Infants prefer to listen to speech: A meta-analysis.

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Abstract

The human auditory system is amazingly efficient at processing speech. Some works suggest 12 that this capacity is present from birth, infants preferring to listen to natural speech than to 13 other types of sounds, enabling them to select the signals that are relevant for communication with conspecifics. However, in experimental studies, a large variety of sounds have been contrasted to speech, with infants of very different ages. Drawing a global picture of how this capacity emerges is therefore difficult. We synthesized the literature by conducting a meta-analysis of studies testing speech preference in infants from birth to one 18 year of age. We found a medium effect size, with infants preferring speech over any other 19 type of sound. Contrary to the results of individual studies, we found no effect of age: 20 infants showed the same amount of preference from birth to one year of age. Still contrary to 21 what individual studies suggested, we found the same amount of preference whether speech 22 was contrasted to other natural sounds or to artificial sounds; as well as whether speech was 23 contrasted to other vocal sounds or to non-vocal sounds. Preference was stronger when the speech stimuli were in the infants' native language. This suggests that the representation of 25 speech as a distinct auditory object comes from is modulated by the degree of familiarity with the sounds of the language they are exposed to. 27

Keywords: Meta-analysis, infants, speech preference, auditory development, natural sounds

Word count: X

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Introduction

Speech is the main signal for human vocal communication. Adult individuals efficiently detect speech sounds in their environment, and use them to spot conspecifics and build social interactions. Since seminal experimental results suggest that infants react more to speech than to certain other sounds (Ecklund-Flores & Turkewitz, 1996), it is conceivable that newborns are equipped with a preference for speech sounds, and that human infants become further entrenched in this preference as they age and gain additional exposure to speech. Here, we synthesize empirical data on infants' preferences for speech over artificial sounds, natural sounds, as well as human non-speech sounds, with the hope of illuminating the strength of evidence supporting various theories proposed to explain infants' preferential listening and processing studies. [insert Figure 1 here]

48 Potential dimensions underlying preference patterns

There are three key conceptual explanations for infants preference for speech: (a)

Preference for natural over artificial sounds; (b) preference for vocal over non-vocal sounds;
and (c) preference for familiar over unfamiliar sounds (see Figure 1 for a representation of
these distinctions). These three explanations are mutually compatible, such that one or more

may be found to be true. In this section, we explain how these explanations differ, and briefly review some results on each, before turning to the potential effects of age.

Natural versus artificial sounds. Natural sounds are those produced with biological systems, including vocal tracts but also the sound of walking and heart rate.

Inspection of their acoustic characteristics reveals that in many cases natural and artificial sounds may not have the same structure. For example, backward speech has unnatural formant transitions and seemingly abrupt closures that are not found in naturally produced sounds. We know that natural sounds are processed more accurately by the auditory system, from the cochlea (Lewicki, 2006) to the auditory cortex (e.g. Gehr et al., 2000; see Mizrahi et al., 2014 for a review). As a result, we can expect a preference for speech over artificial sounds that is present from birth and stable over age, predictions that seem to be validated in a first glance of the literature (Vouloumanos & Werker, 2007; Vouloumanos, 2014).

Familiarity. An alternative to the above explanation could be proposed based on familiarity: Perhaps infants prefer speech to foils when these vary in the level of familiarity, since artificial sounds may be less common (and thus less familiar to the infants) than natural sounds. There are no behavioral results directly testing the prediction that infants show stronger preferences when tested with more familiar speech stimuli (for instance, spoken in their native, as compared to a foreign language), but results from neuroimaging studies do predict indirect evidence for this view. For instance, newborns' brain activation was different for forward than to backward speech when the native language was used as the speech stimuli, but not when a foreign language was used (Sato et al., 2012; May et al., 2018).

Vocal versus non-vocal sounds. Many results summarized above may be
accommodated by a third hypothesis, postulating a preference for vocal over non-vocal
sounds. Vocal sounds are those made with a mouth, and thus typically a subset of natural
sounds. There is some evidence which is easy to explain with this hypothesis but cannot be
predicted from the natural sound preference or the familiarity preference: Newborns made

more head-turns to speech than to heartbeat (Ecklund-Flores & Turkewitz, 1996), but they listened equivalently to speech and monkey calls (Vouloumanos & Werker, 2010). Arguably, speech and heartbeat are equally natural and they are both familiar to a newborn and thus this result cannot be accommodated by either of the other explanations. Changes as a function of development

