- $_{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$   $\,$  Are translation equivalents special? Evidence from simulations and empirical data from
- bilingual infants
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Abstract

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The acquisition of translation equivalents is often considered a special component of bilingual children's vocabulary development, as bilinguals have to learn words that share the same meaning across their two languages. This study examined three contrasting 10 accounts for bilingual children's acquisition of translation equivalents relative to words that 11 are first labels for a referent: the Avoidance Account whereby translation equivalents are 12 harder to learn, the Preference Account whereby translation equivalents are easier to learn, 13 and the Neutral Account whereby translation equivalents are neither harder nor easier to learn. To adjudicate between these accounts, Study 1 explored patterns of translation equivalent learning under a novel computational model — the Bilingual Vocabulary Model 16 — which quantifies translation equivalent knowledge as a function of the probability of learning words in each language. Study 2 tested model-derived predictions against vocabulary data from 200 French-English bilingual children aged 18-33 months. Results 19 showed a close match between the model predictions and bilingual children's patterns of 20 translation equivalent learning. At smaller vocabulary sizes, data matched the Preference 21 Account, while at larger vocabulary sizes they matched the Neutral Account. Our findings 22 show that patterns of translation equivalent learning emerge predictably from the word 23 learning process, and reveal a qualitative shift in translation equivalent learning as bilingual children develop and learn more words. 25

Keywords: bilingualism, infants, translation equivalents, vocabulary development,
word learning, computational modeling

Are translation equivalents special? Evidence from simulations and empirical data from bilingual infants

Bilingual children must learn words that take a different form in each of their 30 languages, but share the same or highly similar meanings. For instance, to refer to the 31 same crisp red-skinned fruit, an English-French bilingual child must use the word "apple" when speaking English, and the word "pomme" when speaking French. These cross-language synonyms are known as translation equivalents (also called doublets; Umbel et al., 1992), and are observed amongst bilingual children's first words (e.g., David & Wei, 35 2008; De Houwer, Bornstein, & De Coster, 2006; Pearson et al., 1995). Translation 36 equivalents are thought to hold a special status in a bilingual's developing lexicon due to 37 the strong overlap in their semantics. For example, studies with bilingual toddlers show 38 that the associative semantic properties of a word in one language facilitate the activation 39 of its translation equivalent (e.g., Bilson et al., 2015; Floccia et al., 2020; Jardak & Byers-Heinlein, 2019). That is, upon hearing the English word "apple," the corresponding French word "pomme" is more easily activated in bilinguals' minds. In vocabulary acquisition, bilingual children must learn a first label for a referent (a "singlet": Umbel et al., 1992) before they can learn its translation equivalent. Is translation equivalent learning different from singlet learning? The current paper contrasts three competing accounts: 1) translation equivalents are hard to learn than singlets (Avoidance Account), 2) translation equivalents are easier to learn than singlets (Preference Account), and 3) translation equivalents are neither harder nor easier to learn than singlets (Neutral Account). To adjudicate between these accounts, we introduce the Bilingual Vocabulary Model as a computational account of vocabulary learning, with parameters including bilinguals' vocabulary in each language and their developmental level. In Study 1, we use the 51 Bilingual Vocabulary Model to derive a set of predictions, which we then test against vocabulary data from 200 18- to 33-month-old bilingual children in Study 2.

## 54 Accounts of translation equivalent learning

Avoidance Account: Translation equivalents are harder to learn than 55 Early theories of bilingual development claimed that translation equivalents are 56 conspicuously missing from bilingual children's early vocabularies (e.g., Imedadze, 1978; 57 Swain & Wesche 1975; Volterra & Taeschner, 1978). The phenomenon of missing translation equivalents led theorists to propose that young bilingual children do not differentiate their languages, and thus tend to learn only a single word for each referent. This avoidance of translation equivalents was thought to be due to word learning biases such as mutual exclusivity, whereby children assume that a referent is only associated with one word at the basic level (Markman & Wachtel, 1988; Markman, 1992; 1994). For example, when monolingual children see a familiar object (e.g., a cup) next to a novel object (e.g., a garlic press) and hear a novel word like "wug," they assume that "wug" refers to the garlic press — the object unknown to them — rather than to the cup, the object for which they already know the word.

Although mutual exclusivity is helpful for monolingual vocabulary acquisition, its use is more complex for bilingual vocabulary acquisition (Byers-Heinlein & Werker, 2009;
Davidson & Tell, 2005; Houston-Price, Caloghiris, & Raviglione, 2010). When encountering a potential singlet, mutual exclusivity would be equally useful for bilinguals as it is for monolinguals, supporting them in associating an unlabeled referent with a novel word.

However, a strong form of mutual exclusivity might prevent bilinguals from associating a translation equivalent word with its referent, given that in this case the referent is already associated with another word (albeit in the other language). Thus, mutual exclusivity could prevent bilinguals from acquiring translation equivalents, leading to an abundance of singlets in their vocabularies.

Contrary to earlier studies, more recent work has indicated that bilinguals do
understand and produce translation equivalents from early in development (David & Wei,

2008; De Houwer et al., 2006; Holowka et al., 2002; Pearson et al., 1995; Legacy et al.,
2017). Indeed, experimental work has suggested bilingual experience in infancy might not
support the development of one-to-one mapping biases such as mutual exclusivity, at least
in early infancy. For example, when hearing a novel word like "nil," monolingual children
aged 17–22 months looked towards a novel object rather than a familiar object, but bi- and
multilingual children looked similarly to both objects (Byers-Heinlein & Werker, 2009;
2013; Houston-Price et al., 2010). A recent meta-analysis also indicated that bilingual
children show mutual exclusivity to a weaker degree than monolinguals (Lewis et al., 2020).

Overall, converging evidence refutes the position that a strong form of mutual exclusivity operates on the developing bilingual lexicon to prevent bilinguals from acquiring translation equivalents. Nonetheless, it leaves open the possibility that translation equivalents may be less likely acquired in favour of learning singlets even if translation equivalents are not completely avoided. If bilingual children avoid lexical overlap across languages even to a small degree, then under the Avoidance Account translation equivalents would be harder to learn than singlets.

