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2 Can inferencing be trained in preschoolers using shared book reading? A randomised
3 controlled trial of parents' inference-eliciting questions on oral inferencing ability.

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25

26 **Keywords**

27 Randomised controlled trial; inferencing; language intervention; oral language; shared book
28 reading.

29

30

31 **Abstract**

32 The ability to make inferences is essential for effective language comprehension. While
33 inferencing training benefits reading comprehension in school-aged children (see Elleman,
34 2017 for a review), we do not yet know whether it is beneficial to support the development of
35 these skills prior to school entry. In a pre-registered randomised controlled trial, we evaluated
36 the efficacy of a parent-delivered intervention intended to promote 4-year-olds' oral
37 inferencing skills during shared book reading. One hundred children from socioeconomically
38 diverse backgrounds were randomly assigned to inferencing training or an active control
39 condition of daily maths activities. The training was found to have no effect on inferencing.
40 However, inferencing measures were highly correlated with children's baseline language
41 ability. This suggests that a more effective approach to scaffolding inferencing in the
42 preschool years might be to focus on promoting vocabulary to develop richer and stronger
43 semantic networks.

44 **The importance of inferencing skills**

45 To make sense of language, children must make inferences. For example, they may
46 need to infer what a pronoun (e.g., it) refers to, or why a protagonist in a story acted in a
47 certain way, based on information distributed through the discourse. Inferencing skills are
48 crucial for language comprehension because speakers and writers leave much of the content
49 of their messages implicit. For example, on hearing that a character entered a room and
50 turned on her torch, good comprehenders readily infer that the room was dark. In this case the
51 missing information is provided by general world knowledge, which is integrated with
52 information from the discourse as it unfolds. In this study, we evaluate the efficacy of a novel
53 language intervention intended to promote 4-year-olds' oral inferencing skills. This parent-
54 delivered intervention was designed to prompt children's inferential thinking by giving them
55 practice in answering inferencing questions during shared book reading.

56 Inferencing skills allow comprehenders to construct a full and accurate representation
57 of texts by linking events and working out causes and consequences of actions to create a
58 coherent mental representation. Without good inferencing skills that draw from knowledge
59 removed from the here-and-now to fill in implicit information, we cannot make sense of
60 extended discourses such as narratives or instructions. When children start school, they face a
61 sharp increase in the amount and range of decontextualized language they hear (Hindman,
62 Connor, Jewkes, & Morrison, 2008; Rowe, 2013), meaning that inferencing skills are in
63 greater demand. Given the importance of good oral language at school, improving inferential
64 language during the preschool years is likely to benefit school readiness when children start
65 formal primary education. Strong inferencing skills across oral and written modalities can
66 help enable a child to fully access the curriculum. More broadly, current educational policy
67 emphasises the need for greater language comprehension skills (Law et al., 2017; Oxford
68 University Press, 2018), so inferencing remains a priority in primary education.

69 As children progress through the primary school years, inferencing becomes
70 particularly important for reading comprehension and for related academic success. Indeed,
71 much of the literature on inference-making comes from studies of reading comprehension
72 (e.g., Cain & Oakhill, 1999; McGee & Johnson, 2003; Silva & Cain, 2015; Yuill & Oakhill,
73 1988; see Elleman, 2017 for a meta-analytic review). Several studies have found that children
74 with poor reading comprehension are less likely to make inferences when reading than those
75 with good comprehension (Cain & Oakhill, 1999; Oakhill, 1984), and a range of approaches
76 including classroom-intervention and individual differences methodologies have reinforced
77 the link between inferencing and reading comprehension. Text-based inference training has
78 been effective in enhancing comprehenders' reading abilities (Bos, De Koning, Wassenburg,
79 & van der Schoot, 2016; McGee & Johnson, 2003; Yuill & Oakhill, 1988; though note that
80 these studies are not randomised controlled trials), and latent inferencing skill has been found
81 to predict reading comprehension (Cain & Oakhill, 1999; Oakhill & Cain, 2012; Silva &
82 Cain, 2015). More broadly, higher-level comprehension processes including inferencing
83 account for unique variance in reading comprehension (Language and Reading Research
84 Consortium [LARRC], 2017). Thus, there is a good evidence base showing that good text-
85 based inferencing abilities provide a firm basis for later reading success.

86 **Training inferencing skills**

87 Although several studies have shown that it is possible to train inferencing in school-
88 aged children to improve reading comprehension (Bos et al., 2016; Clarke, Snowling,
89 Truelove, & Hulme, 2010; McGee & Johnson, 2003, Yuill & Oakhill, 1988), very little is
90 known about whether and how inferencing can be supported earlier on. Given the strong link
91 between inferencing and reading skills, oral inferencing in the preschool years should help
92 with the later demands of formal literacy education. Inferencing practice may also provide
93 early protection to children at risk of becoming poor comprehenders, since a proportion of

94 children may start school at risk of reading difficulties “not because they have problems with
95 decoding or literal comprehension (although they may have these difficulties, too), but
96 because they have not had extensive exposure to text inferencing that supports later, higher
97 levels of literacy” (van Kleeck, 2006, p. 279). Although there have been many arguments in
98 favour of promoting language skills in the preschool years and successful interventions for
99 doing so (e.g., Burgoyne, Gardner, Whiteley, Snowling, & Hulme, 2018), and although
100 inferencing skills for oral language have been monitored in the preschool years (e.g.,
101 Filiatrault-Veilleux, Bouchard, Trudeau, & Desmarais, 2016; Das Gupta & Bryant, 1989;
102 Pyykkönen, Matthews, & Järvikivi, 2010; Schulze, Grassmann, & Tomasello, 2013), how
103 those skills can be strengthened before children learn to read is currently unknown.

104 In a cross-sectional study with 4- to 6-year-olds, Florit, Roch, and Levorato (2011)
105 found that inferencing skills play a specific role in oral language comprehension. In
106 preschoolers, only three studies to our knowledge have explored whether it is possible to train
107 inferencing skills - one educational and two clinical. First, in a 3-year, quasi-experimental
108 (i.e., non-randomised) study beginning when a large sample of children were almost 4 years
109 of age, Bianco et al. (2010) found improved oral comprehension as a result of regular, long-
110 term, explicit, well-defined, comprehension-focused activities including inferencing.
111 However, this study in preschools had a broader focus on comprehension skills more
112 generally and thus we do not yet know which activities specifically supported inference-
113 making. Second, in an 8-week oral inferencing training programme with preschoolers with
114 language impairment, van Kleeck, Vander Woude, and Hammett (2006) reported that their
115 training group outperformed non-intervention controls on receptive and inferential language
116 (though with a small sample size of 15 children in each of the two groups). More recently, in
117 a small-group book sharing intervention with Australian pre-primary 5- to 6-year-olds with
118 developmental language disorder, randomised controlled trial found that children who had

119 undergone oral inferential comprehension training (n = 19) showed an increase in inferential
120 comprehension scores immediately after the 8-week intervention, maintained 8 weeks later.
121 This group also scored higher than the control group for inferential comprehension on a post-
122 intervention assessment of their ability to generalise inferential skills to new narrative
123 contexts (Dawes, Leitão, Claessen, & Kane, 2019).

124 Although these three studies provide tentative evidence that building inferencing
125 skills can improve oral language comprehension, and that inferencing ability can be trained
126 under certain conditions during the preschool years, it is difficult to draw conclusions due to
127 the diverse nature of the populations and the methodologies used. Until now, no study has
128 investigated whether focused practice in inferencing, delivered as part of typically developing
129 preschoolers' regular activities at home, will lead to improved inferencing skill in a large and
130 diverse sample. Evidence from such a study would have clear implications for the way that
131 inferencing is supported in the preschool years.

