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A mental number line in human newborns

*Original Citation:*

*Availability:*

This version is available at: 11577/3291469 since: 2020-12-15T19:18:32Z

*Publisher:*

*Published version:*

DOI: 10.1111/desc.12801

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(Article begins on next page)

12/15/2020

Posta di Università degli studi di Padova - DS-01-18-0026-P.R2 : Decision letter



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**DS-01-18-0026-P.R2 : Decision letter**

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Developmental Science <[onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com](mailto:onbehalf@manuscriptcentral.com)>

15 gennaio 2019 23:37

Rispondi a: [Jukka.Leppanen@uta.fi](mailto:Jukka.Leppanen@uta.fi)

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Dear authors,

It is a pleasure to accept your manuscript entitled "A mental number line in human newborns" in its current form for publication in Developmental Science. The original reviewers were happy with your revisions and recommended publication.

You will be contacted shortly by our Managing Editor with instructions for submitting your final manuscript files.

Thank you for your fine contribution. On behalf of the Editors of Developmental Science, we look forward to your continued contributions to the Journal.

Sincerely,

Dr. Jukka Leppänen  
Associate Editor  
Developmental Science

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1 **Title: A mental number line in human newborns**

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**Research highlights**

- Humans represent numbers on a left to right oriented mental number line, with smaller numbers located on the left and larger ones on the right.
- The cultural vs. biological origin of the mental number line is a strongly debated issue.
- After being habituated to a certain number, hour-old neonates associated a smaller number with the left and a larger number with the right side.
- This evidence demonstrates that a predisposition to map numbers onto space is present soon after birth.

## Abstract

Humans represent numbers on a mental number line with smaller numbers on the left and larger numbers on the right side. A left-to right oriented spatial-numerical association, SNA, has been demonstrated in animals and infants. However, the possibility that SNA is learnt by early exposure to caregivers' directional biases is still open. We conducted two experiments: in Experiment 1 we tested whether SNA is present at birth and in Experiment 2 we studied whether it depends on the relative rather than the absolute magnitude of numerosness. Fifty-five-hour-old newborns, once habituated to a number (12), spontaneously associated a smaller number (4) with the left and a larger number (36) with the right side (Experiment 1). SNA in neonates is not absolute but relative. The same number (12) was associated with the left side rather than the right side whenever the previously experienced number was larger (36) rather than smaller (4) (Experiment 2). Control on continuous physical variables showed that the effect is specific of discrete magnitudes. These results constitute strong evidence that in our species SNA originates from pre-linguistic and biological precursors in the brain.

**Key words:** number space association, human newborns, SNARC, mental number line, numerical cognition, number sense.

## 1 **Introduction**

2 Non-symbolic numerical skills are widespread in the animal kingdom (Vallortigara, 2014).  
3 Pre-verbal infants (Cordes & Brannon, 2009; Izard, Sann, Spelke & Streri, 2009) and non-human  
4 species (Vallortigara, 2012) can extrapolate numerical magnitude from an array of elements,  
5 showing a non-symbolic number comprehension (Feigenson, Dehaene & Spelke, 2004; Rugani,  
6 Castiello, Priftis, Spoto & Sartori, 2017). In humans, this comprehension is present early in infancy  
7 (Cordes & Brannon, 2009) and can be assessed in adults by preventing the use of language (Cantlon  
8 & Brannon, 2007; Cordes, Gelman, Gallistel & Whalen, 2001). Both humans (Moyer & Landauer,  
9 1967) and animals (Cantlon & Brannon, 2007; Scarf, Hayne & Colombo, 2011) find non-symbolic  
10 numerical tasks easier as the difference between the numbers increases (distance effect) and harder  
11 as the numerical magnitude increases (size effect). These similarities are suggestive of a shared,  
12 ancient, non-verbal numerical mechanism (Cantlon & Brannon, 2007). Therefore, uniquely human  
13 mathematical abilities seem to be based on an early developing and evolutionarily ancient “number  
14 sense” (Dehaene, 2011). Recently, Leibovich et al. (2017) claimed that it would be impossible to  
15 control for all continuous physical extents (e.g., perimeter, area, size, density) in a non-symbolic  
16 numerical task, challenging the number sense theory. Leibovich and colleagues’ stance should  
17 prompt reflection on what a non-symbolic number is. By definition, a non-symbolic number is the  
18 numerosness extrapolated from an array of elements (Rugani et al., 2017). Non-symbolic  
19 numerosness is likely to be part of a more general system for representing quantity, both discrete  
20 and continuous (see Gallistel, 2011). A more challenging research-line would therefore aim to  
21 disentangle the interplay between continuous-physical extents to achieve number comprehension.  
22 Therefore, in this paper we tried to provide maximally accurate controls to check for a role of  
23 continuous physical variables in our experiments.

24 A peculiar characteristic of numerical representation concerns the spatial coding of numbers  
25 along a left-right oriented continuum (Galton, 1880). Adults are faster in processing small numbers  
26 when responses are executed on the left side of space and faster for large numbers when responses

1 are executed on the right side of space (spatial-numerical association of response codes, SNARC ef-  
2 fect; Dehaene, Bossini & Giraux, 1993). Several studies suggested that the left-to-right orientation  
3 of the mental number line is an outcome of exposure to formal instruction and that the mapping of  
4 number onto space would be a by-product of culture, based on reading/writing conventions and tool  
5 use, such as rulers (Rugani & de Hevia, 2017). Native Arabic speakers show an inverted SNARC  
6 effect (Zebian, 2005), whereas people with mixed reading habits (i.e. those brought up reading both  
7 left-to-right and right-to-left) show no SNARC effect at all (Shaki, Fischer & Petrusic, 2009). How-  
8 ever, an increasing number of studies support the idea of a biological root for the mental number  
9 line. Seven-month-old infants looked longer at increasing (e.g. 1-2-3) but not at decreasing (e.g. 3-  
10 2-1) magnitudes displayed in a left-to-right spatial orientation (de Hevia, Izard, Coubart, Spelke &  
11 Streri, 2014). Eight-month-old infants oriented their attention toward the left after having seen a  
12 small numerosness (i.e., 2), and toward the right after having seen a large numerosness (i.e., 9)  
13 (Bulf, de Hevia & Macchi-Cassia, 2015). This infant evidence clearly excludes a primary influence  
14 of verbal counting in SNA orientation. However, this could still result from a history of interactions  
15 with adults and the external world (Patro, Fischer, Nuerk & Cress, 2016). A tendency to look longer  
16 at numerosness from left-to-right has been reported in our species (de Hevia *et al.*, 2014; Izard *et*  
17 *al.*, 2009). However, this is only a partial evidence of the SNA, because an increase in the looking  
18 time from right-to-left has not been reported for decreasing sequences.