Preference Account: Translation equivalents are easier to learn than 95 Contrary to the Avoidance Account, the Preference Account posits that translation equivalents are easier to learn than singlets. At a minimum, word learning requires encoding and representing the relevant sounds of a word, creating a mental representation of its referent, and linking the two. When a French-English bilingual child encounters the word "pomme" after having learned "apple," one part of that process has 100 already occurred in that the referent is already represented; because part of the word learning task is already accomplished, translation equivalents might therefore be easier to learn (e.g., Montanari, 2010; Poulin-Dubois et al., 2013; 2017). Moreover, research suggests that bilingual lexicons are not tightly encapsulated by language, but instead include 104 cross-language mental links between words that are semantically related (e.g., Floccia et 105 al., 2020; Jardak & Byers-Heinlein, 2018; Singh, 2013). In this context, the strong semantic overlap makes translation equivalents special, and could facilitate their acquisition (e.g.,
Bilson et al., 2015; Floccia et al., 2020). The Preference Account predicts that translation
equivalents would be more easily learned than singlets.

There are several lines of empirical evidence to support the Preference Account. For
example, some early case studies reported that bilinguals tended to learn more translation
equivalents than singlets when experiencing a shift in their language exposure that inverted
their dominant and non-dominant languages (Lanvers, 1999; Pearson & Fernández, 1994).
The main explanation that has been given for this finding is that additional exposure to
their non-dominant language — which became their new dominant language — enabled
fast mapping of words to already-lexicalized concepts.

Other evidence suggesting translation equivalents might be easier to learn than 117 singlets comes from a study that included vocabulary-checklist data from 254 monolingual 118 and 181 bilingual children aged 6 months to 7.5 years (Bilson et al., 2015). The researchers 119 used a network analysis approach to investigate how translation equivalents are learned, 120 focusing on the semantic relationships between the words (e.g., words like "cat" and "dog" 121 are strongly semantically related). Using a statistical model that allowed free semantic 122 relations among vocabulary data from monolingual and bilingual children, the results 123 suggested that words were learned faster when they were semantically connected to more 124 known words in the lexicons. This effect applied not only to words within the same 125 language, but also to words across languages including translation equivalents (e.g., English 126 "dog" and French "chien") and words that had other cross-language relations (e.g., "cat" 127 and "chien"). The authors then simulated bilingual vocabulaires by modeling bilingual lexicons as combinations of two independent vocabulary-size-matched monolinguals. Comparison with actual bilingual children's vocabulary data revealed that bilingual children acquired more translation equivalents than predicted by the simulation. The 131 authors therefore concluded that bilingual children show a preference for learning 132 translation equivalents over singlets. Note that, in their study, translation equivalent 133

knowledge was simulated based on the number of lexical items that overlapped between two randomly chosen English monolinguals (e.g., whether both monolinguals knew the word "cat"). However, it is unclear whether this is an appropriate point of comparison for bilingual children as this approach may overlook variables that impact bilinguals' vocabulary learning including vocabulary size in each language and the developmental level of a child — an issue that we will return to later in the introduction.

Overall, there is some evidence that bilingual children more readily learn translation equivalents than singlets. If the strong semantic overlap between translation equivalents facilitates their learning, then under the Preference Account translation equivalents would be more easily learned than singlets.

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Neutral Account: Translation equivalents are similar to learn than 144 The previous accounts rely on the idea that bilingual vocabulary development 145 unfolds differently than monolingual development, as monolinguals encounter only singlets 146 but bilinguals encounter both singlets and translation equivalents. There is an underlying 147 assumption that translation equivalent learning is somehow special relative to singlet 148 learning — the Avoidance Account proposes that translation equivalents are harder to 149 learn than singlets, whereas the Preference Account proposes that translation equivalents 150 are easier to learn than singlets. However, it is also possible that translation equivalents 151 are neither harder nor easier to learn than singlets. We call this the Neutral Account. 152

The Neutral Account implies that bilingual children's two languages develop
relatively independently. Indeed, language and processing measures in bilinguals tend to be
tightly correlated within a particular language, with only weak cross-language correlations.
For example, 30-month-old bilingual children's processing efficiency in a particular
language closely correlated with vocabulary size in that language, but was unrelated to
vocabulary size in their other language (Marchman, Fernald, & Hurtado, 2010). Due to
differences in the amount of language exposure, bilingual children seldom show equal
vocabulary growth in both of their languages (e.g., Pearson & Fernández, 1994; Pearson et

al., 1997), and the amount of exposure to a particular language has been reported to modulate the within-language association between language processing ability and vocabulary size (Hurtado et al., 2013). Bilingual children who heard a greater amount of a particular language tended to process that language faster, and in turn learned more words in that language.

In a study whose results directly support the Neutral Account, Pearson and 166 colleagues (1995) randomly paired the single-language English lexicons from a subset of 167 bilingual children to the single-language Spanish lexicons from another subset of bilingual 168 children to derive a percentage of by-chance lexical overlaps shared between monolingual 169 lexicons of two randomly paired children. It was revealed that the percentage of translation 170 equivalents observed in English-Spanish bilingual children was similar to the by-chance 171 percentage of translation equivalents between randomly-paired children. This evidence 172 suggested that the acquisition of translation equivalents is not that different from the 173 expected overlap between two independent lexicons, implying that singlets and translation equivalents are equally learnable. In sum, the Neutral Account predicts that translation 175 equivalents are neither harder nor easier for bilingual children to learn than singlets.

### Contributors to translation equivalent knowledge

The previous section discussed three theoretical accounts concerning the relative learnability of translation equivalents. However, to date, aspects of translation equivalent learning have mostly been examined in isolation, rather than as an integrated system. In this section, we consider two proximal variables that we expect to predict the number of translation equivalents children know: vocabulary size in each language, and word learnability as a function of children's developmental level.

Vocabulary size in bilinguals' two languages. Because translation equivalents
are words from different languages that refer to the same concept, the number of words a
bilingual knows in each of their languages will necessarily constrain the number of

translation equivalent pairs they could possibly know. For example, a child with a less 187 balanced vocabulary across the two languages might only say 5 words in one language but 188 many more words in the other language; this means that the child could only produce a 189 maximum of 5 translation equivalents, regardless of how many words they know in their 190 other language. Conversely, it seems reasonable to expect that if a child knows a similar 191 number of words in each language and thus has a more balanced vocabulary across the two 192 languages, there would be more potential for some of those words to be translation 193 equivalents. 194

Balance between the two vocabulary sizes is a function of the number of words 195 bilingual children produce in each language, which appears to be tightly linked to their 196 exposure to each language. In general, more language exposure leads to larger vocabulary 197 size (e.g., Barnes & Garcia, 2012; Boyce et al., 2013; Hurtado et al., 2013; Marchman, 198 Fernald, & Hurtado, 2010; Place & Hoff, 2011; Pearson et al., 1997). Bilingual children 199 tend to know more words in the language in which they have greater exposure (i.e; 200 dominant language) relative to the language in which they have less exposure (i.e., 201 non-dominant language; Pearson et al., 1997; Place & Hoff, 2011). This is because the 202 more often a bilingual hears a language, the more opportunities there will be for learning new words in that language.

