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# Representational change and children's numerical estimation

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## Abstract

We applied overlapping waves theory and microgenetic methods to examine how children improve their estimation proficiency, and in particular how they shift from reliance on immature to mature representations of numerical magnitude. We also tested the theoretical prediction that feedback on problems on which the discrepancy between two representations is greatest will cause the greatest representational change. Second graders who initially were assessed as relying on an immature representation were presented feedback that varied in degree of discrepancy between the predictions of the mature and immature representations. The most discrepant feedback produced the greatest representational change. The change was strikingly abrupt, often occurring after a single feedback trial, and impressively broad, affecting estimates over the entire range of numbers from 0 to 1000. The findings indicated that cognitive change can occur at the level of an entire representation, rather than always involving a sequence of local repairs.

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## 1. Introduction

Numerical estimation is a pervasive process, both in school and in everyday life. It also is a process that most children find difficult. Whether estimating distance (Cohen, Weatherford, Lomenick, & Koeller, 1979), amount of money (Sowder & Wheeler, 1989), number of

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discrete objects (Hecox & Hagen, 1971), answers to arithmetic problems (LeFevre, Greenham, & Naheed, 1993), or locations of numbers on number lines (Siegler & Opfer, 2003), 5- to 10-year-olds' estimation is highly inaccurate. The poor quality of children's performance, and the positive relation between estimation proficiency and overall mathematics achievement (Dowker, 2003; Siegler & Booth, 2004), have led educators to assign a high priority to improving estimation for at least the past 25 years (e.g., NCTM, 1980, 1989, 2000). Despite this prolonged effort, most children's estimation skills continue to be poor (Dowker, 2003; Siegler & Booth, 2005).

This poor skill level is particularly unfortunate because estimation is not only a pervasive activity but also one that plays a central role in a wide range of mathematical activities. Accuracy of numerical estimation correlates quite highly with standardized achievement test performance (Dowker, 2003; Siegler & Booth, 2004) and also with specific numerical processes, such as arithmetic and magnitude comparison (Booth, 2005; Laski & Siegler, 2005). Consistent patterns of individual and developmental differences are also present across numerical estimation tasks. Children who are skillful at one type of numerical estimation tend to be skillful at others, and different numerical estimation tasks show parallel changes at the same ages (Booth & Siegler, 2006). Thus, numerical estimation seems to be a coherent category, one well worth understanding.

In the present study, we attempt to go beyond previous studies of pure numerical estimation to address a fundamental question about it and about development more generally: how does representational change occur? Our approach to this question is based at a general level on overlapping waves theory and at a more specific level on the hypothesis that encountering information that is clearly at odds with existing, non-optimal representations leads to rapid and broad representational change and thus to improved estimation.

### *1.1. Representational change as an adaptive choice*

The theory on which the present research is based, overlapping waves theory, depicts children at any given age as knowing and using a variety of approaches (i.e., strategies, rules, or representations) that compete with one another for use, with each approach being more or less adaptive depending on the problem and situation (Siegler, 1996). With use of these varied approaches across different types of problems, information accumulates about the relative adaptiveness of each approach on specific types of problems and the more adaptive approaches are chosen increasingly (albeit often unconsciously; Siegler & Shrager, 1984). In situations where people do not gain information about the adaptiveness of a strategy or representation, performance tends not to change, leading to older children and adults sometimes continuing to use approaches that are typical of young children.

Overlapping waves theory differs from alternative approaches to representational development such as stage theories (e.g., Bruner, Olver, & Greenfield, 1966), incremental theories (e.g., Brainerd, 1978), and early competence theories (e.g., Gelman & Gallistel, 1978) in its claim that individuals usually know and use multiple strategies and representations, rather than only a single one, and in its emphasis on choices among the alternative approaches. Like stage and early competence theories, it recognizes that cognitive change sometimes involves rapid substitution of one strategy or representation for another; unlike them, such changes are viewed as atypical, rather than as the norm. Abrupt changes are most likely when there are large differences between the accuracy yielded by the new

71 strategy or representation and that possible with older approaches (Siegler, 2006), a general-  
72 ization that proved important in the present study.

73 Overlapping waves theory, together with recent empirical findings summarized in Sie-  
74 gler and Booth (2005), suggests that 5- to 10-year-olds' difficulties with numerical estima-  
75 tion are due in large measure to inappropriate choices of numerical representation.  
76 Specifically, children in this age range are hypothesized to possess multiple representations  
77 of numerical magnitudes, and to often use an early-developing logarithmic representation  
78 (a representation within which the magnitudes denoted by numbers increase logarithmi-  
79 cally) in situations where accurate estimation requires use of a linear representation (a rep-  
80 resentation within which the magnitudes associated with numbers increase linearly). An  
81 example of using a logarithmic representation would be estimating the difference between  
82 \$1 and \$100 as being larger than the difference between \$901 and \$1000. In contrast judg-  
83 ing the differences in money to be equal would imply the use of a linear representation of  
84 numerical value. Children between 5 and 10 years of age are believed to rely on linear rep-  
85 resentations with small numbers but to only gradually extend the linear representations to  
86 larger numbers and to numbers other than integers.

87 This analysis raises the issue of how children come to change their representations of  
88 numerical magnitude and to use linear representations in situations in which they once  
89 used logarithmic ones. It seems likely that over the course of development, children  
90 encounter information that does not match their logarithmic representation of numerical  
91 magnitudes (e.g., hearing 150 referring to a relatively small part of 1000 items). If children  
92 already apply linear representations in some numerical contexts (e.g., for small numeric  
93 ranges), such experiences may lead them to draw analogies between the two contexts and  
94 to extend the linear representation to numerical ranges where they previously used loga-  
95 rithmic representations. In other words, experiences that are at odds with their logarithmic  
96 representations of numerical magnitudes may lead them to extend a linear representation  
97 that they use in small number contexts to large number ones.

98 This logic suggests the *log discrepancy hypothesis*: experiences should promote exten-  
99 sions of linear representations to new numerical contexts to the extent that the experiences  
100 highlight discrepancies between logarithmic and linear representations of numerical mag-  
101 nitudes and make clear the appropriateness of the linear representation in the new con-  
102 texts. If this hypothesis is correct, and improvements in estimation stem from a  
103 substitution of one representation for another, then changes in patterns of estimates may  
104 occur abruptly rather than gradually, and across a broad range of numerical values rather  
105 than being local to the numerical range on which feedback is given. Implications of the dis-  
106 crepancy hypothesis extend well beyond estimation; the hypothesis implies that whenever  
107 people rely on a less advanced representation in some contexts and a more advanced one in  
108 other, structurally parallel ones, experiences that highlight the advantages of the more  
109 advanced approach may trigger rapid substitution of one representation for another, at  
110 least in that situation. This more general *representational discrepancy hypothesis*, and evi-  
111 dence favoring it, will be discussed later in the article.

112 The present study tests the log discrepancy hypothesis and its implications in two exper-  
113 iments. Experiment 1 examines whether development between second and fourth grade is  
114 greatest in the numerical region that in theory should show the greatest improvement dur-  
115 ing this period, the region in which the discrepancy between logarithmic and linear repre-  
116 sentations is greatest. Experiment 2 examines whether providing second graders feedback  
117 on problems that in theory should stimulate the greatest improvement (problems on which

118 the discrepancy between logarithmic and linear functions is greatest) do in fact stimulate  
119 greater learning across the full range of numbers than feedback on other problems or sim-  
120 ple experience with the estimation task. To make clear the logic and evidence that moti-  
121 vated these experiments, we next review evidence about the relation between estimation  
122 and representations of numerical magnitudes, present a general theoretical analysis of the  
123 development of numerical estimation, and describe how the analyses led to the present  
124 experiments.

## 125 *1.2. Estimation and representations of numerical magnitudes*

126 Recent findings suggest that an important source of children's difficulty with numerical  
127 estimation is inappropriate choice of numerical representation. Specifically, children often  
128 choose an early-developing logarithmic representation in situations where accurate estima-  
129 tion requires use of a linear representation (Siegler & Opfer, 2003; Siegler & Booth, 2004).  
130 The use of logarithmic representations of quantities is widespread among species and age  
131 groups from infants to adults (Banks & Hill, 1974; Feigenson, Dehaene, & Spelke, 2004;  
132 Holyoak, 1978; Moyer, 1973; Siegler & Opfer, 2003), and for good reason: in a great many  
133 situations, such representations are useful. For example, to a hungry animal, the difference  
134 between 2 and 3 pieces of food is far more important than the difference between 87 and 88  
135 pieces; for people, the difference between receiving a gift of \$1 and \$100 is far more impor-  
136 tant than the difference between receiving a gift of \$1,000,001 and \$1,000,100. In the formal  
137 numerical system, however, magnitudes increase linearly rather than logarithmically. Thus,  
138 children's use of logarithmic representations of numerical magnitudes is understandable,  
139 but in school and modern life, it can interfere with accurate estimation. According to over-  
140 lapping waves theory, the inaccuracies produced by the logarithmic representation,  
141 together with the extensive experience that children have with some estimation tasks and  
142 numerical ranges, set the stage for an age-related trend toward increasing use of the linear  
143 representation on those tasks and numerical ranges.

144 Developmental shifts from a logarithmic to a linear representation have in fact been  
145 found between kindergarten and second grade for estimates of numerical locations on  
146 0–100 number lines (Siegler & Booth, 2004) and between second and sixth grade for esti-  
147 mates of numerical locations on 0–1000 lines (Siegler & Opfer, 2003). Thus, when asked to  
148 estimate the locations of numbers on number lines with 0 at one end and 100 at the other  
149 and no markings in between, most kindergartners produced estimates consistent with a  
150 logarithmic function, most second graders produced estimates consistent with a linear  
151 function, and about half of first graders produced estimates that were best fit by one func-  
152 tion and half by the other (Siegler & Booth, 2004). Similarly, when asked to estimate the  
153 locations of numbers on number lines with 0 at one end and 1000 at the other, the large  
154 majority of second graders generated logarithmic distributions of estimates, the large  
155 majority of sixth graders produced linear distributions, and about half of fourth graders  
156 produced estimates that were best fit by each function (Siegler & Opfer, 2003). By second  
157 grade, if not earlier, individual children possess both types of representations; almost half  
158 of the second graders in Siegler and Opfer (2003) generated a linearly increasing pattern of  
159 estimates on 0–100 number lines and a logarithmically increasing pattern on 0–1000 lines.

