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Maternal sensitivity in responding during play and children's pre-mathematical skills: a longitudinal study from infancy to preschool age

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ABSTRACT

This longitudinal study explored how mothers' sensitivity in responding to their child's cognitive and emotional needs in infancy and toddlerhood predicts children's pre-mathematical skills at early preschool age. The sample consisted of 65 mother–child dyads (N = 130 individuals) videotaped during joint play at ages 1;0 and 2;0. The children's pre-mathematical skills were tested at age 3;0. The path analyses showed that, in infancy, mothers' autonomy support and scaffolding are more strongly related than emotional support to children's later performance on spatial and numerical tasks. The findings are discussed in relation to how maternal sensitivity in responding fosters children's pre-mathematical development in an optimal way.

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KEYWORDS Sensitivity; responsiveness; pre-mathematics; spatial; numerical

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While there is ample evidence that children vary greatly in their pre-mathematical skills (e.g. Aunola, Leskinen, Lerkkanen, & Nurmi, 2004; Clements, Swaminathan, Hannibal, & Sarama, 1999; AUTHOR B), we know relatively little AQ2 about the earliest social predictors of these individual differences at preschool age. Parents' speech and activities specific for mathematics have been related to children's proficiency in pre-mathematics (Blevins-Knabe & Musun-Miller, 1996; Gunderson & Levine, 2011; Pruden, Levine, & Huttenlocher, 2011). Other studies have linked general interactional processes to children's cognitive competence (Hirsh-Pasek & Burchinal, 2006; Martin, Ryan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007). Our goal was to explore how parent–child interactions which constitute the first learn-ing context in infancy and toddlerhood contribute to spatial and numerical outcomes at early preschool age.



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Parent-child interaction and development of pre-mathematical skills

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Infants can relate spatial, temporal, and numerical information from birth on (de Hevia, Izard, Coubart, Spelke, & Streri, 2014). It is well documented that infants attend to properties and spatial relations of objects (Mix, Huttenlocher, & Levine, 2002; Quinn, 2007). These early perceptual experiences influence brain development and form the foundation of memory representations and core concepts which, in turn, shape later perception of quantitative and spatial

- 10 relations between objects (Goswami, 2008). Research beyond infancy provides evidence that children's representations become gradually enriched as shown by their earliest vocabulary, including words for specific spatial and number concepts (Choi & Donough, 2007; Sarnecka, Goldman, & Slusser, in press). At preschool age, many children can produce the accurate cardinal number word
- 15 for a set of three to four items and they use number sequence for counting larger sets of objects (e.g. AUTHOR B; Wynn, 1990). They also understand basic spatial words (Loewenstein & Gentner, 2005), make judgements about object size (Gadzichowski, Pasnak, & Kidd, 2013), and they recognize shapes (Clements et al., 1999). We decided to assess children's spatial and numerical skills, given
- 20 that few researchers have investigated both outcomes in the same study at early preschool age (but see Verdine et al., 2014).

Developmental theories posit a direct causal relationship between parenting behaviour and children's later outcomes in various domains. According to Vygotsky (1978), all higher forms of cognition originate from social interactions

- ²⁵ with others who provide appropriate and well-timed (non-)verbal guidance based on the novice learner's level of language and cognitive skills. Even though young children are initially dependent on parental scaffolding within the zone of proximal development, they become increasingly autonomous and competent over time as parents adjust their support to children's growing skills and interests
- 30 (see also Wood, Bruner, & Ross, 1976). Sensitive responding refers to parents' ability to appropriately recognize infants' behavioural and emotional cues and to respond during interaction in a well-timed, reciprocal, and mutually rewarding manner (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). As stated by Bornstein (1989), affective quality, contingency, and timing are the major characteristics for ensure help using the basis.
- 35 of responsive behaviour.

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An abundance of research on parenting behaviour has treated the dyads as the unit of analysis. The parents' emotional sensitivity in responding, as assessed by trained observers, has been studied extensively in relation to children's socio-emotional outcomes in infancy (e.g., meta-analysis by van IJzendoorn, 1995) but less with regard to early cognitive outcomes. It has been reported that parental behaviour representing cognitive responsiveness (e.g., NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000), emotional sensitivity (e.g. Landry, Smith, Swank, Assel, & Vellet, 2001), or both combined (e.g. Hirsh-Pasek & Burchinal, 2006) predict children's overall cognitive development, including mathematical





Figure 1. Hypothetical model illustrating relations between sensitivity in responding, premathematical skills, and background variables.

tasks as one component. In addition, most of the longitudinal studies that have assessed cognitive and emotional aspects of parenting in infancy and toddlerhood have aggregated both these aspects into a multidimensional construct or composite score.