19 Also, adult Clark's nutcrackers (Rugani, Kelly, Szelest, Regolin & Vallortigara, 2010) and  
20 rhesus monkeys (Drucker & Brannon, 2014) have shown unilateral, left-to-right oriented bias in  
21 associating numerosness with space. Nevertheless, these biases could depend on continuous  
22 extents, which were not systematically controlled. A spatial representation of magnitude has been  
23 recently also found in gorillas and orangutans (Gazes, Diamond, Hope, Caillaud, Stoinski &  
24 Hampton, 2017). Interestingly, however, even if present in most of the individuals the direction of  
25 the association was either left-to-right or right-to-left oriented. Differences in orientation do not  
26 appear to be due to species or handedness, but rather to idiosyncratic experiences such as the

1 interactions with caregivers (Gazes et al., 2017). Different evidence came from a study in cleaner  
2 fish: a lack of association between magnitudes and space was observed in this species that can be  
3 attributed to either experiential or evolutionary factors (Triki & Bshary, 2018). Clearly, other  
4 species of lower vertebrates need to be tested.

5 It seems that spatial-numerical association emerges differentially depending on the task (see  
6 e.g. Patro, Nuerk, Cress, & Haman, 2014, Patro et al., 2016), as a consequence it is not simple to  
7 understand which task better reflects the human mental number line. On one hand several early  
8 spatial-numerical associations concern mostly ordinal tasks (e.g. deHevia & Spelke, 2010; Drucker  
9 & Brannon 2014; Opfer Thompson, & Furlong, 2011; Rugani, Regolin & Vallortigara, 2007).  
10 Searching for items in a fronto-parallel arranged series of numbered items, 4-year-old children  
11 expected numbers to be ordered from left-to-right (Opfer et al., 2011). After learning to find an  
12 object in a sagittal series of objects, two and three-year-old children were tested on a 90° transposed  
13 display (i.e. fronto-parallel arranged) and started to count from the left end. This bias occurred when  
14 the objects were numerically labeled and not when they were not labeled or when they were  
15 alphabetically labeled, showing the peculiarity of numbers to prompt a left-to-right spatial mapping  
16 (McCrink, Perez, & Baruch, 2017). A tendency to count from left to right has been found also in  
17 non-human animals, using a different kind of ordinal task. Animals were trained to identify a target  
18 element (e.g. the 4<sup>th</sup>) in a sagittal-oriented series of identical elements. During the test phase they  
19 were required to respond to an identical series but rotated by 90°. The correct options were actually  
20 two: the target from the left and the one from the right end of the series. Day-old domestic chicks  
21 (Rugani et al., 2007), adult Clark's nutcrackers (Rugani et al., 2010) and adult monkeys (Drucker &  
22 Brannon, 2014) selected the target from the left end most often. On the other hand, this left-sided  
23 bias could either be related to the association between numbers and space or to a general bias in the  
24 allocation of spatial attention (Rugani et al., 2011). This phenomenon, known as "pseudoneglect",  
25 was first described in humans and reflects the fact that in many cases we primarily attend to objects  
26 in the left side of space (Bowers & Heilman, 1980). More recently, a selective allocation of spatial



1 attention to the left hemifield **has been also identified in adult pigeons and chicks** (Diekamp et al.,  
2 2005; Regolin, 2006). The left-to-right tendency in the ordinal task could be both attributed to the  
3 SNA as well as to a pseudoneglect phenomenon. On the other hand, other kinds of tasks have been  
4 designed to highlight spatial bias to respond to arithmetic outcomes (Patro & Haman, 2012; Rugani,  
5 Rosa-Salva, & Regolin, 2014) and to the response time to numerals (Adachi, 2014).

6 **To date a complete evidence of a non-verbal SNARC-like phenomenon has only been**  
7 **provided in domestic chicks**, which preferentially respond to small numbers on the left side and to  
8 large numbers on the right side of space (Rugani, Vallortigara, Priftis & Regolin, 2015a). Chicks  
9 associated a same non-symbolic number (i.e., an array of 8 squares) either with the left side, in the  
10 8-32 range, or with the right side, in the 2-8 range. Such relativity of SNA is a fundamental  
11 characteristic of the human mental number line.

12 In this study, to avoid the influence of pseudoneglect phenomena, to ascertain the relativity  
13 of the SNA and its dependence on the number magnitude, we used a new experimental paradigm,  
14 **inspired by Rugani and colleagues' study (2015), that can be easily adapted to the exceptionally**  
15 **young age of our human participants. In addition to this, this paradigm best reflects all the aspects**  
16 **that have been described in the adult-humans mental number line literature, which focused on the**  
17 **SNARC effect** and estimation of a position on the number-line. Both effects are mostly  
18 documented in human adults tested with symbolic numerals (Dehaene, 2011). However, it is not yet  
19 clear if they may be generalized onto a non-symbolic numerical system. The underlying mechanism  
20 at the basis of chicks' SNARC-like effect might differ from the one that drives the effect in humans  
21 (Shaki *et al.*, 2009). Birds have laterally placed eyes, complete nerve crossings at the optic chiasm  
22 and minimal interhemispheric connections, giving rise to a strong lateralization of function in  
23 everyday behavior (Rogers, Vallortigara & Andrews, 2013). Humans, in contrast, like other  
24 primates, have frontally placed eyes, **only partially crossing nerves at the optic chiasm** and strong  
25 interhemispheric connectivity. As a result, they show visual lateralization only in restricted  
26 conditions of vision (e.g. lateral presentation of briefly-presented stimuli) (Ocklenburg, 2017). **The**

1 only way to discover the root of the human mental number line is to explore whether human  
2 newborns, under minimal or no exposure to adults' scanning biases, manifest SNA. Recently it has  
3 been demonstrated that 3-day-old newborns associate continuous quantitative extents with space (de  
4 Hevia et al., 2017).