160 Findings regarding both developmental and individual differences on a variety of esti-  
161 mation tasks are consistent with the hypothesis that children's difficulties in numerical esti-  
162 mation stem in large part from inappropriate choices of representation. From second to

163 fourth grade, trends toward more linear and less logarithmic patterns of estimates are evi-  
164 dent for measurement and numerosity estimation, as well as for number line estimation.  
165 Booth and Siegler (2006) found that from second to fourth grade, the mean percentage of  
166 variance in individual children's estimates accounted for by the best fitting linear function  
167 increased from 66% to 85% on a number line estimation task, from 59% to 83% on a mea-  
168 surement estimation task, and from 57% to 77% on a numerosity estimation task. Individ-  
169 ual differences in use of linear representations on the three tasks were highly correlated for  
170 both second and fourth graders. The types of experiences that lead to such improvements  
171 in children's estimation, and the process through which the change occurs, remain  
172 unknown, however. Improving our understanding of this process of representational  
173 change is the central purpose of the present study.

### 174 1.3. Development of numerical magnitude representations

175 The findings of Siegler and Opfer (2003) suggest that second graders can represent  
176 numerical magnitudes in the 0–100 range either logarithmically or linearly, but that they  
177 only represent numerical magnitudes in the 0–1000 range logarithmically (probably due to  
178 less familiarity with numerals that represent large numerosities; Dehaene, 1990). Develop-  
179 ment beyond second grade seems to involve children learning that the linear representation  
180 that is useful for the range 0–100 also is useful with larger numerical ranges.

181 From this perspective, if children who apply linear representations to some numerical  
182 ranges learn that their estimates in other numerical ranges are inaccurate, and if accurate  
183 estimates would have been predicted by a straightforward extension of the linear represen-  
184 tation to the other numerical range, then children are likely to draw an analogy between  
185 the two numerical ranges and to map the linear representation onto the new range. For  
186 example, if a second grader is shown that her estimate of the position of 150 on a 0–1,000  
187 number line is too high, and also is shown the correct position of 150 within that range, she  
188 may draw the analogy "150 is to the 0–1000 range as 15 is to the 0–100 range." This anal-  
189 ogy may lead her to choose a linear representation for the 0–1000 range on subsequent esti-  
190 mation problems. If the analogy is drawn at the level of the entire representation (as  
191 opposed to being restricted to numbers near 150), such feedback would lead to more accu-  
192 rate estimates for numbers throughout the 0–1000 range, especially numbers where the log  
193 and linear representations differ most dramatically. Such a substitution of representations  
194 could occur quite quickly, because the linear representation has already been constructed  
195 and used in smaller numerical contexts.

196 What types of experiences would be most likely to stimulate such an analogy? The log  
197 discrepancy hypothesis predicts that if children are using a logarithmic representation,  
198 then the magnitude of change in their estimates in response to feedback should be posi-  
199 tively related to the discrepancy between the logarithmic and linear functions for the prob-  
200 lems on which the children receive feedback. Larger discrepancies between children's  
201 estimates and the linear function are more likely to provoke the realizations that the under-  
202 lying representation is wrong and that a new way of thinking about the task is needed. In  
203 contrast, smaller discrepancies between estimated and correct values may be attributed to  
204 misapplication of a basically correct approach, which may motivate children to try to be  
205 more careful rather than to choose a different representation for the entire class of num-  
206 bers. Estimation experience that does not make clear the superiority of the linear represen-  
207 tation would not be expected to evoke substantial change.

208 The discrepancy between a logarithmic and a linear representation of the values on a  
 209 0–1000 number line (with both functions constrained to pass through 0 and 1000) is illus-  
 210 trated in Fig. 1. As the figure shows, the difference in estimates varies as a function of the  
 211 number presented. The maximum difference occurs at 150, where the logarithmic represen-  
 212 tation predicts an estimate of 725 and the linear representation predicts an estimate of 150,  
 213 resulting in a discrepancy of 575 (57.5% of the line). For purposes of comparison, the abso-  
 214 lute numerical discrepancy between the estimates predicted by the linear and logarithmic  
 215 representations of both 5 and 725 is 228 (22.8% of the line).

216 Thus, feedback that indicated the correct position of 150 on a 0–1000 number line  
 217 would direct learners' attention to the area where the discrepancy between children's initial  
 218 (logarithmic) understanding and the correct (linear) understanding is greatest. If the differ-  
 219 ence between the prediction of the representation and the correct value is an important  
 220 variable in the probability of extension of the linear representation to the 0–1000 context,  
 221 then information about the correct placement of 5 or 725 on the number line should be less  
 222 effective than information about the correct placement of 150. Moreover, the effects of  
 223 feedback regarding the correct estimate for 5 and for 725 should be equivalent to each  
 224 other, and feedback about either should promote greater learning than simply performing  
 225 the estimation task without feedback.

#### 226 1.4. Issues examined in Experiment 1

227 Experiment 1 had three major purposes. One was to test whether the greatest improve-  
 228 ment between second and fourth grade occurs for numbers around 150. Siegler and Opfer's  
 229 (2003) stimulus set did not include any numbers in this area—the closest numbers that they  
 230 presented were 86 and 230—but the theoretical prediction was that the greatest

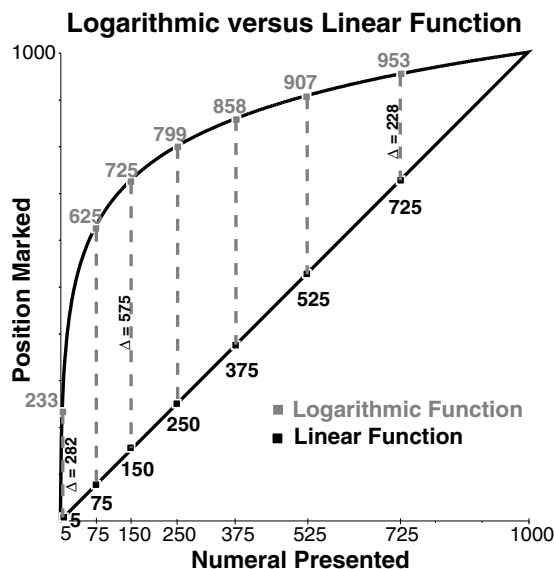


Fig. 1. The discrepancy between a logarithmic and linear representation of numeric values on a 0–1000 number line is greatest at 150; the discrepancies for 5 and 725 are equal to each other and about half as great as that at 150.

231 improvement with age should come in this area, because it is the area where the logarithmic and linear functions are most discrepant. The second purpose of Experiment 1 was to  
232 identify individual second graders whose estimates fit a logarithmic function better than a  
233 linear one. This second goal was important because these children subsequently partici-  
234 pated in a microgenetic study of the transition from use of a logarithmic representation to  
235 use of a linear representation (Experiment 2). The third purpose of Experiment 1 was to  
236 replicate and extend Siegler and Opfer's (2003) findings regarding the log to linear shift  
237 with a larger range of numbers (the original set included only 12 numbers between 0 and  
238 1000, only 2 of which exceeded 500.)  
239

## 240 2. Experiment 1: age-related differences in number-line estimation

### 241 2.1. Method

#### 242 2.1.1. Participants

243 Participants were 93 second graders (mean age = 8.2 years,  $SD = 0.6$ ) and 60 fourth  
244 graders (mean age = 10.3 years,  $SD = 0.5$ ). The children attended a suburban school in a  
245 middle class area. A female research assistant served as experimenter.

#### 246 2.1.2. Tasks

247 Each problem consisted of a 25 cm line, with the left end labeled "0" and the right end  
248 labeled "1000." The number to be estimated—2, 5, 18, 34, 56, 78, 100, 122, 147, 150, 163,  
249 179, 246, 366, 486, 606, 722, 725, 738, 754, 818, and 938—appeared 2 cm above the center of  
250 the line. These numbers were chosen to maximize the discriminability of logarithmic and  
251 linear functions by oversampling the low end of the range, to minimize the influence of spe-  
252 cific knowledge (such as that 500 is halfway between 0 and 1000), and to test predictions  
253 about the range of numbers where estimates of the two age groups would differ most.

#### 254 2.1.3. Procedure

255 Participants were tested in a single session. The items within each scale were randomly  
256 ordered, separately for each child, and presented in small workbooks, one problem per  
257 page. The experimenter began by saying, "Today we're going to play a game with number  
258 lines. What I'm going to ask you to do is to show me where on the number line some num-  
259 bers are. When you decide where the number goes, I want you to make a line through the  
260 number line like this (making a vertical hatch mark)." Before each item, the experimenter  
261 said, "This number line goes from 0 at this end to 1000 at this end. If this is 0 and this is  
262 1000, where would you put  $N$ ?"

### 263 2.2. Results and discussion

264 We first compared the fit to second and fourth graders' median estimate for each num-  
265 ber that was generated by the best fitting linear and logarithmic functions. As in Siegler  
266 and Opfer (2003), the fit of the linear function to children's estimates increased from sec-  
267 ond to fourth grade, whereas the fit of the logarithmic function decreased. The best fitting  
268 logarithmic function fit second graders' median estimates better than did the best fitting  
269 linear function (Fig. 2); the logarithmic equation accounted for 95% of variance in median  
270 estimates versus 80% for the linear equation,  $t(21) = 2.27, p < .05, d = .65$ . In contrast, the

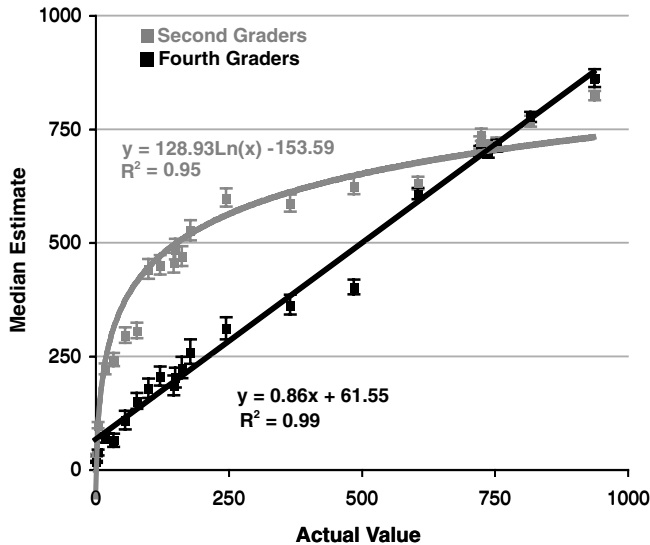


Fig. 2. Experiment 1. Age differences in number-line estimation.

