

Differences in word learning in children: bilingualism or linguistic experience?

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3 **1 Differences in word learning in children: bilingualism or linguistic experience?**
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Abstract

The current study examines how monolingual children and bilingual children with languages that are orthotactically similar and dissimilar learn novel words depending on their characteristics. We contrasted word learning for words that violate or respect the orthotactic legality of bilinguals' languages investigating the impact of the similarity between those two languages. In Experiment 1, three groups of children **around the age of twelve** were tested: monolinguals, Spanish-Basque bilinguals (orthotactically dissimilar languages), and Spanish-Catalan bilinguals (orthotactically similar languages). After an initial word learning phase, they were tested in a recognition task. While Spanish monolinguals and Spanish-Catalan bilingual children recognized illegal words worse than legal words, Spanish-Basque bilingual children showed equal performance in learning illegal and legal patterns. In Experiment 2, a replication study was conducted with two new groups of Spanish-Basque children (one group with high Basque proficiency and one group with a lower proficiency) and results indicated that the effects were not driven by the proficiency in the second language, since a similar performance on legal and illegal patterns was observed in both groups. These findings suggest that word learning is not affected by bilingualism as such, **but rather depends on the specific language combinations spoken by the bilinguals.**

Keywords:

Orthotactic regularities, word learning, bilingual word processing, linguistic experience

46 Introduction

47 Bilingualism has become an important research area in the last decades. Despite the
48 increasing number of studies exploring the effects of bilingualism on cognitive processes
49 (Bialystok, Klein, Craik, & Viswanathan, 2004; Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005; Colzato et al., 2008;
50 Paap, Johnson, & Sawi, 2015), the impact of bilingualism on language learning has received less
51 attention, and even less so in children. Previous work has suggested that bilinguals (adults and
52 children) may be better at word learning than monolinguals due to their experience with
53 language learning (see Hirosh & Degani, 2018 for a review). However, it is unclear whether word
54 learning in bilinguals is improved by overall previous experience of language learning as such or
55 by the specific language combinations spoken by the bilinguals. Effects on word learning could
56 also be related to the specific characteristics of the languages the bilinguals master. This study
57 therefore aims to investigate whether experience acquiring any second language affects novel
58 word learning in children or whether effects of bilingualism depend on the linguistic experience
59 dealing with specific differences between the language pairs (i.e., language pairs sharing similar
60 orthotactic systems versus language pairs with orthotactic differences).

61 Many properties of speakers have a direct impact on how infants process known and
62 new words. Even unspoken properties of speakers, such as their race and accent, may influence
63 infants' speech processing (e.g., Weatherhead & White, 2018). But not only intrinsic properties
64 of the speakers modulate word processing and learning, since fundamental facets of the
65 receivers of the message also determine the manner in which known and new content are
66 treated. It has been shown that bilingual children are willing to accept that novel words may
67 correspond to a familiar object, whereas monolingual children are biased towards assigning a
68 novel word to a new object (Kandhadai, Hall, & Werker, 2017; Markman & Wachtel, 1988). This
69 suggests that from early childhood bilinguals know that objects may have different names in
70 each of their languages, and for this reason they may be able to link translations in another new

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3 71 language to a known concept more easily than monolinguals (Au & Glusman, 1990; Kaufman,
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5 72 2004). Along these lines, studies focusing on bilingual and monolingual children's capacity to
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7 73 learn novel words have suggested that bilingual children show a general advantage in learning
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9 74 compared to their monolingual peers in situations that require many-to-one mappings
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11 75 (Kalashnikova, Mattock, & Monaghan, 2015; Kaushanskaya, Gross, & Buac, 2014). Benefits in
12
13 76 word learning have been observed both for bilingual children who learned their languages in a
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15 77 classroom environment (Kaushanskaya et al., 2014; Mady, 2014), as well as for bilingual children
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17 78 who acquired both languages from birth (Kahn-Horwitz, Kuash, Ibrahim, & Schwartz, 2014;
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19 79 Yoshida, Tran, Benitez, & Kuwabara, 2011). These experiments suggested that the experience of
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21 80 managing two languages, in general, may enhance learning and may change how novel words
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23 81 are acquired.
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28 82 This has indeed be found in bilinguals speaking two languages with distinct orthographic
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30 83 systems. Yoshida and colleagues (2011) found that bilingual children (English-Chinese, English-
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32 84 French, English-Spanish, English-Russian, English-Urdu and English-Vietnamese) around the age
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34 85 of 3 outperformed English monolingual children in a novel word learning task in which children
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36 86 had to associate novel words with a corresponding referent. The authors concluded that using
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38 87 different languages in daily life enhanced new word learning. Those findings are in line with the
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40 88 studies by Kaushanskaya and Marian (2009a, 2009b), in which English-Spanish bilingual and
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42 89 English-Mandarin bilingual young adults learned novel words better than English monolinguals.
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44 90 Bilinguals in those experiments had highly contrasting language combinations. For instance,
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46 91 English-Spanish and English-French share similar printed systems but English-Mandarin and
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48 92 English-Vietnamese use different orthographic codes.
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53 93 The previously cited studies (e.g., Kaushanskaya & Marian, 2009a, 2009b; Yoshida et al.,
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55 94 2011) showed that participants learned novel words when these were auditorily presented and
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57 95 they did not have access to the written words. Those studies involved bilinguals whose language
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59 96 combinations entailed large differences in orthotactics as well as phonotactics (e.g., Spanish-

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3 97 English) or even use different scripts (e.g., English-Mandarin). With this in mind, it is expected
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5 98 that these bilinguals are unconsciously trained to constantly manage differences in orthographic
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7 99 and phonological patterns that clearly differentiate the languages they know. It could be
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10 100 tentatively hypothesized that the expertise gained in managing these differences in their
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12 101 languages makes these bilinguals better prepared to accept and learn new patterns. Thus, it
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14 102 could have been the case that the sensitivity developed to deal with such extreme differences
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16 103 between languages could have driven the difference in performance between the groups in
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18 104 vocabulary learning. The question that remains open is whether or not bilinguals whose known
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21 105 written languages are closer at the orthographic and orthotactic level would also show an
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23 106 advantage in word learning as compared to other bilinguals with more distant language
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25 107 combinations. In this line, recent adaptations of the models of bilingual visual word recognition
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27 108 have proposed two separate sub-lexical language routes, orthographic and phonological, which
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29 109 are expected to be mediated by the intrinsic characteristics of the languages (Casaponsa et al.,
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32 110 2020).

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34 111 In line with these thoughts, Werker & Byers-Heinlein (2008) underscore the importance
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36 112 of the specific language pairs in the bilingual language system and their interaction dealing with
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38 113 its differences. The characteristics of the specific languages may affect how known pieces of
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40 114 information are processed. And more importantly, the specific similarity or differences between
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42 115 the characteristics of the languages may affect processing new information. Along these lines,
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44 116 Kahn-Horwitz, Schwartz and Share (2011) asked three groups of children between 6-11 years
45
46 117 old to complete a series of spelling, decoding, and reading tasks in English. They found that
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48 118 bilingual Russian-Hebrew trilaterates (with English as L3) outperformed Russian-Hebrew-
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50 119 speaking biliterates (with no literacy in Russian) and Hebrew-speaking biliterates in the spelling
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52 120 and reading tasks. They suggested that similarities between English and Russian, such as the
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54 121 grammatical structures, helped bilinguals learn English with greater ease than Hebrew
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56 122 monoliterates. It should be noted that this study did not involve learning, but it suggests that

