Functional dissociation of the language network and other cognition in early childhood

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Author Contributions: K.H.: conceptualization, formal analysis, methodology, writing-original

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Competing Interest Statement: The authors declare no competing financial interests.

Abstract

Is language distinct from other cognition during development? Does neural machinery for

language emerge from general-purpose neural mechanisms, becoming tuned for language after

years of experience and maturation? Answering these questions will shed light on the origins of

domain-specificity in the brain. We address these questions using precision fMRI and found

young children (35 months-9 years) show domain-specific, left-lateralized language activation,

and the language network is not responsive to domain-general cognitive load. Additionally, the

cortically adjacent multiple demand network is selective to cognitive load, but not to language.

These networks show higher within vs. between-network functional connectivity. This

connectivity is stable across ages (examined cross-sectionally and longitudinally), whereas

language responses increase with age and across-time within subject, reflecting a domain-

specific developmental change. Overall, these findings suggest that domain-specificity, even for

uniquely human cognition like language, develops early and distinctly from mechanisms that

presumably support other human cognition.

Significance Statement

This study provides evidence of a double dissociation between neural processors for language

and domain-general cognition (specifically, cognitive load) in young children. These results

refute previous claims that linguistic function emerges from domain-general mechanisms

supporting non-linguistic, higher-order cognition, and with both cross-sectional and longitudinal

analyses, show that the continued development of linguistic specialization is also unrelated to

domain-general mechanisms that support cognitive flexibility and executive function. This work

emphasizes the importance of single-subject fMRI analyses with multiple tasks to explicitly

dissociate cognitive constructs, and the importance of longitudinal research for scientific rigor,

even in toddlers and preschoolers who are difficult to image with fMRI.

Introduction

A domain-specific network of brain regions support language, a uniquely human

cognitive skill; remarkably, language develops naturally through exposure, without requiring

explicit training or formal education in the first few years of life (Lenneberg, 1967; Sharp &

Hillenbrand, 2008). How does a child's brain support this early language acquisition? Perhaps

language skills develop via the same domain-general cognitive processes that support other

cognitive skills, and therefore, the language network may initially show sensitivity to other, more

general cognitive skills. Alternatively, young children's language networks may show early

specialization for language, suggesting domain-specificity even for uniquely human cognition

like language.

Prior work in adults demonstrates that high-level language is dissociable from other

cognitive processes. Language function is supported by a domain-specific, left-lateralized,

frontotemporal language network (Fedorenko et al., 2010, 2011; Ojemann, 1991; Vigneau et al.,

2006), that is *selective* for the semantic and syntactic properties of language (Fedorenko et al.,

2010). The language network is domain *specific*; it does not respond to other higher-order

cognitive skills. These skills, like performing arithmetic, cognitive control, or working memory,

are recruited by the cortically adjacent, domain-general fronto-parietal multiple demand (MD)

network (Duncan, 2010; Fedorenko et al., 2013). The MD network responds to a variety of tasks

when contrasting a more cognitively demanding condition with a less demanding condition

(Hard vs. Easy task effect; cognitive load). In adults, these two networks are distinct in both their

function and connections (Blank et al., 2014; Fedorenko et al., 2011, 2012). Similar patterns of

activation and connectivity profiles during development would suggest that language is distinct

from other cognition, or at least recruits different neural mechanisms. Is the language network

already dissociated from domain-general cortex in young children who are still developing both

domain-specific language and domain-general cognitive abilities?

If these two networks are not dissociable, but instead entangled early in development, it

may suggest that the origins of domain-specificity in the brain are a result of early scaffolding by

generalized mechanisms (Karmiloff-Smith, 2015). Perhaps the mechanisms necessary for the

brain to gain increasing specialization for processing language are not so different from other

types of complex mental operations (e.g., holding items in memory (Hamrick et al., 2018;

Ullman, 2004) or performing arithmetic) which recruit domain-general cognitive processes with

increasing task demand, or perhaps executive control may help bootstrap language learning by

supporting alternative processing mechanisms or management strategies (Edgin et al., 2015;

Saffran & Thiessen, 2007). Indeed, some behavioral work suggests that domain-general skills,

such as attention, play a role in typical language development (Miller, 2006; West et al., 2021),

but this has not been fully explored in the developing brain. No prior work has yet explored this

question of double dissociation of language and domain-general cortex in young children and

their continued development.

Previous studies have investigated the development language network on its own in

children using task-based fMRI; however, results are discordant. Language network development

in school-age and older children show activation in traditional perisylvian language regions

(Enge et al., 2020; Weiss-Croft & Baldeweg, 2015) with increasing activation in the left

hemisphere (LH) with age (Weiss-Croft & Baldeweg, 2015), but it is unclear whether temporal

language regions emerge first (during early childhood at ages 5-7) (Berl et al., 2014; Weiss et al.,

2018), and frontal regions develop later (after 7-10 years of age, Berl et al., 2014; Wang et al.,

2021); or if both frontal and temporal language network activation emerges in early childhood,

with a systematic decline in right hemisphere (RH) language selectivity with age (Olulade et al.,

2020).

These discordant results may be due to confounds of task diffulty and/or lack of spatial

precision when defining the language network. Task performance, particularly in expressive

language studies, may confound results due to age-related general effects on performance .

Additionally, given that the precise location of these language regions can vary across subjects

(Amunts et al., 1999; Juch et al., 2005; Tomaiuolo et al., 1999), the boundaries between language

and cortically adjacent domain-general cortex may have been blurred in previous work using

group-level regional masks, leading to uncertainty about whether language cortex is continuing

to develop. Therefore, it is important to either account for task performance during expressive

tasks or use a passive language task for children, with stimuli that are semantically meaningful

and have rich syntactic structure. Additionally, it is important to use subject-specific functional

regions of interest (as demonstrated in e.g., Fedorenko et al., 2012) that account for between

subject variability in functional organization (Gratton et al., 2018) when examining the

dissociation between language and spatially-adjacent domain-general cortex.

Identifying the developmental dissociation of language cortex from domain-general

regions will help us better understand the origins of the neural mechanisms that underlie unique

human knowledge. If language cortex initially shows little selectivity to linguistic content but

engages in other cognition such as working memory and continues to refine over time (e.g.,

becoming less engaged in working memory while gaining linguistic selectivity), then domain-

general processes may bootstrap the development of uniquely human cognitive skills like

language (i.e., the language system may emerge through the same domain-general skills applied

in other contexts; McMullen & Saffran, 2004; Rakison & Yermolayeva, 2011; Saffran &

Thiessen, 2007). Alternatively, domain-general cortex may represent multiple domains (i.e.,

language, working memory, cognitive demand, etc.) early in development, so that it can serve a

general purpose during adulthood (i.e., MD cortex in young children would support both

working memory and linguistic content). In either case, it would be of interest to know whether

the mechanisms that support these two seemingly discrete processes overlap during childhood. If

we observe that the language network is domain-specific (selective only for linguistic processing

but not cognitive load), the MD network is domain-general (selective to cognitive load but not

responsive to linguistic properties), that these networks are also differentiated in their

connectivity, and that they develop independently of one another, this would support a third

hypothesis: there is a (possibly) innate proto-organization of domain-specificity in the brain.

Here we investigate the development of the canonical high-level language network and

its differentiation from domain-general cortex in a group of young children ages 35 months to 9

years of age. We leverage individual subject data on two separate fMRI tasks, use single-subject

fROIs defined in native anatomy, to account for variability in the precise location of these

regions (Fedorenko et al., 2010, 2013), and directly compare linguistic and nonlinguistic

activation in the same subjects. We also examine the within- and between-network resting-state

connectivity of the language vs. MD fROIs. We assess any age-related changes in linguistic

selectivity and connectivity both cross-sectionally and longitudinally in a subset of participants.