When infants are born at term, they have already experienced speech and natural sounds more generally for about three months (and throughout their auditory lifelong experience). While little is known about production experience in utero and how this may affect their perception of sounds as being vocal, it is certain that newborns will have 87 experienced their native speech, which other work suggests newborns prefer to prosodically distinct foreign speech (REF). The latter finding actually suggests a potential inconsistency in findings in this body of literature: While the preference for native over foreign speech is consistent with the familiarity preference discussed above, this familiarity may also predict a 91 preference for native speech over monkey vocalizations, which has not obtained (REF). In 92 fact, 1- to 4-month-old infants responded more to speech than to other human sounds (Shultz & Vouloumanos, 2010). To complicate matters further, one study reports that 9-month-olds listened longer to monkey calls than speech (Sorcinelli et al., 2019), which is in stark contradiction with a preference systematically driven by familiarity. Setting this issue aside, it remains clear that as infants age, they gain experience with stimuli in their environment as 97 well as their own vocal production. In addition to the effects of experience, development of the auditory pathway may affect perception (e.g., Mazuka, XX, & Tsuji, 2018). These age-related changes may affect the preference for speech in various ways. One of them is by infants' developing an increasingly narrow and precise definition of the spoken stimulus they 101 prefer. Indeed, whereas newborns do not prefer speech over monkey calls, three-month-olds do (Vouloumanos et al., 2010). If the definition of speech becomes increasingly narrow, it is 103 conceivable that some of the naturalness, familiarity, and vocal quality effects would change 104 as a function of age, such that very close stimuli (e.g., speech versus another natural sound) 105

initially leads to a weak preference, but, as infants age, this preference may be as strong as 106 that found for very different stimuli (e.g., speech versus an artificial sound). While many 107 articles discuss potential changes in the pattern of preference as a function of age (e.g. Ferry 108 et al., 2013; Shultz & Vouloumanos, 2010; Shultz et al., 2014), only two papers from the 109 same laboratory that we know of includes multiple age groups tested with the exact same 110 stimuli and procedure (Vouloumanos et al., 2010; Vouloumanos & Werker, 2004), such that 111 comparisons are often done using the demonstrably problematic method of stating "there is 112 a difference here but not there, therefore there is an interaction" (REF). 113

114 A meta-analytic approach

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In sum, previous work on infants' preferences is broadly compatible with preference for natural over artificial, vocal over non-vocal, and familiar over unfamiliar sounds, potentially interacting with infants' age. Some key predictions are unfortunately missing, including the effect of familiarity and the potential interactions with age. In this paper, we seek to shed light on these gaps by employing a meta-analytic approach.

Meta-analyses offer a way to test the effect of factors that are not part of the original 120 design, by redescribing the stimuli used as a function of those factors and thus combining 121 individual studies that tested different stimuli from a common category (e.g., natural 122 sounds). Meta-analyses may also be able to reveal small effects not obvious in smaller 123 studies because they can be based on combined, and therefore larger, samples. Additionally, 124 by merging across studies carried out by different researchers and in different laboratories, 125 they provide statistical evidence of how much we can trust that the results will replicate to new samples tested elsewhere: If an effect emerges in this combined dataset, it is more likely 127 to be a replicable one that different labs can find. Finally, meta-analyses offers tools to 128 detect publication bias in the literature, providing an index of to what extent global results 129 are trustworthy. 130

More specifically in the present case, a meta-analysis allows to draw a developmental 131 timeline across the age range covered by the literature, and statistically test how the different 132 factors discussed in different individual studies interact with age in ways that individual 133 studies on speech preference have not yet done. Importantly, previous meta-analyses in 134 infant perception have provided important theoretical and empirical insights that 135 contradicted qualitative reviews. For example, it has been proposed that infants' preference 136 for novel or familiar items related to infants' age such that, all things equal, younger infants 137 showed familiarity preferences whereas older infants exhibited novelty preferences (Hunter & 138 Ames, 1988). However, Bergmann and Cristia (2016?) found stable familiarity preferences 139 for word segmentation in natural speech across the first two years; and Black and Bergmann 140 (2016) found a stable novelty effect for artificial grammars implemented in synthesized 141 speech and a stable familiarity effect for those implemented in natural speech. Meta-analysis are therefore important to statistically and systematically test the theoretical predictions proposed in qualitative reviews. However, meta-analyses have an important limitation we should bear in mind. To begin with, we combine studies with different experimental designs 145 together, which does not allow us to isolate specific variables as well as direct 146 experimentation does. As a result, one can use them to focus on common factors between studies, but may miss subtle effects that require such experimental isolation. Given the 148 scarcity of direct evidence on the potential explanations laid out above (naturalness, vocal 149 quality, and familiarity, as a function of age), we conducted a meta-analysis to test whether 150 infants' preference for speech sounds over other types of sounds is stable in newborns, and 151 how it develops over the first year of life. Based on previous individual studies, we predicted 152 that infants will show (see Figure 2): 1. a preference for speech over artificial sounds that 153 was stable over development; 2. a greater preference for speech over other vocal sounds as a 154 function of age; 3. a greater preference for native speech over foils as a function of age, 155 whereas the opposite will take place for foreign speech. 156

In addition, since we were engaging in a systematic review for this meta-analysis, we

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decided to also include neuroimaging and electrophysiological studies. Although these
studies can sometimes shed light on functional specialization, they are often used as proxies
for the depth of treatment of information, and can thus provide indirect evidence on the
perceptual basis for a preference. Put otherwise, if we find a difference in the neural bases, it
is possible that a preference would be observed were infants of the same age tested with the
same stimuli in a behavioral preference setup. In contrast, if there is no difference in
processing at all, it seems unlikely that a preference could emerge.