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3 123 the differences in the systems and structures of the known languages may mediate the process
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5 124 of approaching a new language. Thereby, we hypothesized that dealing with more distinctive
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7 125 structures between the languages known to a bilingual also at the orthographic level may
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9 126 influence their ability to learn novel words.
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12 127 Learning new orthographic patterns that also exist in one's native language(s) is
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14 128 expected to be easier than learning completely different patterns (see Ellis & Beaton, 1993;
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16 129 Speciale, Ellis, & Bywater, 2004). In this study, we focus not only on the acquisition of words that
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18 130 follow the orthotactic patterns that exist in the native language(s), but especially also on the
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20 131 acquisition of words with *illegal* orthotactic patterns. Thus, the current study aims to examine
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22 132 how bilingual and monolingual children with orthotactically similar or dissimilar languages learn
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24 133 novel words that violate or respect the orthotactic legality of the languages they know (i.e., the
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26 134 language-selective pattern of grapheme combinations in written words). Furthermore, we
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28 135 examine whether this learning is affected by bilingualism in general or by the linguistic
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30 136 experience with the specific characteristics of the bilinguals' two languages. To this end, the
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32 137 performance of two groups of bilinguals (one with orthotactically similar languages and the
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34 138 other with orthotactically dissimilar languages) was compared to that of a group of
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36 139 monolinguals. We hypothesized that when bilinguals have to learn new orthotactic patterns that
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38 140 *do not exist* in their languages, the degree of *dissimilarity* between the two languages could
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40 141 improve the learning of these different structures or patterns due to their experience with
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42 142 orthotactic distinctiveness. Daily experience with different orthotactic patterns could make these
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44 143 bilinguals to be more flexible when encountering new patterns. Thus, we also conjectured that
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46 144 bilinguals that know languages with different orthotactic rules are more prone to accept and
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48 145 learn new words with different orthotactic characteristics than bilinguals with orthotactically
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50 146 similar languages.
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57 147 Recent research with adults has highlighted the critical role played by the orthotactic
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59 148 structure of words during bilingual visual-word recognition (Casaponsa & Duñabeitia, 2016;
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3 149 Lemhöfer, Koester, & Schreuder, 2011; Oganian, Conrad, Aryani, Heekeren, & Spalek, 2016; Van
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5 150 Kesteren, Dijkstra, & de Smedt, 2012). Words from a given language that include certain letter
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7 151 combinations that are illegal in the other language known to a bilingual (namely, marked words
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9 152 containing language-specific orthotactic regularities) are processed differently than words
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11 153 whose orthotactic pattern is also plausible in the other language (namely, unmarked words; Vaid
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13 154 & Frenck-Mestre, 2002). Language detection is mediated by the regularities of the sub-lexical
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15 155 representations of the words that are being read. Along these lines, research has demonstrated
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17 156 that marked words are easier to detect than unmarked words (Casaponsa et al., 2014;
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19 157 Casaponsa, Carreiras, & Duñabeitia, 2015; Vaid & Frenck-Mestre, 2002). *In this regard, models
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21 158 of bilingual visual word recognition (Casaponsa et al., 2020; Van Kesteren, Dijkstra, & de Smedt,
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23 159 2012) have noted the importance of individual letters and of combinations of letters in order to
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25 160 identify the language of the words and to reduce parallel activation of the non-target language.
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27 161 Readers use this sub-lexical information in order to recognize the language of the word more
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29 162 quickly as demonstrated by the fact that specific letter sequences elicit lower cross-language
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31 163 activation levels than unmarked words (Casaponsa & Duñabeitia, 2016). This suggests that
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33 164 language-specific orthotactic patterns represent an important clue in bilingual language
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35 165 processing. *Therefore, it is possible that bilinguals who speak more orthotactically distinct
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37 166 languages are able to use their experience in managing two different sets of orthographic rules
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39 167 (sub-lexical information) to accept and integrate alternative orthographic patterns more easily.**

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41 168 With this in mind, we investigated if new vocabulary acquisition is easier for all types of
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43 169 bilinguals as compared to monolinguals (see Kaushanskaya & Reetzgel, 2012), or if this benefit
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45 170 depends on the specific sub-lexical characteristics of the language combination of the bilinguals,
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47 171 paying special attention to the orthotactic level. *We hypothesized that a key factor influencing
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49 172 novel word learning is whether bilinguals do or do not have to deal with distinctive orthographic
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51 173 sequences in their languages.* We focused on two language pairs: Spanish-Catalan and Spanish-
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53 174 Basque. While these three languages all share the same Roman alphabet, their sub-lexical

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3 175 structures vary. Spanish and Catalan share most orthotactic patterns, whereas Spanish and
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5 176 Basque are very dissimilar in their graphemic structure, and Basque has many bigram
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7 177 combinations that are illegal according to the Spanish (and Catalan) orthotactic rules. These
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9 178 bilingual communities coexist with both languages in printed materials in the same school
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11 179 context as well as permanently exposed in daily life. Besides, we also explored whether the
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13 180 learning benefit of the bilinguals depends on the specific sub-lexical characteristics of the words
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15 181 that are being learned. To this end, we created non-existing novel orthographic representations
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17 182 that either respected the orthotactic structure of all the languages (e.g., the new word ‘aspilto’,
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19 183 which could perfectly be a word in any of the three languages according to the graphemic
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21 184 patterns), or that violated the orthotactic rules of these languages (e.g., the nonword ‘ubxijla’,
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23 185 containing the bigrams ‘bx’ and ‘jl’ that do not exist in Spanish, Catalan or Basque). We predicted
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25 186 that the learning benefit would be maximal for bilingual children with more dissimilar languages
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27 187 at the orthotactic level on the illegal bigram combinations since they could find it easier to deal
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29 188 with different orthotactic patterns due to their linguistic experience.
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190 **Experiment 1**

191 **Methods**

192 **Participants**

193 A total of seventy-two children (45 females; $M_{\text{age}}=12.9$ years, $SD_{\text{age}}=0.8$) took part in this
194 experiment. Children were divided into three languages groups. The selected languages were
195 Spanish, Basque and Catalan. Spanish-Catalan and Spanish-Basque concur in the same
196 environment in specific bilingual areas in Spain. Children were recruited from three schools
197 located in different Autonomous Communities in Spain. First, a group of twenty-four Spanish

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3 198 monolinguals was recruited in Santander (Cantabria), which is a monolingual region located in
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5 199 the North of Spain. Second, a group of 24 Spanish-Catalan bilinguals was recruited in Barcelona
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7 200 (Catalunya), a bilingual community on the North East coast. And third, a group of 24 Spanish-
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9 201 Basque bilinguals was recruited in Vitoria (Basque Country), a bilingual community on the North
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12 202 coast.

15 203 The three Autonomous Communities selected for this study represent markedly
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17 204 different language environments. Spanish monolinguals lived in a Spanish-only environment and
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19 205 attended a Spanish monolingual school. Monolinguals were not consistently exposed to Catalan
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21 206 or Basque in any form in daily life. However, as participants all lived in the same country, they
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23 207 could have had indirect contact with these languages at some point in their lives (while
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25 208 travelling, for instance). Even if learning English is the norm in all schools in Spain, this group's
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27 209 exposure to English was very low. Participants were asked to rate on a scale from 0 to 100 the
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29 210 percentage of time that they spoke and listened to the languages that they used daily, being 100
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31 211 the percentage corresponding to all the hours in a week (percentage of exposure to Spanish,
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33 212 M=93.7%, SD=1.56; percentage of exposure to English, M= 6.3%, SD=2.43). Spanish-Catalan
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35 213 bilingual children had acquired both languages before the age of 6. They were raised in a
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37 214 bilingual community and educated in a Spanish-Catalan bilingual school (percentage of exposure
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39 215 to Spanish, M=47.9%, SD=6.96; percentage of exposure to Catalan, M=45.2%, SD=5.54;
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41 216 percentage of exposure to English, M=6.9%, SD=3.48). Spanish-Basque bilinguals had also
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43 217 acquired both languages before the age of 6, and they were also attending a Spanish-Basque
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45 218 bilingual school (percentage of exposure to Spanish, M=52.8%, SD=2.54; percentage of exposure
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47 219 to Basque, M=39.9%, SD=2.46; percentage of exposure to English, M=7.3%, SD=2.79).

