agnostic to the underlying causes for these 367 differences, and leverage these findings to ask: Is it possible that the influence of age was 368 only observable in the subset of the dataset characterized by stronger effect sizes? Perhaps 369

noise in other conditions inadvertently masked age-related changes.

Methods. We screened through 22 papers and identified 8 papers that reported a stronger effect on subsets of the data. All subsets had more than 10 effect sizes. For datasets reporting more than one subset as having strong effect, we consider each respectively. In sum, 7 datasets produced 9 subsets that showed stronger effects.

We first investigated whether we could reproduce the original patterns, i.e. the effect sizes in the better halves were indeed stronger than the other halves. We ran the same multilevel meta-regression without any predictor to estimate the meta-analytic effect sizes in each half. Then we ran a Wald test to compare the two estimates by running a fixed-effects meta-regression model predicting effect sizes with the moderator distinguishing the two halves. A significant estimate on the moderator indicates that the meta-analytic effect sizes in both halves are significantly different from one another. We then estimated the slope of the age predictor in a multilevel meta-regression model for each of the subsets with larger effect sizes.

**Results and discussion.** We did not fully replicate the original findings reported 384 in the original papers: the "better half" identified by the original meta-analysis did not 385 produce significantly stronger effects than the rest of the data in many datasets. We did 386 observe a significantly stronger effect in the remaining 3 datasets: For *Prosocial Agents*, 387 there was a stronger effect in experimental paradigms showing infants giving-taking actions 388 compared to the studies showing infants other stimuli (Margoni & Surian, 2018, z = -2.47, 389 p = 0.01); For Statistical Sound Category Learning, stronger effect was observed in studies 390 using habituation paradigm compared to other paradigms (Cristia, 2018, z = -2.42, p =391 0.02), and for Statistical word segmentation, stronger effect was observed in studies labeled 392 as the conceptual replication of the original work (Black & Bergmann, 2017, z=2.51, p=393 0.01). 394

In addition, we did not find constraining our analyses to the "better half" increased

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the number of significant slope estimates. The two significant slope estimates came from

Mutual Exclusivity ( $\beta = 0.04$ , SE = 0.01, z = 4.63, p < 0.01) and Statistical sound category

learning ( $\beta = 0.11$ , SE = 0.05, z = 2.23, p = 0.03), which also showed significant slopes in

the analyses with the full datasets. Qualitatively, we did see that the estimates increased in

magnitude in Syntactic bootstrapping ( $\beta = 0.01$ , p = 0.67) and Switch task ( $\beta = 0.01$ , p = 0.79), but neither reached the statistical significance threshold.

The discrepancy between our analyses and the previously reported finding suggested
that the "better half effect" might not be sufficiently robust. This discrepancy could be
attributed to the different statistical models we chose – in the original meta-analysis
papers, the models tend to differ in their particular specification of the nested random
effect structure and/or in the inclusions of moderators. We chose the simplest model with
the maximum random effect structure per recommendation (Barr, Levy, Scheepers, & Tily,
2013). This approach ensured fair comparison across all datasets, but it could diminish the
strength of the reported effects.

Interestingly, even in the datasets where the better half effect was reproduced, we
failed to see a significant age effect in the same datasets (Prosocial agents and Statistical
word segmentation) that did not show age-related changes in the original full dataset.
Altogether, this set of analysis suggested that the theoretical constraints on the effect sizes
could not adequately explain the lack of age-related change.

## Positive growth only after infancy

Last but not least, we consider whether there is evidence for discontinuity between
the growth patterns in infancy and beyond. Bergelson (2020)'s hypothesis on the
development of word comprehension suggests a notable shift post the 12-month mark in
infancy. This raises the question of whether such distinctions extend across various tasks.

This section aims to delve into these dynamics by only looking at the subset of the dataset

with infants older than 12-month-olds.

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Methods. Similar to previous analyses, we filtered each dataset to include only
studies that reported more than 10 effect sizes that tested infants older than 12 months. 15
datasets met the criteria. We ran the same meta-regressions predicting effect size with
mean age in months on this subset, and then we compared the estimates on the age
predictor with the same models run on the full datasets.