132 The studies that have found improvements in inferencing ability in school-aged
133 children have used a wide range of instruction methods from explicit teaching (Bos et al.,
134 2016; Clarke et al., 2010; McGee & Johnson, 2003) to more implicit practice, e.g., asking
135 comprehension questions about texts and allowing children to naturally discuss their answers
136 with their peers (Yuill & Oakhill, 1988). In line with the literature, we define explicit vs.
137 implicit instructional methods respectively as i) guided activities that focus a child's attention
138 explicitly on the pieces of information required for making an inference, and on the process
139 of integrating them; and ii) activities that elicit inferencing processes from the child
140 incidentally through comprehension questions (Connor, Morrison, & Katch, 2004; Snow,
141 2001). As defined, the intervention reported in the current study uses implicit methods.

142 As we turn our focus to inferencing training in preschoolers, the range of suitable
143 training methods narrows since many forms of explicit instruction require an explicit
144 understanding of the components of the skill being taught, e.g. the separability of discrete
145 chunks of information, or of information sources. However, a wide range of implicit methods
146 remains open for this age range: it has been suggested that younger children would
147 particularly benefit from supportive dyadic contexts for inferencing, where they are
148 encouraged to demonstrate their inferencing abilities via narratives rather than undergoing
149 formal question-and-answer tests (van Kleeck, 2006, p. 292). Similarly, van Kleeck (2008)
150 has suggested that one of the best ways to promote inferencing ability in younger children is
151 to give them practice in making inferences by responding to questions about a story and then
152 discussing answers. To our knowledge, these recommendations have yet to be taken up in a
153 rigorous trial. Here we explore the value of parent-child book reading as a basis for this kind
154 of practice. Specifically, we test whether practising making inferences in order to respond to
155 caregiver questions during shared book reading promotes 4-year-olds' inferencing ability.

156 **Intervention approach**

157 Strengthening inferencing skills in the early years is likely to have advantages for oral
158 language comprehension and later reading ability. Despite evidence showing that inferences
159 can be trained in school-aged children using a range of methods from answering inferencing
160 questions to formal explicit teaching, we do not yet know whether; i) training inferencing in
161 the preschool years is possible, and ii) if so, whether it is possible in this age group via
162 implicit methods. This is particularly important since formal, explicit instruction methods
163 rely on an understanding of the subcomponents of inferencing so may not be easily accessible
164 for this age group. To address this gap, we report the results of a RANDOMISED CONTROLLED
165 TRIAL (RCT) to test the effect of a parent-delivered intervention that gave 4-year-old children
166 practice in responding to inferencing questions during book sharing. To provide the best

167 chance of success, our design combined elements of successful inferencing interventions for
168 older children with recommendations for scaffolding inferencing in preschoolers. It follows
169 Yuill & Oakhill's (1988) finding that comprehension questions improve inferencing ability,
170 as well as van Kleeck's (2008) evidence-based recommendations for fostering inferential
171 language in preschoolers, e.g., embedding scripted inferencing questions, prompts, and
172 feedback in shared reading materials (Ard & Beverly, 2004; Karweit, 1989; van Kleeck et al.,
173 2006). Inserting these prompts ahead of time increases the amount of 'thinking aloud'
174 between dyads (Kucan & Beck, 1997), and improves fidelity.

175 Our intervention was designed to prompt younger children in their inferential
176 thinking. Although preschoolers are able to engage in inferencing, evidence suggests that
177 they are less likely than their older peers to do so spontaneously (Florit et al., 2011). Through
178 naturalistic questioning (based on evidence showing that some parents naturally engage in
179 literal and inferential talk during shared book reading; Hammett, van Kleeck, & Huberty,
180 2003), our training highlighted the fact that there is information to be had that is not explicitly
181 stated, and encouraged children to fill in the gaps using clues provided in the text or from
182 their prior knowledge. By raising awareness of these gaps, children were alerted that an
183 inference needed to be made, and encouraged to strive for coherence (Cain & Oakhill, 1999,
184 p. 501). Further, unlike studies involving classroom-based, group training sessions that use
185 explicit training methods to highlight textual cues to implicit meaning (Bianco et al., 2010;
186 McGee & Johnson, 2003; Yuill & Oakhill, 1988; Zucker, Justice, Piasta, & Kaderavek,
187 2010), the intervention was run at home by parents, meaning that if successful, the
188 programme could be adopted without the need for specialist training.

189 Shared book reading was chosen as the medium for the intervention for several
190 reasons. Children who read regularly with an adult in the preschool years learn language

191 faster, enter school with a larger vocabulary, and become more successful readers in school
192 (Mol, Bus, de Jong, & Smeets, 2008). Shared book reading facilitates more complex talk than
193 traditional caretaking or play activities (Snow, 1993), and exposes children to vocabulary and
194 syntactic structures beyond what they would hear in everyday speech (Cameron-Faulkner &
195 Noble, 2013; Hoff-Ginsberg, 1991). Thus, shared book reading is a potentially powerful tool
196 for supporting the development of vocabulary, narrative and conversational skills, complex
197 syntax, and other literacy practices such as print and phonological awareness (Burgess, 2010;
198 Ezell & Justice, 2000). More specifically, our intervention asked open-ended questions; a
199 technique from dialogic reading interventions. Dialogic reading encourages caregivers to be
200 more responsive to the child during shared book reading, and in general has been shown to
201 have a positive impact on a child's oral language development (Baker & Nelson, 1984;
202 Cleave, Becker, Curran, Van Horne, & Fey, 2015; Farrar, 1990; Girolametto & Weitzman,
203 2002; Huttenlocher, Waterfall, Vasilyeva, Vevea, & Hedges, 2010; Valdez-Menchaca &
204 Whitehurst, 1992; though see a meta-analysis by Noble et al. (under review a), and a
205 randomised controlled trial by Noble et al. (under review b) for evidence of no effect or small
206 effects of dialogic reading on children's language skills). Most pertinently for our
207 intervention, shared book reading is a good medium for linking social conversations (e.g.,
208 about personal events and real world knowledge) and text inferencing skills for two reasons.
209 First, because some caregivers naturally ask their children questions about the shared story
210 that require them to make inferences about the text, they model the kinds of information that
211 support text comprehension, and then support the child in answering via various types of
212 scaffolding (van Kleeck, 2006; 2008). Second, oral inferencing practice is particularly suited
213 to shared book reading because it takes place within the same activity that it will later be
214 applied in when reading, i.e., generating meaning from information presented in books (van

215 Kleeck, 2006, p. 275). Thus, we use shared book reading as an activity that will provide the
216 natural apprenticeship for later independent inferencing.

217 **Design and hypotheses**

218 The aim of this RCT was to test whether training parents to ask their children
219 inference-eliciting questions during shared book reading (and supporting them to do so with
220 in-text questions) is effective for promoting inferencing ability in 4-year-olds. The primary
221 outcome measure was children's ability to answer inferencing questions after completing the
222 4-week intervention (controlling for baseline ability). The inferencing training group was
223 compared with an active control group of children who spent the intervention period working
224 through a maths exercise book with their caregiver. We hypothesised that the training group
225 would make significantly greater gains in inferencing ability than the control group. The
226 secondary outcome measure was the change in children's NFER Baseline Reception
227 Assessment Language and Communication scale (National Foundation for Educational
228 Research, 2015) (NFERL); a standardised assessment frequently used in British primary
229 schools to gauge children's language ability upon school entry (aged 4 to 5 years). We did
230 not have a hypothesis regarding potential effects on the NFERL scale as transfer is not often
231 seen in response to cognitive training programmes (Sala & Gobet, 2017), but we were
232 interested to assess this all the same.