The present study

- In a recent review on self-regulated learning, Pino-Pasternak and Whitebread (2010) have identified parenting behaviours, such as encouraging autonomy and providing cognitive and emotional support in a contingent fashion, that have an impact on children's performance on school-related tasks. No longitudinal studies have examined whether these different dimensions of parenting autonomy directly in informer (1, 0), so well as in taddlark and (2: 0), predict the learning.
- 10 already in infancy (1; 0), as well as in toddlerhood (2;-0), predict the learning and development of pre-mathematical skills at preschool age (3;-0). Our major research question addresses this gap.

We observed mother-child dyads during play interactions, and tested children's spatial and numerical skill with age-appropriate tasks (see Clements et al.,

- 15 1999; Plumert, Ewert, & Spear, 1995; Smith, 1984; Wynn, 1990; for corresponding procedures). On the basis of the literature review, we expected that higher levels of autonomy support, cognitive scaffolding, and emotional support would predict better performance on pre-mathematical tasks (see the hypothetical model, Figure 1). We applied path analyses to explore these relationships while con-
- 20 trolling for the effects of mothers' educational status, child gender, and vocabulary, which have been shown to be related to developmental outcomes (e.g. Gunderson & Levine, 2011; Huttenlocher, Haight, Bryk, Seltzer, & Lyons, 1991). We hypothesized that mothers' education indirectly influences child outcomes through mother-child interaction. In line with the Vygotskian view and studies

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on child language development (Bruner, 1983; for a review, see Tamis-LeMonda, Kuchirko, & Song, 2014), we assumed that cognitive scaffolding is associated with vocabulary in toddlerhood (2;0), which, in turn, predicts child outcomes. Although autonomy support has been related to developmental outcomes, it has not been associated with child language skills (Hindman & Morrison, 2012).

5 Method

Participants

We report data on 65 families of the Turku Longitudinal Study 1 (for more details, see AUTHOR C). The children and their mothers (N = 130 individuals) were recruited from the files of the Population Registration Centre. The sampling criteria were first-born children of two-parent families living in a middle-to-large southern Finnish city. At the time of the first data collection the mothers were 21 to 37 years old (M = 27.9, SD = 5.0), and had 9 to 26 years' education (M = 14.7, SD = 3.6). The numbers of boys and girls were 25 (38%) and 40 (62%), respectively.

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Assessments

Mothers' sensitivity in responding during play interactions

Mother-child dyads were videotaped for 10 minutes during a semi-structured joint play interaction at the age of 1;0 (\pm 1 week) at home and at the age of 2;0 (\pm 1 week) in a laboratory playroom. During both play sessions, the mother and child sat in their own chairs side by side at a table. The examiner put a set of small plastic toys representing animals, people, furniture, and other objects on the table and instructed the dyad to play just as they would normally do with the toys.

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The 130 recordings were assessed using the Parent's Interactional Sensitivity with the Child (see AUTHOR C). Two trained pairs of observers, one for each age level, independently rated the play sessions. The recordings were coded on a series of five-point scales (1, 1.5, 2, 2.5, and 3) by running each tape several times from second to second. Table 1 presents the 14 scales reflecting different cognitive and emotional aspects of mothers' sensitive responding to the

- ³⁰ child. A higher rating on each scale indicates that mothers' behaviour more often matches the description of the scale. A score of 3 on the cognitive scales describes a mother who predominately recognizes her child's cognitive states and goals, appropriately times and adjusts her guidance to the child's cognitive
- activities, and allows the child's to act independently. Similarly, a score of 3 on the emotional scales describes a mother who interacts in a highly affectionate and tender manner, for e.g., observes the child's emotional states and shares both positive and negative feelings. Lower scores describe a mother who "every

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Table 1. Cognitive and Emotional Scales of Parenting^a (Explained Original Variance of PCA at Age 1;0 and 2:0 in Parenthesis).

