1 2	Individual differences in representational similarity of first and second languages in the bilingual brain
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Abstract

28 Current theories of bilingualism disagree on the extent to which separate brain regions 29 are used to maintain or process one's first and second language. The present study took a novel 30 multivariate approach to address this question. We examined whether bilinguals maintain distinct 31 neural representations of two languages; specifically, we tested whether brain areas that are 32 involved in processing word meaning in either language are reliably representing each language 33 differently, and whether language representation is influenced by individual differences in 34 proficiency level and age of acquisition of L2. Thirty-one English-Mandarin bilingual adults 35 performed a picture-word matching task in both languages. We then used representational 36 similarity analysis to examine which brain regions reliably showed different patterns of activity 37 for each language. As a group, there were no regions that reliably represented languages 38 distinctly. However, both proficiency and age of acquisition predicted dissimilarity between language representations in several brain areas within the language network as well as several 39 40 regions of the ventral visual pathway, demonstrating that top-down language knowledge and 41 individual language experience shapes concept representation in the processing stream. The 42 results support the model of an integrated language system in bilinguals, along with a novel 43 description of how representations for each language change with proficiency level and L2 age of acquisition. 44

Keywords: bilingualism, word recognition, representational similarity analysis, individualdifferences

48

1. Introduction

49 Current theories of bilingual language processing hold that bilingual speakers coactivate 50 their two languages during speech, and that they maintain similar, overlapping representations for both ^{1–4}. Additionally, past neuroimaging research has provided much evidence that a second 51 language (L2) is processed similarly to the speaker's first language 5-9. Even when L1-L2 52 differences exist, such as more extensive activity in L2 10,11 , there remains extensive overlap ⁶. 53 This suggests that similar underlying language networks are engaged regardless of which 54 55 language is being used. The concept of language coactivation in bilinguals is widely accepted, as is that of a single, integrated lexicon ^{12,13}. While neuroimaging provides much support for an 56 integrated lexicon through activation of similar structures, the separation of patterns of activity 57 within the shared L1/L2 brain areas may provide evidence for some degree of distinction 58 59 between L1 and L2 lexicons.

Despite L1 and L2 sharing a network of structures, traditional univariate contrasts cannot 60 61 tell us how languages are being represented in those areas, and while there is extensive overlap in brain areas that represent L1 and L2^{6,7,9,14}, how the languages are represented may vary. That 62 63 is, regions coding for language-specific information, such as spoken codes (e.g., left superior 64 temporal gyrus and left inferior frontal gyrus) may represent each language differently. In contrast, regions involved in executive and attentional control (e.g., dorsolateral prefrontal cortex 65 66 and insula) are likely to show less differentiation in how each language is represented as the 67 function of these regions should not differ qualitatively from one language to another. Individual 68 differences in language ability and experience also play an important role in bilingual language processing ^{11,15,16}, and may affect the integration of the neural representation of each language. 69 70 Previous research indicates that low proficiency speakers and late L2 learners have greater

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71 separation of their two languages' conceptual knowledge ¹⁷, and this separation may also be 72 reflected in the neural representation of words and concepts within co-activated brain areas. 73 Representational Similarity Analysis (RSA) is an fMRI analysis technique relying on reproducible spatial patterns of activity that correlate with distinct experimental conditions ¹⁸, 74 75 and has been used in the past to identify regions that differentiate between languages during 76 reading ¹⁹. RSA has been used to reveal differences between conditions within individual brain 77 regions that were previously undetectable using standard univariate methods; it reveals cortical patterns sensitive to differences in stimuli even when the degree of activation is similar ^{20–23}. 78 79 This technique may be particularly relevant to describing bilingual word processing, as it has the 80 potential to identify differences between languages that were previously thought to not exist. RSA allows us to examine possible language-processing differences in areas that are assumed to 81 be engaged similarly for both languages, suggesting that they are representing L1 and L2 82 differently. Additionally, by measuring individual differences in bilingual experience, it is 83 84 possible to determine how the neural representation of each language changes with these 85 measures. 86 **Rationale for the Present Study**

The present study examined whether brain areas involved in both L1 and L2 representationally distinguish the two languages. English-Mandarin bilingual adults performed a lexico-semantic recognition task in each language. We then examined whether brain regions showed reliably different patterns of activity for each language within regions that significantly activated to both. We predicted that, consistent with models of an integrated bilingual lexicon, representational dissimilarity would decrease with increasing proficiency and earlier ages of L2