233

234

235

236 **Method¹**

237 This educational intervention was preregistered at <https://clinicaltrials.gov/ct2/home>
238 (NCT02854462, Appendix A). Ethical approval was granted by the Psychology Ethics sub-
239 committee at the University of Sheffield.

240 **Participants**

241 The Consolidated Standards of Reporting Trials (CONSORT) diagram is reported in
242 Figure 1 and the checklist appears as Appendix B (Schulz, Altman, & Moher, 2010). One
243 hundred 4-year-olds (53 female) were recruited in the North of England from a volunteer
244 database at the University of Sheffield's Department of Psychology (Mean age at Baseline =
245 50.3 months; Median = 50 months; Range: 48 to 56 months; Mean age at Post-test = 51.5
246 months; Median = 51 months; Range: 49 to 58 months). Eighty-three caregivers and their
247 children had previously taken part in a separate randomised controlled trial investigating the
248 role of caregiver contingent talk on early language development (McGillion, Pine, Herbert, &
249 Matthews, 2017). These children did not differ on any measures collected at baseline from
250 those who had not been involved in the previous study (n = 17). Participants were specifically
251 recruited to be representative of the UK population in terms of SES: Forty-five percent of
252 households were not educated to degree level. Eighty-nine caregivers gave permission for
253 their data to be uploaded to the UK Data Archive (UK Data Service. [10.5255/UKDA-SN-
254 853233](https://ukdataservice.ac.uk/datacatalog/studies/study?id=10.5255/UKDA-SN-853233)).

255 **Inclusion criteria.**

256 Children were first born (to control for potential birth-order effects), full term (i.e.,
257 born no more than 3 weeks prematurely), with birth weight over 2.5 kg and were
258 monolingual English speakers (to allow for the administration of standardised language

¹ An extended version of the methods section adhering to CONSORT guidelines can be accessed at <https://osf.io/95qr8>, along with all appendices.

259 assessments). Exclusion criterion: Neither caregivers nor children had any significant known
260 physical, mental or learning disability.

261 At baseline visits, families were given a cuddly toy and the materials required to
262 complete the intervention, and a second cuddly toy and a £40 gift voucher on completing the
263 post-test visit.

264 **Materials**

265 **Intervention Videos.**

266 A short video was used to deliver the Inferencing Training Intervention to caregivers.
267 The script was developed by the authors to explain in lay terms what inferencing is and why
268 it might be important for language and reading comprehension and by extension, success in
269 school (Appendix C). Stills and video clips, collected during piloting for this study, were
270 used to illustrate how caregivers and their children might engage in inference-eliciting
271 dialogues while reading books. This method of intervention administration has been used
272 successfully in previous studies of language development (McGillion et al., 2017) and was
273 chosen for its consistency. Qualitative feedback in the exit questionnaire suggested that
274 caregivers had enjoyed the reading comprehension video and found it useful in explaining the
275 theory behind the study.

276 A second video (matched in length, format, production, and aims to the training
277 condition) introduced caregivers to the Mathematical Control Intervention.

278 **Intervention Support Materials.**

279 Children in the inferencing training condition were given 10 books. Inference-making
280 questions were pasted alongside the text of these books to elicit inferencing during shared
281 book reading. Each question label included a picture of a tiger, who was introduced on the
282 front cover of every book. Caregivers explained to the children that the tiger might need

283 some help to understand the story and that they could do this by answering the questions
284 beside his picture throughout the story. Caregivers were encouraged to provide supportive
285 individual feedback for correct responses (see information leaflet in Appendix D). For
286 questions where the child did not respond or responded incorrectly, model answers and
287 feedback were included on the question labels, e.g.,

- 288 - Why does Percy need an extra blanket tonight?
- 289 - Perhaps he is trying to get warm.
- 290 - Can you remember what the weather was like outside? It was very cold!

291 One Snowy Night, p. 4.

292 See Appendix E for book titles, inferencing questions, and model responses.

293 Video analysis during piloting confirmed that caregivers understood these instructions
294 and were able to incorporate the question prompts and feedback into their usual book reading
295 routine (this was also endorsed in their oral feedback to us). Children in the control condition
296 were given the commercially-available maths workbook *At Home with Counting* (Ackland,
297 2012). This book introduces simple number knowledge (e.g., learning the numbers 1-10) and
298 skills (e.g., sequencing, adding, more/less than) through matching drawing and colouring
299 activities. Each page contained instructions for caregivers to encourage their child's
300 participation and support learning. Families in both conditions were given an intervention
301 diary to record each time they read a particular book (inferencing training condition) or
302 completed a page in the maths workbook (maths control condition) and to comment on their
303 experience of taking part in these activities. Qualitative analysis of these comments after the
304 intervention was complete suggested that caregivers understood what was expected of them
305 during the intervention period.

306 **Measures of Inference-making.**

307 Age-appropriate story vignettes and questions were used to measure children's
308 inference-making ability at baseline and post-test. Inferencing vignettes for preschoolers
309 taken from the Language and Reading Research Consortium (LARRC; see Currie & Cain,
310 2015; Language and Reading Research Consortium, 2015, for details of their construction
311 and validation) were administered at baseline (Birthday) and at post-test (A New Pet; A
312 Family Day Out Part 1). Additional author-designed vignettes followed the LARRC template
313 (baseline n = 1, Rover the Dog (see Table 1); post-test n = 1; Jessie's Birthday Party,
314 Appendix F), and were designed to portray familiar scenarios that tapped into 4-year-olds'
315 world knowledge.

316 To demonstrate comparability between the author-designed vignettes, and those from
317 the LARRC (2015) materials, the number of utterances, number of morphemes, word tokens
318 (i.e., the total number of words including repetitions of the same word), and word types (i.e.,
319 number of different words) were computed using CLAN (Computerized Language Analysis;
320 MacWhinney, 2000). Two measures of linguistic richness were used: global syntactic
321 complexity (indexed by the mean length of utterances in morphemes) and lexical diversity
322 (type: token ratio). These analyses suggest that the LARRC and author-designed vignettes
323 were of a comparable level of difficulty.

324 Each short story was read aloud by the experimenter and was followed by between 4
325 and 8 questions to assess inferencing ability. Questions followed the order that information
326 was presented in each story vignette and required the child to integrate information across the
327 text and/or their world knowledge to, for example, infer character motivations (e.g., Table 1,
328 questions 1 and 5), emotions (question 8), and semantic (question 2) and anaphoric
329 relationships (questions 4 and 6). We tested a range of inference types so that our results
330 could inform interventions that would comprehensively promote the range of inferences that

331 children face during oral comprehension. In this respect, our materials are in line with
332 standardised measures of reading comprehension that frame inferencing as a broad construct,
333 e.g., the Neale Analysis of Reading Ability (NARA II; Neale, 1989) and the York
334 Assessment for Reading Comprehension (YARC; Hulme et al., 2009). Inferencing questions
335 by type, with by-group scores are in Appendix G. Author-designed vignettes and questions
336 were administered first at both time points. These stories were presented in two parts to
337 minimise memory demands and included pictorial supports to illustrate characters in the
338 story.

339 **Table 1.** Baseline vignette Rover the Dog with inferencing questions.

This story is called Rover the Dog. Listen carefully, and try to remember the story so that you can answer the questions.

Child is shown pictures of characters.

This is Rover, this is Jack, and this is Jack's Dad. So that's Rover, Jack, and Jack's Dad.