Autonomy Support (76% and 85%)

- 1. The child mainly sets the goals for the activities even during moments of joint play between the child and the parent.
- 2. The parent allows the child's independent activities.
- 3. The parent controls and restricts the child's cognitive processes and occasionally even interrupts the child's activities in order to achieve her/his own goal. (scale reversed)
- Scaffolding (67% and 83%)
- 4. The parent provides subtle guidance which respects and promotes the child's goals.
- If the parent seeks to influence the child's goals, she/he sets the new goal slightly above the child's current goal and level of performance.
- 6. The parent assists and guides the child when necessary by dividing the problem into smaller more manageable tasks or breaking it up step by step into smaller sub-problems.
- 7. The parent adjusts her/his guidance to the child's level of cognitive development.
- Emotional Support (68% and 78%)
- The parent follows and becomes aware of the child's changing moods and emotional states even while being busy elsewhere.
- 9. The parent shares with the child both positive and negative feelings and succeeds in adjusting her/his own emotional state to that of the child.
- 10. The parent and the child look at each other and exchange smiles, and it can be concluded that the child is comfortable sharing things with the parent.
- 11. The parent interprets the child's emotional states. She/he shows to the child an understanding of how the child is feeling and takes the child's feelings into account as displayed through gestures, speech, and actions.
- 12. The parent helps the child to endure and cope with bad mood and distress in constructive ways. (scale omitted, rarely assigned values other than one)
- Display of Emotions (86% and 74%)
- 13. The parent generally / occasionally / hardly ever expresses positive feelings in a genuine way.
- 14. The parent openly expresses negative feelings. (scale reversed)

^aCognitive scales = 1-7; Emotional scales = 8-14.

now and then" (score of 2) or "rarely" (score of 1) provides guidance or support or engages the child in mutual activity.

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The intra-class correlation coefficients at 1;0 and 2;0 for cognitive guidance varied between .76–.86 and .76–.81, and for emotional support between .76–.91 and .73–.80, respectively.¹

Vocabulary and pre-mathematical skillschildren's

vocabulary was assessed at 2;0 (±1 week) and their performance on spatial and
 numerical tasks at 3;0 (±1 week) using the Early Language Test (ELT, see AUTHOR
 G). The tasks were developed for very young Finnish-speaking children, meaning
 that both age-specific and language-specific issues were taken into account
 during the testing and the coding procedure.

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The children were tested at each age by a different trained female examiner. During testing, the child and the examiner sat side by side at the table in a playroom. The ELT material consisted of six sets of objects, each of which contained four objects. All items were toy replicas of real-world objects such

¹The intra-class correlation coefficients at 1;0 and 2;0 for *Autonomy Support* varied between .76–.82 and .79–.80, for *Scaffolding* between .79–.86 and .76–.81, for *Emotional Support* between .76–.91 and .76–.80, and for *Display of Emotions* between .76–.90 and .73–.80, respectively.

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as animals, people, and furniture, familiar to children from everyday routines. After being presented with a set, the child was allowed to play with the objects for 10–20 s. Thereafter, the examiner began to stimulate the child with standard questions about the objects. If the child's response was wrong, the examiner did not provide the correct answer. All assessment situations were videotaped for

15–20 min. The child's answers and reactions were analysed from the videotapes.

Vocabulary at 2;0

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One point was given for each noun, verb, and adjective produced by the child during testing (AUTHOR C). Because only a few children spontaneously produced attributes, adjective vocabulary was excluded. The vocabulary score represents nouns and verbs and shows predictive validity for children's language development (AUTHOR C). The inter-rater reliability coefficients were .96 for nouns and .93 for verbs.

Size at 3; 0

In the large-small task, the examiner placed four animals on the table and asked how the horse is similar to the cow (about 4x7 cm in size) and how the dog is similar to the cat (about 2x4 cm in size). Next the examiner asked the child to 20 put the large ones inside the empty animal pen. Then she placed all animals in the pen and asked the child to take out the small ones. In the tall-short task, the examiner placed four toy-people on the table and asked how the woman is similar to the man (about 8 cm) and how the girl is similar to the boy (about 5 cm). Next she asked the child to give her the tall ones. Then the examiner

²⁵ placed all the toy-people on the table and asked for the short ones. One score was assigned for each correct verbal response *large, small, tall,* and *short* and for each correct requested action. The maximum score is 8 (M = 1.91, SD = 1.01, range = 0–4).

Shape at 3; 0

- ³⁰ In the round-square task, the examiner showed a ball to the child and asked what shape it is. Next she showed a building block and asked what shape it is. *Round* and *square* were scored as the correct answers. Next, the examiner placed a ball, a building block, a car, and a doll on the table and asked the child to give a round object and then a square object. Giving or pointing at the ball and the
- block were scored as the accurate actions. The maximum score is 4 (M = 1.28, SD = .72, range = 0–3).