5 The aim of this study is twofold. The first aim is to improve our knowledge on the origin of  
6 SNA, while exploring the role of the main continuous physical variables (i.e. area, perimeter, and  
7 occupancy) in the visual domain. A second aim consists in investigating whether the association  
8 between a given number and space is triggered by absolute rather than relative magnitude. Broadly  
9 speaking, if the SNA depends on the absolute numerical value, this means that if a number is  
10 considered small, it will always be associated with the left space; *vice versa* if a number is  
11 considered large it will always be associated with the right space. On the other hand, if the SNA  
12 depends on the relative numerical magnitude, this means that it is related to the magnitude of the  
13 given number within a considered numerical interval, or in comparison to another number.

## 14 Experiment 1: The origin of the SNARC effect

### 15 Method

#### 16 *Participants*

17 Twenty-four (10 males) full-term Caucasian newborns (Mean = 51 h, SD = 28.16, range 12 – 117  
18 h), were selected from the maternity ward of the Pediatric Clinic of the University of Padova. We  
19 computed the sample size with G\*Power. Using an effect size of .77 (considered a good effect size  
20 in psychological studies, see Cohen 1988; Sawilowsky, 2009) and with the power of the test of .80,  
21 we obtained a total sample size of 12 (alpha error .05). Moreover, this sample size is very similar to  
22 previous studies with newborns (Craighero, Leo, Umiltà & Simion, 2011; Di Giorgio, Leo, Pascalis  
23 & Simion, 2012). All participants met the normal delivery screening criteria, had a mean birth  
24 weight of 3087.92 g (SD = 494.16), and an Apgar score of 9 at 5 min.

25 An additional fourteen newborns (9 males) were tested but they were not included in the fi-

1 nal sample because i) n=4 did not complete the test, because of a change in their state, ii) n=9  
2 showed a positional bias, i.e. they looked in one direction for more than 80% of the total fixation  
3 time recorded both during the habituation and the test phase separately (Bulf, Johnson, & Valenza,  
4 2011; Di Giorgio, Lunghi, Simion & Vallortigara, 2017, and, iii) n=1 was considered outlier. Outli-  
5 ers were identified on total fixation times toward stimuli, using SPSS software (criterion:  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$ -  
6 Interquartile range).

7 All newborns were tested only if awake and in an alert state (Prechtel & O'Brien, 1982), and  
8 after the parents had provided informed consent. All experimental procedures were approved by the  
9 Pediatric Clinic of the University of Padova (Protocol number 19147).

#### 10 *Stimuli*

11 Habituation and test stimuli consisted of static two-dimensional images. They were  
12 horizontally aligned and presented bilaterally on the left and on the right side from the center of the  
13 screen. All stimuli contained a well-defined number of black square elements with an average  
14 luminance  $0.4 \text{ cd/m}^2$ , depicted within a white square area of  $17.5 \text{ cm} \times 17.5 \text{ cm}$  ( $695 \times 695$  pixels),  
15 subtending a visual angle of  $30.3^\circ \times 30.3^\circ$  (average luminance  $103 \text{ cd/m}^2$ ). The distance between  
16 the two stimuli was of  $8.50 \text{ cm}$  ( $13.65^\circ$ ). The number, the dimension and the position of the  
17 elements varied, within each stimulus, as a function of the experimental conditions.

18 For the habituation phase, we used five stimuli. Each stimulus was an array composed of 12  
19 black square elements, differing in their spatial position. Each black element measured  $1.1 \text{ cm} \times 1.1$   
20  $\text{cm}$  ( $43.67 \times 43.67$  pixels), subtending a visual angle of  $2.1^\circ \times 2.1^\circ$ . The five stimuli were presented  
21 in a random sequence. Each stimulus lasted 500 ms without any interval between two consecutive  
22 stimuli. The five stimuli were randomly presented in a loop in order to convey a dynamic change of  
23 position of the elements. Habituation phase lasted until newborns reached the habituation criterion,  
24 which was automatically computed by E-prime software.

25 We decided to employ five stimuli during the habituation phase in order to i) attract and  
26 maintain newborns' attention and ii) prevent the newborns from identifying the stimuli on the basis

1 of the spatial disposition of the black squares.

2           After the habituation phase with the number 12, a sequence of two different trials,  
3 counterbalanced between participants, was administered. In each test trial the same stimulus was  
4 simultaneously presented on the left and on the right side of the monitor. Half of the newborns had  
5 the small number in the first test trial and the large number in the second one (4-36). The other half  
6 had the large number in the first test trial and the small number in the second one (36-4). Test  
7 stimuli comprised a number of elements which were either smaller (4 black squares, for the small  
8 number test trial) or larger (36 black squares, for the large number test trial) than the number  
9 experienced during habituation (i.e., 12). Also in the test stimuli, each element measured 1.1 x 1.1  
10 cm (43.67 x 43.67 pixels), subtending a visual angle of 2.1° x 2.1°.

11           We decided to use these squares dimensions and the distances between them taking in  
12 account neonatal visual acuity, which is about 1 cycle/degree (Mayer, Beiser, Warner, Pratt, Raye, &  
13 Lang, 1995). As reported by Leat and colleagues (2009): “There have been numerous studies [...],  
14 showing that visual acuity (VA) develops from about 1 cycle/degree (this is often taken to be  
15 equivalent to 6/180 Snellen = 0.0333 decimal acuity) in the newborn to 2.6-12 cycle/degree at one  
16 year” (pp. 21) (Leat, Yadav, & Irving, 2009). Therefore, in light of this, in both our experiments, the  
17 stimuli dimension was adequate for newborns to separately process each square as a discrete  
18 element.

### 19 *Apparatus and procedures*

20           We employed an infant-control habituation procedure (Horowitz, Paden, Bhama & Self,  
21 1972; Sokolov, 1963). Stimuli presentation and data collection were performed using E-Prime 2.0.

22           The baby sat on an experimenter’s lap at a distance of 30 cm from the computer screen and  
23 white curtains were drawn on both sides of the newborn to prevent interference from irrelevant  
24 distractors. The stimuli were displayed on an Apple LED Cinema Display (Flat Panel 30”) computer  
25 monitor (refresh rate = 60 Hz, resolution 2560 x 1600 pixels).

1 The experimenter holding the baby was naive to the test hypothesis and was instructed to fix her/his  
2 gaze on a monitor throughout the experimental session to check the position of the baby was  
3 aligned with the centre of the screen. Above the computer screen, the video camera recorded the eye  
4 movements of the newborn to control their looking behavior on-line and to allow off-line coding of  
5 their fixations.