Jack and his Dad woke up early one Saturday morning. They went downstairs. Jack wanted a banana and an apple. Dad told him to look in the cupboard. He found the fruit, and then decided to go out with Dad and his dog Rover. They put on their wellies and opened the door. Dad said, "it's a good job we have our umbrellas isn't it!" He gave Rover a dog biscuit for being good and off they went.

1. Why did Jack and his Dad go downstairs?
2. Where were the banana and apple?
3. What was the weather like?
4. Who gave Rover a dog biscuit?

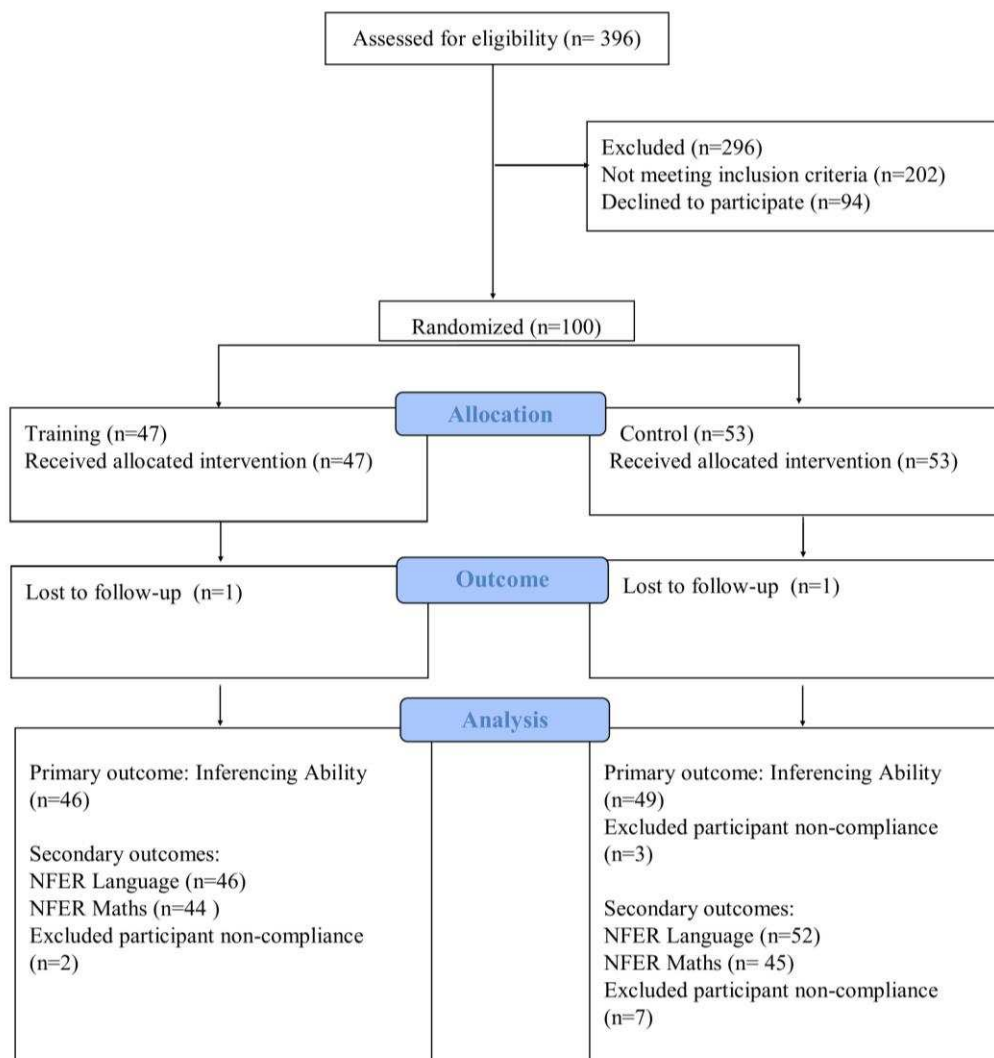
Let's see what happens next.

Jack's dog, Rover, loved playing in puddles. When they arrived, Jack played on the swings and the slide. Next, he went on the roundabout. All of a sudden, Rover ran off!

Dad shouted at him to come back and Jack ran after him, worried. He thought Rover would get lost. Finally, Jack caught up with Rover and took him back to Dad. Dad said, “urgh he’s all wet and muddy!”. Jack smiled.

5. Where did they walk to with Rover?
6. Who thought Rover would get lost?
7. Why was Rover wet and muddy?
8. How did Rover feel when he was playing in the puddles?

340



341

342 **Figure 1.** CONSORT Flow diagram

343

344

345 **Procedure**

346 Families meeting eligibility criteria were invited to take part in a study investigating
347 factors that impact on school readiness. Prior to this appointment, participating caregivers
348 completed a Family Questionnaire to measure demographic information e.g., caregiver
349 education and household income (see Alcock, Meints, & Rowland, 2017, for details of its
350 construction), and a Home Life questionnaire to collect information about literacy related
351 behaviours and attitudes e.g., how often someone read with the child in a typical week.

352 **Randomisation.**

353 Dyads were randomised to either the inferencing training or maths control condition
354 according to CONSORT 2010 guidelines (Schulz et al., 2010). Randomisation was conducted
355 by an independent statistician at the University of Sheffield. Randomisation was stratified by
356 household education (degree or no degree) and the condition which dyads had been allocated
357 in a previous intervention study if they had taken part in it (McGillion et al., 2017). If the
358 family had not taken part in the prior intervention ($n = 17$), they were allocated a condition
359 envelope for a family that had taken part in the prior intervention but who had declined to
360 take part in this study, matching for SES. For each participant number, condition allocations
361 were placed in a sealed envelope, identified only by participant number, by a research
362 assistant not involved in any other aspect of the project. Another researcher who administered
363 the baseline measures and the intervention became aware of condition allocation by opening
364 the envelope during the baseline visit, and only once the final baseline measure had been
365 collected. This ensured that baseline measures were collected blind to condition allocation.
366 This research assistant, having opened the envelope with the appropriate participant number

367 to find out which condition the dyad had been randomised to, administered the relevant
368 intervention. Intervention groups did not differ as a function of child age, gender, or SES.

369 **Baseline Data Collection.**

370 Caregivers and their children completed two baseline visits. On the first visit, at the
371 university, children completed several measures of mathematical ability as part of a separate
372 study on mathematical development (Yanez Diaz Barriga, 2018). The second visit took place
373 in the family home. After two cameras had been set up (Sony HDR-PJ810E and Sony HDR-
374 PJ220E) and turned on, caregivers and their child spent approximately 10 minutes completing
375 a book reading session as a warm up activity before baseline data collection began. First, this
376 involved collecting a measure of child inferencing ability. The researcher read two story
377 vignettes (one author-designed; Rover the Dog (Table 1), the second from the LARRC;
378 Birthday). Children were asked to listen carefully to the stories so that they could answer the
379 inference-eliciting questions that followed each story. Aside from general encouragement, no
380 other feedback was given. Then, child language and communication was measured by the
381 researcher (secondary outcome) using the NFER Baseline Reception Assessment Language
382 and Communication scale (NFERL) (National Foundation for Educational Research, 2015)
383 and the Language Content index of the Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals
384 Preschool 2 UK (CELF) (Wiig, Second, & Semel, 2006). The NFERL assesses phonics,
385 picture sequencing, story prediction, word reading, simple sentence reading, and name
386 writing. The Language Content index of the CELF is a measure of vocabulary breadth,
387 concept development, comprehension of simple and complex sentences, and comprehension
388 of associations and relationships among words.

389 **The Intervention.**

390 After all baseline measures were collected, the researcher opened the envelope
391 containing the dyad's condition allocation and administered the appropriate intervention.