Results

Is the high-level language network already selective for linguistic content in young children?

To visualize overlap of language activation in our sample (see three example subjects in

Figure 1A), we first created probabilistic atlases (**Figure 1B**). We defined language activation

using the contrast of meaningful Sentences > Nonsense sentences (Sn>Ns) which defines high-

level language cortex by controlling for the rhythm and prosody of human speech. This

probabilistic atlas revealed language activation across specific regions within left-hemispheric

temporal and frontal cortices. While there was large variability across individuals (highlighting

the need for individual-subject definitions of fROIs in this literature), there was still substantial

overlap of language activation within the left temporal regions, and moderate overlap in left

frontal regions, across subjects. Right-hemispheric activation was less prominent, with modest

overlapping activation in the right temporal regions and no right frontal regions survived

thresholding. Language activation fell within the expected frontotemporal regions suggesting

that the child language network falls largely within search spaces (black outlines, **Figure 1A**)

defined and used in adult studies of the language network.

Figure 1. *Selectivity of the high-level language network. A. Activation to Sn>Ns in the*

left hemisphere for example subjects (thresholded at $P_{uncorrected} < 0.005$). Black outlines

show search spaces for the five language regions registered to the example participant

brain and used for creating fROIs. B. Probabilistic atlas showing common activation

(Sentences>Nonsense sentences) during both runs of the language task (z > 2.58) in at

least 5 (11%) participants and a maximum of 10 (22%) participants. C. Mean percent

signal change to all language task conditions in whole sample (N=45). Inset shows

parcel search spaces used for created fROIs. Asterisks indicate level of significance (two-

tailed, paired t-test, *p<0.05, **Bonferroni-Holm p < 0.05, corrected for 10

comparisons within hemisphere). Error bars denote standard error. Individual subject

data points shown with hollow grey circles.

Next, we quantitatively examined the selectivity of the language network. We compared

the responses of subject-specific language fROIs (5 bilateral regions) to each condition of the

language task (meaningful Sentences, meaningless Nonsense sentences, and Texturized sound

controlling for low-level auditory features) using a repeated-measures ANOVA (rmANOVA) of

condition by fROI. For all rmANOVAs, Greenhouse-Geisser corrected p-values are listed when

appropriate; uncorrected p-values are listed for post-hoc comparisons and survive Bonferroni-

Holm multiple-comparison correction unless otherwise noted. In the LH, we observed a

significant main effect of fROI ($F(4,164)=7.11$, $p=2.66\text{x}10^{-5}$, $\eta^2=0.028$), condition

($F(2,82)=12.49$, $p=1.84\text{x}10^{-5}$, $\eta^2=0.064$) and a significant fROI by condition interaction

($F(5.57,228.57)=2.86$, $p=0.012$, $\eta^2=0.007$), such that all LH fROIs were significantly more

responsive to Sentences than both control conditions (vs Ns all p<0.05, and vs. Textured sound

or Tx: all p<0.05, as revealed by follow-up paired t-tests, see **Figure 1C, Table 1**). In the right

hemisphere (RH), we again see a significant main effect of condition ($F(2,76)=8.90$, $p=3.39\text{x}10^{-}$

^{4}, $\eta^2=0.062$; no significant fROI effect: $F(3.17,120.27)=2.56$, $p=0.055$, $\eta^2=0.018$) and an fROI by

condition interaction ($F(5.17,196.55)=3.16$, $p=0.0080$, $\eta^2=0.009$), such that all RH fROIs were

significantly more responsive to Sentences than Nonsense and Textured Sound (except the right

inferior frontal, most comparisons surviving correction, see **Table 1**). While we observe

selectivity to linguistic content in fROIs of both hemispheres, given the language network is

characteristically left-lateralized, next we formally compared language selectivity across

hemispheres. We found a main effect of both fROI (F(2.82,106.98)=4.12, p=0.010, η^2=0.023)

and hemisphere (F(1,38)=5.77, p=0.021, η^2=0.014; no significant interaction:

F(3.14,119.31)=0.54, p=0.66, η^2=0.002), such that selectivity of the LH fROIs were significantly

higher than the RH (averaged selectivity across fROIs: t(38)=2.40, p=0.021, d=0.38). Overall,

we find evidence of a left-lateralized language network that is selective to linguistic content in a

young sample of children.

	Sentences vs. Nonsense			*Sentences vs. Texturized*		
LH	*t*(df)	*p*	*d*	*t*(df)	*p*	*d*
Posterior Temporal	$t(41)=4.98$	1.12×10^{-5}**	0.77	$t(41)=3.31$	0.003**	0.48
Superior Temporal	$t(41)=4.74$	2.54×10^{-5}**	0.73	$t(41)=5.17$	1.80×10^{-6}**	0.86
Inferior Frontal	$t(41)=2.85$	0.007**	0.44	$t(41)=3.53$	0.001**	0.54
Middle Frontal	$t(41)=2.66$	0.011**	0.41	$t(41)=3.88$	3.72×10^{-4}**	0.60
Orbital Inferior Frontal	$t(41)=2.40$	0.021**	0.37	$t(41)=2.72$	0.010**	0.42
RH	*t*(df)	*p*	*d*	*t*(df)	*p*	*d*
Posterior Temporal	$t(38)=3.45$	0.0010**	0.55	$t(38)=2.29$	0.028*	0.37
Superior Temporal	$t(38)=5.15$	8.26×10^{-6}**	0.82	$t(38)=5.97$	6.16×10^{-7}**	0.96
Inferior Frontal	$t(38)=3.28$	0.0020**	0.52	$t(38)=1.93$	0.061	0.31
Middle Frontal	*t(38)*=2.09	0.043*	0.34	$t(38)=2.11$	0.041*	0.34
Orbital Inferior Frontal	$t(38)=3.35$	0.0020**	0.54	$t(38)=2.34$	0.023*	0.38

Table 1: Selectivity of language network fROIs. Two-tailed, paired t-tests comparing the

Sentences condition to control conditions (Nonsense sentences and Texturized sound),

following significant condition by fROI interaction in rmANOVA. T value, significance,

and Cohen's D effect sizes listed. *p < 0.05, **Bonferroni-Holm p < 0.05, corrected for

10 comparisons within hemisphere).

Does the selectivity of the language network change with age?

To examine age-related changes in language selectivity, we repeated the

rmANOVA of experimental conditions by fROI, adding age as a covariate

(rmANCOVA). Replicating the results from above, we found a main effect of condition

(LH: $F(3.35, 133.97)=7.21$, $p=8.52 \times 10^{-5}$, $\eta^2=0.030$), fROI (LH: $F(2,80)=13.85$,

$p=6.86 \times 10^{-6}$, $\eta^2=0.068$), and condition by fROI interaction (LH: $F(5.52,220.64)=2.84$,

$p=0.013$, $\eta^2=0.007$), but importantly we also observed an age by condition interaction

(LH: $F(2,80)=5.45$, $p=0.006$, $\eta^2=0.028$). Post-hoc analyses showed that the LH fROIs

responses increase with age specifically for the Sentences condition (averaged PSC

across fROIs; $r(40)=0.40$, $p=0.0090$; partial correlation controlling for motion:

$r(40)=0.40$, $p=0.010$), but not in responses to either control condition (Ns: $r(40)= 0.081$,

$p=0.61$, partial: $r(40)=0.038$, $p=0.811$; Tx: $r(40)=-0.0086$, $p=0.96$, partial: $r(40)=0.0018$,

$p=0.99$). We did not see a significant age by condition effect in the RH ($F(2,74)=0.67$,

$p=0.52$, $\eta^2=0.005$). Therefore, while a left-lateralized language cortex is already present

in this young sample, the left language regions continued to gain language selectivity

with age.