One important consideration in thinking about bilingual children's experience is
whether they encounter and use their languages within the same or different contexts. This
is known as the Complementarity Principle (Grosjean, 2016). For example, for school-aged
bilinguals, school-related words are more likely to be known in the language of schooling
rather than in the home language (Bialystok et al., 2010). If certain words are encountered
in particular contexts where only one language is used, bilinguals may have fewer
opportunities to learn translation equivalents for these words. However, the
Complementarity Principle may not necessarily impact bilingual word acquisition in
infancy. Most words in children's early vocabularies could be considered "home words,"

which include words for social and daily routines ("hello," "more," "diaper"), common 214 nouns ("doggie"), and everyday verbs ("walk"). Such words are likely to be encountered 215 across contexts where children spend the majority of their time, such as at home and at 216 childcare. Thus, growing up in a bilingual context from birth, bilingual children 217 presumably encounter "home words" in both languages. Accordingly, we assume that for 218 the most part, bilingual children's opportunities for learning words in each of their 219 languages will be proportional to their overall exposure to the language, and largely not 220 subject to the Complementarity Principle. We further consider implications of this 221 assumption in the discussion section. 222

Finally, we must note that vocabulary acquisition is not solely tied to quantity of 223 input, but is also predicted by a host of other factors such as children's ability to segment 224 words from the continuous stream of speech (e.g., Brent & Siskind, 2001; Swingley & 225 Humphrey, 2018), children's efficiency of processing words they hear (e.g., Hurtado et al., 226 2013; Weisleder & Fernald, 2013), cognitive development and perceptual bias (e.g., 227 Benedict, 1979; Goodman et al., 2008), and family socioeconomic status (Fernald, 228 Marchman, & Weisleder, 2013). Nonetheless, all else being equal, words that are 229 encountered more frequently are acquired sooner than those encountered less frequently 230 (Brent & Siskind, 2001; Goodman et al., 2008; Swingley & Humphrey, 2018). 231

Word learnability as a function of developmental level. An often overlooked factor that could contribute to bilingual children's learning of translation equivalents is related to the changes in the learnability of different words over time based on children's developmental level. Evidence from monolingual children shows that some types of words are characteristically learned before others. For example, across many languages, including English, children show a noun bias in their early lexicons (Braginsky et al., 2019; Goodman et al., 2008), although for other languages such as Mandarin it appears that verbs and nouns are more equally acquired (Tardif, 1996). Certain classes of words are rarely known at the onset of lexical development, such as prepositions and words for time (Fenson et al.,

2007). This is thought to be due to the cognitive and linguistic machinery that must be in place in order for children to represent these concepts, a necessary prerequisite for learning certain word types (Bergelson, 2020; Braginsky et al., 2019). If this is the case, then children might be more likely to learn translation equivalents than singlets, simply because translation equivalents are more likely to be learnable at their stage of development. That is, potential singlets might be "too hard" to be learned at a particular age. Thus, a seeming overabundance of translation equivalents might be a product of developmental constraints on word learning, rather than due to semantic facilitation.

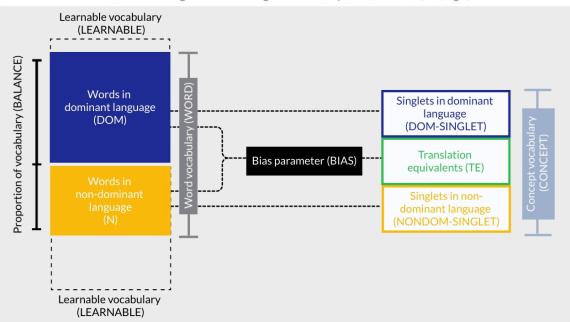
## <sup>249</sup> The Bilingual Vocabulary Model

Taking into account the contributions of language exposure and developmental level 250 to bilingual children's vocabulary acquisition, we put forward the Bilingual Vocabulary 251 Model. This model proposes that the number of translation equivalents that children 252 produce is a function of vocabulary learning in each language, in the context of the number 253 of potentially learnable words given the children's developmental level. We formalize 254 learning a translation equivalent pair as the joint probability of learning each of the words 255 in the pair. This provides a clear empirical test of different theoretical accounts of 256 translation equivalent learning, by asking whether or not the probability of knowing a word 257 is independent of knowing its translation equivalent. The logic is similar to that of the 258 familiar chi-squared test for independence, where the independence of two events from the 259 same population is tested as the probability of their intersection computed by multiplying 260 the probability of each individual event:  $P(A \text{ and } B) = P(A) \times P(B \mid A)$  where  $P(B \mid A) =$ 261 P(B) if A and B are independent (see Box 1 for a detailed example). The full model is 262 shown in Figure 1. In the next paragraphs, we define each of the model parameters in 263 detail, and these are also summarized in Table 1.

#### Box 1. Example of test for independence.

To test the independence of two events from the same population, as an example, we might ask whether Psychology majors are more likely to be left-handed. To determine independence, we must know the probability of being a psychology major, the probability of being left handed, and the probability of being both a psychology major and left-handed. The numerator of these probabilities will be the number of students who are left-handed, psychology majors, and both (respectively) and the denominator will be the total population of students we are observing. Imagine a college of 1000 students. If 100/1000 (or 1/10) students are left-handed, and 200/1000 (or 1/5) students are psychology majors, then if these variables are independent we expect a proportion of  $1/10 \times 1/5 =$ 1/50 students to be left-handed psychology majors. To determine the number we expect to observe in the college, we multiple  $1/50 \times 1000 = 20$  students. When we compare this expected number to the actual number of left-handed students, there are three possible outcomes. First, we may observe many more than 20 left-handed psychology students at the college (say 100 students), which suggests that being left-handed increases the probability of majoring in psychology. Or, second, we may observe many fewer than 20 left-handed psychology students at the college (say 5 students), this suggests that being left-handed decreases the probability of majoring in psychology (in this example by a factor of 1/4). Finally, if left-handedness and majoring in psychology are independent, we can predict the number of left-handed psychology students by multiplying the observed number of left-handed students (100) by the observed number of psychology students (200), and dividing by the total population of the college (1000), so for example  $100 \times 200/1000 = 20$ . Thus, comparing expected and observed numbers can inform us about the independence of the underlying phenomena.

