1	Oral motor and gesture abilities independently associated with preschool language skill -
2	Longitudinal and concurrent relationships at 21 months, 3 and 4 years
3	
4	
5	Katie Alcock
6	Department of Psychology, Lancaster University
7	Simon Connor
8	Department of Psychology, Lancaster University and Simon Connor Psychological Services
9	Ltd
10	
11	
12	Address for correspondence
13	Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Dr Katie Alcock, Department
14	of Psychology, Lancaster University, Fylde College, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YF. Email:
15	k.j.alcock@lancaster.ac.uk
16	
17	Conflict of interest: There are no conflicts of interest, financial or otherwise.
18	
19	Funding: The baseline study was supported by an ESRC small grant (RES-000-22-0054) to
20	the first author. The 3 and 4 year data collection was supported by a Lancaster University
21	PhD studentship awarded to the second author.

Abstract

23

Purpose: Early motor abilities (gesture, oral motor, and gross/fine skills) are related to 24 25 language abilities, and this is not due to an association with cognitive or symbolic abilities: 26 oral motor skills are uniquely associated with language abilities at 21 months. It is important 27 to determine whether this motor-language relationship continues beyond the earliest stage of 28 language development, to understand language acquisition better, and better predict which 29 children may have lasting language difficulties. 30 Method: In this longitudinal study we assessed language comprehension and production, oral 31 motor skill, gross/fine motor skill and meaningless manual gesture, at 3 years (N=89) and 4 32 years (N=71), comparing the contribution of motor skill, and earlier (21 month) language 33 ability. We also examined covariates: non-verbal cognitive ability, socio-economic status, 34 and stimulation in the home as measured on the Home Screening Questionnaire. Results: Motor abilities continue to have a significant relationship with language abilities 35 36 independent of other factors in the preschool years. Meaningless manual gesture ability, 37 gross/fine motor skill and oral motor skill were still associated with language skill at 3y; 38 these relationships are not explained by the contribution of cognitive abilities or earlier 39 language abilities. 40 Conclusions:

Relationships between early motor skill and language development persist into preschool
years, and are not explained by other cognitive or home factors, nor by a relationship with
earlier language ability. This finding should lead to a better understanding of the origins of
language abilities.

22

45

Oral motor and gesture abilities independently associated with preschool language skill -

46

Longitudinal and concurrent relationships at 21 months, 3 and 4 years

47 Motor and language abilities

48 Early motor abilities have a close relationship with developing language. Early motor 49 abilities have several components: these include a) gesture, communicative or non-50 communicative. The onset of this is highly associated with the age at which spoken words are 51 first seen (Bates, 1980) and there seems to be an evolutionary as well as developmental 52 association between the two (Volterra, Caselli, Capirci, & Pizzuto, 2005). Developmental 53 language disorders also have a relationship with disorders of motor control (Bishop, 2002; 54 Botting, Riches, Gaynor, & Morgan, 2010; Brumbach & Goffman, 2014; Hill, 1998). In 55 particular, data from these research groups show that gesture appears to be more closely 56 linked to language skill than b) fine or gross motor skill, a second aspect of early motor 57 abilities.

58 In children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI, also known as Developmental 59 Language Disorder, DLD), deficits in motor skills can give us clues as to what aspects of 60 motor ability are closely related to language ability. Some studies have looked at gesture 61 ability (also known as praxis) and some at gross/fine motor skill and some at both. Dewey 62 and Wall (1997), Hill (1998), Botting et al. (2010) and Wray, Norbury, and Alcock (2016) 63 all found that gesture was impacted in children with DLD and, where gesture and fine motor 64 skill were both tested, gesture was impacted separately to the effect of fine motor skill, if 65 tested. In Hill (1998) it appears that the effects on both skills were tested but not statistically 66 separated from each other. Brumbach and Goffman (2014) found that motor control was 67 affected but did not test gesture, and the same applies to Zelaznik and Goffman (2010) and 68 Sanjeevan et al. (2015).

69

This body of work backs up the rationale for investigating gesture as well as other

70 aspects of motor skill in looking at typically developing children's language. Based on our 71 findings at the baseline time point (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2010) and on previous data showing 72 gesture is more closely associated with language than gross/fine motor skill (where both are 73 tested) we decided to reduce testing burden on the children in this unplanned follow-up study, 74 and to directly test only gesture and oral motor skill, which seemed the most promising of the 75 skills from our previous time point. Although it is true that there are some findings of 76 impaired gross/fine motor skill in children with atypical language development (Sanjeevan et 77 al., 2015; Zelaznik & Goffman, 2010), there is also a more general finding of a lack of 78 relationship between gross/fine motor skill and language development in the broader typical 79 range (Bates, 1980).

80 Looking at mechanisms, Iverson (2010) reviews and discusses these for early links 81 between language and early motor skill (mainly gesture and fine/gross motor skill). As 82 infants' limb movements become more rhythmic, this paves the way for linguistic rhythmic 83 movements - babble. Acting on objects to combine them coincides with first words; and 84 infants combine words and gesture to make their first communicative combinations, before 85 they can combine two words. This explanation is highly functional. Different aspects of 86 motor and language development provide practice to enhance each other; independent locomotion provides increased opportunities for interaction with the world and with 87 88 conversational partners. Following on from Iverson's review, her group has uncovered many 89 predictive and concurrent relationships between limb motor skills and communicative 90 abilities (Iverson & Braddock, 2011; LeBarton & Iverson, 2013, 2016), including in at-risk 91 groups such as preterm infants and younger siblings of children with autism spectrum 92 disorder (LeBarton & Iverson, 2016; West, Leezenbaum, Northrup, & Iverson, 2019). 93 Other explanations involve the communicative and/or symbolic nature of many 94 gestures. Early gesture skill – including symbolic and deictic – is highly correlated with early

95 language skill, and this has been hypothesised to be both because children use their emerging 96 symbolic language skills to develop their gesture skill, and because their motor and language 97 skills seem to rely on a shared substrate (Bates, Thal, Whitesell, & Fenson, 1989). Iverson 98 and Thelen (1999) review a variety of possible mechanisms for the language/motor link in 99 development and in mature language use and suggest that common and adjacent neural 100 substrates and common reliance on timing control are both important to consider in 101 researching this link. The class of explanations involving a common underlying timing 102 mechanism helps to explain the transition from babbling to words noted by Esteve-Gibert and 103 Prieto (2014) to involve linked gesture-speech timing.

104 There is little work to date on meaningless gesture, however; this involves the 105 copying of gestures that are not (or not yet) associated with a communicative or symbolic 106 meaning by the child. In learning gesture in everyday life, children must learn most gestures 107 from an example given by an adult, which may not have a meaning associated with it yet. 108 This means that copying "gestures with no meaning yet" is a useful skill for a child. If these 109 are related to language development could help us to distinguish between mechanisms; if 110 early non-symbolic (or meaningless) gesture is related to early language, it is possible that it 111 is not the symbolic nature of early gesture that links it to early language, but either the linked neural substrates and/or common timing mechanisms. We can hence rule out the symbolic 112 113 explanation by looking at meaningless gestures, but cannot necessarily discriminate between 114 other explanations.

While many of these authors refer mainly or exclusively to control of limb movements, a third type of motor skill, c) *oral motor skills* are also implicated in the developing motor/language relationship. Alcock and Krawczyk (2010) found that oral motor skills – children's ability to imitate and coordinate mouth movement skills without speech content – were related to language production at the age of 21 months, independently of 120 relationships with limb motor skills and cognitive skills. Davis and MacNeilage (1995) found 121 common oral movements in pre-speech babble and in early speech; building on this body of 122 work, parallel developments can be seen in spontaneous non-speech and early speech 123 movements in many subsequent data sets, though not between feeding and pre-speech 124 movements (Nip, Green, & Marx, 2011; Steeve & Moore, 2009). Neither is the contribution 125 of oral motor skills to speech and language solely due to a common short term memory 126 component (Krishnan et al., 2017). Data from adults shows that stimulation that disrupts 127 sequences of oral movements also disrupts naming and reading (Ojemann, 1984). Again, 128 further associations between oral movements and language development would help to 129 eliminate a symbolic background to the motor/language relationship, and add strength to the 130 explanations of linked neural substrates or common timing mechanisms.

131 Children with a variety of disorders that affect some aspects of spoken language also 132 have some nonverbal oral motor difficulties, including children with developmental verbal 133 dyspraxia (Alcock, Passingham, Watkins, & Vargha-Khadem, 2000), autism (Gernsbacher, 134 Sauer, Geye, Schweigert, & Hill Goldsmith, 2008) and Williams Syndrome, where spoken 135 language is delayed in onset (Krishnan, Bergström, Alcock, Dick, & Karmiloff-Smith, 2015). 136 We additionally found (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2010) concurrent relationships between oral motor skill and language development at the age of 21 months, across the range of individual 137 138 differences in typical language development. Why is it important to examine relationships 139 with individual differences?

