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Quantifying the syntactic bootstrapping effect in verb learning: A meta-analytic synthesis

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Abstract

How do children infer the meaning of a novel verb? One prominent proposal is that children rely on syntactic information in the linguistic context, a phenomenon known as "syntactic bootstrapping". For example, given the sentence "The bunny is gorping the duck," a child could use knowledge of English syntactic roles to infer that "gorping" refers to an action where the bunny is acting in some way on a duck. Here, we examine the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect, its developmental trajectory and generalizability using meta-analytic methods. Across 60 experiments in the literature ($N = 849$ participants), we find a reliable syntactic bootstrapping effect ($d = 0.24$). Yet, despite its theoretical prominence, the syntactic bootstrapping effect is relatively small, comparable in size to cross-situational learning and sound symbolism, but smaller than mutual-exclusivity and gaze-following. Further, we find that the effect does not strengthen over development, and is present only for studies that use transitive sentences. An examination of a range of methodological factors suggests that the effect is not strongly influenced by methodological implementation. In the General Discussion, we consider implications of our findings for theories of verb learning and make recommendations for future research.

KEYWORDS
language acquisition, meta-analysis, syntactic bootstrapping, verb learning

1 | INTRODUCTION

To become fluent users of language, children must learn the names not only for concrete nouns, like "ball" and "apple," but also for verbs like "eat" and "throw." Learning the meaning of a verb presents a particular challenge because the perceptual information about a verb's meaning is complex; it is temporally dynamic and relational (Gentner, 2006). How are children able to overcome these complexities to learn verb meanings? One central theoretical proposal is that children use syntactic information in a verb's linguistic context to infer meaning, a phenomenon known as "syntactic bootstrapping" (Brown, 1957; Gleitman, 1990; Landau & Gleitman, 1985; Naigles, 1990). For example, if a child hears the sentence "Mom pilked the apple," the child could use knowledge about the language's syntax to infer that "pilked" refers to an event where "mom" is an agent acting on a patient, "the apple," thus constraining the hypothesis space of possible meanings for the novel verb. A large body of empirical literature over the past 30 years has experimentally tested children's ability to use syntactic information to infer verb meanings. The goal of the current paper is to synthesize this literature quantitatively using meta-analytic methods in order to evaluate the evidential value of this literature, the strength of the effect, and theoretical and methodological moderators. A precise description of the strength of the effect and moderating factors informs a more nuanced theory of the role syntactic bootstrapping plays in early verb learning and its relationship to other verb learning strategies.

The earliest work on syntactic bootstrapping demonstrated that children are able to use coarse-grain syntactic information to constrain hypotheses about a word's meaning. Broad syntactic categories, such as nouns and verbs, are probabilistically linked to semantic categories, like concrete things and actions. Brown (1957) demonstrated that

children are able to make use of this information in word learning by presenting children with sentences containing a novel word in different syntactic categories (e.g., "Do you know what it means to sib?" (verb) vs. "Do you know what a sib is?" (noun)), and measuring whether they inferred the novel word referred to an action or a concrete entity. Subsequent studies demonstrated that children are also able to use more nuanced syntactic information to infer the meaning of a novel verb. In particular, at around 2 years of age, children are able to use the number of arguments a predicate takes to infer the predicate's referent. For example, verbs denoting a causative event (e.g., pushing) tend to take two noun arguments (a "pusher" and a "pushee"), whereas verbs that denote self-generated motion (e.g., waving) take only one noun argument (a "waver"). A large body of work has demonstrated that children are able to successfully map a predicate with two noun arguments (a transitive predicate) to a two-agent causative event, and a predicate with one noun argument (an intransitive predicate) to a one-agent non-causative event (e.g., Arunachalam & Dennis, 2019; Gertner & Fisher, 2012; Hirsh-Pasek et al., 1996; Messenger et al., 2015; Naigles, 1990; Yuan & Fisher, 2009).

The ability to use syntactic information to infer a novel verb meaning is typically tested in a paradigm in which children are presented simultaneously with two visual stimuli and an auditory sentence (Fernald et al., 1998; Golinkoff et al., 1987). Canonically (e.g., Naigles, 1990), one visual stimulus depicts two characters engaging in an unfamiliar causative action to each other (e.g., a novel pushing motion), and the other depicts one or more characters engaging in an unfamiliar non-causative action (e.g., a novel waving gesture). Children then hear a transitive (e.g., "The duck is gorping the bunny") or intransitive sentence (e.g., "The duck and the bunny are gorping") that contains a novel verb, and then are asked to find the corresponding scene (e.g., "Where's gorping now?"). Children's fixation time or pointing selections are measured. Evidence that children are able to "bootstrap" verb meanings from syntax is found when they look longer at the visual stimulus that matches the syntactic structure of the sentence. Studies with this general design have found that children are able to use syntactic information to infer verb meaning given a range of linguistic and visual stimuli, and in a variety of experimental manipulations.

Importantly, although these papers provide a binary description of the effect ("children can bootstrap verb meanings from syntax"), they do not quantify the *strength* of the effect. Quantifying the strength of the effect allows researchers to assess the degree to which a learning strategy is likely to be used by young learners to acquire verb meanings. Further, it allows for the quantitative comparison to other proposed learning strategies for inferring the meaning of a word in a local context. For example, children may be able to infer a word's meaning by using co-occurrence statistics between words and referents ("cross-situational learning"; Smith & Yu, 2008; Yu & Smith, 2007), or by relying on knowledge that each word in a language tends to only have one meaning ("mutual-exclusivity"; Clark, 1987; Lewis et al., 2020; Markman & Wachtel, 1988). Understanding the relative strength of various learning strategies for mapping word forms to meanings could shed light on the source of differences in word learning abilities across children of various ages and developmental trajectories.

RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS

- We conducted a meta-analysis of 60 experiments ($N = 849$ infants) on the syntactic bootstrapping effect in early verb learning.
- We found a small effect size ($d = 0.24$), despite some evidence for publication bias in the literature.
- The syntactic bootstrapping effect was stronger in experimental conditions using transitive relative to intransitive sentences; neither age nor various methodological factors mediated the effect.
- We quantify the relationship between syntactic bootstrapping and other verb learning strategies, and discuss implications for theories of verb learning.

In addition to uncertainty about the overall strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect, there are a number of open theoretical questions about the nature of the effect. First, how does the strength of the effect change across development? One possibility is that the ability to use syntactic bootstrapping to learn novel verbs is unlearned or available early in development once the relevant syntactic information is represented, and the ability does not strengthen with development (Fisher et al., 2020; Gleitman, 1990). An alternative possibility is that the effect becomes stronger with maturation and experience. There are a range of reasons to think that the effect might strengthen over development. For example, with development, children's vocabulary size increases, making it more likely they will know the nouns in the sentence containing a novel verb. If the effect becomes stronger with development, this would suggest that syntactic bootstrapping may become an increasingly powerful learning strategy for children as they learn more words. Prior work has examined the syntactic bootstrapping effect across several age groups (e.g., Gertner & Fisher, 2012; Jin, 2015), but the shape of the developmental trajectory is not clear.