**Results and discussion.** If the discontinuity account is true, we should expect to 427 see more significant age effects to emerge on models run on the subset of data with older 428 infants. We found support for this hypothesis in two datasets, Cross-situational Word 429 Learning ( $\beta = 0.01$ , SE < 0.01, z = 2.71, p = 0.01) and Mispronunciation sensitivity ( $\beta =$ 430 0.07, SE = 0.01, z = 4.69, p < 0.01). In both datasets, there were no age effects in the full 431 datasets, but significant age-related change in the subsets with older infants. However, we 432 also found the opposite patterns. In Categorization bias and Sound symbolism, there was 433 evidence for age-related change across the entire age range, but no evidence for age-related 434 change in the toddler subset (Both p > 0.05). 435

#### General discussion

How do infants' cognitive and linguistic abilities change with age? In this work, we leveraged a dataset of meta-analyses to evaluate the assumption that these abilities increase positively with age, and that the form of this increase is linear. There was no evidence for linear growth in 16 datasets, and interestingly, in all of these datasets, there was no evidence for any age-related growth at all. In the second section, we investigated four potential explanations for this pattern: (1) age-related selection bias against younger infants; (2) methodological adaptation for older infants; (3) change in only a subset of conditions; and (4) positive growth only after infancy.

Our current work has several limitations. First and foremost, we simply lacked

sufficient data to investigate the possible explanations for many domains (see Table 3). In many datasets, when we filtered datasets to answer the corresponding questions, we lacked sufficient data to adequately test our hypotheses. Furthermore, as with many meta-analyses, our datasets also had high heterogeneity, meaning that we can only explain relatively small amounts of the variation among effect sizes (see Table 1).

Our work highlights the importance of improving reporting standards in 451 developmental psychology. Testing moderation of heterogeneity requires consistent coding 452 of moderators across datasets. But surveys of reporting standards show that many 453 potential moderators go unreported. For instance, fewer than half of papers report 454 attrition rate (Nicholson et al., 2017; Raad, Bellinger, McCormick, Roberts, & Steele, 455 2007). Given these observations, there is a clear need for the developmental psychology 456 community to create and embrace more rigorous and transparent reporting standards. The 457 recently developed framework for reporting demographics information across cultures in 458 developmental psychology is one promising direction moving forwards (Singh et al., 2023). 459 Learning from other fields could provide valuable insights into how to enhance these 460 standards. In biomedical research, numerous reporting standards have been published and 461 widely adopted (for clinical trials: CONSORT, Schulz, Altman, & Moher, 2010; for epidemiological research: STROBE, Vandenbroucke et al., 2007; for meta-analysis and 463 systematic review, PRISMA: Moher et al., 2015; for a catalog of reporting guidelines in health research: EQUATOR, Altman, Simera, Hoey, Moher, & Schulz, 2008). Following 465 these structured guidelines in reporting could significantly increase both the quality and 466 the quantity of information extractable from the original papers, providing more traction for tackling heterogeneity in meta-analysis. 468

Our work also underscores the importance of multi-laboratory large scale replication projects. The relationship between meta-analysis and multi-laboratory is complicated (Kvarven, Strømland, & Johannesson, 2020; Lewis, Mathur, VanderWeele, & Frank, 2022). Although the latter approach is much more time- and resource- intensive than the former,

it is also much more effective in controlling unwanted heterogeneity and detecting subtle patterns in the data. One prominent example is the comparison between the meta-analysis 474 of Infant directed speech preference (Dunst, Gorman, & Hamby, 2012) and the ManyBabies 475 1 project on the same topic (Consortium, 2020). Zettersten et al. (2023) found that, after 476 an update to the meta-analysis dataset, both datasets yielded comparable estimated effe 477 sizes (d = 0.35), but the age effect was only detected in the MB1 project, not the 478 meta-analysis. That study speculated that our second explanation (methodological 470 variation covarying with age) might account for their studies. In our analysis, we did 480 investigate the methodological adaptation hypothesis in the IDS preference dataset. 481 However, the methodological moderators available for us were limited and we could not 482 incorporate the varying nature of the stimuli into our analysis. This example shows the 483 potential limitations of meta-analyses that rely on aggregated data from studies with varied methodologies. In contrast, multi-laboratory collaboration projects like Manybabies (Visser et al., 2022) can rely on standardized data collection procedure and stimuli, therefore providing a more controlled dataset to answer a specific research question with high power.