6 At the beginning of each experiment, a red disc on a black background appeared to attract  
7 the newborn's gaze to the centre of the monitor (i.e., fixation point). In a continuous fashion, the  
8 disc changed in size from small (diameter = 1.8 cm) to large (diameter = 2.5 cm), and vice-versa  
9 until the newborn's gaze was properly aligned with the red disc. The red disc blinked at a rate of  
10 300 ms on, and 300 ms off. The sequence of trials was started by a second experimenter who  
11 watched the newborn's eyes through the monitor. When the newborn's gaze was aligned with the  
12 red disk, the second experimenter, naïve to the hypothesis, pressed a key that automatically turned  
13 off the central disc and activated the onset of the stimuli, thereby initiating the sequence of trials.

14 The paradigm comprised the habituation phase and the test trials, in which two identical  
15 stimuli were presented side-by-side. In the habituation phase, the loop of the stimuli remained on  
16 the screen until the habituation criterion had been reached. Newborns were judged to have habituat-  
17 ed when, from the fourth fixation onward, the sum of any three consecutive fixations was 50% or  
18 less of the total of the first three fixations (Slater, Earle, Morison & Rose, 1985). A bilateral, rather  
19 than a central presentation was selected for two reasons: i) when newborns look at a centrally pre-  
20 sented stimulus, it is difficult for a coder to decide whether they are actually looking at the stimulus  
21 or simply not moving their eyes from the central position; ii) at birth, the photoreceptors in the cen-  
22 tral fovea are very immature, resulting in poor vision in the central area of the visual field  
23 (Abramov et al., 1982; Atkinson & Braddick, 1989). A test trial ended when newborns did not fixate  
24 on the display for at least 10 s.

25 In the present study, for the convenience of explanation, we calculated the percentage index using  
26 the stimulus on the left side for all experimental conditions. Therefore, scores significantly below

1 50% indicated a visual preference for the stimulus on the right side of the screen, whereas scores  
2 significantly above 50% indicated a preference for the stimulus on the left side. Other two coders,  
3 independently of each other and blind to the stimuli presented, performed an offline analysis of the  
4 videos by coding newborns' eye movements frame by- frame. The mean estimated reliability  
5 between observers was Pearson's  $r = 0.93$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , computed on 31 out of 48 newborns  
6 (64.58%).

### 7 *Data Scoring and Statistical Analyses*

8 The dependent variable that we measured, as in previous studies (Di Giorgio et al., 2012; Valenza,  
9 Simion, Macchi-Cassia & Umiltà, 1996) was the percentage of visual preference (Cohen, 1972),  
10 that is the length of time for which each newborn looked at the stimulus presented on the left side  
11 divided by the total time spent looking at both stimuli in each test trial, X 100.

12 Data of Experiment 1 were analyzed as follows:

- 13 i) a first analysis was conducted on the percentage of total fixation time towards the  
14 left position during the habituation phase, to control for any spontaneous a-priori  
15 preference for a specific position (i.e., spatial biases);
- 16 ii) a repeated measures ANOVA with Test Trials Order of stimuli presentation (4-36 and  
17 36-4) as a between-participants factor and Stimulus (4vs.4 and 36vs.36) as within-  
18 participants factor on the percentage of total fixation time toward the left stimulus  
19 was carried out;
- 20 iii) a two-sided one sample t-test on the percentage of total fixation time in the first test  
21 trial was carried out.

22 Data were analyzed using SPSS software.

### 23 **Results**

24 All newborns included in the final sample reached the habituation criterion and looked  
25 equally at the two stimuli  $t_{23} = 0.56$ ,  $p = 0.582$  ( $M_{\text{left}} = 52.25$ ,  $SD = 19.73$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.11$ , see  
26 Fig.1).

1 We carried out a repeated measures ANOVA with Test Trial Order (4-36 and 36-4) as a  
2 between-participants factor and Stimulus (4vs.4 and 36vs.36) as within-participants factor on the  
3 percentage of total fixation time toward left stimulus. The analysis revealed a significant main effect  
4 of Stimulus,  $F_{1,22} = 14.29, p < 0.001, \eta^2_p = 0.48$  (number 4,  $M_{\text{left}} = 64.04, SD = 18.65$ ; number 36,  
5  $M_{\text{left}} = 36.08, SD = 22.85$ ). No other main effect or interaction reached the statistical significance.  
6 Newborns looked significantly longer than chance level (50%) at the left-stimulus in the 4vs.4 trials  
7 ( $t_{23} = 3.69, p = 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.75$ ), and at the right-stimulus in the 36vs.36 trials ( $t_{23} = -2.98, p$   
8  $= 0.007, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.61$ ). Interestingly enough, the spatial bias that emerged during testing was  
9 not present during the habituation, where newborns looked equally at the two stimuli. This indicates  
10 that the bias is caused by the previous experienced numbers. Nevertheless, the first test trial might  
11 influence newborns' performance in the second test trial, because newborns were presented with a  
12 different numerosness. On the other hand, the performance in the first test trial could be solely  
13 influenced by the number perceived during habituation phase.  
14 To assess more directly whether habituation *per se* could affect spatial bias, we conducted a  
15 separate analysis on the first test trial. Results confirmed that when the two stimuli depicted a  
16 number smaller than 12 (4vs.4, Fig.1), newborns looked longer at the left-stimulus ( $M_{\text{left}} = 61.25,$   
17  $SD = 17.44, t_{11} = 2.24, p = 0.047, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.65$ ), when the stimuli depicted a number larger  
18 than 12 (36vs.36, Fig.1), they looked longer at the right-stimulus ( $M_{\text{left}} = 28.00, SD = 24.68, t_{11} = -$   
19  $3.09, p = 0.010, \text{Cohen's } d = 0.89$ ). This highlights that the numerosness perceived during  
20 habituation influences either left or right spatial association that we found in the first test trial.

21 These data suggest that at birth the association between small numerosness with the left  
22 side of space and large numerosness with the right side of space is already present. However, since  
23 the squares were identical in size, newborns' preferences could have been driven by numerical or by  
24 continuous physical variables (overall perimeter and overall area).

## 25 **Experiment 2: The SNARC effect is relative in human newborns**

1 In Experiment 2a and 2b, we tested for two fundamental characteristics of the SNA in newborns: i)  
2 its independence from continuous physical variables; ii) its relative nature.

3 To control for a possible use of continuous physical variables, we used squares of different  
4 dimensions during habituation and test trials. By controlling for the overall perimeter (the  
5 summation of perimeters of all squares depicted in the habituation and in the test stimuli was  
6 identical); this also allows to disentangle between area and number: if the overall perimeter of two  
7 arrays of two-dimensional squares is identical, an inverse correlation exists between numbers and  
8 overall area (Rugani et al., 2017).

