



51 **Summary**

52 Stunting is associated with poor long-term cognitive, academic, and economic outcomes, yet  
53 the mechanisms through which stunting impacts cognition in early development remain  
54 unknown. In a first-ever neuroimaging study conducted in infants from rural India, we  
55 demonstrate that stunting impacts a critical, early-developing cognitive system – visual  
56 working memory (VWM). Stunted infants showed poor VWM performance and were easily  
57 distractible. Poor performance was associated with reduced engagement of the left anterior  
58 intraparietal sulcus (laIPS), a region involved in VWM maintenance, and greater suppression  
59 in the right temporo-parietal junction, a region involved in attentional shifting. When assessed  
60 one year later, stunted infants had lower problem-solving scores, while normal height infants  
61 with greater laIPS activation showed higher problem-solving scores. Finally, short-for-age  
62 infants with poor physical growth indices but good VWM performance showed more positive  
63 outcomes suggesting that intervention efforts should focus on improving working memory and  
64 reducing distractibility in infancy.

## 65 Introduction

66 Stunting or linear growth faltering often begins in utero and continues to unfold within  
67 the first 1000 days of a child's life. It is caused by a combination of factors such as poor  
68 nutrition, inadequate maternal health, exposure to infectious diseases and unhygienic  
69 environments, caregiver neglect, and lack of stimulation. Stunting impacts approximately 150  
70 million children under the age of five worldwide (UNICEF/WHO/World Bank Group Joint  
71 Child Malnutrition Estimates 2021 Edition). In developing countries, stunting is associated  
72 with late enrolment in school and reduced educational attainment<sup>1,2</sup>. These deleterious effects  
73 typically continue into adulthood leading to a 20% reduction in adult income<sup>3</sup>, 1.4% loss in  
74 economic productivity<sup>4</sup>, and a total economic cost of \$176.8 million per birth cohort<sup>5</sup>. Thus,  
75 stunting has an adverse impact at the individual, household, and community levels, eventually  
76 perpetuating an inter-generational cycle of poverty and undernutrition.

77 Persistent stunting that begins early in life has a particularly strong impact on cognitive  
78 outcomes in later childhood. In a meta-analytic study conducted across 29 low-to-middle-  
79 income countries, a one-unit increase in height-adjusted z-scores (HAZ) for children under 2  
80 years of age was associated with a 0.22 standard deviation increase in cognition between 5 and  
81 11 years of age<sup>6</sup>. Given this early impact, it is critical to understand how stunting affects  
82 neurocognitive mechanisms in the first year of life. Using portable neuroimaging techniques  
83 very early in development may be a powerful approach to address this issue. To date, only one  
84 neuroimaging study has investigated the impact of stunting on brain function in infancy<sup>7</sup>. This  
85 study examined growth measures and brain functional connectivity using  
86 electroencephalography in two groups of urban Bangladeshi children: a younger cohort aged 6  
87 months and an older cohort aged 36 months. In the older cohort, there was an association  
88 between lower HAZ scores, greater brain functional connectivity in the theta and beta  
89 frequency bands, and a reduction in children's IQ scores at 48 months of age. Notably, the  
90 study did not find a link between HAZ scores and brain function in the younger 6-month-old  
91 cohort, nor did the study clarify how stunting might impact cognitive functions in the first year  
92 of life.

93 What cognitive systems are likely to be impacted by stunting in early development?  
94 One potential target is visual working memory (VWM), a critical cognitive system that  
95 emerges within months after birth, develops rapidly across early childhood and is susceptible  
96 to early risk factors<sup>8</sup>. Early in development, rich explorative play can enhance VWM and  
97 attentional networks leading to visual familiarity with objects and better retention of object-  
98 label associations which is important for word-learning and vocabulary development<sup>9</sup>. VWM  
99 processing is also predictive of individual differences in global fluid intelligence<sup>10</sup> and  
100 academic outcomes<sup>11</sup>. For instance, WM processing has been linked to vocabulary scores<sup>12</sup>,  
101 non-symbolic scores<sup>12</sup>, comprehension<sup>13</sup>, and mathematics abilities<sup>14</sup> in primary school and  
102 later school years. Given these predictive associations between VWM processing and later  
103 academic achievements and the insidious impact of stunting on cognitive and academic  
104 outcomes, it is important to examine VWM processing in infants at risk of stunted  
105 development.

106 How might VWM be assessed in infancy? One option is to use a preferential looking  
107 task to measure looking behaviour and VWM function<sup>15-17</sup>. In this task, infants are presented  
108 with two flashing side-by-side displays of colored squares (Fig. 1a and 1b). On the  
109 'unchanging' side, the colors of the squares remain the same after each flash, while on the  
110 'changing' side, there is a change in the color of one square after each flash. If infants can  
111 maintain the colors on the unchanging display in VWM during the delay, they should lose  
112 interest in this display, releasing fixation to visually explore the 'changing' display. Here, they  
113 should detect the change and sustain looking to this display, leading to a strong *change*  
114 *preference* (CP) score – a high proportion of looking to the changing side.

115 Previous work has shown that CP scores vary with the number of presented items  
116 (VWM load) <sup>15,18,19</sup> and there is a developmental improvement in VWM capacity with age.  
117 Ross-Sheehy et al. (2003) showed that 6.5-month-old infants demonstrate greater-than-chance  
118 CP scores with a VWM load of one item, while older infants of 10 and 13 months of age  
119 showed greater-than-chance CP scores for VWM loads of two and three items<sup>15</sup>. Similarly,  
120 both 6-month-old and 8-month-old infants show a preference for one complex object, but only  
121 8-month-old infants display a preference for two complex objects<sup>18</sup>.

122 Critically, recent neuroimaging work has shown that infants engaging with the  
123 preferential looking VWM task modulate a fronto-temporo-parietal VWM network typically  
124 activated in adults. This work used functional near-infrared spectroscopy (fNIRS) to measure  
125 brain function in urban US infants<sup>16</sup>. Results revealed that visual exploratory measures were  
126 associated with activation of the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (DLPFC). Further, infants  
127 showed task-dependent modulation of the anterior intraparietal sulcus (aIPS) and the  
128 temporoparietal junction (TPJ)<sup>20,21</sup>. In adult studies, aIPS, a part of the dorsal attention network,  
129 is associated with maintaining working memory representations<sup>22,23</sup>, while TPJ, a part of the  
130 ventral attention network, is typically suppressed in working memory tasks reflecting  
131 suppression of attentional shifts away from task goals<sup>20</sup>.

132 In the current study, we used the same VWM task and fNIRS neuroimaging methods  
133 to conduct the first-ever community-based study investigating the impact of stunting on  
134 neurocognitive function in infants in rural India. We situated the study in a low-resource setting  
135 in Uttar Pradesh; a recent initiative investigating child growth failures under the National  
136 Nutrition Mission reported that 97.3% of the state's districts fell within the high tertile for  
137 stunting<sup>24</sup>. Our motivation for choosing this location was further justified by findings in a  
138 sample of children in Shivgarh, Uttar Pradesh: children from lower socioeconomic status  
139 families showed poorer VWM performance and distractor suppression in inferior frontal gyrus  
140 (IFG), a region in the VWM network<sup>17</sup>. Thus, in the current study, we recruited 6- and 9-month-  
141 old infants from high and low socioeconomic families and followed them for two years. We  
142 included both ages to assess whether this cohort would demonstrate shifts in behaviour between  
143 the ages of 6 and 9 months in line with previous work<sup>18,19</sup>. Alternatively, studying these two  
144 age groups might reveal delays in behaviour and/or brain function relative to urban US infants.  
145 Portable eye-tracking and video recordings were used to examine how infants visually explored  
146 the VWM task. fNIRS was used to measure brain function in the infants as they engaged with  
147 the task (Fig. 1c). Growth measures were collected at multiple time-points across the two years  
148 to determine stunting status and growth rate. Finally, the Ages and Stages Questionnaire (ASQ)  
149 was administered in the second year to examine the impact of stunting and VWM function on  
150 later cognitive outcomes.

151 We focused on three central questions. First, we inquired whether stunting was  
152 associated with poorer VWM performance in the first year of life. Second, we asked how  
153 stunting impacted brain function - do stunted infants differentially engage the fronto-parietal  
154 VWM network compared to normal height infants? Finally, we investigated whether VWM  
155 performance and brain function in the first year were related to cognitive outcomes a year later,  
156 and how these outcomes were modulated by stunting.

## 157 **Results**

158 **What is the impact of stunting on VWM behaviour in infancy?** We asked whether stunting  
159 was associated with poorer VWM performance in the first year of life. To address this question,  
160 we analyzed CP scores using a linear model with age (6 and 9 months), load (1, 2, or 3 coloured  
161 items on each display), HAZ score (height-for-age z-score), and total looking time (TLT) as  
162 predictors. We included TLT in the model because it was not correlated with CP and captured  
163  
164

165 a significant proportion of variance in the CP scores. Furthermore, CP scores were calculated  
166 over a critical time window (see Methods) while TLT was calculated across the full duration  
167 of the trial. All interactions among predictor variables were included. There were significant  
168 main effects of load ( $F(1,639) = 6.14, p = 0.013$ ), TLT ( $F(1,639) = 6.86, p = 0.009$ ), and HAZ  
169 ( $F(1,639) = 5.62, p = 0.018$ ) on CP scores (see Fig. 1d). As in previous studies conducted with  
170 western samples, CP scores declined as the load increased. Further, infants with higher CP  
171 scores explored the displays for longer durations. Critically, a decrease in HAZ scores was  
172 associated with lower CP scores, reflecting poorer VWM performance in infancy.

173 There were also significant two-way interactions between HAZ and load ( $F(1,639) =$   
174  $5.42, p = 0.02$ ), load and TLT ( $F(1,639) = 6.30, p = 0.012$ ), and HAZ and TLT ( $F(1,639) =$   
175  $5.95, p = 0.015$ ); these interactions were subsumed by a significant three-way interaction  
176 between HAZ, load, and TLT ( $F(1,639) = 5.43, p = 0.02$ ). Follow-up tests revealed a robust  
177 interaction between HAZ and TLT at the low load ( $F(1,211) = 6.68, p = 0.01$ ) with no  
178 significant interactions at the medium and high loads (all  $p > 0.05$ ). At the low load, increasing  
179 HAZ scores were associated with increasing CP scores in infants with longer looking durations  
180 (see Supplementary Fig. 1a). By contrast, infants who failed to sustain longer looking durations  
181 had difficulty detecting the changing side with CP scores near chance levels (i.e., 0.50). Finally,  
182 there was a significant two-way interaction between age and HAZ ( $F(1,639) = 4.24, p = 0.04$ ;  
183 see Supplementary Fig. 1b). This effect appeared to be more strongly driven by 6-month-olds  
184 compared to 9-month-olds. Specifically, 6-month-olds showed a strong linear relationship  
185 between CP scores and HAZ scores, with normal height infants showing higher CP scores. By  
186 contrast, 9-month-old infants did not demonstrate a linear relationship between CP scores and  
187 HAZ scores. They did better in the task overall with some infants showing CP scores greater  
188 than chance levels.