271 linear function fit fourth graders' median estimates better than did the logarithmic function  
 272 (99% versus 72% of variance,  $t(21) = 5.33$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $d = 1.60$ ).

273 To test whether the group medians reflected individual performance, we regressed indi-  
 274 viduals' estimates on each task against the predictions of the best fitting linear and loga-  
 275 rithmic functions. We assigned a 1 to the model that best fit each participant's estimates  
 276 and a 0 to the other model.

277 The function that provided the better fit to individual children's estimates varied with  
 278 the children's age in ways that mirrored the findings with the group medians,  $\chi^2(1) = 30.39$ ,  
 279  $p < .001$ . The linear function provided the better fit for 34% of second graders and 80% of  
 280 fourth graders, whereas the logarithmic function provided the better fit for 66% of second  
 281 graders and 20% of fourth graders.

282 We also examined whether the greatest age differences in estimates occurred on num-  
 283 bers around 150, where the discrepancy between the logarithmic and linear functions was  
 284 greatest. This analysis was important because it is possible, for example, for children to  
 285 have a linear representation with a very high or low slope, thereby affecting where the max-  
 286 imum discrepancy would actually occur. To calculate improvement with age, we first con-  
 287 verted the median magnitude estimate for each number (the student's hatch mark) to a  
 288 numeric value (the linear distance from the "0" mark to the student's hatch mark), then  
 289 divided the result by the total length of the line, then multiplied the result by 1000, and then  
 290 calculated the absolute differences between each age group's median for each number and  
 291 the correct value for the number.

292 After these calculations, we correlated the absolute numerical distance of each to-be-  
 293 estimated number from 150 with the decrease in absolute error of estimates between sec-  
 294 ond and fourth grade on that number. Improvement in estimation accuracy proved to be  
 295 highly correlated with distance from 150:  $r(21) = -.80$ ,  $p < .001$ ; the closer the number to  
 296 150, the greater the improvement with age. We then examined estimates for a fixed numer-  
 297 ical range (32) around three anchors of interest-150 (where the discrepancy in estimates is



298 greatest between the logarithmic and linear functions), 725 (where the discrepancy is 40%  
299 of the discrepancy at 150), and 5 (where the discrepancy is also 40% of the discrepancy at  
300 150). The stimulus set included four numbers in each of these three numerical ranges. As  
301 anticipated, improvements in estimation accuracy between second and fourth graders was  
302 greater for the four numbers around 150 than for either the four numbers around 725  
303 (mean improvement of 266 versus 18;  $t[3] = 37.76, p < .01$ ) or for the four numbers around 5  
304 (mean improvement of 266 versus 101,  $t[3] = 3.84, p < .05$ ). Second and fourth graders' esti-  
305 mates around 5 and 725 did not differ significantly from each other ( $t[3] = 1.90, n.s.$ ).

306 Percent absolute error also tended to improve between second and fourth grade,  
307 decreasing from 18% for second graders to 13% for fourth graders,  $F(1, 43) = 3.52, p < .07$   
308  $d = .56$ . This trend reflected the presence of two sub-groups of second graders. The esti-  
309 mates of 34% of second graders best fit the linear representation; these children's percent  
310 absolute error did not differ from that of the fourth graders. In contrast, the estimates of  
311 the other 66% of second graders best fit the logarithmic function; their percent absolute  
312 error was considerably greater than the fourth graders' (23% versus 13%,  $F(1, 43) = 7.46,$   
313  $p < .01, d = .82$ ).

314 Thus, Experiment 1 yielded three main findings. First, children's estimates became more  
315 linear and less logarithmic between second and fourth grade. These results replicate and  
316 extend Siegler and Opfer's (2003) findings regarding age-related changes, with a wider  
317 range and greater number of estimated values. Second, the specific numbers that elicited  
318 the largest age differences were those predicted by the log discrepancy hypothesis. If chil-  
319 dren's improvements arose merely from their eliminating random errors in their placement  
320 of hatch marks, there would be no reason to expect that age differences should be greatest  
321 for numbers around 150; however, the finding was directly predicted by the log discrep-  
322 ancy hypothesis. Third, we were able to identify a large number of second graders whose  
323 estimates were best fit by a logarithmic function, which allowed us to examine their acqui-  
324 sition of linear representations in Experiment 2.

### 325 3. Experiment 2: the process of representational change

326 Experiment 2 was designed to test the log discrepancy hypothesis regarding how chil-  
327 dren acquire more advanced representations of numerical magnitudes. In particular, we  
328 examined changes in children's number line estimates in response to feedback on numbers  
329 around 150, 5, or 725, or in response to answering the same problems without feedback.  
330 These experimental conditions allowed tests of the predictions that feedback on numbers  
331 around 150 would elicit the largest and quickest change (because this is the area of maxi-  
332 mum discrepancy between logarithmic and linear representations), that the change would  
333 involve a broad range of numbers and would occur abruptly rather than gradually  
334 (because the change involved a choice of a different representation, rather than a local  
335 repair to the original representation), and that regardless of the feedback condition, the  
336 greatest change would occur on the numbers where logarithmic and linear functions  
337 differed by the greatest amount, rather than on the numbers around which children  
338 received feedback (again because change was hypothesized to involve substituting linear  
339 representations for logarithmic ones).

340 The reasoning underlying these predictions, especially the second one, merits some dis-  
341 cussion. All three predictions stem from the theoretical view that children's estimates of  
342 each number reflect a coherent representation of the overall scale, as opposed to each

343 estimate being generated separately and the distribution happening to fit a logarithmic  
344 function. Under most circumstances, it is impossible to discriminate between these two  
345 possibilities. However, within a microgenetic study, that assesses representations on a trial-  
346 by-trial basis while children are receiving potentially instructive experience, it is possible to  
347 test whether the change is broad and sudden, as would be expected if one coherent repre-  
348 sentation is substituted for another, or whether the change is local and gradual, as would  
349 be expected if each estimate is generated solely on the basis of the particular number being  
350 estimated and feedback is interpreted in terms of its implications for the particular number  
351 and those near it.

352 The three feedback conditions that children were presented controlled for a great many  
353 alternatives to the log discrepancy hypothesis. The choice of numbers around 5 and  
354 around 725 as the comparison points for numbers around 150 was due in part to those  
355 ranges including one set of numbers smaller than 150 and one set larger than 150. Thus, if  
356 gains in the 150-feedback condition exceeded gains in either of the other feedback condi-  
357 tions, the effect could not be explained by anchoring pulling estimates up or down (because  
358 5 would be a stronger anchor for pulling estimates down, and 725 would be a stronger  
359 anchor for pulling estimates up). The two conditions also controlled for the possibility that  
360 the key was for the feedback to pull estimates away from the extremes (725 is closer to 500  
361 than is 150) and for the possibility that the key was for the feedback to indicate that  
362 extreme estimates were acceptable (5 being closer than 150 to an end of the number line).  
363 The numbers around 5 and 725 also were highly similar in the discrepancy between loga-  
364 rithmic and linear representations, thus allowing a test of whether this similar discrepancy  
365 would lead to similar learning.

366 The no-feedback control condition provided unique information, as well as serving as a  
367 point of comparison for learning in the other conditions. One type of information involved  
368 the stability of the assessments of logarithmic representations. If, in fact, a logarithmic pat-  
369 tern of estimates reflects a stable underlying logarithmic representation, subsequent esti-  
370 mates, in the absence of feedback, should also conform to a logarithmic pattern. No  
371 previous experiment had tested this prediction. The control condition also tested whether  
372 regression to the mean on those estimates that were most discrepant from their correct  
373 placement could account for changes in estimates in the three feedback conditions. The  
374 prediction was that in those three feedback conditions, there would be substantial changes  
375 in the maximally discrepant estimates (those around 150), but that this would not be the  
376 case in the control condition.

377 The design of Experiment 2 also allowed us to learn about five key dimensions of cogni-  
378 tive change: the source, rate, path, breadth, and variability of change. These dimensions  
379 have been proposed as central aspects of change within overlapping waves theory and have  
380 proved useful in describing cognitive change in a wide variety of contexts (for reviews, see  
381 Siegler, 1996, 2006). To test the effects of different *sources* of change, we compared the  
382 amount of improvement elicited by the four experimental groups. To examine the *rate* of  
383 change, we measured how many feedback problems children required in each condition  
384 before they adopted a linear representation. To learn about the *path* of change, we tested  
385 whether children showed an abrupt shift from a logarithmic pattern to a linear pattern of  
386 estimates or whether they progressed from a clear logarithmic pattern to a pattern interme-  
387 diate between the two functions to a clear linear pattern. To investigate the *breadth* of  
388 change, we tested whether amount of change in children's estimates for particular numbers  
389 was best predicted by proximity of those numbers to the feedback items or whether the

390 greatest change occurred on the numbers where the discrepancy between the logarithmic  
391 and linear representations was greatest, regardless of the distance of those items from the  
392 feedback items. Finally, to enhance understanding of the *variability* of change, we exam-  
393 ined whether children whose pretest estimates adhered most closely to a logarithmic func-  
394 tion learned more than other children and adhered more closely to the linear function on  
395 the posttest. The logic underlying this hypothesis was that children probably differed in the  
396 degree to which their estimates were based on their representation of the entire numerical  
397 range, as opposed to their knowledge of particular numbers, and that substitutions of one  
398 representation for another were most likely for children whose estimates were most influ-  
399 enced by the overall representation.