Second, how robust is the effect to different syntactic structures? Syntactic bootstrapping is theorized to be a general learning strategy that could in principle be applied to a range of syntactic structures in children's input. However, some experiments have found a syntactic bootstrapping effect for transitive sentences but not intransitive sentences (Arunachalam & Waxman, 2010; Yuan et al., 2012), whereas others find the opposite pattern (Bunger & Lidz, 2004; Naigles & Kako, 1993). Plausible explanations for both patterns have been proposed. For example, the effect may be stronger for transitive sentences relative to intransitives because intransitive sentences are relatively more flexible in their usage. Consider, for instance, the sentence "the girl is daxing." This sentence could describe either a scene in which a girl conducts a transitive action (e.g., patting the boy) or a scene in which the girl performs an intransitive action (e.g., jumping). In contrast, the sentence "the girl is daxing the boy" could only describe a scene in which the girl enacts a transitive action (e.g., patting the boy). This asymmetry may lead children to treat the syntactic information in sentences

with a transitive verb as a stronger cue to a verb's meaning relative to sentences with an intransitive verb. On the other hand, the effect may be stronger for intransitive verbs, relative to transitive verbs, because intransitives have fewer noun arguments, and therefore fewer processing demands (Lidz et al., 2009). Thus, although syntactic bootstrapping is assumed to be a general verb learning strategy, its robustness to different predicate types remains an open question.

The literature has also revealed conflicting findings about the robustness of syntactic bootstrapping to different types of noun phrase structures. In everyday discourse, people and objects are often referred to by pronouns (e.g., "she") instead of descriptive nouns ("the girl"). There is some evidence that semantically rich, descriptive nouns are beneficial for verb learning because the semantic content of the surrounding nouns can scaffold the interpretation of a verb (Arunachalam & Waxman, 2015; Gleitman et al., 2005; Wagley & Booth, 2021). Others, however, have argued that pronouns support syntactic bootstrapping because they reduce processing load, relative to descriptive nouns (Childers & Tomasello, 2001; Lidz et al., 2009). Pronouns may also support syntactic bootstrapping in English because they are case-marked (e.g., female agent = "she"; female patient = "her"), potentially providing children with an additional, redundant cue about the syntactic roles of nouns arguments (Yuan et al., 2012). In the case of both predicate types and noun phrase structures, it is difficult to evaluate the robustness of syntactic bootstrapping to variability in the linguistic input without a clear understanding of the empirical pattern.

One challenge in addressing these theoretical questions is the range of ways the syntactic bootstrapping effect has been tested across the literature. The presence of methodological variability means that it is not clear if observed differences in outcomes are due to methodological factors, sampling error, or theoretical moderators of interests. For example, across studies, there is variability in the relative onset of the linguistic and visual stimuli. In some studies, children see the events at the same time or soon after hearing the relevant sentences (Gertner & Fisher, 2012; Naigles, 1990), while in others, the sentences are accompanied by an irrelevant scene (e.g., a person on the phone talking or two people conversing) followed by the target visual stimuli (Arunachalam & Waxman, 2010; Yuan & Fisher, 2009). The lag between the linguistic stimuli and the visual stimuli likely increases the memory demands of the task, and could influence children's ability to identify the correct referent. Critically, if this methodological difference co-varies with the age of children tested, it may be difficult to draw conclusions about the developmental trajectory of the effect across studies.

The meta-analytic method provides a powerful analytic tool for quantifying theoretically important effects, and it has increasingly been applied in the language acquisition literature (Bergmann et al., 2018; Cristia, 2018; Lewis et al., 2020; Rabagliati et al., 2019). Meta-analysis involves quantifying the size of an effect in individual experiments with a standardized measure (such as Cohen's d), and then aggregating across experiments statistically to estimate an overall effect size. Because a meta-analysis reflects estimates from many more participants than any individual study, the meta-analytic method has greater power to detect a true effect and precisely quantify it. The meta-analytic method also allows researchers to explore moderators

of an effect. Detecting a moderator to a small effect requires large sample sizes, but infant experiments, like those investigating syntactic bootstrapping, typically have small sample sizes (Bergmann et al., 2018; Oakes, 2017). These small sample sizes mean that individual studies have low power to detect moderating effects, potentially leading to a literature with many null and conflicting effects. Meta-analysis addresses this limitation by providing a higher-powered test of theoretically important factors, as well as revealing variability in effect sizes due to methodological variability across studies.

The plan for this paper is as follows. We first describe our method for conducting a meta-analysis of the syntactic bootstrapping effect. We then assess the evidential value of this literature by evaluating the influence of publication bias. Next, we examine the moderating influence of development, predicate type, and noun phrase structure on the syntactic bootstrapping effect, and the relationship between theoretical moderators and methodological variability in our meta-analytic data. We then characterize the size of the effect with respect to other word learning phenomena. We find some evidence for publication bias in the syntactic bootstrapping literature, but that there is nevertheless a small effect. The effect is larger for transitive sentences, relative to intransitive sentences, but does not appear to be influenced by development, noun phrase structure, or a range of methodological factors. In the General Discussion, we discuss the implications of our findings for theories of verb learning and recommendations for future work on this phenomenon.

2 | METHOD

2.1 | Literature search

We conducted a literature search of the syntactic bootstrapping literature following the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses checklist (PRISMA; Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, Altman, & The PRISMA Group, 2009). We identified relevant papers through a keyword search in Google Scholar with the phrase "syntactic bootstrapping" and a forward search on papers that cited the seminal paper, Naigles (1990) (total records identified: $N = 3339$; retrieved between May 2020 and July 2020; Figure 1). We screened the abstracts for relevance of the first 60 pages of the keyword search results ($N = 600$) and the first 10 pages of the forward search results ($N = 100$). The screening processes ended because we could no longer identify relevant, non-duplicate papers.

Additional papers were identified by consulting the references section of a recent literature review ($N = 155$; Fisher et al., 2020) and experts in the field ($N = 11$). Our sample included published journal articles, conference proceedings, doctoral dissertations, and unpublished manuscripts. We refer to these collectively as "papers" in the following sections.

We restricted our final sample to papers that satisfied the following criteria: First, the experimental paradigm involved a two-alternative forced-choice task in which participants were instructed to identify the scene that matched the linguistic stimuli. Second, the visual stimuli
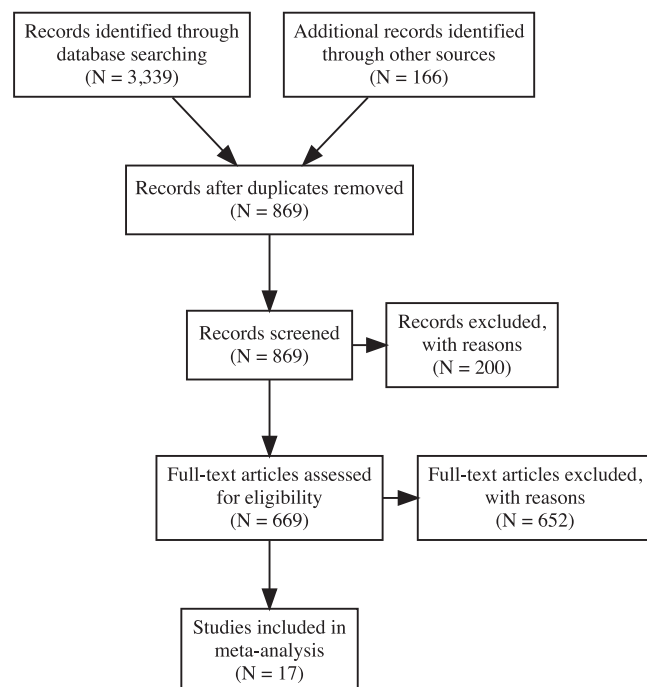
FIGURE 1 PRISMA plot showing the literature review process. Values indicate number of papers at each stage of the review process. Common exclusion reasons include (i) the papers did not include empirical studies; (ii) the papers were written in languages other than English; (iii) the empirical studies did not satisfy inclusion criteria. Our meta-analysis included a final sample of 17 papers

were two events displayed side-by-side on a computer monitor. One event depicted a causative action (e.g., one agent causes the other to move), and the other a non-causative action (e.g., two agents move simultaneously but do not causally interact with each other). We included studies with either videos of live actors or animated clips. Third, the linguistic stimuli included at least one novel verb embedded in a syntactically informative frame. For example, "Look, it's kradding!" embeds the novel verb in an intransitive syntactic frame that is informative about the meaning of the novel verb "kradding." In contrast, "Look, kradding!" does not provide informative syntactic information. Finally, we restricted our sample to studies with English-speaking, typically-developing children. Papers that satisfied these constraints reflected a range of methodological implementations that we examine systematically below (see Moderators section). Our final sample included 17 papers, indicated by an asterisk in the reference section.