189  
190 **Is the canonical VWM brain network engaged in infants from rural India?** Our next goal  
191 was to examine infants' brain function as they engaged in the VWM task. Co-registered beta  
192 maps from individual-level general linear modelling (see methods and materials) were entered  
193 into a group-level linear mixed effects model with load (1, 2, 3), chromophore (HbO and HbR),  
194 CP scores, age, and HAZ scores as predictors. The model also included a random intercept for  
195 each participant to account for individual level variance. We focused on significant main  
196 effects and interactions that included chromophore, as HbO and HbR are typically anti-  
197 correlated. Group-level clusters with significant effects following familywise correction (see  
198 methods and materials) are shown in Table 1. We discuss each set of effects below.

199 Infants engaged a canonical fronto-temporo-parietal VWM network while visually  
200 exploring the displays in the preferential looking VWM task. Critically, we replicated a finding  
201 from our prior study in the same population: there was a significant interaction between CP  
202 score and chromophore in the right IFG (rIFG). As shown in Figure 2, infants with weak or  
203 suppressed activation in rIFG (i.e., lower HbO concentration/higher HbR concentration) showed  
204 higher CP scores. In previous work, greater IFG activation has been associated with poorer  
205 distractor suppression<sup>17,25</sup>. Thus, our findings suggest that infants with better VWM scores  
206 were able to suppress looks to the unchanging side via rIFG suppression. On the other hand,  
207 infants who activated rIFG showed poor distractor suppression, more frequent looks to the  
208 unchanging side, and lower CP scores.

209 One main effect and multiple interaction effects were observed in different clusters of  
210 the left aIPS (laIPS; see Table 1), a part of the dorsal attention network engaged during VWM  
211 maintenance. We discuss the developmental and performance-related effects observed in laIPS  
212 first; stunting-related effects are discussed below. A main effect of chromophore was observed  
213 in the anterior portion of the laIPS, with the canonical pattern of increasing HbO and decreasing  
214 HbR concentrations (see left panel in Figure 3a and blue cluster on brain image). An interaction

215 between age and chromophore was also observed in an adjoining laIPS cluster (see right panels  
216 in Figure 3a and green cluster on brain image). Specifically, 6-month-old infants showed  
217 greater laIPS activation compared to 9-month-old infants. Considered together with the main  
218 effect, the interaction between age and chromophore suggests refinement of laIPS activation  
219 with development.

220 This pattern was qualified by the significant interaction between age, CP score, and  
221 chromophore in the inferior portion of the laIPS shown in Figure 3b (see red cluster). Here, 9-  
222 month-old infants who performed poorly in the VWM task showed engagement of laIPS, while  
223 higher-performing 9-month-olds did not. Low-performing 6-month-old infants, by contrast,  
224 showed suppression in this laIPS cluster. Thus, the overall pattern shown in Figure 3 suggests  
225 that laIPS activation becomes more refined with age and enhanced performance in the task.  
226 There is also evidence that the youngest, low-performing infants showed a different pattern –  
227 suppression – in an inferior portion of the laIPS.

228 Before turning to the stunting-related effects, we note there was a significant interaction  
229 between load, CP score, and chromophore in the right frontal eye fields (rFEF; see Table 1).  
230 Activation in this region is associated with preparation and control of eye-movements and  
231 gaze<sup>26,27</sup>. We generally found suppression of rFEF for both higher- and lower-performing  
232 infants (see Supplementary Figure 2); however, this effect was inconsistent as a function of  
233 load. It is possible that the lack of a clear pattern with increasing load reflects ongoing  
234 functional refinement in this region relative to infants' improving visual exploratory abilities.  
235

236 **What is the impact of stunting on brain function?** The findings above confirm that infants  
237 from rural India engaged a canonical VWM brain network and replicated prior findings from  
238 this population. Next, we asked how stunting impacted brain function in infancy. We found  
239 that stunting impacted activation in three regions (see Table 1): (1) laIPS, a key region in the  
240 dorsal attention network, (2) rTPJ, a key region of the ventral attention network, and (3)  
241 IDLPFC, an area involved in top-down control of processing in posterior regions of the brain.

242 A significant three-way interaction between HAZ, load, and chromophore was  
243 observed in a superior laIPS cluster (see lavender cluster in Figure 4a). Here, normal height  
244 infants engaged laIPS in a load-dependent manner consistent with infants from an urban US  
245 sample with a decrease in activation at higher loads<sup>28</sup>. By contrast, stunted infants did not  
246 modulate laIPS activation with increasing load, although they showed some evidence of greater  
247 suppression of laIPS at the low load (i.e., negative HbO and positive HbR).

248 Activation in laIPS was also related to behavioural performance and stunting through a  
249 four-way interaction between HAZ, age, CP score, and chromophore in a more inferior laIPS  
250 cluster (see white cluster in Figure 4b). Both 6- and 9-month-old normal height infants showed  
251 robust activation in this laIPS cluster, with lower activation for higher-performing infants. This  
252 is consistent with results from Figure 3 suggesting a refinement in laIPS activation with age  
253 and enhanced task performance. By contrast, stunted infants showed much weaker activation  
254 in this cluster. The one exception was 6-month-old stunted infants who performed better in the  
255 VWM task; these infants showed modest laIPS activation.

256 The next finding is shown in Figure 5: suppression in rTPJ was related to behavioural  
257 performance through a three-way interaction between HAZ, CP score, and chromophore. In  
258 normal height infants, greater rTPJ suppression was associated with better CP scores. This  
259 finding is consistent with previous adult studies showing rTPJ suppression (along with laIPS  
260 activation) during VWM processing to prevent shifts in attention away from task goals<sup>20</sup>. In  
261 contrast, in stunted infants, greater rTPJ suppression was associated with poorer CP scores  
262 suggesting that stunted children tended to maintain attention to the unchanging side resulting  
263 in rTPJ suppression and poor CP scores.

264 Finally, a three-way interaction between HAZ, age, and chromophore was observed in  
265 IDLPFC (see Figure 6). This interaction was driven by increased IDLPFC activation in normal  
266 height 6-month-olds and stunted 9-month-olds. Evidence suggests that the DLPFC is often  
267 engaged in working memory tasks to support processing in the parietal cortex early in  
268 development and during demanding working memory tasks<sup>29</sup>. Our findings suggest, therefore,  
269 that normal height 6-month-olds and stunted 9-month-olds recruited this frontal area in support  
270 of their VWM performance. We note that this is the one brain region that showed robust  
271 activation in stunted 9-month-old infants, some of whom successfully detected the changing  
272 side. Thus, the delayed recruitment of this frontal region may be adaptive for these infants.  
273

274 **Does stunting impact longer-term cognitive outcomes?** As a final question, we investigated  
275 whether stunting, behavioural performance, and associated brain function in the first year of  
276 life were linked to cognitive outcomes one year later. In an initial linear model, we asked  
277 whether higher cognitive outcome scores in year 2 (problem-solving score from the ASQ; see  
278 methods and materials) were associated with CP in year 1 and physical growth measures. For  
279 the physical growth measures, we included HAZ (the intercept from our growth model; see  
280 materials and methods) and a linear growth term (HAZ-L), which captured change in HAZ  
281 over time, as predictors.

282 Results revealed a significant interaction between HAZ and HAZ-L in predicting  
283 problem-solving scores in year 2 ( $F(1,164) = 4.30, p = 0.04$ ). This effect was subsumed by a  
284 significant three-way interaction between CP, HAZ, and HAZ-L ( $F(1,164) = 4.29, p = 0.04$ ).  
285 As shown in Fig. 7a, normal height infants with higher linear growth had better outcomes in  
286 year 2. By contrast, normal height infants with lower linear growth fared poorer, except for  
287 infants with higher CP scores in year 1. These infants with higher CP scores showed good  
288 problem-solving scores in year 2. This finding suggests that VWM abilities in infancy might  
289 be protective against cognitive deficits associated with poor linear growth. In general, stunted  
290 infants showed poorer problem-solving scores in year 2.

291 Next, we asked whether the load-dependent patterns of activation observed in laIPS  
292 (see Figure 4a) predicted cognitive outcomes one year later. We ran separate models for HbO  
293 and HbR concentrations. Even though normal height infants elicited greatest activation at the  
294 low load, we did not observe any associations with the problem-solving score from this  
295 condition. However, we found a significant main effect of HbR concentration in laIPS at the  
296 medium load ( $t(167) = -1.95, p = 0.05$ ): greater laIPS activation (i.e., negative HbR  
297 concentration) was associated with better problem-solving scores in year 2. As shown in Fig.  
298 7b, there was also a significant interaction between HbR concentration in laIPS and HAZ  
299 scores ( $t(167) = -2.46, p = 0.015$ ). In normal height infants, greater laIPS activation (i.e.,  
300 negative HbR concentration) was associated with better problem-solving scores in year 2.  
301 Follow-up tests showed no robust associations between brain activation and problem-solving  
302 scores for stunted infants ( $p > .05$ ).  
303

## 304 Discussion

305 Stunting in the first 1000 days is associated with poor cognitive, academic, and  
306 economic outcomes in later life, yet the neurocognitive mechanisms underlying these  
307 relationships early in development are unknown. We hypothesized that stunting in infancy  
308 might impact early emerging cognitive systems such as VWM, a critical system that is  
309 predictive of individual differences in cognitive function and academic outcomes. Toward this  
310 end, we examined how stunting impacts VWM performance and brain function in the first year  
311 in a large sample of infants from rural India; we also examined cognitive outcomes one year  
312 later.

313 Consistent with findings from western settings, behavioural performance in the VWM  
314 task declined with increasing load<sup>15,28</sup>. Further, infants in this study engaged key hubs in the  
315 attention and VWM networks<sup>30</sup> such as rIFG, laIPS, and rTPJ as a function of VWM load and  
316 task-related performance. We also replicated a critical finding from our prior work in this  
317 population: infants who sustained longer looking to the changing side (greater CP scores)  
318 showed suppression in rIFG<sup>17</sup>. The inferior frontal junction is purported to act as a switching  
319 hub between the dorsal and ventral attention networks, with suppression implying less frequent  
320 switching between top-down goal-driven attention and bottom-up re-orienting of attention to  
321 salient/distracting stimuli<sup>31</sup>. We suggest that infants who sustained longer looking towards the  
322 changing side and showed better VWM performance, infrequently re-oriented attention to the  
323 unchanging side via IFG suppression. Increased frontal activation has also been linked to  
324 processing and storage of irrelevant distractor information in visual and spatial working  
325 memory tasks in children<sup>32</sup>. Thus, in the current study, greater rIFG activation in infants with  
326 poorer CP scores might also reflect processing of information from the distracting, unchanging  
327 side.