The model takes four main parameters: the number of words produced in the
dominant language (DOM), the number of words produced in the non-dominant language
(NONDOM), vocabulary size of potentially learnable words in each language
(LEARNABLE), and a bias parameter (BIAS) which indicates whether the model is biased
towards (BIAS > 1) or against (BIAS < 1) learning translation equivalents. The language
in which a child knows more words is the dominant language, whereas the one in which a
child knows fewer words is the non-dominant language. Next, we turn to the
LEARNABLE parameter (i.e., the number of potentially learnable words). If DOM and



Within a bilingual child at a given developmental level (i.e., age)

Figure 1. Illustration of the Bilingual Vocabulary Model.

NONDOM are measured with an instrument such as the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development inventories (CDI; Fenson et al., 2007), one option would be to set 275 LEARNABLE to be the total number of items on the CDI. For convenience, consider the 276 effect of setting LEARNABLE to 600, as a round number (the actual number of CDI items 277 is usually slightly higher than 600, depending on the language of the adaptation). Very 278 young children would not be expected to know many of the "harder" words on the CDI, 279 such as "lawn mower," "sidewalk," or "vitamins', due to children's immature cognitive 280 machinery and conceptual development. A more reasonable solution might be to determine 281 how many CDI words are potentially learnable given the child's developmental level, which could be approximated by their age. For example, Jamie who is 18 months old produces 50 283 English words and 20 French words, thus a total of 70 words. Monolingual children his age 284 with the very largest productive vocabularies (those at the 90th percentile averaging 285 between English and French norms) produce a total of 245 words (retrieved from the 286 Wordbank database; Frank et al., 2016). Although there is likely considerable individual 287

variability as to the cognitive capacity even amongst children of the same age, we argue
that this provides a reasonable — if imperfect — estimate of the number of learnable
words (LEARNABLE) that a child of Jamie's age could potentially acquire in each
language. Thus, we might expect that Jamie could potentially have learned up to 245
English words and 245 French words, although he has thus far only learned 50 in English
and 20 in French.

Using the mathematical concept of independence, we can then quantify the number 294 of translation equivalents (TE) expected given children's vocabulary sizes in the dominant 295 (DOM) and non-dominant (NONDOM) languages, as well as the number of potentially 296 learnable words (LEARNABLE). If dominant-language and non-dominant-language words 297 are learned independently from each other, we multiply DOM × NONDOM (the number of 298 words known in the dominant and non-dominant language respectively), and divide by the 299 total population of learnable words in one language (LEARNABLE) — which is the 300 possible number of words that could overlap across both languages — to predict the 301 number of translation equivalents. We further introduce the bias parameter (BIAS), which 302 allows us to examine whether translation equivalent learning is best described by the 303 Avoidance, Preference, or Neutral account. Adding this parameter, translation equivalents 304 can be derived from  $TE = BIAS \times (DOM \times NONDOM)/LEARNABLE$ . For the 305 Avoidance Account, BIAS will be less than 1, meaning that TEs are less easily learned than 306 singlets; for the Preference Account, BIAS will be greater than 1, meaning that translation 307 equivalents are more easily learned than singlets; for the Neutral Account, BIAS is 308 exactly 1 (i.e., the model is unbiased with respect to whether translation equivalents are more difficult or easier to acquire than singlets). Going back to the example of 310 18-month-old Jamie, we would set the denominator at 245 which is the number of 311 potentially learnable words at 18 months. If translation equivalents are half as easy to 312 learn as singlets (following the Avoidance Account), we would expect Jamie to produce 313  $.5 \times (50 \times 20/245) = 2.0$  translation equivalents. Conversely, if translation equivalents are 314

twice as easy to learn as singlets (following the Preference Account), we would expect

Jamie to produce  $2\times(50\times20/245)=8.2$  translation equivalents. Under the Neutral

Account, we would expect Jamie to learn  $1\times(50\times20/245)=4.1$  translation equivalents.

Finally, based on the main parameters, we can calculate additional,
commonly-reported descriptors of bilingual vocabulary, which we detail below and describe
as derived parameters.

Balance of vocabulary (BALANCE) is the proportion of total words that children 321 produce in each language. For convenience, balance is defined in reference to the 322 non-dominant language with the formula NONDOM/(DOM+NONDOM), such that scores 323 can range from 0.0 (completely unbalanced) to 0.5 (completely balanced). For example, 324 since 18-month-old Jamie produces 50 dominant vocabulary words and 20 non-dominant 325 vocabulary words, he would have a balance score of 0.29. Note that this calculation does 326 not take into account overlap in meaning across the two languages (i.e., how many words 327 he produces are translation equivalents). 328

Word vocabulary (WORD; sometimes called total productive vocabulary) is the total 329 number of words that a child produces across the two languages, calculated as the sum of 330 the dominant vocabulary (DOM) and non-dominant vocabulary (NONDOM). Concept 331 vocabulary (CONCEPT; sometimes called total conceptual vocabulary) is the number of 332 concepts that are lexicalized by the child — that is, the total number of concepts that are 333 lexicalized in either language. This can be calculated by subtracting the number of 334 translation equivalents (TE) from the word vocabulary (WORD). Finally, we can also calculate singlets that are produced in each language, that is words for which the child does not yet produce a translation equivalent. Singlets in the dominant language 337 (DOM-SINGLET) can be calculated by subtracting translation equivalents (TE) from 338 dominant-language vocabulary (DOM); singlets in the non-dominant language 339 (NONDOM-SINGLET) can be calculated by subtracting translation equivalents (TE) from 340

- non-dominant language vocabulary (NONDOM). It is also possible to decompose children's
- word vocabulary (WORD) into the sum of TE, DOM-SINGLET, and
- NONDOM-SINGLET.

Table 2
Summary of the parameters in the Bilingual Vocabulary Model.