## 9 **Method**

### 10 *Participants*

11 We habituated 12 neonates (Mean = 64.66 h, SD = 29.74, range 29 – 126 h; Experiment 2a) to  
12 the number 4 and a second group of 12 neonates (Mean = 52.75 h, SD = 42, range 11- 135 h,  
13 Experiment 2b) to the number 36. All participants met the normal delivery screening criteria, had a  
14 mean birth weight of 3298.12 g (SD = 542.96) and an Apgar score of 9 at 5 min.

15 An additional nine newborns (1 male) were tested but they were not included in the final  
16 sample because i)  $n = 6$  did not complete the test, because of a change in their state, and ii)  $n = 2$   
17 were considered outliers.

### 18 *Stimuli*

19 In Experiment 2a and 2b, we equated the overall perimeter (i.e. summation of the perimeter  
20 of all black squares) of the stimuli presented in the habituation and in the test trials. At the same  
21 time, we also avoided the possibility that newborns relied on the overall area (i.e. summation of the  
22 area of all black squares). As a consequence, we obtained an inverse correlation between the overall  
23 number of elements and their overall area.

24 As in Experiment 1, we used five stimuli during the habituation phase. Specifically, in  
25 Experiment 2a, for the habituation phase we employed stimuli comprising 4 black squares of 3.3 cm  
26 x 3.3 cm (132 x 132 pixels), subtending a visual angle of  $6.3^\circ \times 6.3^\circ$ . The overall perimeter of the 4-  
15



1 elements was 58.2 cm. During a single test trial, both groups of participants were presented with  
2 two identical stimuli, each depicting 12 squares, one on the left and one on the right side of the  
3 monitor.

4 Test trial stimuli were 12 static black squares of 1.1 x 1.1 cm and therefore, with an overall  
5 perimeter of 58.2 cm. Importantly, the overall area of the 4-element stimuli (43.6 cm<sup>2</sup>) was larger  
6 than that of the 12-element stimuli (14.5 cm<sup>2</sup>). If the overall area, when the overall perimeter of the  
7 stimuli is identical, was the crucial factor underlying space-number association, newborns at test  
8 would have looked longer at the stimulus on the left side.

9 As in Experiment 2a, in Experiment 2b the overall perimeter between the habituation stimuli  
10 and the test stimuli was identical (158.4 cm). Habituation stimuli were 36 black squares (1.1 x 1.1  
11 cm), whereas test stimuli were 12 static black squares, measuring 3.3 x 3.3 cm. The overall area of  
12 the 36-elements stimuli (43.6 cm<sup>2</sup>) was smaller than that of the 12-elements stimuli (130.7 cm<sup>2</sup>). If  
13 the overall area, when the overall perimeter of the stimuli is identical, were the crucial factor  
14 underlying space-number association, newborns would have looked longer at the stimulus on the  
15 right side.

### 16 *Apparatus and Procedure*

17 The apparatus and the procedure were the same used in Experiment 1.

### 18 *Data Scoring and Statistical Analyses*

19 In Experiment 2a and 2b, we ran the following analyses:

- 20 i) we replicated the same analysis carried out in Experiment 1 during the habituation  
21 phase to control for any spontaneous a-priori preference for a specific position (i.e.,  
22 spatial biases);
- 23 ii) an ANOVA with Experiment (2a and 2b) as a between-participants factor on the  
24 percentage of total fixation time toward the left stimuli was carried out, in order to  
25 test the relativity of SNA;
- 26 iii) a two-sided one sample t-test on the percentage of total fixation time was carried out.

## 1 **Results**

2 All newborns included in the final sample reached the habituation criterion. Any spatial  
3 biases for both stimuli did not reach statistical significance, neither in Experiment 2a,  $t_{11} = 0.73$ ,  $p =$   
4  $0.480$  ( $M_{\text{left}} = 54.25$ ,  $SD = 20.13$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.21$ , see Fig.2) nor in Experiment 2b,  $t_{11} = 0.02$ ,  $p =$   
5  $0.980$  ( $M_{\text{left}} = 50.17$ ,  $SD = 22.96$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.01$ , see Fig.3).

6 We ran an ANOVA with Experiment (2a and 2b) as a between-participants factor on the  
7 percentage of total fixation time toward the left stimuli. The analysis revealed a significant main  
8 effect of Experiment,  $F_{1,22} = 19.671$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ,  $\eta^2_p = 0.472$ . The neonates habituated with number 4  
9 looked significantly longer than chance level (50%) at the 12-elements on the right side ( $M_{\text{left}} =$   
10  $30.17$ ,  $SD = 22.85$ ,  $t_{11} = -3.01$ ,  $p = 0.012$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.87$ , Fig. 2). The neonates habituated with  
11 number 36 looked longer at the 12-elements on the left side ( $M_{\text{left}} = 75.08$ ,  $SD = 26.62$ ,  $t_{11} = 3.26$ ,  $p$   
12  $= 0.008$ , Cohen's  $d = 0.94$ , Fig. 3). These results show that SNA i) depends on number and not on  
13 other continuous physical variables, ii) is relative to the considered numerical range.

## 14 **Discussion**

15 The ultimate nature (cultural vs. biological) of the orientation of the mental number line is a  
16 strongly debated theoretical issue. On the one hand it has been suggested that the mental number  
17 line emerges as a result of exposure to formal instruction and culture (Patro et al., 2016; Shaki et al.,  
18 2009). On the other hand, an increasing amount of evidence has shown that pre-verbal infants and  
19 non-human animals associate numerosness with space, suggesting that the mental number line  
20 originates from pre-linguistic precursors (Adachi, 2014; Bulf et al., 2015; de Hevia et al., 2014;  
21 Drucker & Brannon, 2014; Lourenco & Longo, 2010; Rugani et al., 2014; Rugani et al., 2016;  
22 Vallortigara, 2017). However, results obtained with infants could be accounted for either by innate  
23 or acquired mechanisms. Recently it has been found that day-old neonates associate small quantities  
24 with the left space and large quantities with the right space, when controls for continuous physical  
25 variables are performed in the auditory domain (de Hevia et al., 2017). Our study extends those  
26 results addressing also the open question of the role of continuous physical cues in the visual

1 domain. Up to now, a complete association between small numbers and left space and large  
2 numbers and right space has been provided solely in three-day-old domestic chicks (Rugani et al.,  
3 2015a). This evidence in inexperienced birds suggests that the role of reading and writing  
4 directionality is secondary in determining the orientation of the SNA (Brugger, 2015; Drucker &  
5 Brannon, 2014). However caution should be urged in the employment of animal models as a key to  
6 understanding the origin of the orientation of the human mental number line (Patro et al., 2016).  
7 Convergent evolution, namely the fact that species from diverse evolutionary lineages could  
8 independently develop similar features (Emery & Clayton, 2004), and differences in brain  
9 organization and lateralization (Drucker & Brannon, 2014; Fischer & Shaki, 2016; Vallortigara,  
10 2017; Vallortigara & Versace, 2017) could affect the interpretation of comparative evidence (but  
11 see Rugani et al., 2015b; Rugani et al., 2016). Nevertheless, comparative as well as developmental  
12 studies have been unable, so far, to unequivocally address the origin of human mental number line.  
13 We overcame these limits by studying human newborns, a population characterized by a very  
14 limited visual experience.

