

1 **The impact of bilingualism on executive functions and working memory in young adults.**

2 ***Short title: Executive functions in young bilinguals***

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## Abstract

26 A bilingual advantage in a form of a better performance of bilinguals in tasks tapping into executive  
27 function abilities has been reported repeatedly in the literature. However, recent research defends  
28 that this advantage does not stem from bilingualism, but from uncontrolled factors or imperfectly  
29 matched samples. In this study we explored the potential impact of bilingualism on executive  
30 functioning abilities by testing large groups of young adult bilinguals and monolinguals in the tasks  
31 that were most extensively used when the advantages were reported. Importantly, the recently  
32 identified factors that could be disrupting the between groups comparisons were controlled for, and  
33 both groups were matched. We found no differences between groups in their performance.  
34 Additional bootstrapping analyses indicated that, when the bilingual advantage appeared, it very  
35 often co-occurred with unmatched socio-demographic factors. The evidence presented here  
36 indicates that the bilingual advantage might indeed be caused by spurious uncontrolled factors  
37 rather than bilingualism per se. Secondly, bilingualism has been argued to potentially affect  
38 working memory also. Therefore, we tested the same participants in both a forward and a backward  
39 version of a visual and an auditory working memory task. We found no differences between groups  
40 in either of the forward versions of the tasks, but bilinguals systematically outperformed  
41 monolinguals in the backward conditions. The results are analyzed and interpreted taking into  
42 consideration different perspectives in the domain-specificity of the executive functions and  
43 working memory.

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46 **Keywords:** Bilingualism; executive functioning; working memory.

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48 The impact of bilingualism on executive functions and working memory in young adults.

49 The core assumption of the bilingual advantage hypothesis (1) is that bilingualism provides  
50 enhanced executive function abilities as a consequence of the constant use of two languages. The  
51 executive functions (EF) encompass inhibition (i.e., the ability to suppress dominant or salient  
52 responses), shifting (the capacity to switch between tasks), and monitoring (the ability to update the  
53 information in the working memory; see 2,3). Importantly, as the two languages that a bilingual  
54 speaks are always active (4–6), bilinguals require an efficient use of language control: they need to  
55 monitor and constantly update the demands of the context they are immersed in and the speakers  
56 they are talking to, switch to the target language and inhibit the non-target one (see, for example,  
57 the IC model, 7). As it can be seen, language control makes use of EF mechanisms (8). The  
58 bilingual advantage hypothesis suggests that active bilingualism trains and improves general EF  
59 abilities (see 9–11, for evidence for EF improvement through training) as a consequence of a higher  
60 language control demand as compared to a single language use.

61 The EF have been generally assumed to be domain-general (i.e., the same underlying  
62 mechanisms would be responsible for language control and any other kind of executive control, see  
63 12–14). Therefore, if bilingualism trains language control, this training should be then transferred to  
64 and captured in any situation that requires the use of domain-general EF abilities. Tasks such as  
65 flanker (15), Simon (16) and the Stroop (17) tasks have been classically deemed ideal to explore the  
66 bilingual advantage, since all of them tap into general EF abilities (but see below and 18 for a  
67 review on little or no convergent validity among tasks). These tasks can provide with indices for  
68 different EF components. For example, in all the aforementioned tasks, participants have to deal  
69 with congruent trials (trials where all the information presented favors the target response) and  
70 incongruent trials (those that present participants conflicting information with the correct response;  
71 see Methods section for a more detailed examples of conditions). The difference between the RTs  
72 or errors to those two conditions is known as the *Stroop effect* for the Stroop task, and the *conflict*

73 *effect* for the others, and it's taken as an indicator of inhibitory abilities. Crucially, those effects  
74 have been found smaller for bilinguals when compared to monolinguals in the Stroop task (19) as  
75 well as in the Simon (see 20, for young adults; 21, for children; and 1 for seniors) and Flanker task  
76 (22). Although it is a view that it has been recanted (23), those findings have been classically  
77 interpreted as an evidence for better inhibitory abilities of bilinguals when facing incongruent or  
78 conflicting situations, stemming from the constant necessity of inhibiting the non-target language  
79 (or stimulus) while managing two languages.

80         The interpretation of those results, arguing for an improvement in inhibitory abilities for  
81 bilinguals, was later challenged by finding advantages in other situations that in principle require no  
82 inhibition at all. Thus, Costa et al. (22) found that bilinguals were overall faster than monolinguals  
83 in the flanker task (see also 24), not only in the incongruent trials, but also in the congruent ones. As  
84 they later argued (25), the improvement in the inhibitory skills would have affected the participants'  
85 responses to the incongruent trials only, not to the congruent trials, where there is nothing to inhibit.  
86 Consequently, the authors claimed that bilinguals' overall faster performance reflected better  
87 monitoring abilities, stemming from their constant need of overseeing the linguistic demands of the  
88 current environment in order to be able to choose the appropriate language for each communicative  
89 situation. This hypothesis gained strength when Costa and his colleagues (25) found that the  
90 bilingual advantage in overall reaction times was only found in high-monitoring versions of the  
91 tasks (with congruent and incongruent trials evenly distributed) as opposed to low-monitoring  
92 conditions (with mostly trials of one kind). In that case, the monitoring advantages in bilinguals  
93 seemed noticeable only when the environment was demanding enough (see 1,24, for similar  
94 conclusions; but see 18, for a discussion on the impurity of the use of global RTs as a measure of  
95 monitoring). Even though these two classic perspectives argued for an advantage in concrete  
96 aspects of EF (i.e., monitoring or inhibition), the mixed results prevent researchers to draw strong  
97 conclusions as to which EF component was enhanced by bilingualism. Instead, it has been recently

98 argued that a *failure* of bilinguals to inhibit their attention to the non-target language requires a  
99 more effortful involvement of EF, causing a more general and unified EF enhancement (23).

100 The bilingual advantage, however, is not only one of the most popular research topics in the  
101 field of bilingualism nowadays, but also one of the most controversial ones (see 26,27, among  
102 others, as an example of the growing debate regarding its existence). Some concerns have been  
103 raised regarding the results and interpretation of the bilingual advantage (26,28–31). In a nutshell,  
104 these authors argue that the bilingual advantage that has been shown in the previous literature is  
105 actually a consequence of uncontrolled external factors, small sample sizes and task-dependent  
106 effects. Actually, there are many external factors that have been shown to have a direct impact in  
107 EF performance, such as participants' socio-economic status (SES), immigrant status or ethnicity  
108 background (32,33). Importantly, these factors tend to differ between bilingual and monolingual  
109 populations in certain populations. For example, immigrants –who tend to be bilinguals –show  
110 better morbidity and mortality outcomes than non-immigrants around the world (34–39) which is  
111 known as “the healthy immigrant” effect. Furthermore, they also display a higher educational  
112 profile or IQ level (40–42) than nonimmigrants. Even if it is debatable whether these features are a  
113 cause or a consequence of being an immigrant, it seems that individuals who get to pass the  
114 immigration screening of host countries display better physical and psychological conditions (43).  
115 If those factors are not equal between monolinguals and bilinguals at test, they might potentially  
116 cause differences between groups in EF, and there would be no way of disentangling the potential  
117 effects of bilingualism from those produced by the uncontrolled factors. Upon reviewing the  
118 existing literature showing a bilingual advantage, one could find that the abovementioned concern  
119 seems to be the rule more than the exception for the majority of the studies. We observe studies in  
120 which SES was not controlled for (13,44), in which comparisons are made between monolinguals  
121 and bilinguals that were tested in different countries (45), or in which the bilingual sample tested  
122 included the majority of immigrants (19). In addition, and somehow confirming the low reliability

123 and replicability of the bilingual advantage effect, significant findings on bilingual advantage  
124 happen principally when sample sizes are small (around  $n < 30$ , see 31). Furthermore, these effects  
125 are not always found across the tasks that are assumed to measure the same construct of executive  
126 control (24). As Paap and his colleagues argue, for the hypothesis of the bilingual advantage to be  
127 coherently demonstrated, the advantage should be present at least in two different tasks that tap into  
128 the same cognitive ability, and the markers of those tasks should correlate, which seems not to be  
129 the case (for example, 30). This little or no convergent validity questions the domain-generalty of  
130 the EF and, as a consequence, the improvement transfer from language control training to enhanced  
131 EF provided by bilingualism. Furthermore, when large samples of participants are matched in the  
132 confounding variables (26), the bilingual advantage systematically vanishes, with comparable  
133 performance or monolingual and bilingual children (46–48), young adults (30) and older adults (49–  
134 52). Very recently, Lehtonen et al. (53) explored in detail 891 effect sizes from 152 different  
135 studies, both published and unpublished, that compared bilinguals' and monolinguals' performance  
136 in six different EF tasks. They found very little evidence supporting the bilingual advantage theory,  
137 which disappeared when the observed publication bias was corrected for.

138 Hence, the first aim of the present set of tasks is to test the reliability and replicability of the  
139 bilingual advantage in EF. Similarly to what we did with children (46–48) and the very recent work  
140 by Dick et al. (54), where they tested more than 4500 children in the flanker, the stop-signal, and the  
141 dimensional change card sort tasks, and found little evidence to support the bilingual advantage  
142 after conducting Generalized Additive Mixed Models and equivalence test analyses) and the elderly  
143 (49), we will test large samples of bilinguals from a purely bilingual community and monolinguals  
144 from a monolingual community of the same country, while controlling for potentially confounding  
145 factors. The classic tasks used in previous studies reporting bilingual advantage will be used here.  
146 To further check for the influence of the controlled factors, bootstrapping analyses will be  
147 conducted, exploring whether the significance of a potential bilingual advantage coincides with

148 significant differences in other external factors. Also, the assumption of the domain-generalty of  
149 the EF will be tested by running correlation analyses between the indices obtained in different tasks  
150 (26).

151 Interestingly, the bilingual advantage has been recently associated with an enhancement of  
152 working memory (WM) abilities as well. Similarly to what occurs with EF, it has been shown that  
153 WM is also liable to be improved by training (see, among many others, 55–58; but see also 59; for  
154 evidence against the beneficial effects of training in WM). However, the relation between  
155 bilingualism and WM is a hard domain to explore in isolation, because the concepts of EF and WM  
156 are closely connected (60). Indeed, different aspects of EF operate with the information held in the  
157 WM, and differences in EF abilities have been argued to correlate with differences in WM  
158 capacities (61), especially in complex memory tasks with high demands of storing and processing  
159 of information (62). Furthermore, it is important to note that the definitions traditionally given to  
160 WM (63) and updating /monitoring (3) overlap in that they both define the ability to manipulate  
161 information in the primary memory; and often have been equated (23), although convergent validity  
162 analyses have recently shown that they are clearly related but separated components (64). Thus, it  
163 has been argued that it is possible that what has been observed as a bilingual advantage in EF might  
164 have been a reflection of an advantage in a mediating overlapping factor, i.e. WM. As a  
165 consequence, “any finding of an advantage in controlled attention would be far more convincing if  
166 WM were held constant” (65). Given that the abovementioned classic EF tasks also require WM  
167 capacities, inasmuch as a rule has to be kept in mind to adequately respond to the task, the outcomes  
168 would be a product of both EF and WM abilities.