165 Methods

To ensure quality, we followed recommendations from the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA; Moher et al., 2009). The PRISMA checklist and flowchart as well as other information can be found on the online supplementary materials (Anonymized, 2019).

170 Literature search

The information sources used to compose the initial list included suggestions by
experts (authors of this work); two google scholar searches (" ("speech preference" OR
"own-species vocalization") AND infant", and "("speech preference" OR "own-species
vocalization") AND infant - "infant-directed" ") complemented with the same searches in
PubMed and PsycInfo; and a google alert, as well as inspection of the reference lists of all
full included papers.

177 Inclusion criteria

After a first screening based on titles and abstracts using more liberal inclusion criteria,
we decided on inclusion based on full paper reading as follows. We included studies that

tested human infants from birth to 1 year of age, and contrasted speech sounds with any 180 other type of sound, measuring behavioral (e.g., looking times) or neurophysiological 181 responses to the sounds (EEG, fNIRS, fMRI, MEG). We excluded studies that only 182 contrasted foreign against native language, did not present natural speech sounds at all, 183 presented speech in the mother's voice, or intentionally mixed speech with other vocal 184 sounds within the same sound condition. We included published (i.e., journal articles) as 185 well as unpublished works (i.e., doctoral dissertations as long as sufficient information was 186 provided). A PRISMA flow chart summarizes the literature review and selection process 187 (Figure 3). We documented all the studies that we inspected in a decision spreadsheet 188 (available in the online supplementary materials; Anonymized, 2019). 189

[Insert Figure 3 here]

191 Coding

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The full list of the variables coded is available in the supplementary material. 192 Important to the present project are infant age, methodological variables (testing method: 193 central fixation, head-turn preference procedure, high amplitude sucking/passive listening), 194 and key stimuli characteristics. Specifically, we coded the language in which the speech 195 sounds were recorded (native or foreign language), and natural, vocal for the sound opposed 196 to speech. A sound was coded as natural if it was produced by a biological organism without 197 any further acoustic manipulation. If the authors applied acoustic manipulations it was 198 coded as artificial. A sound was considered as vocal if it was produced by an animal vocal 190 tract, either original or modified. 200

Data were coded by the first author. In addition, 20% of the papers were selected to be coded by the second author independently, with disagreements resolved by discussion. There were 10 disagreements out of a total of 260 fields filled in indicative of the coders not

following the codebook, which led to a revision of all data in four variables.

We coded all the statistical information reported in the included papers. If reported, we coded the mean score and the standard deviation for speech, and the other sound separately.
When individual data was provided, we recomputed the respective mean scores and standard deviations based on the reported individual scores. If reported, we also coded the t-statistic between the two sound conditions, or an F-statistic provided this was a two-way comparison.

If effect sizes were directly reported as a Cohen's d or a Hedges' g, we also coded this.

It was not feasible to code risk at the level of papers, since in this literature there are no cases of conflict of interest that are as easily discovered as in the medical literature.

Statistical analysis

Individual effect sizes. Once the data were coded, we computed individual effect 214 sizes (Cohen's d) that were not directly reported in the papers, along with their respective 215 variance. We first computed the correlation between the two measurements (e.g. looking 216 time during speech and during monkey calls). We computed this correlation based on the 217 t-statistic, the respective means and SDs (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) if they were all reported. 218 If not, we imputed this correlation randomly. We computed effect size using the respective 219 means and SDs (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). If they were not reported, we computed effect size 220 based on t- or F-statistic (Dunlap et al., 1996). We finally calculated the variance of each 221 effect size (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001)... 222

Effect sizes were first computed as Cohen's d, and then transformed to Hedges' g by multiplying d by a correction based on the degree of freedom (REF). The R code used to calculate effect sizes is available in the online supplementary materials (Anonymized, 2019). Meta-analytic models. We first estimated the global effect size in this literature
by fitting a meta-analytic regression without any moderator using the R package
Robumeta(REF). Next, we used the R package Robumeta (REF) to fit meta-analytic
regressions that take into account the hierarchical structure of the data, including effect sizes
possibly obtained from the same infants groups within papers. We specified the following
moderators:

- mean age of children;
- experimental method (Central fixation, Head-turn Preference Procedure, High

 Amplitude Sucking/Passive Listening);
- familiarity with the language used (native or foreign);
- naturalness of the contrastive sound (coded as yes if it was natural and no otherwise).
- vocalness of the contrastive sound (coded as yes if it was vocal and no otherwise).
- interactions with age for familiarity, naturalness, and vocalness.