### 400 3.1. Method

#### 401 3.1.1. Participants

402 The children in Experiment 2 were the 61 second graders (mean age = 8.2,  $SD = 0.6$ )  
403 whose estimates in Experiment 1 better fit a logarithmic than a linear function. A female  
404 research assistant served as experimenter.

#### 405 3.1.2. Task

406 As in Experiment 1, each problem consisted of a 25 cm line, with the left end labeled “0,”  
407 the right end labeled “1000,” and the number to be estimated appearing 2 cm above the cen-  
408 ter of the line. The numbers presented were 2, 5, 11, 18, 27, 34, 42, 56, 67, 78, 89, 100, 111,  
409 122, 133, 147, 150, 156, 163, 172, 179, 187, 246, 306, 366, 426, 486, 546, 606, 666, 722, 725,  
410 731, 738, 747, 754, 762, 818, 878, and 938. These numbers included 7 that were close to the  
411 focal number for each feedback condition (5, 150, and 725); these 7 numbers ranged from 3  
412 below the relevant focal number to 37 above it. The purpose was to include enough values  
413 to assess the local as well as the broad effects of each feedback condition.

#### 414 3.1.3. Design and procedure

415 Children were randomly assigned to four experimental conditions: 150-feedback,  
416 5-feedback, 725-feedback, or no-feedback. As shown in the outline of the procedure in  
417 Table 1, children in all four groups completed the number-line estimation task for three  
418 trial blocks and a posttest; administration of these trial blocks and feedback immediately  
419 followed Experiment 1. For children in the three feedback groups, each trial block included  
420 a feedback phase and a test phase. As shown in Table 1, the feedback phase of each trial  
421 block included either one item on which children received feedback (trial block 1) or three  
422 items on which they received feedback (trial blocks 2 and 3). The test phase in all three trial  
423 blocks included 10 items on which children did not receive feedback; this test phase  
424 occurred immediately after the feedback phase in each trial block. Children in the no-feed-  
425 back group received the same number of estimation trials, but they never received  
426 feedback. On the posttest, children in all four groups were presented the same 22 problems  
427 without feedback as in Experiment 1. The children’s estimates in Experiment 1 provided  
428 pretest data, which was used as a point of comparison for their subsequent performance  
429 and was obtained during the same session.

430 The only way in which the treatment of children in the three feedback groups differed  
431 was in the numbers whose positions they were asked to estimate during the feedback  
432 phases. Participants in the 150-feedback group were asked to mark the position of 150 on

Table 1  
Design of Experiment 2

Group	Phase			Trial block 2			Trial block 3			Posttest (22 items)
	Trial block 1 Feedback <sup>a</sup> (1 item)	Test (10 items)	Feedback <sup>a</sup> (3 items)	Feedback <sup>a</sup> (3 items)	Test (10 items)	Feedback <sup>a</sup> (3 items)	Feedback <sup>a</sup> (3 items)	Test (10 items)		
150-feedback	150	0–1000		147–187	0–1000		147–187	0–1000	147–187	0–1000
5-feedback	5	0–1000		2–42	0–1000		2–42	0–1000	2–42	0–1000
725-feedback	725	0–1000		723–763	0–1000		723–763	0–1000	723–763	0–1000
No-feedback	150, 5, or 725	0–1000		147–187, 2–42, or 723–763	0–1000		147–187, 2–42, or 723–763	0–1000	147–187, 2–42, or 723–763	0–1000

<sup>a</sup> During the feedback phases, one-third of children in the no-feedback group were asked to estimate the positions of the same numbers as children in the 5-feedback group (but without feedback), one-third were asked to estimate the positions of the same numbers as children in the 150-feedback group (without feedback), and one-third were asked to estimate the positions of the same numbers as children in the 725-feedback group (without feedback).

433 the first trial block, to mark the positions of 3 numbers from 147 to 187 on the second trial  
434 block, and to mark the positions of a different 3 numbers from 147 to 187 on the third trial  
435 block. Participants in the 5-feedback group were asked to mark the position of 5 on the  
436 first trial block, of 3 numbers from 2 to 42 on the second trial block, and of a different 3  
437 numbers from 2 to 42 on the third trial block. Participants in the 725-feedback group were  
438 asked to mark the position of 725 on the first trial block, of 3 numbers from 722 to 762 on  
439 the second trial block, and of a different 3 numbers from 722 to 762 on the third trial block.  
440 One-third of the children in the no-feedback group were presented the same problems as  
441 the children in the 150-feedback group, one-third were presented the same problems as the  
442 children in the 5-feedback group, and one-third were presented the same problems as the  
443 children in the 725-feedback group.

444 The feedback procedure was as follows. On the first feedback problem, children were  
445 told, “After you mark where you think the number goes, I’ll show you where it really goes,  
446 so you can see how close you were.” After the child answered, the experimenter took the  
447 page from the child and superimposed on the number line on that page a 25 cm ruler (hid-  
448 den from the child) that indicated the location of every 10th number from 0 to 1000. Then  
449 the experimenter wrote the number corresponding to the child’s mark ( $N_{\text{estimate}}$ ) above the  
450 mark, and indicated the correct location of the number that had been presented ( $N$ ) with a  
451 hatch mark. For example, if a child were asked to mark the location for 18 (i.e.,  $N$ ) and his  
452 estimate corresponded to the actual location of 200 (i.e.,  $N_{\text{estimate}}$ ), the experimenter would  
453 write the number 200 above the child’s mark and mark where 18 would go on the number  
454 line. After this, the experimenter showed the corrected number line to the child. Pointing to  
455 the child’s mark, she said, “You told me that  $N$  would go here. Actually, this is where  $N$   
456 goes (pointing). The line that you marked is where  $N_{\text{estimate}}$  actually goes.” When children’s  
457 answers deviated from the correct answer by no more than 10%, the experimenter said,  
458 “You can see these two lines are really quite close. How did you know to put it there?”  
459 When children’s answers deviated from the correct answer by more than 10%, the experi-  
460 menter said, “That’s quite a bit too high/too low. You can see these two lines [the child’s  
461 and experimenter’s hatch marks] are really quite far from each other. Why do you think  
462 that this is too high/low for  $N$ ?”

## 463 3.2. Results and discussion

### 464 3.2.1. Source of change

465 We first examined the source of change, the experiences that set the change in motion.  
466 To determine whether the particular experience that children received during the feedback  
467 phase influenced the degree to which their estimates came to follow a linear function, we  
468 compared pretest and posttest performance for the four experimental conditions. In partic-  
469 ular, we performed regression analyses on the fit between the children’s median estimates  
470 for each number and the best fitting logarithmic and linear functions on the pretest and on  
471 the posttest.

472 As shown in Fig. 3, on the pretest, second graders’ median estimates for each number  
473 were better fit by the logarithmic function than by the linear one for children in all four  
474 groups. The precision of the fit of the logarithmic function, and the degree of superior-  
475 ity of that function to the linear function, was similar across the four conditions (5-  
476 feedback:  $\log R^2 = .95$ ,  $\text{lin } R^2 = .71$ ,  $t [21] = 2.71$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .80$ ; 150-feedback:  
477  $\log R^2 = .95$ ,  $\text{lin } R^2 = .72$ ,  $t [21] = 2.46$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .73$ ; 725-feedback:  $\log R^2 = .93$ ,  $\text{lin}$

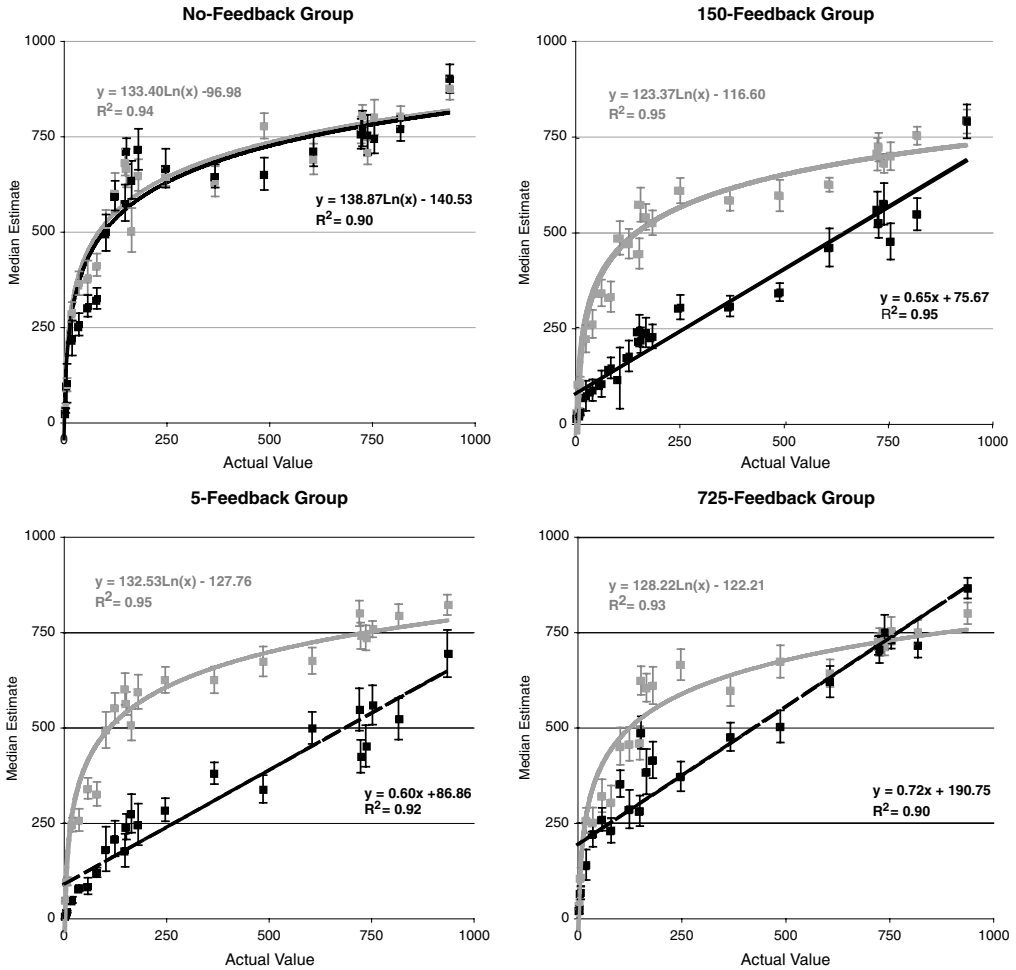


Fig. 3. Experiment 2. Best fitting functions for pretest (light colored) and posttest (dark color) median estimates. Solid function lines indicate that the function fit the data significantly better than the alternative model did. Dashed function lines indicate that the fit of the two functions did not differ significantly.