54 220 We assessed language proficiency with three different measurements (see Table 1): a
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56 221 subjective scale, in which participants rated their language competence on a scale from 0 to 10;
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58 222 a 20-item adapted version of a picture naming task (de Bruin, Carreiras, & Duñabeitia, 2017);
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223 the LexTale, *Lexical Test for Advanced Learners of English* [a lexical decision task, cf., for the
 224 English version (Lemhöfer & Broersma, 2012); for the Spanish version (Izura, Cuetos, &
 225 Brysbaert, 2014); and the Basque version (de Bruin et al., 2017), note that the Catalan version
 226 does not exist]. In addition to measuring proficiency in Spanish, Basque, and Catalan, we also
 227 made sure that, despite English being a mandatory subject in all Spanish schools (Age of
 228 Acquisition=8.67, SD= 2.14), the participants' English level was relatively low as assessed by the
 229 English subjective scale, LexTale, and picture naming task (see Table 1).

230

231 Table 1. *Descriptive statistics of assessments.*

	Monolinguals	Spanish-Basque bilinguals	Spanish-Catalan bilinguals	ANOVAs	
				F(df)	p
Age	13.13 (0.90)	12.71 (0.91)	13.08 (0.72)	F(2,69)=1.76	.179
Spanish competence	9.58 (0.97)	9.04 (0.91)	9.46 (0.72)	F(2,69)=2.05	.141
Basque competence	-	6.38 (0.88)	-	-	-
Catalan competence	-	-	9.25 (0.79)	-	-
English competence	3.54 (0.86)	3.97 (0.61)	3.63 (0.92)	F(2,69)=2.94	.174
Spanish LexTale	84.44 (13.60)	88.15 (4.87)	82.74 (7.76)	F(2,69)=2.05	.141
Basque LexTale	-	70.71 (7.03)	-	-	-
English LexTale	45.44 (6.06)	49.55 (5.71)	45.80 (8.93)	F(2,69)=3.15	.320
Spanish picture naming	99.38 (1.69)	97.5 (2.95)	98.13 (3.23)	F(2,69)=2.36	.112
Basque picture naming	-	72.91 (2.80)	-	-	-
Catalan picture naming	-	-	96.25 (3.69)	-	-
English picture naming	10.38 (2.77)	11.57 (3.46)	10.89 (2.25)	F(2,69)=1.96	.192
Socioeconomic status	6.29 (1.12)	6.04 (1.60)	6.75 (0.85)	F(2,69)=2.05	.141
IQ	18.17 (4.43)	20.17 (3.45)	20.04 (3.63)	F(2,69)=2.02	.140

232 *Note.* Values reported are means and standard deviations in parenthesis of age (in years), subjective language competence (0-10
 233 scale), LexTale (%), picture naming (% correct), socioeconomic status (1-10 scale), and IQ (correct answers). The last column shows
 234 the results from one-way ANOVAs comparing the three language groups on the different assessments.

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236 Participant groups were matched in age, language proficiency in Spanish, socioeconomic
 237 status, and IQ (see Table 1). Socioeconomic status was measured with a short parental
 238 questionnaire in which they were asked to indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 how they perceived
 239 their socioeconomic situation as compared to other members of their community (Adler &
 240 Stewart, 2007). *IQ was measured with a 6-minutes abridged version of the K-BIT*

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3 241 *Kaufman Brief Intelligence Test* (Kaufman, 2004), using only the matrices test (a total of 34
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5 242 matrices that were presented in increasing difficulty order for 6 minutes). Participants had to
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7 243 complete as many matrices as they could in the time provided. Since IQ was only used to control
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9 244 that all participants were in the same range of non-verbal intelligence, the whole test (verbal
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11 245 and non-verbal intelligence tests) was not administered. As seen in Table 1, bilingual participants
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13 246 could not be fully matched on their second language competence (i.e., Basque and Catalan).
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15 247 Spanish-Basque bilinguals were less proficient in Basque than Spanish-Catalan bilinguals were in
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17 248 Catalan. While no differences were found in the picture naming task ($t(24)=1.89$, $p = .118$,
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19 249 Cohen's $d=.378$), a significant difference was observed in the subjective competence scale
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21 250 ($t(24)=9.54$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d=.906$). This may be due to the origin of the Spanish-Basque
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23 251 bilinguals, who came from and were tested in a city in which Basque is mainly used at school,
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25 252 while the Spanish-Catalan participants used Catalan in daily life outside school as well.

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30 253 All participants were right-handed, and none were diagnosed with language disorders,
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32 254 learning disabilities, or auditory impairments. They and their families were appropriately
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34 255 informed, and legal guardians signed consent forms before the experiment. The protocol was
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36 256 carried out according to the guidelines approved by the BCBL (Basque Center on Cognition, Brain
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38 257 and Language) Ethics Committee in line with the Helsinki Declaration, and the studies reported
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40 258 in Experiments 1 and 2 were approved with the ethics approval number 220317.

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46 47 48 260 **Materials**

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51 261 Thirty novel words were created for this experiment (see Appendix 2). Fifteen legal and
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53 262 fifteen illegal novel words were created following the same orthographic structure: vowel,
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55 263 consonant bigram, vowel, consonant bigram, and vowel (i.e., VCCVCCV). The critical
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57 264 manipulation determining whether a novel word was legal or illegal was the embedded
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59 265 consonant bigram (CC). Legal critical bigrams were those that existed in all three critical

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3 266 languages, Spanish, Basque and Catalan, whose frequency of use did not differ statistically
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5 267 across languages [$F(2, 22) = 0.697, p = .499, \eta_p^2 = .001$]. Illegal critical bigrams did not appear in any
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7 268 of the languages, such that frequency of use was 0.
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10 269 To identify critical legal and illegal bigrams, we first compiled a corpus of bigrams from
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12 270 three language databases: Spanish (BPAL; Davis & Perea, 2005); Basque (EHITZ; Perea et al.,
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14 271 2006); and Catalan (NIM, Guasch, Boada, Ferré, & Sánchez-Casas, 2013). Bigram frequency of
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16 272 use per million was calculated as the average frequencies of use of all words containing that
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18 273 bigram across all three languages. Bigrams that contained letters that did not exist in one or
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20 274 more of the critical languages, such as ñ, c, v, and w, were excluded. **Considering that individual**
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22 275 **letters may present different distributional properties between languages, we also calculated**
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24 276 **the relative frequency of each letter in each of the three critical languages (Spanish, Basque, and**
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26 277 **Catalan). Results showed that the frequency distributions did not differ between the languages**
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28 278 **($F(2,50) = 1.00, p = .375$), and all Bonferroni-corrected planned pairwise comparisons**
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30 279 **corroborated this (all $t_s < 1.3$ and $p_s > .65$).**
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35 280 In total, twenty-three legal critical CC bigrams and nineteen illegal critical CC bigrams
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37 281 were selected (see Appendix 1 for a list of selected CC bigrams). Next, in order to construct the
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39 282 novel words, we selected a second set comprising non-critical legal bigrams. These bigrams
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41 283 contained only one of the two letters from the critical legal CC bigrams and were either preceded
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43 284 or followed by a single vowel (VC or CV). These bigrams were selected to ensure that all non-
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45 285 critical bigrams used to compose novel words existed in all three languages. Bigram frequencies
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47 286 of use for non-critical legal bigrams were not significantly different across the three languages
48
49 287 [$F(2,78) = 0.341, p = .711, \eta_p^2 = .001$]. In total, seventy-nine non-critical legal bigrams were selected
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51 288 (see Appendix 1 for a list of the selected non-critical bigrams). Finally, a total of 30 novel words
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53 289 conforming to the VCCVCCV structure were created using the legal non-critical CV and VC
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55 290 bigrams and the legal or illegal CC bigrams.
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3 291 For instance, the fifteen novel words containing legal critical bigrams (e.g., 'ASPILTO')
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5 292 included bigram combinations that were plausible in Spanish, Catalan and Basque (e.g., the
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7 293 consonant cluster 'SP' appears in 'avispa', the Spanish for wasp, 'ispilu', mirror in Basque, and
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9 294 'espai', which corresponds to space in Catalan), and therefore they were pronounceable. The
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11 295 other 15 novel words contained illegal critical bigrams, (e.g., 'UBXIJLA', where the bigrams 'BX'
12
13 296 and 'JL' do not exist in any of the three critical languages). All novel words were fragmented in
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15 297 three pronounced syllables (see Appendix 2 for the phonotactic clusters). Novel words were
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17 298 presented both in written and auditory format. Novel words stimuli were recorded in a
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19 299 soundproof room with a Marantz® professional PMD671. They were recorded by a native
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21 300 Spanish (and English as a second language) female with neutral intonation. Legal and illegal
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23 301 novel words followed the Spanish phonology, which is the common language for the three
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25 302 groups. Moreover, each of the 30 novel words was paired with a different video clip. The video
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27 303 clip was an invented 3D object that rotated on three axes (see Antón, Thierry, & Duñabeitia,
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29 304 2015). Each 3D object was different from the rest, and there were the same number of 3D
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31 305 invented objects in the same color range. Novel words were presented with an invented 3D
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33 306 object to facilitate learning because it is demonstrated that children learn new words better
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35 307 when they learn words with a referent (Fennell & Waxman, 2010; Mani & Plunkett, 2008;
36
37 308 Waxman, 2011).