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93	acquisition (AoA). In contrast, areas involved in domain general cognitive processes, such as
94	executive function, were not expected to show language-selective patterns.
95	2. Material and methods
96	2.1 Participants
97	Thirty-two (13 female) neurologically healthy right-handed native speakers of English
98	were recruited via posters and word of mouth in Beijing, China. All participants were second-
99	language learners of Mandarin, aged 18-37 ($M = 23.84$, $SD = 4.59$), and had begun learning
100	Mandarin between the ages of 0-28 years ($M = 18.09$, $SD = 7.10$). This study was approved by
101	the Beijing Normal University research ethics board and all participants gave informed consent
102	prior to participation. Demographic and language information is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Participant demographic and language information

information	
Measure	M (SD)
Ν	32
Sex	13 female, 19 male
Age (years)	23.84 (4.59)
Age of L2 acquisition	18.90 (7.10)
Proficiency (%)	
English	88.93 (5.88)
Mandarin	38.54 (18.15)
Reaction Time (ms)	
English	1203.60 (202.21)
Mandarin	1607.88 (231.78)
Accuracy (%)	
English	94.17 (4.21)
Mandarin	83.07 (10.35)

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104 2.2 Behavioral tests

L1 English and L2 Mandarin proficiency levels were assessed prior to scanning using a
subset of 48 questions from the Test of English as a Second Language (ETS, Princeton, NJ) and

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48 questions from the Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi (HSK Centre, Beijing, China), respectively. Both
tests consisted of three sections, grammar, reading comprehension, and vocabulary, which were
combined to give a final score for each language, representing overall proficiency in these three
domains.

Age of acquisition was obtained by self-report, defined as the age at which individuals first began learning Mandarin. To verify handedness, participants completed an abridged version of the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory ²⁴. Behavioral measures, informed consent and task instructions were administered in English, aside from the Mandarin proficiency test, which was administered in Mandarin.

116 **2.3 fMRI Task**

Participants completed a picture-word matching task during scanning, in alternating runs 117 of English and Mandarin. Pictures were presented via LCD projector to the center of a screen 118 119 mounted at the head of the scanner bore, which was viewed through a mirror placed above the 120 head coil. At the same time, a word was played binaurally through insert earphones 121 (Sensimetrics Corporation, Malden, MA). Participants were required to indicate as quickly as 122 possible with a button press whether the picture and word matched. Each picture was visible for 123 2.5 s. They viewed a fixation crosshair between trials as baseline. Stimulus presentation and response recording was controlled with E-Prime software (Psychology Software Tools, Inc., 124 125 Sharpsburg, PA) and a Windows laptop.

The scanning session was divided into 8 alternating English and Mandarin runs. Four
English runs were interleaved with four Mandarin runs, with starting language counterbalanced,
so that a run in the first language was always followed by a run in the other language. Four
orderings were produced: one version starting with English, one version starting with Mandarin,

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130 and an additional version of each in which runs were presented in the reverse order. Each run 131 began with an image reminding participants of which buttons to respond with, and the language 132 in which the next run would be performed. Each run consisted of 20 trials for a total of 160 trials (80 in each language, with 40 matching and 40 mismatching). A short break was provided 133 134 between each 3.5-minute scanning run. Each image appeared twice during the experiment, once 135 in a matching pair and once in a semantically unrelated mismatching pair. Each trial was 2.5 s in duration, with inter-trial interval jittered between 2.5 and 12.5 s in 2.5 s increments, to optimize 136 137 the deconvolution of the blood oxygen level dependent signal. 138 Stimulus words consisted of 40 common single-word concepts with the constraint that 139 they are expressed as single two-syllable words in both English and Mandarin, and have frequencies greater than 40 per million in both languages (English: CELEX Lexical Database²⁵ 140 and Mandarin: SUBTLEX-CH²⁶). In a separate pilot study involving different participants, we 141 asked groups of native speakers of English or Mandarin to rate the imageability and familiarity 142 143 of the stimulus words, as well as the correspondence of the pictures to target words, on a Likert scale of 1-7. Both groups showed equally high ratings on familiarity ($M_{Mandarin} = 5.78, M_{English} =$ 144 5.48) and picture/word correspondence ($M_{Mandarin} = 6.08, M_{English} = 5.95$). 145 146 2.4 Data acquisition and processing

Imaging was conducted on a Siemens Magnetom TIM Trio whole-body 3 Tesla scanner with a 32-channel head coil. T2*-weighted functional scans were acquired in the transverse plane with 45 slices per volume (TR = 2.5 s; TE = 38 ms; flip angle = 80° ; FOV = 192 x 192 mm; voxel size 3x3x3 mm³) using an iPAT parallel acquisition sequence (generalized auto-calibrating partially parallel acquisition [GRAPPA]; acceleration factor = 2), providing full coverage of the cerebrum and the superior portion of the cerebellum. A total of 576 functional scans were