It is also worth considering whether the strengths of certain developmental 488 phenomena truly stay constant throughout the first years of life. First of all, this 480 counterintuitive possibility casts doubts on the construct validity of the existing measures. 490 Many researchers strive to build on existing experimental procedures and measurements 491 when they are testing older participants. This then leads to a potentially problematic 492 situation: an experimental paradigm could have high construct validity with participants of 493 a certain age, but low construct validity with participants of different age. As a result, this leads to an interesting conundrum: methodological adaptation could be a source of significant heterogeneity, diminishing the measurable developmental change. But at the same time, paradoxically, it could also be the prerequisite for properly measuring developmental change. Furthermore, an alternative explanation for the lack of 498 developmental change is the limited sensitivity of cross-sectional design. The group average may stay constant, but there could still be growth in an individual's performance across
development (Bornstein, Putnick, & Esposito, 2017). The nuanced nature of developmental
change might be best captured by dense, longitudinal data of individual child (e.g.
Bergelson et al., 2023; Sullivan, Mei, Perfors, Wojcik, & Frank, 2021).

In sum, our current work presents a surprising finding concerning age-related change 504 in the cognitive and language development literatures in early childhood. Despite decades 505 of research built upon the positive increase and linearity assumptions, we failed to find 506 evidence supporting either in most meta-analyses that we had access to. Our work is not 507 intended to overturn the longstanding developmental theories. Like other researchers, we 508 believe that infants get better across different cognitive and linguistic domains as they get older. Instead, our work aims to highlight the needs for more robust reporting standards 510 and more large-scale multi-laboratory projects that measure children consistently across 511 age groups and over time. Our findings invite the cognitive development community to 512 strengthen our understanding of foundational assumptions via collaborative efforts. 513

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Table 1
This table summarizes the number of effect sizes (ES) and the number of participants included in each dataset. The ES estimates represent the aggregated effect sizes and their 95% confidence intervals. The  $I^2$  measures the heterogneity of each dataset. The paper source column indicates the published record associated with each dataset.

Dataset	N ES	N Subject	MA ES	$I^2$	Source paper
Abstract rule learning	95	1123	0.22 [0.07, 0.37]	0.80	Rabagliati et al., (2018)
Audio-visual congruence	92	4132	0.33 [0.19, 0.47]	0.89	Cox et al., (2022)
Categorization bias	80	594	0.16 [-0.66, 0.99]	0.96	NA
Cross-situational word learning	48	2241	0.67 [0.5, 0.84]	0.90	NA
Familiar word recognition	34	586	0.54 [0.38, 0.69]	0.55	Carbajal et al., (2021)
Gaze following (combined)	81	1407	0.81 [0.61, 1.01]	0.90	Frank et al., (2016)
Infant directed speech preference	100	1267	0.37 [0.25, 0.49]	0.71	Zettersten et al., (2023)
Label advantage in concept learning	100	1644	0.36 [0.23, 0.48]	0.73	NA
Language discrimination	104	1479	-0.26 [-0.4, -0.11]	0.77	Gasparini et al., (2021)
Language preference	49	641	0.11 [-0.06, 0.28]	0.93	Gasparini et al., (2021)
Mispronunciation sensitivity	249	2122	0.45 [0.24, 0.66]	0.94	Von Holzen & Bergmann (2021)
Mutual exclusivity	131	2222	1.27 [0.99, 1.56]	0.95	Lewis et al. (2020)
Natural speech preference	55	786	0.44 [0.23, 0.65]	0.83	Issard et al., (2023)
Neonatal Imitation	336	2455	0.68 [0.4, 0.97]	0.94	Davis et al. (2021)
Online word recognition	14	330	1.37 [0.78, 1.96]	0.95	Frank et al., (2016)
Prosocial agents	61	1244	0.4 [0.29, 0.52]	0.20	Margoni & Surian (2018)
Simple arithmetic competences	14	369	0.25 [0.04, 0.46]	0.54	Christodoulou et al., (2017)
Sound symbolism	44	425	0.16 [-0.01, 0.33]	0.69	Fort et al. (2018)
Statistical sound category learning	20	591	0.29 [0.01, 0.57]	0.58	Cristia (2018)
Statistical word segmentation	103	804	-0.08 [-0.18, 0.02]	0.83	Black & Bergmann (2017)
Switch task	143	2764	-0.16 [-0.25, -0.06]	0.78	Tsui et al., (2019)
Syntactic bootstrapping	60	832	0.24 [0.03, 0.44]	0.72	Cao & Lewis (2022)
Vowel discrimination (native)	143	2418	0.59 [0.43, 0.75]	0.78	Tsuji & Cristia (2014)
Vowel discrimination (non-native)	49	600	0.65 [0.2, 1.1]	0.92	Tsuji & Cristia (2014)
Word segmentation (combined)	315	2910	0.2 [0.14, 0.26]	0.78	Bergmann & Cristia (2016)