309

310 Procedure

311 Participants were individually tested during school hours. The entire experiment lasted
312 about one hour, including the initial assessment and the two experimental phases, learning and
313 test. All visual stimuli were presented on a 13-inch MacBook® running with Experiment Builder®.
314 Auditory materials were presented to both ears simultaneously using Sennheiser® headphones.

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2
3 315 The experiment was divided into learning and test phases. First, participants saw and
4
5 316 heard the thirty novel words in association with a 3D invented object. A trial began with a
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7 317 fixation cross, which appeared for 500 ms, followed by a word-object pair, which was presented
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9 318 for 6500 ms on the screen. Each 3D invented object was visually presented together and aligned
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11 319 in time with the onset of the presentation of the visual (written) and auditory representations
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13 320 of the corresponding novel word to show how they could sound. Participants did not have to
14
15 321 press any key to pass to the next screen. Each object association was presented three times
16
17 322 during the learning phase, leading to 90 trials that were presented in random order. After this
18
19 323 learning phase, participants were presented with another learning task. They had to type on the
20
21 324 keyboard the name of the invented object. The object was presented with its auditory
22
23 325 representation again, but this time a writing box appeared. Participants were instructed to write
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25 326 the novel word paying attention to the novel word that was still on the screen. They could only
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27 327 continue to the next trial if the novel had been written correctly (mean of incorrectly typed
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29 328 items= 2.46, SD=1.89). Participants had to type string-objects pairs twice in a random order.

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35 329 Right after the learning phase, participants performed the testing phase. They had a
36
37 330 couple of minutes to rest while the experimenter prepared the computer for the testing phase.
38
39 331 The testing phase included a recognition task¹. They were asked to complete a recognition task
40
41 332 (2AFC task). In each of the trials of the recognition task, participants were presented with a
42
43 333 fixation cross displayed for 500 ms, immediately followed by the centered presentation of the
44
45 334 3D invented object accompanied by two response options (a correct and an incorrect novel
46
47 335 word) displayed at the lower right and left sides. The incorrect option corresponded to strings
48
49 336 that were presented during the learning phase but that did not match the 3D objects, with the
50
51 337 response options being legal or illegal. The location of correct and incorrect options was
52
53 338 counterbalanced across trials. Participants responded by pressing one out of two buttons on the
54
55 339 keyboard corresponding to the location of the correct response. If no answer was given in 10000
56
57 340 ms, the next 3D object was presented.

341

342 ¹. Note that participants performed a recall task before the recognition task. They saw each 3D invented
343 object and had to write down the corresponding name that they had learned previously. They were
344 instructed to type the novel word that they thought corresponded to each object. Even if they did not
345 remember the whole string, they were asked to provide a string that resembled the novel word as much
346 as possible. This recall task was not very informative due to the low percentage of words the children
347 were able to recall properly (<20%). Because of the possible floor effect and resulting low information
348 content, this task was excluded from the analysis.

349

350 Data analysis

351 One task of interest was analyzed in this experiment, the recognition task. Error rates
352 and reaction times for correct responses were collected (see means in Table 2). Before data
353 analysis, outliers were excluded using R (R core team, 2013). Responses below 250 ms (4.44%)
354 and timeouts above 10000ms (0.18%) were initially excluded from the analyses. Also, responses
355 above or below 2.5 standard deviations from the participant-based (0.58%) and item-based
356 (1.35%) mean for all within-factors were excluded from the analyses, leading to an overall
357 exclusion of 1.15% of the data. Furthermore, only correct responses were included in the
358 reaction time analysis.

359 Data analysis was conducted with Jamovi 0.9.6.7. A series of repeated measures
360 ANOVAs on reaction times for correct responses and error rates were conducted following a 3
361 (Group: Spanish monolinguals, Spanish-Catalan bilinguals, Spanish-Basque bilinguals) X 2
362 (Orthotactic Structure: legal, illegal) design. Accuracy (percentage of errors) and reaction times
363 of correct responses (in milliseconds) were used as the dependent variables of interest.

364 To support the absence and presence of an illegality effect in each of the language
365 groups, we also conducted a Bayesian analysis. A Bayes factor (BF_{10}) shows the ratio of the
366 probability that the data were observed under the alternative hypothesis versus the null
367 hypothesis. For instance, $BF_{10}=5$ indicates that the observed data were five times more likely
368 to have occurred under the alternative than the null hypothesis, or oppositely, a $BF_{10} = .2$

369 shows that the data were more likely to be observed under the null than the alternative
370 hypothesis.

371

372 Results and Discussion

373 Results from the reaction time (RT) analysis of the recognition task showed no significant
374 differences in reaction times identifying legal and illegal sequences [$F(1,69)=1.80$, $p=.184$, η_p^2
375 $=.004$; $F(1,14)=0.471$, $p=.504$, $\eta_p^2=.013$]. Participants reacted equally fast to legal and illegal
376 sequences (see Table 2). The main effect of Group was not significant [$F(2,69)=0.01$, $p=.987$, η_p^2
377 $=.001$; $F(2,28)=0.134$, $p=.875$, $\eta_p^2=.002$] and the interaction between Orthotactic Structure and
378 Group was not significant either [$F(2,69)=0.04$, $p=.960$, $\eta_p^2=.001$; $F(2,28)=0.146$, $p=.865$, η_p^2
379 $=.003$]. These findings suggest that all groups invested the same amount of time in all responses.

380

381 Table 2. Descriptive statistics for the Recognition task.

	Monolinguals		Spanish-Basque bilinguals		Spanish-Catalan bilinguals	
	Legal	Illegal	Legal	Illegal	Legal	Illegal
%error	28.08 (16.71)	39.87 (13.65)	34.01 (16.4)	33.63 (10.62)	27.55 (18.2)	38.31 (11.01)
RT	1989 (487)	2069 (649)	2002 (549)	2101 (804)	2020 (615)	2079 (491)