478  $R^2 = .68$ ,  $t$  [21] = 2.54,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .73$ ; no-feedback: log  $R^2 = .94$ , lin  $R^2 = .64$ ,  $t$   
 479 [21] = 2.39,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .71$ ).

480 In contrast, the four groups differed considerably in their posttest estimation patterns.  
 481 Children in the no-feedback group continued to generate estimates that fit the logarithmic  
 482 function better than the linear one (log  $R^2 = .90$ , lin  $R^2 = .61$ ,  $t$  [21] = 2.78,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .78$ ).  
 483 Children in the 5- and 725-feedback groups generated posttest estimates for which the fit of  
 484 the linear function was somewhat, but not significantly, greater than that of the logarithmic  
 485 function (5-feedback: lin  $R^2 = .92$ , log  $R^2 = .80$ ,  $t$  [21] = 1.87, n.s.; 725-feedback: lin  
 486  $R^2 = .91$ , log  $R^2 = .84$ ,  $t$  [21] = 1.18, n.s.). Finally, children in the 150-feedback group gener-  
 487 ated estimates that fit the linear function significantly and substantially better than the log-  
 488 arithmic one (lin  $R^2 = .95$ , log  $R^2 = .74$ ,  $t$  [21] = 2.40,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .66$ ). This pattern of changes

489 was consistent with the prediction of the log discrepancy hypothesis; the largest change  
490 came in response to feedback on problems where the logarithmic and linear functions were  
491 most discrepant.

492 A comparison of percent absolute error on the pretest and posttest revealed that differ-  
493 ences in improvements in accuracy among the four conditions were also present,  $F(3,$   
494  $87) = 2.82, p < .05$ . On this measure, performance of children in all three feedback condi-  
495 tions improved more than performance of children in the no-feedback control  $d's \geq 1.15$ ,  
496 with no significant differences among the feedback groups. This measure, however, may be  
497 less meaningful regarding changes in representations than it might appear. As can be seen  
498 in Fig. 3, children tended to lower all their estimates from pretest to posttest, thereby  
499 increasing accuracy partly by lowering estimates and partly by providing more linear esti-  
500 mates.

### 501 3.2.2. Rate of change

502 To examine the rate of change under the four experimental conditions, we compared  
503 pretest estimates to estimates given during the no-feedback portion of each trial block dur-  
504 ing training. We assigned a 1 to the trial blocks of each child that were best fit by the linear  
505 function and a 0 to the trial blocks that were best fit by the logarithmic function. The key  
506 prediction was that training group and trial block would interact, with the interaction due  
507 to children learning fastest in the 150-feedback group and slowest (if at all) in the no-feed-  
508 back group.

509 A 4 (training group: 5-, 150-, 725-, or no-feedback)  $\times$  4 (trial block: pretest, 1, 2, 3)  
510 repeated-measures ANOVA indicated effects for training group,  $F(3, 57) = 13.50, p < .001$ ,  
511 for trial block,  $F(3, 171) = 26.36, p < .001$ , and for the interaction between the two variables,  
512  $F(9, 171) = 3.83, p < .001$ . The linear function more frequently fit the estimates of children in  
513 the 150-feedback group (60% of trial blocks) than the estimates of children in the no-feed-  
514 back group (3% of trial blocks,  $p < .001, d = 3.77$ ), 5-feedback group (29% of trial blocks,  
515  $p < .001, d = 1.33$ ) or 725-feedback group (37% of trial blocks,  $p < .05, d = .86$ ). The linear  
516 function was also the better fitting equation more often for the 5- and 725-feedback groups  
517 than for the no-feedback group ( $p's < .01, d's \geq 1.33$ ). The effect of trial block was due to  
518 the linear function providing the better fit more often on trial blocks 1, 2, and 3 (38%, 39%,  
519 and 48%, respectively) than on the pretest (0%,  $p's < .001$ ).

520 The interaction between training group and trial block (Fig. 4) reflected different rates  
521 of learning in the four groups. On the pretest, there were no differences among groups in  
522 the percentage of children for whom the linear function provided the better fit (it was 0%  
523 by definition in all cases). On trial block 1, the linear function fit more children's estimates  
524 in the 150-feedback group than in the no-feedback group ( $p < .001$ ), 5-feedback group  
525 ( $p < .005$ ), or 725-feedback group ( $p < .05$ ). What this meant was that the superiority of the  
526 150-condition for promoting learning manifested itself after feedback on a single estimate.  
527 Providing feedback on the single number 150 increased the percentage of children for  
528 whom the linear function provided the better fit from 0% on the pretest to 85% on the test  
529 phase after that one feedback problem ( $p < .001$ ). The linear model also fit more children's  
530 estimates in the test phase of trial block 1 among children in the 5- and 725-feedback  
531 groups than among children in the no-feedback group (33% and 40% versus 0%,  $p's < .05$ ).

532 On trial block 2, children in the 150-feedback group continued to generate linear pat-  
533 terns of estimates more frequently than children in the 5-feedback and no-feedback groups  
534 (77% versus 28% and 7%,  $p's < .01$ ). The percentage of children in the 725-feedback group

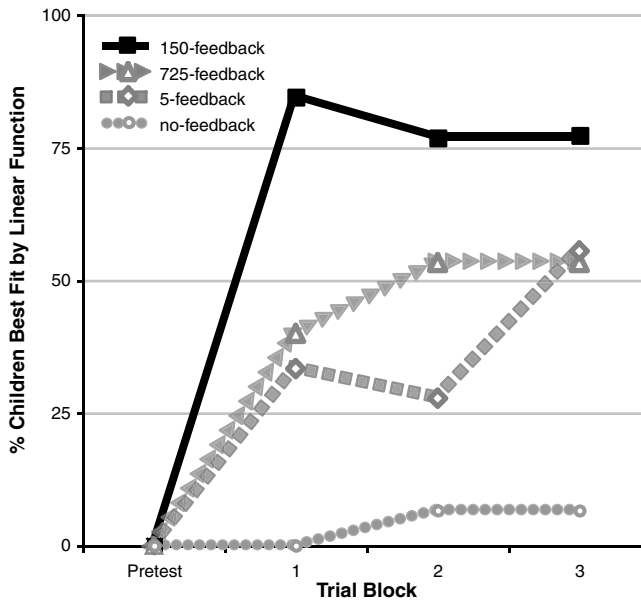


Fig. 4. Experiment 2: trial block-to-trial block changes in percentage of children in each condition whose estimates were best fit by the linear function.

535 who generated linear estimation patterns also was higher than the percentage who did in  
 536 the no-feedback group (53% versus 7%,  $p < .01$ ).

537 By trial block 3, the differences diminished among the three groups that received feed-  
 538 back. The percentage of children whose estimates were better fit by the linear function did  
 539 not differ among the 150-feedback group (77%), 725-feedback group (53%), and 5-feed-  
 540 back group (56%), though all three percentages were higher than that in the no-feedback  
 541 group (7%, all  $p$ 's  $< .005$ ).

542 Another way of testing whether children in the four experimental conditions differed in  
 543 how quickly they adopted the linear representation was to compare the number of trial  
 544 blocks before the linear function first provided the better fit to each child's estimates. For  
 545 this analysis, we excluded children whose estimates were never better fit by the linear func-  
 546 tion and children in the no-feedback condition, where only one child ever met that crite-  
 547 rion on even a single trial block. The fastest learners, children whose estimates were better  
 548 fit by the linear model on trial block 1, were assigned a score of 1; the slowest learners, chil-  
 549 dren whose estimates were better fit by the linear model for the first time on the posttest,  
 550 were assigned a score of 4. An ANOVA indicated a trend toward differences among the  
 551 three feedback groups in the rate of learning,  $F(2, 37) = 2.51$ ,  $p < .10$ . The first trial block on  
 552 which the linear function provided a better fit occurred earlier in the 150-feedback group  
 553 than in the 5-feedback group ( $M = 1.23$  trial blocks versus 2.07,  $t(25) = 2.37$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  
 554  $d = .92$ ). The first trial block on which the estimates of children in the 725-feedback group  
 555 were better fit by the linear function ( $M = 1.72$ ) did not differ from that in either of the  
 556 other two feedback groups.

557 Once a child's estimates were better fit by the linear function on one trial block, the  
 558 child's estimates generally continued to be better fit by it on subsequent blocks. This was



559 true in all three feedback conditions: 73% of trial blocks for children in the 5-feedback con-  
560 dition, 82% of blocks for children in the 150-feedback condition, and 91% of blocks for  
561 children in the 725-feedback condition. Thus, once children adopted the linear representa-  
562 tion, they generally continued to use it, regardless of the feedback problem or problems  
563 that led to its initial adoption. Both the rapidity of the change in estimates and its stability  
564 once it was made suggest that the change was made at the level of the entire representation,  
565 rather than as a local repair, a conclusion that the data on the breadth of change also sup-  
566 ported.

### 567 3.2.3. Breadth of change

568 To examine the breadth of change in children's estimates, we first examined the percent-  
569 age of the 22 items on which mean absolute errors of children in the four groups were  
570 lower on the posttest than on the pretest. Children in the no-feedback condition generated  
571 more accurate posttest estimates on only 36% of items (8 of 22). In contrast, the estimation  
572 accuracy of children in the three feedback groups improved on an average of 70% of items,  
573 with similar percentages (64–77%) in the three groups. Thus, feedback produced improve-  
574 ment on a broader range of items than simply performing the estimation task.