140 Individual differences in language acquisition

141 Children vary in their rate of acquiring language (Fenson et al., 2000), with some 142 children starting to talk significantly later than others and some of these continuing to show 143 language delay (Rescorla, 2011). Some of these children will show long term difficulty in 144 spoken and written language (Rescorla, 2002). Other children are precocious, early talkers which by some accounts is not a stable characteristic, but in other studies seems to be a
predictor of precocious literacy skills (Dale, Crain-Thoreson, & Robinson, 1995; Skeat et al.,
2010).

148 Investigating the relationship of other skills to developing language skill can enable us 149 to find out more about how language develops, and how to predict which children might be 150 delayed or precocious language users. In our baseline study (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2010) we 151 examined language, oral motor, gesture, fine and gross motor and cognitive abilities at the 152 age of 21 months, a time of rapid language development. Although opinions vary about 153 whether the quality of language development differs at this time (Ganger & Brent, 2004), 154 choosing a time point when children's vocabulary sizes are very different to each other means 155 it is easier to detect individual differences.

156 **The current study**

157 This study builds on the work of Alcock and Krawczyk (2010), who showed that oral 158 motor skill is independently associated with language ability at 21 months. We investigate 159 here the longitudinal relationships between motor (oral motor, gross and fine motor, and 160 gestural ability) and language skills at 21 months and those at 3 and 4 years of age. 161 Concurrent skills are clearly more likely to be associated with each other. Crucially, if skills 162 are associated over a longer period of time, and/or at multiple time points, this can tell us 163 more about the mechanisms of children's language development in general, over and above a 164 simple association at one time point. We hypothesise that motor skills will continue to be 165 associated with language skills at multiple time points; this may mean that earlier motor skills 166 predict later language skills and/or that similar relationships between motor and language 167 skills are found at more than one time point.

168 Because many different factors are likely to influence language development, and we 169 need to ensure we are not measuring artefacts, we controlled for nonverbal cognitive abilities 170 (we include here symbolic cognitive abilities and auditory processing abilities, which may 171 also make equal or stronger contributions to language development, so we need to factor 172 these out), as well as stimulation in the home and socio-economic status (SES). In our 173 original cross-sectional study we found that gesture, fine motor and gross motor skills did not 174 have a separate relationship with language skills over and above the contribution of oral 175 motor skills or vice versa (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2006). However, given the strong 176 relationship between early gesture and language skills (Bates et al., 1989; Volterra et al., 177 2005), it seemed likely that some independent associations between limb motor control and 178 language might emerge at an older time point.

Our longitudinal study, following children to an older age than previous studies (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2010; Bates et al., 1989; Volterra et al., 2005) can establish this; relationships at a single age are indicative but cannot tell us anything about whether one ability *predicts* another ability (and therefore the second ability is built may build on the first) and/or whether relationships occur at different ages (and therefore the relationship *persists* through early childhood).

185 Hence we assessed children longitudinally on limb motor skills (manual gesture, 186 gross/fine motor skills) and oral motor skills. At the previous time point, some children only had parent report measures available for gesture and motor skills, while others had direct 187 188 measures (Bayley, 1993), but in the current study we attempted to assess all children directly 189 on both manual gesture ability and oral motor ability. We hypothesised that motor skills 190 would continue to have independent relationships with language abilities in the preschool 191 years; because of our longitudinal design, we can here examine predictors rather than merely 192 correlates. Based on our previous data and on previous literature, we suggest that finding 193 such a relationship between meaningless gesture and/or oral motor skills on the one hand, and 194 language skills on the other, can eliminate the possibility that a motor/language association in

development exists due to a common symbolic origin of gestural and language abilities.
Rather, we hypothesise that this is likely to be due to either a common neural basis, or a
common basis in timing control, or both.

198 We examined oral motor and manual gesture skills at both follow-up time points and 199 in addition we examined gross and fine motor skills, although we had not previously found 200 these to be correlated with language ability (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2010), and other authors 201 suggested that gross motor skill was not strongly related to language ability either (Bates, 202 1979). Although there are standardised fine and gross motor assessments available for this 203 age group, because of the lack of relationship found at our baseline testing point, and 204 previous work suggesting no relationship, at this point we decided to omit direct testing of 205 this skill to reduce testing burden.

206 We wished to examine gestural ability at both follow up time points even though we 207 had not seen a relationship at 21 months, as previous authors had found relationships with 208 symbolic and non-symbolic (meaningless) gesture (Bates, O'Connell, Vaid, & Sledge, 1986). 209 Because the symbolic gesture task used at 21 months was nearly at ceiling, we did not repeat 210 a symbolic gesture measure at 3 years but replaced it with a symbolic comprehension task 211 (see below). Our data were collected before those of Botting et al. (2010) but their finding of 212 impaired symbolic gesture comprehension in DLD somewhat justifies our choice - children 213 in Botting's study were impaired in symbolic ability even without a motor burden. We 214 likewise chose our 4 year measures after being aware of the 3 year results, so introduced a 215 new meaningless (non-symbolic) gesture measure, taken from Bergès and Lézine (1965). 216 We also sought to determine whether these relationships were due to other, more 217 closely linked skills being associated with both language and different types of motor skills. 218 At 21 months we found that cognitive skills were associated with language skills, 219 independent of the motor skills often needed by young infants to perform non-verbal

220 cognitive tasks (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2006). However, since at the first time point we did 221 find significant independent associations between language skills and nonverbal cognitive 222 skills (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2006) and between language skills and auditory processing skills 223 (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2008), we tested these abilities again both to explore the relationship 224 more generally between language and non-verbal ability (an overall aim of our original 225 study), and to ensure we were testing as many mediators and moderators of the relationship 226 between language and motor skills as possible. We therefore tested children on a variety of 227 cognitive tasks - visuo-spatial tasks, auditory processing (Aslin, 1989), nonword repetition 228 (Gathercole, 2006; Krishnan et al., 2013) - that are more or less likely to have a relationship 229 with language development. We need to determine whether the inverse is true: children's 230 cognitive abilities enable them to perform well on both language and motor tasks, giving an 231 artefactual relationships if only some domains of developing skill are tested. This again 232 mirrors our design at 21 months where we ensured that we had measures of cognitive and 233 motor skill to disentangle the relationships of both of these areas of development to language 234 development.

235

Methods

236 Participants and measures

237

Age 21 months (Time 1) Participants

Families that participated in the original study were recruited from a local hospital at the time of birth, and re-contacted aged 18 months at which time point a short

240 Communicative Development Inventory (CDI) based on the Oxford CDI (Hamilton, Plunkett,

241 & Schafer, 2000) was administered and children were divided into four testing groups each of

- 242 which had equal numbers of children from each decile of language abilities. Families where
- 243 children heard a language other than English (defined as for over one day a week) were
- 244 excluded but no other families were excluded.

245

General testing considerations (all time points)

Children were tested in a quiet room at the Babylab, and a parent or caregiver plus a research assistant (at age 21 months) or the second author (at age 3 and 4 years) was present. Gesture and oral motor tasks were videoed at all time points. Word/non-word repetition tasks were audio recorded. All other tasks were scored as testing occurred.

250

Age 21 months (Time 1) Measures

251 Children in each testing group did a different set of tests at age 21 months, and at this 252 age 128 families either completed some questionnaires on language and motor skills, or 253 completed some laboratory testing plus a language questionnaire, or both. For further details 254 of testing at 21 months see Alcock and Krawczyk (2010). However, in summary all children 255 had data from the full Oxford CDI, as well as either motor tasks (oral motor tasks, gesture 256 tasks, fine and gross motor tasks) or motor questionnaires (gesture, fine and gross motor) or 257 both. Measures at Time 1 are outlined in Table 1, including N for each task. 258 [Table 1 about here] 259 Saudino et al. (1998) 260 Age 3 years (Time 2) Participants 261 At the age of 3 years, 89 children (39 girls) and their families returned for testing, with testing taking place between the ages of 2.90 years and 3.15 years (mean 3.03, SD .043). 262 263 Age 3 years (Time 2) Measures At 3 years the Preschool Language Scale 3rd Edition (PLS-3 UK) (Zimmerman, 264 Steiner, & Pond, 2003) was administered to all children. 265 266 Some of the same motor tasks were administered exactly as at Time 1: Oral Motor

267 Control, Gesture Sequencing, and Meaningless Gesture tasks (Alcock & Krawczyk, 2010) to

268 41 children (14 girls), of whom two children refused to participate entirely. In these tasks,

269 children imitate single movements (Oral Motor Control, Meaningless Gesture), sequences of

movements with props (Gesture Sequencing) or perform single movements to command with
props (Oral Motor Control). Full details of the Oral Motor and Meaningless Gesture tasks are
in the Appendix. The Gesture Sequencing task is similar to that used by Thal and Tobias
(1994).