328 Previous studies with children and adults have shown that active working memory  
329 maintenance is associated with *bilateral* posterior parietal activation<sup>20,21,23,33</sup>. Further, parietal  
330 lateralization has been linked to the type of working memory used, with verbal working  
331 memory activating left parietal cortex and some studies showing greater involvement of right  
332 parietal cortex in visuo-spatial working memory<sup>34</sup>. In the current study, *only left* aIPS was  
333 engaged across multiple effects of age, load, chromophore, CP score and HAZ in infants  
334 suggesting a key role for this brain region in VWM processing. This is consistent with evidence  
335 from an urban US sample which revealed robust relationships between performance in the  
336 preferential looking VWM task and activation in the left hemisphere in infancy<sup>28</sup>.  
337 Environmental/contextual differences might explain the emergence of lateralized activation in  
338 the first year of life. For example, bilingual language, compared to monolingual language  
339 exposure in infants has been associated with bilateral recruitment of the frontal cortex during  
340 a non-linguistic attentional orienting task<sup>35</sup>.

341 We also replicated another key effect from our prior study of urban US infants: normal  
342 height infants showed a load-dependent modulation in the laIPS with high activation at a low  
343 load and lower activation at higher loads. This pattern is consistent with similar effects in 3-  
344 and 4-year-old children<sup>36</sup> as well as aging adults<sup>37</sup>. Interestingly, this pattern contrasts with  
345 findings from adults; increasing VWM load is associated with increasing aIPS activation until  
346 a capacity limit is met; this is followed by an asymptote in brain activation<sup>33,38,39</sup>. Collectively,  
347 these findings suggest that at high loads, infants, children, and aging adults fail to maintain a  
348 near-capacity number of items (and an asymptotic level of brain activity). How, then, were  
349 some infants able to show above-chance levels of responding at the medium and high loads?  
350 On some of these trials, infants start visual exploration on the changing side. Detection of  
351 novelty in this case does not require robust working memory ability as there is a change after  
352 each flash. Thus, it is possible that some infants show above-chance responding because they  
353 started on the changing side, detected novelty, and this novelty sustains looking to this  
354 display<sup>40</sup>.

355 We observed a refinement of laIPS activation with age and enhanced VWM  
356 performance. Specifically, 6-month-olds and low-performing 9-month-olds showed a greater  
357 extent of laIPS engagement. Moreover, in normal height children (compared to stunted  
358 infants), both age groups showed greater laIPS activation in lower-performing infants. These  
359 findings are novel and suggest a refinement of laIPS activation between 6 and 9 months in  
360 infants from rural India consistent with behavioural evidence of a change in VWM capacity  
361 between these ages in urban infants<sup>28</sup>. The extent of spatial refinement of laIPS activation



362 underscores the precision of the image reconstruction techniques we used (for a comparison to  
363 a channel-based fNIRS approach, see Supplementary materials).

364 The present study also revealed – for the first time – how stunting impacts looking  
365 behaviour. We found that stunted infants showed a poorer ability to detect and stay fixated on  
366 the changing side. The linear association between stunting status and CP scores was stronger  
367 in 6-month-old infants compared to 9-month-old infants suggesting that stunting-related  
368 impact on VWM processing might be mitigated with age. However, our brain imaging results  
369 imply otherwise. Stunting modulated activation in laIPS, rTPJ, and IDLPFC – key regions in  
370 the canonical fronto-temporo-parietal VWM network.

371 Unlike normal height infants, stunted infants more consistently showed weak activation  
372 in the laIPS – only high-performing 6-month-olds showed robust engagement of this brain  
373 region. In the absence of active laIPS engagement, how did some stunted 9-month-olds achieve  
374 above-chance performance? Our findings suggest that these infants recruited the IDLPFC, a  
375 region involved in the top-down modulation of processing in posterior parietal cortex. Thus,  
376 while 9-month-old normal height infants engaged laIPS to achieve sustained looking to the  
377 changing side, stunted 9-month-old infants might have engaged the frontal cortex to  
378 compensate for weak activation in laIPS. Notably, this pattern of dependence on frontal cortex  
379 activation was also observed in younger normal height infants. Taken together, our findings  
380 suggest that stunting status might be associated with impairments or delays in the functional  
381 activation of the VWM network.

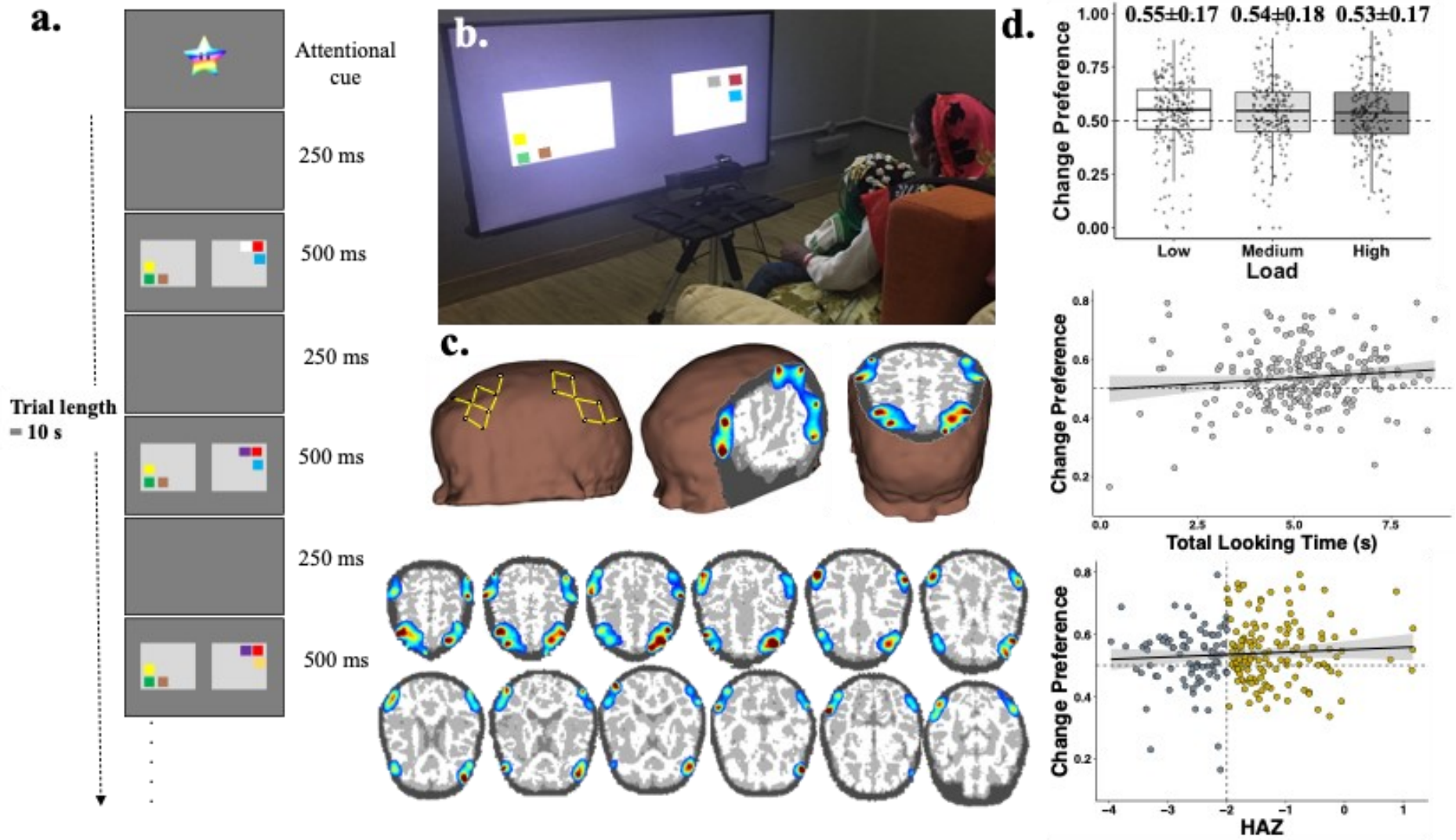
382 Stunting status also selectively modulated rTPJ function. rTPJ is thought to act as a  
383 ‘circuit-breaker’ with greater activation associated with bottom-up reorienting of attention  
384 away from ongoing task-related processes and towards salient and/or irrelevant stimuli<sup>20,21,41,42</sup>.  
385 In VWM processing in adults, increasing VWM load is associated with increased laIPS  
386 activation and rTPJ suppression<sup>20</sup>. In agreement with this evidence, we found that normal  
387 height infants who showed better VWM performance and less distractibility engaged laIPS to  
388 successfully maintain representations of the items and suppressed rTPJ to prevent frequent re-  
389 orientation of attention. On the other hand, in stunted infants, rTPJ suppression was associated  
390 with poor CP scores suggesting some of these infants might have gotten ‘stuck’ on the  
391 unchanging side.

392 As a final question, we asked whether these neurocognitive patterns impacted cognitive  
393 outcomes one year later. Our findings suggest that VWM function might act as a protective  
394 factor against deficits in more complex cognitive functions in later years, consistent with  
395 evidence showing that VWM function in infancy is a reliable predictor of cognitive outcomes  
396 11 years later<sup>43</sup>. Concretely, at-risk infants with low height-for-age scores in infancy and lower  
397 linear growth from the first to the second year of life showed better problem-solving scores in  
398 year 2 if they had good VWM performance in year 1. We then asked whether laIPS activation  
399 in infancy was linked to better cognitive outcomes in year 2. Interestingly, normal height  
400 infants with greater laIPS activation in year 1 demonstrated higher cognitive scores in year 2.