575 The next goal was to identify the range of numbers on which the greatest improvement  
576 in estimation accuracy occurred. In particular, we wanted to examine whether improve-  
577 ments in accuracy followed a standard generalization gradient, in which learning decreases  
578 with distance from feedback items, or whether the discrepancy between logarithmic and  
579 linear representations for each number was the key determinant of improvement, regard-  
580 less of the particular feedback problems.

581 We first tested the generalization gradient hypothesis. To do this, we regressed pretest–  
582 posttest change in absolute error for each number against the distance between that num-  
583 ber and the focal number for each feedback group (5, 150, or 725). Results of this analysis  
584 presented a puzzling pattern. Results for two of the three feedback conditions were consis-  
585 tent with the generalization gradient hypothesis. Percent variance in pretest–posttest  
586 improvement accounted for by distance between the feedback and test items was  $R^2 = .72$   
587 in the 5-feedback group,  $F(1,21) = 50.52$ ,  $p < .001$ , and  $R^2 = .82$  in the 150-feedback group,  
588  $F(1,21) = 91.79$ ,  $p < .001$ . However, the relation in the 725-feedback condition was not only  
589 much weaker,  $R^2 = .33$ ,  $F(1, 21) = 9.87$ ,  $p < .01$ —it was actually in the opposite direction of  
590 that predicted by the generalization gradient hypothesis. That is, in the 725-feedback  
591 group, the improvement following feedback was greater for test items that were *further*  
592 from the feedback items.

593 Fortunately, there was a straightforward explanation for this seemingly odd pattern:  
594 improvement in estimation was not a function of distance from the feedback problems but  
595 rather of the discrepancy between the logarithmic and linear representations for that item.  
596 In all three feedback conditions, the largest improvements occurred for numbers where the  
597 discrepancies between the logarithmic and linear representations were greatest (numbers  
598 around 150), regardless of how far those numbers were from the numbers on which chil-  
599 dren received feedback. This pattern emerged most dramatically in comparisons between  
600 amount of pretest–posttest improvement on the exact items on which children received  
601 feedback and amount of pretest–posttest improvement on the numbers around 150. In the  
602 5-feedback group, pretest–posttest improvements for the numbers on which children had  
603 received feedback and that were also on the pretest and posttest (2, 5, and 18) were quite  
604 modest (4%, 9%, and 18% improvement, respectively). The improvements for the numbers

605 around 150 (147, 150, and 163) were noticeably larger (36%, 31%, and 25% improvement),  
606 despite these numbers being further away from the numbers on which feedback had been  
607 given. A similar pattern was evident for the 725-feedback group, where improvements for  
608 the three values near 150 (16%, 13%, and 17% improvement) were among the greatest in  
609 the group, whereas accuracy on the numbers on which feedback had been given actually  
610 showed small decreases (−4%, −1%, and −4%). In the 150-feedback condition, both the  
611 generalization gradient and log discrepancy hypotheses led to the same prediction—that  
612 numbers around 150 should show especially large improvements (which they did, 21%,  
613 30%, and 25% improvement.)

614 To examine the breadth of change in a way that would include all 22 numbers on the  
615 pretest and posttest and would also allow tests for all three feedback conditions, we  
616 regressed pretest-to-posttest change in accuracy for each number against the discrepancy  
617 between logarithmic and linear representations of that number. To compute the discrepan-  
618 cies between the linear and logarithmic functions, we used the formula  $y = x$  for the linear  
619 function and  $y = 144.761 (\ln x)$ , the same equations for these functions used in Siegler and  
620 Opfer (2003). These equations were chosen so that both functions would pass through 1  
621 and 1000.

622 The discrepancy between the logarithmic and linear functions provided an excellent fit  
623 to the improvement in all three feedback conditions, and the effect was in the predicted  
624 direction in all conditions: in the 5-feedback group,  $R^2 = .76$ ,  $F(1, 21) = 64.37$ ,  $p < .001$ ; in  
625 the 725-feedback group,  $R^2 = .62$ ,  $F(1, 21) = 32.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ; and in the 150-feedback group,  
626  $R^2 = .73$ ,  $F(1, 21) = 52.69$ ,  $p < .001$ . The findings were not attributable to regression to the  
627 mean being greatest at the points where the pretest estimates were most discrepant; the  
628 parallel analysis for children in the no-feedback group did not show any relation between  
629 log-linear discrepancy and pretest–posttest improvement,  $R^2 = .12$ ,  $F(1, 21) = 2.84$ , n.s.

630 To appreciate just how powerful the relationship was in the three feedback groups, con-  
631 sider the subset of 9 numbers on which the discrepancy between the logarithmic and linear  
632 functions was above 500. These 9 numbers, which ranged from 56 to 246, were the items on  
633 which the log discrepancy hypothesis predicted the greatest improvement regardless of  
634 experimental condition. In both the 5-feedback condition and the 725-feedback condition,  
635 all 9 numbers were among the 11 on which children showed the greatest improvement; in  
636 the 150-feedback condition, the 9 numbers were exactly the 9 numbers on which improve-  
637 ment was greatest. Particularly striking, children who received feedback on numbers from  
638 722 to 762, like the other children, showed the greatest improvement on numbers from 56  
639 to 246. Again, this was not attributable to regression to the mean. In the no-feedback con-  
640 dition, only 3 of the 11 numbers on which change was most positive were in this range.

641 These results suggested three conclusions regarding the breadth of change. First, the  
642 change was more than a local repair to children's estimation procedures. Improvements in  
643 posttest accuracy were not limited to the areas of the number line on which children  
644 received feedback; the improvements extended to quite distant areas. Second, the change  
645 seemed to entail substitution of a linear representation for a logarithmic one, as indicated  
646 by the improvements in estimates being greatest for numbers where the two representa-  
647 tions differed by the greatest amount. Third, the change was not attributable to the esti-  
648 mates that were initially least accurate regressing to the mean level of accuracy; estimates  
649 of children in the control group did not improve on the same items. Analyses of children's  
650 path of change lent additional support to these conclusions, as described in the next  
651 section.

#### 652 3.2.4. Path of change

653 Children could have moved from a logarithmic to a linear representation via several  
654 paths. To examine which path(s) they actually took, we examined trial-block-to-trial-block  
655 changes in individual children's estimates. In particular, we identified the first trial block  
656 on which the linear function provided a better fit than did the logarithmic function to a  
657 given child's estimates on the 10 no-feedback test items, and we labeled it "trial block 0."  
658 The trial block immediately before each child's trial block 0 was that child's "trial block -1,"  
659 the trial block before that was the child's "trial block -2" and so on.

660 These assessments of the trial block on which children's estimates first fit the linear  
661 function made possible a backward-trials analysis that allowed us to test alternative  
662 hypotheses about the path of change from a logarithmic to a linear representation. One  
663 hypothesis, suggested by incremental theories of representational change, was that the path  
664 of change entailed gradual, continuous improvements in the linearity of estimates. Accord-  
665 ing to this hypothesis, the fit of the linear model would have gradually increased, and the fit  
666 of the logarithmic model would have gradually decreased, from trial block -3 to trial  
667 block +3. In this scenario, trial block 0—the first trial block in which the linear model pro-  
668 vided the better fit—would mark an arbitrary point along a continuum of gradual  
669 improvement, rather than the point at which children first chose a different representation.

670 A second hypothesis was that the path of change involved initial reliance on a logarith-  
671 mic representation, followed by a period of disequilibrium or confusion, followed by reli-  
672 ance on a linear representation. According to this Piagetian-inspired hypothesis, the fit of  
673 the logarithmic model would have been high initially (e.g., in trial blocks -3 and -2).  
674 However, feedback would then have confused the child and led to a poor fit of both linear  
675 and logarithmic models immediately before the change (i.e., in trial block -1). Then the  
676 child would resolve the conflict by adopting the linear representation (on trial block 0 and  
677 thereafter).

678 A third hypothesis was that the path of change involved a discontinuous switch from a  
679 logarithmic to a linear representation, with no intermediate state. This would have entailed  
680 no change in the fit of the linear model from trial block -3 to -1, a large change from trial  
681 block -1 to trial block 0, and no further change after trial block 0.

682 This third hypothesis fit the data. As shown in Fig. 5, from trial block -3 to -1, there  
683 was no change in the fit to children's estimates of either the linear function or the logarith-  
684 mic function ( $F$ 's < 1). There also was no change from trial block 0 to 3 in the fit to  
685 children's data of either the linear or the logarithmic function ( $F$ 's < 1). However, from trial  
686 block -1 to trial block 0, there was a large increase in the fit of the linear function to  
687 individual children's estimates, from an average  $R^2 = .57$  to an average  $R^2 = .80$ ,  
688  $F(1, 75) = 25.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = 1.16$ . Complementarily, there was a decrease from trial block  
689 -1 to trial block 0 in the fit of the logarithmic function to children's estimates, from an  
690 average  $R^2 = .74$  to an average  $R^2 = .64$ ,  $F(1, 75) = 4.95$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $d = .51$ . Thus, rather than  
691 trial block 0 reflecting an arbitrary point along a continuous path of improvement, or  
692 reflecting the end of a period of disequilibrium, it seemed to mark the point at which chil-  
693 dren switched from a logarithmic representation to a linear one.