169 To explore the potential impact of bilingualism on WM abilities, we will also test them in  
170 isolation by using the tasks tapping into them alone, where no inhibitory abilities or switching are  
171 needed. The studies conducted so far using non-linguistic memory tasks show inconsistent and  
172 unclear evidence: Bialystok et al. (1) tested young and old monolinguals and bilinguals in an easy

173 (with two color cues and response possibilities) and a hard (four different cues and responses)  
174 version of the Simon task, and found that the increase in difficulty (i.e., increase in the WM load)  
175 was handled better by the bilinguals than by the monolinguals (but see 66 for no differences after  
176 controlling for socio-demographic factors). Bialystok, Craik, and Luk (19) found no differences  
177 between bilinguals and monolinguals in the Self-ordered pointing tasks (67) and minor differences  
178 in the Corsi task (68,69), where bilinguals recalled more items than monolinguals, with no  
179 differences between forward or backward repetition conditions. Luo, Craik, Moreno and Bialystok  
180 (70) tested younger and older monolingual and bilingual adults in forward and backward verbal and  
181 spatial (Corsi task) WM tasks, and bilinguals outperformed monolinguals on the spatial tasks but  
182 monolinguals did better on verbal tasks. Later, Ratiu and Azuma (71) tested 52 bilinguals and 53  
183 monolinguals in a variety of simple and complex WM tasks, including a backward digit-span task,  
184 standard operation span task and a non-verbal symmetry task. Although bilinguals had a  
185 significantly higher educational level, which could arguably facilitate the appearance of a bilingual  
186 advantage, analyses indicated that monolinguals showed a significantly higher score than bilinguals  
187 in operation span and backward digit tasks, with no differences in the symmetry task. However, in a  
188 multivariate regression analysis, speaker group (bilinguals vs. monolinguals) did not predict scoring  
189 in any of the tasks, nor it interacted with any other factor. Interestingly, we observe that some of the  
190 concerns with respect to the influence of external factors (26,30,31) do apply to these studies also.  
191 Namely, the bilinguals tested by Bialystok, Craik, and Luk (19) spoke a huge variety of second  
192 languages, indicating different cultural (and probably ethnical) backgrounds, and the SES was not  
193 measured. Crucially, out of 24 participants per group, 14 young bilinguals and 20 old bilinguals  
194 were immigrants. In the study by Luo, Craik, Moreno and Bialystok (70), language groups differed  
195 in their English vocabulary level and the nonverbal intelligence scores. This was to some extent  
196 solved by including those factors in an ANCOVA showing that the effect remained the same, but  
197 still their samples feature uneven sizes (58 monolinguals and 99 bilinguals) and language  
198 backgrounds (the second language spoken by the young adults varied among a set of more than 10



199 languages), suggesting differences in ethnicity. Importantly, many other relevant variables such as  
200 immigrant status or SES were not reported.

201         Recently, trying to account for WM differences while controlling for external factors, Hansen  
202 and colleagues (72) tested 152 native Spanish children, half of whom were attending a bilingual  
203 immersion schooling program (i.e., receiving teaching in both English and Spanish) and the other  
204 half Spanish only. Both groups of children were matched in various demographical factors,  
205 including SES and intelligence, and they all were from the same city. They were tested in an n-back  
206 task (participants have to indicate if the current trial matches the one from n-trials back) and a  
207 reading span task (a task that requires remembering the last word of a presented set of sentences), as  
208 well as a rapid automatic naming task to measure participants' verbal processing speed. They found  
209 that young bilinguals performed better than monolinguals in the n-back tasks, a task that heavily  
210 relies on updating (monitoring and updating the items held in the WM) and inhibition (the relevant  
211 item changes in every trial). On the other hand, young bilinguals showed a disadvantage in the  
212 reading span task (which requires mostly linguistic processing and verbal storage), but an advantage  
213 in older groups (see also 73, for an extended exploration on the effects of emergent bilingualism on  
214 literacy). Hansen and colleagues argue for an effect of bilingualism on WM during the first years of  
215 immersion due to the higher demands that children might face when they encounter bilingualism for  
216 the first time. But, this difference would just modulate the development of said skills, and  
217 importantly they would equalize eventually (on the same regard, see also 74). However, in a similar  
218 longitudinal perspective to explore the effect of bilingualism in WM during adulthood, Ljunberg  
219 and colleagues (75), found that bilinguals systematically outperformed monolinguals ranging from  
220 35 to 80 years of age in several tasks tapping into episodic memory and letter fluency tests.

221         As it can be seen, there are few studies that specifically looked at the effects of bilingualism  
222 on WM. The pattern of results ranges from similar performance of bilinguals and monolinguals  
223 (24,76) to benefit of bilingualism (19,74,75), or even bilingual disadvantage (71). Considering the

224 opposing pieces of evidence presented so far and the lack of control of the relevant factors  
225 (26,30,31) that some studies feature, consistent conclusions cannot be drawn from those data.  
226 Therefore, the effects of bilingualism on WM should be tested with the samples that only differ in  
227 linguistic background, with bilingual and monolingual profiles as similar as possible.

228 The current experiment aims at testing the effects of bilingualisms on both EF (first set of  
229 four tasks) and WM (second set of four tasks) with large cohorts of carefully matched monolinguals  
230 and bilinguals. Ninety young bilingual adults from the Basque Country (a region of the north of  
231 Spain where Basque and Spanish are co-official) and 90 carefully matched monolinguals from  
232 Murcia (a south-eastern region of Spain where only Spanish is spoken and official) were tested. To  
233 explore the assumption of the bilingual advantage theory that claims that bilingualism enhances  
234 general EF that applies to any domain general situation, the degree of cross-task replicability will be  
235 also tested (30). Also, to account for the possible impact of bilingualism on WM, the forward and  
236 backward versions of a spatial (Corsi task) and a numerical (digit span task) memory tasks will be  
237 used. Thus, while it is impossible to get rid of any possible WM influence in the set of EF tasks, the  
238 use of more specific tasks will provide us with information about WM in isolation. To assess the co-  
239 occurrence of a bilingual advantage and significant socio-demographic differences, additional  
240 bootstrapping and regression analyses will be also conducted. In sum, we tested the possible  
241 benefits of bilingualism on two different aspects, i.e., EF and WM, in large samples of bilinguals  
242 and monolinguals matched on all the relevant factors.

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## General Methods

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### Participants

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180 young adults from Spain took part on these series of tasks. The 90 bilinguals (68 females,

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mean age 22.29 year, SD= 2.87) were tested in the facilities of the BCBL, in Donostia-San

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Sebastian (in the Basque Country). On average they had acquired Basque with 0.96 years of age

249 (SD=1.27) and they reported to have a general proficiency of 8.41 over 10 (SD=1.88) in Basque.  
250 Self-reports in Spanish proficiency reached a mean score of 8.58 (SD=1.91), and this language was  
251 acquired with an average of 1.13 years (SD=1.72). Thus, bilinguals were balanced in terms of  
252 proficiency ( $p>.33$ ) and age of acquisition ( $p>.42$ ). They were also interviewed by native bilingual  
253 research assistant to make sure that they were truly balanced and native bilinguals. As opposed to  
254 heritage bilingual speakers, Basque bilinguals tend to show a more balanced dominance and  
255 exposition to both languages, as they are fully immersed in a bilingual society. Generally, Spanish  
256 is more present in the media and leisure activities, but the bilinguals from our sample report to be  
257 equally exposed to Spanish (47.78% of their time, SD=17.07) and to Basque (43% of their time,  
258 SD= 17.95), with no statistical differences ( $p>.18$ ). The bilingual educational system allows for  
259 tuition models based on either one of the languages or both, and although data on this was not  
260 collected, self-reported percentage of time in which they write in each of the languages – which  
261 could be taken as a proxy of the language in which they carry over their educational activity – was  
262 collected. We found out that they write more in Basque (52.67% of their time, SD=24.30) than in  
263 Spanish (39%, SD=23.80,  $p<.01$ ), indicating a predominant tendency for formal education in  
264 Basque. On average, they report that they speak 50% of the time in Spanish (SD=19.11) and  
265 43.22% in Basque (SD=20.21), a difference that although results in marginally significant ( $p>.08$ ),  
266 reflects a highly balanced use of both languages.

267 The 90 monolinguals (67 females, 21.84 years of age in average, SD=3.05) were recruited in  
268 the region of Murcia, in the south-east area of Spain, and tested in the University of Murcia. They  
269 reported to have acquired Spanish with a mean age of 0.68 (SD=.76) and a mean proficiency of 9.13  
270 (SD=.84), with very little or no knowledge of any other language.

271 Participants from both groups were matched for a variety of factors that could potentially  
272 affect our experimental purposes. The matched 90 bilinguals and 90 monolinguals were selected  
273 from a bigger sample of 126 monolinguals and 141 bilinguals by means of testing their differences

274 in age, IQ, socio-economic status (SES), educational level and knowledge of Spanish using  
275 independent sample t-tests. An estimation of the IQ of each participant was based on their  
276 performance on an abridged version of the Kaufman Brief Intelligence Test (K-BIT, 77) that was  
277 administrated during the experimental session. As an indicator of the SES, total monthly income  
278 was considered and divided by the amount of household members, thus getting an approximate  
279 value of the incomes that each member of household receive monthly on average and make the  
280 incomes more comparable across families of different sizes. The majority of the participants had  
281 already obtained a university degree (or higher) or were in the process of obtaining one, and this  
282 number was virtually identical across groups (88 bilinguals and 87 monolinguals). To control for  
283 their proficiency in Spanish (namely, the test language) every participant completed the Spanish  
284 version of the LexTale (78) that provides an objective indicator of their Spanish mastery. All these  
285 demographic and linguistic variables that could affect the outcomes of the study were thus matched  
286 across groups (all  $ps > .1$ ; see Table 1 for detailed information about the participants). All  
287 participants reported normal or corrected to normal vision and signed a consent form according to  
288 the principles established by the ethics committee of the BCBL.

289 **Table 1: Demographic factors of the participants.** Mean values are presented together with  
290 standard deviation (between parentheses) and the p value resulting from an independent groups t-  
291 test with an alpha value of 0.05.

	Monolinguals		Bilinguals		p value
Chronological age (years)	21.84	(3.05)	22.3	(2.87)	0.31
General IQ	22.76	(2.62)	23.4	(2.91)	0.13
SES (income in €/household members)	639.55	(498.97)	739.58	(297.36)	0.1
LexTale	92.28	(5.63)	93.4	(3.88)	0.11

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318 pointing in the opposite direction ( $\leftarrow \leftarrow \rightarrow \leftarrow \leftarrow$ ), and for the *neutral* condition, the arrow was  
319 flanked by no arrows ( $-- \leftarrow --$ ). There were 16 items of each condition, 8 of them with the  
320 central arrow pointing to the left and the other half with the central arrow pointing to the right.

321 In the Simon task participants were presented with a black circle or a black square in the  
322 screen, and they were instructed to respond with the red button (on the left of the response box) if  
323 they saw a circle or with the green button (on the right) if they saw a square, irrespectively of its  
324 position in the screen. Thus, the *incongruent* condition was created by presenting circles on the  
325 right side of the screen or squares presented on the left side of the screen, making participants  
326 respond to them with the button on the opposite side of the side in which the figure appeared. The  
327 *congruent* condition was created by presenting the figures in the same side of the screen of the  
328 response button needed, i.e., by presenting circles in the left and squares in the right. Finally, the  
329 *neutral* condition was created by presenting the figures in the middle of the screen. There were 16  
330 items of each condition, and half of the items per condition were squares, while the other half were  
331 circles.

332 For the verbal Stroop task, the Spanish words for the colors red, blue and yellow (“rojo”,  
333 “azul” and “amarillo”) and three pairwise-matched (with a similar length, frequency and syllabic  
334 structure) non-color words (“ropa”, “avión” and “apellido”, the Spanish words for clothes, plane  
335 and surname, respectively) were used as target items. They were arranged to create the *congruent* (a  
336 color word printed in the same color that the word indicates; e.g., the word “azul” in blue),  
337 *incongruent* (a color word printed in a different color from what it is naming, e.g., the word “rojo”  
338 in blue) and *neutral* (non-color words printed in any of the colors, e.g., the word “ropa” in red)  
339 conditions. In each condition 24 trials were used, and each color was presented the same amount of  
340 times in each condition (8 times), paired equally with every word. All the strings were presented in  
341 uppercase Courier New font on a black background, while the colors were set in the RGB-scale  
342 values as follows: blue=0,0,255; red=255,0,0; yellow=255,255,0.