Variable	Definition	Constraints	Relationship.to.other.parameters
Main Parameters			
LEARNABLE	Number of learnable words in each language,	Varies by age. No greater than the number of	Maximum number that could be learned in DOM
	given the child's developmental level	words on CDI.	or NONDOM
DOM	Words produced in the dominant language	$DOM \ge NONDOM$ (i.e., always produce more	$DOM = (1-BALANCE) \times WORD; DOM =$
		words in dominant than non-dominant language);	WORD - NONDOM
		$DOM \le LEARNABLE$	
NONDOM	Words produced in the non-dominant language	NONDOM $\leq$ DOM (always produce fewer words	$NONDOM = BALANCE \times WORD; NONDOM =$
		in non-dominant than dominant language);	WORD - DOM
		NONDOM $\leq$ LEARNABLE	
BIAS	Bias parameter	BIAS < 1 implies the Avoidance Account; $BIAS$	Account =
		> 1 implies the Preference Account; BIAS = 1	$BIAS \times (DOM \times NONDOM/LEARNABLE)$
		implies the Neutral Account	
Derived Parameters			
BALANCE	Balance (relative proportion of words produced in	.00 $\leq$ BALANCE $\leq$ .50 (greater values indicate	BALANCE = NONDOM/WORD; BALANCE =
	the non-dominant language to the total words	children producing a more similar number of	NONDOM/(DOM+NONDOM)
	produced in both languages)	words in their two languages)	
WORD	Word vocabulary (or total vocabulary size)	W $\leq$ 2LEARNABLE (maximum word vocabulary	WORD = DOM + NONDOM; WORD =
		is knowing each word in both languages)	DOM/(1-BALANCE); WORD =
			NONDOM/(BALANCE)
TE	Translation equivalents produced		If DOM and NONDOM are independent, TE $=$
			DOM×NONDOM/LEARNABLE
CONCEPT	Concept vocabulary (or total conceptual		CONCEPT = WORD - TE; CONCEPT = TE +
	vocabulary size)		DOM-SINGLET + NONDOM-SINGLET
DOM-SINGLET	Singlets in dominant language		DOM-SINGLET = DOM - TE
NONDOM-SINGLET	Singlets in non-dominant language		$NONDOM\_SINGLET = NONCOM - TE$

#### 4 Current research

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The current research aimed to better understand the nature of translation equivalent learning in bilingual children. Study 1 simulated the expected patterns of translation equivalent learning under the Bilingual Vocabulary Model proposed in the introduction, with reference to the proportion of words learned in the dominant and non-dominant language and the number of words that are learnable at various developmental levels. We also compared predicted learning outcomes for when translation equivalents are harder to learn, or easier to learn, or similar to learn than singlets.

In Study 2, we examined real-world translation equivalent development in light of the predictions from the Bilingual Vocabulary Model, using archival data from 200
French–English bilingual children aged 18 to 33 months, whose vocabularies and translation equivalent knowledge were measured by parent report using the MacArthur-Bates CDI:
Words and Sentences form in English (Fenson et al., 2007) and Québec French (Trudeau et al., 1997). Together, the Bilingual Vocabulary Model and real-world data allowed us to examine contrasting hypotheses about translation equivalents: whether translation equivalents learning is harder (Avoidance Account), whether translation equivalent learning is easier (Preference Account), or similar to learn than singlets (Neutral Account).

### Study 1: Simulations

Study 1 provides a computational implementation of the Bilingual Vocabulary Model outlined in the introduction (see also Figure 1), which we use to simulate different scenarios to examine the effect of vocabulary sizes and developmental variables on translation equivalent learning. Note that usually only three values are necessary to calculate all the other variables (see Table 1). Most commonly, we can calculate other variables based on the total number of learnable words (LEARNABLE) together with either the words known in each language (DOM and NONDOM) or word vocabulary plus

balance (WORD and BALANCE) which allow us to compute DOM and NONDOM. It is
also possible to calculate other variables based on the total number of learnable words
(LEARNABLE) with balance and words known in either language (BALANCE and DOM
or BALANCE and NONDOM).

Three simulations were generated to explore expected patterns of translation 373 equivalent learning under the Bilingual Vocabulary Model. In the first simulation, we 374 examined how translation equivalent learning relates to vocabulary balance (BALANCE), 375 as well as different metrics of vocabulary size, including dominant-language vocabulary 376 (DOM), non-dominant language vocabulary (NON-DOM), and word vocabulary (WORD). 377 In the second simulation, we explored relationships between translation equivalents (TE), balance (BALANCE), and learnable words (LEARNABLE). In the first two simulations, 379 the BIAS parameter was held constant at 1 (Neutral Account); in the third simulation, we 380 varied the bias parameter (BIAS) to compare translation equivalent learning under the 381 Avoidance, Preference, and Neutral Accounts. A summary of the parameter values used in 382 each simulation is provided in Table 2. 383

Summary of the parameters used in each simulation.

Simulation	Learnable	Words in dominant	Words in	Word vocabulary	Balance of	Bias parameter	Total
	words	Language (DOM)	non-dominant	(WORD)	vocabulary	(BIAS)	number of
	(LEARN-		language		(BALANCE)		data points
	ABLE)		(NONDOM)				generated
П	Constant at	Varied, ranging	Varied, ranging	Calculated as	Calculated as	Constant at 1	216
	009	from 100 to	from 0 to DOM at	WORD = DOM +	BALANCE =		
		LEARNABLE at	an interval of 10	NONDOM	NONDOM /		
		an interval of 100			(DOM+NONDOM)		
21	Varied at	Varied, ranging	Varied, ranging	Calculated as	Calculated as	Constant at 1	161
	300, 450,	from 100 to	from 0 to DOM at	WORD = DOM +	BALANCE =		
	and 600	LEARNABLE at	an interval of 25	NONDOM	/ MONDOM		
		an interval of 100			(DOM+NONDOM)		
က	Varied at	Varied, ranging	Varied, ranging	Calculated as	Calculated as	Varied at 0.5	166
	150, 300,	from 100 to	from 0 to DOM at	WORD = DOM +	BALANCE =	(Avoidance	
	450, and	$ LEARNABLE \ at$	an interval of 25	NONDOM	NONDOM /	Account), 1	
	009	an interval of 100			(DOM+NONDOM)	(Neutral Account),	
						and 1.5 (Preference	
						Account)	

# Simulation 1: Children of the same developmental level with different word vocabularies and balances of vocabulary

In Simulation 1, we first illustrate the mathematical relationships between different variables in the model by simulating three hypothetical children who are at the same developmental level and thus have the same number of potentially learnable words (LEARNABLE), but with different word vocabularies (WORD) and BALANCE. For convenience, we set LEARNABLE = 600 in this example, which roughly corresponds to what is expected for an English-learning 26 month-old (i.e., the most verbal 26-month-old English-learner at the 90th percentile of vocabulary produces around 600 words as retrieved from the Wordbank database; Frank et al., 2016). We set BIAS to 1, meaning that in these examples translation equivalents are similarly easy to learn as singlets.