15 Here we provide evidence for a complete, relative and magnitude-based spatial-numerical  
16 association in neonates. Hour-old newborns, initially habituated with a certain numerical value,  
17 spontaneously associated a smaller number with the left space and a larger number with the right  
18 space (Experiment 1). This association did not depend on the absolute magnitude of the number  
19 itself. Newborns habituated with number 4 associated the number 12 with the right (Experiment 2a),  
20 while newborns habituated with number 36 associated the number 12 with the left (Experiment 2b).  
21 This shows that SNA in newborns is relative.

22 Moreover, these findings could not be explained by continuous physical variables. In  
23 Experiment 2a and in Experiment 2b, we controlled for the overall perimeter, obtaining an inverse  
24 correlation between overall area and number. Had newborns associated space to overall area,  
25 instead of number, their choices would have been the opposite to what observed.

1           The fact that day-old newborns rely on numerical rather than on continuous quantitative  
2 information is in line with **previous research** highlighting that, at the start of postnatal experience,  
3 we spontaneously use abstract numerical cues (Izard *et al.*, 2009). In spite of some remaining  
4 criticisms (Leibovich & Ansari, 2016) number is considered a fundamental perceptual feature **that**  
5 **our brain processes early in development to attain a complete representation of the external world**  
6 (Anobile, Cicchini & Burr, 2016; Burr & Ross, 2008; Cicchini, Anobile & Burr, 2016; DeWind,  
7 Adams, Platt & Brannon, 2015; Fornaciai, Brannon, Woldorff & Park, 2017; Fornaciai, Cicchini &  
8 Burr, 2016; Park, DeWind, Woldorff & Brannon, 2016). Non-symbolic number sense is considered  
9 a developmental building block for the uniquely human capacity for mathematics (Carey, 2009;  
10 Dehaene, 2011; Spelke, 2000; Vallortigara, 2017). In support of this idea, it has been found that  
11 impairments to the non-symbolic numerical system are related to the occurrence of dyscalculia  
12 (Wilson & Dehaene, 2007). The acuity of the non-symbolic numerical system is predictive of  
13 mathematical ability in early childhood (Starr, Libertus & Brannon, 2013) **and through training it**  
14 **improves proficiency in symbolic mathematics** (Park & Brannon, 2013).

15           A correlation between the spatial representation of numbers and the level of mathematical  
16 skills has not been found in human adults (Cipora & Nuerk, 2013; Cipora et al., 2016). A possible  
17 explanation could be that professional mathematicians possess a more abstract and flexible  
18 numerical representation which reduces the left-to-right directionality of mental number line  
19 (Cipora et al., 2016). Moreover, it is still unclear if there is continuity between the SNA found in  
20 animals or preverbal children and the SNARC-like effects in processing symbolic numbers.  
21 Nevertheless, our data enlarge the range of influence of the non-symbolic numerical system on the  
22 symbolic one, showing that **the former also affects the directionality of numerical spatial**  
23 **representation.**

24           **To the best of our knowledge, this is the first SNA demonstration in the visual domain in our**  
25 **species linked to minimal experience, supporting its biological origin. Our data confirm and extend**  
26 **de Hevia and colleagues' results (2017), supporting the hypothesis of a precocious association of**

1 numerousness and space both in auditory and in visual domain. This does not exclude that verbal  
2 (Shaki et al., 2009) and non-verbal (Bächtold, Baumüller & Brugger, 1998; Patro et al., 2016)  
3 experiences can modulate its original directionality. Even if the orientation of the mental number  
4 line reflects cultural effects (Shaki, 2009), its widespread presence across diverse cultures supports  
5 the idea that the association between number and space is a universal cognitive strategy (Göbel,  
6 Shaki & Fischer, 2011). The present evidence can be considered the starting point to disentangle the  
7 relative role and weight of cultural and neurobiological factors in determining the orientation of the  
8 human mental number line.

9

1 **Acknowledgements**

2           The authors are deeply indebted to Professor Eugenio Baraldi, Director of the Intensive Care  
3 Unit and Professor Giorgio Perilongo Director of the Department of Women and Child Health for  
4 their collaboration. A special thanks to the nursing staff of the Pediatric clinic of the University of  
5 Padova to the babies who took part in the study and to their parents, to Elena Berto, Daniela Carà  
6 and Silvia Dalò for assistance with newborn testing. We also like to thank Kim Anne Barchi for the  
7 help during the editing of the manuscript.

8           This study was carried out within the framework of the agreement between the University  
9 and the Azienda Ospedaliera of Padova prot.: 91644645. The research was supported by ‘Progetto  
10 di Ateneo’ 2012 to L.R. prot.CPDA127200), and from the European Research Council under the  
11 European Union’s Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) Grant ERC-2011-  
12 ADG\_20110406, Project No: 461 295517, PREMESOR to G.V. and supported by Fondazione  
13 Caritro Grant Biomarker DSA [40102839], PRIN 2018 to GV and H2020-MSCA-IF-2017  
14 SNANeB, Project No: 795242, to RR are also acknowledged.