A subset of participants was also scanned longitudinally and therefore

completed the language task at multiple timepoints (N=23) approximately one and a half

years apart. We examined changes in selectivity of the language network across time

within each child (reliable portion of language fROIs at timepoint two were registered

back to subject space at timepoint one, see **Methods**). In a rmANOVA of condition by

timepoint by fROI, we found significant main effects of condition (LH: $F(2,32)=4.33$,

$p=0.022$, $\eta^2=0.050$) and fROI (LH: $F(4,64)=4.61$, $p=0.0020$, $\eta^2=0.047$), as well as a

condition by fROI interaction (LH: $F(8,128)=3.77$, $p=5.40\times10^{-4}$, $\eta^2=0.010$), in the LH.

Most importantly, we found a significant condition by timepoint interaction (LH:

$F(2,32)=4.30$, $p=0.022$, $\eta^2=0.02$), such that only the Sn condition significantly increased

across timepoints within subjects (post-hoc two-tailed, paired-samples t-tests: Sn:

$t(16)=3.07$, $p=0.007$), with no significant change in either control condition (Ns: $r(16)=-$

0.26, $p=0.80$, Tx: $r(16)=0.65$, $p=0.53$), aligning with our cross-sectional results. On the

RH, however, while we found a significant main effect of fROI ($F(4,60)=5.86$,

$p=4.78\times10^{-4}$, $\eta^2=0.081$) and condition by fROI interaction ($F(4.28,64.20)=3.44$, $p=0.011$

$\eta^2=0.012$), there was no significant timepoint by condition interaction ($F(2,74)=0.67$,

$p=0.52$, $\eta^2=0.005$) or main effect of condition ($F(1.45,21.77)=2.33$, $p=0.13$, $\eta2= 0.019$).

Taken together, both cross-sectional and longitudinal results suggest that the age-

dependent increases in LH language selectivity were likely due to an increased response

to linguistic content rather than a decreased response to control conditions.

To ensure differences in language selectivity across time were not due to

motion, we compared the mean framewise displacement within subject, across time.

Participant motion was not significantly different from timepoint 1 to timepoint 2, (two-

tailed, paired samples t-test, $t(22)=1.81$, $p=0.085$, $d=0.38$); therefore, it is unlikely that

motion explains the increase to linguistic content over time.

Is the high-level language network specific for linguistic content and differentiated from domain-

general cortex?

After demonstrating selectivity of the language network of young children, we examined

the *functional specificity* of these early-developed language regions by comparing the same

children's activation to a spatial working memory task's Hard and Easy conditions (cognitive

load, i.e., the Hard condition elicits higher engagement of the MD network, tapping the domain-

general processes (Fedorenko et al., 2013; Schettini et al., 2023). Activation maps for an

example participant illustrate the distinct responses for these two tasks, in which language

activation (Sentences > Nonsense) falls largely within the language parcel search spaces and the

working memory task (Hard > Easy) activates regions outside of this network, particularly in the

frontal and parietal lobes (**Figure 2A**).

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Figure 2: *Language and cognitive load activation in language and MD fROIs. A. Language*

(left) and cognitive load (H>E, working memory task) (right) activation for an example subject

(age 7.8 years, threshold at $P_{uncorrected} < 0.005$). Black outlines show language parcels. B. Mean

selectivity within LH and RH language fROIs for language (blue) and cognitive load (yellow). C.

Mean selectivity within LH and RH MD fROIs for cognitive load (yellow) and language (blue).

Error bars denote standard error. Individual subject data points shown with hollow grey circles

connected with grey lines. One-tailed t-test used to determine if selectivity is greater than zero;

paired samples t-tests to compare selectivity across tasks. *p<0.05.

When we formally examined these same language fROIs for selectivity to the

cognitive load during the working memory task using rmANOVA, we found a main

effect of fROI in the LH ($F(4,132)=5.52$, $p=3.86 \times 10^{-4}$, $\eta^2=0.049$), and a condition by

fROI interaction ($F(4,132)=3.25$, $p=0.014$, $\eta^2=0.003$), but no main effect of condition,

$F(1,33)=1.46$, $p=0.24$, $\eta^2=0.003$). Post-hoc t-tests revealed that the interaction effect was

driven by the left orbital inferior frontal region, in which the response to the Easy

condition was significantly higher than the Hard ($t(33)=2.05$, $p=0.049$, $d=0.35$, all other

regions $p>0.08$, see **Table 2**), which is the opposite effect that we expect from the MD

network (i.e. greater response to Hard, the more effortful condition, than Easy). There

was no evidence of selectivity to cognitive load in the RH (main effect of fROI:

$F(3.26,107.61)=2.95$, $p=0.032$, $\eta^2=0.028$; but no significant effect of condition:

$F(1,33)=1.47$, $p=0.23$, $\eta^2=0.0030$; or interaction: $F(3.23,106.75)=0.32$, $p=0.83$,

$\eta^2=0.00052$).

Hard vs. Easy	Left Hemisphere		
	t(**df**)	p	d
Posterior Temporal	$t(33)=-1.78$	0.84	-0.31
Superior Temporal	$t(33)=-1.09$	0.28	-0.19
Inferior Frontal	$t(33)=-0.16$	0.88	-0.027
Middle Frontal	$t(33)=0.35$	0.73	0.061
Orbital Inferior Frontal	$t(33)=-2.05$	0.049**	-0.35

Table 2: Specificity of language network fROIs. Note that only Left Hemisphere

responses are tested because RH rmANOVA showed no effect of condition. Two-tailed,

paired t-tests comparing responses to the Hard vs. Easy conditions (cognitive load

selectivity) in the working memory task. T value, significance, and Cohen's D effect sizes

listed. *p<0.05, ** Bonferroni-Holm p<0.05, corrected for 5 comparisons.

When directly comparing the selectivity of the language fROIs to language (Sn-Ns) and

cognitive load (Hard-Easy), we find a significant main effect of task in both hemispheres (LH:

task: $F(1,30)=14.15$, $p=7.33 \times 10^{-4}$, $\eta^2=0.15$, nonsignificant fROI: $F(4,120)=0.87$, $p=0.48$,

$\eta^2=0.005$, significant interaction: $F(4,120)=3.07$, $p=0.019$, $\eta^2=0.015$; RH: significant task:

$F(1,26)=5.00$, $p=0.034$, $\eta^2=0.082$, nonsignificant: fROI: $F(4,124)=2.33$, $p=0.06$, $\eta^2=0.010$ and

interaction $F(3.21, 99.6)=1.92$, $p=0.13$, $\eta^2=0.009$; see **Figure 2B**), such that language selectivity

is significantly higher than selectivity to cognitive load across fROIs (averaged LH fROIs:

$t(30)=3.76$, $p=7.33 \times 10^{-4}$, $d=0.68$; averaged RH fROIs: $t(31)=3.90$, $p=4.81 \times 10^{-4}$, $d=0.69$). We see

no evidence of selectivity to cognitive load in the language fROIs, and instead find evidence in

support of specificity of the language network to the properties of high-level language. Note that

for the analyses above we use all available datapoints with complete data for each analysis, but

we also ran the same analyses on a subset of children motion-matched across the tasks and

replicated the findings (dissociation between language and MD in language fROIs; see

Supplemental Results).