The symbolic gesture task administered at Time 1 was omitted since children were nearly at ceiling at Time 1. For the Meaningless Gesture task at this age (as at Time 1 and Time 3), children were discouraged from labelling the gestures verbally, and the research assistant administering the tasks practiced demonstrating gestures so they did not resemble iconic or communicative gestures.

279 Parents of 83 children (37 girls) completed the Home Screening Questionnaire (HSQ,

280 Frankenburg & Coons, 1986), a parent-completed version of the Home Observation for the

281 Measurement of the Environment (HOME - for information see Elardo & Bradley, 1981).

282 This instrument measures material and social stimulation in the home, including toys present,

283 outings, and parent-child interaction.

A total of 42 children (23 girls) completed the Words section of the Preschool Repetition Test (PSRep - Roy & Chiat, 2004). All but two of those children also completed the Nonwords section; these are both tests of phonological working memory.

Finally a total of 34 children (13 girls) completed the Block Design subtest of the
British Ability Scales (Elliot, Smith, & McCullouch, 1997) and 34 children (15 girls)
completed the Symbolic Comprehension Assessment task (described in O'toole & Chiat,
2006; Roy & Chiat, 2005). These are tests of nonverbal cognitive ability and symbolic ability
respectively.

The order of the tests was rotated so not every child did the same test first, with breaks to play in between tests. As some children discontinued testing due to fussiness or tiredness during the testing session, omitting different tests due to the rotated order, numbers for each test are uneven. Each child participated in as many tests as possible within a single session with breaks where necessary, which totalled 60-120 minutes (testing and break time). The intention was that all children did all tasks, unlike at Time 1. Descriptives for these tasks (including N for each task) are shown in Table 2.

299

Age 4 years (Time 3) Participants

A total of 71 children (32 girls) took place in testing at Time 3, with testing taking place between the ages of 3.95 years and 4.17 years (mean 4.05, SD .040). This represented 64 children who had taken part at Time 2, and 7 children who returned for testing only at Time 3. As can be seen from the numbers completing each task at 4 years, children were more able to sustain a longer testing period and individual missing tests are largely due to refusal on a single test rather than discontinuing testing altogether.

306 Age 4 years (Time 3) Measures – Language tasks

307 A total of 67 children (32 girls) completed the Bus Story task (Renfrew, 2001). The 308 task was administered as suggested in the instructions and transcribed into CHAT format 309 (MacWhinney, 2000). Type-Token Ratio, Vocabulary Diversity (VOCD, recommended by 310 the CHILDES authors as more representative of children's vocabulary abilities at this age -311 MacWhinney, 2000), Mean Length of Utterance (in morphemes - MLU) and the Index of 312 Productive Syntax (IPSyn; Scarborough, 1990) were calculated; these measures examined se 313 mantic production, and grammatical production. 314 The Test of Reception of Grammar version 2 (TROG-2; Bishop, 2003) was 315 administered to 68 children (32 girls); this measure examined grammatical comprehension. 316 Age 4 years (Time 3) Measures – Motor tasks

Tests of Oral Motor Control based on those administered at Time 1 and Time 2, and on those developed by Alcock et al. (2000), were administered to 65 children (32 girls). This task was more challenging than that administered at Time 2, with combinations of two or three movements, both simultaneous and sequential added to the single movements. The set of movements is shown in the Appendix and was administered in the same pseudorandomised order (the order given in the Appendix) each time, and details of scoring are also shown in the Appendix.

A more difficult Meaningless Gesture task than at younger ages was administered to 68 children (33 girls). This consisted of a series of meaningless hand gestures, and was taken from Bergès and Lézine (1965). Full details are in the Appendix.

327 Finally parents of 84 children (38 girls) also completed a Motor Questionnaire 328 adapted from the Ages and Stages Questionnaires (Squires, Potter, & Bricker, 1995; all the 329 questions on the 48 months questionnaire asking about fine or gross motor abilties were 330 extracted, as well as further unique questions from the 54 and 60 month scales. Some 331 wording was changed for the UK context) which asks parents a number of questions 332 concerning their child's gross and fine motor skills. Each question takes the form of an 333 example, e.g. "can your child thread a lace through an eyelet". For each question, the parent 334 (usually the mother) was required to answer "yes" "sometimes" or "no". Answers were 335 scored two points for "yes" one point for "sometimes" and no points for "no". This 336 questionnaire was originally designed as a screening questionnaire but has been validated in a variety of settings against standardised assessments (for example, Schonhaut, Armijo, 337 338 Schönstedt, Alvarez, & Cordero, 2013). In our sample scores on this questionnaire at 21 339 months correlated significantly with scores on the gesture questionnaire (taken from the 340 MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory, Fenson et al., 1994, which has 341 additionally been validated in a laboratory setting).

342 Age 4 years (Time 3) Measures – Cognitive tasks

A total of 67 children (31 girls) completed the Block Design subset of the British
Ability Scales (Elliot et al., 1997), which measures nonverbal cognitive ability.

345 A total of 57 children (28 girls) completed an Auditory Discrimination task. This was 346 a task designed to test children's ability to discriminate between frequency sweeps of the type 347 described in Aslin (1989), which are hypothesised to be similar to speech sound transitions. 348 Nine non-verbal auditory stimuli were also created, consisting of 50msec pure tone upward 349 transitions immediately followed by a 250 msec static frequency 1000Hz pure tone with 20 350 msec fade in and out included in all stimuli. The comparison tone was a 350Hz transition i.e. 351 starting at 650Hz, followed by a steady tone) and the test tones were 25Hz, 50Hz, 75Hz, 352 100Hz, 150Hz, 200Hz, 250 Hz, and 300Hz i.e. starting at between 975Hz and 700 Hz, 353 followed by a steady tone. Hence the test tone 25Hz is the furthest from the comparison tone 354 and the test tone 300Hz is closest; a child who can discriminate the 25Hz tone from the 355 comparison tone is performing the easiest task while a child who can discriminate the 300Hz 356 tone from the 350Hz tone is performing the hardest task.

357 Children saw a visual display with three pictures of "aliens", and were told that the 358 aliens were a Mummy, a Daddy and a Baby. Each alien was animated so that its "mouth" 359 moved as the sweep was played, and each alien "spoke" (produced a test or comparison tone) 360 3 times in succession. The child was told that all three aliens would "speak", that the baby 361 alien was trying to learn to speak, and that the child's job was to tell the experimenter 362 whether the baby had spoken like the Mummy or the Daddy. One "parent" spoke first, then 363 the "baby", then the other "parent" on each trial. The child's task was therefore to compare 364 the "baby" to the sound immediately before and that immediately after, minimising memory 365 load.

The child therefore had to match the "baby's" tone to one of the "parents" tones, and one "parent" on each trial (randomly allocated) produced the 350Hz comparison tone. The assessment followed a two up one down paradigm, so that when the child got two answers correct, the difficulty would increase (a tone closer to the comparison tone would be played),

370	but when the child got a single answer wrong then the difficulty would decrease (a tone
371	further from the comparison tone would be played). The Auditory Discrimination task was
372	discontinued at the point when the child had three reversals in direction of difficulty at any
373	point in the task. The score for each child was then the mean frequency of the three reversal
374	trials or, in the case of a child who successfully identified the 300Hz tone three times, the
375	score was 300. The code for the Auditory Discrimination task was written in Psyscript, a
376	proprietary experiment administration language (Slavin, 2007), but is available on request.
377	Results
378	Data availability
379	The full dataset will be made available in online Supplementary Materials.
380	Analysis
381	We sought to examine the longitudinal and cross-sectional relationships of Time 1 (21
382	months) factors with Time 2 (3 years) language abilities (Analysis 1). We also sought to
383	examine, separately, the longitudinal and cross-sectional relationships of Time 1 and Time 2
384	factors with Time 3 (4 years) abilities. Because many scores are available only for some
385	children, analyses are carried out firstly on as many children as possible for most
386	comparisons (using pairwise deletion), but for combinations where this is not possible (e.g.
387	some correlations between 21 month scores and 4 year scores have as few as 11 children) this
388	correlation had to be excluded from the analysis.
389	Time 1 and Time 2
390	Descriptives Time 2 (age 3)
391	Table 2 shows descriptives (mean, SD, minimum and maximum score achieved, and
392	maximum possible score where relevant) for the following tests at 3y: PLS Expressive,
393	Auditory and Total, Oral motor test total and complex movements scores; Meaningless
394	Gesture and Gesture Sequences; the HOME questionnaire; Symbolic Comprehension, Block

395

5 Design, and the PSRep task.

396

[Table 2 about here]