Location at 3;0

The examiner placed two toys, a table and a boy, on the table. Then she put the boy in different locations *on*, *under*, *beside*, and *behind* the table, and asked the

40 child each time where the boy is. The following were scored as correct verbal responses for location: "on the table" pöydän | päällä [Table of | on] or pöydä |llä

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[Table | on]); "under the table" pöydän | alla [Table of | under]; "beside the table" pöydän | vieressä [Table of | beside]; "behind" the table" pöydän | takana [Table of | behind]. In the second location task, the examiner asked the child to put the boy on, under, beside, and behind the table. Putting the boy in the correct location was scored as an accurate response. The maximum score is 8 (M = 5.77, $SD_i = 1.66$, range = 1–8).

Number at 3;0

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In the "Give me x items" task, there were four animals, four people, and four pieces of furniture on the table. The examiner asked for *one* person, *two* animals, and *three* pieces of furniture. One score was assigned for each accurate action. The maximum score is 3 (M = 1.74, SD = .73, range = 0–3).

The examiner introduced a baby doll to the child and dressed the doll in trousers, shirt, hat, and shoe. During the "How many items" task, the examiner posed the child questions about the number of the baby dolls' body parts. One score was assigned for each accurate verbal response: *one* for head, *two* for legs, *three* for head and hands, and *four* for legs and hands. The maximum score is 4 (M = 1.03, SD = .95, range = 0–4).

The alpha coefficients for the tasks varied from .46 to .64. Two trained observers rated independently a sample of 20 children. The inter-rater reliability coefficients varied from .82 to .96.

Results

Sensitivity in responding and pre-mathematical dimensions

Principal Component Analyses (PCA) were performed to obtain a smaller number of maternal predictor variables and child outcome variables. For use in the path analyses, scores on the principal component were constructed with the regression method in SPSS (2013). Table 2 shows the variation of the z-scores with mean 0 and variance 1. The PCAs on the correlations between the maternal scales in infancy and toddlerhood resulted in one- or two-component solu-

30 tions with eigenvalues larger than 1 (see Table 1 for percentages of explained original variance). The PCAs regarding the seven cognitive scales distinguished *Autonomy Support* (scales 1, 2, 3) from *Scaffolding* (scales 4, 5, 6, 7). Similarly, the PCAs distinguished mothers' responsiveness to child's emotional needs (scales 8, 9, 10, 11) from mothers' display of positive and negative emotions (scales 13,

14). The former of these two dimensions, *Emotional Support* was used in the path analyses.

The PCA on the three spatial outcome variables showed that size and shape loaded high on the first principal component (explaining 55% of the original variance). Thus, we decided to keep the location variable as a separate out-

40 come from *Size-Shape* which is in line with suggestions about object-based and

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Table 2. Mothers' sensitivity in responding (N = 66) and children's pre-mathematical skills at 3;0 (N = 65): Range of Z-scores and pearson correlations.

	Range	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Autonomy Support at 1;0	-2.40-1.26	-								
2. Scaffolding at 1;0	-1.58-1.85	.56	-							
3. Emotional Support at 1;0	-1.46-2.02	.45	.75	-						
4. Autonomy Support at 2;0	-1.80-1.70	.44	.44	.49	-					
5. Scaffolding at 2;0	-1.60-2.18	.45	.68	.55	.75	-				
6. Emotional Support at 2;0	-1.79-2.14	.40	.51	.58	.72	.74	-			
7. Size-Shape	-2.42-2.05	.40	.26	.10	.18	.33	.29	-		
8. Location	1–8	.41	.44	.38	.31	.34	.38	.11	- /	4
9. Number	-2.17-2.19	.33	.18	05	.39	.34	.37	.47	.20	\-

Note. Parameter estimates in bold face are statistically significant, p < .05.

environment-based spatial concepts (Hegarty & Waller, 2004). The PCA on the two numerical variables also resulted in a one-component solution (percentage of explained variance was 63).

As shown in Table 2, the maternal predictors are more highly related at age 2;0 than age 1;0. The correlations between the maternal predictor and pre-mathematical outcome variables were mainly positive, ranging from fairly low to medium. The same was true (not shown in Table 2) for the maternal predictors and vocabulary (r = .23—.42), and for vocabulary and pre-mathematical outcomes (r = -.02–.35).