To ensure that the language fROIs were not lacking cognitive load selectivity

because this young sample of children had not yet developed this domain-general

response, we also defined subject-specific fROIs for the MD network (see **Methods**) and

assessed their selectivity to cognitive load . In a motion matched subset (two-tailed,

paired samples t-test of framewise displacement in language and spatial working memory

task; $t(16)=-2.07$, $p=0.055$) of subjects who completed two runs of the working memory

task and performed well (>50% accuracy on hard trials; N=17), we examined the

selectivity of the MD network (averaged across fROIs for each hemisphere) to cognitive

load using a rmANCOVA of condition (Hard, Easy) with accuracy on the Hard trials as a

covariate (see (Schettini et al., 2023)). We found a significant main effect of condition

and an interaction between condition and accuracy in both hemispheres (LH: condition:

$F(1,15)=29.38$, $p=7.09\text{x}10^{-5}$, $\eta^2=0.10$; interaction: $F(1,15)=12.47$, $p=0.0030$, $\eta^2=0.045$;

nonsignificant accuracy: $F(1,15)=0.66$, $p=0.48$, $\eta^2=0.40$; RH: condition: $F(1,15)=34.90$,

$p=2.88\text{x}10^{-4}$, $\eta^2=0.12$; interaction: $F(1,15)=4.95$, $p=0.042$, $\eta^2=0.019$; nonsignificant

accuracy: $F(1,15)=2.06$, $p=0.17$, $\eta^2=0.11$), such that the response to Hard trials was

significantly greater than Easy trials (LH: $t(16)=4.14$, $p=7.75\text{x}10^{-4}$, $d=1.00$; RH:

$t(16)=5.29$, $p=7.31\text{x}10^{-5}$, $d=1.28$), suggesting that this sample has already developed the

expected effortful response in the MD network. Further, the MD network did not show

language selectivity in either hemisphere (i.e., no significant effect of condition: LH:

$F(2,30)=0.17$, $p=0.84$, $\eta^2=0.004$; RH: $F(2,30)=0.29$, $p=0.75$, $\eta^2=0.006$; results are

unchanged when including working memory task accuracy as covariate). As expected,

the MD network is significantly more selective to cognitive load than language (ANOVA

of selectivity by task, LH: F(1,16)=5.65, p=0.03, η^2=19; RH: F(1,16)=8.37, p=0.011,

η^2=0.25; follow-up two-tailed, paired samples t-tests of selectivity to cognitive load vs

language: LH: t(16)=2.38, p=0.03; RH: t(16)=2.89, p=0.011; see **Figure 2C**). Combined

with the language network analysis above, these results suggest that language is

functionally dissociated from domain-general processes that recruit the MD network.

Finally, if there was a progressive change between the language network's sensitivity to

language and cognitive load across development (see example subjects' activation at two

timepoints **Figure 3A**), we might expect the language network's responses to the linguistic and

the working memory task to be related. However, there was not a systematic shift in which

language activation increased as cognitive load responses decreased; instead language and

selectivity to cognitive load in the language fROIs were not correlated (LH: r(34)=-0.081,

p=0.64; RH: r(34)=0.034, p=0.85) in the cross-sectional sample. These findings did not change

when controlling for age (partial correlations; LH: r(33)=0.012, p=0.95; RH: r(33)=0.044,

p=0.80, **Figure 3B**). Examining the longitudinal changes to these responses within individual,

we also did not find a relationship between changes in language and selectivity to cognitive load

within an individual in the language fROIs (LH: r(15)=-0.14, p=0.59; RH: r(15)=-0.098; p=0.71;

partial correlation controlling for age at timepoint one: LH: r(14)=0.32, p=0.23; RH: r(14)=0.11,

p=0.67, **Figure 3C**). These results suggests that changes in the language fROIs selectivity to

language across ages and within an individual are not related to either a systematic increase or

decrease in these regions' responsiveness to a domain-general task.

Figure 3: *A. Language (left) and cognitive load (right) activation for two example subjects at timepoint one and two (subject 1 age: TP1=5.85, TP2: 7.79 years; subject 2 age: TP1: 4.56, TP2: 7.43 years; threshold at $P_{uncorrected} < 0.005$). Black outlines show language parcels (left) and MD parcels (right). B. Scatter plot with regression line for selectivity to language and cognitive load in the LH and RH language fROIs (N=36). C. Scatter plot with regression line for selectivity to language and cognitive load in the longitudinal sample (N=17) in the LH and RH*

language fROIs. Individual subject data points colored by age (yellow is oldest, and blue is

youngest). R values for correlation and partial correlations (controlling for age) are listed in

each scatter plot; no correlations were significant.

Is the high-level language network differentiated from domain-general cortex in connectivity?

Seeing that the language and MD networks are dissociable in their functional specificity,

we next examined if these networks are dissociable in their resting-state functional connectivity.

Both networks show characteristically significant bilateral within-network connectivity (two-

tailed, one-sample *t*-tests**, Table 3**, **Figure 4**), with higher within-network connectivity in the LH

compared to the RH for the language network (paired samples *t*-test: $t(31)=2.65$, p=0.012,

d=0.47) and no hemisphere difference for the MD network ($t(31)=-0.11$, p=0.91, d=-0.019).

Perhaps unexpectedly, given the differentiation of language and MD in function, we did observe

significant between-network (language to MD) connectivity (**Table 3)**, although this between-

network connectivity was significantly lower than the within-network connectivity of both

networks (within vs between: Language: LH: $t(31)=5.10$, p=1.58 x 10^{-5}, d=0.90; RH: $t(31)=4.55$,

p=7.72 x 10^{-5}, d=0.80; MD: LH: $t(31)=3.73$, p=7.66x10^{-4}, d=0.66; RH: $t(31)=3.56$, p=0.0012,

d=0.63).

	Left Hemisphere			**Right Hemisphere**		
Within-Network	*t*	**p**	**d**	*t*	**p**	**d**
Language	15.50	3.75x10^{-16}**	2.74	11.38	1.353x10^{-12}**	2.01
Lang: Frontal to Temporal	13.06	3.83x10^{-14}**	2.31	9.33	1.64x10^{-10}**	1.65
Multiple Demand	12.15	2.50x10^{-13}**	2.15	11.37	1.38x10^{-12}**	2.01

	t	p	d	t	p	d
MD: Frontal to Parietal	9.74	5.85×10^{-11}**	1.72	8.48	1.41×10^{-9}**	1.50
Between-Network	*t*	**p**	**d**	*t*	**p**	**d**
Language-MD	8.48	1.49×10^{-9}**	1.65	8.38	1.83×10^{-9}**	1.48
Lang. Temporal to MD Frontal	5.27	9.79×10^{-6}**	0.93	4.95	2.47×10^{-5}**	0.88

Table 3: Within- and between-network connectivity of the language and MD network in

N=32 individuals. Two-tailed, one-sample t-tests compare connectivity to zero. T value,

*significance, and Cohen's D effect sizes listed. *p<0.05, ** Bonferroni-Holm p<0.05,*

corrected for six comparisons.

Next, we examined age-related changes in connectivity. The within-network LH

language connectivity was positively related to age in this cross-sectional sample (All LH:

r(30)=0.42, p=0.018; LH Temporal to Frontal: r(30)=0.42, p=0.018, both n.s. after correcting for

multiple comparisons; All RH: r=0.12, p=0.50; RH Temporal to Frontal: r(30)=0.073, p=0.69).

The within-network MD connectivity was also positively related to age (All LH: r(30)=0.41,

p=0.021; LH Frontal to Parietal: r(30)=0.42, p=0.029; All RH: r(30)=0.39, p=0.029; RH Frontal

to Parietal: r(30)=0.40, p=0.025; all but RH n.s. after correction for multiple comparisons). The

between-network connectivity was not significantly associated with age (LH: r(30)=0.17;

p=0.37; RH: r(30)=0.10, p=0.59). Importantly, there was also no relationship between age and

the difference in within- vs. between-network connectivity of language and MD regions (within

language - between: LH: r(30)=0.19, p=0.30, RH: r(30)=0.038, p=0.84; within MD - between:

LH: r(30)=0.29, p=0.11; RH: r(30)=0.33, p=0.06), suggesting that age-related increases in

connectivity of the language network were not related to ongoing dissociation from the MD

network; and vice-versa (i.e., that age-related increases in the MD network are not related to

dissociation from the language network). Finally, there were no age-related changes in between-

network connectivity.