401 It is important to contextualize these findings given that multiple factors may promote  
402 healthy VWM processing in the first year of life (see <sup>44</sup> for a review of biophysiological  
403 pathways impacted by poverty). Normal height infants might be reared in higher-resource  
404 homes with access to more cognitive materials and activities compared to stunted infants.  
405 Moreover, exposure to less stressful environments may promote opportunities for rich quantity  
406 and quality of explorative play leading to typical, healthy development of attention and VWM  
407 networks. Prior work from our group showed that parent-reported frequency of stressful life  
408 events was predictive of left parietal cortex engagement during a VWM task in low-performing  
409 pre-school children in Scotland<sup>33</sup>. Stunted children might also be exposed to living conditions  
410 with poor sanitation, poor hygiene, pathogen exposure, and environmental contaminants  
411 leading to chronic infections and malnutrition. Resulting general malaise or sickness could lead

412 to diminished opportunities for explorative play and social learning impacting cognitive  
413 development in the first year of life. All these conditions could also lead to anatomical  
414 differences in brain structure and connectivity as well as reduced cortical activity, eventually  
415 affecting VWM and attention processing pathways.

416 Our findings are consistent with studies suggesting that stunted children show longer-  
417 term working memory deficits. For example, Walker et al. (2005) showed that stunting in the  
418 first 2 years of life was associated with poor performance in visual and spatial working memory  
419 function in 17- to 18-year-old adolescents in Jamaica<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, Kar et al. (2008) found that  
420 malnourished children across the age-groups of 5-7 years and 8-10 years in India showed  
421 poorer performance on a working memory task compared to adequately nourished children in  
422 these age-groups<sup>45</sup>. The current study makes a unique contribution to this body of work by  
423 using neuroimaging tools to study the most at-risk infants globally, demonstrating that such  
424 tools can be successfully deployed to investigate and identify neurocognitive mechanisms in  
425 rural settings<sup>46,47</sup>. We show that stunting impacts looking behaviour and is associated with  
426 modulation of neural activity in key hubs of the VWM and attention brain networks and,  
427 further, that these neurocognitive patterns are associated with later cognitive outcomes. Our  
428 findings also paint a picture of hope in that better VWM function in infancy may confer some  
429 neurocognitive protection, at least for short-for-age infants. Given that prior work suggests  
430 visual cognition can be enhanced via caregiver-based interventions<sup>48</sup>, this could provide an  
431 avenue for future efforts to boost VWM function in infancy before stunting-related cognitive  
432 deficits take hold.



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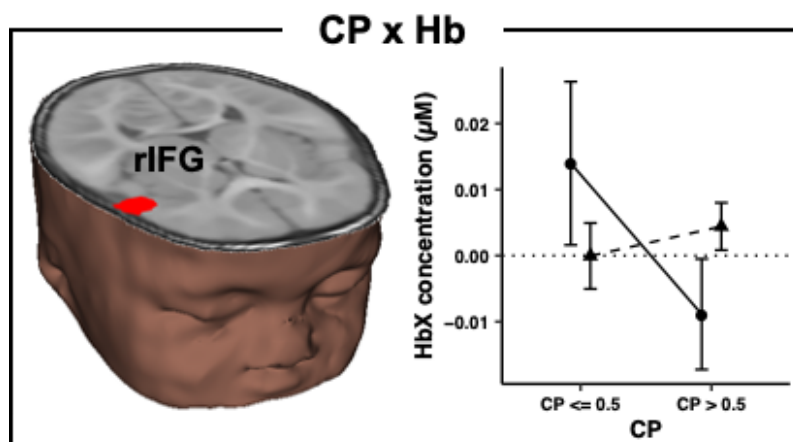
Figure 1. (a) A trial of length 10 s of the preferential looking VWM task. During the 10s trial, alternating blank displays for 250ms are followed by ‘on’ displays of colored squares for 500ms (i.e., 250ms, 500ms, 250ms, 500ms...for 10s). (b) Exemplar of infant engaging with the task and wearing the fNIRS cap as the

436 child sits on the mother's lap. (c) Top left image shows probe geometry covering the frontal, temporal and parietal cortices. Middle and right panels show  
437 sagittal and axial slice of photo migration results. Bottom panel shows superior (top) to inferior (bottom) axial slices of photon migration results. Hotter colors  
438 indicate stronger signal sensitivity. (d) Main effects from the analysis of change preference scores showing modulation over memory load (box plot in top panel  
439 shows median and SD [values shown] with lower and upper hinges corresponding to the first and third quartiles), total looking time (scatter plot in middle  
440 panel), and height-for-age z-scores (HAZ, scatter plot in lower panel). Colors in lower panel reflect typical cut-off scores used to identify stunted individuals  
441 (z-scores < -2) with grey showing stunted infants.

Effect	Region of interest	Size (mm <sup>3</sup> )	Centre of mass coordinates		
			x	y	z
CP x Chromophore	Right inferior frontal gyrus (rIFG)	424	46.3	-154.2	142.2
Chromophore	Left anterior intraparietal sulcus (laIPS)	626	144.7	-103.8	181.6
Age x Chromophore	Left anterior intraparietal sulcus (laIPS)	400	138.1	-97	186.3
Age x CP x Chromophore	Left anterior intraparietal sulcus (laIPS)	354	155.5	-87.5	169.9
HAZ x Load x Chromophore	Left anterior intraparietal sulcus (laIPS)	562	139.1	-91.3	182.7
HAZ x Age x CP x Chromophore	Left anterior intraparietal sulcus (laIPS)	328	143.2	-103.5	181
HAZ x CP x Chromophore	Right temporo-parietal junction (rTPJ)	541	44	-80.7	152.1
HAZ x Age x Chromophore	Left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (IDLDFC)	593	127.6	-162.7	171.5
Load x CP x Chromophore	Right frontal eye fields (rFEF)	603	74.6	-146.6	183.5

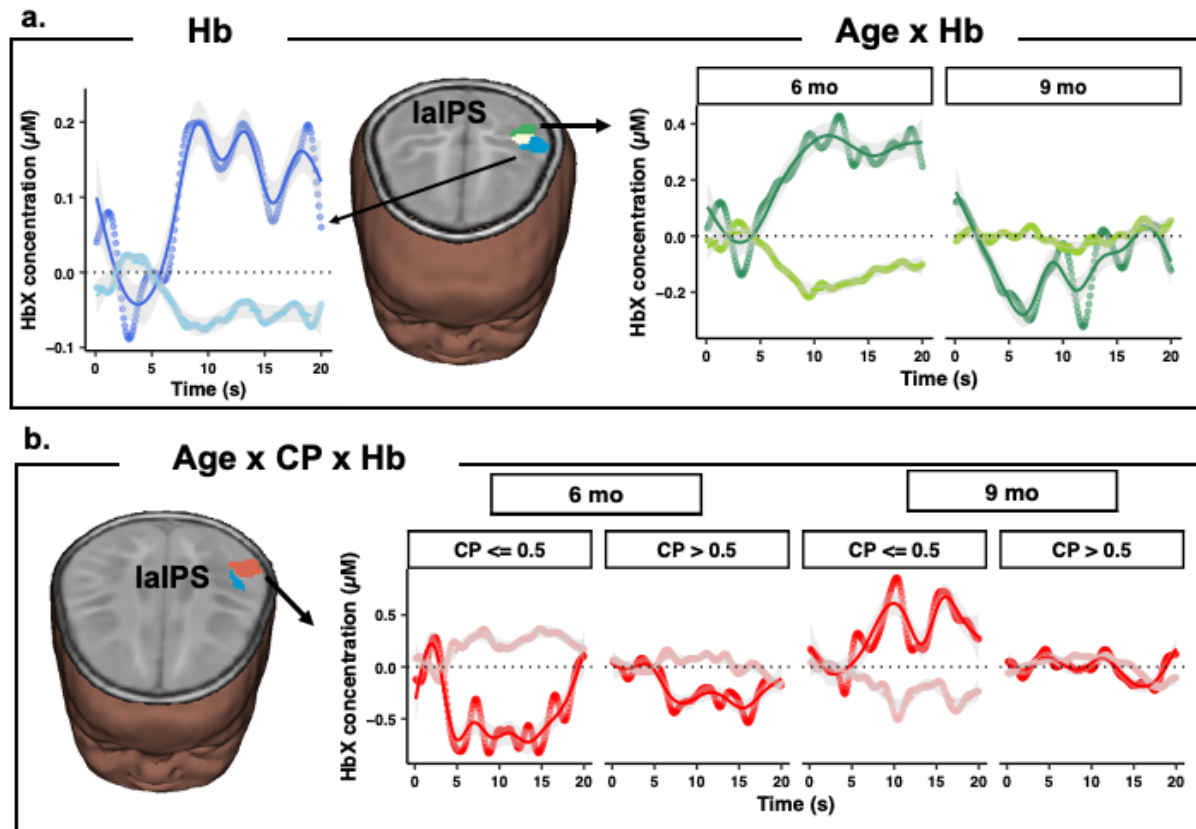
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Table 1. Significant clusters of brain function engaged during the preferential looking task obtained from linear mixed-effects modelling. Note that significance was determined using familywise correction with voxel-wise  $p = 0.01$ , voxel threshold = 278 and alpha = 0.05.