#### 694 3.2.5. Variability of change

695 The log discrepancy hypothesis suggested that children whose initial representations  
696 were consistently *logarithmic* might respond to feedback by adopting representations that  
697 were more consistently *linear* than would children whose initial representations were less

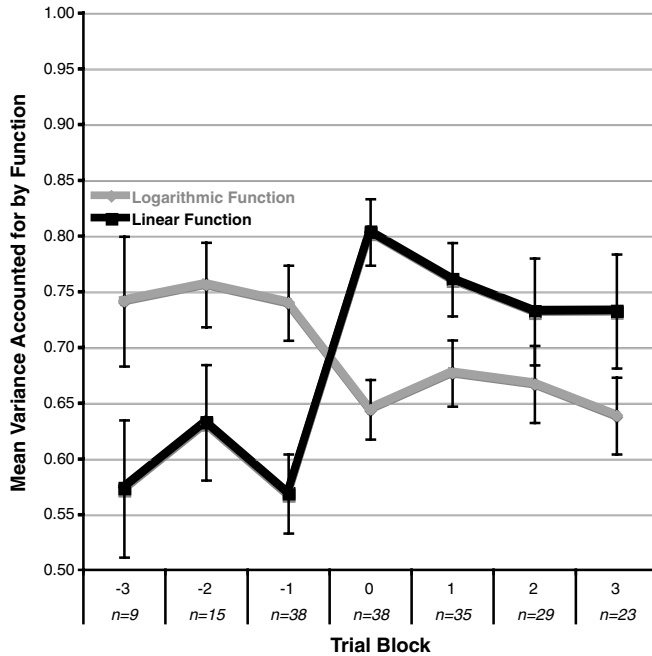


Fig. 5. Experiment 2: backward trials graph of fit of linear and logarithmic models to children's estimates. The 0 trial block is the block on which the linear function first provided a better fit to each child's estimates; the -1 trial block is the block before that, and so on. The *N*'s indicate the number of children who contributed data at each trial block; thus, 38 children used the linear representation on a least one trial block and therefore contributed data to trial block 0, 35 of these children had at least one trial block after this point and therefore contributed data to trial block 1, and so on.

698 consistently logarithmic. The reason is that the difference between the children's estimates  
 699 and the feedback they received would be more dramatic, and thus more likely to motivate  
 700 a shift to the alternative (linear) representation, among children whose initial estimates  
 701 were most strongly logarithmic.

702 To test this hypothesis, we correlated percent variance in pretest estimates accounted for  
 703 by the logarithmic function with percent variance in posttest estimates accounted for by  
 704 the linear function. As hypothesized, the fit of the logarithmic model to each child's pretest  
 705 estimates predicted the fit of the linear model to the child's posttest estimates ( $r = .36$ ,  
 706  $F(1, 45) = 6.75$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $w^2 = .11$ ). The better the logarithmic model fit the children's pretest  
 707 estimates, the better the linear model fit their posttest estimates. This correlation was  
 708 chiefly evident among children whose posttest estimates were better fit by the linear function  
 709 ( $r = .42$ ,  $F(1, 29) = 6.02$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $w^2 = .14$ ); it was not found among children whose post-  
 710 test estimates were not better fit by the linear function ( $r = .08$ , n.s.). In contrast, the fit of  
 711 the linear function to children's pretest estimates did not predict the fit of the linear function  
 712 to their posttest estimates among either children who adopted the linear model  
 713 ( $r = .19$ , n.s.) or those who did not ( $r = .32$ , n.s.). Thus, the log discrepancy hypothesis  
 714 yielded counterintuitive but accurate predictions regarding individual differences in learn-  
 715 ing, as well as the types of feedback that would trigger the largest changes and the types of  
 716 numbers on which improvements in accuracy would be greatest.

#### 717 4. General discussion

718 The present experiments yielded an unusually clear description of a cognitive transition.  
719 They also lent support to the depiction of representational change offered by the overlap-  
720 ping waves theory in general and the log discrepancy hypothesis in particular. In the  
721 remainder of this article, we summarize the present findings and discuss the broader impli-  
722 cations of these findings for addressing three questions that are central within developmen-  
723 tal, cognitive, and educational psychology: (1) how does change occur? (2) what cognitive  
724 processes can produce broad and rapid changes? and (3) what educational interventions  
725 will produce broad and rapid learning?

##### 726 4.1. How does change occur?

727 Classic cognitive developmental theorists have proposed three main perspectives on repre-  
728 sentational change: stage theories, incremental theories, and early competence theories. Stage  
729 theories (e.g., Piaget, 1964; Bruner et al., 1966) depict representational development as involv-  
730 ing broad and abrupt shifts from a less mature representation (e.g., enactive representations)  
731 to a more mature one (e.g., symbolic representations). Within this approach, children are ini-  
732 tially limited to the less mature way of representing the information necessary to solve prob-  
733 lems; improved problem solving occurs when children substitute the more advanced  
734 representation for the less advanced one. Incremental theories (e.g., Brainerd, 1978) also  
735 depict children as possessing only one representation at a time for a given type of problem.  
736 Such theories differ from stage-based approaches in that they depict representational devel-  
737 opment as occurring slowly and continuously, varying with the particular problem, and grad-  
738 ually spreading from problems on which children gain experience to increasingly dissimilar  
739 problems. Finally, early competence theories (e.g., Gelman & Gallistel, 1978), like stage and  
740 incremental theories, depict children as utilizing a single representation. Unlike the depiction  
741 in the other two theories, however, this single representation is present and embodies the key  
742 principles in the domain from early in development. Improved problem solving is produced  
743 by elaboration of the basic representation and improved understanding of task demands,  
744 rather than changes in the basic representation.

745 Overlapping waves theory differs from these classic approaches in that it depicts individ-  
746 ual children as generally knowing and using multiple, co-existing representations. Within  
747 this theory, representational change is typically incremental; children gradually increase  
748 their reliance on more advanced representations, as well as occasionally adding new repre-  
749 sentations to the mix. However, in situations in which children are exposed to novel infor-  
750 mation that suggests that a representation that they use in other contexts yields much more  
751 accurate performance in a new, relatively similar, context, broad and abrupt representa-  
752 tional change can occur (Siegler, 2006). The log discrepancy hypothesis was an attempt to  
753 specify a class of situations under which such atypically broad and abrupt representational  
754 change might occur, at least for nearby numerical ranges (Dowker, 2003).

755 The present results suggest that it may be useful to broaden the log representation  
756 hypothesis into a general *representational discrepancy hypothesis*: broad and abrupt repre-  
757 sentational change is likely in situations in which children (1) initially rely on an immature  
758 representation, (2) rely on a more mature representation in another, structurally parallel  
759 domain, and (3) have experiences that highlight discrepancies between the less and more  
760 mature representations and make clear the superiority of the more mature one. Testing the

761 representational discrepancy hypothesis will require meeting the three conditions in other  
762 domains and determining whether similarly rapid and broad representational change  
763 occurs in them. In at least one context other than the present one in which the three condi-  
764 tions were met, Opfer and Siegler's (2004) study of the concept "living things," the pre-  
765 dicted broad and abrupt representational change did occur. Once children gained a more  
766 mature representation of the kinds of things (plants and animals) that can move adaptively  
767 (e.g., turn toward food or sunlight), they used the new approach consistently and with  
768 items as diverse as grass, trees, and bears.

769 Alternative perspectives on representational change may be evaluated by their ability to  
770 predict findings regarding the five dimensions of change that we examined in the present  
771 study: source, rate, path, breadth, and variability. Our findings regarding each of these  
772 dimensions of change can be summarized quite succinctly. Feedback on numerical magni-  
773 tudes was a potent source of change, especially feedback on magnitudes around 150, the  
774 range in which logarithmic and linear representations of the 0–1000 range are maximally  
775 discrepant. The rate of change was very high, with children often switching from a loga-  
776 rithmic to a linear representation after a single feedback trial. The path of change involved  
777 a direct transition from a well fitting logarithmic pattern of estimates to an equally well  
778 fitting linear pattern; there were no intermediate forms, nor much oscillation between the  
779 two representations. The change was broad, encompassing the entire numerical range from  
780 0 to 1000, with the largest change occurring not on problems where feedback was given but  
781 rather on problems where the logarithmic and linear representations were most discrepant.  
782 Finally, variability among children in initial adherence to the logarithmic representation  
783 was positively related to subsequent learning; the closer the fit of a child's pretest estimates  
784 to the logarithmic function, the closer the fit of the child's posttest estimates to the linear  
785 function.

786 These findings provide a clear description of the changes in numerical estimation  
787 observed in the present study. The more difficult challenge, as always, was to specify *how*  
788 the changes occurred. Data from the present and previous experiments on number line esti-  
789 mation suggested the following account: (1) second graders initially represented the 0–1000  
790 range logarithmically; (2) they already represented smaller numerical ranges, such as  
791 0–100, linearly; (3) feedback led to substantial and rapid changes in estimates, with the  
792 quickest and largest changes occurring when the discrepancy between the logarithmic and  
793 linear representations was greatest; (4) the change occurred at the level of the entire repre-  
794 sentation, rather than in a more local and piecemeal way; (5) analogical mapping from  
795 smaller to larger numerical contexts was the key change mechanism. In the remainder of  
796 this section, we lay out the evidence for the first four points within this account in greater  
797 depth, and evaluate general theories of representational development in light of this evi-  
798 dence. In the next section, we describe the fifth, more speculative point within the account,  
799 and consider its implications for mechanisms of cognitive change.

#### 800 4.1.1. *Second graders initially represented the 0–1000 range logarithmically*

801 Siegler and Opfer (2003) found that second graders' number line estimates fit a logarith-  
802 mic pattern, and hypothesized that children of this age used a logarithmic representation  
803 of numerical magnitudes to generate these estimates. They also found that many fourth  
804 graders and almost all sixth graders generated patterns of estimates that fit a linear func-  
805 tion, and therefore hypothesized that with age and experience, children move from a loga-  
806 rithmic to a linear representation of numerical magnitudes in this range.

807 The present findings supported this conclusion. As predicted, the improvement in esti-  
808 mation accuracy between second and fourth grade was greatest for numbers around 150,  
809 the range where logarithmic and linear representations differed by the largest amount. This  
810 range was not included in Siegler and Opfer's stimulus set, and it is unclear what perspec-  
811 tive other than that of movement from a logarithmic to a linear representation would have  
812 predicted the finding. Also, the logarithmic function fit the pretest estimates of two-thirds  
813 of second graders in the Experiment 1 sample, and these were the children who partici-  
814 pated in Experiment 2. Thus, rather than children starting with a correct, linear representa-  
815 tion of numerical quantities (as predicted by early competence theories), there is a  
816 substantial period of time during which children have an incorrect understanding of the  
817 correspondence between numerals and magnitudes, leading to reliance on a default loga-  
818 rithmic representation that is widely used across species and situations (Dehaene, 1997).