397 Zero-order correlations

398	Correlations between on the one hand 21 month language, cognitive and motor
399	measures, and 3 year motor and cognitive measures (as well as SES measures), and on the
400	other hand 3 year language outcomes, were carried out. These are shown in Tables 3 and 4.
401	Holm-Bonferroni corrections (Holm, 1979) were carried out within each table, and those
402	correlations that remained significant are marked. Tables 2 and 3 show the number taking
403	part at 3 years and the number of these who took part longitudinally in each set of measures
404	between 21 months and 3 years; these range from 84 out of 89 3-year participants having
405	language measures at both time points to 16 having 21-month Meaningless Gesture as well as
406	3-year PLS.
407	Broadly, 21 month language measures were significantly associated with 3 year
408	language measures, and 3 year Oral Motor Control, cognitive, HSQ, Motor Questionnaire and
409	Meaningless Gesture was associated with 3 year language measures.
410	21 month gross and fine motor measures were not significantly associated with 3 year
411	language measures, and nor were 21 month cognitive or SES measures.
412	[Tables 3 and 4 about here]
413	Regression analyses predicting Time $2 - 3y$
414	Regression analyses were carried out with each of three separate measures of 3 year
415	language abilities (expressive scale of the PLS, auditory comprehension scale of the PLS, and
416	total PLS score) as the dependent measure. Language measures from 21 months that were
417	significantly correlated with the dependent measure were entered at the first step, and
418	measures taken at 3 years at the second step.
419	Where two measures appeared to be collinear, the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)

420	was noted and if this exceeded 2.5 for any measure the higher VIF measure was removed
421	from the analysis (see Model 6 for example where CDI Production was removed).
422	Because of overlapping subsets of children who completed different tasks at 3 years,
423	insufficient children completed all of the oral motor, gesture, symbolic and PSRep tasks to
424	enter all these variables, together with the HSQ, into a single regression analysis. Therefore,
425	after the regression was carried out with the 21 month language, and 3y motor variables,
426	additional regressions were carried out with the same 21 month predictor variables but with
427	the additional cognitive/HSQ 3y predictor variables entered individually. This approach also
428	avoids some collinearity.
429	Significant regression models are shown in Table 5.
430	[Table 5 about here]
431	In summary, even after examining and controlling for the effects of earlier motor and
432	language abilities, concurrent oral motor abilities still have a significant relationship with
433	language production (and with total score on the PLS) at 3 years, which replicates the result
434	of Alcock and Krawczyk (2010) – Models 1 and 5. In addition, although at Time 1 no
435	remaining significant relationship was found between any type of gesture or gross/fine motor
436	skills and language abilities, at Time 2 all of earlier language comprehension, concurrent
437	Meaningless Gesture abilities and concurrent Motor Questionnaire scores (gross and fine
438	motor abilities) have a significant relationship with language comprehension abilities –
439	Model 3. Finally, concurrent relationships between language at 3y and cognitive measures
440	and HSQ do not appear to be independent of earlier language or motor measures - Models 2,
441	4 and 7.
442	Models 3 and 5 are shown in Figure 1. Model 1 is identical in form to Model 5 so is
443	not shown.
444	Time 1, Time 2 and Time 3

445	Descriptives Time 3 (age 4y)
446	Descriptives for 4y measures are shown in Table 6.
447	[Table 6 about here]
448	Zero order correlations
449	Correlations between 4y (Time 3) language outcomes – score on the TROG, and the
450	Type-Token Ratio (TTR) Vocabulary Diversity (VOCD), Mean Length of Utterance (MLU)
451	and Index of Productive Syntax (IPSYN) from the Bus Story narratives - and 21 month and
452	3y language measures are shown in Table 7, as are correlations between Time 3 language
453	outcomes and Time 1 motor and cognitive measures. Correlations between Time 3 language
454	outcomes and Time 2 motor and cognitive measures are shown in Table 8; and correlations
455	between Time 3 language outcomes and Time 3 nonverbal measures (Oral Motor Control,
456	Meaningless Gesture, nonverbal cognition, Auditory Discrimination) are shown in Table 9.
457	Within each set of correlations, Holm-Bonferroni corrections were carried out and
458	correlations that remained significant are marked. Again, tables 6, 7 and 8 give an indication
459	of the numbers on each test longitudinally; these range from 64 with 21 month language and
460	4 year language data to 11 with 21 month oral motor and 4 year language data.
461	[Tables 7 8 and 9 about here]
462	In summary, the TROG was associated with one language measure, and the HSQ,
463	while IPSYN was associated with earlier Symbolic Comprehension and with concurrent oral
464	motor skills. Type-Token Ratio, VOCD and MLU were not significantly associated with
465	earlier or concurrent measures once we accounted for multiple comparisons.
466	Regression analyses predicting Time 3 – age 4y
467	Regression analyses were carried out to determine independent variables associated
468	with children's TROG score (language comprehension) and IPSYN (language production) at
469	Time 3.

As above, for each model analysing the associates of one outcome language measure
at Time 3, measures from an earlier time point (CDI Comprehension for TROG and
Symbolic Comprehension for IPSYN) were entered into the regression analysis at Step 1.
Following this, measures from a later time point (the 3y HSQ and the 4y oral motor measure
respectively) that were significantly associated with the outcome measure were entered into
the model at Step 2.

In summary, at age 4y, the HSQ (a checklist administered at age 3y; owing to lack of parallel data at other time points we have had to presume this is representative of the home environment throughout the study) remains predictive of 4y receptive language (TROG) over and above earlier language abilities. The 4y measure of language production (IPSYN) is associated with 3y Symbolic Comprehension after concurrent (4y) oral motor ability is accounted for.

These two significant models, Model 1 and Model 2, are shown in Figure 2 and inTable 10.

484

[Table 10 about here]

485 **Dropout characteristics**

486 With a relatively large dropout rate (30% by age 3), it is helpful to know if the 487 continuing versus dropped out participant families differ in some ways. Index of Multiple 488 Deprivation, IMD (Office of National Statistics, 2004), a score indicating the total number of 489 deprivation indicators in the child's home postcode, did not differ between continuing and 490 dropout families at either time point (Mann-Whitney U = 1648.5 for 3 years, U = 1780 for 4 491 years, n.s.; note the median IMD for England is 21.64, mean 16.98; and the median for our 492 families is 13.11, mean 16.14. Our families were significantly less deprived than English 493 residents as a whole, t (129.61) = 6.37, p < .001). Children who continued in the study knew 494 the same number of words at 21 months as those who did not continue, CDI Production t

495 (119) = .718, CDI Comprehension t (119) = .123, n.s.

As reported at the end of the Results for Time 2 and Time 3, the numbers that were tested longitudinally on each domain varied (many more children had longitudinal data for language scores than for e.g. motor scores, which probably reflects the CDI data collected at Time 1 for all children where other domains were assessed directly).

500

Discussion

501 In summary, our longitudinal study has shown that oral motor skills are still 502 associated with language production ability at 3 years of age, independent of relationships 503 between language production and other abilities. Likewise, meaningless gesture skills and 504 gross/fine motor skills are also associated with language comprehension ability at 3 years, as 505 well as (but not due to) a relationship between earlier (21 months) language comprehension 506 and language comprehension at 3 years. These relationships are also not due to underlying 507 symbolic abilities (the motor measures were all selected not to have symbolic content, and 508 the symbolic comprehension task was not related to language ability). We can therefore 509 conclude that an alternative explanation is that children need good motor skills to develop 510 good language skills. This fits with Iverson and Thelen (1999)'s idea, and our hypothesis, 511 that the motor-language link in development is due to either overlapping neural 512 representation or common underlying mechanisms such as timing.

513 This replicates our finding of motor-language links at 21 months, where we also 514 found non-symbolic motor abilities (our Oral Motor Control measure) were associated with 515 language abilities, independent of other correlates of language. An independent relationship 516 at two time points is also indicative of an underlying common foundation for both sets of 517 skills, rather than contribution of earlier language ability to both earlier motor and later 518 language abilities.

519

At 4 years we found a new significant relationship between 4y receptive language and

520 the HSQ; neither this nor other measures of home environment or SES had any significant 521 relationship with language at earlier ages. For language production at 4 years, we also found 522 a new independent relationship between symbolic abilities (the Symbolic Comprehension

- 523 Assessment, Roy & Chiat, 2005) and IPSYN.

524 Motor, language and cognitive skills

525 At our earliest testing point, children's nonverbal cognitive skills were also 526 independently associated with their language abilities, but these did not explain the 527 association between motor skills and language abilities, nor vice versa (Alcock & Krawczyk, 528 2006). Other work has suggested that motor and language skills are associated because of the 529 symbolic nature of gesture (Bates & Dick, 2002; Bates et al., 1989), but our findings show 530 that this is not the case. At 21 months symbolic ability was independent of motor and 531 language associations, and in addition the motor skill that was still significantly associated 532 with language skill after controlling for other measures was our Oral Motor Control measure 533 - which does not as far as we can see contain a symbolic element. Likewise, a conceptual or 534 visuospatial component does not explain this relationship – the motor/language relationships 535 are statistically independent of any nonverbal or visuospatial abilities.