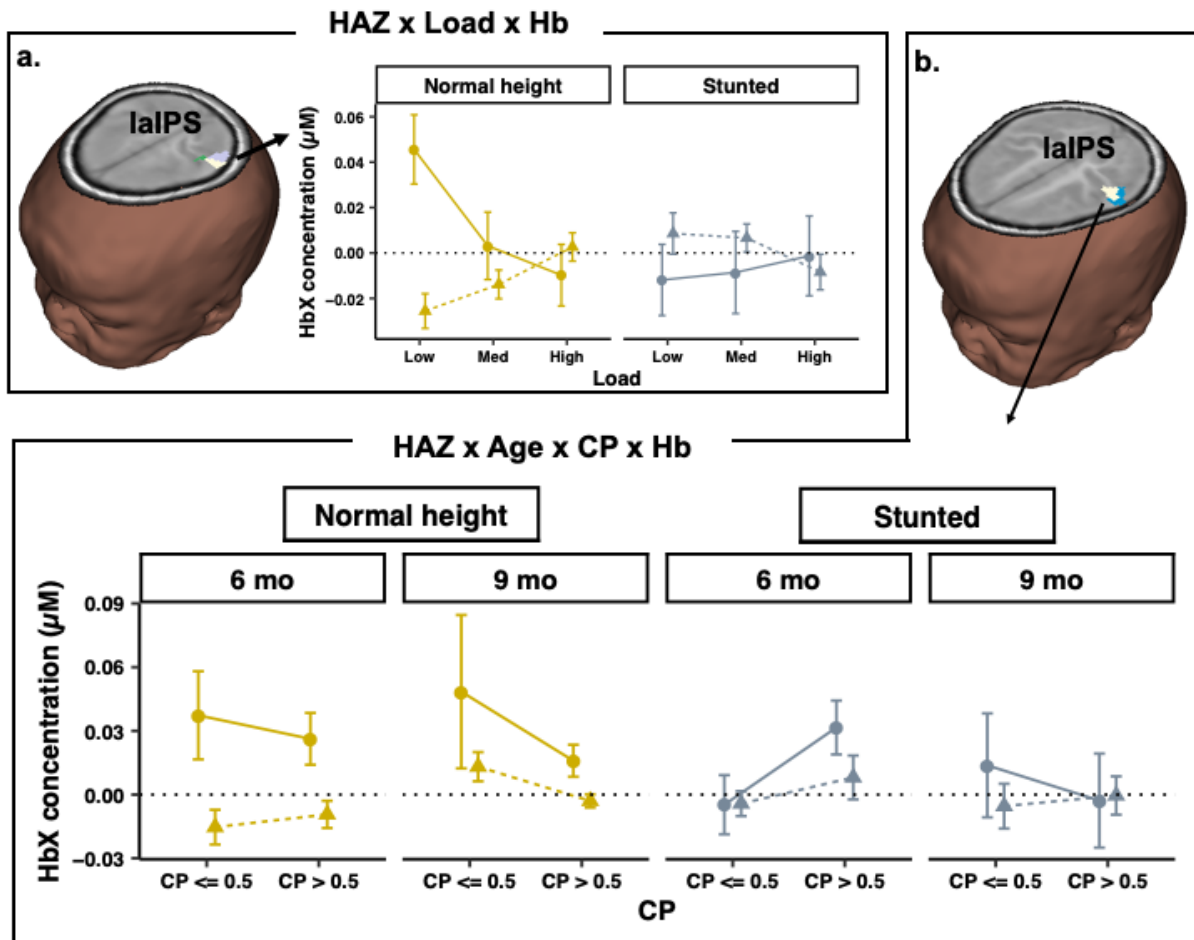


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Figure 2. Brain image shows interaction between CP score and chromophore in right inferior frontal gyrus (rIFG; see red cluster in brain inset). Right panel shows mean  $\pm$  SE HbO (solid circle) and HbR (dashed triangles) concentration across the hemodynamic time window (0-20s) for infants with CP scores less than chance ( $\leq 0.5$ ) and CP scores greater than chance.

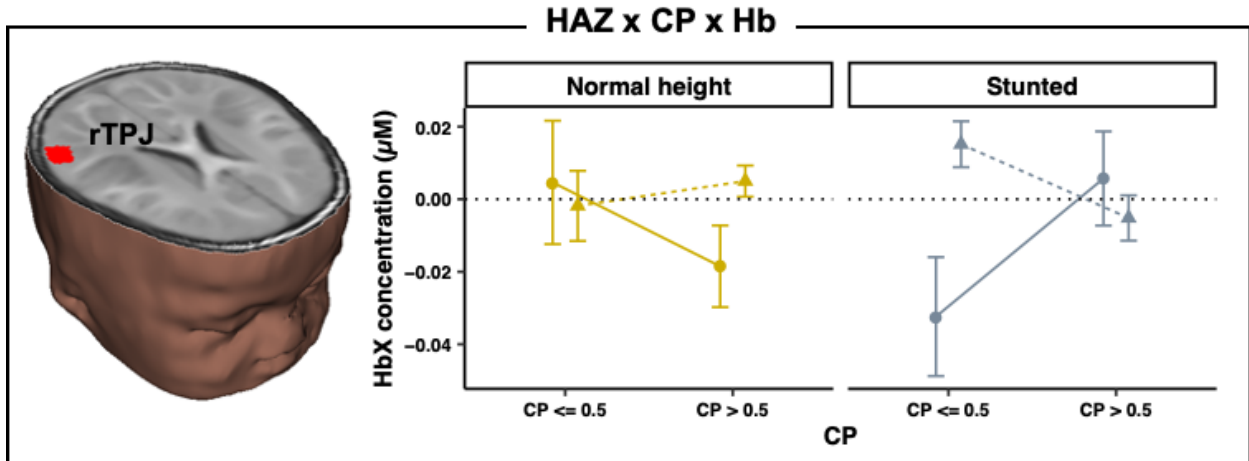


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 454 Figure 3. (a) Brain image shows location of main effect of chromophore (blue), interaction between age  
 455 and chromophore (green), and overlap (white) in laIPS. Average time-series plots show HbO  
 456 concentration in dark blue and HbR concentration in light blue for main effect of chromophore (left  
 457 panel). Average time-series plots show HbO concentration in dark green and HbR concentration in light  
 458 green for interaction between age and chromophore (right panel). We show data across the total  
 459 hemodynamic time window (0-20s) with 0 = trial onset and 10s = trial offset. (b) Brain image shows  
 460 location of interaction between age, CP score, and chromophore (red) close to the main effect of  
 461 chromophore (blue). Average time-series plots showing HbO concentration in red and HbR  
 462 concentration in light red for interaction between age, CP score, and chromophore (right panel). We  
 463 show data for 6-month-old and 9-month-old infants with CP scores less than chance ( $\leq 0.5$ ) and CP  
 464 scores greater than chance. In time series plots, the mean is depicted using circle data points in grey;  
 465 mean smoothed data using a loess function is shown in solid (HbR) line. Confidence intervals are  
 466 underlaid and shown in grey.  
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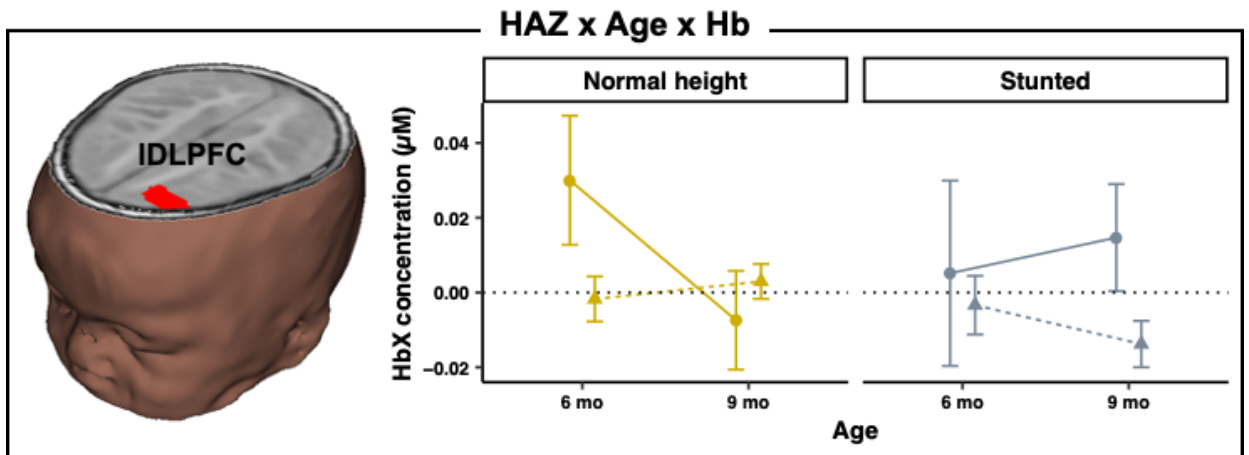


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Figure 4. (a) Brain image shows location of interaction between HAZ, load and chromophore (lavender), interaction between age and chromophore (green cluster from Figure 3a) and overlap (white) in a superior cluster in laIPS. Right panel shows mean  $\pm$  SE HbO (solid circles) and HbR (dashed triangles) concentration across the hemodynamic time window (0-20s) for normal height (yellow) and stunted (grey) infants at the low, medium, and high loads. (b) Brain image shows location of interaction between HAZ, age, CP score, and chromophore (white represents overlap between this interaction and main effect of chromophore) and main effect of chromophore (blue cluster from Figure 3a) in a superior cluster in laIPS. Note that the cluster for the interaction between HAZ, age, CP score and chromophore was subsumed by the overlap (shown in white). Bottom panel shows mean  $\pm$  SE HbO (solid circles) and HbR (dashed triangles) concentration across the hemodynamic time window (0-20s) for normal height (yellow) and stunted (grey) 6-month-old and 9-month-old infants with CP scores less than chance ( $\leq 0.5$ ) and CP scores greater than chance.