We also examined changes in functional connectivity across time longitudinally within

subjects (two-tailed, paired-samples t-test, timepoint one compared with timepoint two). We did

not see any changes in within-network functional connectivity for either the language (All LH:

t(13)=0.76, p=0.46, d=0.20; LH Temporal to Frontal: *t*(13)=0.36, p=0.72, d=0.097; All RH:

t(13)=0.31, p=0.76, d=0.083; RH Temporal to Frontal: *t*(13)=0.24, p=0.82, d=0.64) or MD

network (All LH: *t*(13)=-0.74, p=0.47, d=-0.20; LH Frontal to Parietal: *t*(13)=-0.44, p=0.66, d=-

0.29; All RH: *t*(13)=-1.07, p=0.30, d=-0.29; RH Frontal to Parietal: *t*(13)=-1.14, p=0.27, d=-

0.29). We did not observe changes in between-network connectivity of language and MD over

time within subject (LH: *t(*13)=-0.81, p=0.43, d=-0.22; LH Language Temporal to MD Frontal:

t(13)=-0.64, p=0.53, d=-0.17; RH: *t*(13)=-1.34, p=0.20, d=-0.36; RH Language Temporal to MD

Frontal: *t*(13)=-0.63, p=0.54, d=-0.17). Thus, we see alignment of our cross-sectional and

longitudinal results, with no robust age-related changes in language network connectivity, MD

network connectivity, or between-network connectivity of language and MD.

***Figure 4:** Within- and between-network functional connectivity (FC) of the language and MD*

fROIs. One-sample, two-tailed t-tests tested if FC was significantly greater than zero. Repeated-

measures t-tests were used to compare FC across within- and between-network connectivity.

Grouped bars indicate all under the group are significant. Group comparisons indicate that

within bars are significantly higher than between bars (e.g., Within all LH for language

significantly higher than between all language to and MD). Asterisks indicate level of

significance (* p < 0 .05; ** Bonferroni-Holm p < .05). Error bars denote standard error.

Individual subject data points shown with hollow grey circles. Inset shows parcel search spaces

used for creating fROIs for the language (blue) and MD network (orange).

Discussion

Understanding the development of the language network and its specificity in function

and connectivity will help us better understand the neural mechanisms that underlie uniquely

human cognition. In this paper, we examined whether the language network shows early

specialization for language, and if there is evidence of language cortex emerging from domain-

general cortex. We used subject-specific fROIs to account for individual variability in the precise

location of the language network across individuals and collected multiple runs of data, matching

the methodological rigor of fMRI work in adults. We also removed the confound of task

difficulty by using a passive language task (widely validated in adults to activate the language

network, regardless of language; Malik-Moraleda et al., 2021), that contrasts a meaningful

Sentences condition with a Nonsense sentences condition. This Nonsense condition importantly

removes two key aspects of language – semantic meanings and syntatic relationships – while

keeping intact prosody and rythym of speech by speaking meaningless words as if they were

sentences. And, for the first time to the best of our knowledge, we compare activation to a

linguistic vs. non-linguistic task to characterize the development and dissociation of the language

network in a young sample of children.

We find that the language network is selective to language in both frontal and temporal

language regions and left-lateralized, in line with some previous work in older children (e.g.

Charbonnier et al., 2020; Enge et al., 2020; Olulade et al., 2020; Weiss-Croft & Baldeweg,

2015). However, here we directly compare linguistic responses in each child to their neural

responses while performing a nonverbal yet demanding task to see if the language network is

domain-specific or whether it emerges from domain-general processing used for other

computations (it does not). And while selectivity to high-level linguistic properties (e.g.

semantics and syntax) increase with age and across time within our longitudinal subjects, we do

not find evidence of a progressive shift from domain-general to domain-specific functioning in

this sample of young children. Finally, by additionally examining resting-state data in both our

cross-sectional and longitudinal samples, we found that the language and MD networks are also

dissociable in their connectivity over time, with both the language and MD networks showing

more within-network than between network connectivity, and stable connectivity across ages and

longitudinally within subjects.

Using two separate tasks and subject-specific fROIs, we find a double-dissociation

between language and MD networks in a young sample of children. These results are contrary to

hypotheses that language development is part of either general skill-learning (as has been

suggested by (Chater & Christiansen, 2018; McCauley, 2020; Saffran & Thiessen, 2007)) or is

bootstrapped by executive control (Edgin et al., 2015). For example, combinatorial processing is

one of the hallmarks of language but possibly used for other high-level computations as well.

Instead, the language network is not responsive to a spatial working memory task that localizes

the MD network, mirroring prior work in adults (Fedorenko et al., 2012) and suggesting that

language cortex is indeed domain-specific for linguistic content even in young children.

Importantly, even though we did not see any evidence of load-based domain-general

responses in the language network, it is possible that there is a *progessive shift* across time, in

which case the language network would begin as sensitive to domain-general processing, which

may act as a scaffolding mechanisms to support language specificity through time and greater

language exposure (see neuroconstructivism hypothesis, (Karmiloff-Smith, 2015)). In this case,

we would expect to see changes in sensitivity to cognitive load during the working memory task

longitudinally within subject, such that there is an initial response to both cognitive load load and

language at young ages (reflecting domain-general processing), followed by a decrease in load-

based responses and increase in language selectivity (reflecting increase in domain-specific

processing). This is not the case in the cross-sectional subjects or longitudinally within children.

We see a significant increase in language selectivity in the left hemisphere with age cross-

sectionally and longitudinally (aligning with prior work on receptive language; Berl et al., 2012,

Szaflarski et al., 2006). Howevever, we do not see an initial sensitivity to working memory load

within the language network in our young subjects; nor we do increases in this load-based

response in our longitudinal sample or any correlation of these responses. We further find that

the MD network (as defined using the working memory task) shows the expected load-based

preference but not language preferences (see also Schettini et al., 2023). Overall, this evidence

suggests that the language and MD networks develop independently in young children.

Prior work suggests that language responses are more bilateral in children and become

increasingly LH lateralized with age, presumably through inter-hemispheric connections that

inhibit RH (or non-dominant hemisphere) responses over time (e.g. (Friederici et al., 2011;

Holland et al., 2007)). In contrast to this theory, we do not see decreasing language selectivity in

the RH language regions in young children. In more recent prior work, Olulade and colleagues

(Olulade et al., 2020) using cross-sectional analysis in slightly older ages (4-10 years, N=24)

found decreasing language selectivity in the RH inferior frontal gyrus (IFG) with age and the

oldest child group showed no such activation on the right. It is possible that they could not rule

out confounds of spatial precision (i.e., they do not define the language network for each

individual) or effort-based attention (i.e., no additional task and varying response difficulty to

conditions within their language task). Importantly, our probabilistic atlas shows this sample of

young children have very low overlap in RH language activation, making it even more important

to define language regions within subjects. Additionally, because the IFG houses both language

and MD regions, their observed decreases in "language" activation in the right IFG may actually

reflect decreasing responses within language regions to effort-based attention or decreasing

responses within MD regions to linguistic content or any other combination of possibilities. Our

use of subject-specific fROIs and our differentiation of language and domain-general cortex

using two tasks in both cross-sectional and longitudinal samples allowed us to better characterize

the development of the domain-specific language network in young children, showing that if the

language network starts out more bilaterally, then it would be earlier than the youngest ages we

study here (i.e. less than 2-3 years of age). Further, the present results are more in line with adult

literature showing robust RH language activation, just with more dominant activation in the LH

(Lipkin et al., 2022).