#### 819 4.1.2. *The children had available a linear representation of smaller numerical magnitudes*

820 In Siegler and Opfer (2003), the same second graders who generated logarithmic pat-  
821 terns of estimates on 0–1000 lines often generated linear patterns on 0–100 lines. Both Sie-  
822 gler and Booth (2004) and Booth and Siegler (2006) also found that most second graders  
823 generated linear patterns of estimates on 0–100 number lines. These data, together with the  
824 Experiment 1 data from the present study, made it likely that most second graders in the  
825 present experiment also had available the linear representation for the 0–100 range. If chil-  
826 dren did not already know and use the linear representation in that range, such a rapid  
827 shift in the 0–1000 range would have been unlikely.

#### 828 4.1.3. *The larger the discrepancy between the two representations for the numbers where 829 feedback was provided, the more often the feedback elicited substantial change*

830 Several types of evidence suggested that the discrepancy between the logarithmic and  
831 linear representations, and therefore between children's estimates and the correct values,  
832 was a key factor in determining the effects of feedback on learning. The strongest support-  
833 ing evidence was that the change stimulated by the 150-feedback condition was more rapid  
834 and substantial than that in the other two feedback conditions or in the no-feedback condi-  
835 tion. This was the numerical range where the logarithmic and linear functions were most  
836 discrepant. A second type of evidence for the importance of the discrepancy in triggering  
837 the change came from the individual differences data. Children whose pretest estimates fit  
838 the logarithmic function most precisely, and who therefore had the largest discrepancies  
839 between their estimates and the correct values, actually fit the correct (linear) function  
840 most closely on the posttest. Thus, these children's changes in estimates from pretest to  
841 posttest were also the largest. Sometimes, having a clear but wrong idea, and adhering to it  
842 systematically, may be more conducive to learning than having vague ideas or not having  
843 any clear idea. (At other times, having vague or conflicting ideas is more conducive to  
844 change, see Graham et al., 1993).

#### 845 4.1.4. *The change occurred at the level of the entire representation*

846 Many, probably most, cognitive developmental changes are narrow in scope and are  
847 made in a piecemeal rather than an integrated fashion. For example, learning of past tense  
848 verb forms for irregular verbs occurs on a word-by-word basis, with "ed" overgeneraliza-  
849 tion errors disappearing very early on some verbs but only years later on others (Marcus  
850 et al., 1992). Similarly, preschoolers who learn that  $4 + 2 = 6$  do not necessarily infer that

851  $2 + 4 = 6$  (Geary, 1994), manual gestures on a problem often show increased understanding  
852 following experiences that leave verbal statements on the same problem unchanged  
853 (Albali, 1999; Goldin-Meadow, 2001), and so on.

854 The change observed in the present study was different; it seemed to occur at the level of  
855 the entire representation, rather than in a piecemeal fashion. Perhaps the most striking evi-  
856 dence that the change occurred at the level of the entire representation was that estimates  
857 improved most dramatically not on the problems on which children received feedback but  
858 rather on the problems on which the discrepancy between the two representations was  
859 largest. In the most extreme case, estimation accuracy of children in the 725-feedback  
860 group improved from pretest to posttest on all numbers below 500, despite those numbers  
861 being far from the numbers on which children in the group received feedback. Although  
862 performance in this range was less than perfect, this pattern seems extremely unlikely if  
863 change did not occur at the level of the representation as a whole. On the other hand, the  
864 result is directly predicted if children substituted a linear for a logarithmic representation  
865 on the task.

866 The rapidity of the change also pointed to the change occurring at the level of the entire  
867 representation. After a single feedback trial, the best fitting function switched from loga-  
868 rithmic to linear for 85% of children in the 150-feedback condition and for more than half  
869 of all children who received feedback. Moreover, once children's estimates first conformed  
870 to the linear function, the linear model continued to provide the best fit on more than 80%  
871 of subsequent trial blocks, regardless of the problems that led to the apparent switch of  
872 representations.

873 Data from Booth (2005) suggest that changes in representations of numerical magni-  
874 tude, once made, are stable over time and general across a range of tasks. In particular, first  
875 graders who saw displayed linear representations of the magnitudes of addends of novel  
876 addition problems not only learned more addition facts at the time but continued to show  
877 greater knowledge two weeks later. Presentation of the linear representations of the  
878 addends also led to improved number line estimates. These findings lend additional sup-  
879 port to the view that changes in numerical representations can occur at the level of the  
880 entire representation, rather than as incremental repairs to the original representation.

#### 881 4.2. *What cognitive processes can produce broad and rapid changes?*

882 Although this conclusion is more speculative than the other aspects of the account of  
883 the change process, several types of evidence suggest that analogical mapping of an exist-  
884 ing linear representation onto a new numerical range was an important mechanism of  
885 change. First, the analogy was there to be drawn and was relatively straightforward. The  
886 decimal system allows a direct mapping between the 0–100 and 0–1000 ranges, and the lin-  
887 ear representation that most second graders use on the 0–100 number line task is directly  
888 applicable to the 0–1000 task. A second relevant type of evidence was the speed with which  
889 children's estimates, and presumably their representations of the numerical range,  
890 changed. Making such far reaching changes after a single feedback trial seems more likely  
891 if children were mapping an existing representation onto a new range of numbers than if  
892 they were constructing a totally new representation. A third relevant type of evidence  
893 involves the widespread importance of analogical mapping in other contexts (Chen &  
894 Klahr, 1999; Gentner, Holyoak, & Kokinov, 2001; Holyoak & Thagard, 1995; Opfer &  
895 Siegler, 2004). Both children and adults often solve problems and learn through drawing



896 analogies to more familiar and better-understood situations, particularly where the map-  
897 ping between the familiar and new situations is straightforward, as it was in the present sit-  
898 uation. Given that the change of representations often occurred in a single trial, symbolic  
899 models of analogical reasoning (e.g., *Gentner, Rattermann, Markman, & Kotovsky, 1995*)  
900 or hybrid models (e.g., *Hummel & Holyoak, 2003*) seem particularly promising as a means  
901 for specifying the change process in greater detail and for evaluating whether the struc-  
902 tured representations that we hypothesize to be central to rapid and abrupt change in  
903 numerical estimation could be accomplished in ways that differ substantially from the pres-  
904 ent account.

905 This account can and should be tested further empirically. If analogical mapping is the  
906 key change mechanism, we would expect children to have greater difficulty extending the  
907 linear representation to numerical contexts in which the mapping is less straightforward  
908 than in the present context. For example, second graders might have more difficulty map-  
909 ping the linear representation from 0–100 to 8–108 or 18–82, despite the individual num-  
910 bers overlapping more with the 0–100 range on which the children already use the linear  
911 representation. Providing feedback on 8–108 or 18–82 number line problems would be  
912 expected to elicit weaker, slower, and narrower change than that observed in the present  
913 study of performance on 0–1000 number lines because children would have more difficulty  
914 drawing the relevant analogy. In contrast, because of the greater overlap of numbers in the  
915 8–108 and 18–82 range with those in the 0–100 range, an associative or PDP-based account  
916 would likely make the opposite prediction.

#### 917 4.3. *What interventions will induce rapid and broad changes?*

918 What educational interventions might induce rapid representational changes like the  
919 ones observed in the present study? With regard to number line estimation, the effective-  
920 ness of an intervention seems likely to depend partly on the transparency of the relation  
921 between the base and target—i.e., that the analogy be relatively straightforward—but also  
922 on what learners bring to the learning environment, including knowledge of the ordering  
923 of the numbers involved, of a base case from which they can analogize, and also perhaps  
924 evolved predispositions to represent numeral magnitudes in particular ways (*Geary, 1995*).  
925 If any of these types of knowledge is missing, the gap would have to be remedied before  
926 adoption of a new representation that produced broad and rapid change would be likely.

927 Looking beyond number line estimation, we can ask: what are the features of interven-  
928 tions that make rapid changes of representations likely in general? The same three types of  
929 variables seem likely to be crucial. First, learners need to have a basic understanding of the  
930 elements within the target case. For example, the types of feedback that produced large  
931 changes in the present context would almost certainly not have produced comparably large  
932 and rapid changes if the situation involved fifth graders being asked to place decimal frac-  
933 tions with varying numbers of digits on a number line. Children of this age rarely order  
934 decimal fractions correctly (*Rittle-Johnson, Siegler, & Alibali, 2001*), and without such cor-  
935 rect ordering of the magnitudes of the stimuli in the domain, the feedback would be  
936 extremely difficult to interpret. Second, the mapping between the base and target cases  
937 must be transparent. People often fail to draw useful analogies, and children are especially  
938 unlikely to draw the intended analogy, when it is unsupported by perceptual cues or when  
939 perceptual cues point to irrelevant analogies (*Gentner, 1983; Holyoak, Junn, & Billman,*  
940 *1984*). Third, learners need to have strong knowledge of a base case from which they can

941 analogize. Lack of deep understanding of the casual and structural relations within the  
 942 base case can prevent drawing the ideal analogy, even when the other two elements are in  
 943 place.

944 When all three conditions are met, however, rapid changes in representations can occur  
 945 in domains quite different from number line estimation. This was evident in a recent study  
 946 of the concept of living things (Opfer & Siegler, 2004). The 5-year-olds in that study had  
 947 considerable knowledge of the relevant elements within the target category—plants—but  
 948 did not believe that they are living things. However, the 5-year-olds did have strong knowl-  
 949 edge of a base case from which they could analogize, namely animals. After learning a rele-  
 950 vant fact—that plants can move in ways that promote their survival—most 5-year-olds  
 951 inferred that plants are living things as well. As in the present context, the children seemed  
 952 to change their representations on the basis of an analogy, in this case reasoning that if  
 953 plants, like animals, move in ways that are important for their survival, then plants, like  
 954 animals, are living things. The change in behavior following the change in representations  
 955 of the living things concept was both broad and rapid. Judgments of life status underwent  
 956 large and rapid changes for such diverse category members as grass, trees, bushes, and  
 957 flowers; the changes occurred within one or a few feedback trials. Determining more pre-  
 958 cisely how to produce such broad and rapid change in understanding seems important not  
 959 only for improving educational practice but for enhancing theoretical understanding of  
 960 representational change as well.

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