343 For the numerical Stroop task, stimuli consisted in six digits (2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8), arranged in  
344 pairs to form each trials (e.g., 2-6), one presented on the left side of the screen and another one on  
345 the right side. Participants had to say which one was larger in size, ignoring the numerical value.  
346 Depending on how the digits were paired, three conditions were created: 24 *congruent* trials (the  
347 larger number in magnitude was also the bigger in size, e.g., small 2-big 6), 24 *incongruent* trials  
348 (the smaller number in size was the larger in magnitude, e.g., big 2-small 6) and 24 *neutral* trials  
349 (two same numbers different in size, e.g., big 4-small 4). In all the conditions “left” and “right”  
350 responses were equally distributed, and each digit was used in each condition an equal number of  
351 times.

352 Participants were instructed about the responses before each task, and received indications  
353 about the button press or vocal responses in each case. In the Simon, the Flanker, and the Numerical  
354 Stroop tasks, there was a short training phase before the experiment started. After a fixation point  
355 was displayed in the center of the screen for 1000ms in black, on a white background, the stimuli  
356 was presented on the screen for 5000ms or until the response was given. The order of the stimuli  
357 was randomized and there were no breaks. In the verbal Stroop task, after a short training period, a  
358 fixation mark was presented for 250ms (a white cross in a black background), and then the target  
359 word appeared on the screen for 3000ms, during which participants’ response was recorded.

### 360 **Data analysis**

361 The data from the Stroop task needed a different pre-processing before analyzing. Audios  
362 were equalized to a 63dB amplitude using Praat© (83). Once all the files had same amplitude level,  
363 the voice onset was automatically detected by Praat as follows: the textgrid of each audio was  
364 divided into “sound” and “silence” segments using the silence function from Praat. For a segment to  
365 be considered “sound” it had to have a minimum pitch of 100 Hz, to have exceeded a -25dB  
366 threshold and to have lasted at least 100ms. “Silence” segments had to last at least 200ms. The  
367 starting time point of the first sound segment was considered the onset of the speech and therefore,

368 the reaction time of that response. The accuracy of the responses was checked manually, and the  
369 speech onset was manually adapted in the cases in which subjects corrected themselves (e.g.,  
370 “roj...amarillo”) and mistakes were removed.

371 For the four tasks, after removing errors, latencies were trimmed for outliers by deleting any  
372 response that deviated in more than 2SD from the mean in each condition. After this, a 3x2  
373 ANOVA was run with Condition (*congruent, incongruent, neutral*) and Language Group  
374 (*bilinguals, monolinguals*). To further check for any possible advantage, the *conflict index* (i.e.,  
375 *incongruent-congruent* latencies), the *incongruity index* (i.e., the *neutral* condition compared to the  
376 *incongruent* condition), and the *congruency index* (the *congruent* condition compared to the *neutral*  
377 one) were compared across language groups using ANOVAs and Bayesian t-tests (calculated using  
378 JASP,84). The same procedure was repeated for error rates.

## 379 Results

380 In the reaction times analysis for the flanker task, after removing 5.15% of the data due to  
381 outliers, we observed a strong main effect of Condition [ $F(2, 356)=196.15, p<.01$ ], and a more  
382 detailed analysis indicated that *congruent* items were responded faster than the *incongruent* ones  
383 [ $t(179)= 16.69, p<.01$ ], and also *neutral* items were responded faster than both *incongruent*  
384 [ $t(179)= 15.98, p<.01$ ] and *congruent* ones [ $t(179)= 2.48, p<.02$ ]. There was no main effect of  
385 Language Group [ $F(1, 178)=0.60, p>.44$ ] and no interaction between the two main effects [ $F(2,$   
386  $356)= 0.01, p>0.99$ ]. The *conflict index* analysis showed a strong Condition effect  
387 [ $F(1,178)=279.92, p<.01$ ], but no other effect or interaction were significant ( $F_s<1$ ). Results from  
388 the Bayes Factor t-test comparison across groups [ $BF_{01}=6.14$ ] indicated that the null hypothesis  
389 explains the data 6 times better than the alternative hypothesis of bilinguals showing a reduced  
390 *conflict index* (see Table 2 for descriptive results). The *incongruity index* showed the same pattern  
391 as the *conflict index*, showing a strong Condition effect [ $F(1, 178)= 253.96, p<.01$ ] but no other  
392 significant results ( $F_s<1$ ), and the Bayesian Factor analysis favored the null hypothesis [ $BF_{01}=5.16$ ].



393 The *congruency index* also showed a significant effect of Condition [ $F(1, 178)= 6.14, p<.02$ ] but no  
 394 other significant effect or interaction ( $F_s<1$ ). Bayesian analysis also favored the null hypothesis  
 395 over the alternative one [ $BF_{01}=4.71$ ].

396 **Table 2: Flanker task.** Mean reaction times (in milliseconds) and error rates (in percentages) for  
 397 each condition and index are displayed together with standard deviations (between parentheses).

		Mean reaction times				Mean error rates			
		Monolinguals		Bilinguals		Monolinguals		Bilinguals	
Conditions	Congruent	387	(67)	379	(80)	0.49	(1.68)	0.49	(1.68)
	Incongruent	428	(78)	420	(89)	2.71	(4.4)	2.85	(4.97)
	Neutral	382	(64)	373	(68)	0.63	(1.89)	0.69	(2.19)
	Total	399	(67)	391	(77)	1.27	(1.97)	1.34	(2.03)
Effects	Stroop	41	(33)	41	(34)	2.22	(4.33)	2.36	(4.92)
	Incongruity	-46	(38)	-47	(41)	-2.08	(4.29)	-2.15	(5.48)
	Congruency	6	(29)	6	(32)	0.14	(2.29)	0.21	(2.38)

398

399 The analysis of the error rates showed a similar pattern. A strong and significant Condition  
 400 effect was found [ $F(2, 356)=34.39, p<.01$ ], stemming from *incongruent* trials producing more errors  
 401 than the ones belonging to *congruent* condition [ $t(179)= 6.66, p<.01$ ] and to *neutral* trials [ $t(179)=$   
 402  $5.79, p<.01$ ]; but no differences were found when *congruent* and *neutral* conditions were compared  
 403 [ $t(179)= 1.00, p>.32$ ]. Importantly, no main effect of Language Group or an interaction between it  
 404 and Condition were found (all  $F_s<1$ ). When the *conflict index* was computed and compared  
 405 between groups, the effect of Condition was significant [ $F(1,178)=44.06, p<.01$ ], but no other main  
 406 effect or modulation was ( $F_s<1$ ). Expectedly, the Bayes Factor t-test analysis [ $BF_{01}=6,07$ ] supported  
 407 the null-differences hypothesis. Similarly to what it was found in the RTs analysis, the *incongruity*  
 408 *index* was significant [ $F(1, 178)= 33.35, p<.01$ ] but no other effect or interaction was ( $F_s<1$ ), as  
 409 confirmed by the Bayesian Factor analysis [ $BF_{01}=6.16$ ]. *Congruency index* analysis, however,  
 410 showed no main effect or interaction (all  $F_s<1$ ), but still the index was compared across groups and  
 411 the null hypothesis was the best fir for the data [ $BF_{01}=6.08$ ].

412 The general ANOVA conducted on the reaction times to correct responses –after removing  
 413 the outliers (4.82% of the data) – in the Simon task revealed a significant main effect of Condition  
 414 [ $F(2, 356)=28.66, p<.01$ ]. Post-hoc comparisons showed that *incongruent* trials were responded  
 415 slower than both *congruent* [ $t(179)= 8.09, p<.01$ ] and *neutral* trials [ $t(179)= 4.71, p<.01$ ], and that  
 416 *congruent* trials were responded faster than *neutral* ones [ $t(179)= 2.38, p<.02$ ]. However, nor main  
 417 effect of Language Group [ $F(1, 178)=1.91, p>.17$ ] neither the interaction between them [ $F(2,$   
 418  $356)=0.33, p>.72$ ] was significant (see Table 3 for descriptive results). In the *conflict index* analysis,  
 419 Condition effect was significant [ $F(1, 178)= 65.01, p<.01$ ], but no main effect of Language Group  
 420 [ $F(1, 178)= 1.64, p>.2$ ] or an interaction was found [ $F<1$ ], which indicates that there are no  
 421 significant differences in the *conflict index* when it is compared across groups [ $BF_{01}=5.90$ ]. The  
 422 *incongruity index* showed a strong Condition effect [ $F(1, 178)= 22.01, p<.01$ ], but Language Group  
 423 did not [ $F(1,178)= 1.89, p>.17$ ] and neither did it the interaction between them [ $F<1$ ]. The Bayes  
 424 Factor analysis supported that the *incongruity index* was similar in both groups [ $BF_{01}=4.73$ ]. In a  
 425 similar pattern, the *congruency index* was significant [ $F(1, 178)= 5.66, p<.02$ ] but it did not interact  
 426 with Language Group [ $F<1$ ]. Language Group did not result significant either [ $F(1, 178)= 2.09,$   
 427  $p>.15$ ], and Bayes Factor analysis supported the similarity of the index across language groups  
 428 [ $BF_{01}=5.48$ ].

429 **Table 3: Simon task.** Mean reaction times (in milliseconds) and error rates (in percentages) for  
 430 each condition and index are displayed together with standard deviations (between parentheses).

		Mean reaction times				Mean error rates			
		Monolinguals		Bilinguals		Monolinguals		Bilinguals	
Conditions	Congruent	448	(124)	425	(112)	2.50	(4.37)	1.74	(3.63)
	Incongruent	478	(122)	457	(116)	4.38	(6.32)	4.03	(5.95)
	Neutral	460	(134)	433	(115)	2.36	(5.18)	2.01	(3.36)
	Total	462	(120)	438	(112)	3.08	(3.9)	2.59	(2.97)
Effects	Stroop	30	(63)	33	(39)	1.88	(7.34)	2.29	(6.45)
	Incongruity	-18	(76)	-25	(41)	2.01	(5.84)	2.01	(5.99)
	Congruency	12	(73)	8	(36)	-0.14	(5.7)	0.28	(4.77)

431           When the error rates were analyzed, a similar picture emerged. Condition was significant  
432   [ $F(2, 356)=13.7, p<.01$ ], and paired comparisons revealed that it was due to the *incongruent* trials  
433   producing more errors than both *congruent* [ $t(179)= 4.05, p<.01$ ] and *neutral* ones [ $t(179)= 4.58,$   
434    $p<.01$ ], with no difference between these last two ( $t<1$ ). No effect of Language Group or an  
435   interaction between it and Condition were found (all  $F_s<1$ ). Crucially, the *conflict index* was  
436   significant [ $F(1,178)= 16.35, p<.01$ ] but it did not interact with Language Group, and Language  
437   Group did not result significant either (all  $F_s<1$ ). The Bayes Factor analysis [ $BF_{01}=5.74$ ] indicated  
438   that the null-hypothesis was almost 6 times more likely to explain the data. Similarly, the  
439   *incongruity effect* was significant [ $F(1,178)= 20.88, p<.01$ ] but neither language Group nor the  
440   interaction between it and Condition was (all  $F_s<1$ ). The Bayes Factor analysis indicated that the  
441   index was highly similar across language groups [ $BF_{01}=5.79$ ]. The analysis of the *congruity effect*  
442   revealed that neither Condition, nor Language group nor the interaction between them was  
443   significant (all  $F_s<1.3$ , all  $p_s>.26$ ).