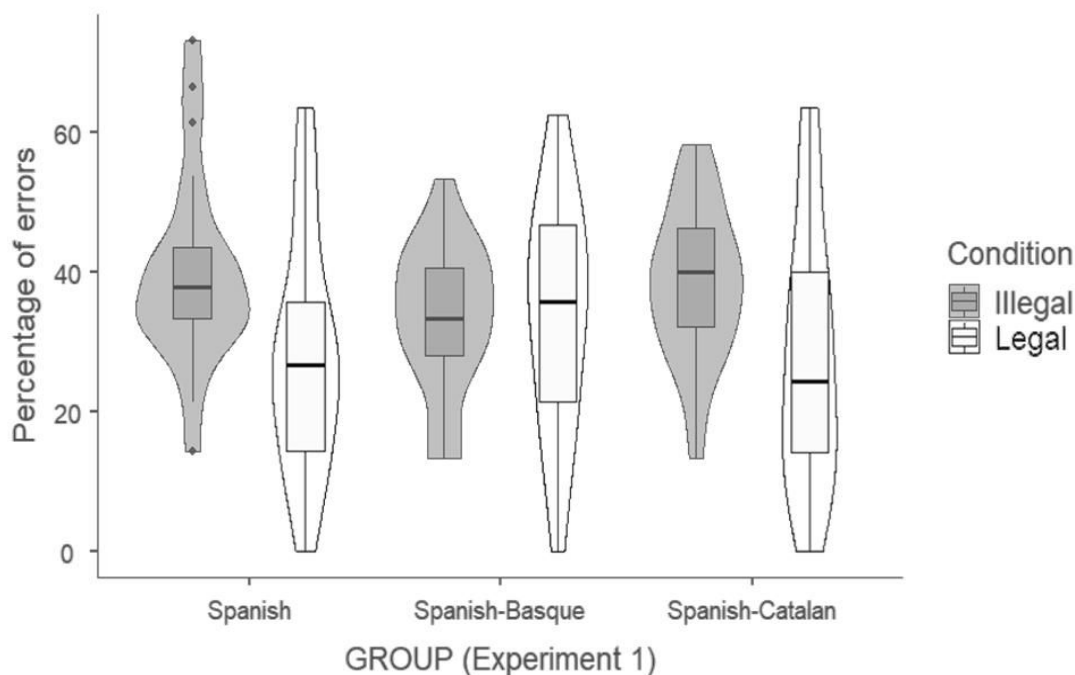
382 Note. Means and standard deviations in parenthesis of percentages of errors and reaction times in ms for legal and illegal orthotactic
383 sequences for the three language groups.

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385 In terms of accuracy, there was a significant main effect of Orthotactic Structure (see
386 Table 2), [$F(1,69)=17.35$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=.060$; $F(1,14)=6.66$, $p=.022$, $\eta_p^2=.096$]. Overall,
387 participants were more accurate at recognizing the correct word for the object when it was a
388 legal orthotactic sequence than an illegal one. On the other hand, the main effect of Group was
389 not significant [$F(2,69)=0.047$, $p=.953$, $\eta_p^2=.001$; $F(2,28)=.207$, $p=.814$, $\eta_p^2=.002$] but the
390 interaction between the two factors was significant [$F(2,69)=4.82$, $p=.011$, $\eta_p^2=.022$;

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3 391 $F2(2,28)=3.87, p=.033, \eta_p^2=.044$. This interaction suggests that the illegality effect differs
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5 392 between the three groups.

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7 393 Therefore, we assessed this effect for participants in each group separately. Spanish-
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9 394 Catalan bilinguals [$t1(23)=3.79, p=.001, \text{Cohen's } d=.756, BF_{10}=8.78; t2(14)=2.25, p=.041,$
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11 395 $\text{Cohen's } d=.581, BF_{10}=1.79$] and monolinguals [$t1(23)=3.70, p=.001, \text{Cohen's } d=.756, BF_{10}$
12
13 396 $=8.57; t2(14)=2.33, p=.035, \text{Cohen's } d=.602, BF_{10}=2.02$] showed a significant effect of illegality.
14
15 397 In contrast, this effect was not observed for Spanish-Basque bilinguals [$t1(23)=0.120, p=.906,$
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17 398 $\text{Cohen's } d=.024, BF_{10}=0.21; t2(14)=0.06, p=.953, \text{Cohen's } d=.016, BF_{10}=0.26$], showing that
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19 399 they had learned illegal orthotactic sequences to the same extent as legal ones (see Figure 1).
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21 400 To follow up on this interaction, we also looked at the simple main effects of Group on each
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23 401 level of Orthotactic Structure (i.e., on legal and illegal patterns separately). In a one-way ANOVA,
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25 402 we found no significant effect of group for the legal [$F1(2,69)=1.08, p=.349, \eta_p^2=.017;$
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27 403 $F2(2,42)=.54, p=.586, \eta_p^2=.025$] or the illegal orthotactic sequences, [$F1(2,69)=1.87, p=.166, \eta_p^2$
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29 404 $=.045; F2(2,42)=1.02, p=.371, \eta_p^2=.046$]. This means that the interaction between Group and
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31 405 Orthotactic Structure was not driven by the Spanish-Basque bilinguals performing better on the
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33 406 illegal sequences nor doing worse on the legal ones. Instead, it suggests that they perform
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35 407 similarly on legal and illegal patterns, whereas the other language groups perform worse on the
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37 408 illegal than on the legal sequences.
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414 **Fig 1.** Violin plot of the percentage of errors in the recognition task for legal and illegal orthotactic
 415 sequences for each of the language groups (Spanish, Spanish-Basque, and Spanish-Catalan). Shapes
 416 represent the density plot of each condition, horizontal lines represent the low and high interquartile
 417 range, and the middle line is the mean of each condition. Vertical lines represent the adjacent values.

418

419 Experiment 1 aimed to examine if and how bilingual children's linguistic experience
 420 affects the way they learn new words that violate or respect the orthotactic patterns of the
 421 languages they know. Therefore, we compared monolingual children's performance to that of
 422 two groups of bilinguals: one group of Spanish-Catalan bilinguals who speak two languages with
 423 similar orthotactic patterns and one group of Spanish-Basque bilinguals speaking two languages
 424 that have different orthotactic patterns. Results in the recognition task showed an interaction
 425 between language group and illegality on the accuracy, suggesting that Spanish monolinguals,
 426 Spanish-Catalan bilinguals, and Spanish-Basque bilinguals differ in the way they learnt new legal
 427 and illegal sequences. While monolinguals and Spanish-Catalan bilinguals recognized illegal
 428 sequences worse than the legal ones, Basque-Spanish bilinguals did not show this effect. This
 429 result suggests that group differences in word learning are not due to bilingualism as such but
 430 rather related to the two specific languages that they know. Spanish and Basque are more

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3 431 dissimilar (e.g., in grammar, letter sequences, phonology) than Spanish and Catalan. Therefore,
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5 432 the absence of a legality effect in the Spanish-Basque bilinguals could be due to their linguistic
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7 433 experience with the two distinct languages and the process of literacy acquisition (having
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9 434 already acquired the two languages).

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13 435 In the next experiment (Experiment 2), we wanted to replicate the null result of illegality
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15 436 in Spanish-Basque bilinguals. Furthermore, as can be seen in Table 1, Basque proficiency in the
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17 437 group of Spanish-Basque bilinguals was lower than the Catalan proficiency in the Spanish-
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19 438 Catalan bilinguals. For this reason, we included two groups of Spanish-Basque bilinguals in
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22 439 Experiment 2: one similar to the previous study and one group with higher Basque proficiency.
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24 440 If the absence of an illegality effect is only found in the group of Spanish-Basque bilinguals with
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26 441 a lower Basque proficiency level, the effect in Experiment 1 may be driven by proficiency
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28 442 differences between the two bilingual groups. In contrast, if we do not observe an illegality
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30 443 effect in either group of Basque speakers in Experiment 2, this would support our interpretation
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32 444 that the findings in Experiment 1 are related to linguistic experience.
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39 446 **Experiment 2**

40 41 42 447 **Methods**

43 44 45 448 **Participants**

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47
48 449 Forty-six Spanish-Basque bilingual children took part in this experiment (34 females;
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50 450 $M_{\text{age}}=12.9$ years, $SD_{\text{age}}=0.6$). Participants were recruited from two different Basque communities
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52 451 in the Basque Country, in which Spanish and Basque coexist at all levels, including in the school
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54 452 environment. The first group of participants consisted of twenty-two Spanish-Basque bilinguals
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56 453 from Donostia-San Sebastian, a dense bilingual environment (percentage of exposure to
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58 454 Spanish, $M=39.7.8\%$, $SD=5.47$; percentage of exposure to Basque, $M=53.6\%$, $SD=7.38$;
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percentage of exposure to English, $M=6.7\%$, $SD=3.27$). The other group was composed of twenty-four Spanish-Basque bilinguals from Vitoria-Gasteiz, as in Experiment 1 (percentage of exposure to Spanish, $M=51.64\%$, $SD=3.54$; percentage of exposure to Basque, $M=40.76\%$, $SD=2.87$; percentage of exposure to English, $M=7.6\%$, $SD=2.26$). All participants acquired both critical languages before the age of 6. Participants were matched on their language proficiency in Spanish and English, their socioeconomic status, and their IQ, as in Experiment 1 (see Table 3). However, the two Basque groups differed in their subjective measure of competence in Basque and their picture-naming performance in Basque (see Table 3). **It should be mentioned that despite the fact that Basque LexTale did not identify differences between the two groups, the other tests showed a reliable difference in Basque proficiency between these two groups. Not surprisingly, the use of multiple sources of information to characterize bilinguals' language use and knowledge provides a better reflection of the sociolinguistic realities of the two groups.**