2.2 | Data entry

For each paper, we entered metadata about the paper (e.g., citation), information to calculate effect sizes, and information about moderators. We entered a separate effect size for each experimental manipulation and age group per paper (we refer to these as "conditions"). Most papers therefore contained multiple conditions, corresponding to multiple effect sizes in our meta-analysis. Our final sample included 60 conditions (N).

2.2.1 | Calculating individual effect sizes

For each condition, we recorded the sample size, the mean proportion correct responses, and the across-participant standard deviation of proportion correct responses. The mean and standard deviation were obtained from one of four sources: (i) text or tables in the results section ($N = 37$); (ii) plots ($N = 10$); (iii) correspondence with the original authors ($N = 12$); and (iv) imputation using values from studies with similar designs ($N = 1$; Hirsh-Pasek et al., 1996; the missing standard deviation values were imputed from Naigles, 1990). Previous work suggests using imputed values from highly similar studies improves the accuracy of aggregate effect size estimates (Furukawa et al., 2006). The reported results do not qualitatively change when conditions from Hirsh-Pasek et al. (1996) are excluded from our sample (see SI, Section 1)[1].

Using the raw coded data, we calculated an effect size estimate for each condition as Cohen's d. Cohen's d was calculated as the difference between the proportion correct responses and chance (0.5), divided by a pooled estimate of variance (see SI, Section 2 for example calculation). Note that we assume baseline performance to be 0.5 in all cases, even when a neutral empirical baseline was reported (e.g., Arunachalam & Dennis, 2019; $N = 6$ conditions). This decision aligns with the often-used assumption in probability theory and modeling work that choices from a finite set are independent from each other (Frank & Goodman, 2012; Luce, 1959). This decision affords the practical advantage that effect sizes can be estimated across all conditions in our sample, most of which did not report an empirical baseline, and that the meta-analytic effect size estimate can be directly compared to estimates for other word learning phenomena that also use 0.5 as a baseline in similar two-alternative forced-choice paradigms (e.g., Fort et al., 2018; Lewis et al., 2020). An alternative method of estimating effect sizes is to use performance in the intransitive condition as a baseline, and calculate effect sizes only for transitive sentences. This approach controls for baseline differences in perceptual stimuli (assuming that saliency effects are additive), but does not allow for estimates to be calculated consistently across all studies in our sample, and does not allow for effect sizes to be estimated for intransitive conditions (see SI, Section 3 for direct comparison between two methods). Our approach provides a theory-neutral, consistent method for calculating effect sizes across the syntactic bootstrapping literature.

2.2.2 | Moderators

For each effect size in our sample, we coded several theoretical and methodological variables. The information was retrieved either from the methods section of the paper or by contacting authors.

Four theoretical variables were coded: participant age, participant vocabulary size, predicate type, and noun phrase type. Participant age was entered in mean age in months ($N = 60$ conditions). Vocabulary

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[1] Supplemental Information available at https://anjiecao.github.io/projects/SB_MA/supplementary_information.html

size was recorded as the median productive vocabulary measured by MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories (CDI) Words and Sentences (Fenson et al., 2000; $N = 32$). Predicate type was coded as either transitive ($N = 30$) or intransitive ($N = 30$). Noun phrase type encoded information about the agent verb argument of the sentence stimulus. The agent of the sentence was coded as being either a noun (e.g., "the girl"; $N = 22$) or pronoun ("she"; $N = 38$). A condition was coded as "pronoun" if it contained at least one instance of a pronoun that referred to the agent.

In addition to the theoretical variables, we coded a range of methodological variables that varied across the studies in our sample and for which there was independent reason to predict that they could influence the size of the effect. First, we coded whether the paradigm included a practice trial prior to the testing phase. A study was coded as having a practice trial if there was at least one trial in which children were presented with a familiar verb and asked to identify a familiar action (e.g., "Find jumping"; N conditions with practice phase $= 36$). Second, we coded whether or not the paradigm involved trials in which children were prompted to identify the nouns in the testing events (e.g., "Where's the bunny?"; N with character identification phase $= 16$). Third, we coded whether the linguistic and visual stimuli were presented synchronously with each other ("Stimuli Synchronicity"). An experimental condition was coded as "asynchronous" if the linguistic stimulus was first paired with an irrelevant visual scene (e.g., a person on the phone talking), and the matching visual stimulus was not shown until the training phase was over ($N = 37$); a condition was coded as "simultaneous" if the first training sentence was presented along with the visual stimuli depicting the relevant action or along with an attention-getter or a blank screen, immediately followed by the relevant action ($N = 23$). Fourth, we coded the temporal distribution of the training and the testing trials (Mass: $N = 28$; Distributed: $N = 32$). The temporal distribution corresponds to the amount of learning experience children have prior to the test. A procedure was categorized as "mass" if participants were trained exclusively on one novel verb and tested on the same verb, and "distributed" if they were trained and tested on multiple novel verbs. Finally, we coded how many times each novel verb was spoken in a syntactically informative way during training.[2]

2.3 | Analytic approach

We analyzed the data using multi-level random effect models implemented in the metafor package in R (Viechtbauer, 2010). The random effect structure included groupings by paper and by participant group (i.e., cases where the same participants were tested across multiple conditions) to account for the clustering of effect sizes in our sample. We conducted a publication bias sensitivity analysis using the PublicationBias package in R (Mathur & VanderWeele,

2020). Moderator variables were included as additive fixed effects. All estimate ranges correspond to 95% confidence intervals unless otherwise noted. Data and analysis scripts are available in the project repository (https://github.com/anjiecao/SyntacticBootstrappingMA), and the dataset can be interactively explored on Metalab (http://metalab.stanford.edu/; Bergmann et al., 2018).

3 | RESULTS

Our final sample of 60 conditions reflected 849 unique infants (mean age: 24 months; 28 days; $SD = 200.44$; age range: 14.90–42 months), with a mean sample size of 14.15 ($SD = 6.16$) children per condition. Figure 2 shows effect size estimates for all conditions. The weighted mean effect size was 0.24 [0.03, 0.44], which significantly differed from 0 ($Z = 2.27$; $p = 0.02$). There was evidence for considerable heterogeneity in effect sizes across our sample ($Q = 196.07$; $p < 0.001$), meaning that there is unexplained variance in effect sizes across studies.