444           After removing the outliers from the Stroop task (4.84%), a general ANOVA on the reaction  
445   times to correct responses showed a main effect of Condition [ $F(2, 356)=279.22, p<.01$ ], which  
446   showed that *congruent* condition was responded on average faster than *neutral* trials [ $t(179)= 10.98,$   
447    $p<.01$ ] and than *incongruent* trials [ $t(179)= 21.32, p<.01$ ]. *Neutral* condition was also responded  
448   faster than *incongruent* condition [ $t(179)= 13.80, p<.01$ ]. Crucially, we observed no main effect of  
449   Language Group [ $F(1, 178)=1.53, p>.22$ ] and no interaction between it and Condition [ $F(2,$   
450    $356)=0.40, p>0.67$ ]. The *Stroop index* analysis indicated a strong effect of Condition [ $F(1, 178)=$   
451    $452.41, p<.01$ ], but Language Group was not significant [ $F(1, 178)=1.3, p>.29$ ] and, crucially, it did  
452   not interact with Condition ( $F<1$ ). Importantly, the analysis of the Bayes Factor [ $BF_{01}=5.62$ ]  
453   indicated that there are no significant differences between groups and that the null hypothesis is the  
454   most likely one to explain these data (see Table 4 for descriptive results). The *incongruity index*  
455   analysis showed a main effect of Condition [ $F(1,178)= 189.59, p<.01$ ] but negligible main effect of

456 Language Group [ $F(1,178)= 1.77, p>.18$ ] and, importantly, no modulation of Condition by  
 457 Language Group ( $F<1$ ). This null difference between groups was again supported by the Bayesian  
 458 t-test [ $BF_{01}=5.79$ ]. The analysis of the *congruency index* showed a significant effect of Condition  
 459 [ $F(1,178)= 120.32, p<.01$ ] but it was not modulated by the knowledge of a second language  
 460 [ $F(1,178)= 1.06, p<.30$ ], which was supported by the Bayesian t-test [ $BF_{01}=3.78$ ]. Similarly, no  
 461 main effect of Language Group was found [ $F(1,178)= 1.62, p>.21$ ].

462 **Table 4: Verbal Stroop task.** Mean reaction times (in milliseconds) and error rates (in  
 463 percentages) for each condition and index are displayed together with standard deviations (between  
 464 parentheses).

		Mean reaction times				Mean error rates			
		Monolinguals		Bilinguals		Monolinguals		Bilinguals	
Conditions	Congruent	648	(96)	662	(96)	0.05	(0.44)	0.05	(0.44)
	Incongruent	743	(116)	761	(104)	0.65	(1.97)	0.32	(1.43)
	Neutral	684	(86)	705	(98)	0.14	(0.75)	0.14	(0.75)
	Total	692	(94)	709	(95)	0.28	(0.84)	0.17	(0.72)
Effects	Stroop	95	(65)	99	(58)	0.60	(1.93)	0.28	(1.37)
	Incongruity	-60	(63)	-56	(50)	-0.51	(1.75)	-0.19	(1.24)
	Congruency	35	(48)	43	(47)	0.09	(0.88)	0.09	(0.62)

465

466 The error rate analysis showed a strong and significant Condition effect [ $F(2, 356)=10.24,$   
 467  $p<.01$ ], indicating that more errors were made in the items belonging to the *incongruent* condition  
 468 than in the ones belonging to the *congruent* condition [ $t(179)= 3.52, p<.01$ ] and to the *neutral* one  
 469 [ $t(179)= 3.07, p<.01$ ]; but no effect of Language Group was found [ $F(1,178)=0.87, p>.35$ ] nor an  
 470 interaction between Language Group and Condition [ $F(2, 356)=1.67, p>0.19$ ]. The *Stroop index*  
 471 was computed and compared between groups, which showed a strong main effect of Condition  
 472 [ $F(1,178)= 12.43, p<.01$ ], but it was not modulated by Language Group [ $F(1,178)= 1.69, p>.2$ ], and  
 473 Language Groups did not differ either [ $F(1,178)= 1.35, p>.25$ ]. Furthermore, the Bayes Factor  
 474 analysis [ $BF_{01}=2.83$ ] supported the null-differences hypothesis. The *incongruity index* was

475 significant [ $F(1,178)= 9.45, p<.01$ ], but Language Group did not modulate it [ $F(1,178)= 2.06,$   
476  $p>.15$ ] and neither a main effect of Language Group was observed ( $F<1$ ). The Bayes factor  
477 comparison also tended to support the null hypothesis as the best fitting candidate [ $BF_{01}=2.38$ ]. In  
478 the *congruency index* analysis, Condition was not significant [ $F(1,175)=2.67, p>.1$ ] and neither was  
479 the effect of Language Group or the interaction between the two factors ( $F_s<1$ ).

480 In numerical Stroop task, the reaction times to the correct responses were analysed after  
481 removing of outliers (4.75%). The general ANOVA showed a main effect of Condition [ $F(2,$   
482  $356)=202.38, p<.01$ ], indicating that *congruent* trials were responded faster than both the  
483 *incongruent* [ $t(179)= 16.37, p<.01$ ] and the *neutral* ones [ $t(179)= 6.04, p<.01$ ], and that *neutral*  
484 items were also responded faster than the *incongruent* ones [ $t(179)= 13.80, p<.01$ ]. Crucially we  
485 found no main effect of Language Group [ $F(1, 178)=2.61, p>.11$ ] nor interaction between it and  
486 Condition [ $F(2, 356)=0.40, p>0.67$ ]. The *Stroop index* was significant [ $F(1,178)= 268.63, p<.01$ ]  
487 but Language Group [ $F(1,178)= 2.95, p>.09$ ] was not. The lack of interaction between them  
488 [ $F(1,178)=1.44, p>.23$ ] indicated that the linguistic profile did not have any reliable impact on the  
489 magnitude of the *Stroop effect* [ $BF_{01}=3.18$ ] (see Table 5 for descriptive results). The *incongruity*  
490 *index* analysis showed a significant Condition effect [ $F(1,178)= 191.70, p<.01$ ], but Language  
491 Group was not significant [ $F(1,178)= 2.62, p>.11$ ] and neither it was the interaction between them  
492 [ $F(1,178)= 2.23, p>.14$ ], which was supported by the tendency showed by the Bayes Factor analysis  
493 [ $BF_{01}=2.2$ ]. The *congruency index* was strong [ $F(1,178)=32.25, p<.01$ ], but Language effect was  
494 not significant [ $F(1,178)=2.19, p>.14$ ], neither was the interaction between them ( $F<1$ ). The null  
495 hypothesis was also supported by the Bayes Factor analysis [ $BF_{01}=5.89$ ].

496

497 **Table 5: Numerical Stroop task.** Mean reaction times (in milliseconds) and error rates (in  
498 percentages) for each condition and index are displayed together with standard deviations (between  
499 parentheses).

		Mean reaction times				Mean error rates			
		Monolinguals		Bilinguals		Monolinguals		Bilinguals	
Conditions	Congruent	424	(86)	404	(86)	0.37	(1.35)	0.37	(1.35)
	Incongruent	474	(103)	447	(100)	2.27	(4.29)	2.69	(4.43)
	Neutral	433	(95)	414	(91)	0.23	(1.15)	0.32	(1.56)
	Total	444	(93)	422	(90)	0.96	(1.75)	1.13	(1.68)
Effects	Stroop	51	(36)	44	(41)	1.90	(4.42)	2.31	(4.47)
	Incongruity	-41	(37)	-33	(35)	-2.04	(3.81)	-2.36	(4.72)
	Congruency	10	(25)	11	(20)	-0.14	(1.7)	-0.05	(2.02)

500

501 The error rate analysis also showed a significant Condition effect [ $F(2, 356)=38.79, p<.01$ ],  
502 which was a reflection of *incongruent* trials producing more errors than both *congruent* [ $t(179)=$   
503  $6.26, p<.01$ ] and *neutral* [ $t(179)= 6.79, p<.01$ ] ones, but no differences were found between  
504 *congruent* and *neutral* items ( $t<1$ ). Importantly, we observed no effect of Language Group or an  
505 interaction between that factor and Condition (all  $F_s<1$ ). The *Stroop index* was compared between  
506 groups, and it revealed a main effect of Condition [ $F(1,178)= 40.43, p<.01$ ], but no other effects  
507 were significant (all  $F_s<1$ ). Bayes Factor analysis [ $BF_{01}=4.80$ ] indicated that both groups behaved  
508 similarly. Similarly, the *incongruity effect* analysis showed a Condition effect [ $F(1,178)= 47.32,$   
509  $p<.01$ ], but no main effect of Language or interaction was found (all  $F_s<1$ ). Again, Bayes Factor  
510 analysis indicated no differences between Language Groups [ $BF_{01}=5.49$ ]. Finally, the *congruency*  
511 *index* analysis showed no significant effect or interaction (all  $F_s<1$ ), and a further Bayes Factor  
512 analysis also indicated that the index did not differ across groups [ $BF_{01}=5.88$ ].

513

514

### Cross-task correlation

515

516

517

518

The cross-task coherence was tested in a correlation analysis between the indices in  
milliseconds (*congruency*, *incongruity* and *conflict/Stroop*) obtained in all the tasks (30,64). The  
Stroop/conflict effects across tasks showed negligible correlation strength (all  $r_s$  between  $-.06$  and  
 $.10$ ). The *congruency* effect showed a significant yet low positive correlation between the flanker

519 task and the numerical Stroop task ( $r = .21$ ), but all the other effects reflected mild cross-task  
520 reliability (all  $r$ s between  $-.05$  and  $.15$ ). Finally, analyses on *incongruity effects* showed a significant  
521 but negative correlation between the flanker and the Simon tasks ( $r = -.20$ ), and all the rest pairs of  
522 effects indicated that the cross-task coherence was very low (all  $r$ s between  $-.11$  and  $.17$ ). Thus, this  
523 analysis consistently showed a poor level of cross-task correlation.

#### 524 **Interim conclusion**

525 We found no evidence that supports a bilingual advantage in EF: bilinguals and monolinguals  
526 performed equally when facing incongruent trials or when measuring global reaction times.  
527 Furthermore, the much more restrictive Bayesian Factor analysis of the different *Stroop* and conflict  
528 effects clearly favored the null hypothesis, reinforcing the idea of bilinguals and monolinguals  
529 performing similarly in classic tasks that tap into EF. The indices obtained in the different tasks  
530 showed negligible or, when significant, negative correlation between them.

531 As explained in the Introduction, in the second part of the present study we aimed at  
532 exploring the potential differences between groups in WM. With that purpose, we tested the same  
533 participants in two tasks that measure WM –a verbal/numerical WM task and a spatial WM task –  
534 in both a forward and a backward version.

535

#### 536 **Working memory: Tasks 5-8**

##### 537 **Materials and procedure**

538 In the Corsi and the Corsi inverse tasks, the participants were presented with 10 blue squares  
539 distributed on a screen with a grey background (see Fig 1 for the distribution of the squares in the  
540 screen). Those blue squares would change into green in previously established orders, creating the  
541 sequences that the participants had to remember. The ten squares were firstly presented in the  
542 screen, in blue, for 1000ms. After that, one of them changed to green for 1000ms. Then they all  
543 went back to blue for another 1000ms, and the next square in the sequence changed to green. This

544 process was repeated until all the squares of the current sequence were turned to green and back to  
545 blue again. Then, a question mark appeared in the middle of the screen, and participants needed to  
546 point with the finger which squares changed their color. In the Corsi task, participants had to  
547 indicate the changes in the same order as they occurred. In the Corsi inverse task, they had to  
548 indicate the changes in the reverse order as they occurred. There were 8 consecutive blocks with an  
549 increasing difficulty level, and in each block two sequences (trials) were presented. The increase in  
550 the difficulty was produced by the addition of one more square change to the sequences of each  
551 consecutive block. Thus, the trials in the first block consisted of two square changes, the trials in  
552 the second block consisted of three square changes, and so on up to 9 square changes in the last  
553 block. After each block (that included 2 trials), the experimenter noted the number of correctly  
554 recalled sequences. If the participant failed both, the experiment ended. If the participant  
555 remembered one or two, the next block started (see Fig 2 for a schematic representation of the  
556 experiment, and see Table 6 for the details on each trial).