We first illustrate with three hypothetical children. Infant Annie (small vocabulary, 395 unbalanced exposure) produces 270 words in the dominant language and 30 words in her 396 non-dominant language. She has a word vocabulary of 300, and a balance score of .10 (10%)397 of her words are in the non-dominant language). Based on the formula TE =398 DOM×NONDOM/LEARNABLE (we drop BIAS from the formula since it is 1 here) and 390 as seen in Table 3, Annie is expected to produce 13.5 translation equivalents. Infant Bernie 400 (small vocabulary, balanced exposure) produces 180 dominant-language words, and 120 401 non-dominant language words. Like Annie, he has a word vocabulary of 300, but he has a 402 higher balance score of .40 (40% of his words are in the non-dominant language). Based on 403 our formula, we expect Bernie to produce 36 translation equivalents. Comparing Annie and Bernie, two children who produce the same word vocabulary (i.e., WORD is held constant), the child with more balanced language vocabulary (Bernie) is expected to produce more translation equivalents. Like Bernie, infant Charlie also has a balanced vocabulary, but has a larger word vocabulary (WORD), producing 540 words in the 408 dominant language (DOM) and 360 in the non-dominant language (NONDOM) for a total 409

- of 900 words (WORD), and thus BALANCE = .40. Based on our formula for Simulation 1,
  we expect Charlie to produce 324 translation equivalents (TE). Infants Bernie and Charlie
  illustrate that for two children equal in BALANCE, the child with larger word vocabulary
  (WORD) is expected to produce more translation equivalents (TE). Other vocabulary
- metrics are calculated for each hypothetical child as described in Table 3.

Examples for Simulation 1 of three hypothetical children with different hypothetical word vocabularies (WORD) and vocabulary

Variable	Definition	Calculation	Infant Anne	Infant Bernie	Infant Charlie
			(small	(small	(large
			vocabulary,	vocabulary,	vocabulary,
			unbalanced)	balanced)	balanced)
Main Parameters					
BIAS	Bias parameter		1.0	1.0	1.0
LEARNABLE	Learnable words		0.009	0.009	0.009
DOM	Words produced in the dominant		270.0	180.0	540.0
	language				
NONDOM	Words produced in the non-dominant		30.0	120.0	360.0
	language				
Derived Parameters					
WORD	Word vocabulary (or total	DOM + NONDOM	300.0	300.0	0.006
	vocabulary size)				
BALANCE	Vocabulary balance	NONDOM / (DOM + NONDOM)	0.1	0.4	0.4
TE	Translation equivalents produced	DOM * NONDOM / LEARNABLE	13.5	36.0	324.0
CONCEPT	Concept vocabulary (or total	WORD - TE	286.5	264.0	576.0
	conceptual vocabulary size)				
DOM-SINGLET	Singlets in dominant language	DOM - TE	256.5	144.0	216.0

We then broadened this simulation to the more general case and examined patterns 415 of translation equivalent learning, where simulated children had the capacity to learn 600 416 words (LEARNABLE held constant at 600), and their vocabulary size in each language 417 (DOM and NONDOM) varied. Data from a total of 216 simulated children were generated 418 (see Table 2 for a summary of the parameter values used in this simulation). Based on 419 these values, we derived simulated children's word vocabulary (WORD, calculated as 420 DOM+NONDOM) and their vocabulary balance (BALANCE, calculated as 421 NONDOM/(DOM+NONDOM)). In Figure 2, we plotted TE knowledge as predicted by 422 DOM, NONDOM, and WORD at different levels of BALANCE. Across all three Panels 423 (1A, 1B, and 1C), children with the most balanced vocabulary consistently produce more 424 translation equivalents than other children. Moreover, Panels 1A and 1C show that, as the 425 number of DOM (dominant language words) and WORD (word vocabulary) increase, the number of TE also increases regardless of BALANCE. Interestingly, Panel 1B shows that NONDOM and TE are extremely tightly coupled. In sum, we observe three important patterns, which will serve as Prediction Set 1 from the Bilingual Vocabulary Model for 429 Study 2: 430

- Prediction 1a: Children with more balanced vocabularies (BALANCE) will produce
  more translation equivalents (TE).
- Prediction 1b: Children who produce more dominant-language words (DOM) or more total words (WORD) will produce more translation equivalents (TE).
- Prediction 1c: Children who produce more non-dominant language words

  (NONDOM) will produce more translation equivalents (TE); but unlike for WORD

  and DOM this does not interact with BALANCE; instead, non-dominant vocabulary

  size will be an almost perfect predictor of translation equivalent knowledge(see panel

  1B of Figure 2).

# Simulation 2: Acquisition of translation equivalents and singlets at different developmental levels

In our previous simulation, we assumed that each simulated child was at the same 442 developmental level and had the capacity to learn the word for 600 different concepts (i.e., 443 LEARNABLE held constant at 600). As laid out in the introduction, in the Bilingual 444 Vocabulary Model the learnability of different words changes over time, where the possible 445 number of words that can be learned increases as a child grows older. Therefore, in 446 Simulation 2, we looked at the expected patterns of translation equivalent learning across 447 varying levels of LEARNABLE (i.e., the number of learnable words as developmental level 448 changes). Additionally, we further examined vocabulary composition by computing the 449 number of singlets in the dominant (DOM-SINGLET) and non-dominant 450 (NONDOM-SINGLET) language. BIAS was once again kept constant at 1. 451

Translation equivalent knowledge was simulated across children at three 452 developmental levels (the number of LEARNABLE words = 300, 450, 600), in conjunction 453 with a wide range of values for words in the dominant language (DOM) and the 454 non-dominant language (NONDOM). In total, data from 161 simulated children were 455 generated (see Table 2 for a summary of the parameters used in this simulation). Again, 456 balance (BALANCE) was calculated based on the values of DOM and NONDOM with the 457 formula NONDOM/(DOM+NONDOM). We also counted the number of singlet words in 458 the dominant (DOM-SINGLET) and non-dominant (NONDOM-SINGLET) languages, so 459 that simulated children's concept vocabulary (CONCEPT) could be decomposed as the 460 sum of TE (translation equivalents), DOM-SINGLET, and NONDOM-SINGLET. Figure 3 461 plots this decomposition for simulated children of different developmental levels, with 462 vocabulary ranging from most balanced (BALANCE = .35 - .50), medium balanced (BALANCE = .20 - .35), and least balanced (BALANCE = .00 - .02).