We did not center age. Centering age makes the intercept (global effect size)

correspond to the mean age of the dataset, which would be preferable in datasets where age

does not vary much or is not a crucial moderator. However, inspection of our predictions in

Figure 1 reveals that we have clear expectations regarding main effects and interactions

which are best reflected if age is not centered. The intercept (global effect size) in this model

therefore corresponds to the preference found when age is zero.

```
## RVE: Correlated Effects Model with Small-Sample Corrections
##

## Model: g_calc ~ 1

## Number of studies = 24

## Number of outcomes = 33 (min = 1 , mean = 1.38 , median = 1 , max = 2 )
## Rho = 0.8
```

```
## I.sq = 82.12663
   ## Tau.sq = 0.181889
253
   ##
254
                      Estimate StdErr t-value dfs
                                                       P(|t|>) 95% CI.L 95% CI.U
   ##
255
   ## 1 X.Intercept.
                         0.533 0.0944
                                       5.65 22.1 0.0000109
                                                                  0.338
                                                                            0.729
256
   ##
        Sig
257
   ## 1 ***
258
   ## ---
259
   ## Signif. codes: < .01 *** < .05 ** < .10 *
260
   ## ---
261
   ## Note: If df < 4, do not trust the results
   ## RVE: Correlated Effects Model with Small-Sample Corrections
263
   ##
264
   ## Model: g calc ~ test lang + natural + vocal + mean age 1
265
   ##
266
   ## Number of studies = 24
267
   ## Number of outcomes = 33 (min = 1 , mean = 1.38 , median = 1 , max = 2 )
268
   ## Rho = 0.8
269
   ## I.sq = 84.11763
270
   ## Tau.sq = 0.2477524
271
   ##
272
   ##
                       Estimate StdErr t-value dfs P(|t|>) 95% CI.L 95% CI.U
273
   ## 1 X.Intercept. 0.484373 0.26708
                                           1.814 9.39
                                                         0.102 -0.11604 1.08479
274
   ## 2
          test_lang2 0.144745 0.23815
                                           0.608 9.55
                                                         0.558 -0.38932 0.67881
   ## 3
            natural1 -0.027090 0.26920 -0.101 9.29
                                                         0.922 -0.63319 0.57901
   ## 4
              vocal1 -0.124958 0.26881 -0.465 7.48
                                                        0.655 -0.75247 0.50256
   ## 5
          mean_age_1 0.000362 0.00107
                                           0.336 6.03
                                                         0.748 -0.00226 0.00299
```

```
##
        Sig
279
   ## 1
280
   ## 2
281
   ## 3
282
   ## 4
283
   ## 5
284
   ## ---
285
   ## Signif. codes: < .01 *** < .05 ** < .10 *
286
   ## ---
287
   ## Note: If df < 4, do not trust the results
   ## RVE: Correlated Effects Model with Small-Sample Corrections
   ##
290
   ## Model: g calc ~ test lang + natural * mean age 1
291
   ##
292
   ## Number of studies = 24
293
   ## Number of outcomes = 33 (min = 1 , mean = 1.38 , median = 1 , max = 2 )
294
   ## Rho = 0.8
295
   ## I.sq = 82.82689
296
   ## Tau.sq = 0.2306731
297
   ##
298
   ##
                               Estimate
                                         StdErr t-value dfs P(|t|>) 95% CI.L
299
   ## 1
                X.Intercept.
                              0.519442 0.42368 1.2260 9.32
                                                                 0.250
                                                                        -0.4339
                  test_lang2  0.123769  0.26747  0.4627  6.20
   ## 2
                                                                0.659
                                                                        -0.5256
301
   ## 3
                    natural1 -0.125381 0.36870 -0.3401 9.60
                                                                0.741
                                                                         -0.9516
   ## 4
                  mean_age_1 -0.000193 0.00422 -0.0457 3.82
                                                                0.966
                                                                        -0.0121
303
   ## 5 natural1.mean_age_1 0.000443 0.00409 0.1083 4.64 0.918 -0.0103
304
   ##
        95% CI.U Sig
305
```

```
## 1
           1.4728
   ## 2
           0.7731
307
   ## 3
           0.7009
308
   ## 4
           0.0117
309
   ## 5
           0.0112
310
   ## ---
311
   ## Signif. codes: < .01 *** < .05 ** < .10 *
312
   ## ---
313
   ## Note: If df < 4, do not trust the results
314
   ## RVE: Correlated Effects Model with Small-Sample Corrections
315
   ##
316
   ## Model: g_calc ~ test_lang + vocal * mean_age_1
317
   ##
318
   ## Number of studies = 24
319
   ## Number of outcomes = 33 (min = 1 , mean = 1.38 , median = 1 , max = 2 )
320
   ## Rho = 0.8
321
   ## I.sq = 82.58228
322
   ## Tau.sq = 0.231024
323
   ##
324
   ##
                             Estimate StdErr t-value
                                                          dfs P(|t|>) 95% CI.L
325
   ## 1
              X.Intercept.
                             0.545283 0.33241 1.6404 12.86
                                                                 0.125 -0.17366
326
   ## 2
                test lang2 0.096660 0.21851 0.4424 7.72
                                                                 0.670 - 0.41039
327
                    vocal1 -0.204788 0.30774 -0.6655
                                                                 0.522 -0.89884
   ## 3
                                                        9.18
328
   ## 4
                mean_age_1 -0.000177 0.00400 -0.0442 4.32
                                                                 0.967 - 0.01097
   ## 5 vocal1.mean_age_1 0.000671 0.00402 0.1671 6.03
                                                                 0.873 -0.00915
330
         95% CI.U Sig
331
   ##
   ## 1
           1.2642
332
```

```
<sup>333</sup> ## 2 0.6037
```