¹⁰ Mothers' sensitivity in responding and children's pre-mathematical skills

We used path analyses to examine whether mothers' sensitivity in responding predicts children's pre-mathematical skills, while controlling for the effect of mother's education and child vocabulary (Figure 1). The analyses were per-

- formed separately for *Size-Shape*, Location, and *Number*. In order to specify how the maternal predictors were related to differences in outcome variables, we first explored the effects of the predictors assessed at 1;0. The non-significant effects (p > .05) were removed one by one. Model fitting for the maternal predictors at 2;0 was done in the same way as for the maternal predictors at 1;0. Only the end results of the model fitting process are presented in Figure 2.
 - We applied Mplus 6.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2010) to estimate the regression equations. The Maximum Likelihood Robust (MLR) estimation was chosen because it is robust to non-normality and the distributions of the variables were not normal throughout (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). In evaluating the goodness-of-fit, we used three indicators suggested in the literature: the Chi-square > .05, the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) > .90 and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) < .08 (Hu & Bentler, 1995).

Figure 2(a) shows the path diagram of the *Size-Shape* model. Mothers' *Autonomy Support* in infancy, as well as children's vocabulary in toddlerhood,

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Figure 2. Mothers' Sensitivity in Responding as Predictor of Children's Pre-Mathematical Skills at 3;0. Standardized Regression Coefficients (N = 65).

Note. The fit statistics for (a): $\chi^2(5) = 2.96$, p = .71, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00; (b): $\chi^2(4) = 2.64$, p = .62, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00; (c): $\chi^2(5) = 7.95$, p = .16, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .09. The correlations between maternal predictors ranged from .33 to .70

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was positively associated with children's performance on the size and shape tasks. Moreover, mothers' Scaffolding had a positive direct effect on vocabulary and an indirect effect on task performance mediated by vocabulary ($\beta = .13$, z = 2.37). The model explained 24% of the variance. When running the corresponding model in toddlerhood, no statistically significant effects of the three maternal predictors were found.

In Figure 2(b), mothers' Scaffolding in infancy, as well as vocabulary in toddlerhood, were positively related to children's performance on the location tasks. However, vocabulary was a negative predictor, but the indirect effect of Scaffolding on Location was not significant. The model explained 24% of the

10 variance. Running the corresponding model in toddlerhood, showed a positive effect of *Emotional Support* at 2;0 ($\beta = .43$, z = 4.35). The effect was no longer significant when the predictor was entered into the model in Figure 2(b).²

As shown by the Number model, Figure 2(c), mothers' Autonomy Support in infancy was associated with children's better performance, whereas Emotional

- 15 Support predicted poorer performance on the number tasks. Again, Scaffolding had a positive direct effect on vocabulary and an indirect effect on task performance mediated by vocabulary ($\beta = .12, z = 2.35$). The model explained 26% of the variance. The corresponding model in toddlerhood showed a positive effect of Autonomy Support at 2;0 (β = .34, z = 3.06). Entering the predictor into
- 20 the model at age 1;0, Figure 2(c), resulted in poor fit indices. Figure 2(c) indicates that Emotional Support has a clearly stronger relationship with Number ($\beta = -.36$) than might have been expected on the basis of the zero-order correlation (r = -.05). The pattern of findings suggests a suppressor situation (Paulhus, Robins, Trzesniewski, & Tracy, 2004) which is further con-
- 25 firmed by the partial correlation (r = -.23, p = .07) when the effect of Autonomy Support is held constant. Correspondingly, the partial correlation between Autonomy Support and Number (r = .40) is somewhat higher than the zero-order correlation (r = .33) but equals the magnitude of the β value (.42).

Effects of background variables

³⁰ As shown in Figure 2, more years of maternal education is related to higher levels of Autonomy Support, Scaffolding, and Emotional Support, which is in line with the zero-order correlations (r = .30 - .42). There were significant indirect effects of mothers' education on Location through Scaffolding at 1;0 ($\beta = .22, z = 2.80$) and on Number through Autonomy Support at 1;0 (β = .13, z = 1.97) and Emotional Support at 1;0 ($\beta = -.132$, z = -2.74).

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Figure 2(b) shows an increase in the magnitude of the negative effect of vocabulary on Location compared to the zero-order correlation, (r = -.02), but the partial correlation (r = -.24) equals the magnitude of the β value (-.25).

². We found stability in mothers' *Emotional Support* from infancy to toddlerhood ($\beta = .58, z = 7.06$).

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Finally, in order to explore the stability of our results, we reran the regression
models without maternal education, as well as with child gender. The predictive
relations shown in Figure 2 remained practically the same.