We have replicated this finding (the separate associations of cognitive and motor skills with language abilities) at Time 2 and Time 3. Despite various measures of cognitive skills being employed at Time 2 (3 years), none of these measures explained the significant associations between motor abilities and language abilities. Our battery of tests at each age eliminated these possibilities and our findings justify our choice to assess this wide range of children's non-verbal abilities.

542 Furthermore, the remaining significant associations were with our Meaningless 543 Gesture task and our Gross/Fine motor questionnaire (relationship with receptive language at 544 3 years; note that neither of these measures were associated with language at 21 months) and 545 with Oral Motor Control once again (relationship with expressive language at 3 years). 546 Again, it is hard to see that these motor abilities contain symbolic content. Relationships 547 between cognitive and environmental factors, and language abilities, at 4 years, underline the 548 independence of these factors from motor abilities, and from earlier predictive language 549 abilities. In order to fully examine the underpinnings of language development, it is essential 550 to examine motor skills – both oral motor and limb motor skills, not purely 551 cognitive/symbolic skills that include a motor component – at a variety of ages. We need to 552 include motor skills in any studies examining language development and its associates or we 553 will never be able to discriminate the associations of other tasks - that include a motor 554 component - from the associations between motor and language skills. 555 At the 21 month time point we assessed symbolic and non-symbolic (meaningless)

556 gesture. At 3 and 4 years we only assessed non-symbolic gesture, but we assessed symbolic 557 abilities at 3 years using a comprehension task. Other research (Botting et al., 2010; Hill, 558 1998) found that symbolic gesture was impaired in children with DLD but given the mixed 559 findings, and the fact that symbolic comprehension was also impaired, and our focus on oral 560 motor skills following on from our 21 month findings, we decided not to assess symbolic 561 gesture production at 3 or 4 years; this is a weakness of the study. We feel that the lack of 562 symbolic contribution to the gesture-language link at 3 years, however, somewhat mitigates 563 this weakness.

Botting's study found impairment in comprehension of symbolic gesture, too, but symbolic abilities do not explain our motor-language links. Unlike previous studies, we can also separate the effect of gross/fine motor skills from the effect of other types of motor control: Sanjeevan and Mainela-Arnold (2017) and Zelaznik and Goffman (2010) found impairments in gross/fine motor abilities in children with DLD, but did not also test gesture. We found a separate link between all of gross/fine motor abilities, oral motor and gestural ability, and language abilities. We can thus distinguish between the links from all these motorabilities to language ability in this typically developing sample.

572 Oral motor skill, nonword repetition and language abilities

573 Many previous studies have shown that nonword repetition abilities are closely 574 associated with language skill (Gathercole, 2006), and that this association is related to the 575 oral motor/language link (Krishnan et al., 2013). We did not find a relationship between 576 word/nonword repetition abilities and language abilities at 3 or 4 years, after correcting for 577 multiple comparisons. However, the number of children who completed the 3y repetition task 578 was limited (especially when we look at those who also completed the 4y language 579 measures), so this negative finding must be interpreted with caution.

580 Continuing participation in longitudinal testing

581 At 21 months, we recruited 128 families for participation, who all completed the CDI 582 measure. Because of the design at this time point, some of the direct testing measures were 583 not completed by all of the children, but at 3y and 4y all children were selected to complete 584 all lab testing measures. However, only 89 children returned for testing at 3y (30% dropout) 585 and of those 64 returned at 3y and 7 Time 1-only participants returned. With children's 586 varying participation due to willingness, tiredness etc. at Time 2 and Time 3, some Ns for 587 analyses become very small and this limits the power of our analyses. This is reflected in the 588 Ns for individual domains tested longitudinally, with some (such as language at 21 months to 589 language at 3 years) having Ns over 80 but some (such as motor skills at 21 months to 590 language at 4 years) having Ns under 15.

591 The project as commenced at Time 1 was not intended as a longitudinal project and 592 families who signed up were not aware that we would be contacting them at Time 2 and Time 593 3, because this was not planned at the outset (though all those re-contacted gave permission 594 to be contacted for other studies). This may have reduced participation at Time 2 and Time 3 (indeed, the fact that some families were willing to participate at Time 3, but presumably were not contactable or could not arrange testing in a timely manner at Time 2, suggests that they were willing but unable due to logistical reasons, and were not simply dropouts). Nevertheless, a 30% dropout rate after 15 months have elapsed is disappointing, but it is reassuring that the dropouts seem to have been randomly distributed with respect to both SES and language skill at 21 months.

601 Conclusions

In conclusion, we have found new relationships between motor and language skills in our longitudinal study: speech and language development across the typically developing range is closely associated with both manual and oral motor skills. Of particular interest are our findings relating to Meaningless Gesture and Gross/Fine motor skills, and language comprehension at 3 years, a new relationship at this time point, not seen at baseline. This association cannot be accounted for with reference to oral motor skill, visuospatial ability, symbolic ability or other nonverbal cognitive abilities.

The Meaningless Gesture tasks involve some degree of verbal command (though we attempted to minimise children's opportunity for recoding movements verbally by discouraging labelling) and all of the movements are performed to imitation. It is certainly possible that this imitation skill provides a common core for both language comprehension and for imitation of meaningless gesture. The parent questionnaire for gross/fine motor skills also includes an element of imitation (as parents are asked to try items they are not sure if their child can do by demonstrating them).

616 Other, non-motor tasks that involve imitation were not administered at 3y or 4y 617 (though it could be argued that, for example, Block Design requires imitation, and the oral 618 motor tasks also require imitation). One way to investigate this further would be to give a 619 battery of tests including meaningless gesture imitation and non-gesture imitation, such as 620 following an adult's sorting sequence (Alp, 1994).

621 Moving to the oral motor tasks, at 3 years language production is associated with 622 concurrent complex oral movement skill even after other abilities – including earlier language 623 production ability – are controlled for. This is the same finding as we made at 21 months. 624 though it was not repeated at 4y. Again, these tasks require some degree of imitation though 625 imitation in this task is propped up with explanation and commands. These tasks have 626 minimal memory load (this subtask involves one movement at a time) and this association is 627 not explained by associations with our repetition task (the PSRep, a task involving repetition 628 of words and nonwords).

While again, it is possible that imitation itself is responsible for this association, the fact that this association is independent of both earlier language ability and concurrent repetition ability suggests that this is not due to language skill underling the oral motor task performance.

633 It seems more likely in both the case of the manual gesture and gross/fine motor 634 contribution to language comprehension, and the oral motor contribution to language 635 production, that it is the motor foundation of both of these tasks that explains additional 636 variability in language skill. As hypothesised, this is likely due to either common neural 637 mechanisms or a common underlying timing mechanism. While data from children with 638 developmental coordination disorder (DCD) and DLD (Hill, 2001) strongly suggests a 639 common neural mechanisms, other authors have put forward the case for common timing mechanisms in typical development (Esteve-Gibert & Prieto, 2014; Iverson & Thelen, 1999; 640 Zelaznik & Goffman, 2010). 641

Most studies of typical variation in language ability do not control for manual and oral motor ability. However we and other groups have started to investigate these associations, both for children with language delay or impairment, and for the typically developing range

645	of children (Hill, 2001; Krishnan et al., 2017; Krishnan et al., 2013; Krishnan et al., 2015;
646	Leonard, Bedford, Pickles, Hill, & Team, 2015; Leonard & Hill, 2014). It seems that in our
647	quest to understand the underlying differences in language development across the typical
648	range, we should start to assume the inclusion of motor skill as standard in studies and
649	batteries.
650	If motor abilities had not been tested in our study, a very different set of associations
651	would have been found – we would have concluded that only nonverbal cognitive abilities
652	and home stimulation contribute to language development in this age range. The results of
653	other studies with similar design to ours, but without the inclusion of limb and oral motor
654	skill tasks, should be viewed with caution, in the light of this.
655	Acknowledgements
656	We would like to thank families and children who have taken part.
657	References
658	Alcock, K. J. (1995). Motor Dysphasia - a Comparative Study. (DPhil Thesis), University of
659	Oxford, Oxford, UK.
660	Alcock, K. J., & Krawczyk, K. (2006, Sep). Correlates of individual differences in language
661	development at 21 months. Paper presented at the British Psychological Society,
662	Developmental Section, Royal Holloway University College, Egham.
663	Alcock, K. J., & Krawczyk, K. (2008, July). Names that are not words: older infants still
664	associate non-linguistic sounds with pictures. Paper presented at the International
665	Congress for the Study of Child Language, Edinburgh.
666	Alcock, K. J., & Krawczyk, K. (2010). Individual differences in language development:
667	Relationship with motor skill at 21 months. Developmental Science, 13(5), 677-691.
668	Alcock, K. J., Passingham, R. E., Watkins, K. E., & Vargha-Khadem, F. (2000). Oral
669	dyspraxia in inherited speech and language impairment and acquired dysphasia. Brain