While no previous study empirically investigated the neural dissociation of linguistic vs.

non-linguistic content in children, one review has examined the relationship between cognitive

flexibility, inner speech, and language in children and young adults, finding that while inner-

speech and language are not required for cognitive flexibility, it can enhance performance on a

variety of cognitive flexibility tasks. We do not rule out this possibility and suggest that perhaps

this interaction between cognitive flexibility and language is supported by the significant

connectivity between the language and MD network. However, this connectivity was dwarfed by

within-network language connectivity, suggesting that the language network is indeed largely

independent of other adjacent cognitive networks. Additionally, our within-network language

connectivity findings mimic what previous studies show in adults, with language typically left-

lateralized and with significantly higher left than right within-network FC. Finally, when

examining the connectivity within and between the language and MD networks, we found no

reliable increases in within- vs. between-network FC cross-sectionally and longitudinally. This

suggests that specificity of connections may be more static than neural specialization, at least for

the domain of language, supporting previous work testing the connectivity-fingerprints

hypothesis, where connectivity precedes and perhaps drives the functional organization and

specificity of cortex (Hannagan et al., 2015; Li et al., 2020; Saygin et al., 2016; Yu et al., 2020).

Prior longitudinal work has suggested that changes in within-network connectivity is associated

with changes in language performance, as opposed to age (Xiao, Brauer, et al., 2016; Xiao,

Friederici, et al., 2016); however, we could not test that hypothesis with our data.

Multiple questions remain. First, we do not examine behavioral metrics of language

development, and are therefore unable to differentiate between changes in language selectivity

that are due to maturation vs. language skill development. Additionally, using a passive language

task does not allow us to understand development of specific language abilties (grammar,

comprehension, or vocabulary). While basic language skills are largely developed in our

youngest cohort, it would be interesting to examine the continued development of this network in

parallel to gains in particular linguistic skills (e.g. (Abrahams et al., 2003; Ardila, 2011, 2012).

Further, this work is limited by a lack of an *a priori* power analysis. However our overall sample

size is on par with previous developmental cognitive neuroscience studies. Our core sample

includes 45 children with two runs of the language task, 36 with at least one run of the spatial

working memory task, 19 longitudinal subjects with both tasks, which is comparable or higher

than prior work (e.g., (Olulade et al., 2020) N=24 under age 10; only one of the 27 studies

included in the (Enge et al., 2020) meta-analysis on language comprehension in children had a

larger core sample: N=57 (Berl et al., 2014) but their mean age (8.9) which is on par with our

maximum age (9.1)). Despite this, language development should continue to be examined as

more data is collected, and in even younger samples. Finally, it would be of interest for future

work to continue to examine the relationship between lateralization, selectivity, and connectivity

of the language network, preferably in younger longitudinal samples.

Methods

Participants

As part of an ongoing project exploring the relationship between functional organization

of the human brain and connectivity, participants completed a battery of functional tasks in the

scanner. Data were collected from 47 children. Of the 47 children, 45 children completed

structural imaging and two runs of the language localizer task during at least one timepoint (23

female, 32 right-handed, mean (sd) age=5.92 (1.70) years, age min and max = 36.5 months-9.07

years, 35 White, 3 Bi-Racial, 2 Asian, 4 Black, 1 Latino) and were used in the cross-sectional

analysis. A subset of this group completed at least one run of the spatial working memory task

(used to localize the MD network, N=35, mean (sd) age=6.26 (1.64) years). Of the 45 children,

32 completed resting state scans and at least one run of both the language and working memory

task, so were therefore included in the resting state analysis.

33 children returned for at least one subsequent, yearly timepoint and 23 of those children

(12 female, 19 right handed, 18 White, 2 Bi-Racial, 1 Black, 1 Asian, 1 Latino, timepoint 1

(TP1): mean (sd) age=5.50 (1.28) years, age min and max = 3.95-7.93 years; timepoint 2 (TP2):

mean (sd) age =7.00 (1.41) years, age min and max = 4.74-9.07 years, mean time between

appointments=1.50 years) completed two runs of the language localizer at their latest timepoint,

at least one run of the language localizer at an earlier timepoint, and passed data quality checks

and were therefore included in the longitudinal analysis. 19 of these children completed at least

one run of the MD task at each timepoint, as well as a resting state and structural imaging and

were included in the MD longitudinal analysis. For children who completed all scans at multiple

timepoints, the earliest timepoint was prioritized for cross-sectional analysis.

This study was approved by the institutional review boards at The Ohio State University. Parents

gave written consent and children gave verbal assent to participate.

Data acquisition and Preprocessing

To acquire data, children arrived approximately one hour before the scanning

appointment to practice the 'games' (tasks), to practice lying still in a mock scanner, and to

become comfortable with the scanning environment. Children had the option to bring a stuffed

animal to the scanning session, to keep them company during the scan. Additionally, one

experimenter remained in the scanning room with the child throughout the procedure to ensure

the child understood the rules of each game, was lying still, and paid attention to each task. In the

case that the child was confused, not responding to the game, or needed a break, the

experimenter in the room would alert study staff, the scan would be paused until the child was

ready to resume. These procedures helped ensure children were still during the scan, felt

comfortable, and willing to return for additional longitudinal appointments.

Anatomical: Images were acquired on a Siemens Prisma 3T scanner with a 32-channel

phase array receiver head coil. Foam padding was used for head stabilization and increased

comfort throughout all scanning. A whole-head, high-resolution T1-weighted magnetization-

prepared rapid acquisition with gradient echo (MPRAGE) scan was acquired (repetition time

(TR) = 2300 ms, echo time (TE) = 2.9ms, voxel resolution = 1.00 mm^3). Data were analyzed

with Freesurfer v.6.0.0, FsFast, FSL, and custom Matlab (version R2020a) code. A semi-

automated processing stream (recon-all from Freesurfer) was used for structural MRI data

processing. Major preprocessing steps include intensity correction, skull strip, surface co-

registration, spatial smoothing, white matter and subcortical segmentation, and cortical

parcellation. The cortical surface of each subject was examined following segmentation and was

manually adjusted when necessary. Cortical gray matter masks were created in native anatomy

for each subject.

Functional: Images for the localizer tasks (see below *Functional Localizer* section), as

well as resting-state scan, were acquired with multiband 4x accelerated the echo-planar imaging

(EPI) sequence: TR=1000ms, TE=28ms, voxel resolution = 2x2x3 mm. For localizer tasks, data

was preprocessed with motion correction, smoothing (FWHM =4mm), and bbregister (Greve &

Fischl, 2009) was used to register functional data to the subject's anatomical space. All data were

analyzed in each individual's native anatomy. For resting-state scan, Freesurfer's FS-Fast

preprocessing (https://surfer.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/fswiki/FsFastAnlysisBySteps) was used to

complete motion correction and smoothing (FWHM=3mm). Additional preprocessing included

linear interpolation for spikes over 0.5mm and a bandpass filter at 0.009-0.08 Hz. All functional

connectivity (FC) analyses were performed in native functional space. During the resting state

scan, children were instructed to "have a staring contest" with a white crosshair on a black

background. The experimenter in the scan room watched to see if the child was awake/following

instructions. The resting-state scan lasted approximately 5 minutes and consisted of 290 volumes

for a single run.

Functional Localizer

Language Localizer: A language localizer task (Fedorenko et al., 2010) was used to

functionally locate the regions of the brain responsive to the lexical and structural properties of

language. Participants listened to blocks of meaningful Sentences, Nonsense sentences

(constructed from phonemically intact nonsense words that control for features for speech, such

as phonology and prosody), and Texturized speech (controlling for low-level auditory features).