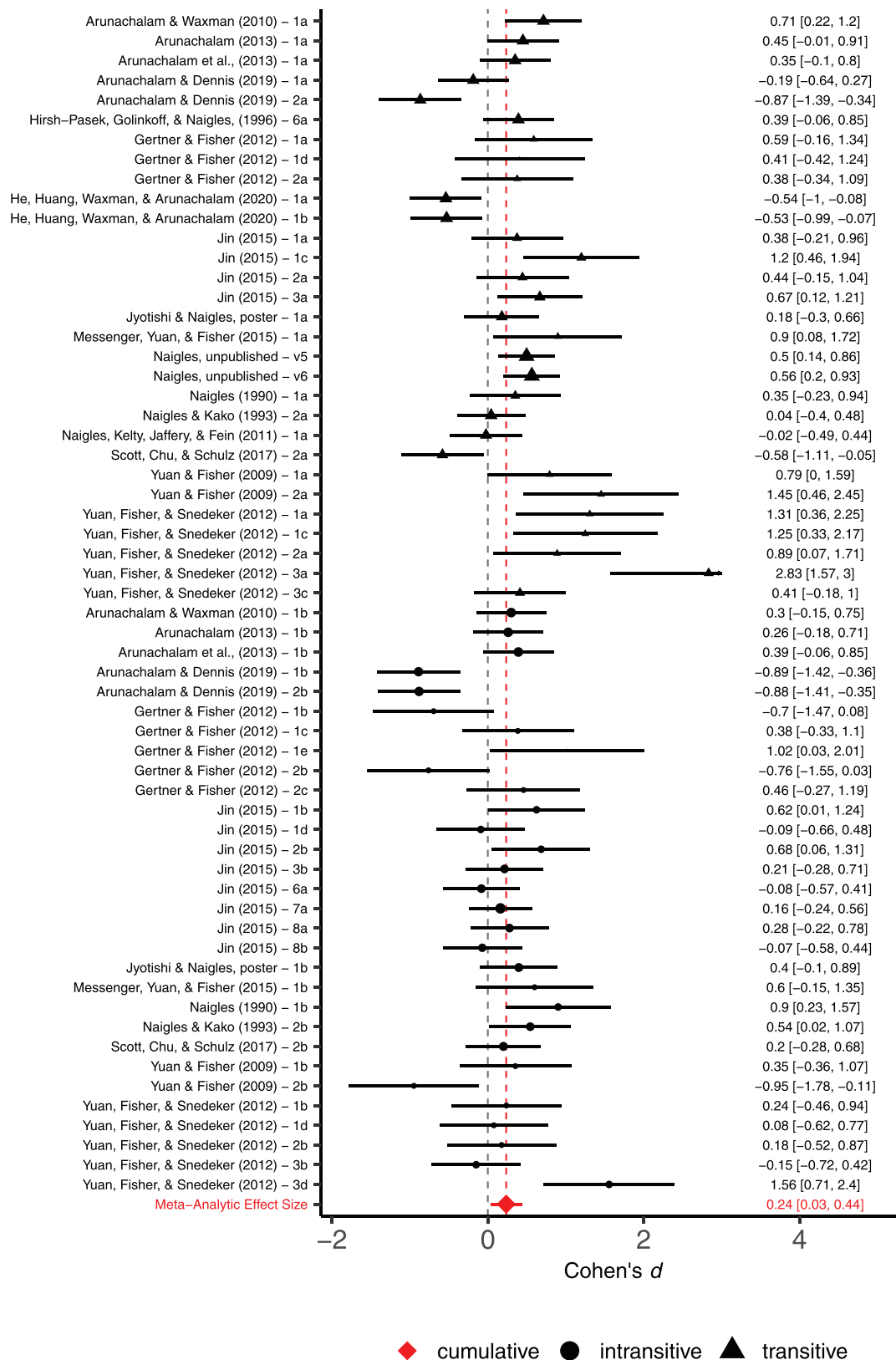## 3.1 | Evidential value of the syntactic bootstrapping literature

We first evaluated the evidential value of the literature by assessing the evidence for publication bias. The intuition underlying these analyses is that, due to random variation, a literature should be expected to contain studies both with and without statistically significant effect sizes for the target phenomenon. Critically, however, publication pressures may lead researchers to be more likely to publish findings with statistically significant results, resulting in a biased literature. The absence of these studies from the meta-analysis yields a meta-analytic estimate that over-estimates the true effect size, and threatens the evidential value of the literature. We present two analyses that assess publication bias in the syntactic bootstrapping literature: a classic funnel plot analysis, and a sensitivity analysis that assumes a more plausible model of the publication process.

Figure 3 presents the funnel plot for the effect sizes in our sample. A funnel plot shows estimates of effect size variance (plotted with larger values lower on the axis) as a function of the magnitude of the effect size (Egger et al., 1997). Under a model of publication bias in which researchers decide whether or not to publish a study based on the magnitude of its effect size (larger effect sizes being more likely), effect size estimates should fall symmetrically around the grand effect size estimate. Evidence of asymmetry around the grand mean, particularly more large, positive effect sizes, would suggest that the literature reflects a biased sample of studies. A formal test of asymmetry in our sample revealed evidence for asymmetry (Egger's test: $Z = 4.72$; $p < 0.0001$).

The funnel plot analysis provides some evidence for publication bias, but the interpretation of this analysis is limited by the fact that it assumes a relatively implausible model of how researchers decide which studies to make public: the criteria for publishing a study in a journal is typically not the *size* of the effect, as assumed by the funnel

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[2] See SI, Sec. 4 for additional methodological moderators. These additional moderators overlap substantially with the target moderators of interest presented in the Main Text, but are included in the SI for completeness.

	Cohen's d
Arunachalam & Waxman (2010) – 1a	0.71 [0.22, 1.2]
Arunachalam (2013) – 1a	0.45 [−0.01, 0.91]
Arunachalam et al., (2013) – 1a	0.35 [−0.1, 0.8]
Arunachalam & Dennis (2019) – 1a	−0.19 [−0.64, 0.27]
Arunachalam & Dennis (2019) – 2a	−0.87 [−1.39, −0.34]
Hirsh–Pasek, Golinkoff, & Naigles, (1996) – 6a	0.39 [−0.06, 0.85]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 1a	0.59 [−0.16, 1.34]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 1d	0.41 [−0.42, 1.24]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 2a	0.38 [−0.34, 1.09]
He, Huang, Waxman, & Arunachalam (2020) – 1a	−0.54 [−1, −0.08]
He, Huang, Waxman, & Arunachalam (2020) – 1b	−0.53 [−0.99, −0.07]
Jin (2015) – 1a	0.38 [−0.21, 0.96]
Jin (2015) – 1c	1.2 [0.46, 1.94]
Jin (2015) – 2a	0.44 [−0.15, 1.04]
Jin (2015) – 3a	0.67 [0.12, 1.21]
Jyotishi & Naigles, poster – 1a	0.18 [−0.3, 0.66]
Messenger, Yuan, & Fisher (2015) – 1a	0.9 [0.08, 1.72]
Naigles, unpublished – v5	0.5 [0.14, 0.86]
Naigles, unpublished – v6	0.56 [0.2, 0.93]
Naigles (1990) – 1a	0.35 [−0.23, 0.94]
Naigles & Kako (1993) – 2a	0.04 [−0.4, 0.48]
Naigles, Kelty, Jaffery, & Fein (2011) – 1a	−0.02 [−0.49, 0.44]
Scott, Chu, & Schulz (2017) – 2a	−0.58 [−1.11, −0.05]
Yuan & Fisher (2009) – 1a	0.79 [0, 1.59]
Yuan & Fisher (2009) – 2a	1.45 [0.46, 2.45]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 1a	1.31 [0.36, 2.25]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 1c	1.25 [0.33, 2.17]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 2a	0.89 [0.07, 1.71]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 3a	2.83 [1.57, 3]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 3c	0.41 [−0.18, 1]
Arunachalam & Waxman (2010) – 1b	0.3 [−0.15, 0.75]
Arunachalam (2013) – 1b	0.26 [−0.18, 0.71]
Arunachalam et al., (2013) – 1b	0.39 [−0.06, 0.85]
Arunachalam & Dennis (2019) – 1b	−0.89 [−1.42, −0.36]
Arunachalam & Dennis (2019) – 2b	−0.88 [−1.41, −0.35]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 1b	−0.7 [−1.47, 0.08]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 1c	0.38 [−0.33, 1.1]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 1e	1.02 [0.03, 2.01]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 2b	−0.76 [−1.55, 0.03]
Gertner & Fisher (2012) – 2c	0.46 [−0.27, 1.19]
Jin (2015) – 1b	0.62 [0.01, 1.24]
Jin (2015) – 1d	−0.09 [−0.66, 0.48]
Jin (2015) – 2b	0.68 [0.06, 1.31]
Jin (2015) – 3b	0.21 [−0.28, 0.71]
Jin (2015) – 6a	−0.08 [−0.57, 0.41]
Jin (2015) – 7a	0.16 [−0.24, 0.56]
Jin (2015) – 8a	0.28 [−0.22, 0.78]
Jin (2015) – 8b	−0.07 [−0.58, 0.44]
Jyotishi & Naigles, poster – 1b	0.4 [−0.1, 0.89]
Messenger, Yuan, & Fisher (2015) – 1b	0.6 [−0.15, 1.35]
Naigles (1990) – 1b	0.9 [0.23, 1.57]
Naigles & Kako (1993) – 2b	0.54 [0.02, 1.07]
Scott, Chu, & Schulz (2017) – 2b	0.2 [−0.28, 0.68]
Yuan & Fisher (2009) – 1b	0.35 [−0.36, 1.07]
Yuan & Fisher (2009) – 2b	−0.95 [−1.78, −0.11]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 1b	0.24 [−0.46, 0.94]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 1d	0.08 [−0.62, 0.77]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 2b	0.18 [−0.52, 0.87]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 3b	−0.15 [−0.72, 0.42]
Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker (2012) – 3d	1.56 [0.71, 2.4]
Meta–Analytic Effect Size	0.24 [0.03, 0.44]