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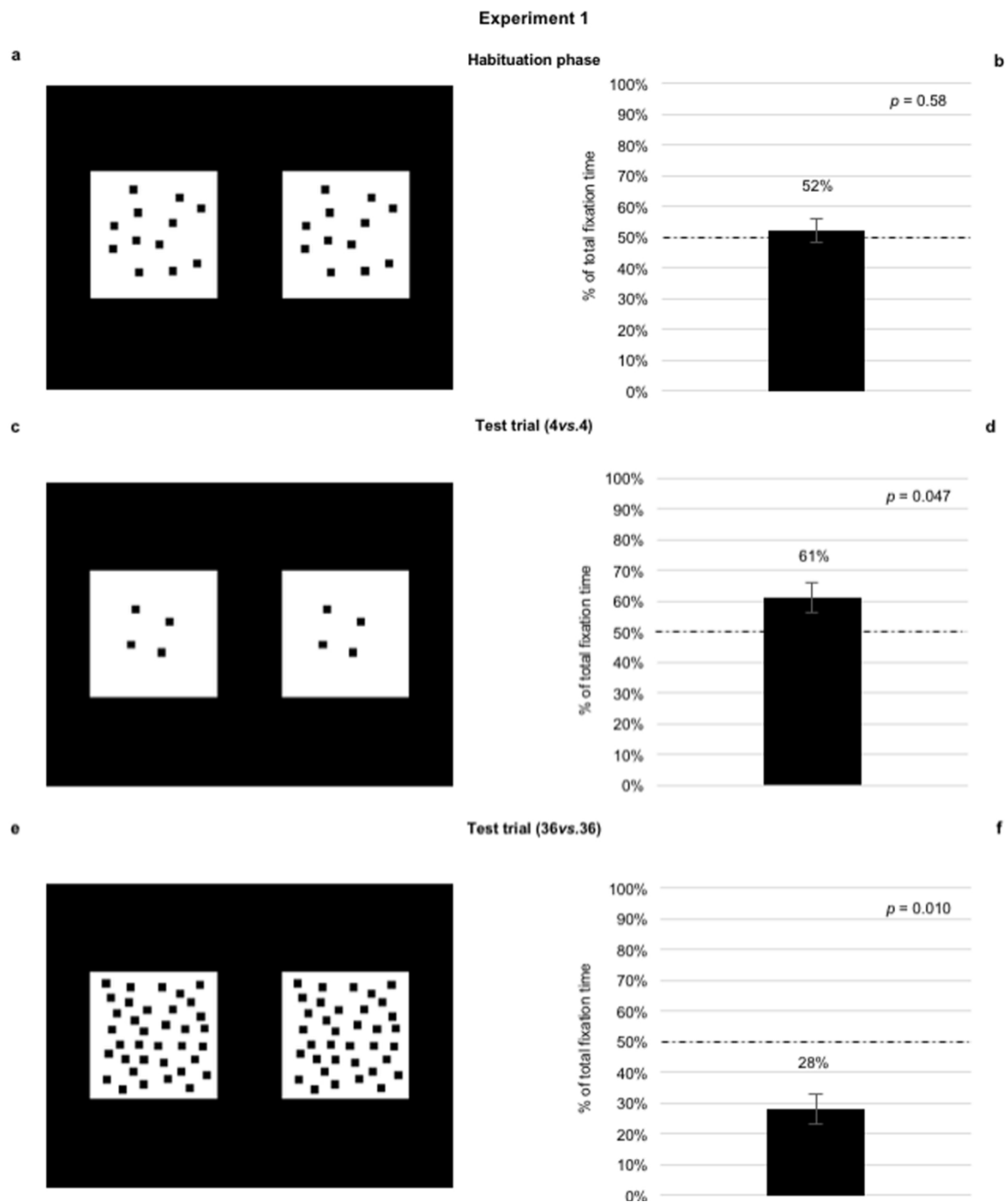
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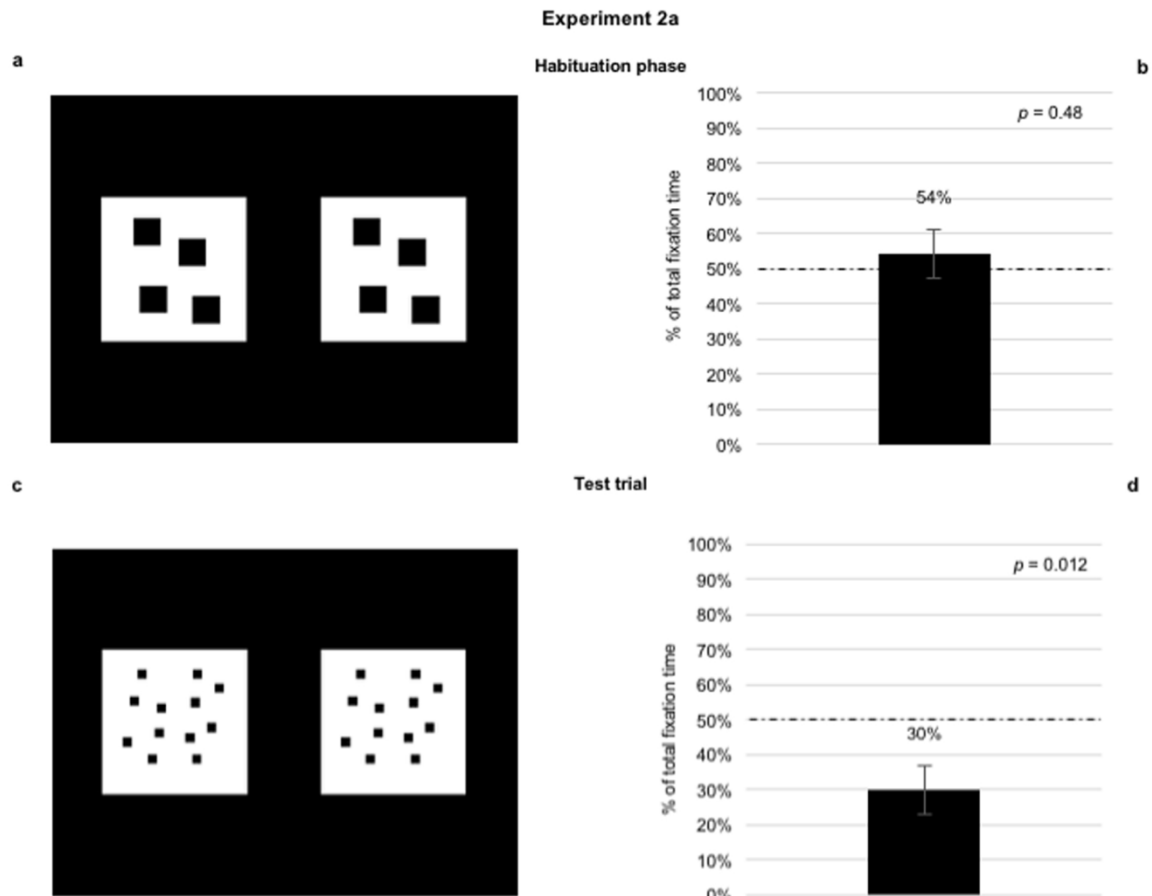
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2 Figure 1. Stimuli and data on newborns' visual preference in Experiment 1.