Table 3. *Descriptive statistics of assessments*

	Highly proficient Basque bilinguals	Less proficient Basque bilinguals	T-test $t(df)$	p
Age	13.05 (0.72)	12.79 (0.59)	$t(44)=1.31$	.197
Spanish competence	9.5 (0.86)	9.21 (0.59)	$t(44)=1.35$	.183
Basque competence	7.68 (1.09)	5.71 (1.37)	$t(44)=5.38$	<.001
English competence	3.95 (1.39)	3.91 (1.47)	$t(44)=1.42$	.209
Spanish Lextale	85.87 (5.59)	87.05 (5.17)	$t(44)=0.74$	.462
Basque Lextale	69.82 (7.49)	71.21 (8.60)	$t(44)=0.58$	.563
English Lextale	44.71 (6.13)	46.73 (5.42)	$t(44)=0.98$	.312
Spanish picture naming	87.73 (27.11)	97.71 (4.66)	$t(44)=0.34$	.729
Basque picture naming	77.45 (2.69)	67.83 (2.45)	$t(44)=3.11$	.003
English picture naming	50.49 (3.56)	55.48 (4.64)	$t(44)=1.35$	.183
Socioeconomic status	6.55 (1.14)	6.25 (1.03)	$t(44)=0.92$	.362
IQ	18.73 (2.12)	18.38 (3.03)	$t(44)=0.45$	.653

Note. Means and standard deviations in parenthesis of age (in years), subjective language competence (0-10 scale), LexTale (%), picture naming (% correct), socioeconomic status (1-10 scale), and IQ (number of correct answers in the timed test). The last column shows the results from the t-tests comparing the two Spanish-Basque groups on the different assessments.

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3 473 As in Experiment 1, all participants' parents received an information letter and a
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5 474 parental written informed consent, which was signed and returned before testing. The study
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7 475 was approved by the BCBL (Basque Center on Cognition, Brain and Language) Ethics Committee.
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9 476 None of the children was left-handed, and none were diagnosed with language disorders,
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11 477 learning disabilities, or auditory impairments.
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18 479 **Materials, Procedure and Data Analysis**

21 480 Materials, procedure and data analysis were identical to those used in Experiment 1.
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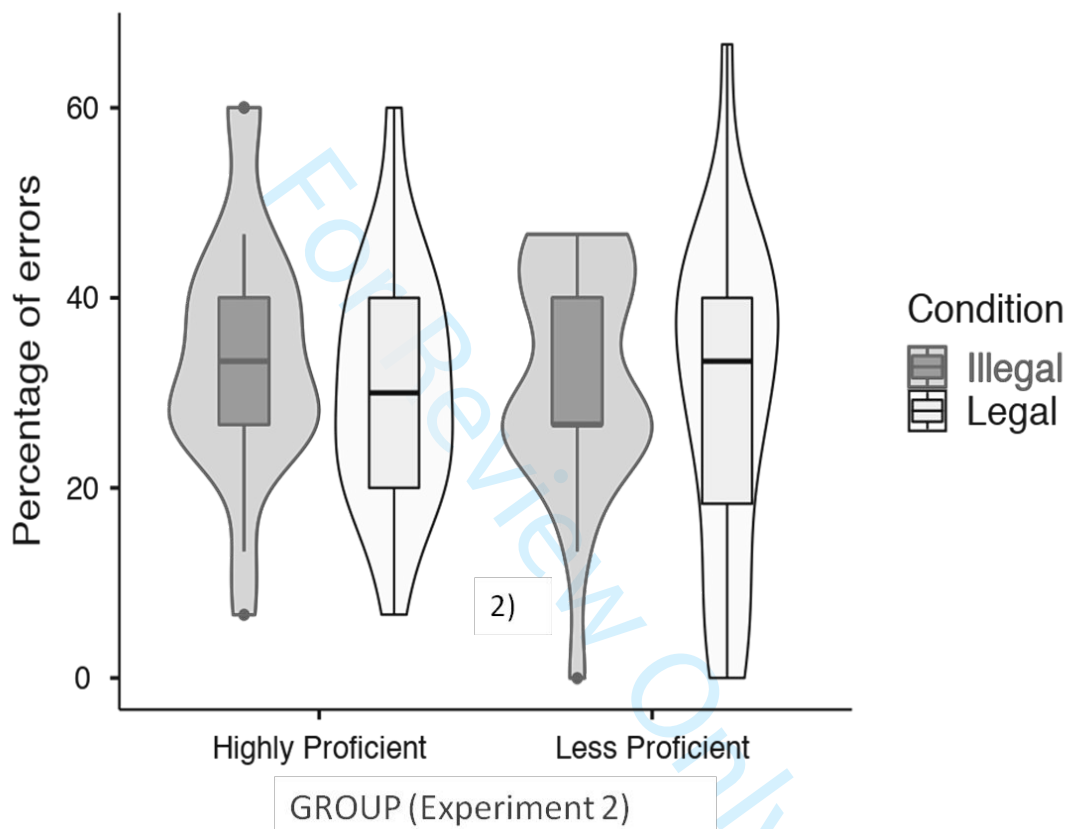
27 482 **Results and Discussion**

31 483 We performed repeated measures ANOVAs with Group (highly proficient Basque
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33 484 bilinguals and less proficient Basque bilinguals) and Orthotactic Structure (legal, illegal) on
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35 485 percentage of error and reaction times in the recognition task. In the recognition task,
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37 486 participants **did not** require more time to recognize illegal words than legal ones [$F1(1,44)=3.78$,
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39 487 $p=.078$, $\eta_p^2=.211$; $F2(1,14)=3.27$, $p=.087$, $\eta_p^2=.112$] and no differences between groups were
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41 488 observed [$F1(1,44)=1.12$, $p=.296$, $\eta_p^2=.025$; $F2(1,14)=3.76$, $p=.098$, $\eta_p^2=.112$], nor an interaction
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43 489 [$F1(1,44)=0.11$, $p=.742$, $\eta_p^2=.002$; $F2(1,14)=0.87$, $p=.366$, $\eta_p^2=.009$]. In terms of accuracy, we
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45 490 observed that participants recognized legal and illegal words equally [$F1(1,44)=0.86$, $p=.357$, η_p^2
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47 491 $=.019$; $F2(1,14)=0.407$, $p=.534$, $\eta_p^2=.005$] and no differences between groups were found
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49 492 [$F1(1,44)=0.19$, $p=.665$, $\eta_p^2=.004$; $F2(1,14)=0.24$, $p=.626$, $\eta_p^2=.017$], nor an interaction
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51 493 [$F1(1,44)=0.15$, $p=.699$, $\eta_p^2=.003$; $F2(1,14)=0.22$, $p=.625$, $\eta_p^2=.018$], showing that the lack of
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53 494 illegality effect was similar for both groups of Spanish-Basque bilinguals (see Figure 2).
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496 Table 4. *Descriptive statistics for the Recognition task.*

	High proficient Basque bilinguals		Less proficient Basque bilinguals	
	Legal	Illegal	Legal	Illegal
%error	30.61 (12.46)	33.94 (12.83)	29.72 (16.68)	31.67 (12.00)
RT	2043 (637)	2153 (785)	2031 (505)	2121 (546)

497 *Note.* Means and standard deviations in parenthesis of percentage of errors and reaction times in ms for legal and illegal
 498 orthotactic sequences for the two language groups.