392 **Inference Training Condition.**

393 The researcher explained that the study was investigating whether asking questions
394 during shared book reading could help language comprehension before children start school.
395 Caregivers were shown the intervention materials, watched the intervention video and were
396 asked to read each of the 10 books (with inferencing questions included) at least twice over
397 the course of the following month (i.e., a minimum of 20 sessions) and given a leaflet
398 summarising the main intervention message (Appendix D).

399 **Mathematical Control Condition.**

400 The researcher explained that the study was investigating whether completing daily
401 maths activities could help children get ready for school. Caregivers watched a video
402 explaining what the intervention involved, were shown the maths workbook and asked to
403 complete one or two pages a day over the course of the following month (i.e., a maximum of
404 20 sessions).

405 Caregivers in both conditions were given an intervention diary to record how often
406 they completed the relevant intervention activities and their impressions of having done so.

407 **Post-test Data Collection.**

408 Approximately one month later, caregivers and children visited the University for
409 post-test data collection. A version of the Home Life questionnaire (adapted to include
410 questions about the activities completed over the past month), and an exit questionnaire about
411 the general experience of taking part in the study were posted to caregivers in advance of this
412 visit. Caregivers were asked to complete these questionnaires and to bring it with their
413 completed intervention diary to the university in a sealed envelope.

414 The researcher read three different short vignettes following the protocol established
415 at baseline (see Materials: one author-designed; Jessie’s Birthday Party, and two from the
416 LARRC; A Family Day Out Part 1; A New Pet), see Appendix F). These vignettes were of
417 equivalent total length to those administered at baseline and were matched for story theme.
418 After each story, the researcher asked a series of questions designed to measure the child’s
419 inference-making ability (primary outcome). The Communication Language and Literacy and
420 Mathematical Literacy components of the NFER Baseline Reception Assessment were
421 administered to measure child language (secondary outcome) and mathematical ability.

422 **Debrief.**

423 In accordance with ethical guidelines laid down by the University of Sheffield ethics
424 committee, all caregivers were fully debriefed by email after all children had completed the
425 final outcome visit.

426 **Coding and Measures**

427 **Inferencing ability** at baseline and post-test was measured by child responses to the
428 inference eliciting questions following story vignettes. Responses to each inference question
429 were scored from video recordings by a researcher blind to condition allocation. Correct
430 responses that demonstrated full inference-making were awarded 2 points. Partially correct
431 answers that lacked full inferencing scored 1 point. Unintelligible responses, “I don’t know”,
432 or incorrect responses scored 0. For example, for question 5 in Table 1; “Where did they
433 walk to with Rover?”, “The park / the playground” scored 2 points, “swings and slides /
434 roundabout” scored 1, and “shopping / for a walk” scored 0. For any response that was scored
435 as partially correct or incorrect, the researcher asked a background question(s) or prompted
436 the child in line with the rubric to help the child follow the narrative, and so that subsequent
437 questions could be administered. Complete scoring schemes are presented in Appendix F.

438 Scores for individual questions were summed to produce an overall inferencing score at
439 baseline (out of a maximum score of 32 for the 16 questions at baseline) and post-test (out of
440 a maximum score of 40 for the 20 questions at post-test). Rare instances of missing data were
441 replaced with the sample mean for the particular item. At baseline, 5 participants had at least
442 one missing data point on measures of inferencing ability, each with an average of 2.4 items
443 missed out of the 16 items on this scale (totalling less than 1% of data on this measure). Four
444 participants had at least one missing datapoint on post-test measures of inferencing ability,
445 each with an average of 3 missed items out of the 20 items on this scale (totalling less than
446 1% of data on this measure). Incidences of missing data due to experimenter error or
447 caregiver interference were replaced with the sample mean for the item in question.

448 **Child language and communication ability** was measured using the NFER Baseline
449 Reception Assessment Language (baseline and post-test) and the CELF Language Content
450 Index (baseline). These were scored from video recordings by a researcher blind to condition
451 allocation. A raw frequency score was calculated for each test according to individual
452 assessment guidelines. Incidences of missing data due to experimenter error or caregiver
453 interference were replaced with the sample mean for the item in question. Eight participants
454 had at least one missing datapoint on the CELF, each with an average of 2.7 missed items out
455 of the 59 items on this test (totalling less than .5% of data across the dataset on this measure).
456 Nine participants had at least one missing datapoint on the baseline NFER, each with an
457 average of 2.8 missed items out of the 43 items on this test (totalling 1% of data across the
458 dataset on this measure). Twelve participants had at least one missing datapoint on the post-
459 test NFER, each with an average of 1.8 missed items out of the 43 items on this test (totalling
460 .5% of data across the dataset on this measure). Results for primary and secondary outcomes
461 (as well as for the post-hoc analyses reported below) did not change when statistical models
462 were run without the imputed data.

463 Reliabilities.

464 10% of responses to questions measuring inferencing ability, randomly selected, were
465 double coded by a researcher blind to condition allocation at baseline ($n = 10$) and post-test
466 ($n = 10$). Correlations between scorers indicated high levels of agreement at baseline ($r =$
467 $.97$). There was 100% agreement at post-test. The CELF and NFER Language were coded
468 live, using the standardised tests stopping rules. A second researcher blind to condition
469 allocation recoded these tests from the video recording to check the accuracy of the test
470 administration and scoring. Internal consistency was acceptable for our main measure of
471 inferencing ability at post-test ($\alpha = .76$). Baseline tests of inferencing ability had a Cronbach's
472 alpha of $.65$. As a measure of the predictive validity of the inferencing measures, baseline
473 and post-tests of inferencing were found to be positively correlated in the control group ($r =$
474 0.59).

475 Sample Size and Statistical Methods

476 Sample size was calculated to detect a medium effect size for the primary outcome
477 measure (inferencing ability) with 80% power at the 5% level of significance, allowing for up
478 to 20% attrition rate. To compare primary and secondary outcomes across intervention
479 groups, we fitted separate linear regression models to each outcome measure with condition
480 and an equivalent baseline measure as predictors. All analyses were conducted using R
481 version 3.3.1 (R Core Team, 2013) and RStudio Version 1.1.419 (R Studio Team, 2015). In
482 two final post-hoc analyses we used correlation to explore individual differences between
483 language (at baseline and post-test) and inferencing ability.

484

485

Results

486

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Children were generally able to engage with the inferencing task and scores on the
baseline and post-test were normally distributed. Table 2 reports descriptive statistics for all

488 baseline and post-test measures along with the number of sessions parents reported having
 489 completed at home for each condition. Percentage scores for the baseline and post-tests of
 490 inferencing were calculated by dividing total scores by the maximum possible score (32 at
 491 baseline and 40 at post-test), and are shown in Table 2 to facilitate interpretation: results of
 492 statistical analysis are reported for the raw scores only. Children in the maths control
 493 condition scored slightly but significantly higher on the baseline test of inferencing than
 494 children in the inferencing training condition ($t(98) = 2.23, p = .03$). In line with our
 495 statistical analysis plan, these baseline scores are controlled for in the analysis of the effect of
 496 the intervention below (Table 3). There was no significant difference between groups on
 497 either measure of language or communication collected at baseline (NFER Language $t(98) =$
 498 $0.48, p = 0.63$; CELF $t(93) = 1.48, p = 0.14$). Both groups scored within expected norms on
 499 the CELF Language Content Index. Children in the inferencing training condition made
 500 bigger pre- to post-test numerical gains on the inference tests than children in the maths
 501 control condition (45% - 50% vs. 53% - 52%). Parents in the inferencing condition reported
 502 completing sessions at home on more days than parents in the maths condition. This simply
 503 reflects the fact that once the maths book had been completed, parents were less likely to
 504 return to it again whereas the storybooks for the inferencing training were often shared
 505 multiple times.