◆ cumulative   ● intransitive   ▲ transitive

FIGURE 2 Forest plot showing individual effect sizes included in the meta-analysis. Black circles and triangles correspond to individual conditions with intransitive sentences and transitive sentences, respectively. Point size corresponds to sample size, and horizontal error bars show 95% confidence intervals (note that the confidence interval for one estimate, Yuan, Fisher, & Snedeker, 2012, 3a, is elided for readability). Each effect size is labeled with the author and year of the source paper and an experiment number and condition identifier. Negative effect sizes indicate that children looked longer at the incorrect action. The red diamond indicates the meta-analytic effect size aggregated across all conditions in the literature.
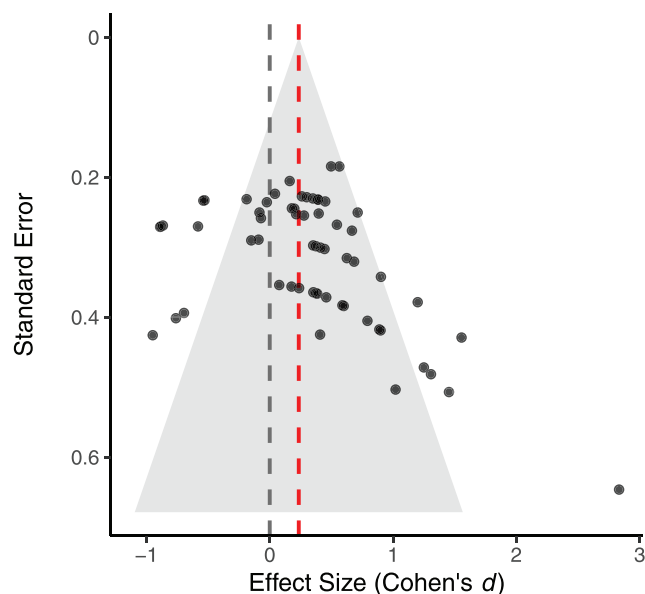
FIGURE 3 Funnel plot showing the standard error of each effect size estimate in our meta-analysis as a function of effect size. The gray and red vertical dashed lines correspond to an effect size of zero and the meta-analytic effect size estimate, respectively. The grey funnel represents a 95% confidence interval around the meta-analytic estimate. In the absence of publication bias, effect size estimates should be symmetrically distributed around the red line. The point "bands" are due to the fact that researchers tend to use similar sample sizes across studies (e.g., many studies have eight or 12 participants per condition).

plot analysis, but rather whether or not the *p*-value of the hypothesis test for that effect is below some threshold (usually 0.05). We therefore conducted a second analysis of publication bias, called a sensitivity analysis (Mathur & VanderWeele, 2020), which assumes that the decision to publish results is determined by the size of the *p*-value, rather than the magnitude of the effect .

The goal of the sensitivity analysis is to determine how sensitive the meta-analytic effect size is to "missing" non-significant studies. Critically, because the degree of publication bias is not known (i.e., the degree to which significant results are more likely to be published, relative to insignificant results), the sensitivity analysis assumes a worst-case publication bias scenario and estimates the meta-analytic effect size under this scenario. The worst-case scenario assumed by the model is that significant studies are infinitely more likely to be published than non-significant studies.[3] A meta-analytic effect size under this scenario can be estimated by analyzing only those studies with non-significant effect size estimates.

Conducting this sensitivity analysis on our data reveal that no amount of publication bias could attenuate the point estimate of the effect size to 0. Nevertheless, the worst-case scenario appreciably attenuates the meta-analytic effect size, and the attenuated effect size

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[3] Technically, the model assumes studies with effect sizes that are statistically significant (*p* < .05) *and* greater than zero are infinitely more likely to be published. See Mathur and Vander-Weele (2020) for additional details.

estimate includes 0 in its 95% confidence interval (0.08 [−0.1, 0.25]; see SI Section 5 for additional details).

In sum, across two types of analyses, we find some evidence for publication bias in the syntactic bootstrapping literature, but even under worst-case scenarios publication bias was not enough to fully attenuate the meta-analytic point estimate to 0. Further, some of the publication bias observed in the funnel plot analysis may be due to heterogeneity in the data. In the following sections, we analyze theoretical and methodological moderators that may contribute to this heterogeneity, though we emphasize that the likely presence of publication bias implies that these moderators should be interpreted with caution.

3.2 | Theoretical moderators

We next asked whether the overall effect size estimate was moderated by our theoretical moderators of interest: development-related moderators (vocabulary and age), and sentence structure moderators (predicate and noun phrase types).

3.2.1 | Development

How does the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect change across development? We examined two measures of developmental change: age (months) and vocabulary size. These two measures were strongly correlated with each other ($r(30) = 0.85$, $p < 0.0001$). There was no effect of either measure on the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect (age: $\beta = -0.01$ [−0.03, < 0.001], $SE = 0.01$, $z = -1.47$, $p = 0.14$; Figure 4; vocabulary size: $\beta = -0.01$ [−0.02, < 0.001], $SE = 0.01$, $z = -1.74$, $p = 0.08$).

3.2.2 | Sentence structure

We next asked how properties of the sentence structure influenced the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect. Predicate type (transitive vs. intransitive) was a significant moderator, ($\beta = 0.24$ [0.02, 0.46], $SE = 0.11$, $z = 2.10$, $p = 0.04$): the effect was larger for transitive sentences, relative to intransitive sentences. Further, the model intercept did not significantly differ from zero ($\beta = 0.1$ [−0.14, 0.34], $z = 0.80$, $p = 0.42$), which suggests that the effect is only present in transitive conditions ($M = 0.49$, $SD = 0.72$) but not in intransitive conditions ($M = 0.17$, $SD = 0.58$). In contrast, there was no effect of agent argument type (pronoun: $M = 0.40$, $SD = 0.74$; noun: $M = 0.21$, $SD = 0.50$; $\beta = -0.04$ [−0.4, 0.31], $SE = 0.18$, $z = -0.24$, $p = 0.81$).