³³⁴ ## 3 0.4893

335 **##** 4 0.0106

336 **##** 5 0.0105

337 ## ---

338 ## Signif. codes: < .01 *** < .05 ** < .10 *

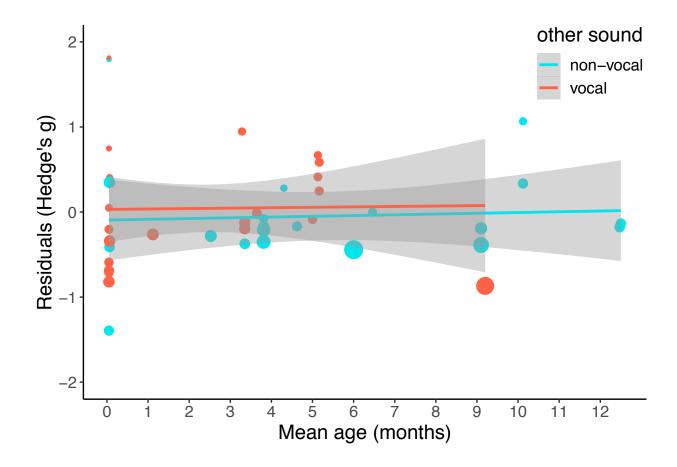
339 ## ---

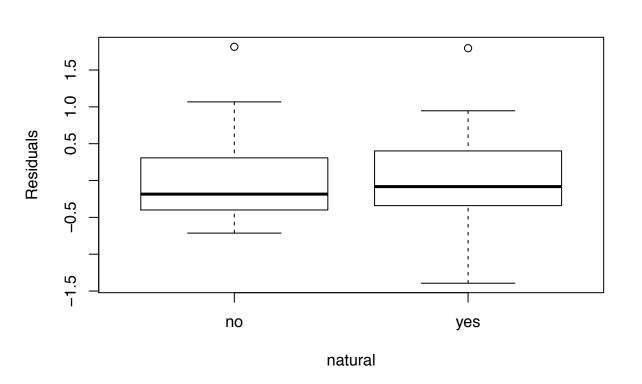
 $_{\rm 340}$ ## Note: If df < 4, do not trust the results

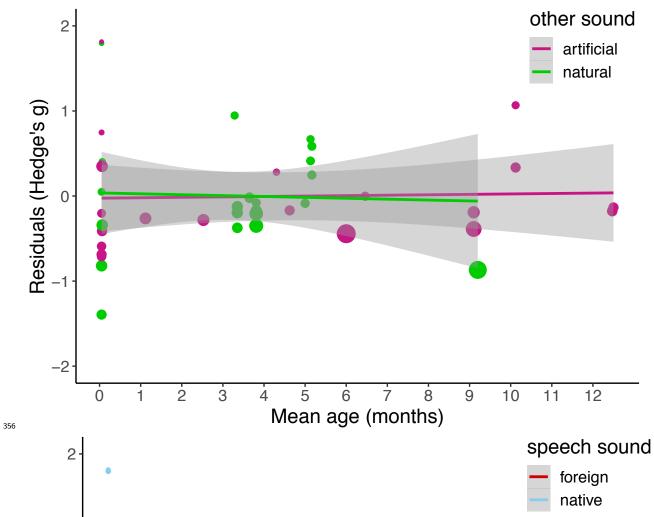
341 ##

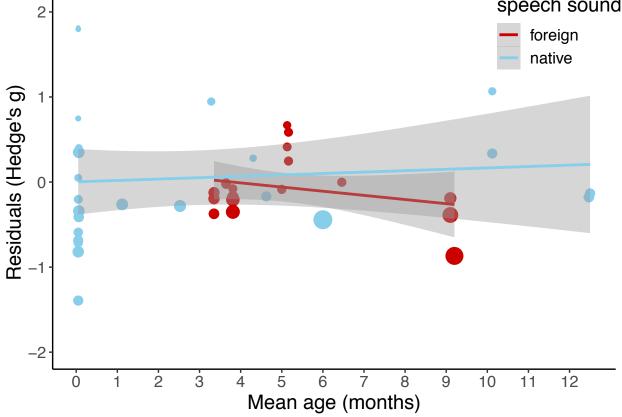
342	##	backward	BPfiltered	com_voc	duck_calls	environmental
343	##	1	2	2	2	3
344	##	heartbeat	heartspeech	HPfiltered	LPfiltered	monkey_calls
345	##	2	2	2	4	8
346	##	non-com_voc	SWS	water	white_noise	
347	##	2	10	2	2	