506

507 **Table 2.** Means (SD) scores for Inference, CELF and NFER language tests at baseline and
 508 post-test as a function of condition.

	N	Inferencing training		Maths control	
		M	SD	M	SD

Baseline Inference raw /32	100	14.4	5.80	16.8	5.23
Baseline Inference %	100	44.9	18.1	52.6	16.4
Baseline CELF Language Content raw	98	47.6	9.10	50.2	8.21
Baseline NFER Language	100	17.6	6.82	18.3	7.20
Post-test Inference raw /40	95	20.1	7.21	20.9	6.71
Post-test inference %	95	50.2	18.0	52.3	16.8
Post-test NFER Language	98	20.1	7.56	19.9	6.68
Home sessions completed	79	23.9	7.92	13.1	8.03

509
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512 **Effect of the intervention on primary and secondary outcome measures**

513 To test for an effect of the intervention on inferencing scores (our primary outcome
514 measure), we built a linear regression model with inferencing at post-test as the outcome
515 variable and intervention condition plus inferencing at baseline (scaled and grand mean
516 centered) as predictors. The model is reported in Table 3. Controlling for baseline, there was
517 no statistically significant effect of condition on inferencing outcomes (Hedge’s $g = 0.14$).
518 Hedges’ g (calculated using the R package metanalytic: Xiao, Kasim & Higgins, 2016) is a
519 corrected measure of effect size for continuous variables in smaller samples. It is interpreted
520 in the same way as Cohen’s d , i.e., 0.2 is a small effect, 0.5 is medium, and 0.8 is a large
521 effect.

522 **Table 3.** Regression model fitting condition and baseline inferencing to post-test inferencing
523 (n=95)

	B	SE	T	p
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Intercept	20.01	0.89	22.52	< .001
Condition	0.85	1.29	0.65	.51
Baseline Inferencing	3.48	0.65	5.38	<.001

524 $R^2 = .24$

525 To test for an effect of the intervention on NFER language scores (our secondary
 526 outcome measure), we built a linear regression model with NFERL at post-test as the
 527 outcome variable and intervention condition plus NFERL at baseline (scaled and grand mean
 528 centred) as predictors. The model is reported in Table 4. Controlling for baseline, there was
 529 no statistically significant effect of condition on language outcomes (Hedge’s $g = 0.18$).

530 **Table 4.** Regression model fitting condition and NFER language baseline to post-test NFER
 531 language (n=98)

	B	SE	T	p
Intercept	19.54	0.54	35.9	< .001
Condition	0.72	0.79	0.9	.37
Baseline NFER Language	5.93	0.40	14.9	<.001

532 $R^2 = .70$

533 To further explore these null effects, we ran equivalence tests on our primary
 534 (inferencing ability) and secondary (NFER language scores) outcome measures (Lakens,
 535 Scheel & Isager, 2018). Equivalence testing is a variant of hypothesis testing that examines
 536 whether the difference between groups is more or less extreme than the smallest effect size of
 537 interest i.e., are groups significantly equivalent. We used the two one-sided test procedure

538 (TOST from R package TOSTER: Lakens, McLatchie, Isager, Scheel, & Dienes, 2018)
539 setting the minimal effect size of interest at 0.5 (Colmar, 2014; Noble et al., under review b).
540 These analyses showed that at post-test, there was no meaningful difference between
541 participants in the control and intervention groups with respect to both inferencing ($t(91) = -$
542 1.847 , $p = 0.034$) and language ability ($t(91) = 2.373$, $p = 0.001$).

543 **Individual differences in inferencing and language ability**

544 As an exploratory post-hoc analysis, we tested whether individual differences in
545 inferencing were associated with language ability as measured by the CELF Language
546 Content Index. Recall that the CELF measures vocabulary, concept development,
547 comprehension of sentences and of relationships between words – all key components of
548 inferencing. A positive correlation would indicate the inferencing is related to general
549 language skill. Considering all participants at baseline, inferencing ability was significantly
550 associated with performance on the CELF Language Content Index ($r = .47$, $p < 0.01$). At
551 post-test, considering only children in the maths control condition (for whom there could
552 have been no effect, however small, of the intervention), here too, this measure of inferencing
553 was highly correlated with children's baseline CELF Language Content Index ($r = 0.63$).
554 These correlations are about the same size as the correlation between baseline and post-test
555 measures of inferencing themselves ($r = 0.59$, again considering children in the control
556 condition only, although correlations are of similar size for the full sample; $r = 0.49$). This
557 suggests that our measure of inferencing is related to more general language ability.

558 **Parents' responses to the intervention**

559 Parents' qualitative comments about the inferencing training were extracted from the
560 intervention diaries. Here we summarise the major trends, together with more general
561 comments about study participation from an exit questionnaire.

562 Thirty-eight diaries were returned from the 47 families taking part in the inferencing
563 training. These indicated a mean of 23.9 sessions were completed over the duration of the
564 intervention; SD = 7.8; Range 11 - 49. Recall that families were instructed to read each book
565 at least twice during the month so that the minimum expected number of sessions was 20.
566 Thus, we take the level of uptake and engagement in the training as moderate to high. Most
567 parents saw value in preparing their children for the transition to school and reported that the
568 activities were enjoyable, though they reported some difficulty fitting the sessions around
569 other daily activities. Although parents commented that their children enjoyed certain books
570 more than others, there was no difference in how often each of the 10 books was read (the
571 mean number of reading sessions per book ranged from 2.3 – 2.8). Regarding children’s
572 levels of concentration during the shared reading sessions, some parents reported that their
573 children enjoyed answering the questions whereas others were distracted from the story by
574 looking for the tiger stickers. Time of day was also cited as a factor in levels of tiredness and
575 concentration. The repetition of books and questions elicited both positive and negative
576 comments. Many parents were keen to report that the repetition strengthened their children’s
577 confidence and understanding of what was happening in the stories, and at least for the books
578 that their children enjoyed, they were enthusiastic about repeated reading. However, a few
579 parents also reported that children were frustrated by being asked the same questions. The
580 main implication for our intervention is that children may not have been engaging in
581 inferencing on subsequent sessions and instead either refusing to answer the question or rote
582 responding from memory.

583 Of the range of inference types in the training materials, parents reported that their
584 children found some harder than others. For example, inferences about why characters were
585 feeling a certain way were challenging for some children, as were predictions. Inferencing
586 was also sometimes hindered by a lack of world knowledge. For example, some children

611 effect on either inferencing skills or on language and communication skills. Despite good
612 theoretical justification, high levels of engagement by the participating families, and a
613 rigorous RCT design, our intervention did not effect significant change. Based on methods
614 used in previous inferencing interventions that successfully improved comprehension in
615 school-aged children (Bianco et al., 2010; McGee & Johnson, 2003; van Kleeck et al., 2006;
616 Yuill & Oakhill, 1988), our design focused on asking children inferencing questions while
617 they listened to stories. It also closely followed van Kleeck's (2008) evidence-based
618 recommendations for fostering inferential language in younger children, e.g., targeted
619 questions and scripted feedback in a shared reading context.

620 Our findings have several important implications for the field. First, having used
621 gold-standard methods to test the efficacy of supporting preschoolers' inferencing skills using
622 implicit methods at home, the evidence base for this type of training remains negligible.
623 Future interventions should offer more support for children of this age by using direct
624 teaching methods, and should scrutinise the potential benefits of professionally-implemented
625 interventions that use explicit, well-defined, comprehension-focused activities. Second, our
626 findings highlight the link between inferencing and general language ability. Specifically, we
627 would like to promote strategies that strengthen vocabulary to provide a solid foundation for
628 inferencing. The results of this rigorous RCT will benefit researchers engaged in theory-
629 building and testing as well as practitioners choosing how to allocate resources.