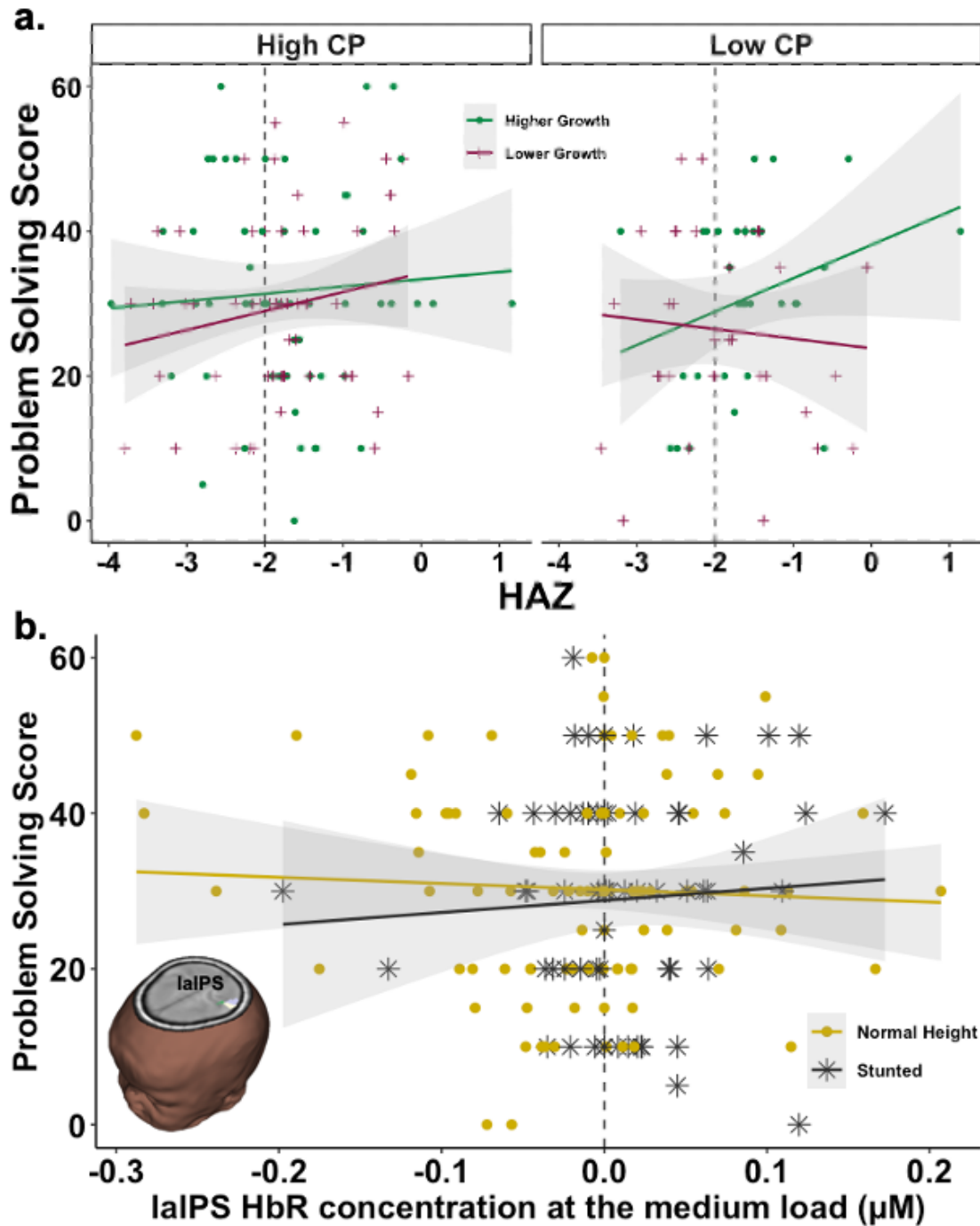


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 482 Figure 5. Brain image shows location of interaction between HAZ, CP score, and chromophore in rTPJ.  
 483 Right panel shows mean  $\pm$  SE HbO (solid circles) and HbR (dashed triangles) concentration across the  
 484 hemodynamic time window (0-20s) for normal height (yellow) and stunted (grey) infants with CP scores  
 485 less than chance ( $\leq 0.5$ ) and CP scores greater than chance.  
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487  
 488 Figure 6. Brain image shows location of interaction between HAZ, age, and chromophore in IDLPFC. Right  
 489 panel shows mean  $\pm$  SE HbO (solid circles) and HbR (dashed triangles) concentration across the  
 490 hemodynamic time window (0-20s) for 6-month-old and 9-month-old normal height (yellow) and stunted  
 491 (grey) infants.  
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 496 Figure 7. (a) Impact of HAZ and CP scores on problem-solving outcomes one year later. Infants with higher  
 497 linear growth from year 1 to year 2 based on a median split are shown in green circles; infants with lower  
 498 linear growth are shown in purple +. Left panel shows scatter plot with infants with higher CP scores in  
 499 year 1 based on a median split, while right panel shows scatter plot with data from infants with lower CP  
 500 scores in year 1. Vertical line shows typical stunting cut-off value ( $\text{HAZ} < -2$ ). (b) Association between  
 501 HAZ and laIPS HbR concentration from medium load in year 1 on problem-solving scores one year later.  
 502 Normal height infants ( $\text{HAZ} \geq -2$ ) are shown in yellow circles; stunted infants ( $\text{HAZ} < -2$ ) are shown in  
 503 grey asterisks. Inset brain image shows location of the laIPS cluster (from Figure 4a).  
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506 **Methods**

507 **Participants.** Families with infants aged 6 months  $\pm$  15 days or 9 months  $\pm$  15 days from the  
508 villages in and around Shivgarh in the district of Raebarelli, Uttar Pradesh, India were contacted  
509 by researchers from the Community Empowerment Lab (CEL). Infants born to parents screened  
510 with colour vision deficits (due to the nature of the VWM task) or any congenital problems, or  
511 gestational age < 26 weeks at birth were excluded from the study. Infants were enrolled across  
512 four waves of data collection separated by 3 months from May 2017 to February 2018 (year 1).  
513 Approximately 30 6-month-olds and 30 9-month-olds were enrolled in each wave. Infants were  
514 also followed up for another year from 2018 to 2019 (year 2).

515 Across both years, each family participated in laboratory visits, home visits, and MRI  
516 visits. During the laboratory visit, physical growth measurements, behavioural and brain imaging  
517 (fNIRS) data, and cognitive assessment data were collected. During the home-visit, physical  
518 growth measurements were taken. During the MRI visit, physical growth measurements and  
519 anatomical scans were collected. If it was not possible to collect all the data in a single visit, the  
520 family was invited for multiple visits scheduled in close succession. The timeline of these visits  
521 were as follows: (1) a laboratory visit in 6 months (year 1) and 18 months (year 2) for the 6-month-  
522 old cohort, and at 9 months (year 1) and 21 months (year 2) for the 9-month-old cohort, (2) a home  
523 visit every three months thereafter in year 1 and year 2 (e.g., at 9, 12, 15, 21, 24 and 27 months for  
524 the 6-month-old cohort and at 12, 15, 18, 24, 27 and 30 months for the 9-month-old cohort), and  
525 (3) an MRI visit in year 1 (e.g., at 6 months for the 6-month-old cohort and 9 months for the 9-  
526 month-old cohort). Note that the assessments reported here were a subset of the full research  
527 protocol for the project. The full list of assessments can be found in the Supplementary materials.

528 277 families met the inclusion criteria and gave due consent. From this sample, 37 children  
529 did not complete the first in-take assessment (19 6-month-olds and 17 9-month-olds). The  
530 remaining 240 families were enrolled into the study. Data from 17 infants were excluded from all  
531 analyses due to problems with the behavioural and neuroimaging data collection and processing  
532 (not enough behavioural data in 9 infants, technical problems with the neuroimaging system for 7  
533 infants, and neuroimaging data lost due to motion artifacts from 1 infant). We included infants in  
534 the analyses if they had usable fNIRS for at least one load of the VWM task. Data from 223 infants  
535 were included in the final analyses (see Supplementary Table 1 for demographic details on this  
536 sample). The study was approved by the Community Empowerment Lab Institutional Ethics  
537 Committee (Ref. No: CEL/2018005) in compliance with ethical regulations and standards. Some  
538 families also provided consent to use their images for knowledge and research purposes.

539 **Materials and Procedure**

540 **General procedures for the laboratory visit.** Families were transported in groups from their  
541 homes to the CEL Facility in Shivgarh. They were first escorted to the waiting room of the facility.  
542 Some groups of families were also provided a tour of the facility and a demonstration of the  
543 procedures to make them feel more comfortable and allow them to ask questions. Next, the families  
544 were escorted back to the waiting room where informed consent was sought. Participants'  
545 caregivers provided written informed consent; where caregivers were illiterate, a witness gave  
546 signed consent accompanied by a thumb impression of the caregiver in place of a signature. After  
547 consent was obtained, physical measurements of the infant were taken. The infant's head  
548 circumference was also measured to prepare an appropriately sized cap for fNIRS data collection.

549 Next, the parent and the infant were escorted to the fNIRS assessment room. The room was  
550 colored in a neutral grey to prevent distraction of the infant. The mother was seated on a chair and  
551 the infant was placed on the mother's lap approximately 100 cm away from the TV screen (see  
552 Fig. 1b). A cartoon was played on a TV screen to engage the infant. When the infant looked  
553 comfortable, two researchers placed an appropriately sized fNIRS cap on the head and fastened  
554 the chinstrap to hold it in place. After adjusting fNIRS signals (e.g., clearing hair from under  
555 individual fNIRS optodes), one researcher proceeded to use a Polhemus sensor to collect  
556 coordinates of the scalp landmarks and source and detector positions, while a second researcher  
557 placed a calibration sticker on the infant's forehead and set up the eye-tracker to record eye-  
558 movements from the infant. A 5-point calibration sequence was played on the monitor to ensure  
559 correct eye-tracking at the top, bottom, left, right and central parts of the screen.

560 After this, the VWM task was presented and video recordings, eye-tracking and fNIRS  
561 data collection ensued. If the infant showed signs of distress, cartoon clips were played in-between  
562 trials. Breaks were provided if the infant needed to be fed, fell asleep, or could not be calmed even  
563 after the use of the cartoon clips. The family was escorted back to the waiting room after the  
564 completion of the assessment or if the infant and/or mother needed a break from the assessment.  
565 In year 2, the mother and infant were escorted to another room to administer the ASQ assessment.  
566 At the end of each laboratory session, families received a small gift for participating in the study.  
567

568 **Physical growth measurements.** Physical growth measurements were taken during laboratory  
569 visits, home visits, and MRI visits unless two or more visits were close in time, in which case, a  
570 single measurement was used for that time point. Measurements of head circumference, mid-upper  
571 arm circumference, calf circumference, infant's weight, and infant's length were taken by two  
572 members of the research team who were trained through a standardized workshop. Head  
573 circumference, mid-upper arm circumference, and calf circumference were measured twice using  
574 a SECA measurement tape. Measurements were repeated if there were any discrepancies of > 7  
575 mm between two measurements. An infantometer was used for measuring the child's length from  
576 head to heel with 1 mm precision. A digital SECA weighing scale was used to measure the baby's  
577 weight with 10 grams precision.  
578

579 **VWM task.** Infants were presented with a preferential looking VWM task<sup>15</sup> during the laboratory  
580 visit. A PC running *Experiment Builder* (SR Research) was used to present the task on a 42-inch  
581 LCD TV screen. Infants sat on their parents' lap approximately 100 cm away from the screen.  
582 Each stimulus display area was 29.5cm in width and 21cm in height, with a 21cm gap between the  
583 display on the left and right (each colored square was approximately 5cm x 5cm). The displays  
584 had a solid grey background. The colors of the squares presented on each display were selected  
585 from a set of nine colors: green (RGB: 0, 153, 0), brown (128, 64, 32), black (0, 0, 0), violet (128,  
586 0, 128), cyan (128, 255, 255), yellow (255, 255, 0), blue (0, 0, 255), white (255, 255, 255), and red  
587 (255, 0, 0). On a display, the colors of the squares differed from each other, but colors could be  
588 repeated between the displays (i.e., the same color could appear on both displays). The positions  
589 of the squares on each display were randomly selected from a 3-by-3 grid of possible positions.  
590 Eye-movement data was recorded using an Eyelink 1000 Plus eye-tracker (SR research) operating  
591 in binocular mode with a sampling rate of 500 Hz. Additionally, one camera recorded a view of  
592 the infants' face, and another camera recorded the TV display. These video recordings were used  
593 to extract looking data when eye-tracking information was not available (due to technical  
594 problems, reflectance, poor lighting, loss of calibration).