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153	acquired for each participant over 8 runs (3.5 min per run). After the final functional run, a
154	whole-head high-resolution 3D anatomical scan was acquired in the sagittal plane, using a 3D
155	pulse sequence weighted for T1 contrast (MPRAGE; TR = 2.3 s; TE = 2.98 ms; FOV = 256 x
156	256 mm; voxel size = 1 mm^3 ; 176 slices; GRAPPA acceleration factor = 2).
157	Raw data were converted from DICOM to BIDS format and preprocessed using
158	FMRIPREP version 1.0.0 ²⁷ a Nipype ^{27,28} based tool. Each T1 weighted volume was corrected
159	for bias field using N4BiasFieldCorrection v2.1.0 ²⁹ and skullstripped using
160	antsBrainExtraction.sh v2.1.0 (using OASIS template). Cortical surface was estimated using
161	FreeSurfer v6.0.0 ³⁰ . The skullstripped T1w volume was coregistered to skullstripped ICBM 152
162	Nonlinear Asymmetrical template version 2009c ³¹ using nonlinear transformation implemented
163	in ANTs v2.1.0 ³² .
164	Functional data was slice time corrected using AFNI ³³ and motion corrected using
165	MCFLIRT v5.0.9 ³⁴ . This was followed by co-registration to the corresponding T1-weighted
166	volume using boundary based registration 9 degrees of freedom - implemented in FreeSurfer
167	v6.0.0 ³⁵ . Motion correcting transformations, T1 weighted transformation and MNI template
168	warp were applied in a single step using antsApplyTransformations v2.1.0 with Lanczos
169	interpolation.
170	Three tissue classes were extracted from T1w images using FSL FAST v5.0.9 ³⁶ . Voxels
171	from cerebrospinal fluid and white matter were used to create a mask in turn used to extract
172	physiological noise regressors using aCompCor ³⁷ . Mask was eroded and limited to subcortical
173	regions to limit overlap with gray matter, six principal components were estimated. Frame-wise
174	displacement ³⁸ was calculated for each functional run using Nipype implementation. For more

details of the pipeline see <u>https://fmriprep.readthedocs.io/en/latest/workflows.html</u>.

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176 2.5 First- and second-level statistics

177 Single-subject statistical maps were formed in the context of the General Linear Model 178 using AFNI 3dDeconvolve function. Linear trends in the functional data were removed, and 179 first-level analysis was conducted by modeling all English trials together and all Mandarin trials 180 together. The statistical maps were formed in the context of the General Linear Model using 181 AFNI 3dDeconvolve function. Additional regressors were included for the six motion parameters, physiological noise from the preprocessing step, and the response times. This led to 182 one English and one Mandarin output per subject that we used to compute the univariate 183 184 contrasts. One sample t-tests against zero were then computed for each language (AFNI 185 3dttest++) and a conjunction analysis (AFNI 3dcalc) was performed to identify areas that 186 significantly activated for both English and Mandarin. The result was a conjunction map thresholded at 2.596 (p = 0.01 uncorrected); a fairly liberal threshold was used at this stage in 187 order to include as many areas in the search space as possible. A brain mask was then created 188 189 using the results of this conjunction analysis. Finally, first-level single-subject statistics were 190 recomputed for English and Mandarin, this time creating separate models for even and odd runs. 191 Only correct trials were included in both first-level analyses, with accuracy ranging from 81.25% 192 to 100% correct on the English task and ranging from 61.25% to 96.25% correct on the 193 Mandarin task.

194 2.6 Split-half correlation searchlight analysis

Searchlight RSA was then performed to identify regions in which the representations of
L1 and L2 were reliably different, regardless of groupwise differences in activation levels. The
search space for the analysis was constrained to regions within the English-Mandarin
conjunction mask, shown in Figure 1. To conduct RSA, a split-half correlation searchlight was