3 Newborns were habituated with two identical stimuli, depicting 12 black squares of the same  
4 dimension (a). Once they had reached the habituation criterion, newborns underwent two test trials:  
5 one with a small number (4vs.4) (c), and the other with a large number (36vs.36) (e). During  
6 habituation, when the two stimuli depicted 12 squares, percentages of looking time toward the

1 stimuli located on the left and on the right side of the screen did not significantly differ (b). In the  
2 test trial, when the two stimuli depicted 4 squares (4vs.4), newborns looked longer at the left-  
3 stimulus (d), when the stimuli depicted 36 squares (36vs.36), newborns looked longer at the right-  
4 stimulus (f). Error bars are standard error and dashed lines indicate chance level (50%). The  
5 percentage of total fixation time referred to the looking time for the left stimulus.

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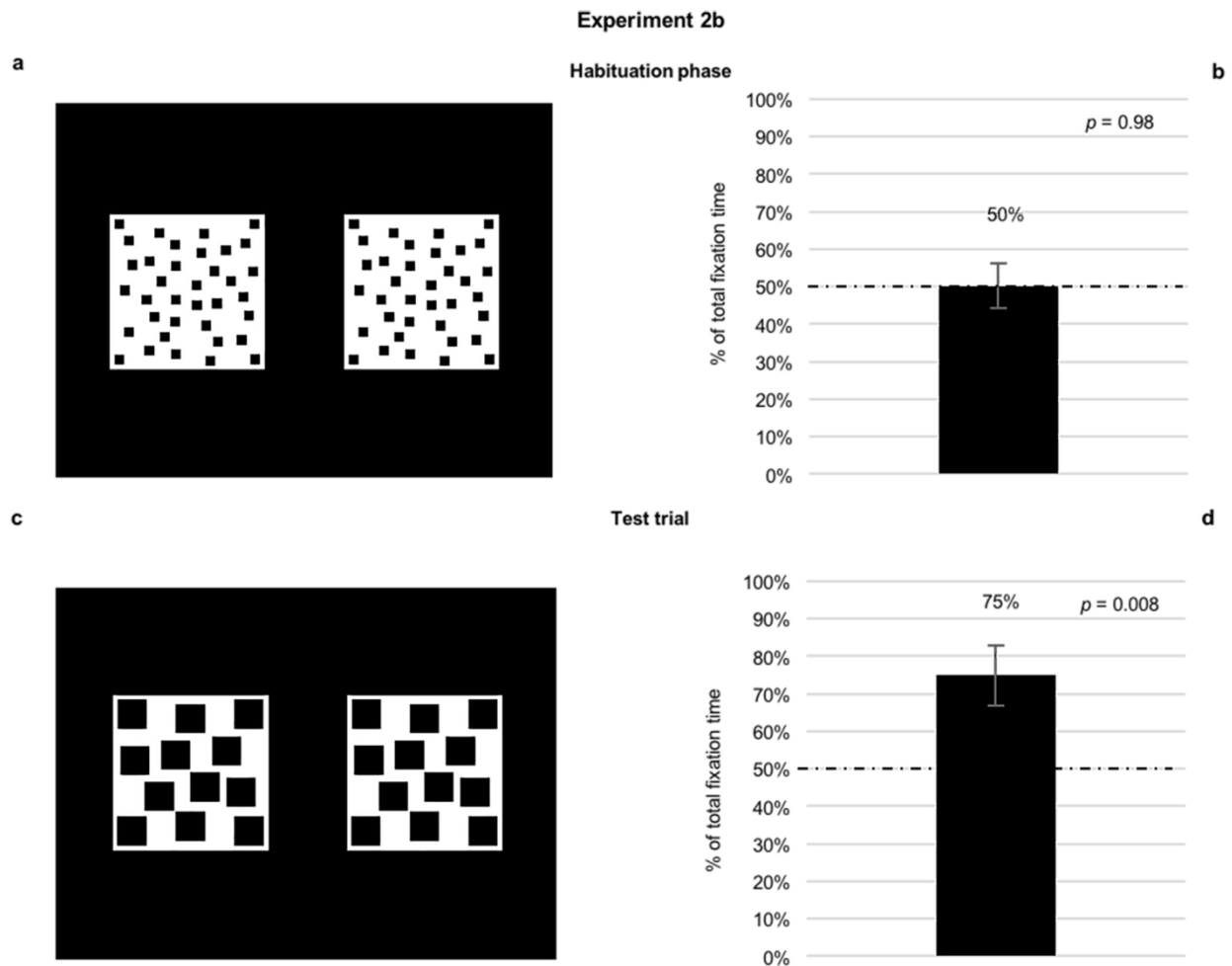
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3 Figure 2. Stimuli and data on newborns' visual preference in Experiment 2a.

4 In Experiment 2a we avoided the possibility that newborns used the overall perimeter (by equated it  
5 in all the stimuli) and the overall area (obtaining an inverse correlation between the number of  
6 squares and the overall area). We habituated a group of neonates with the number 4 (a) and then  
7 they were presented with the number 12 in the test trial (c). As for the habituation phase,  
8 percentages of looking time toward the left and right stimuli did not differ significantly (b). In the  
9 test trial, neonates looked longer at the right-stimulus (d). Error bars are standard error and dashed  
10 lines indicate chance level (50%). The percentage of total fixation time referred to the looking time  
11 for the left stimulus.

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3 Figure 3. Stimuli and data on newborns' visual preference in Experiment 2b.

4 In Experiment 2b, as in Experiment 2a, we avoided the possibility that newborns used the overall  
 5 perimeter (by equated it in all the stimuli) and the overall area (obtaining an inverse correlation  
 6 between the number of squares and the overall area). We habituated a group of neonates with the  
 7 number 36 (a) and then they were presented with the number 12 in the test trial (c). As for the  
 8 habituation phase, percentages of looking time toward the left and right stimuli did not differ  
 9 significantly (b). In the test trial, neonates looked longer at the stimulus on the left (d). Error bars  
 10 are standard error and dashed lines indicate chance level (50%). The percentage of total fixation  
 11 time referred to the looking time for the left stimulus.

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