- 670 & Language, 75(1), 17-33.
- Alp, I. E. (1994). Measuring the Size of Working Memory in Very Young Children: The
- 672 Imitation Sorting Task. International Journal of Behavioral Development, 17(1), 125-
- 673 141. doi:10.1177/016502549401700108
- Aslin, R. N. (1989). Discrimination of frequency transitions by human infants. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 86(2), 582-590.
- Bates, E. (1979). *The emergence of symbols cognition and communication in infancy*. New
 York: Academic Press.
- Bates, E. (1980). Vocal and gestural symbols at 13 months. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 26(4),
 407-423.
- Bates, E., & Dick, F. (2002). Language, gesture, and the developing brain. *Developmental Psychobiology*, 40(3), 293-310.
- Bates, E., O'Connell, B., Vaid, J., & Sledge, P. (1986). Language and hand preference in
 early development. *Developmental Neuropsychology*, 2(1), 1-15.
- Bates, E., Thal, D., Whitesell, K., & Fenson, L. (1989). Integrating language and gesture in
 infancy. *Developmental Psychology*, 25(6), 1004-1019.
- 686 Bayley, N. (1993). Bayley scales of infant development (2nd ed.). San Antonio, TX:
- 687 Psychological Corporation.
- Bergès, J., & Lézine, I. (1965). The imitation of gestures. *Clinics in developmental medicine*, *18*, 1-122.
- Bishop, D. V. M. (2002). Motor immaturity and specific speech and language impairment:
- Evidence for a common genetic basis. *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, 114(1),
 56-63.
- Bishop, D. V. M. (2003). *Test for reception of grammar : TROG-2*. London: Harcourt
- 694 Assessment.

- Botting, N., Riches, N., Gaynor, M., & Morgan, G. (2010). Gesture production and
- 696 comprehension in children with specific language impairment. *British Journal of*697 *Developmental Psychology*, 28, 51-69.
- Bricker, D., & Squires, J. (1989). Low cost system using parents to monitor the development
 of at-risk infants. *Journal of Early Intervention*, 13(1), 50-60.
- 700 Brumbach, A. C. D., & Goffman, L. (2014). Interaction of Language Processing and Motor
- 701 Skill in Children With Specific Language Impairment. *Journal of Speech, Language,*702 *and Hearing Research*, 57(1), 158-171. doi:doi:10.1044/1092-4388(2013/12-0215)
- 703 Dale, P. S., Crain-Thoreson, C., & Robinson, N. M. (1995). Linguistic precocity and the
- development of reading: The role of extralinguistic factors. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *16*(2), 173-187. doi:10.1017/S0142716400007074
- Davis, B. L., & MacNeilage, P. F. (1995). The articulatory basis of babbling. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, 38(6), 1199-1211.
- Dewey, D., & Wall, K. (1997). Praxis and memory deficits in language impaired children.
 Developmental Neuropsychology, 13(4), 507-512.
- 710 Elardo, R., & Bradley, R. H. (1981). The Home Observation for Measurement of the
- 711 Environment (HOME) Scale: A review of research. *Developmental Review*, 1(2), 113712 145.
- Filiot, C. D., Smith, P., & McCullouch, K. (1997). *British Ability Scales: Second Edition*:
 NFER-Nelson.
- 715 Esteve-Gibert, N., & Prieto, P. (2014). Infants temporally coordinate gesture-speech
- 716 combinations before they produce their first words. *Speech Communication*, *57*, 301-717 316.
- 718 Fenson, L., Bates, E., Dale, P., Goodman, J., Reznick, J. S., & Thal, D. (2000). Measuring
- 719 variability in early child language: don't shoot the messenger. *Child Development*,

720 71(2), 323-328.

- Fenson, L., Dale, P. S., Reznick, J. S., Bates, E., Thal, D., & Pethick, S. (1994). Variability in
 early communicative development. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 59(5).
- Frankenburg, W. K., & Coons, C. E. (1986). Home Screening Questionnaire: its validity in
 assessing home environment. *Journal of Pediatrics*, *108*(4), 624-626.
- Ganger, J., & Brent, M. R. (2004). Reexamining the Vocabulary Spurt. *Developmental Psychology*, 40(4), 621-632.
- Gathercole, S. E. (2006). Nonword repetition and word learning: The nature of the
 relationship. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *27*, 513–543.
- 730 Gernsbacher, M. A., Sauer, E. A., Geye, H. M., Schweigert, E. K., & Hill Goldsmith, H.
- (2008). Infant and toddler oral- and manual-motor skills predict later speech fluency
 in autism. *Journal of Child Psychology & Psychiatry & Allied Disciplines, 49*(1), 4350.
- Hamilton, A., Plunkett, K., & Schafer, G. (2000). Infant vocabulary development assessed
 with a British communicative development inventory. *Journal of Child Language*,
 27(3), 689-705.
- Hill, E. L. (1998). A dyspraxic deficit in specific language impairment and developmental
 coordination disorder? Evidence from hand and arm movements. *Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology*, 40(6), 388-395.
- Hill, E. L. (2001). Non-specific nature of specific language impairment: a review of the
- 741 literature with regard to concomitant motor impairments. *International Journal of*742 *Language & Communication Disorders*, *36*(2), 149-171.
- Holm, S. (1979). A simple sequentially rejective multiple test procedure. *Scandinavian journal of statistics*, 65-70.

- 745 Iverson, J. M. (2010). Developing language in a developing body: the relationship between
 746 motor development and language development. *Journal of Child Language*, *37*(02),
 747 229-261. doi:doi:10.1017/S0305000909990432
- 748 Iverson, J. M., & Braddock, B. A. (2011). Gesture and motor skill in relation to language in
 749 children with language impairment. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing*750 *Research*, *54*(1), 72-86.
- 751 Iverson, J. M., & Thelen, E. (1999). Hand, mouth and brain: The dynamic emergence of
 752 speech and gesture. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 6(11-12), 19-40.
- 753 Krishnan, S., Alcock, K. J., Carey, D., Bergström, L., Karmiloff-Smith, A., & Dick, F.
- 754 (2017). Fractionating nonword repetition: The contributions of short-term memory
 755 and oromotor praxis are different. *PLOS One*, *12*(7), e0178356.
- Krishnan, S., Alcock, K. J., Mercure, E., Leech, R., Barker, E., Karmiloff-Smith, A., & Dick,
 F. (2013). Articulating Novel Words: Children's Oromotor Skills Predict Nonword
 Repetition Abilities. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research, 56*(6),
 1800-1812.
- 760 Krishnan, S., Bergström, L., Alcock, K. J., Dick, F., & Karmiloff-Smith, A. (2015). Williams
- syndrome: A surprising deficit in oromotor praxis in a population with proficient
 language production. *Neuropsychologia*, 67, 82-90.
- LeBarton, E. S., & Iverson, J. M. (2013). Fine motor skill predicts expressive language in
 infant siblings of children with autism. *Developmental Science*.
- 765 LeBarton, E. S., & Iverson, J. M. (2016). Associations between gross motor and
- communicative development in at-risk infants. *Infant Behavior and Development, 44*,
 59-67. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infbeh.2016.05.003
- Leonard, H. C., Bedford, R., Pickles, A., Hill, E. L., & Team, B. (2015). Predicting the rate of
 language development from early motor skills in at-risk infants who develop autism

770	spectrum disorder. Research in Autism Spectrum Disorders, 13, 15-24.
771	Leonard, H. C., & Hill, E. L. (2014). Review: the impact of motor development on typical
772	and atypical social cognition and language: a systematic review. Child and Adolescent
773	Mental Health, 19(3), 163-170.
774	Lewis, V., Boucher, J., & Psychological Corporation. (1997). The test of pretend play.
775	London: The Psychological Corporation: Harcourt Brace.
776	MacWhinney, B. (2000). The CHILDES project: tools for analyzing talk (3rd ed.). Mahwah,
777	N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
778	Nip, I. S. B., Green, J. R., & Marx, D. B. (2011). The co-emergence of cognition, language,
779	and speech motor control in early development: A longitudinal correlation study.
780	Journal of Communication Disorders, 44(2), 149-160.
781	O'toole, C., & Chiat, S. (2006). Symbolic functioning and language development in children
782	with Down syndrome. International Journal of Language & Communication
783	Disorders, 41(2), 155-171.
784	Office of National Statistics. (2004). Indices of Deprivation for Super Output Areas.
785	Retrieved from http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/
786	Ojemann, G. A. (1984). Common cortical and thalamic mechanisms for language and motor
787	functions. American Journal of Physiology-Regulatory, Integrative and Comparative
788	Physiology, 246(6), R901-R903.
789	Renfrew, C. E. (2001). Bus story test : a test of narrative speech. Bicester: Speechmark.
790	Rescorla, L. A. (2002). Language and reading outcomes to age 9 in late-talking toddlers.
791	Journal of Speech Language and Hearing Research, 45(2), 360-371.
792	Rescorla, L. A. (2011). Late talkers: Do good predictors of outcome exist? Developmental
793	Disabilities Research Reviews, 17(2), 141-150.
794	Roy, P., & Chiat, S. (2004). A prosodically controlled word and nonword repetition task for