630 Quality of parent delivery in the intervention was high. Videos of intervention
631 sessions with pilot caregiver-child dyads showed that the training was accessible and
632 implemented as intended. We designed the training to be consistent and easy to follow, and
633 gave clear instructions in the support materials. Qualitative and quantitative comments from
634 the intervention diaries and exit questionnaires showed that engagement was generally good,

635 with a mean dosage of 24 sessions out of a recommended 20 over the month-long
636 intervention. Responses to the Home Life questionnaire revealed that for the vast majority of
637 our inferencing training group, reading is a frequent and enjoyable activity. 95% of returned
638 questionnaires (n = 44) stated that someone reads or looks at books with their child daily
639 (84%) or more than 3 times per week (11%), and 93% of parents who returned questionnaires
640 agreed or strongly agreed that they found reading on their own enjoyable. While these
641 caregivers are not necessarily representative of the general population, it suggests the format
642 of the training was familiar and pleasurable, raising the likelihood of good quality
643 implementation.

644 In addition to sound theoretical foundations and good treatment fidelity (according to
645 our measures), our study used an RCT as the gold standard for testing the effectiveness of an
646 intervention. Despite having used these three core strategies for maximising success, we are
647 left with the question of why the training did not have reliable effects on our primary
648 outcome of inferencing skills.

649 Recall that our original aims were to investigate whether; i) training inferencing in the
650 preschool years is possible, and ii) if so, whether it is possible in this age group using implicit
651 methods. Our results suggest not on both counts, at least in an intervention of this length.
652 First, the children that our intervention targeted may not be developmentally ready to benefit
653 from this kind of implicit inferencing training (where a parent asks an open question with
654 basic scaffolding in the case of incorrect responses). This is supported by another
655 intervention study with preschoolers, which found that although mothers' inferential yes/no
656 questions and statements predicted children's receptive vocabulary growth over six months,
657 mothers' inferential wh- questions did not (Tompkins, Bengochea, Nicol, & Justice, 2017).
658 The authors suggest that since open-ended wh- questions (similar to those used in our study)

659 do not provide the child with the correct information (in contrast to closed questions and
660 statements), preschoolers may need inferences to be made more explicit for them to facilitate
661 language development (see also Carmiol, Matthews, & Rodríguez-Villagra, 2017).

662 Our approach was novel in its focus on the oral language of children in the preschool
663 years. On the whole, comparable successful interventions have targeted children ranging
664 from 6 to 9 years old (Clarke et al., 2010; McGee & Johnson, 2003; Yuill & Oakhill, 1988)
665 due to their focus on reading comprehension as an outcome measure. Although inferences are
666 within reach of children from 3 to 4 years old (Filiatrault-Veilleux et al., 2016, and as shown
667 by the distributions of scores on our tests of inferencing), evidence that the same skills can be
668 trained in preschoolers is scant. To the best of our knowledge, a single study has shown that
669 5-year-old children showed improvements in oral comprehension (including inferencing)
670 after explicit training activities that spanned seven months (Bianco et al., 2010). Crucially, to
671 be effective, the training in that study had to comprise explicit, well-defined, comprehension-
672 focused activities, i.e., not shared reading and discussion alone - a point we will return to
673 below. Therefore, despite showing competence in inferencing and engaging with the training
674 material, under-fives may not be able to transfer the skills they practised during the shared
675 reading activities to a test situation.

676 The reasons for this apparent age threshold cannot be conclusively answered by our
677 data, but one potential factor could be 4-year-olds' immature executive function skills. The
678 working memory (WM) demands of the inferencing task may have prevented children from
679 responding even if in principle they could make relevant inferences. While some of the
680 vignettes were presented in two halves and with picture prompts (Rover the Dog; Jessie's
681 Birthday Party), others were presented without a break and without visual support (Birthday;
682 A New Pet). The latter two vignettes were therefore quite long (211 and 161 words

683 respectively), and were also administered later in the session so fatigue effects are likely to
684 have been at play. The lower mean scores for these particular vignettes relative to other
685 vignettes administered at the same time point suggest that WM demands may have impeded
686 children's inferencing performance (see also Freed & Cain, 2017, for evidence that younger
687 children benefit from a segmented format when being tested on inference-making). While
688 many real-world inferences necessitate the retention in memory of large blocks of texts,
689 future studies might explore reducing these demands with preschool children.

690 Returning to the second consideration of whether inference training is possible in
691 preschoolers using implicit methods, the indirect nature of the instruction provided may also
692 explain the null results. Our training was focused on parents asking inferencing questions and
693 children answering them, with parents responding to incorrect answers using minimal,
694 prompted, item-specific feedback. Although the shared reading materials were designed to
695 highlight gaps in the text, relying on children to realise that these gaps existed and then make
696 the required inference without more explicit feedback may have overestimated their
697 capabilities at this age: learning opportunities may have been too subtle to effect the
698 hypothesised change. One reason for adopting this implicit approach was that explicit
699 instruction is not easily accessible by 4-year-olds, yet to begin formal education. Another was
700 the challenge of training parents in explicit methods. The current evidence base for the
701 effectiveness of explicit parent-delivered interventions is small (Burgoyne et al., 2018; Huat
702 See & Gorard, 2013) relative to the more substantial literature on the success of interventions
703 by trained professionals (Bianco et al., 2010; Fricke, Bowyer-Crane, Haley, Hulme &
704 Snowling, 2013; Fricke et al., 2017; Rogde, Melby Lervag, & Lervag, 2016). Thus,
705 inferencing interventions may be more effective if delivered by early years professionals who
706 could adapt some of the explicit methods used in the classroom with older children, e.g.,
707 giving practice in text prediction or in lexical inference (McGee & Johnson, 2003; Yuill &

708 Oakhill, 1988). Indeed, a single study has shown that these explicit approaches can be
709 effective for 4-year-olds' inferencing abilities over a longer period (Bianco et al., 2010). This
710 is not to say that the medium of shared book reading is problematic in itself; explicit
711 feedback can be integrated into natural book-sharing interactions via adult modelling (van
712 Kleeck, 2008, p. 638). Indeed, the discussions between caregiver and child resulting from
713 adult feedback is likely to be beneficial for inferencing training, cf. simply answering
714 comprehension questions (Yuill & Oakhill, 1988).

715 Our results raise the more general question of whether it makes sense to train
716 inferencing as an isolated skill in preschoolers, or to instead concentrate on other aspects of
717 language such as vocabulary. We found that both baseline and post-test measures of
718 inferencing were highly correlated with children's baseline language ability as measured by
719 the CELF Language Content Index (tapping vocabulary breadth, concept development,
720 sentence comprehension, and comprehension of lexical relationships). This suggests that our
721 measure of inferencing - and indeed inferencing ability in general - might reflect general
722 language ability, and we would welcome studies that further analyse the nature of this
723 association. Language skill (or more specifically the vocabulary component) may be a more
724 powerful determinant of inferencing ability than the type of inferencing training we
725 administered. This explanation is in line with evidence from individual differences and
726 longitudinal studies showing vocabulary knowledge to be a key predictor of inferencing
727 (Currie & Cain, 2015; Language and Reading Research Consortium, Currie, & Muijselaar,
728 2019; Lucas & Norbury, 2015; Silva & Cain, 2015), and is also supported by the lexical
729 quality hypothesis which predicts that more precise knowledge of words promotes efficient
730 text comprehension (Perfetti, 2007). If a child doesn't yet know a word (i.e., developing
731 vocabulary breadth) or have a sufficiently rich representation of its meaning (i.e., developing
732 vocabulary depth), they are less likely to integrate the word into the situation model to make

733 the required inference during comprehension. In the case of semantic inferences for example,
734 a rich and robust knowledge of word meanings is required to map between a word and its
735 synonyms, co-hyponyms, or superordinates (e.g., knowing that apples and bananas are types
736 of fruit), thus greater vocabulary depth and richer semantic networks facilitate more efficient
737 and more complex semantic inferences. In a recent study that analysed the concurrent and
738 longitudinal relations between inference-making, vocabulary, and verbal working memory in
739 4- to 5- through to 8- to 9-year-olds, both vocabulary breadth and (to a lesser extent) depth
740 explained inference-making skill in the early grades, i.e., at the same age as our sample
741 (Language and Reading Research Consortium et al., 2019).