To compare the effects of all theoretical moderators, we fit an additive model with all theoretical variables as fixed effects. We excluded vocabulary size because it was highly correlated with age, and was only available for a subset of conditions ($N = 32$). Figure 5(a) shows estimates for each of the single-predictor models along with the additive linear model. The additive model revealed estimates that were highly comparable to the single-predictor model.
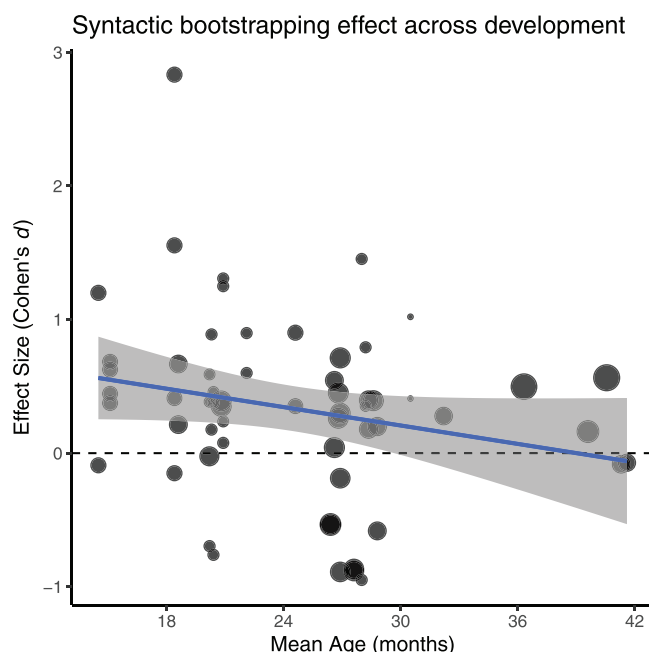
FIGURE 4 Syntactic bootstrapping effect size (Cohen's *d*) as a function of age in months. Each point corresponds to one effect size (condition), and point size corresponds to the number of children in that condition. The blue line shows a linear model fit and the corresponding standard error. The dashed line indicates an effect size of zero. The slope of the model fit does not significantly differ from zero, suggesting no appreciable developmental change in the size of the syntactic bootstrapping effect.

In summary, we found that predicate type is a significant predictor of the effect size: conditions with transitive sentences were associated with larger effect sizes than those tested with intransitive sentences. No other theoretical variable significantly moderated the syntactic bootstrapping effect.

3.3 | Methodological moderators

One limiting factor in interpreting the moderating role of theoretical variables is that there was appreciable variability across studies in the exact method used in testing children. It is possible that this methodological variability conceals true underlying moderating influences. For example, if researchers adapt their method to the age of the children they are targeting, developmental change in the strength of the effect may not be detectable (Bergmann et al., 2018).

To evaluate this possibility, we asked whether five different methodological variables (practice phase, sentence repetitions, character identification phase, synchronicity, testing procedure structure) moderated the syntactic bootstrapping effect. None of these methodological variables were significant moderators of the effect in a single predictor model (Figure 5b; see SI, Section 6). In an additive linear model with all five methodological predictors, there was a significant effect of testing procedure structure ($\beta = 0.48$ [0.03, 0.93], $SE = 0.23$, $z = 2.11$, $p = 0.04$), with mass testing designs ($M = 0.58$, $SD = 0.71$) tending to

have larger effect sizes than distributed designs ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.55$). This finding suggests that children tested in a procedure with only one train-test pair performed better than those tested in a procedure with multiple train-test pairs. Finally, we asked how these methodological moderators related to our theoretical moderators of interest. Notably, controlling for methodological variables did not qualitatively change the role of any of the theoretical moderators (see SI, Section 7). Taken together, these analyses suggest that methodological variables do not play a large influencing role on the size of the syntactic bootstrapping effect.

3.4 | Relating the syntactic bootstrapping effect to other word learning strategies

How does the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect compare to that of other word learning strategies? To answer this question, we compared the meta-analytic syntactic bootstrapping effect size to effect sizes for other word learning strategies estimated from a meta-analysis of each literature. We considered an opportunity sample of word learning strategies, based on those strategies with available meta-analytic data. In particular, we selected all word learning strategies available in a database of language acquisition meta-analyses, called Metalab (Bergmann et al., 2018). We included a word learning strategy in our analysis if it could be considered to facilitate an inference about the mapping between a novel word and a meaning. This allowed for the comparison of the syntactic bootstrapping effect to four additional word learning strategies: (i) mutual exclusivity, assuming a novel word refers to a novel object (Clark, 1987; Lewis et al., 2020; Markman & Wachtel, 1988), (ii) cross-situational word learning, tracking word-object co-occurrences across situations (Yu & Smith, 2007), (iii) gaze following, following the eye gaze of a speaker to the intended referent (Frank et al., 2016; Scaife & Bruner, 1975), and (iv) sound symbolism, exploiting sound-meaning regularities in the lexicon (Fort et al., 2018). While these four strategies are not exhaustive of the strategies that have been proposed in the word learning literature, they are representative of the major theoretical perspectives, including constraints and biases (Markman, 1990), statistical learning (Romberg & Saffran, 2010), and communicative inferences (Tomasello, 2010). For each of these four comparison strategies, we calculated the meta-analytic effect size using the same model specification as for syntactic bootstrapping, restricting the sample to studies with a mean age of children younger than 48-month-olds.