environmental	duck_calls	com_voc	BPfiltered	backward	##	348
0.3417130	1.2679526	0.5865361	0.3752124	0.9763799	##	349
monkey_calls	LPfiltered	HPfiltered	heartspeech	heartbeat	##	350
0.5929016	0.4498268	0.8368939	1.4322917	1.0213172	##	351
	white_noise	water	SWS	non-com_voc	##	352
	1.3149655	0.4980923	0.3580550	0.5732263	##	353









358 ### Publication bias

We assessed the presence of a potential publication bias in the body of literature by symmetrizing the funnel plot with the "trim and fill" method (Duval, 2005). To do so, we needed to use the simplest regression, without any moderators. We tested the asymmetry of the funnel plot by regressing effect size as a function of effect size standard error and running a Kendall's tau rank test.

Results

Database description

We found a total of 28 papers reporting 47 (not mutually independent) effect sizes, see 366 Table 1. All of them have been submitted to or published in peer-reviewed journals. Studies 367 tended to have small sample sizes, with a median N of 16 children (Range = 52, M = 20.66, 368 Total: 659). Infants ranged from 0 to 12 months (1.50 to 380.50 days). Individual samples 369 comprised 48 % of female participants on average. Infants were native of 7 different 370 languages across the whole database (English, French, Japanese, Italian, Russian, Yiddish, 371 Hebrew). Studies were performed in 13 different laboratories from 6 different countries 372 (United States, Canada, Israel, France, Japan, Italy). 3 experimental methods were used: 11 373 studies used Passive Listening (PL) with neuro-imaging, with 8 studies using Near-Infrared 374 Spectroscopy (NIRS), and 3 studies using fMRI; 12 studies used Central Fixation (CF); 3 375 used High-Amplitude Sucking (HAS); and 1 used Head-turn Preference Procedure (HPP). 376

$_{ m 377}$ Summary effect size

378

We found a mean weighted effect size g = 0.53 (SE = 0.09 CI = [0.34, 0.73]).