557 **Fig 1: Spatial distribution of the squares in the Corsi and Corsi inverse tasks and the**  
558 **numbers assigned to each of them.**

559 **Fig 2: Schematic representation of the Corsi and Corsi inverse tasks.**

560 For the digit span and the inverse digit span tasks, sequences of digits were presented to the  
561 participants. See Table 6 for a description of said sequences and the digits used in them. There were  
562 8 blocks in total in the experiment, each of them containing two trials. In each trial, the participants  
563 were presented with a fixation point in the center of the screen while sequences of numbers were  
564 presented auditorily. Participants had to listen to the series of numbers that were presented at an  
565 approximate rate of one digit per second, and once each sequence finished, they were asked to  
566 repeat the numbers of the sequence out loud. For the digit span, this repetition had to be done in the  
567 same order as they listened to the numbers. For the digit inverse span task, they had to repeat them  
568 in the inverse order. The difficulty increased with each block, as the sequence length increased with



569 each of them: the sequences of the first block consisted of two numbers, the sequences of the  
 570 second block consisted of three numbers, and so on until the 8<sup>th</sup> block, in which the sequences  
 571 consisted of 9 numbers (see Table 6). After the two trials of each block, the experimenter indicated  
 572 the amount of correctly retrieved sequences in that block. If the participant failed both of the trials,  
 573 the experiment finished. If the participant repeated accurately one or two items, the experiment  
 574 continued (see Fig 3 for a schematic representation of the experiment and see Table 6 for details on  
 575 the trials).

576

577 **Table 6: Stimuli of working memory tasks.** Number of the square that changed in each of the  
 578 sequences displayed in each trial of the Corsi and Corsi inverse tasks and the numbers played in  
 579 each trial of the digits span and digit span inverse tasks. For the graphical display of the position of  
 580 each square, see Fig 1.

Block	Trial	Square that changes in the Corsi task	Square that changes in the Corsi inverse task	Numbers played in the digit span task	Numbers played in the inverse digit span task
1	a	3-10	7-4	9-7	3-1
	b	4-7	10-3	6-3	2-4
2	a	8-2-7	3-9-1	5-8-2	4-6
	b	1-9-3	7-2-8	6-9-4	5-7
3	a	4-9-1-6	7-2-6-10	7-2-8-6	6-2-9
	b	10-6-2-7	6-1-9-4	6-4-3-9	4-7-5
4	a	6-5-1-4-8	2-8-9-7-5	4-2-7-3-1	8-2-7-9
	b	5-7-9-8-2	8-4-1-5-6	7-5-8-3-6	4-9-6-8
5	a	4-1-9-3-8-10	5-3-7-6-2-9	3-9-2-4-8-7	6-5-8-4-3
	b	9-2-6-7-3-5	10-8-3-9-1-4	6-1-9-4-7-3	1-5-4-8-6
6	a	10-1-6-4-8-5-7	1-10-2-8-3-6-2	4-1-7-9-3-8-6	5-3-7-4-1-8
	b	2-6-3-8-2-10-1	7-5-8-4-6-1-10	6-9-1-7-4-2-8	7-2-4-8-5-6
7	a	7-3-10-5-7-8-4-9	5-10-7-1-2-3-9-6	3-8-2-9-6-1-7-4	8-1-4-9-3-6-2
	b	6-9-3-2-1-7-10-5	9-4-8-7-5-10-3-7	5-8-1-3-2-6-4-7	4-7-3-9-6-2-8
8	a	5-8-4-10-7-3-1-9-6	9-4-7-3-10-1-6-2-8	2-7-5-8-6-3-1-9-4	9-4-3-7-6-2-1-8
	b	8-2-6-1-10-3-7-4-9	6-9-1-3-7-10-4-8-5	7-1-3-9-4-2-5-6-8	7-2-8-1-5-6-4-3

581

582 **Fig 3: Schematic representation of the digits span and digits span inverse tasks.**

583

584           **Results**

585           For the analysis, the amount of trials remembered out of 16 (2 trials in each of the 8 blocks)  
586 were compared between groups in each of the tasks. (see Table 7 for descriptive results). In the  
587 Corsi task Bilinguals remembered an average of 9.92 trials (SD=1.97) and monolinguals an average  
588 of 9.84 (SD=2.33), but the difference between the two groups was non-significant [ $t(178)=0.24$ ,  
589  $p>.81$ ], and null hypothesis was also supported by the Bayesian Factor analysis ( $BF_{01}=6.02$ ). In the  
590 inverse Corsi task bilinguals remembered an average of 8.91 items (SD=1.67) and monolinguals an  
591 average of 7.98 (SD=1.95), and the difference between the two groups was significant [ $t(178)=3.45$ ,  
592  $p<0.01$ ]. The alternative hypothesis was also supported by the Bayesian Factor analysis  
593 ( $BF_{01}=0.03$ ). In the digit span, bilinguals remembered an average of 8.89 trials (SD=2.16) and  
594 monolinguals an average of 8.6 (SD=1.92), but the difference between the two groups was non-  
595 significant [ $t(178)=0.95$ ,  $p>.35$ ], and the null hypothesis was also supported by the Bayesian Factor  
596 analysis ( $BF_{01}=4.01$ ). Finally, in the inverse digit span, bilinguals remembered an average of 8.97  
597 items (SD=1.84) and monolinguals an average of 7.94 (SD=1.84), and the differences between the  
598 two groups was significant [ $t(178)=3.72$ ,  $p<0.01$ ]. The Bayesian Factor analysis supported the  
599 alternative hypothesis ( $BF_{01}=0.01$ ). The results in the Corsi and digit span asks were also analyzed  
600 using the highest recalled set size. Differences are not significant in the Corsi task ( $p>.43$ ,  
601 Bilinguals recalled an average set size of 6.48, and monolinguals of 6.61). For the Corsi inverse, the  
602 recalled set size was significantly different for bilinguals (6.07 items on average) and monolinguals  
603 (5.67 items on average;  $p<.02$ ). Following the same pattern, the recalled set size was not  
604 significantly different between groups in the digit span task ( $p>.59$ , bilinguals recalled an average  
605 size of 6.91 and monolinguals 6.82), but it was different in the backwards span task ( $p<.01$ ), with  
606 bilinguals recalling slightly larger sets (6.92) than monolinguals (6.51).

607   **Table 7: Results of working memory tasks.** Mean number of items remembered and standard  
608 deviations (between parentheses) are displayed for each of the task of the working memory set of  
609 experiments.

	Monolinguals		Bilinguals	
Corsi	9.84	(2.33)	9.92	(1.97)
Corsi inverse	7.98	(1.95)	8.91	(1.67)
Digits span	8.60	(1.92)	8.88	(2.16)
Digits span inverse	7.95	(1.84)	8.97	(1.84)

610

611

### **Interim conclusion**

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The results obtained with the Corsi and the digit span tasks are complimentary and both show

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the same picture. In the standard forward version of the tasks, monolinguals and bilinguals reached

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the same level in terms amount of trials remembered. However, when their WM skills were pushed

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to the limit with the backward version of the task, bilinguals systematically outperformed

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monolinguals by remembering, on average, one item more, meaning that bilinguals were able to

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store, reverse, and produce sequences one step harder than monolinguals. While Bayesian tests

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avored the null hypothesis in both forward conditions, it unambiguously favored the alternative

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hypothesis when the backward tasks are analyzed.

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### **Additional analyses**

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To leverage our sample size and the extensive sociodemographic data in order to better

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understand how often unmatched socio-demographic factors or WM skills co-occur with significant

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bilingual advantage in EF tasks (i.e., the first four tasks), we conducted a systematic bootstrapping

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study. Firstly, we randomly sampled subsets of 25, 50, and 75 participants, 1000 times for each

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sample size, and measured how often the EF were significantly different between groups. Then, we

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explored how often the sociodemographic variables differed significantly in those samples where

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the EF differences were found.

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With 1000 random samples of 25 participants, we only found a significant difference

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between groups in the flanker task in 2.1% of the samples, in 1.5% of the samples in the Simon

631 task, in 7.3% of the samples in the numerical Stroop task and in 3.1% of the samples in the Stroop  
632 task. Out of those samples that showed a significant difference between groups, 9.46% showed a  
633 significant difference between group in Age (all of them produced by significantly older bilinguals),  
634 4.05% of them showed a significant difference in IQ (83.33% of them produced by bilinguals  
635 having significantly higher IQ punctuations), and 25.68% showed significant differences in SES as  
636 measured by monthly incomes divided by household members (all of the significant cases were due  
637 to bilinguals scoring higher). Crucially, in 40.54% and 51.5% of these subsamples we also found a  
638 higher punctuation for bilinguals in the inverse Corsi and inverse digit memory tasks respectively.  
639 Regarding the EF tasks, 12.16% of the subsamples showed significant differences in the Flanker  
640 task (42.86% showing a bilingual advantage, and 57.14% showing a bilingual disadvantage),  
641 12.16% of them showed significant differences in the Simon task (73.33% of them showing a  
642 bilingual advantage, 26.67% showing a bilingual disadvantage), 60.81% showed significant  
643 differences in the numerical Stroop (all of them indicating a bilingual advantage) and 22.97%  
644 showed significant differences in Stroop (83.87% indicating a monolingual advantage, 16.13%  
645 indicating a bilingual advantage).

646 With 1000 random samples of 50 participants, there were significant between group  
647 differences in the flanker task in 0.2% of the samples, in the Simon task in 0.3% of the samples, in  
648 the numerical Stroop task in 6.5% of the samples and in the Stroop task in 0.5% of the samples.  
649 Exploring only the samples that showed significant differences, 10.81% of them showed significant  
650 Age differences (all of them produced by significantly older bilinguals), 6.76% of them showed a  
651 significant difference in IQ (all of them due to bilinguals having significantly higher IQ scores), and  
652 51.35% showed significant differences in SES (all of the significant cases were due to bilinguals  
653 scoring higher). Importantly, in 89.19% and 87.84% of these subsamples bilinguals outperformed  
654 monolinguals in the inverse Corsi and inverse digit span tasks. When it comes to the EF tasks,  
655 2.70% of these subsamples showed significant differences in the Flanker task (all of them indicating

656 a monolingual advantage), 4.05% of them showed significant differences in the Simon task (66.67%  
657 of them showing a bilingual advantage, 33.33% showing a bilingual disadvantage), 87.84% showed  
658 significant differences in the numerical Stroop (all of them indicating a bilingual advantage) and  
659 6.76% showed significant differences in Stroop (all of them indicating a monolingual advantage).

660 With random samples set to 75 participants, and thus closer to our actual number of  
661 participants, there was no sample comparison that showed significant differences between groups in  
662 the flanker, the Simon or the Stroop tasks. In 2.6% of the cases a significant difference in the  
663 Numerical Stroop task was found, where bilinguals performed better than monolinguals. In those  
664 cases, 3.85% of the cases showed significant IQ differences (all of them produced by significantly  
665 higher punctuations obtained by the bilingual sample), and 88.46% showed significant differences  
666 in SES (all of the significant cases were due to bilinguals scoring higher), and the 100% showed a  
667 better performance of bilinguals in the inverse Corsi and inverse digit span tasks.