Figure 6 shows the meta-analytic effect size for syntactic bootstrapping and each of the other four word learning strategies. The syntactic bootstrapping effect size (0.24 [0.03, 0.44]; N conditions = 60; M age = 24.90 mo) was comparable in size to that of sound symbolism ($d = 0.16$ [−0.01, 0.33]; N conditions = 44; M age = 12.70 mo) and cross-situational learning ($d = 0.53$ [0.28, 0.79]; N conditions = 50; M age = 26 mo), and less than a quarter of the size of both mutual exclusivity ($d = 1.06$ [0.77, 1.35]; N conditions = 146; M age = 29.80 mo) and gaze following ($d = 1.23$ [0.91, 1.56]; N conditions = 33; M age = 13.60 mo). Importantly, the small effect size of syntactic
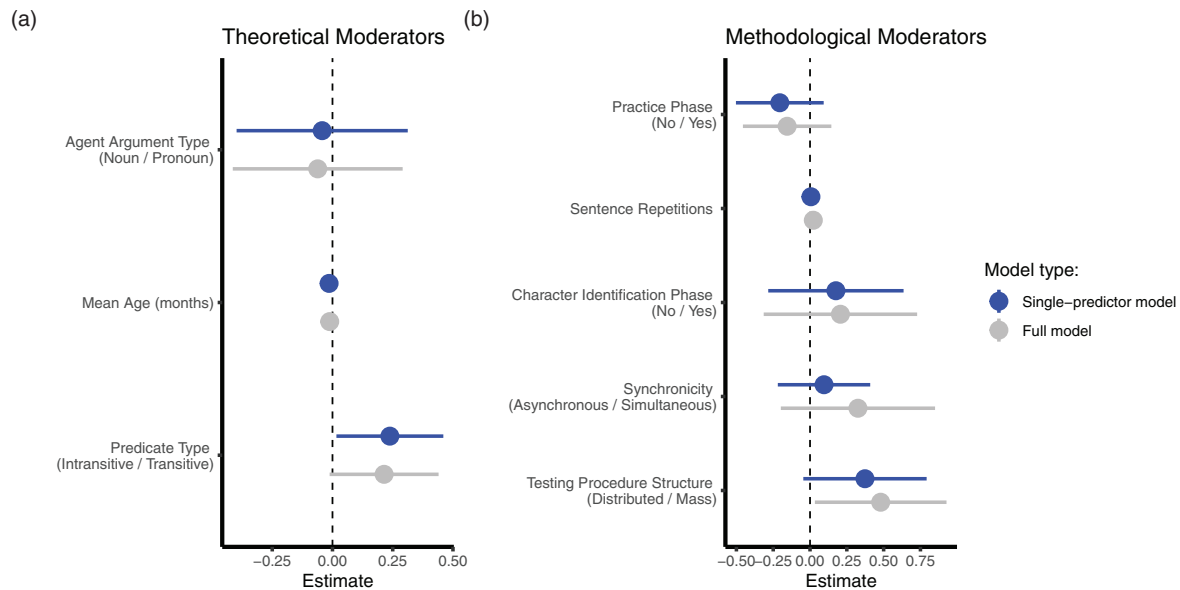
FIGURE 5 Meta-analytic model parameter estimates for (a) theoretical and (b) methodological moderators. Blue points show model estimates from single-predictor model; grey points show model estimates from additive linear model with all moderators included. Ranges correspond to 95% confidence intervals. Levels for categorical variables are given in parentheses, with the first level indicating the base level in the model. Ranges for age and sentence repetition estimates are too small to be visible.
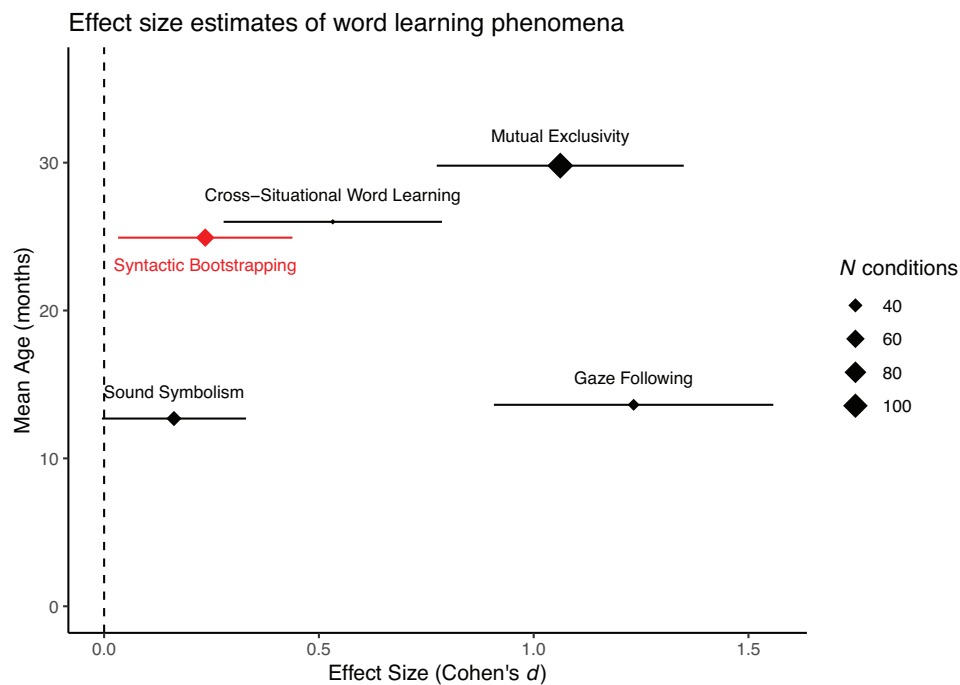
FIGURE 6 Meta-analytic effect sizes of five word learning phenomena, including syntactic bootstrapping (red). Point size corresponds to the number of individual conditions included in each meta-analysis. The x-axis shows the magnitude of the meta-analytic effect size estimate; the y-axis shows the mean age in months of children in each meta-analysis.

bootstrapping relative to mutual exclusivity and gaze following cannot be due alone to differences in the ages of the samples in these different meta-analyses, because participants in the syntactic bootstrapping meta-analysis were older on average than those in the gaze following meta-analysis, and roughly the same age as those in the mutual exclusivity meta-analysis.

4 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

Three decades of research on syntactic bootstrapping have examined the role that syntax plays in facilitating early verb acquisition. Here we built upon these previous studies by presenting a quantitative synthesis of the literature using meta-analytic methods. We find

a small effect of syntactic bootstrapping, comparable in size to that of sound symbolism and cross-situational learning. We then examined how the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect varies as a function of developmental change and syntactic structure. We found no evidence that the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect changes across development, or as a function of different types of noun phrase structures. In contrast, we found some evidence that the effect is influenced by predicate type: the syntactic bootstrapping effect is present for transitive sentences, but not intransitive sentences. We also examined a range of methodological features and found no evidence that these features had an appreciable moderating influence. We conclude by discussing several key implications and limitations of our findings.

4.1 | Small effect size

The syntactic bootstrapping effect ($d = 0.24$ [0.03, 0.44]) is small by conventional Cohen's d standards (Cohen, 1988), even in the presence of some publication bias. It is also small relative to other early word learning biases and strategies typically studied with nouns, like mutual exclusivity and gaze-following. On the one hand, this small effect size is consonant with the fact that verbs tend to be learned later in development than nouns (e.g., Bates et al., 1994; Frank et al., 2021). If verb learning strategies are weaker than those for nouns, we would expect verbs to be learned later. On the other hand, children do eventually develop a large vocabulary of verbs, despite no developmental change in the strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect. This raises an important puzzle: If the syntactic bootstrapping effect is relatively weak, how do children learn a large vocabulary of verbs?

One possibility is that, although the syntactic bootstrapping effect is relatively weak when measured in the laboratory, it plays a more prominent role in verb learning "in the wild." This could be true if there were many opportunities for syntactic bootstrapping that occurred in naturalistic input, relative to the sort of input required for other verb learning strategies like sound symbolism. The strength of the syntactic bootstrapping effect could also be affected by the particular task demands of the paradigm. Estimates of effect size are necessarily tied to the implementation in a particular paradigm, and it is possible that the syntactic bootstrapping paradigm is particularly challenging for children. However, at least at first pass, the paradigms used to test these different strategies are highly comparable. Further, researchers typically aim to maximize effect size in designing studies, making different paradigms for testing different phenomena comparable as best-case scenarios for observing the target effect. Adequately addressing this question would require combining controlled experimental paradigms with large-scale descriptive work of naturalistic input.

A second possibility is that children learn verbs using many of the same strategies typically thought of as noun learning strategies, where the perceptual information tends to be less complex. The perceptual complexity of verbs relative to nouns may partially account for the smaller effect size of syntactic bootstrapping—a verb learning strategy—relative to the other strategies we consider, which are pri-

marily tested with nouns (Zhou & Yurovsky, 2021). Nevertheless, there is some evidence that a wide range of word learning strategies may be helpful in verb learning. Mutual exclusivity (Golinkoff et al., 1996; Merriman et al., 1996; Merriman et al., 1993), cross-situational learning (Monaghan et al., 2015; Scott & Fisher, 2012), sound symbolism (Imai et al., 2008; Kantartzis et al., 2011), and social cues (Roseberry et al., 2009; Tomasello & Barton, 1994) have all been found to facilitate the mapping between verbs and actions. Importantly, these learning strategies, including syntactic bootstrapping, are not mutually exclusive with one another: children may be using a combination of strategies to varying degrees in different contexts and at different ages. Further, different word learning strategies may be more or less suited for learning different types of words. For example, it is unclear how a learner would acquire a meaning without a direct perceptual correlate (e.g., "think," "democracy") without relying heavily on information in the linguistic context (Gillette et al., 1999; Landauer & Dumais, 1997). Understanding how these different strategies are flexibly used in verb learning is an important area for future research (c.f. Bohn et al., 2021).