79 Publication bias

Evidence of bias at level of papers Evidence of bias at level of literature

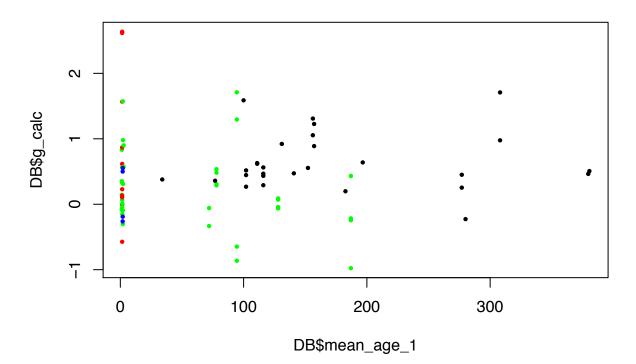
```
## pdf
## 2

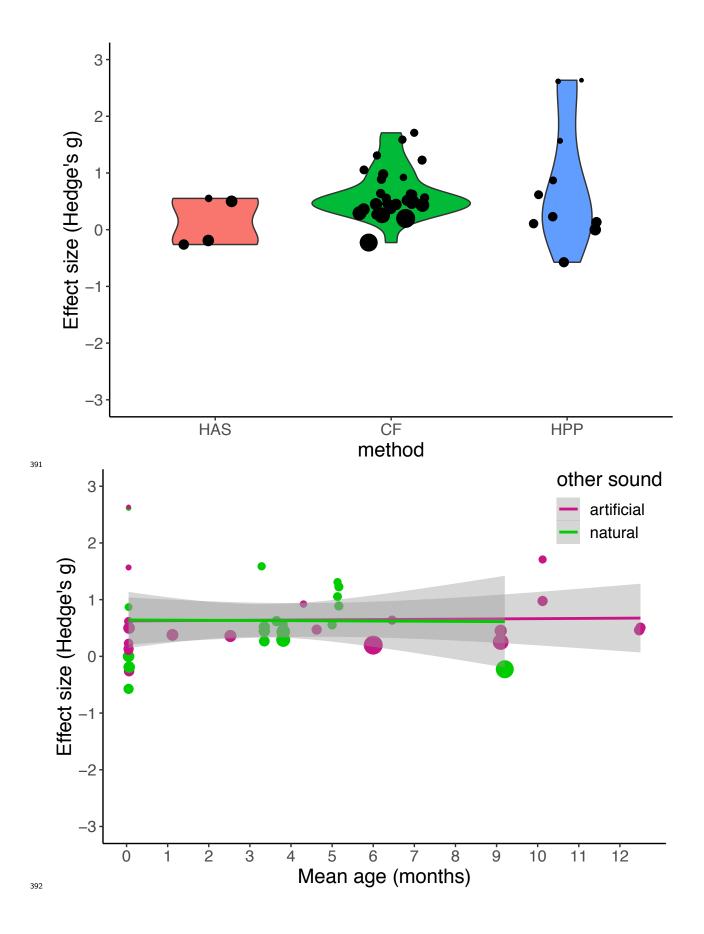
## 2

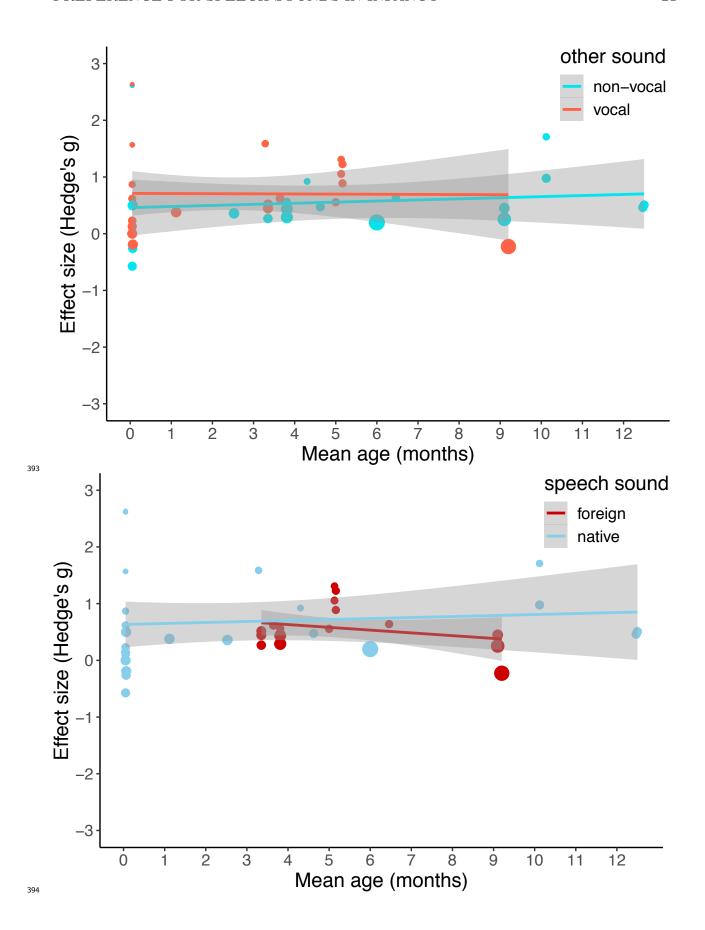
## Rank Correlation Test for Funnel Plot Asymmetry
##
## Kendall's tau = 0.5331, p < .0001
```

387 Main effects

```
388 ## CF HAS HPP PL
389 ## "black" "blue" "red" "green"
```







Heterogeneity Moderators age, type & interaction

396 Discussion

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Our meta-analysis synthesizes the available literature on infants' preference for speech sound. Our results confirm those of individual studies, showing that infants reliably prefer speech over other types of sounds from birth. When all studies were considered together, we found a sizable intercept at birth. For comparison, the main effect for native vowel discrimination is estimated at XX (Tsuji & Cristia, 2013); that for preference for familiarized words in passages at XX (Bergmann & Cristia,).

A key goal was to interrogate this effect further to assess whether three potential explanations for it hold up, both at birth and with potential interactions with age: A preference for natural over artificial, vocal over non-vocal, and familiar over unfamiliar sounds. We discuss each in turn.

We reviewed evidence that the auditory system encodes better natural than artificial 407 sounds (REF), and that naturalness makes a difference for a higher-level linguistic task, 408 namely word segmentation (Black & Bergmann, 2016). In view of such results, we expected infants' speech preference to be larger when the competitor was an artificial sound than when it was a natural one. In fact, we found that naturalness alone did not significantly 411 moderate infants' preference for speech sounds. Therefore, we can confidently state that a low-level difference in processing of natural versus artificial sounds is unlikely to explain 413 away speech preference. speech triggers different cognitive mechanisms than other sounds. 414 Not incompatible as in this meta-analysis natural speech stimuli when contrasted to only 415 synthetic speech. We don't know if infants would have been able to find "words" with 416 natural sounds other than syllables (i.e. frequent sequences of several natural sounds). 417

Some previous work had found a preference for speech over other natural sounds,

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which may have been indicative of a preference for vocal sounds. If so, one would have
expected greater speech preferences when the competitor was non-vocal than when it was a
vocal sound. Our meta-analytic regression, however, revealed no significant difference
between these two contrasts.