- 2-to 4-year-olds: Evidence from typically developing children. *Journal of Speech Language and Hearing Research*, 47(1), 223-234.
- 797 Roy, P., & Chiat, S. (2005). Symbolic comprehension assessment. .
- Sanjeevan, T., & Mainela-Arnold, E. (2017). Procedural Motor Learning in Children With
 Specific Language Impairment. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research,*
- 800 60(11), 3259-3269. doi:doi:10.1044/2017 JSLHR-L-16-0457
- 801 Sanjeevan, T., Rosenbaum, D. A., Miller, C., van Hell, J. G., Weiss, D. J., & Mainela-
- 802 Arnold, E. (2015). Motor Issues in Specific Language Impairment: a Window into the
- 803 Underlying Impairment. *Current Developmental Disorders Reports, 2*(3), 228-236.
- 804 doi:10.1007/s40474-015-0051-9
- 805 Saudino, K. J., Dale, P. S., Oliver, B., Petrill, S. A., Richardson, V., Rutter, M., . . . Plomin,
- R. (1998). The validity of parent-based assessment of the cognitive abilities of 2-yearolds. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *16*(3), 349-363.
- Scarborough, H. S. (1990). Index of Productive Syntax. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 11(1), 122.
- 810 Schonhaut, L., Armijo, I., Schönstedt, M., Alvarez, J., & Cordero, M. (2013). Validity of the
- 811 Ages and Stages Questionnaires in Term and Preterm Infants. *Pediatrics*, 131(5),
- 812 e1468-e1474. doi:10.1542/peds.2012-3313
- 813 Skeat, J., Wake, M., Reilly, S., Eadie, P., Bretherton, L., Bavin, E. L., & Ukoumunne, O. C.
- 814 (2010). Predictors of early precocious talking: A prospective population study.
- 815 *Journal of Child Language*, *37*(5), 1109-1121. doi:10.1017/S030500090999016X
- 816 Slavin, S. (2007). PsyScript (version 2.1)[software].
- 817 Squires, J., Potter, L., & Bricker, D. (1995). *The ASQ user's guide for the Ages & Stages*818 *Questionnaires: A parent-completed, child-monitoring system*: Brookes.
- 819 Steeve, R. W., & Moore, C. A. (2009). Mandibular Motor Control During the Early

- Bevelopment of Speech and Nonspeech Behaviors. *Journal of Speech Language and Hearing Research*, 52(6), 1530-1554. doi:10.1044/1092-4388(2009/08-0020)
- Thal, D. J., & Tobias, S. (1994). Relationships between language and gesture in normally
 developing and late-talking toddlers. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, *37(1)*(1), 157-170.
- Volterra, V., Caselli, M. C., Capirci, O., & Pizzuto, E. (2005). Gesture and the emergence
 and development of language. *Beyond nature-nurture: Essays in honor of Elizabeth Bates*, 3-40.
- 828 West, K. L., Leezenbaum, N. B., Northrup, J. B., & Iverson, J. M. (2019). The Relation
- Between Walking and Language in Infant Siblings of Children With Autism
 Spectrum Disorder. *Child Development*, 90(3), e356-e372. doi:10.1111/cdev.12980
- Wray, C., Norbury, C., & Alcock, K. J. (2016). Gestural abilities of children with specific
 language impairment. *International Journal of Language and Communication*

833 *Disorders*, *51*(2), 174-182. doi:10.1111/1460-6984.12196

Zelaznik, H. N., & Goffman, L. (2010). Generalized motor abilities and timing behavior in
children with specific language impairment. *Journal of Speech, Language, and*

836 *Hearing Research*, 53(2), 383-393.

- 837 Zimmerman, I., Steiner, V., & Pond, R. (2003). *Preschool Language Scale-3 UK Edition*838 (*PLS-3 UK*). London: The Psychological Corporation.
- 839

<i>Time 1 – 21 months – skil</i>	ls measured and tests used
----------------------------------	----------------------------

Skill measured	Assessment used	Format of assessment	Ν
Language	Oxford Communicative	Parent checklist ¹	121
production	Development Inventory		
	(CDI) - Production		
Language	Oxford CDI –	Parent checklist ¹	121
comprehension	Comprehension		
Gross motor	Bayley Scales of Motor	Standardised RA-administered test ² or	30; 102
skills	Development; or	parent checklist ³	
	questionnaire		
Fine motor skills	Bayley Scales of Motor	Standardised RA-administered test ² or	30; 102
	Development; or	parent checklist ³	
	questionnaire		
Meaningful	Lab based test of symbolic	RA- administered test or parent	30; 103
gesture	gesture and gesture	checklist ⁴	
	memory; or questionnaire		
Meaningless	Lab based test of	RA-administered test ⁵	30
gesture	meaningless gesture		
Oral motor skill	Lab based test of imitation	RA-administered test ⁶	60
	and prop-based oral		
	movements		

- ¹ Hamilton et al. (2000)
 ² Bayley (1993)
 ³ Based on Bricker and Squires (1989)
 ⁴ Lab created based on Bates et al. (1989), or based on Fenson et al. (1994)
 ⁵ Lab created
 ⁶ Lab created

⁶ Lab created based on Alcock (1995)

Cognitive ability	Bayley Scales of Mental	Standardised RA-administered test ^{2,7}	29; 91
	Development, Test of	or parent checklist ⁸	
	Pretend Play and joint		
	attention task; or parent		
	questionnaire (PARCA).		

⁷ Lewis et al. (1997)
⁸ Based on Saudino et al. (1998)

Descriptives for 3 year tests. Maximum possible indicates the highest score that a child can obtain on that test, where this is meaningful (i.e. not where a child is unlikely to obtain the maximum). In all cases high scores represent better performance.

	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Max possible
PLS Expressive 3y	89	11.72	5.93	0	27	-
PLS Auditory 3y	89	16.13	4.74	0	26	-
PLS combined 3y	89	27.85	9.76	0	53	-
Oral Motor Control 3y	39	12.56	3.89	3	18	20
Complex Oral Motor Control 3y	39	7.21	2.32	1	11	12
Gesture Sequencing 3y	18	11.56	3.68	3	15	15
Meaningless Gesture 3y	32	14.00	2.44	8	18	20
HSQ 3y	83	63.49	7.79	47	83	84
Symbolic Comprehension 3y	28	12.46	4.57	1	18	18
Block Design 3y	34	3.79	2.77	1	12	-
PSRep score 3y	42	26.69	5.58	13	36	36
Motor questionnaire	84	30.46	5.31	15	38	50

Language and cognitive scores at 21 months, correlation (Pearson's r) with 3y language

Measures at 21		CDI	CDI	PLS	PLS	PLS		Bayley		
months:		prodn	comp	Expressive	Auditory	combined	PARCA	Mental	ТОР	PJA
PLS	r	.48** †	.40**†	.48 (.02)	.326	.46 (.03)	.49	.22	.34	04
Expressive 3y							(.02)			
	N	84	84	23	23	23	23	20	23	20
PLS Auditory	r	.41**†	.31	.56 (.005)	.17	.67**†	.45	.04	.31	.13
3у			(.004)				(.03)			
	N	84	84	23	23	23	23	20	23	20
PLS combined	lr	.49**†	.40**†	.54 (.01)	.27	.61 (.002)†	.50 (.02)	.18	.35	.03
3у	N	84	84	23	23	23	23	20	23	20

Motor and SES scores 21 mo and language 3 years, Pearson's correlation

Measures at 21		Oral	Gesture	Meaningless	Gesture	Bayley	
months:		motor	naming	Gesture	sequences	Motor	IMD
PLS	r	.38 (.02)	.31	.45	16	.39	.02
Expressive	N	40	20	16	20	16	73
3у							
PLS	r	.38 (.02)	.23	.41	22	.17	.04
Auditory 3y	N	40	20	16	20	16	73
PLS	r	.43 (.01)	.32	.54 (.03)	21	.37	.03
combined 3y	N	40	20	16	20	16	73

** p < .001; Blank - p > .05; Other p values in brackets. † Remains significant after correction for multiple comparisons.

Cognitive, motor, and home stimulation scores at 3 years, correlations (Pearson's r) with 3 year language

		Oral			Motor			Block	
		Motor	Gesture	Meaningless	questionnaire		Symbolic	Design	PSRep
		Control	Sequence	Gesture		HSQ	Comprehension	3у	3у
PLS	r	.50	.40	.45 (.01)	.29 (.01)	.24	.56 (.002)†	.02	.39
Expr.		(.001)†				(.03)			(.01)
	N	39	18	32	77	82	27	73	42
PLS	r	.29	.46	.71**†	0.46**†	.38**†	.51 (.01)	.04	.34
Auditory									(.03)
	N	39	18	32	83	82	27	73	42
PLS	r	.46	.48 (.04)	.62**†	.41**†	.34	.57 (.002)†	.03	.39
Comb.		(.003)†				(.002)†			(.01)
	N	39	18	32	84	82	27	73	42

** p < .001; Blank - p > .05.; Other p values in brackets. † Remains significant after correction for multiple comparisons.