Table 2 This table summarizes the values of  $\Delta$  of corrected Akaike Information Criterion (AICc) for the age model with different functional forms: Constant, Linear, Logarithmic, and Quadratic. The values were calculated from subtracting the minimum AICc from the AICc of each model. They were rounded to two decimal. The bold values indicate the best fitting model. Asterisks indicate models that are a significantly better fit compared to other functional forms for that dataset.

Dataset	Const	Linear	Log	Quadratic
Cross-situational word learning	0.00	2.44	2.29	2.55
Language discrimination	0.00	1.32	0.91	1.59
Prosocial agents	0.00	2.08	1.87	2.15
Simple arithmetic competences	0.00*	6.65*	6.74*	6.55*
Statistical word segmentation	0.00	1.34	1.51	1.12
Switch task	0.00	1.12	1.15	1.06
Syntactic bootstrapping	0.00	0.71	0.56	0.88
Vowel discrimination (native)	0.00	1.34	0.99	1.63
Vowel discrimination (non-native)	0.00	1.56	1.67	1.46
Word segmentation (combined)	0.00	1.28	1.05	1.61
Infant directed speech preference	0.00	1.57	1.47	1.53
Mispronunciation sensitivity	1.89	0.00	0.05	0.19
Online word recognition	2.22	0.00	0.23	0.15
Sound symbolism	3.91	0.00	0.61	0.09
Audio-visual congruence	5.90*	6.70*	0.00*	7.44*
Label advantage in concept learning	2.37	0.95	0.00	1.63
Mutual exclusivity	9.80*	0.58	0.00*	1.38
Neonatal Imitation	2.25	0.36	0.00	1.06
Abstract rule learning	0.44	0.32	0.86	0.00
Categorization bias	8.46*	0.62	1.36	0.00*
Familiar word recognition	1.68	0.28	1.15	0.00
Gaze following (combined)	43.73*	2.07	10.41*	0.00*
Language preference	2.50	2.36	4.12	0.00
Natural speech preference	0.86	0.43	1.04	0.00
Statistical sound category learning	3.44	1.04	3.01	0.00

Table 3
This table presents whether the original dataset shows any evidence for linear growth, and to what extent there is evidence supporting the four hypotheses (Checkmarks for yes, crosses for no). Absence of any symbol suggests that there is not enough data to test the hypothesis.

Dataset	Linear Growth	H1		H2		Н3	H4
		Weight Function	Egger's Test				
Abstract rule learning	X	X	X	X			
Audio-visual congruence	X	X	$\checkmark$	X			X
Categorization bias	X	X	<b>✓</b>				X
Cross-situational word learning	$\checkmark$		X	X			<b>✓</b>
Familiar word recognition	<b>✓</b>	X		X	X		
Gaze following (combined)	$\checkmark$	X	X				<b>✓</b>
Label advantage in concept learning	X	X	X				X
Language discrimination	X		X	X			
Language preference	X	X	X	X			
Mispronunciation sensitivity	$\checkmark$	X	X				<b>✓</b>
Mutual exclusivity	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	X	X	$\checkmark$		<b>✓</b>
Natural speech preference	X	X	X	X			
Neonatal Imitation	$\checkmark$	X	X				
Online word recognition	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$			<b>✓</b>
Prosocial agents	X		X	X	X		X
Simple arithmetic competences	X						
Sound symbolism	$\checkmark$		X	X	X		X
Statistical sound category learning	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		
Statistical word segmentation	X	X	X	X	X		
Switch task	X	X	X	X	X		X
Syntactic bootstrapping	X	X	$\checkmark$	X	X		X
Vowel discrimination (native)	X	X	X	X			X
Vowel discrimination (non-native)	X	<b>✓</b>	X	X			
Word segmentation (combined)	X	X	X	X			X

Table 3 continued

Dataset	N ES	N Subject	MA ES	$I^2$	Source paper
Infant directed speech preference	X	X	X	X	X