Do infants show a greater preference for speech when the speech stimuli are in their native language, than when they are in a foreign language? For this factor as well, we could not disprove the null hypothesis of no difference, with widely overlapping distributions of effect sizes for studies using native as opposed to foreign speech stimuli (controlling for the competitor via the other factors discussed above).

We hypothesized age to play a major role, not only because it was correlated with experiences that are crucial for the formation of categories underlying some of the factors above (e.g., vocalness, nativeness), but also because it may correlate with a reshaping of the category definition for speech itself. Indeed, studies comparing processing of human speech against human non-speech as well as animal vocalizations more generally (REF, REF) often discuss these age-related differences in categorization of these sounds. Surprisingly, age did not significantly moderate the overall preference for speech, and it did not interact with the other three factors.

There are at least two potential interpretations of the overall pattern of results. One of
them is that, from birth and regardless of changes co-occurring with age, infants show a
preference for speech, which cannot be reduced to three simpler explanations: naturalness,
vocalness, or familiarity (represented here by the native/foreign contrast). There exists one
simple explanation that we could not test here because there were not enough studies with
appropriate conditions, and that is the possibility that infants prefer speech because of its
complex acoustic structure and fast transitions. To explore this explanation, it would be
ideal to carry out acoustic analyses of the actual stimuli used in the studies. Thus, we
recommend interested researchers to gather more data in which the competitor is

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acoustically simple versus complex; and to deposit the actual stimuli in a public archive such as the Open Science Framework (REF). It would also be important to carry out more tests on infants older than 9 months. Language production gains in complexity at about this age REF, and it is possible that this would affect infants' speech preference. We particularly recommend using as competitor natural vocal stimuli, and as target foreign speech, which would help fill in an important gap in our dataset.

 $_{452}$ For interested readers who intend to collect such data, we recommend caution when design

More data in general would be helpful also in view of the second potential interpretation

455 Given the crucial importance of understanding infants' speech preference, we make the fo

Infants' preference for speech is a fascinating phenomenon. Beyond the human species, 456 the capacity to recognize signals from conspecifics might be crucial for survival and it may 457 be present in other social species (e.g. mice, or great apes). To our knowledge, such studies 458 have not been carried out, but we hope they are in the future. More specific to our species, 450 preferential processing of speech may support higher level cognitive tasks, such as 460 categorization (Waxman, 1997; 2007; 2010, Ferry). And the preference itself may be a 461 meaningful index of processing that can be used to identify children at risk REF. For all of 462 these reasons, it is important to take stock of what we know today. Our meta-analysis 463 compiled public results on this key phenomenon, establishing that there is a small to 464 medium effect size associated with it. This preference was not modulated by age, nor three 465 characteristics of the stimuli employed (whether the speech was native or foreign; whether 466 the competitor was natural or artificial, vocal or non-vocal). The analyses also suggested 467 publication bias, for which recommendations were made for researchers, reviewers, and 468 editors.

Forest plot of effect sizes

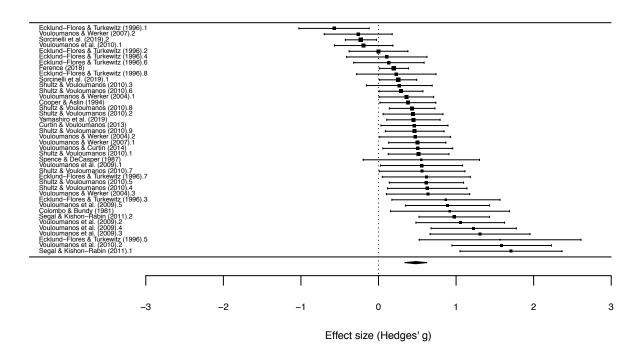


Figure 1

Funnel plot speech preference

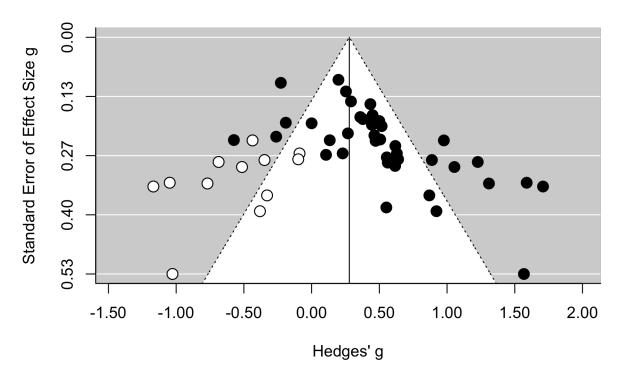


Figure 2 (# fig:publication bias)