Each run consisted of 4 blocks of each condition and three 14-second fixation blocks. Each block

contained three trials (6 seconds each); each trial ended with a visual queue to press a button.

Each participant finished 2 runs of the task whenever possible.

Multiple-demand localizer: A spatial working memory task (Fedorenko et al., 2013) with

blocked Easy and Hard conditions (task difficulty adjusted by age; low, medium and high load

versions of the task) were used to functionally define brain regions associated with the domain-

general MD network and examine the brain's response to cognitive load. In each trial,

participants viewed a grid of 9 (low load) or 12 (medium and high load) boxes. For the Easy

condition of the medium load, two grid patterns are shown sequentially, with a different box

highlighted in blue at a specific location of the grid and the child must remember the location of

these blue boxes (Hard blocks have more blue boxes than Easy blocks). Then two grids appear

side-by-side, and the child indicates via a button press (using their left or right hand) if the

pattern of blue boxes in the left or right grid matches the previously presented grids. Task

difficulty was adjusted by age (low [4-5 years], medium [6-7 years], and high [8+ years] load),

and the low load version of the task had a longer response duration, to allow more time for

children to answer. Children would practice their age defined level before the scan session and

the level would be adjusted (made easier if child missed most questions, or more difficult if the

child showed near-perfect performance) if necessary.

Statistical Analysis

Task fMRI Analysis: Preprocessed data were entered into a volume-based, first-level

general linear model (GLM) analysis. A regressor was entered for each condition of interest

(language localizer: meaningful sentences (Sn), nonsense sentences (Ns), texturized speech (Tx);

MD localizer: Hard and Easy conditions), and six motion parameters were included as nuisance

regressors. Timepoints with motion exceeded 1mm framewise displacement (total motion

between two consecutive timepoints) were included as an additional nuisance regressor. A block

design with a standard boxcar function convolved with the canonical hemodynamic response

function (standard gamma function (d=2.25 and t=1.25)) was used. Relevant contrasts (language

localizer: Sn>Ns, Sn>Tx, and Ns>Tx; spatial working memory localizer: Hard > Easy) were

included in the level 1 processing. The GLM was completed in 2x2x2 mm^3 native anatomical

space and then was resampled to 1x1x1mm^3. The resulting beta estimates and contrast maps

were used for further analyses. Across both localizers, any run that exceeded the threshold of

more than 25% of timepoints with greater than 1mm total vector motion between subsequent

timepoints were excluded from the analysis.

Quantifying Motion

For each task and each subject, the motion estimates (x, y, z, roll, pitch, yaw) for each

subject were used to calculate the framewise displacement at each timepoint, excluding

timepoints with greater than 1mm motion, which were included as nuisance regressors in first-

level GLM analysis. The mean framewise displacement for each subject was calculated for each

run of the language and spatial working memory task, then averaged across runs to create one

framewise displacement number per subject per task. Pairwise t-tests were used to compare mean

framewise displacement across tasks. Motion was also compared across timepoints for each task

for the longitudinal subjects. Mean framewise displacement was also included as a covariate in

correlations between selectivity (or percent signal change) and age in the cross-sectional sample

(see below).

Generating a Probabilistic Atlas

To quantify the number of children in our sample that show language activation, a

probabilistic atlas was generated from the Sentences > Nonsense contrast. The second-level

GLM significance maps (combined from run 1 and run 2) of the language task was registered

from individual subject volume anatomical space to the surface (using Freesurfer's mri_vol2surf

function) and then to fs-average space (using Freesurfer's mri_surf2surf function,

https://surfer.nmr.mgh.harvard.edu/fswiki/FsAverage). Each registered significance map was

thresholded at $p < 0.01$, binarized, and summed to show the number of subjects with significant

activation at each voxel.

Defining subject-specific functional regions of interest

Ten frontotemporal language network (five in each hemisphere; posterior temporal,

superior temporal, inferior frontal, middle frontal, and orbital inferior frontal) subject-specific

fROIs were created using the group-constrained subject-specific approach (Fedorenko et al.,

2010). These parcels (Fedorenko et al., 2010; https://evlab.mit.edu/funcloc/), which contain the

regions typically activated by high-level language based on prior adult studies, were used as

spatially constrained search spaces for defining individual subject fROIs based on the Sentences

> Nonsense speech contrast. Upon visual inspection, the frontal parcels did not fully capture

some children's hotspots of frontal language activation (see **Supplemental Methods**). Therefore,

the frontal parcels were dilated by 3 (with Freesurfer's mri_binarize command), which ensured

hotspots of activation across subjects were covered and helped make the frontal parcels more

comparable in size to the temporal parcels. These parcels were all registered to each participant's

native anatomy using CVS registration (Zöllei et al., 2010). Participant-specific fMRI contrasts

maps from one run of the GLM analysis were masked to only include gray matter voxels, and the

intersection of these contrast maps with the parcels were used to define the fROIs for each

individual subject. We defined fROIs as the top 10% of voxels that fell within each parcel/search

space (for language fROIs we used contrast of Sentences > Nonsense). The beta estimates from

an independent run of the language localizer task were then used to extract the percent signal

change (PSC) for each condition (Sentences, Nonsense, Texturized) within the subject-specific

fROIs. Each subject completed two runs of the language task in a single timepoint; therefore, one

run was used to define fROIs and the other run was used to extract the PSC, then this was

repeated using opposite run orders and PSC results were averaged together for each participant.

Any PSC values that exceed +/- 3 standard deviation across subjects within an fROI for each

condition were marked as outliers and removed from subsequent analyses. This was done

separately for cross-sectional, motion matched, and longitudinal samples. Using the same fROIs

defined from the independent language task, we extracted PSCs from the spatial working

memory task for the Hard and Easy conditions (averaged across runs for children who completed

more than one run), to compare responses within the language network between the two tasks.

Additionally, we used the same method to define MD network fROIs (10 bilateral, Fedorenko et

al., 2013) and extracted PSC from an independent run of the spatial working memory task to

examine the MD network selectivity to the domain-general Hard > Easy cognitive load effect

and from at least one run of the language task.

For the 24 longitudinal subjects, language fROIs were created for the later timepoint

following the same procedure (for Sentences > Nonsense, 20% threshold) as the cross-sectional

data. Then, the overlapping voxels between these two fROIs at the later timepoint (20%

threshold used to increase likelihood of overlap across fROIs) were identified and selected to

form the new fROI that was registered to each subject's earlier timepoint anatomical space using

Freesurfer's CVS registration (Zöllei et al., 2010), and PSCs to each condition of interest was

extracted from the earlier timepoint's beta estimates from the first-level GLM. Most subjects had

overlap in their TP2 fROIs; however, subjects with less than 10% of the maximum overlap of all

subjects were excluded, to ensure a robust and reliable fROI for each individual at the earliest

timepoint. Finally, the registration between timepoints was visually checked for all subjects. One

subject had poor registration between the two timepoints (leading to the fROIs mapped from the

latest to earliest timepoint falling outside the brain), and was therefore excluded, leaving 23

subjects with longitudinal data for further analysis. For the final analysis, all fROIs had at least

19 subjects with enough overlap to create a TP1 fROI (all subjects with fROI: LH posterior

temporal, LH superior temporal, LH inferior frontal, RH inferior frontal; 1 subject missing fROI:

LH orbital inferior frontal, RH posterior temporal, RH superior temporal, RH middle frontal; 2

subjects missing: RH orbital inferior frontal; 4 subjects missing: LH: middle frontal).

Selectivity

To quantify an individual's selectivity to language or MD within each fROI, we calculated

selectivity by adding the most negative PSC across conditions within a task (to force the lowest

value to zero to "correct for potential bias induced by negative activation" (Simmons et al., 2007;

Szwed et al., 2011) to all conditions by subject and subtracting the PSC of the control condition

of interest from the condition of interest. Selectivity reflects the difference between the condition

of interest and the control condition for each task.