668 Additionally, systematic multiple regression analyses were conducted to try to capture any  
669 possible influence of the sociodemographic factors in the indices obtained in each of the tasks. First,  
670 three models were built for each of the four EF tasks task. The Stroop or conflict effect (in  
671 milliseconds) was used as the dependent variable, and Age, IQ punctuation (correct responses in the  
672 abridged version of the K-Bit task used in the experiment), SES (the value resulting from dividing  
673 monthly income by household members) and LexTale punctuation in Spanish were included as  
674 independent variables in Model 1. Model 2 also included Group (Bilinguals and Monolinguals) and  
675 Model 3 included the interaction terms between Group and the rest of the demographic and  
676 linguistic factors. None of the models explained enough of the variability in the data (all  $R^2 < .06$ )  
677 and none of them reached significance (all  $ps > .17$ ). Importantly, in none of those models was  
678 Group a significant predictor (all  $ps > .3$ ) nor was a significant interaction with the rest of the  
679 sociodemographic factors (all  $ps > .17$ ).

680 The same regression approach was used to explore the possible influence of the  
681 sociodemographic factors in the WM punctuations. The number of correctly recalled items was  
682 used as the dependent variable, and Age, IQ, SES and LexTale scores in Spanish were included as  
683 independent variables in Model 1. Model 2 also included Group (Bilinguals and Monolinguals) and  
684 Model 3 included the interaction terms between Group and the rest of the demographic and  
685 linguistic factors. For the Corsi task, Model 1 resulted in a significant regression equation  
686 [ $F(4,175)= 2.98, p<.03$ ], with a  $R^2$  of .06. Model 2 was significant as well [ $F(5,174)= 2.40, p<.04$ ]  
687 with a  $R^2$  of .06, but did not significantly improve the first model ( $p>.74$ ). Model 3 was not  
688 significant ( $p>.12$ ) and did not improve the model either ( $p>.70$ ). Thus, following Model 1,  
689 participants' predicted Corsi punctuation is equal to  $11.75 - 0.10(\text{age}) + 0.16(\text{IQ})$ . While IQ was a  
690 significant predictor ( $p<.01$ ) and Age was marginally significant ( $p<.06$ ), SES and Lextale scores  
691 were not (all  $ps>.30$ ). Group and interaction between Group and other factors were not significant  
692 predictors in any of the models (all  $ps>.29$ ). For the Corsi inverse task, Model 1 was a significant  
693 regression equation [ $F(4,175)= 3.01, p<.03$ ], with a  $R^2$  of .06. Model 2 was significant as well  
694 [ $F(5,174)= 4.51, p<.01$ ] with a  $R^2$  of .12, and significantly improved the first model ( $p<.01$ ). Model  
695 3 was also significant ( $p<.01$ ) but did not improve the model ( $p>.74$ ). Thus, following Model 2,  
696 participants' predicted Corsi inverse punctuation is equal to  $2.22 + 0.09(\text{IQ}) + 0.06(\text{LexTale}) + .85$   
697 (Group). Participants' recalled inverse digit items increased 0.09 for every increase in punctuation  
698 in the IQ test, 0.06 for every increase in punctuation in the Spanish LexTale task, and bilinguals  
699 recalled .85 items more than monolinguals. Punctuation in LexTale was a significant predictor  
700 ( $p<.05$ ), as well as Group ( $p<.01$ ), and IQ was marginally significant ( $p<.08$ ). SES and Age were  
701 not (all  $ps>.70$ ). The digit span task followed a similar pattern as the one showed by the Corsi task:  
702 Model 1 was a significant regression equation [ $F(4,175)= 3.18, p<.02$ ], with a  $R^2$  of .07. The  
703 inclusion of Group (Model 2) produced a significant model [ $F(5,174)= 2.73, p<.04$ ] with a  $R^2$  of  
704 .07, but did not significantly improve the first model ( $p>.33$ ). Model 3 was significant as well  
705 [ $F(5,174)= 2.07, p<.04$ ] but did not improve the model either ( $p>.30$ ). Thus, following Model 1,

706 participants' predicted Digit Span punctuation is equal to  $6.18 - 0.12 (\text{age}) + 0.12 (\text{IQ})$ . IQ and Age  
707 were significant predictors ( $p < .03$ ), SES and Lextale were not (all  $p > .16$ ). Group and interaction  
708 between Group and other factors were not significant predictors in any of the models (all  $p > .12$ ).  
709 Resembling what was found for the Corsi inverse task, the analysis for the inverse digit span task  
710 showed that Model 1 resulted in a significant regression equation [ $F(4,175) = 5.07, p < .01$ ], with a  $R^2$   
711 of .10. Model 2 was significant as well [ $F(5,174) = 6.90, p < .01$ ] with a  $R^2$  of .17, and significantly  
712 improved the first model ( $p < .01$ ). Model 3 was also significant ( $p < .01$ ) but did not improve the  
713 model ( $p > .54$ ). Thus, according to Model 2, participants' predicted Corsi inverse punctuation is  
714 equal to  $2.38 - .10 (\text{Age}) + 0.14 (\text{IQ}) + 0.05 (\text{LexTale}) + 0.96 (\text{Group})$ . Participants' recalled inverse  
715 digit items decreased for .1 for every older year, increased 0.14 for every increase in punctuation in  
716 the IQ test, 0.05 for every increase in punctuation in the Spanish LexTale task, and bilinguals  
717 recalled .96 items more than monolinguals. As it can be seen, the significant predictors were Age  
718 ( $p < .03$ ), IQ ( $p < .01$ ), and Group ( $p < .01$ ), and Lextale was marginally significant ( $p < .07$ ). SES was  
719 not (all  $p > .17$ ). In this second set of tasks, i.e. the WM tasks, we did not conduct a detailed  
720 bootstrapping analysis, because during it, we observed that the majority of the subsamples showed a  
721 bilingual advantage in the inverse versions of the WM tasks (>42% of the 25 sample subsets, >83%  
722 in the 50 sample subsets, and >99% in the 75 sample subset), and thus the co-occurrence with other  
723 factors would not be very informative.

#### 724 **Interim conclusion**

725 Bootstrapping analyses indicated that the bilingual advantage in random samples was much  
726 more frequent in small rather than in big sample sizes, and also that the advantages in EF tasks co-  
727 occurred mostly with significant differences in SES and WM tasks favoring bilinguals, followed by  
728 Age and IQ differences. Unfortunately, and probably due to the low variability of said factors due to  
729 our matching procedures, the models used to further explore this issue with multiple regression  
730 analysis did not reach significance. On the other hand, multiple regression analysis conducted for

731 WM tasks indicated that some sociodemographic factors, mostly Age and IQ, predicted  
732 participants' performance in the forward WM tasks irrespectively of their linguistic profile. On the  
733 contrary, reverse WM task punctuation was also predicted by the linguistic profile and by the  
734 Spanish proficiency.

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### General Discussion

737 This study aimed at exploring the potential effects of bilingualism on two main processes: EF  
738 and WM. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study in which large samples of bilinguals  
739 and monolinguals are extensively tested using multiple tasks to asses both their EF abilities (tasks 1  
740 to 4) and WM span (tasks 5 to 8) while relevant demographic factors (age, IQ, SES, educational  
741 level and immigrant status) are controlled for.

742 The first hypothesis put to test was the enhancement of EF as a consequence of bilingualism.

743 In tasks 1 to 4 we attempted at verifying the reliability of the bilingual advantage hypothesis by  
744 using the same tasks and equivalent populations that the previous studies did (13,19,44,45) but  
745 attempting to account for the concerns raised by the criticisms to these studies (26,30,31). In that  
746 regard, the predictions were rather straightforward. If bilingualism provides an advantage in EF  
747 independently of the effects of the controlled factors, bilinguals would have shown a reduced  
748 *conflict* or *Stroop* effects when compared to monolinguals (8) or faster global reaction times (25).

749 The flanker, Simon, Stroop and numerical Stroop tasks produced the expected classic patterns, with  
750 strong and constant conflict effects in all of them, mainly driven by the incongruity effect. Each  
751 condition (incongruent, congruent and neutral) behaved as expected and in accordance with  
752 preceding literature. However, none of the effects or conditions varied significantly across language  
753 groups, and language groups did not overall differ in reaction time either. Furthermore, the  
754 Bayesian factor analysis clearly showed that the null hypothesis was the most suited explanation for  
755 the results we obtained: bilinguals and monolinguals did not differ as to how they face the demands



756 of changing tasks with congruent and incongruent trials. Importantly, the results obtained using  
757 bootstrapping analyses shed additional light on the role of the uncontrolled socio-demographic  
758 factors. In the subsamples where a significant EF differences between groups were found, they very  
759 often co-occurred with some unmatched sociodemographic factor, especially SES. The impact of  
760 SES, both together with and independently of bilingualism, has been gaining researchers' attention  
761 lately. For example, Hartanto, Toh, and Yang (85), reported that both high levels of SES and  
762 bilingualism correlated with better EF in children, but only SES was a reliable predictor of verbal  
763 WM. Importantly, they found that bilingualism predicted advantages in EF tasks in low SES groups  
764 only. Altogether, these results provide credibility to the concerns that the bilingual advantage  
765 obtained previously in these tasks might be found as a consequence of unmatched external factors,  
766 rather than by bilingualism itself (30), and that it disappears when the confounding factors are  
767 controlled for (26,31,46–49). Along the same lines, see a very recent meta-analysis of the effect  
768 sizes found in 152 different studies, where no strong support of the bilingual advantage in conflict  
769 monitoring, inhibition or WM is found (53).

770 Far from ending, though, the debate around the bilingual advantage feeds from growing  
771 evidence pointing towards both directions. Our data here, together with the recent findings of no  
772 bilingual advantage in Basque-Spanish bilingual children (46,47) and seniors (49) addresses  
773 whether this advantage in EF appears in truly bilingual speakers in a truly bilingual community.  
774 And the answer this far, although it can only be extrapolated to comparable populations and  
775 societies, is a robust no. The conclusions drawn from the analyses conducted in the present article  
776 can only be circumscribed to a very specific kind of bilingual population, yet as important as any  
777 other – balanced and native bilinguals immersed in a bilingual society, but we believe that they are  
778 of crucial importance to better understand and reframe the current perspectives on the bilingual  
779 advantage debate. In the Basque society, the ratio of usage of Basque and Spanish differs between  
780 age groups, regions and social spheres, being on average 20% of the citizens older than 16 years

781 who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish (according to Basque Institute of Statistics,  
782 *Eustat*), and thus creating an heterogeneous linguistic mosaic in which language use varies widely  
783 across social groups.