Results of regression analysis examining the relationship between 21 month language, cognitive and motor variables, 3 year cognitive and motor variables, and 3 year language

	Variable	В	SE B	β (p)				
PLS Expressive 3y – Motor correlates – Model 1								
Step 1 ($R^2 = .28 p = .004$)	CDI Production 21 mo	.02	.01	.31				
	CDI Comprehension 21 mo	.02	.01	.27				
Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .09, p = .04$)	CDI Production 21 mo	.02	.01	.25				
	PARCA score 21 mo	.01	.01	.16				
	Oral Motor Control 3y	.49	.23	.34 (.04)				
PLS Expressive 3y – Symbo	lic Comprehension as a predictor	– Mod	el 2					
Step 1 ($R^2 = .55$, p <.001)	.04	.02	.61 (.02)					
	CDI Comprehension 21 mo	.01	.02	.13				
Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .15, p =$	CDI Production 21 mo	.02	.02	.31				
.001)								
	CDI Comprehension 21 mo	.02	.02	.30				
	Symbolic Comprehension 3y	.52	.19	.40 (.01)				
PLS Auditory Comprehensi	on 3y – Motor predictors – Model	3						
Step 1 ($R^2 = .54 p < .001$)	CDI Production 21 mo	.04	.01	.74 (<.001)				
Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .19 \text{ p} = .001$)	CDI Production 21 mo	.02	.01	.37 (.01)				
	Meaningless Gesture 3y	.84	.24	.43 (.002)				
	Gross/fine motor questionnaire	.23	.10	.29 (.03)				
	3у							
PLS Total 3y – Motor predi	ctors – Model 5							

Step 1 ($R^2 = .29 p = .005$)	CDI Comprehension 21 mo	.08	.02	.54 (.003)
Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .40 \text{ p} < .001$)	CDI Comprehension 21 mo	.05	.02	.36 (.014)
	Oral Motor Control 3y	1.57	.60	.46 (.017)
	Meaningless Gesture 3y	.85	.58	.24
	Gross/fine motor questionnaire	.07	.22	.05
	3у			
PLS Total 3y – Symbolic Co	omprehension as a predictor – Mod	del 6		
PLS Total $3y$ – Symbolic Co Step 1 (R^2 = .26 p = .009)	omprehension as a predictor – Moo CDI Comprehension 21 mo	del 6 .06	.02	.51 (.009)
PLS Total $3y$ – Symbolic Co Step 1 (R^2 = .26 p = .009) Step 2 (ΔR^2 = .28 p = .007)	omprehension as a predictor – Moo CDI Comprehension 21 mo CDI Comprehension 21 mo	del 6 .06 .05	.02	.51 (.009) .39 (.02)
PLS Total $3y$ – Symbolic Co Step 1 (R ² = .26 p = .009) Step 2 (ΔR^2 = .28 p = .007)	omprehension as a predictor – Moo CDI Comprehension 21 mo CDI Comprehension 21 mo Symbolic Comprehension 3y	del 6 .06 .05 1.13	.02 .02 .32	.51 (.009) .39 (.02) .53 (.002)
PLS Total 3y – Symbolic Co Step 1 ($R^2 = .26 p = .009$) Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .28 p = .007$)	omprehension as a predictor – Moo CDI Comprehension 21 mo CDI Comprehension 21 mo Symbolic Comprehension 3y HSQ 3y	del 6 .06 .05 1.13 .37	.02 .02 .32 .44	.51 (.009) .39 (.02) .53 (.002) .13

Blank = p > .05, other p values in brackets.

Descriptives for 4 year tests. Maximum possible indicates the highest score that a child can obtain on that test, where this is meaningful.

			Std.			Maximum
	Ν	Mean	Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	possible
TROG (standard score)	67	104.49	15.55	79	145	
Type-Token Ratio (Bus	65	.63	.10	.42	1.000	
Story)						
VOCD	54	38.52	12.85	11.05	74.81	
MLU	66	5.46	1.61	1.50	10.21	
IPSYN	66	42.24	9.97	4	59	
Complex Oral Motor	66	11.35	1.78	6	14	14
Control						
Oral Motor Control	65	25.98	5.25	7	34	38
combinations						
Meaningless Gesture	65	41.69	6.28	26	58	104
Block Design	67	9.15	3.11	1	15	
Auditory Discrimination	57	67.11	58.36	33.33	300.00	300

Language, motor and cognitive scores at 21 months, correlation (Pearson's r) with 4y language

		CDI						
Measures at	21	prodn	CDI	PLS	PLS		Oral	Gesture
months			comp	Expressive	Auditory	PARCA	motor	score
TROG 4y	r	.27 (.03)	.39	.23	.28 (.03)	.05	.34	.28 (.03)
			(.002)†					
	Ν	64	64	61	61	34	14	61
TTR (Bus	r	10	03	16	07	10	.52	14
Story) 4y	N	62	62	59	59	33	12	59
VOCD 4y	r	.05	03	03	.09	11	.65 (.03)	.03
	N	52	52	51	51	26	11	51
MLU 4y	r	.16	.01	.38 (.003)	.24	00	.36	.36 (.005)
	N	63	63	60	60	33	12	60
IPSYN 4y	r	.02	12	.27 (.03)	.33 (.009)	.15	13	.34 (.008)
	N	63	63	60	60	33	12	60

Blank - $p > .05$; Other p values in brackets.	†Remains significant after	correction for multiple
comparisons		

Motor and cognitive scores at 3y, correlation	n (Pearson's r) with 4y language
---	----------------------------------

		Oral		Motor				
		motor	Meaningless	q'airre	HSQ	Symbolic	Block	PSRep
Measures at	3y:	3у	Gesture 3y	3у	3у	Comprehension 3y	Design 3y	score 3y
TROG 4y	r	.02	.05	.13	.31** †	.31	.16	.20
	N	28	25	58	57	19	24	30
TTR (Bus	r	29	.01	06	17	.32	32	19
Story) 4y	N	29	25	56	55	18	21	30
VOCD 4y	r	18	.16	20	12	.28	38	.15
	N	26	23	49	48	17	16	26
MLU 4y	r	.41 (.03)	.27	23	.075	.50 (.03)	.21	.28
	N	29	26	57	56	19	21	31
IPSYN 4y	r	.23	.38	18	01	.71 (.001) †	.09	.36(.05)
	N	29	26	57	56	19	21	31

** p < .001; Blank - p > .05.

Other p values in brackets. †Remains significant after correction for multiple comparisons

Motor and cognitive scores at 4y, correlation (Pearson's r) with 4y language

			Oral Motor			
		Complex Oral	Control			Auditory
		Motor Control	Combinations	Gesture	Block	Discrimination
		4y	4y	score 4y	Design 4y	4y
TROG 4y	r	.11	.28 (.03)	.28 (.03)	.22	.20
	N	62	62	62	66	54
TTR (Bus Story)	r	29 (.02)	20	.02	12	.05
4y	N	64	63	63	61	50
VOCD 4y	r	.12	.23	.09	.07	.06
	N	54	53	53	53	44
MLU 4y	r	.32 (.01)	.21	.01	.14	06
	N	65	64	64	62	51
IPSYN 4y	r	.31 (.01)	.37 (.003) †	.04	.08	.06
	N	65	64	64	62	51

Blank - p > .05; Other p values in brackets. †Remains significant after correction for multiple comparisons

Results of regression analysis examining the relationship between 21 month and 3 year language, cognitive and motor variables, and 4 year language outcomes

	Variable	В	SE B	β (p)
4y receptive language (TROG) p	redicted by 21 month language an	d HSQ -	Model 1	
Step 1 ($\mathbb{R}^2 = .10 \text{ p} = .02$)	CDI Comprehension	.07	.03	.32 (.02)
Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .07 \text{ p} = .04$)	CDI Comprehension	.06	.03	.28 (.03)
	HSQ 3y	1.16	.64	.25 (.04)
4y expressive language (IPSYN)	predicted by 3y Symbolic Compr	ehension	and 4y Ora	al Motor
Control – Model 2				
Step 1 ($\mathbb{R}^2 = .52$, p = .001)	Symbolic Comprehension 3y	1.67	.40	.72 (.001)
Step 2 ($\Delta R^2 = .05 \text{ n.s.}$)	Symbolic Comprehension 3y	1.93	.44	.83 (.001)
	Oral Motor Control	44	.34	25
	Combinations 4y			

Blank = p > .05, other p values in bracket