500
 501 Fig 2. Violin plot of the percentage of errors in the recognition task for legal and illegal orthotactic
 502 sequences for each of the Spanish-Basque bilingual groups. Shapes represent the density plot of each
 503 condition, horizontal lines represent the low and high interquartile range, and the middle line is the
 504 mean of each condition. Vertical lines represent the adjacent values.

505
 506 We investigated whether the effects were due to the characteristics of the languages or
 507 the proficiency of the children. Thus, Experiment 2 aimed to replicate the findings from the
 508 Spanish-Basque bilingual children tested in Experiment 1 in two new samples of Spanish-Basque
 509 bilinguals (a group of more balanced bilinguals and a group with the same proficiency as in
 510 Experiment 1). Similar to Experiment 1, these bilingual children recognized legal and illegal

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3 511 words to the same extent. Furthermore, no differences were observed between these two
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5 512 groups regardless of their proficiency differences, suggesting that the (absence of an) illegality
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7 513 effect was not modulated by proficiency in Basque. Thus, these findings provide support to the
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9 514 results from Experiment 1, suggesting that linguistic experience with languages that differ from
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12 515 each other at the orthotactic level may modulate word learning in bilingual children.
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17 517 **General Discussion**

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20 518 Previous research suggests that bilinguals may be more efficient than monolinguals at
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22 519 word learning due to their experience with language learning (Kaushanskaya & Marian, 2009a,
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24 520 2009b; Yoshida et al., 2011). The present study aimed to examine whether new word learning
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27 521 in children is driven by the bilingual experience itself, **or rather by the specific linguistic**
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29 522 **experience with the particular languages**. Specifically, we were interested in whether greater
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31 523 language differences can affect novel word learning. **We asked whether dealing with more**
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33 524 **distinctive orthographic systems may change how bilinguals that are biliterate learn novel**
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36 525 **words. Note that the above mentioned studies did not observe differences between the**
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38 526 **bilingual groups because the language pairs already had large differences**. Therefore, we
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40 527 conducted two experiments to test this hypothesis. In Experiment 1, we asked children that have
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42 528 dissimilar orthotactic patterns in their language pairs (Spanish-Basque) and orthotactically
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44 529 similar languages (Spanish-Catalan) and a group of Spanish monolinguals to learn new words
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47 530 containing legal or illegal patterns. **Note that Spanish was the common language for all our**
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49 531 **participants and the other languages had either similar (Catalan) or different (Basque)**
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51 532 **orthotactics**. In Experiment 2, we carried out the same task as in Experiment 1, but with two
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54 533 additional groups of Spanish-Basque bilinguals in an attempt to replicate the findings and control
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56 534 for the effects of proficiency.
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3 535 Reaction times in Experiment 1 revealed that the three groups reacted similarly when
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5 536 they had to recognize legal and illegal novel words. The results from Experiment 2 were
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7 537 consistent with this finding, showing that both Basque groups with different proficiency levels
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9 538 reacted to the same extent to legal and illegal novel words. Although, previous research has
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11 539 shown that marked words are typically recognized faster than unmarked ones (Casaponsa et al.
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13 540 2014) and that markedness effects are modulated by age (Duñabeitia, Borragán, de Bruin, &
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15 541 Casaponsa, 2020), it should be noted that those data mainly come from experiments using
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17 542 language detection tasks in which marked strings elicit lower cross-language activation
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19 543 (Casaponsa & Duñabeitia, 2016; Casaponsa et al., 2020).

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23 544 While performance as measured by reaction times associated with the recognition of
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25 545 legal and illegal novel words was similar across conditions and groups, significant differences
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27 546 emerged in the accuracy pattern. Spanish-Catalan bilinguals and Spanish monolingual children
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29 547 showed a recognition advantage of legal items, whereas Spanish-Basque bilingual children did
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31 548 not. In other words, the Spanish-Catalan bilingual and the monolingual children recognized
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33 549 unmarked items better than illegal marked ones, in line with prior literature showing that it is
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35 550 easier to learn items corresponding to one's prior knowledge (Ellis & Beaton, 1993). In sharp
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37 551 contrast, Spanish-Basque bilingual children did not show such legality or markedness effect,
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39 552 recognizing legal and illegal (namely, orthographically unmarked and marked) novel words
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41 553 similarly.

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45 554 Importantly, the results of Experiment 2 with two additional groups of Spanish-Basque
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47 555 bilingual (high and low proficient) children demonstrated that the absence of a legality effect in
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49 556 this population is a stable phenomenon that does not depend on the level of proficiency. These
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51 557 results are in line with previous research showing that early balanced bilingual (Bartolotti &
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53 558 Marian, 2012; Kaushanskaya & Marian, 2009a), early unbalanced bilinguals (Kaushanskaya, Yoo,
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55 559 & Van Hecke, 2013) as well as late bilinguals (Nair, Biedermann, & Nickels, 2016) learn new
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57 560 words different than monolinguals. Although in our study bilinguals did not outperform
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3 561 monolinguals in terms of overall word learning, linguistic experience with the specific
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5 562 orthographic combinations in a bilingual's language pairs did modulate *how* novel legal and
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7 563 illegal words were learned.
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10 564 We hypothesize that the driving factor leading to this differential effect is the specific
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12 565 linguistic experience and training with particular written language combinations, meaning that
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14 566 by learning (or knowing) two languages that differ very strongly in their orthotactic rules,
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16 567 bilinguals can be less affected by the legality of new words. That is, Spanish-Basque children may
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18 568 show no preference for learning items matching the patterns they already know (i.e., unmarked
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20 569 legal strings) over patterns that are not known (i.e., marked illegal strings) probably as a
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22 570 consequence of their experience in managing two systems with conflicting orthotactic rules.
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24 571 Languages pairs with contrasting differences at the sub-lexical information level may result in a
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26 572 lesser degree of cross-language activation (see Casaponsa et al., 2014; Casaponsa & Duñabeitia,
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28 573 2016; Casaponsa et al., 2020), and this can in turn modulate new word learning. The experience
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30 574 with managing two different sets of orthographic rules may be what sets this group of Spanish-
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32 575 Basque bilinguals apart, and this capacity may have allowed them to learn words equally well
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34 576 regardless of whether the orthotactic patterns of the words violated rules in their already known
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36 577 languages.
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42 578 Furthermore, the role of managing different sets of rules for orthographic forms may
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44 579 play an important role in learning. This is the case in the study conducted by Van Gelderen and
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46 580 colleagues (2003) with Dutch-Turkish, Dutch-Moroccan bilingual children and Dutch monolingual
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48 581 children on English reading tasks. They did not observe a bilingual advantage in English reading
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50 582 because all groups performed equally on tests of word recognition, vocabulary and grammatical
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52 583 knowledge on English. The authors suggested that the lack of differences between bilingual and
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54 584 monolingual groups responded to the fact that bilingual participants were Dutch monoliterate
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56 585 (namely, they had acquired literacy only in Dutch). This result is in line with the current findings,
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58 586 suggesting the importance of considering differences in bilinguals' orthographic knowledge
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3 587 when assessing new vocabulary learning. As we initially hypothesized, the degree of *dissimilarity*
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5 588 between the two languages could improve the learning of different patterns, and daily
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7 589 management with different orthotactic patters could lead bilinguals to be more flexible when
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9 590 they have to learn new patterns.

11 In sum, having experience with languages that differ at the orthographic (or orthotactic),
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13 591 but also phonotactic, level can affect word learning. Bilingual children who are exposed to two
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15 592 languages that have clearly different orthotactic regularities and immersed in a school context
16
17 593 with a strong presence of written text in both languages, perform differently on word learning
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19 594 tasks as compared to other bilingual or monolingual children, providing them with a specific
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21 595 form of learning flexibility with respect to orthographic markedness. Further studies should try
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23 596 to disentangle the immediate causes and limitations of this phenomenon, particularly
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25 597 throughout the lifespan.
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31 32 600 **Supporting Information**

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35 601 *S1 Appendix.* Forty-two critical bigrams and seventy-two filling no critical bigrams with their
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37 602 average bigram frequency (appearance per million).