784 Therefore, we wonder whether the use of the EF that bilingualism asks for is strong enough  
785 to provoke changes at the behavioral level. The argument for a bilingual advantage on executive  
786 control tasks rests on the idea that monolinguals do not switch between two languages, since they  
787 only have one available. However, all human beings face situations in which they have to inhibit  
788 salient responses constantly and monitor the environment, in both general social situations and  
789 when performing concrete actions. For example, people do switch between comprehension and  
790 production when they talk to somebody, they do switch and keep their monitoring abilities strongly  
791 activated when they have to drive and talk to somebody, or they inhibit salient responses when they  
792 have to adapt their speech and manners to different social situations, which can range from casual to  
793 very formal. Thus, monolinguals also efficiently use their switching, inhibitory and monitoring  
794 skills, and it is unclear whether language switching in bilinguals imposes a heavier burden than the  
795 one imposed to everyone, monolingual or bilingual, in their daily life. This interpretation follows  
796 the assumption made by the bilingual advantage hypothesis, namely, that language control and  
797 general executive control functions are two completely overlapping mechanisms (e.g. “Crucially,  
798 the mechanism that reduces attention to the non-relevant language system is the same as that used to  
799 manage attention in all cognitive tasks”, 14, p.41), implying that EF are domain-general and that  
800 they apply to every situation in which they are needed, linguistic or not. Hence, training in one  
801 concrete aspect directly implies an improvement in any other context where the same EF are  
802 needed. However, a different interpretation comes from questioning the roots of the advantage:  
803 what if the EF were not as domain general as they have been claimed to be? If they were, the  
804 performance in the four EF tasks used in this study should correlate with each other, inasmuch as  
805 they are supposed to reflect the same general ability. Our results clearly show that they do not,

806 indicating different underlying mechanisms (in this same regard, see 30,64). The degree of domain-  
807 specificity of the different EF components - especially switching and inhibition - has been recently  
808 questioned and tested using both behavioral and neuroimaging measures, and results tend to  
809 indicate that the domain-general assumption is debatable at best (86–89). Behaviourally, the  
810 performances in linguistic and non-linguistic switching tasks do not correlate with each other  
811 (e.g.,86,87,89), similarly to linguistic and non-linguistic inhibition tasks (such as the n-2 task, see  
812 (90). While it seems that there is a strong overlap in the brain areas responsible for linguistic and  
813 non-linguistic switching, whether or not domain-general inhibition and language control respond to  
814 the same brain mechanisms is still unclear(86,88,91,92). Furthermore, and even in the very same  
815 field of language control, the most recent studies speak of different language control mechanisms  
816 relying on different neural substrates when applied to language comprehension and production (93).  
817 If the domain-specificity of the EF is true, it would invalidate the training transfer assumption that  
818 the bilingual advantage hypothesis is based on.

819 On the other hand, the second hypothesis tested in the present article predicted a potential  
820 bilingual advantage in WM skills. We observed that bilinguals outperformed monolinguals in the  
821 backward versions of both the Corsi and the digit span tasks, with no differences in the forward  
822 versions. As opposed to the EF, this cognitive ability might have a stronger domain-general  
823 component: even though some authors have argued for separate WM stores and mechanisms for  
824 different sensory domains (domain-specific WM, 94,95), others defend that the maintenance system  
825 that retains the stimuli is unitary (the domain-general perspective, (61,96,97) despite the existence  
826 of domain-specific stores of the WM. Using neuroimaging techniques, some authors found different  
827 brain regions involved when processing the stimuli from different domains (98–100) while some  
828 others found the same region involved in memory maintenance no matter the domain (101–104).  
829 Trying to solve this issue, Li et al. (105) found functional networks responsible for domain-general  
830 and domain-specific processes in WM. Interestingly, while specific networks showed an important

831 role only during encoding, domain-general networks showed load-dependent patterns during  
832 encoding, maintenance and retrieval. Importantly, in our data (tasks 5-8), the differences were  
833 found only in tasks that involved a more complex processing and retrieval (transforming the  
834 encoded information to the backwards series) of the information stored, i.e. in the backward  
835 conditions (see also 74; for a bilingual advantage in more demanding memory tasks but not in  
836 simple ones; and 106; for results showing a bilingual advantage in inverse digit span tasks).  
837 Precisely, the situations in which the domain general WM system would be required (105). Unlike  
838 the domain-specific networks, not susceptible to training transfer, domain-general WM abilities are  
839 capable of improvement via enhancement of some different domain (like bilingualism), and the  
840 existence of a transfer is worth considering as it has been shown that training can improve WM (see  
841 55–58, but see also 59, for evidence against the beneficial effects of training in WM).

842 An interesting twist to this hypothesis comes from the fact that both EF and WM are strongly  
843 related (107), and differences in EF tend to correlate with differences in WM (61). This is especially  
844 prominent in demanding WM tasks that require storing and processing of information (62). More  
845 specifically, and as it was mentioned in the introduction, the relation between WM and updating  
846 ranges from related but separable (64) to equated (23). In turn, it has been argued in the bilingual  
847 advantage literature that said advantage stems from improved monitoring (i.e., updating) abilities,  
848 which are captured in the classic EF tasks as faster overall reaction times (25). This triple equation  
849 needs to be disentangled to further understand the source of the differences found in the present  
850 paper and in the bilingual advantage literature. Some authors have argued that it is in the WM  
851 where the bilingual advantage is located, and then, due to its close relation to monitoring, this  
852 advantage reflects in EF tasks (65). Arguably, considering the close relationship between the two  
853 constructs, this could be counter-argued by attributing the source of the advantage to EF abilities  
854 which then translates to an indirect improvement of WM. For example, Morales, Calvo and  
855 Bialystok (74) report a bilingual advantage in WM tasks only when the EF demands imposed by the

856 task are high, and therefore they argue that it is the role of EF that improved bilinguals'  
857 performance in WM (along the same lines, see 106). However, note again that the validity of these  
858 results is put to question by the lack of control of several factors, such as ethnicity (the group of  
859 bilinguals is formed of individuals with more than 15 different second languages, indicating  
860 significant linguistic and probably ethnic differences) or SES (just parents' educational level is  
861 reported, and very scarcely. To our understanding, the results in the present study picture the  
862 opposite: the performance in the EF tasks was similar for bilinguals and monolinguals, indicating  
863 no bilingual advantage for our sample of native balanced bilinguals immersed in a bilingual society.  
864 On the other hand, we consistently found a bilingual advantage in the backward WM tasks where  
865 information has to be actively processed and retrieved in a complex way. In principle, the absence  
866 of an advantage in EF could be arguably due to the ceiling effect that adults of this age feature in EF  
867 abilities (108) that prevents any potential enhancement in EF from being captured. However, when  
868 random resampling analyses were conducted for a thousand times for each different sample sizes,  
869 the bilingual advantage was found in some variable percentages of the cases, so there was still room  
870 for differences. Interestingly, the sets that showed a bilingual advantage also displayed an  
871 advantage in backward memory tasks in the majority of the cases, as well as other unmatched  
872 factors such as SES. This dissonance makes us hypothesize that bilingualism does improve WM  
873 abilities, and then this can –but does not necessarily have to – translate into an enhancement of EF  
874 abilities when interacting with other factors, but not the other way around. Had the advantage in  
875 memory been a consequence of EF functions, the tasks employed to measure said functions (i.e.,  
876 tasks 1-4) should have shown an advantage in some of the dimensions as well. Furthermore, our  
877 findings show no general advantage in monitoring –i.e., faster RTs– but better WM abilities. This  
878 supports the idea that these two constructs, even though often equated (23), might overlap but are  
879 different (64). It also strengthens the argument made by Namazi & Thordardottir (65) after they  
880 found that a WM advantage in bilinguals might potentially lead to an apparent advantage in EF  
881 tasks as well, and thus WM should be held constant to explore EF abilities.

882 All in all, the results obtained from the 8 tasks conducted in the present study show a very  
883 stable pattern. Firstly, native and balanced bilingualism does not improve bilinguals' general EF  
884 abilities when compared to carefully matched monolingual counterparts. Secondly, bilingualism  
885 improves WM when the task requires an active and complex processing and retrieval of the  
886 encoded information. This pattern is interpreted as a consequence of the domain-specificity of the  
887 EF and the encoding processes of WM, and is thus not susceptible to be indirectly trained. The  
888 load-dependence of the maintenance and retrieval of the encoded information in WM tasks has been  
889 shown to be domain general. This makes the backward conditions of the memory tasks suitable for  
890 improvement due to training transfer. Despite the information provided by the lack of correlation  
891 between the EF tasks, we did not collect any data testing other aspects of EF abilities, and therefore  
892 this interpretation of the results is rather speculative.

893 As a general consideration, it should be born in mind that the conclusions derived from this  
894 study are generalizable only to the populations and situations similar to the ones tested here, that is,  
895 lifelong, native and balanced bilinguals (in particular the case of Basque-Spanish bilinguals, see  
896 (46,47,49). When different bilingual profiles are considered, the same patterns are not completely  
897 guaranteed. For example, the factors of immigration and late bilingualism should be specially  
898 considered. Immigration usually involves moving to a different language-speaking country and it  
899 forces people to become bilingual, so it often co-occurs with late bilingualism and both factors can  
900 be confounded when the significant effects of bilingualism are explored (see 12,13,28,44,109,110,  
901 among others, for studies reporting bilingual advantages that tested bilingual samples formed by  
902 mostly immigrant individuals). Immigrants, who generally happen to be bilinguals, would show  
903 some enhancements maybe wrongly associated to bilingualism when compared to non-immigrants,  
904 who happen to be monolinguals. It is still unclear whether those effects are purely produced by a  
905 late bilingualism, by being an immigrant, or a combination of both. It seems coherent to propose  
906 that native bilingualism does not necessarily bring any eventual benefit, simply because native

907 bilingualism does not imply a strong cognitive effort to deal with two languages from birth, and  
908 there is no strong reconfiguration needed to incorporate them into the mental repertoire. Training  
909 and cognitively demanding acquired skills that lead to an enhancement of attentional skills  
910 (111,112) are found prominently when the mentioned training happens late in life (113). Similarly,  
911 lately acquired bilingualism would indeed require the new bilinguals to re-adjust their mental  
912 repertoires to be able to accommodate the existing system to the newly acquired language. This  
913 cognitive effort in adapting the system could lead to an improvement in the EF. The way in which a  
914 late acquisition of a second language would change the ongoing developmental trend of different  
915 high level cognitive skills (among others, the EF) is a venue worth exploring for future research  
916 looking for any kind of bilingual advantage (see 114, for authors arguing for a stronger bilingual  
917 advantage when the second language is acquired early; see but see 115,116, for evidences favoring  
918 an advantage when L2 is acquired late in life, and see 18 for no differences between monolinguals,  
919 early bilinguals and late bilinguals).

## 920 **Conclusions**

921 The results from this set of tasks suggest that bilingualism is not enough to enhance young  
922 bilingual adults' EF skills relative to the ones of young monolingual adults. Both groups behaved  
923 similarly in all the tasks, as measured by the different indices and conditions which, importantly,  
924 did not correlate across tasks. Thus, it is argued that EFs are not as domain general as they were  
925 believed to be, and therefore the hypothesis of a training transfer produced by bilingualism is not  
926 supported. The results of the bootstrapping analysis indicate that when the bilingual advantage in  
927 EF is found, it very often co-occurs with significant differences in socio-demographic factors and  
928 memory abilities, suggesting that previous findings might have been a consequence of unmatched  
929 factors.

930 From the results from the WM tasks we clearly see that there was no effect of bilingualism in  
931 the easiest versions of the tasks (i.e., forward versions where only storing and repeating is needed)

932 but it does improve the WM skills required in backward tasks where storing, manipulation and  
933 retrieval are used. We interpreted this selective bilingual advantage as based also in the domain-  
934 specificity of some abilities. Previous findings have shown that encoding relies on domain-specific  
935 WM, and therefore no training transfer would be expected. However, the backward task has a  
936 stronger component of maintenance of information, manipulation, and retrieval, which have been  
937 shown to be more domain-general, and consequently more susceptible to training transfer.

938         The practical contributions of this work are twofold. Firstly, it is the first time that a bilingual  
939 advantage is found in WM tasks in carefully matched large sample sizes of balanced and native  
940 young adult bilinguals immersed in a bilingual society. Secondly, it emphasizes the need of the  
941 methodical sample matching, since we found no bilingual advantage in EF when samples were  
942 matched for known confounding factors. Importantly, the majority of the subsamples that showed a  
943 significant bilingual advantage in the bootstrapping analysis co-occurred with differences in other  
944 sociodemographic factors.

945         Altogether, the different analysis conducted with the current data and the previous findings of  
946 the field lead us to conclude that the previous findings of a bilingual advantage in EF might have  
947 been a product of the uncontrolled non-linguistic characteristics of the cohorts of participants tested.  
948 Instead, bilinguals seem to benefit from their idiosyncratic language context in situations where an  
949 active use of the elements in the WM is needed, and it is in this context when they outperform their  
950 monolingual peers. We believe that the results shown here will help to reinterpret the theories  
951 behind the bilingual advantage theory and to narrow down the scope in future research to help  
952 identifying the critical factors that make the bilingual advantage to show up sometimes.