725   (1) Language Selectivity $= PSC_{Sentences} - PSC_{Nonsense}$

726   (2) Multiple Demand Selectivity $= PSC_{Hard} - PSC_{Easy}$

Determining Selectivity and Specificity of fROIs

A series of repeated-measures analysis of variance (rmANOVA) and repeated-measures

analysis of covariance (rmANCOVA) were used to determine selectivity specificity of language-

network fROIs to conditions of interest across both tasks, and any changes with age. All

rmANOVA were implemented in RStudio (version 1.4.1717, R version 4.1.1), using the

anova_test function (rstatix, lme4 and lmeTest packages). In any cases that the Mauchly's Test

of Sphericity showed a significant effect indicating that sphericity was violated, a Greenhouse-

Geisser epsilon correction was applied, and all reported effects remain significant following this

correction and corrected p-values are reported. Generally, following significant interaction, post-

hoc, two-tailed, paired samples t-tests were conducted with Bonferroni-Holm (Holm, 1979)

multiple comparison corrected by the number of fROIs within hemisphere. All rmANOVAs

were run separately for each hemisphere, and any subject with missing data (due to outlier

exclusions) in any fROI for that hemisphere was excluded for that analysis.

To determine the selectivity of the language network to the properties of high-level

language we used a rmANOVA of fROI (for five fROIs in the hemisphere) by condition to

explain PSC during the language task. A significant effect of condition in which the Sn response

is higher than both the Ns and Tx would indicate a selectivity of the language fROIs to the high-

level properties of language. Additionally, the laterality of the language network was assessed

using a rmANOVA of fROI by hemisphere explaining language selectivity. A significant main

effect of hemisphere, in which the selectivity of the LH fROIs is significantly higher than the RH

fROIs (as determined with paired samples t-tests) would indicate left-laterality in this sample.

To understand any age-related changes in the selectivity and specificity of the language

network, we used a condition by fROI rmANCOVA with age as a covariate, separate for each

hemisphere. In the case of a significant interaction between age and condition, post-hoc Pearson

correlations were used to examine changes in each condition (averaged across ROIs within a

hemisphere) with age, and follow-up partial correlations controlling for mean framewise

displacement were also run. We also examined age-related changes in the longitudinal sample

with a condition by timepoint rmANOVA (by hemisphere). Post-hoc t-tests were used to

determine significant difference over time for each condition following significant timepoint by

condition interactions.

To determine the specificity of the language network to language, we ran a similar

rmANOVA of fROI by condition, this time with the PSC to conditions in the spatial working

memory task as the outcome variable. A significant effect of condition, in which the PSC to the

Hard condition was significantly higher than the Easy, would indicate a selectivity of the

language fROIs to the working memory; however, a nonsignificant main effect of condition or

condition effect driven by a higher Easy than Hard response would indicate that the language

network is not responsive to this working memory task. We additionally examined the specificity

of the language network by comparing the language and working memory selectivity indices

within the language network using a rmANOVA of fROI by task; in which a significant main

effect of task in which language selectivity is significantly higher than MD would support the

idea that the language network is both sensitive and specific for language in this young sample;

whereas a nonsignificant task effect would suggest language and working memory responses are

intertwined in this sample.

We repeated the above analyses for the MD fROIs as well, to examine the responsiveness

to the MD network (one average value across fROIs for each condition and each hemisphere) to

both tasks. One rmANOVA (for each hemisphere) was used to examine differences in PSC

across conditions (Hard and Easy) in the working memory task. A separate rmANOVA was run

to examine PSC during the language task. Finally, a third rmANOVA was used to compare

selectivity of the MD fROIs to both language and working memory. Similar to when examining

the language fROIs, if the MD fROIs show selectivity to working memory (significant condition

effect for Hard and Easy condition), specificity (no significant condition effect to the language

conditions), and a task effect with greater working memory than language selectivity, that would

indicate the MD fROIs are responsible for domain general processes like working memory, but

not language.

Finally, we examined whether there was a relationship between changes in the language

network's sensitivity to language and working memory across subjects. We used a correlation of

language selectivity and working memory selectivity to assess this and additionally controlled

for age in a partial correlation. We also examined this within-subject by correlating change in

language selectivity with change in working memory selectivity, and we completed a follow-up

partial correlation controlling for age at timepoint one. If language and working memory

selectivity were correlated, this would suggest language and working memory selectivity were

related across development (perhaps progressively shifting, in which an initial response to the

Hard>Easy is replaced by language specific responses at older ages or across time); whereas no

relationship between the two would suggest independence of the two networks.

Within- and Between-network Connectivity

For 32 unique children, the mean time course was extracted from five bilateral language

fROIs (Fedorenko et al., 2010) (as defined above with the Sentences > Nonsense 10% threshold)

and 10 bilateral frontoparietal MD fROIs (as defined above with the spatial working memory

Hard > Easy 10% threshold; (Fedorenko et al., 2013) registered to the subject-specific resting

state data. Functional connectivity (FC) was calculated using Pearson's correlations between

each pair of fROIs. To generate normally distributed values, each FC value was Fisher z-

transformed. We examined within and between-network connectivity of the language and MD

fROIs, as well as comparing the within vs. between connectivity of the networks. Within-

network connectivity was tested by comparing the mean connectivity (by hemisphere and

between lobes for temporal to frontal (language) and temporal to parietal (MD network) value

with zero using two-tailed, independent samples *t*-tests. We also compared connectivity by

hemisphere to examine laterality (two-tailed paired-samples *t*-test for each network). Between

network connectivity (by hemisphere and for temporal language to MD frontal) was also tested

using two-tailed, independent samples *t*-tests. Within-network connectivity of both language and

MD were compared with between-network connectivity using two-tailed, paired *t*-tests (grouped

by hemisphere and by lobe). Bonferroni-holm multiple comparison correction was applied for all

within-network and between-network tests. Pearson's correlations were used to assess the

relationship between within-network FC (by hemisphere) and age, between-network FC (by

hemisphere) and age, and the difference of within vs between network connectivity and age for

both the language and MD network (by hemisphere for each).

For the 17 longitudinal subjects with two runs of both tasks at the later timepoint as well

as resting state data, longitudinal fROIs were used (see above) to examine changes in functional

connectivity. Registration between timepoints was visually examined for each subject, and three

subjects were removed because of poor registration to resting state data. The mean time course

was extracted, and FC was calculated. Changes in FC were assessed using two-tailed, paired

samples t-tests comparing the FC in timepoint one with timepoint two for within network

language and MD, as well as between network FC.

Data and Code Availability

Please contact Dr. Zeynep Saygin (saygin.3@osu.edu) for data, code, and software requests.

MATLAB, Bash, and FreeSurfer software were used to process these data. De-

identified data used for figures and tables, as well as all processing code will be available on

GitHub upon publication (https://github.com/SayginLab). To access raw study data for research

purposes, researchers can sign a data use agreement between institutions and project proposal as

required by The Ohio State University. Commercial use of the raw study data was not included

as part of the current IRB-approved project and is therefore restricted to research use.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the families who generously supported this work. We would like to

thank members of the Saygin Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience Lab for data collection.

We would like to acknowledge the support from Center for Cognitive and Behavioral Brain

Imaging (CCBBI) and Ohio Supercomputer Center (OSC). This material is based upon work

supported by the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship (awarded to

K.J.H.) under Grant No. DGE-1343012. Z.M.S. was supported by the Alfred P. Sloan

Foundation, OSU's College of Arts & Sciences, and the Chronic Brain Injury initiative at OSU.

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