595 Each trial started with a dynamic attention cue. Once the eye-tracker / experimenter  
596 detected that the infant was looking at the attention-getter, the task proceeded to the VWM  
597 displays. Each trial consisted of side-by-side displays of colored squares that appeared for 500 ms  
598 and disappeared for 250 ms for a trial duration of 10 seconds. Each trial was followed by a minimal  
599 inter-trial interval of 5s, however, this period was typically longer as the trial was not initiated until  
600 the infant looked at the display following the dynamic attention cue. On the ‘unchanging’ side, the  
601 colors of the squares remained the same across each flash, while on the ‘changing’ side, one square  
602 changed its color across each flash. Visual working memory load was manipulated by varying the  
603 number of squares on each side across trials (1, 2, or 3 squares on each side). The aim was to  
604 present each infant with 36 total trials in six blocks of 6 trials, although where the infant and parent  
605 were willing to continue, additional blocks were sometimes collected. Each block contained 2  
606 trials for each load, one with the changing side on the left, one with the changing side on the right.  
607 Order of trials was randomized in each block. Where necessary, participants could take a break  
608 between blocks.

609  
610 **Functional near-infrared spectroscopy (fNIRS) data acquisition.** fNIRS data was collected  
611 from infants as they engaged with the VWM task during the laboratory visit. A TechEn CW7  
612 system (12 sources and 24 detectors) with wavelengths of 830 nm and 690 nm and sampling rate  
613 of 25 Hz was used. Fiber optic cables were used to carry light from the TechEn system to a cap  
614 with a customized probe geometry of 36 channels overlying the frontal, parietal, and temporal  
615 cortices (see Fig. 1c). A laptop connected to the fNIRS system recorded and displayed data as it  
616 was being collected. This laptop was also connected to the *Experiment Builder* computer to  
617 synchronize fNIRS data with the start of each trial of the task. A Polhemus Patriot Motion Sensor  
618 was used to digitize scalp landmarks and positions of sources and detectors on the cap.

619  
620 **MRI data acquisition.** Anatomical data were collected on a Philips Achieva 3T MRI scanner  
621 equipped with 12-channel head RF array in an MRI Facility in Lucknow, India. The protocol used  
622 volumetric T<sub>1</sub>-weighted SPGR acquisition. All imaging was performed during natural sleep<sup>49</sup>.  
623 Acquisition parameters were as follows: For T<sub>1</sub> SPGR: Field of View (FoV) = 19 x 19cm; slice  
624 thickness (ST) = 1.2 mm; acquisition matrix = 194 x 194; flip angle = 9°; echo time (TE) = 3.72  
625 ms; repetition time (TR) = 9.5 ms; and receiver bandwidth (BW) = 270 Hz/voxel.

626  
627 **Ages-and-Stage Questionnaire III (ASQ) assessment.** The ASQ was administered during  
628 laboratory visits in year 2 when the infants were 18 months (for the 6-month-old cohort) or 21  
629 months (for the 9-month-old cohort). The appropriate ASQ questionnaire for each infant was  
630 selected using the online ASQ calculator (<https://agesandstages.com/free-resources/asq-calculator/>). While ASQ is designed as a screening questionnaire to be completed by parents, we  
631 adapted its administration to improve the reliability of the data. Specifically, a trained assessor  
632 administered the ASQ in collaboration with the parent. In cases where questions from the ASQ  
633 materials kit asked about behaviors that could be elicited in the laboratory (e.g., ‘When you ask  
634 your child to, does he go into another room to find a familiar toy or object?’), these tasks were  
635 completed ‘live’, ensuring that the child was given ample time to perform each task. In the event  
636 the child was unable to perform the task, or the question was not amenable to live assessment, the  
637 mother’s verbal report on the question was taken as the response. The ASQ yields five subscales  
638 of development: communication, gross motor, fine motor, problem-solving, and personal-social.  
639 Each subscale contained 6 questions, making up a total of 30 questions on the form. For this study,  
640

641 we focused on the problem-solving scale as it was most directly related to VWM function, and we  
642 were interested in investigating later cognitive outcomes.

## 643 **Methods of Analysis**

644 **Physical growth measurements analyses.** A height-for-age z-score was calculated by dividing  
645 the difference between each infant's height and the age-specific height obtained from WHO  
646 growth standards by the age-specific standard deviation. Participants contributed between 1 and  
647 11 observations for their height-for-age z-score across the study. On average, participants  
648 contributed 6.54 observations ( $SD = 1.92$  observations), 83 days apart from each other ( $SD = 24.5$   
649 days). To obtain individual estimates of physical growth, a linear mixed effects model was run,  
650 taking height-for-age z-scores as the dependent variable, and participant age in days as an  
651 independent variable. As the trend was not perfectly linear, a quadratic transformation of age in  
652 days was also added to the model. Both age and age squared were orthogonal, that is, they were  
653 independently scaled and centered to avoid autocorrelation. The models had a random effect  
654 structure such that the intercept, the linear age term, and the quadratic age term were nested by  
655 participant. The random effect coefficients of the model were then extracted for each participant,  
656 such that each participant had an intercept term (HAZ), a linear age term (HAZ-L), and a quadratic  
657 term. As age in days was scaled and centered, the intercept term, used in most analyses, represents  
658 an area under the curve, rather than an initial estimate. HAZ scores were available for all 223  
659 infants.

660 Measurements were also taken for weight adjusted z-score (WAZ), weight for length, arm  
661 circumference, and head circumference as well as the participants' body mass index (BMI). All of  
662 these, excluding BMI, were modelled in an identical fashion to the HAZ scores to extract  
663 individual coefficients. While all of these measurements share a certain amount of variance, HAZ  
664 was selected as the variable of interest as it had the highest correlation with socioeconomic status  
665 ( $t(238) = 5.912, p < 0.001$ , Pearson correlation = 0.358).

666  
667 **VWM task analyses.** On average, infants completed 21.8 trials ( $SD = 10.2$ ). SR research *Data*  
668 *Viewer* was used to export frame-by-frame eye-tracking data. The areas of interest around the two  
669 objects on the screen was modified such that the eye-tracking data would match video-coded data  
670 where the primary categories were 'left', 'right' and 'away'. Manually-coded data based on video  
671 recordings was used to replace trials where no eye-tracking information was available. *Datavyu*  
672 (<https://datavyu.org/>) was used to manually code these video recordings capturing the TV screen  
673 and the infant's face. A neutral observer coded the infant's eye-movements into 'left', 'right and  
674 'away' looks for each frame for each trial. We computed reliability using Cohen's Kappa, a  
675 statistic that looks at percent agreement across categories normed by the base rate of each category.  
676 Kappa values from 0.6-0.8 indicate substantial reliability. Scores greater than 0.8 indicate almost  
677 perfect agreement. Overall, we coded 15% of the data to check reliabilities. Reliabilities were very  
678 good with a mean Kappa of 0.73 for the 6-month-old cohort and a mean Kappa of 0.83 for the 9-  
679 month-old cohort. Once coded, data were then exported in a format compatible with the eye-  
680 tracking data. The manually coded trials made up 31.9% of the total number of trials.

681 Data pre-processing was carried out using the R package *eyetrackingR*<sup>50</sup>. Two key  
682 measures were obtained from the data – total looking time (TLT) and change preference (CP).  
683 TLT for each trial was calculated as the sum of time spent looking at both displays. CP was  
684 calculated as the time spent looking at the changing side divided by the total looking to both

685 displays during a critical time window of between 1500 ms and 6500 ms for each trial (out of the  
686 10000 ms trial window). The first 1500 ms comprised the first two flickers (2 \* [250ms off and  
687 500 ms on period]) was excluded to allow infants to explore the displays and, potentially, detect  
688 the changing and unchanging sides. The final 3500 ms was also excluded because the number of  
689 eye-tracking samples diminished as attention waned. Trials during which 75% of the data were  
690 coded as not looking at the displays were excluded from further analyses. Following these  
691 processing steps, out of the 223 children included in the analyses, 214 children contributed CP  
692 scores for load 1, 209 children contributed CP scores for load 2, and 214 children contributed CP  
693 scores for load 3.

694 A linear model with the CP score as the dependent variable and the age (6 or 9 months),  
695 load (1, 2, or 3), HAZ score, and TLT (in milliseconds) as independent variables was used to model  
696 the behavioural data. All interactions between independent variables were included. Participant  
697 SES status (measured using the Kuppuswamy scale<sup>51</sup>) and other related variables (e.g., nutrition  
698 information) were added in individually to assess whether there was an improvement to the model  
699 fit; however, these additional predictors were discarded as they either were colinear with HAZ or  
700 did not contribute substantially to model fit. An attempt was made to allow for the individual level  
701 variance by adding a random intercept for each participant, but this resulted in a singular fit,  
702 indicating the random effect was estimated at approximately zero.

703 **fNIRS data pre-processing.** For the fNIRS analyses, 221 children had fNIRS data for load 1 (out  
704 of the 223 infants), 220 children had fNIRS data for load 2, and 221 children had fNIRS data for  
705 load 3. fNIRS data were pre-processed using *EasyNIRS* in HOMER2<sup>52</sup>. Raw data was pruned using  
706 the *enPruneChannels* function (dRange = 1e+04 to 1e+07, SNRthresh = 1, SDrange = 0-45). An  
707 average of 29% of the channels across runs and infants were pruned/lost/rejected. Next, the  
708 *hmrIntensity2OD* function was used to convert data to optical density units. Motion artifacts were  
709 identified and corrected using targeted principal components analysis through the  
710 *hmrMotionCorrectPCArecurse* function (tMotion = 1.0, tMask = 1.0, StdevThresh = 50 and  
711 AmpThresh = 0.5, nSV = 0.97, maxIter=5). The corrected data were examined for uncorrected  
712 motion artifacts using the *hmrMotionArtifactByChannel* function (tMotion = 1.0, tMask = 1.0,  
713 StdevThresh = 50 and AmpThresh = 0.5). If these artifacts fell within -1 to 18 s of a trial, the  
714 associated trial onset trigger was removed from further data processing using the *enStimRejection*  
715 function. These criteria were set based on prior work examining motion processing algorithms in  
716 a development dataset<sup>52</sup>. An average of 6% of the trials across runs and infants were lost due to  
717 motion artifacts. These data were then band-pass filtered using the *hmrBandpassFilt* function with  
718 high-pass and low-pass cut-off frequencies of 0.016 and 0.5 Hz, respectively. The processed data  
719 were further analysed using Image Reconstruction techniques described below.