Discussion

The main research question was which aspects of early mother-child play interaction predict later pre-mathematical outcomes. The results suggest that mothers who were more sensitive during joint play in infancy, as indicated by autonomy support and scaffolding, had children who performed better on spatial and numerical tasks. More highly educated mothers influenced later child outcomes as they responded more sensitively to their child's cognitive needs than mothers with less education. These relations hold true even after controlling for emotional support, child language and gender.

Many longitudinal studies exploring the effect of the multifaceted construct of parenting have merged emotional and cognitive aspects of interactional processes. Such a broad construct in toddlerhood has been shown to predict mathematical achievement at kindergarten age (Martin et al., 2007; for over-

- 20 all cognitive outcomes, see Hirsh-Pasek & Burchinal, 2006; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000). Instead of merging, we kept apart conceptually distinct parenting dimensions consistent with definitions of sensitive and responsive behaviour (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bornstein, 1989). The same three dimensions have also been identified for older children (see Pino-Pasternak &
- 25 Whitebread, 2010). As expected, inclusion of three related constructs indicated a suppressor situation in the path analyses. By removing child outcome-irrelevant variance of the maternal predictors, we could extract more efficient predictors that can have theoretical and practical importance (see also, Paulhus et al., 2004). Our findings support recent evidence of the impact of early social experi-
- ences on neurobiological development. Mothers' scaffolding was the strongest predictor of children's performance on object location tasks at preschool age, as well as of vocabulary size in toddlerhood which is consistent with theory and research on child language development (see Bruner, 1983; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2014), whereas mothers' autonomy support was a more powerful predictor
- of performance on tasks representing complex spatial and quantitative relations. According to the Vygotskian view, successful learning entails autonomy which gradually grows out of scaffolding. It is plausible that high-level parenting, already in infancy, when children acquire their basic memory representations of spatial and numerical concepts (McDonough, Choi, & Mandler, 2003; Quinn, 2007; Sarnecka et al. in press) is optimal for prompting later self-regulated
- 40 **2007**; Sarnecka et al., in press), is optimal for prompting later self-regulated learning.

Our evidence is consistent with prior findings on children's knowledge about the spatial relations (Clements et al., 1999; Gadzichowski et al., 2013) and quantitative relations (Wynn, 1990) of their physical environment. It is interesting

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that the pre-schoolers who performed better on object-based spatial tasks also performed better on cardinal number tasks for small sets of items. Thus far, the empirical evidence for this developmental relationship has been scarce (but see de Hevia et al., 2014; Verdine et al., 2014). Our findings on the effects of vocabulary size on later complex outcomes are in line with the view that learning nouns and verbs tunes children's attention to spatial and number words (Choi & Donough, 2007).

It turned out that high-level emotional support did not foster pre-mathematical development in an optimal way. Nonetheless, our findings do not imply that the emotional context of parent-child interaction would not be important per

- ¹⁰ se or for other domains of development. Moreover, the path analyses in toddlerhood did not add to what interaction in infancy could explain for subsequent outcomes. Removal of the shared variance between the maternal predictors revealed no significant unique effects by any of the predictors in toddlerhood (mean of partial r = .15, range .03–.24, p > .05). One reason may be that Finnish
- 15 mothers typically are the primary caretakers during the child's first year of life but, beyond infancy, other social relationships may emerge as unique predictors of development because fathers and professional caregivers have an increasing impact on learning.

Methodological considerations and conclusions

Some advantages and limitations in the present study should be taken into account. To reduce biased sampling the families were chosen from the register of the total population in Finland. The attrition rate over the three-year period was remarkably low. The sample size is small but typical for laborious microlevel coding of video-recorded play interaction, and for estimating regression models for dyadic data (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006).

All children were followed up at the exact ages, which is different from prior studies. Children have also been asked to count similar items presented in a single row (e.g. Wynn, 1990). Our numerical tasks were more demanding because the children had to count different types of body parts. Reanalysis of the *Number*

- 30 model showed that the results stayed the same when including only the number words of one (head) and two (legs). Even though the task reliabilities were somewhat low, the upper limits of validity ranged from .68 to .80 (see Schmitt, 1996) and the inter-rater reliabilities were very high.
- As it is the body parts that act with objects in the world (Smith, Maouene, ³⁵ & Hidaka, 2007), joint play might be a more valid early context for supporting cognitive outcomes compared to picture-book reading. Our study provides important new information for parents and early educators because mathematical performance before school entry forms a strong predictor of later school achievement (e.g. Aunola et al., 2004).

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