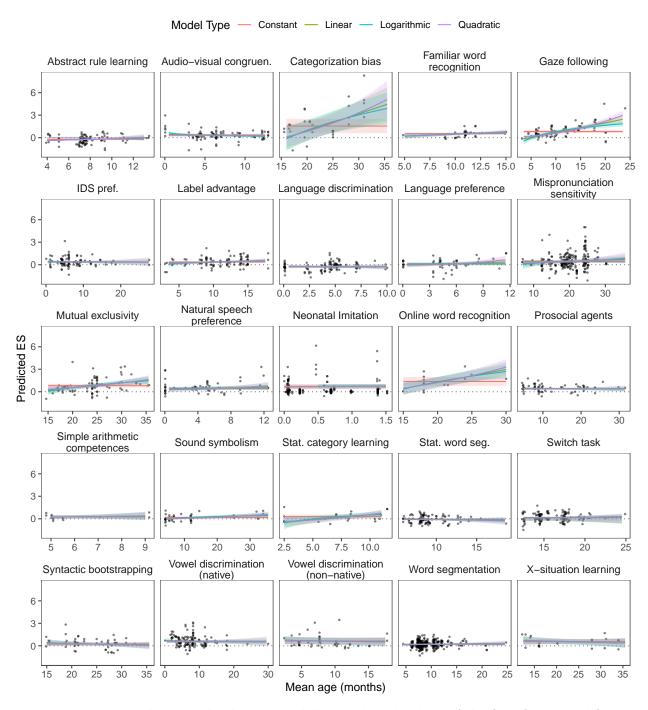


Figure 1. Each panel shows the dataset and the predicted values of the four functional forms. For each panel, X-axis represent the age in month, and Y-axis represents the effect size. The shaded area is the 95% confidence interval of the prediction.

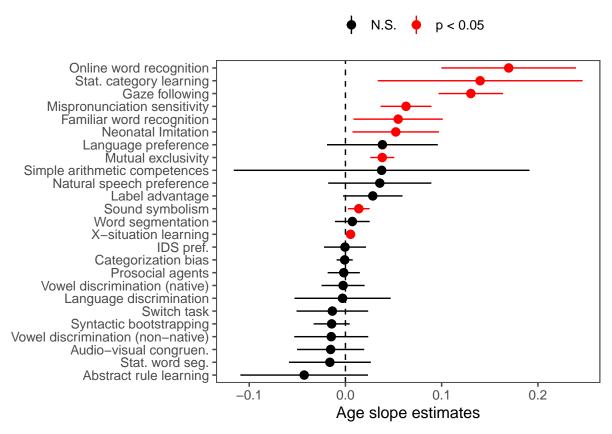


Figure 2. Each dot represents the estimate of the age predictor in the linear model. Red dots indicate the particular estimate is statistically significant, and black indicate the estimate is not significant. Error bars show 95% confidence intervals.

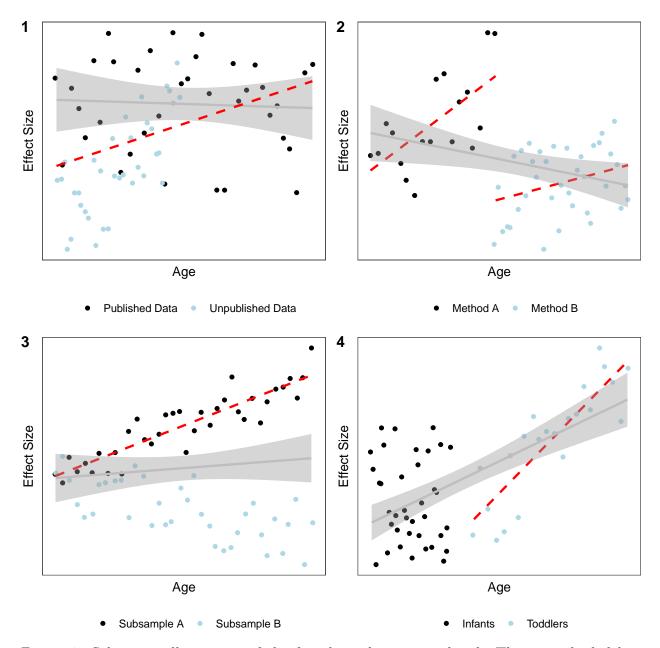


Figure 3. Schematic illustration of the four hypotheses considered. The gray shaded line represents the observed age effect if the hypothesis holds. The red dotted lines represents the true underlying age effect under the particular hypothesis.