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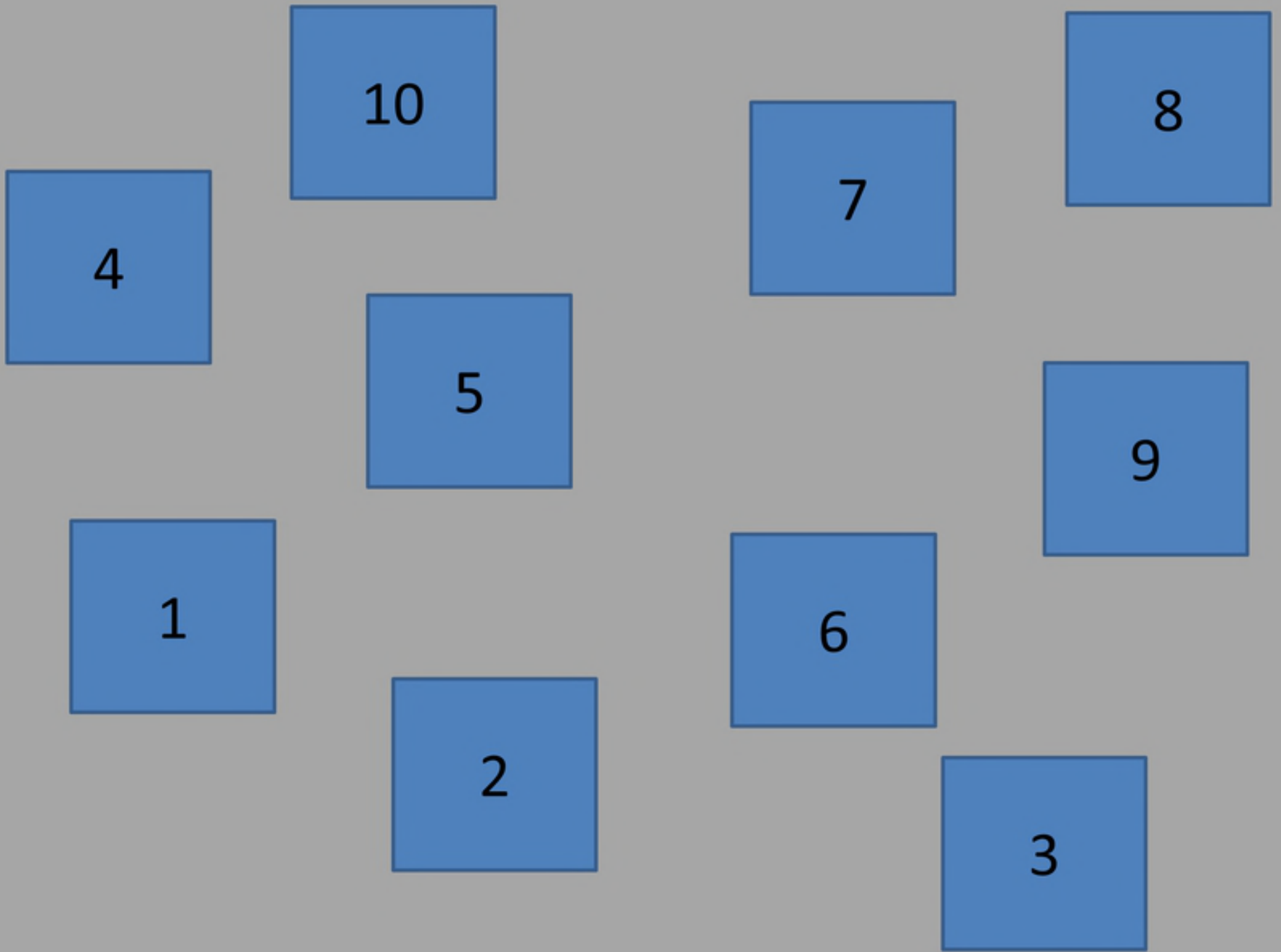


Figure 1

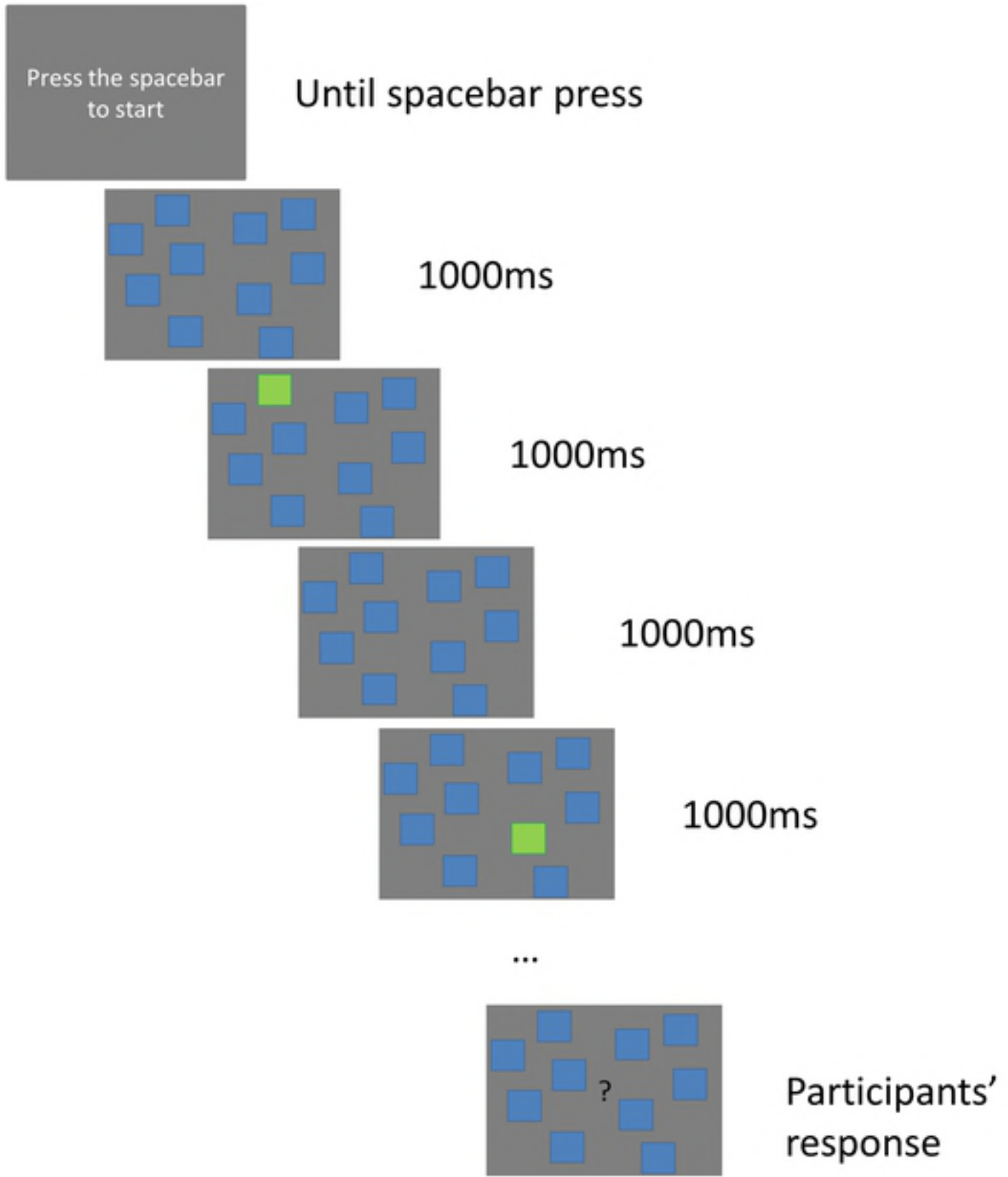


Figure2

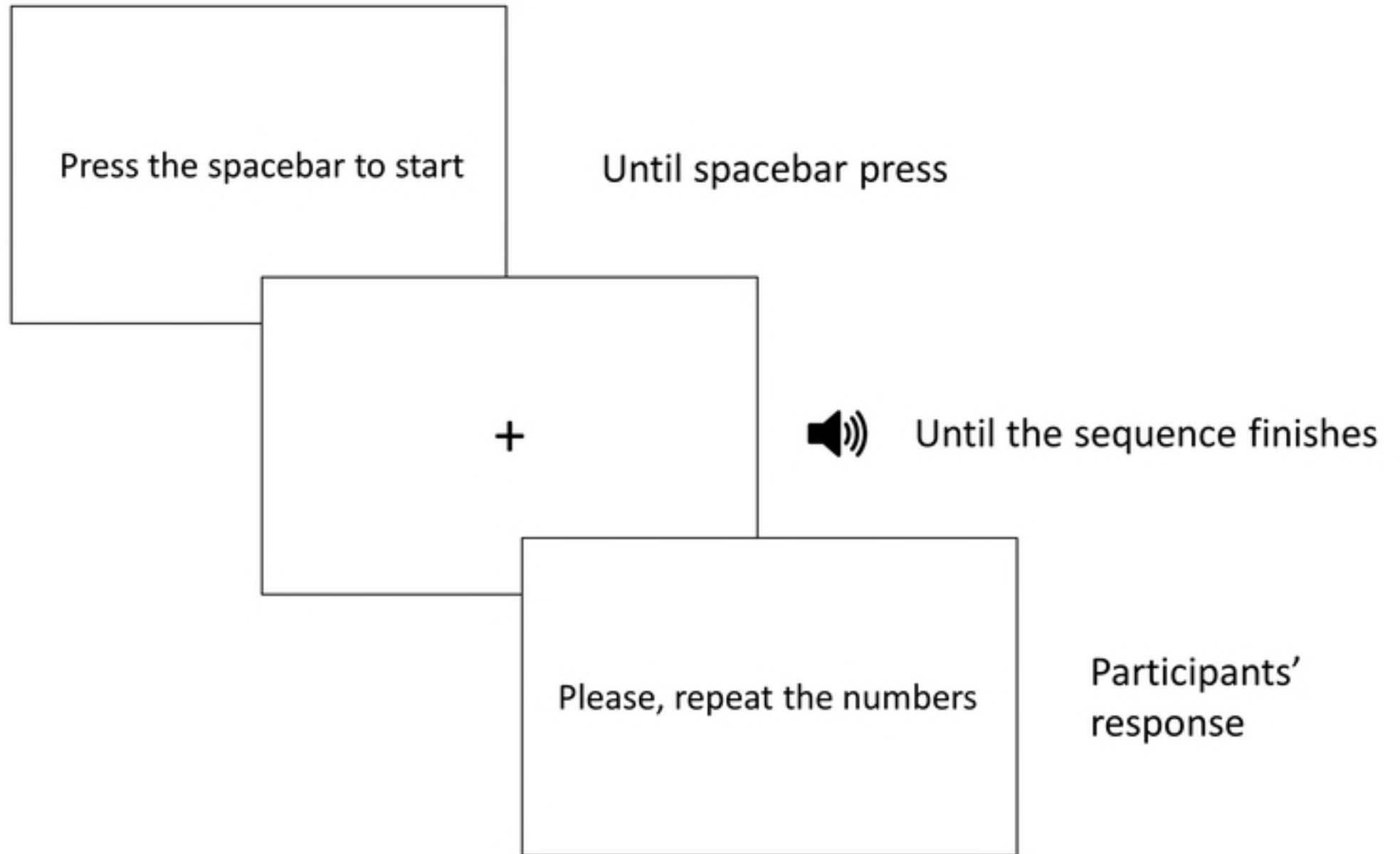


Figure3