4.2 | No developmental change

Notably, we do not find the syntactic bootstrapping effect gets larger with development across the age range in our sample (15–42 months). This pattern is consistent with the proposal that syntactic bootstrapping is an unlearned bias and that the accumulation of experience with age does not have a significant impact on the strength of the effect (Fisher et al., 2020; Gleitman, 1990). An alternative explanation for the lack of developmental change is the relational nature of verbs and grammatical constructions (Gentner, 2006; Goldwater, 2017). It is possible that developmental change only emerges as children experience the "relational shift," that is, a developmental shift in their attention from objects to the relations between objects (Gentner, 1988; Gentner & Rattermann, 1991). As children become more attuned to the relations around them, the ability to learn relational words like verbs may also improve. There is also some evidence to suggest that older children are more likely to rely on syntactic information to infer verb meaning (Nappa et al., 2009). It is therefore possible that although no developmental change was observed within the age range of the current meta-analysis, syntactic information may play a more prominent role in verb learning later on in development.

Another possibility is that researchers make methodological adaptations for children of different ages, such that older children are tested in more challenging paradigms than younger children. Under this possibility, we do not observe a developmental increase in the size of the effect because children's increasing ability to use syntactic information to infer meaning is concealed by more challenging task demands. We examined this hypothesis in the current meta-analysis by testing whether a wide range of methodological factors interacted with age, and we found no evidence that they did. We also informally examined how the complexity of the visual stimuli used in the studies in our meta-analysis varied as a function of age (see SI, Section 8). With the exception of one study designed for 15-month-olds (Jin, 2015), there was no

observable variability in visual stimuli complexity as a function of the age of children tested. While it is of course possible that there is a relevant, unmeasured methodological factor, the present set of analyses are suggestive that the lack of developmental change in the strength of effect is not due to methodological factors.

4.3 | Transitivity effect

Our meta-analysis revealed that the syntactic bootstrapping effect is only observed with certain kinds of syntactic structures: children tend to select the correct novel action in conditions using transitive sentences (e.g., "The girl is gorping the boy"), but not in conditions using intransitive sentences (e.g., "The girl is gorping"). This pattern is consistent with the observations that several researchers have made (Arunachalam & Waxman, 2010; Yuan et al., 2012). Three factors may have given rise to this transitivity advantage. First, linguistic information can only be useful in narrowing the hypothesis space to the extent that it distinguishes between potential meanings in the observed context (Fisher et al., 1994; Gleitman, 1990, 1994). Notably, under certain contexts, transitive sentences are less ambiguous than intransitive sentences (intransitive sentences can be interpreted as referring to both causative and non-causative actions, while transitive sentences can only refer to the former). Thus the syntactic bootstrapping effect may be larger for transitive conditions, relative to intransitive conditions, because these conditions better distinguish between the two candidate meanings. Second, children may have more experience with transitive sentences than intransitive sentences (Laakso & Smith, 2007). Third, the scenes corresponding to transitive sentences may have been more perceptually salient than those in intransitive conditions. Children were found to have a baseline preference for two actor events over one actor events (e.g., Yuan et al., 2012), and for synchronous movement over causative movement (e.g., Naigles & Kako, 1993). These preferences may make it easier to detect an effect in the transitive condition relative to the intransitive condition.

Importantly, the lack of effect in intransitive sentences calls into question the generalizability of the syntactic bootstrapping effect. It is unclear, for example, what features of transitive sentences make them particularly conducive to verb learning, and what other types of sentence structures syntactic bootstrapping may or may not generalize to. Understanding the linguistic parameters of the effect is important to determining the degree to which syntactic bootstrapping is a plausible general verb learning strategy for young children.

4.4 | Limitations and recommendations for future work

Like any method, meta-analysis has a number of limitations. Most notably, the meta-analytic method is influenced by publication bias of the literature it draws upon. In the present study, we find some evidence for publication bias in the syntactic bootstrapping literature in two different analyses, which suggests that there may be a number of "missing" null or negative studies in our meta-analysis potentially leading to an overestimation of the overall effect size. Although our sensitivity analysis suggests that the effect size cannot be reduced to zero even after assuming the "worst-case scenario," the presence of publication bias limits the evidential value of the current literature and suggests that the magnitude of the effect should be interpreted with caution.

Future research could address the issue of publication bias in several ways. One way is for researchers to conduct studies with substantially larger sample sizes. The mean sample size of studies in the meta-analysis was approximately 14. Based on our meta-analytic effect size estimate, we estimate that studies in our sample had approximately 14.39% power to detect a true effect, which is considerably smaller than the typical target of 80%. To reach 80% power, researchers would need about 142 participants per condition (substantially more if moderators were tested; SI Section 9). Sample size is important because conducting underpowered studies not only increases the false negative rate (Type II error), it also inflates the false positive rate (Type I error; Button et al., 2013; Oakes, 2017). And, critically, with more false positives, there are more opportunities for publication pressures to influence the literature. Increasing sample size in studies designed to test hypotheses about syntactic bootstrapping would thus reduce the rate of false positives in the literature and decrease publication bias, leading to a more robust estimate of the aggregate effect size. Second, publication bias could be improved by pre-registering study hypotheses, designs, and analytical methods (Nosek et al., 2018). Pre-registration is a relatively low-cost way for researchers to reduce the false positive rate due to analytical flexibility. A pre-registered, high-powered direct replication of the seminal syntactic bootstrapping studies across one or more labs would provide strong evidential value about the strength of the effect (e.g., ManyBabies Consortium, 2020).

A second limitation of the current work is the power of our meta-analytic models to detect moderator effects. For many of the moderators we examined, the average effect size was not statistically significant (e.g., noun phrase type). While meta-analytic methods typically have greater statistical power than individual studies, they still require a large number of studies to detect small effects. Further, the power of the meta-analytic model is related to the power of the individual conditions within the meta-analysis: If individual studies are severely underpowered, this will affect the power of the meta-analytic models. Simulations suggest that we had 80% power to detect only large effect size differences for categorical moderators (see SI Section 10). In order to detect a moderate effect size difference ($d = 0.5$) with reasonable power, we would need roughly five times as many conditions in the current meta-analysis (fewer if the individual studies were better powered). This suggests that the failure to reject the null hypothesis for moderating effects should be interpreted with caution: Our meta-analysis provides strong evidence that these effects are not large, but does not rule out the possibility that some factors have a smaller moderating influence.

Finally, the current meta-analysis is limited by the narrow scope of participants in our sample: English-speaking, typically developing

children. This homogeneity limits the extent to which our study can shed light on the generalizability of syntactic bootstrapping to other populations. For example, English primarily relies on word order to signal syntactic relations, raising the possibility that children learning languages with more explicit morphosyntactic markers might rely more strongly on syntactic information to infer verb meanings. There are a number of studies that examine the syntactic bootstrapping effect in children learning a diverse set of languages (e.g., Mandarin: Lee & Naigles, 2008; Korean: Jin, 2015; Turkish: Göksun et al., 2008) and in children with a range of developmental disorders (e.g., Grela, 2002; Naigles et al., 2011; O'Hara & Johnston, 1997). With sufficient studies, meta-analytic methods could be used to examine these additional moderators.

5 | CONCLUSION

In sum, syntactic bootstrapping is a prominent proposal for how young children learn an important part of their vocabulary—verbs. Our meta-analysis suggests that although syntactic bootstrapping may be one route to early verb learning, experimental estimates of the effect size are small relative to other word learning strategies. Further, we find that the effect may not be robust to a wide range of syntactic structures. Our work highlights the need for pre-registered, high-powered replications of the syntactic bootstrapping effect, and future research that examines how syntactic bootstrapping interacts with other word learning strategies in real-world learning scenarios.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interests.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

All data and analysis scripts are available at https://github.com/anjiecao/SyntacticBootstrappingMA.

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