742 Furthermore, vocabulary can boost the memory processes recruited during
743 inferencing. Robust word representations can support the maintenance of semantic
744 information in verbal working memory (Nation, Adams, Bowyer-Crane, & Snowling, 1999;
745 Walker & Hulme, 1999), and efficient maintenance of word meaning is necessary for
746 integrating information distributed throughout the discourse. Thus, good vocabulary supports
747 inferencing in (at least) two distinct ways. A more effective approach to scaffolding
748 inferencing might be to focus on boosting vocabulary breadth, depth, and conceptual
749 knowledge, all of which can be used in making inferences. As vocabulary has been
750 implicated in the development of multiple aspects of comprehension (Marulis & Neumann,
751 2010; 2013; Ouellette, 2006; Wright & Cervetti, 2017), training word learning could be a
752 powerful tool to benefit language across the board. Accruing a greater vocabulary size and a
753 richer knowledge of word meaning may be of particular benefit to inferencing. Interestingly,
754 there is emerging evidence for a reciprocal relationship between vocabulary and inferencing
755 skill (Language and Reading Research Consortium et al., 2019). This highlights the
756 importance of practising both skills in the classroom to benefit not only the discrete skills
757 them, but the way that each can support the other.

758 Another reason for favouring a focus on lower-level language skills such as
759 vocabulary and lexical relationships is the apparent lack of transfer in our data. That is, the
760 lack of transfer between inferencing skills practised during the training to those required at
761 post-test could be taken to suggest a lack of generalisability between semantic domains. For
762 example, if a child can make the inference that sitting on sand means being at the beach, this
763 does not guarantee that they can make a different type of inference, say about a character's
764 motivation or the consequences of their actions. Although learning about the sand/beach
765 connection would increase a child's knowledge about that specific domain, it may not be
766 useful for higher-level, general-purpose inferencing ability (if such a thing exists). This
767 hypothesis is also in line with the modest correlations between baseline and post-tests of
768 inferencing ($r = .59$ in the control group and $r = .4$ in the training group). That is, it may not
769 be possible to train "general purpose" inferencing. If this is the case then a more fruitful
770 approach to boosting inferencing may be to focus on vocabulary and the development of
771 richly connected semantic networks.

772 **Summary and Recommendations**

773 There are several reasons - separately or in combination - which might explain why
774 our training was not effective in improving inferencing. Age of the children, use of implicit-
775 exposure training, lack of transfer between inferencing domains, and the tentative link
776 between inferencing and underlying language ability could all have limited its potential to
777 effect change. Nonetheless, due to the firm evidence base suggesting that the development of
778 inferencing can be supported (albeit in older children and/or using more explicit methods),
779 and our use of a robust RCT, we had good reason to believe that the children might learn
780 from the training. The fact that they did not means that the evidence for inferencing training
781 using implicit methods with younger children remains negligible. Future interventions would

782 need to offer more support for children of this age and points to the following priorities for
783 future research and practice.

784 First, the association that we found between language and inferencing skills suggests
785 that a more effective approach to scaffolding inferencing in the preschool years might be to
786 focus on promoting vocabulary to develop the broad, deep, and rapidly accessed semantic
787 knowledge necessary to make inferences viable. This should be preceded by in-depth analysis
788 of the links between inferencing and language ability.

789 Second, interventions using more explicit inferencing training could shed light on
790 whether the implicit nature of the current intervention was the limiting factor for
791 preschoolers. To do this, materials could be adapted from successful interventions for older
792 children (e.g., Bianco et al., 2010; McGee & Johnson, 2003; Yuill & Oakhill, 1988) to
793 determine whether explicit inferencing training could be accessible and effective for
794 preschoolers. It may be that this type of training is best delivered professionally, i.e., at
795 preschool. As reviewed above, the most successful inferencing interventions have used direct
796 teaching methods, with frequent, explicit focus on the target skill or structures, and have
797 often used group-based delivery methods (Elleman, 2017). These specialist skills that might
798 allow children to gain insights into inference- making are likely best found in well trained
799 teachers.

800 Third, we would support future lab-based experimental studies to unpick the
801 components of specific types of inferences, the inferencing-making process, and the
802 associated cognitive resources (e.g., working memory, background knowledge, vocabulary –
803 including its speed of access; Cain, Lemmon, & Oakhill, 2004; Freed & Cain, 2017;
804 Language and Reading Research Consortium, 2018; Oakhill, Cain, & McCarthy, 2015).
805 While the current study purposely chose to test a wide range of inference types, future studies

806 might select from a more restricted range to investigate how different inference types vary in
807 their developmental trajectories, how responsive they are to training, and how they are
808 underpinned by different cognitive resources. This kind of research programme would
809 provide new insights into limiting factors in early development and how best to support
810 inference development at different points of development. This knowledge could also inform
811 more effective tests for assessing inferencing in the preschool years, e.g., exploring the use of
812 graphic organisers to support memory demands and organise key ideas when inferencing
813 (Nesbit & Adesope, 2006), and using the most supportive dyadic contexts for inferencing,
814 e.g., allowing children to demonstrate their inferencing abilities via narratives rather than
815 undergoing formal question-and-answer tests (van Kleeck, 2006, p. 292). There is also scope
816 for future studies to adopt a joint enquiry approach in which parents and children
817 collaboratively answer questions, giving parents opportunity to be reading role models and
818 model their own inferencing and deduction processes.

819 Although our intervention was designed to maximise fidelity – indeed we have no
820 reason to infer that parents did not administer it as intended - future studies should monitor
821 implementation directly, e.g., by asking families to record their intervention sessions and then
822 analysing a proportion of these against the protocols (e.g., Noble et al., under review b). In
823 studies which find no effect of the chosen intervention, direct monitoring would provide
824 specific information about why parent-delivered interventions are not effective. Prior to
825 further RCTs, feasibility studies are essential for clarifying the acceptability of proposed
826 interventions to stakeholders.

827 Finally, we would like to reiterate the importance of reporting and publishing null
828 results. Our findings show the usefulness of rigorously evaluating well-founded interventions

829 to inform future work, and of disseminating the findings to practitioners who can use the
830 emerging evidence in identifying and developing effective practices.

831

832 **Appendices²**

833 Appendix A: Trial registration

834 Appendix B: CONSORT 2010 checklist

835 Appendix C: Inferencing training video script

836 Appendix D: Inferencing intervention support leaflet

837 Appendix E: Inferencing intervention materials. Book titles, inference-eliciting questions,

838 and model responses

839 Appendix F: Inferencing test materials. Bespoke inferencing vignettes, comprehension

840 questions, and coding scheme

841 Appendix G: Scores by inference question and inference type

² Available at <https://osf.io/95qr8>.

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