In general, simulated children at a later developmental level had larger concept

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vocabularies (CONCEPT) as shown by the largest bars for the children at LEARNABLE
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   = 600 compared to the shortest bars for children at LEARNABLE = 300. Moreover, we
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   continue to observe a pattern reported in prediction 1a, whereby simulated children with
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   more balanced vocabularies produced more translation equivalents (TE), as evidenced by
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   the green bars that are the highest for the most balanced children (BALANCE = .36 - .50)
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   compared to the medium balanced (BALANCE = .21 - .35) and the least balanced children
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   (BALANCE = .00 - .20). Moreover, regardless of balance, simulated children at later
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   developmental levels (i.e., older children with more potentially LEARNABLE words)
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   acquired more translation equivalents. Across all three developmental levels of
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   LEARNABLE, the light blue bars representing singlets in the dominant language
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   (DOM-SINGLET) grow with less balanced exposure, whereas the dark blue bars
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   representing singlets in the non-dominant language (NONDOM-SINGLET) grow with
   more balanced exposure. Overall, we observe 3 additional predictions (Prediction Set 2)
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   made by the Bilingual Vocabulary Model. Compared to children at an earlier
   developmental level (i.e., younger infants with fewer potentially learnable words), children
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   at a later developmental level (i.e., older infants with more potentially learnable words) will
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- Prediction 2a: Have larger concept vocabularies (CONCEPT)
- Prediction 2b: Produce more translation equivalents (TE), regardless of vocabulary balance (BALANCE).
- Prediction 2c: Produce more dominant-language singlet words (DOM-SINGLET).
   Moreover, those with a less balanced vocabulary (BALANCE) produce the most
   DOM-SINGLET.
- Prediction 2d: Produce more non-dominant-language singlets

  (NONDOM-SINGLET). Moreover, those with a more balanced vocabulary

  (BALANCE) produce the most NONDOM-SINGLET.

# Simulation 3: Bias towards or against translation equivalent learning compared to singlets

In Simulations 1 and 2, we modeled cases in accordance to the Neutral Account 493 where dominant-language and non-dominant language words were learned independently, 494 such that the bias parameter (BIAS) was exactly 1 when we calculated TE as 495 DOM×NONDOM/LEARNABLE. In our final simulation, we examined models where 496 dominant-language and non-dominant language words were not independent, 497 corresponding to the Avoidance Account and the Preference Account. Mathematically, this requires varying the BIAS parameter. For the Preference Account, BIAS will be greater 499 than 1, meaning that TEs are more easily learned than singlets. On the other hand, for the Avoidance Account, BIAS will be less than 1, meaning that TEs are less easily learned than singlets. 502

Translation equivalent knowledge was first simulated across different developmental 503 levels (as indicated by number of LEARNABLE words = 150, 300, 450, 600), in 504 conjunction with a wide range of values for DOM and NONDOM. Again, BALANCE and 505 word vocabulary (WORD) were calculated based on the values of DOM and NONDOM. 506 The final simulated data set contained 166 data points (see Table 2 for a summary of the 507 parameters used). Three scenarios of translation equivalent learning (TE) were then 508 generated using the formula  $TE = BIAS \times DOM \times NONDOM / LEARNABLE$ . To illustrate 509 the Avoidance Account, BIAS was set at .5 (i.e., TEs are 50% less likely to be learned than 510 singlets). To illustrate the Neutral Account, BIAS was set at 1 (i.e., TEs are neither easier nor harder to learn than singlets). Finally, to illustrate the Preference Account, BIAS was set at 1.5 (i.e., TE are 50% more likely to be learned than singlets). In Figure 4, we 513 illustrate the three different scenarios of simulated translation equivalent knowledge. 514 Again, we continue to observe a pattern consistent with prediction 1a where, in all cases, 515 simulated children with more balanced vocabularies produced more translation equivalents. 516

Thus, overall relationships between vocabulary balance and translation equivalent knowledge remained similar across the Avoidance, Preference, and Neutral Accounts. What changed is the slope of translation equivalent learning: the slopes were the shallowest under the Avoidance Account where BIAS = 0.5, whereas the slopes are steepest under the Preference Account where BIAS = 1.5. With this, we further outline Prediction Set 3:

• Prediction 3: Whether translation equivalents are harder to learn, easier to learn, or similar to learn as singlets will change the slope of translation equivalent learning, with a shallower slope if TEs are less easily learned (i.e., Avoidance Account), and a steeper slope if TEs are more easily learned (i.e., Preference Account) compared to where translation equivalents are similar to learn as singlets (i.e., Neutral Account).

## Study 2: Empirical data

In Study 1, we used a simulation based on the Bilingual Vocabulary Model to
generate several predictions about the relationship between translation equivalent
knowledge and other vocabulary variables. In Study 2, we tested these predictions using
archival data obtained from 200 French–English bilingual children aged 18 to 33 months.

### Method

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Ethics approval was obtained by the Human Research Ethics Board of XYZ
University (ethics protocol number 0000) and informed consent was obtained from the
participants' parents.

Participants. Archival data from 200 bilingual children acquiring English and
French (age range: 18.38 - 33.50 months; 94 girls and 106 boys) who participated in prior
studies at the XYZ lab were included in the present study, drawn from the same set of
participants as Gonzalez-Barrero et al. (2020). Some children took part in more than one

in-lab study (n = 28); thus, they contributed data at more than one time point. This 540 resulted in a larger number of datapoints relative to the number of unique participants. 541 The total number of data points included in the analyses was 229 (i.e., 229 English and 229 542 French CDI questionnaires). Participants were recruited through government birth lists, 543 online ads, daycares, and infant-parent group activities (e.g., children's library activities). 544 Inclusion criteria were the following: full term-pregnancy (i.e., > 36 weeks of gestation), 545 normal birth weight (> 2500 grams), and absence of major medical conditions (i.e., 546 meningitis). Only children who had complete data in both CDI forms (i.e., English and French) were retained for analysis. Bilingual children were defined as those exposed at least 548 25% of the time over the course of their lives globally to both English and French and with less than 10% of exposure to a third language. For children who participated more than 550 once, their language exposure followed such criteria between visits. Following the approach in Study 1, children's dominant language was deemed to be the language in which the child produced a greater number of words; vocabulary balance was then determined based on the 553 proportion of words produced in the non-dominant language relative to the total words 554 produced across both languages using the same formula as in Study 1: 555 NONDOM/(DOM+NONDOM). Within the 229 data points, 59.80% of children were 556 English-dominant and 40.17% were French-dominant. Data collection was conducted in 557 Montréal, Québec, Canada. Montréal is a multicultural city where both English and French 558 are widely used in society. Children's demographic characteristics are presented in Table 4. 559 Measures.

• MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventories: Words and 561 Sentences (CDI). Bilingual children's expressive vocabulary was measured by the 562 Words and Sentences form of the MacArthur-Bates CDI. Caregivers completed the 563 original CDI English version (Fenson et al., 2007) and its Québec French adaptation 564 (Trudeau et al., 1997). We asked the caregiver more familiar with each language to 565 complete the respective CDI form, and the forms are mainly filled out by mothers 566

560

Table 5

Demographic characteristics of participants (data points = 229).

	Mean	SD	Range
Age in months	24.4	4.7	18.4 - 33.5
Maternal education in years	16.6	2.1	10 - 21
% Global exposure to English	51.7	14.8	25 - 75
% Global exposure to French	47.8	15.0	25 - 75
% Global exposure to Other	0.6	1.8	0 - 10

(64%), fathers (7%), both parents (4%), others (< 1%; e.g., grandmother), and respondent not indicated (25%). In some cases different caregivers filled out each form, while in other cases the same caregiver filled out both forms. Our analyses focused on the vocabulary checklist of this questionnaire, which includes different nouns, verbs, adjectives, and other words used by young children. There are 680 words in the English CDI version and 664 in the Québec French version.

• Language Exposure Questionnaire using the MAPLE approach.

Procedure.

#### Results $\mathbf{Results}$

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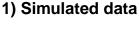
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Testing Prediction Set 1:

Testing Prediction Set 2:

Testing Prediction Set 3:

Discussion



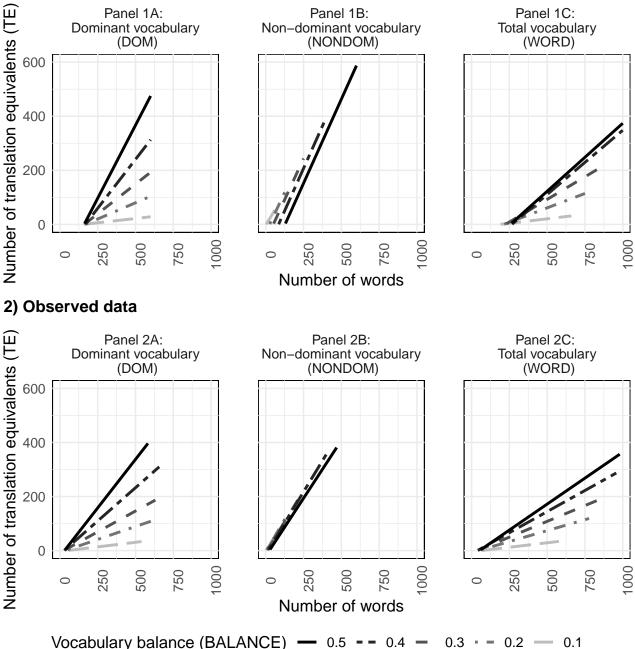


Figure 2. Number of translation equivalents (TE) across different levels of vocabulary balance (BALANCE) in relation to total dominant vocabulary size (DOM; Panel A), total non-dominant vocabulary size (NONDOM; Panel B), and total word vocabulary (WORD; Panel C). Row 1 represents the simulated data in Study 1 while holding the number of learnable words (LEARNABLE) constant at 600. Row 2 represents the observed vocabulary data in Study 2.

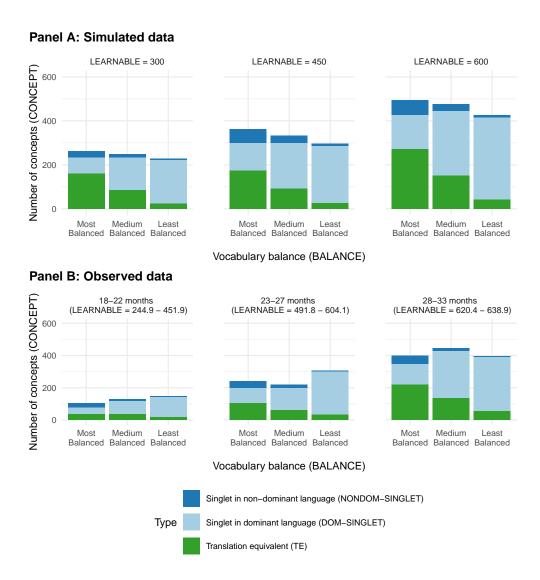


Figure 3. Number of translation equivalents (TE) and singlets in dominant (DOM-SINGLET) and non-dominant language (NONDOM-SINGLET) across different developmental levels/ages, which sets the number of LEARNABLE words. Panel A represents the model simulation in Study 1, where developmental levels of simulated children are set at three values: LEARNABLE = 300, 450, and 600. Panel B represents the observed vocabulary data in Study 2, where developmental level was divided into 3 subsets with children of 18-22 months (left), children of 23-27 months (middle), and children of 28-33 months (right). Proportion of balance (BALANCE) was divided into three groups, where the least balanced group had a range of .00 - .20 vocabulary balance, the medium balanced group had a range of .20 - .35, and the most balanced group had a range of .35 - .50.

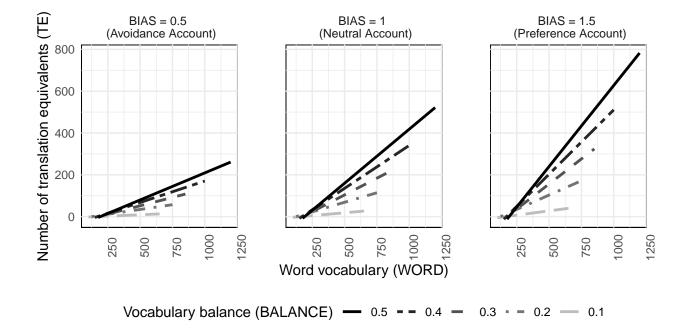


Figure 4. Different scenarios of expected translation equivalents learning (TE) while assuming bias towards (BIAS < 1) or against learning translation equivalents (BIAS > 1), or no bias (BIAS = 1).