720 Note that these motion correction parameters were based on data from a VWM study with  
721 3.5- to 4.5-year-old children. More recent analyses of infant fNIRS data<sup>53,54</sup> have recommended  
722 similar motion correction parameters with one notable difference: these studies suggest using  
723 StdevThresh = 15. This difference is not surprising as setting this parameter is time consuming  
724 and subjective<sup>54</sup>. To examine how this would impact our findings, we re-ran all analyses with  
725 StdevThresh = 15. Although findings from this re-analysis were consistent with our main results  
726 (see Supplementary materials), the lower value yielded very high data loss (mean data loss with  
727 StdevThresh of 50 = 6.19%; mean data loss with StdevThresh of 15 = 37.22%), particularly for  
728 stunted infants (mean data loss with StdevThresh of 15 = 41.2%). This is a very high percentage  
729 of data loss, raising questions about whether findings obtained from using this conservative

730 threshold is representative of individual and/or group-level estimates of brain function in at-risk  
731 infants. Given this, we discuss findings from using `StdevThresh = 50` in the final analyses.

732 **Creating head models for fNIRS analyses.** To create a head model for each infant, we used the  
733 anatomical MRI scan if it was available. Out of the 223 children included in the analyses,  
734 anatomical T1-weighted images were available for 72 6-month-old infants and 70 9-month-old  
735 infants. The remaining infants did not have an anatomical scan (45 6-month-olds and 36 9-month-  
736 olds). If a scan was not available, we used an age-specific MRI template. A 6-month-old template  
737 and a 9-month-old template were created from the available scans of 15 boys and 15 girls for each  
738 specific age, using a multistep registration procedure<sup>55</sup>. This procedure was carried out using  
739 *antsMultivariateTemplateConstruction2* provided by ANTS 2.1. Briefly, all the images were  
740 linearly aligned and averaged to provide a template estimate. Then, all images were nonlinearly  
741 aligned to this initial estimate. The results were averaged to provide an improved estimate. This  
742 process was repeated ten times to construct the final estimate. The 6-month-old template was used  
743 for the 45 6-month-olds who did not have anatomical scans and the 9-month-old template was  
744 used for the 36 9-month-old infants who did not have anatomical scans.

745 Next, head models were created from the anatomical scans and age-specific templates  
746 using tools available in AFNI (<https://afni.nimh.nih.gov>). We describe this briefly below. First,  
747 images were rotated using the *3dRotate* such that the nose was rotated towards the y-axis of the  
748 MRI scanner. The images were then resampled into a standard right-axial-superior orientation  
749 using *3dResample*. If large variations in signal quality were present in the image, *3dUnifize* was  
750 used to do bias field correction. The image was put into anterior commissure (AC) - posterior  
751 commissure (PC) alignment. To do this, a brain mask was created, and the brain was extracted  
752 from the image and aligned using the *auto\_tlrc* function. The rigid body transform from the  
753 resulting transform was then used to reorient the image and brain mask into AC-PC alignment.  
754 The image was segmented into gray matter, white matter, and CSF using *3dSeg*. A corresponding  
755 model representing the outer surface of the scalp was generated by estimating the optimal threshold  
756 between the background air and the foreground head using *3dClipLevel*. This threshold was then  
757 applied to the image and holes in the resulting mask were filled using *3dinfill*. This segmentation  
758 representing the head was combined with the brain segmentation to generate a label map that  
759 contained four labels: gray matter, white matter, CSF, and a combination of skull and scalp. These  
760 head volume images were used for fNIRS Image reconstruction analyses described below.

761  
762 **Generating forward models and fNIRS Image Reconstruction.** Details of the methodological  
763 pipeline used for image reconstruction are presented elsewhere<sup>56</sup>. We outline the steps below. First,  
764 we corrected for variations in scalp landmarks and positions of sources and detectors during  
765 digitization (for e.g., infant movement) using a three-step method in the *digitizeR* package. This  
766 method sequentially compares and aligns user-specified Euclidean distances between sources and  
767 detectors for an individual probe geometry with available templates for specific cap sizes. Head  
768 volumes created from segmenting the T1-weighted anatomical scans or age-specific templates  
769 were imported into *AtlasViewerGUI* in HOMER2<sup>30,57</sup>. Each infant's digitized scalp landmarks and  
770 probe geometry was projected onto each head volume. Monte Carlo simulations were run with 100  
771 million photons to generate sensitivity profiles for each channel and wavelength. The head volume  
772 and sensitivity profiles were converted to NIFTII images. Next, image reconstruction techniques  
773 employing NeuroDOT tools<sup>56,58</sup> were used to integrate the head volume and sensitivity profiles  
774 with the processed fNIRS data to obtain voxel-wise relative changes in oxygenated (HbO) and de-  
775 oxygenated (HbR) concentrations.

776 A general linear model with three regressors (loads 1, 2, 3) was separately run for each  
777 chromophore and infant. We used a hemodynamic response function derived from DOT data for  
778 HbO and HbR data<sup>56</sup>. Each trial was modelled with a 10 s boxcar and variable inter-trial intervals.  
779 The inter-trial interval was a minimum of 5 s but could be typically longer as the trial was not  
780 initiated until the infant looked at the display following the dynamic attention cue. To control for  
781 the variability in the number of trials per condition and infant, we computed a weighted average  
782 of beta coefficient images per load, chromophore, and infant.

783 **Registration to overall study template.** The image-based fNIRS beta coefficient images from all  
784 infants were aligned to the same space by using an overall study template. This overall study  
785 template was created by repeating the same process described in the multistep registration  
786 procedure<sup>55</sup>, using each age-specific template (6-month-old, 9-month-old, 12-month-old, 15-  
787 month-old, 18-month-old, 24-month-old, and 30-month-old)<sup>59</sup> - see ‘Creating head models for  
788 fNIRS analyses’ section above). For the current study, we used this overall study template, instead  
789 of a template generated from combining only the 6-month-old and 9-month-old templates, to  
790 provide consistency across current and future investigations on this project.

791 **Group analyses.** For group analyses, only voxels that contained data from 70% of the infants were  
792 included. To achieve this, the beta coefficient map for each condition, chromophore, and infant  
793 was masked and summed together to create one image. Only those voxels that contained at least  
794 70% data were extracted to create the group mask. This group mask was used in the model below.

795 For Group analyses, the co-registered beta coefficient maps were entered into a linear  
796 mixed effects model using *3dLME* in AFNI with load (1, 2, 3), chromophore (HbO and HbR) and  
797 age (6-month-olds and 9-month-olds) as within-subject factors and CP and HAZ as quantitative  
798 predictors. For children who did not have a CP score at a load, an average CP score was calculated  
799 for that load from age-matched, gender-matched, and SES-matched infants. An average CP score  
800 was used for 9 infants for load 1, 14 infants for load 2, and 9 infants for load 3. After running the  
801 linear mixed effects model, *3dFWHM* was used to estimate the empirical auto-correlation function  
802 in our data and fit a mixed auto-correlation function model to this function. *3dClustSum* was run  
803 on the group brain mask with a voxelwise *p* threshold of .01, alpha threshold of .05, 10,000  
804 iterations, 2-sided thresholding, first nearest-neighbour clustering, and with a minimum cluster  
805 size of 278 voxels. *3dClusterize* was used to threshold the main effect and interaction effect  
806 images. Average beta values were extracted from the thresholded clusters using *3dROIstats* in  
807 AFNI. Labels for significant clusters of activation were created based on regions of interest (ROIs)  
808 from VWM fMRI studies<sup>30</sup>. These ROIs in MNI space were co-registered to align with the overall  
809 study template. To assign a label to each significant cluster, Euclidean distances were calculated  
810 between the centre of mass of each ROI and each significant cluster. The ROI with the minimum  
811 distance to a cluster was used as the label. The range of distances between each cluster and final  
812 assigned label were 7.5 mm to 22.7 mm.

813 **ASQ assessment analyses.** Out of 223 children included in the analyses, 172 children had scores  
814 for the ASQ assessment. The rest of the families did not complete the assessment due to illness,  
815 non-attendance, or other factors. Non-standardized scores from the ASQ were used as there are no  
816 standardized norms for children from rural India. To examine whether behavioural performance  
817 in year 1 was related to the problem-solving score in year 2, we ran a linear model with the  
818 problem-solving score as the dependent variable, and CP scores, HAZ scores, and HAZ-L as



819 predictors. We included HAZ-L because change in physical growth over time was expected to be  
820 an important contributor to problem-solving score measured in year 2.

821 To examine whether brain function in year 1 was related to cognitive outcomes in year 2,  
822 we ran 6 linear models – one per chromophore (HbO and HbR) and load (1, 2, 3) for the laIPS  
823 cluster from the interaction between HAZ, load and chromophore. In each model, the dependent  
824 variable was problem-solving score, and the independent variable was laIPS activation. We also  
825 included the HAZ score as a predictor since laIPS activation was associated with HAZ. Note that  
826 we tested whether HAZ-L contributed significantly to these models; this was not the case, so this  
827 term was excluded from the final models. All models were checked with a Q-Q plot of the residuals  
828 and using the DHARMA<sup>60</sup> package v0.4.3 in R. As there was some level of dispersion in the data,  
829 models were run using robust regression (using the *robustbase* package in R) and model outliers  
830 were also checked using Cook’s distance, indicating no problematic outliers.

831

### 832 **Acknowledgements and funding sources.**

833 This work was supported by Grant No. OPP1164153 from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation  
834 and Grant No. R01HD083287 from the National Institutes of Health awarded to J. P. Spencer,  
835 Grant No. RPG-2019-286 from the Leverhulme Trust awarded to S. Wijeakumar, and NIH Grant  
836 P50HD103556 awarded to V.A. Magnotta. We are grateful to the families from Shivgarh, Uttar  
837 Pradesh, India, for generously contributing their time for the study. We appreciate the efforts of  
838 the study team towards the high-quality and seamless conduct of this study. We thank Dr.  
839 Vishwajeet Kumar for his support and guidance throughout the project.

840

### 841 **Author contributions.**

842 JPS, SW and AK conceptualized the study. SW, SF, JPS, VAM, SD contributed to the  
843 methodology and software. SW, SF, JPS, VAM, KJ and SD contributed to formal analyses. VPS  
844 and MT contributed to project administration. SW, JPS and AK supervised the study. All authors  
845 contributed to the writing, review and editing processes.

846

### 847 **Data availability**

848 All final data used in statistical analyses will be publicly available on Github following publication.  
849 All raw and processed fNIRS data will be available by agreement through the Bill & Melinda  
850 Gates Foundation fNIRS Consortium hosted by Yale University/Haskins Laboratory.

851

### 852 **Code availability**

853 fNIRS analyses pipeline is publicly available under  
854 [https://github.com/developmentaldynamicslab/MRI-NIRS\\_Pipeline](https://github.com/developmentaldynamicslab/MRI-NIRS_Pipeline). All code and revisions will  
855 be publicly available on Github following publication.

856

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858

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