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39 603 *S2 Appendix.* Thirty novel words with their average bigram frequency (appearance per
40
41 604 percentage). Bigram frequency is calculated, averaging the frequencies of the critical
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43 605 consonantal bigrams.
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16 617 **Author contributions:**

20 618 Conceived the idea: MB AdB JAD RdD MDV VV VH. Designed the experiments: MB JAD AdB.
21
22 619 Collected the data: MB. Analyzed the data: MB AdB JAD. Drafted the paper: MB under the
23
24 620 supervision of AdB and JAD. Discussed the findings and revised the manuscript: MB AdB JAD
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27 621 RdD MDV VV VH.
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Appendix 1

CRITICAL BIGRAMS (consonant-consonant)	
Average bigram frequency	Average bigram frequency

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Legal Bigram	Spanish	Basque	Catalan	Illegal Bigram	Spanish	Basque	Catalan
BR	0,30	0,08	0,31	BX	0	0	0
BS	0,04	0,01	0,05	DX	0	0	0
DR	0,12	0,06	0,18	FD	0	0	0
FL	0,09	0,03	0,10	FJ	0	0	0
FR	0,14	0,07	0,14	FM	0	0	0
GL	0,04	0,02	0,08	JB	0	0	0
GM	0,01	0,02	0,02	JD	0	0	0
GN	0,05	0,02	0,07	JL	0	0	0
LB	0,03	0,06	0,03	JM	0	0	0
LF	0,03	0,02	0,03	JN	0	0	0
LP	0,03	0,03	0,03	JS	0	0	0
LT	0,14	0,23	0,16	JT	0	0	0
NJ	0,04	0,01	0,05	MG	0	0	0
NT	1,37	1,20	1,76	MJ	0	0	0
PL	0,20	0,12	0,23	MX	0	0	0
PS	0,03	0,02	0,04	PJ	0	0	0
RB	0,09	0,14	0,12	PX	0	0	0
RD	0,19	0,31	0,19	XB	0	0	0
SF	0,03	0,03	0,04	XR	0	0	0
SM	0,23	0,12	0,26				
SP	0,24	0,18	0,26				
ST	0,97	0,84	1,03				
TR	0,74	0,39	0,75				

NO CRITICAL BIGRAMS (consonant/vowel and vowel/consonant)

Average bigram frequency				Average bigram frequency			
Legal Bigram	Spanish	Basque	Catalan	Legal Bigram	Spanish	Basque	Catalan
AB	0,50	0,53	0,41	LO	0,69	0,43	0,50
AF	0,16	0,10	0,21	ME	0,67	0,49	1,24
AG	0,27	0,46	0,28	MI	0,55	0,36	0,49
AJ	0,17	0,03	0,03	MO	0,66	0,36	0,40
AM	0,58	0,31	0,80	MU	0,14	0,21	0,16
AP	0,30	0,35	0,32	NI	0,56	0,34	0,62
AR	2,54	2,58	2,64	NU	0,11	0,08	0,11
AS	0,62	0,76	0,51	OB	0,20	0,15	0,20
BA	0,44	0,73	0,44	OD	0,16	0,12	0,15
BE	0,21	0,79	0,21	OF	0,09	0,05	0,11
BI	0,27	0,67	0,23	OJ	0,06	0,01	0,01
DA	1,31	0,72	1,09	OL	0,63	0,55	0,85
DI	0,72	0,73	0,68	OM	0,43	0,19	0,47
DO	1,40	0,31	0,64	OP	0,21	0,16	0,20
EB	0,11	0,09	0,11	OX	0,02	0,04	0,03
EF	0,11	0,04	0,14	PI	0,36	0,29	0,35
EG	0,26	0,52	0,37	PO	0,41	0,31	0,42
EJ	0,12	0,02	0,13	RA	2,04	2,24	2,12
EL	0,54	0,46	0,58	RE	1,44	1,04	1,74
EM	0,38	0,18	0,46	RI	1,42	1,66	1,44
EP	0,19	0,09	0,2	RO	1,13	0,75	0,88
ER	1,83	2,14	1,8	RU	0,22	0,35	0,22
ES	1,40	0,84	1,63	SA	0,78	0,58	1,01
ET	0,53	1,05	0,72	SE	0,51	0,31	0,48
EX	0,19	0,05	0,21	TE	1,37	1,10	0,9
FE	0,2	0,11	0,27	TO	1,01	0,51	0,6
GA	0,52	0,95	0,56	TU	0,32	1,71	0,31
GO	0,29	0,49	0,19	UB	0,12	0,07	0,11
IB	0,19	0,29	0,17	UD	0,17	0,11	0,16
ID	0,74	0,45	0,42	UG	0,06	0,09	0,08

IF	0,15	0,06	0,19	UJ	0,03	0,01	0,01
IJ	0,05	0,02	0,03	UM	0,18	0,12	0,18
IL	0,65	0,82	0,44	UN	0,25	0,84	0,25
IM	0,41	0,19	0,49	US	0,24	0,35	0,25
IN	1,31	1,43	1,25	UX	0,01	0,02	0,01
JA	0,20	0,21	0,23	XA	0,02	0,17	0,21
JE	0,15	0,08	0,03	XI	0,06	0,21	0,14
JO	0,13	0,06	0,07	XO	0,02	0,25	0,07
LA	1,20	1,09	1,38	XU	0,01	0,07	0,03
LE	0,86	0,80	0,89				

Materials: Hundred and two legal bigrams and nineteen illegal bigrams with their bigram frequency of use (appearance per percentage)

Appendix 2

Legal pseudo	Average critical bigram frequency			Illegal pseudo	Average critical bigram frequency		
	Spanish	Basque	Catalan		Spanish	Basque	Catalan
AFLEGMO				AJLEPXO			
af/leg/mo	0.34	0.31	0.33	aj/lep/xo	0	0	0
ASPILTO				AFDIJMO			
as/pil/to	0.50	0.46	0.39	af/dig/mo	0	0	0
ABROFLE				ABXOFJE			
ab/rof/le	0.49	0.37	0.45	ab/xof/je	0	0	0
EPSARDO				EBXAMJO			
ep/sar/do	0.85	0.65	0.79	eb/xam/jo	0	0	0
ERBASMU				EMJAPXU			
er/bas/mu	0.56	0.68	0.55	em/jap/xu	0	0	0
ETROBSA				EXROJDA			
et/rob/sa	0.57	0.49	0.60	ex/roj/da	0	0	0
IDRUNJE				IBXUJME			
id/run/je	0.35	0.46	0.33	ib/xuj/me	0	0	0
ILFESPO				IJBEMGO			
il/fes/po	0.49	0.38	0.51	ij/bem/go	0	0	0
INTOPSE				IMXOJTE			
in/top/se	0.74	0.61	0.72	im/xoj/te	0	0	0
ODRAGLE				OMGAPJE			
od/rag/le	0.58	0.62	0.62	om/gap/je	0	0	0
OPLESTU				OXBEJNU			
op/les/tu	0.66	0.74	0.72	ox/bej/nu	0	0	0
OFREGNI				OJSEFMI			
of/reg/ni	0.42	0.34	0.51	oj/sef/mi	0	0	0
USFELPI				UMJEPXI			
us/fel/pi	0.23	0.21	0.25	um/jep/xi	0	0	0
UBRIFLO				UXBIJTO			
ub/rif/lo	0.46	0.39	0.44	ux/bij/to	0	0	0
UGMOLBA				UDXOJLA			
ug/mol/ba	0.31	0.30	0.30	ud/xoj/la	0	0	0

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Materials: thirty novel words with their orthographic form and phonotactics below with their average bigram frequency (appearance per percentage)

For Review Only