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199 performed within the CoSMoMVPA Matlab toolbox ³⁹, using a search sphere radius of 3 voxels. 200 Within each searchlight sphere Pearson correlations were performed for activity patterns 201 between even and odd runs, within-language (English-English and Mandarin-Mandarin) and 202 between-language (English-Mandarin), yielding a 2×2 similarity matrix for each individual at 203 each point of the searchlight. Next, the degree of dissimilarity of between-language vs. within-204 language patterns (on-diagonal vs. off-diagonal) was computed using a pairwise t-test based on the difference of Fisher-transformed mean correlations ⁴⁰. Significant differences in an area 205 206 within the searchlight sphere indicated this region differentially encodes L1 and L2. The center 207 of the search light was then moved to the next location of the search space, and the statistical 208 analysis was repeated, ultimately yielding a statistical map of all voxels falling within the 209 conjunction map. Analyses were performed using coefficient maps in MNI space. Once single-210 subject searchlight results were computed, a group statistic was created via a one-sample t-test, 211 which identified voxels showing significantly greater representational similarity within-language 212 than between-languages. Next, we computed random-effect cluster statistics corrected for 213 multiple comparison (cosmo montecarlo cluster stat) with a mean of zero under the null 214 hypothesis and 10,000 iterations, and significant clusters were converted to z-scores.

215 2.7 Regression with proficiency and age of acquisition

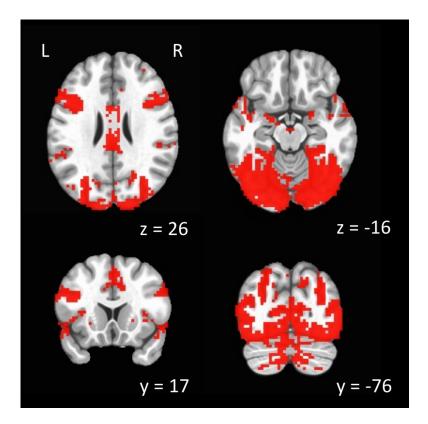
We then conducted linear regression to examine whether AoA and the difference in proficiency level between L1 and L2 predicted the degree of representational dissimilarity within-subject. Two linear models were constructed, the first with the difference in L2-L1 proficiency as a continuous regressor and adjusting for AoA, the second with AoA as a continuous regressor and adjusting for the difference in L2-L1 proficiency. The minimum cluster-size threshold was determined in two steps. First, we estimated the smoothness of the

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222	residuals for each subject output by 3dDeconvolve using the autocorrelation function (ACF)
223	option (AFNI 3dFWHMx), and the mean smoothness level was calculated. Next, minimum
224	cluster size was determined using a 10,000 iteration Monte Carlo simulation (AFNI 3dClustSim)
225	at a voxelwise alpha level of $p = 0.01$, using bi-sided thresholding and first-nearest neighbour
226	clustering. Correction for multiple comparisons at $p = 0.01$ was achieved by setting a minimum
227	cluster size of 7 voxels.
228	3. Results
229	3.1 Behavioural
230	Performance on the L1 (English) proficiency test ranged from 72.92% to 100%, and
231	performance on the L2 (Mandarin) proficiency test ranged from 12.5% to 77.08%. Analysis of
232	the proficiency test data acquired prior to scanning indicated that L2 proficiency was
233	significantly lower than L1 proficiency ($M = 88.93\%$, $SD = 5.88$, $M = 38.54\%$, $SD = 18.15$,
234	respectively; <i>t</i> (31) = -15.93, <i>p</i> < .001, 95% CI [43.94, 56.84]). L2 proficiency did not
235	significantly correlate with L2 AoA ($r(30) = -0.21$, $p = .255$). Participants responded faster on
236	English trials than Mandarin trials ($M = 1203.60 \text{ ms}$, $SD = 202.21$, $M = 1607.88 \text{ ms}$, $SD =$
237	231.78, respectively; $t(31) = -14.67$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-460.48, -348.09]) and were more
238	accurate on English trials than Mandarin trials ($M = 94.17\%$, $SD = 4.21$, $M = 83.07\%$, $SD =$
239	10.35; <i>t</i> (31) = 6.84, <i>p</i> < .001, 95% CI [7.78, 14.40]).
240	3.2 Conjunction analysis

Results of the conjunction analysis are shown in Figure 1 and Table 2. Both L1 English
and L2 Mandarin produced significant activation at a voxelwise *p*-value of 0.01 (uncorrected) in
an extensive network of bilateral brain regions including the Heschl's gyrus, superior temporal
gyrus (STG), inferior frontal gyrus (IFG), fusiform and lingual gyri, and occipital and parietal

245 cortices.



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Figure 1. Areas that significantly activated for both L1 English and L2 Mandarin at p = .01

248 uncorrected. Results are overlaid on a stereotaxic brain in MNI space. L=Left, R= Right.

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250 3.3 Searchlight with split-half correlation analysis

251 **3.3.1 Group-level RSA**

As a group, no regions showed significantly greater representational similarity within-

253 language (Mandarin-Mandarin and English-English) compared to between-language (Mandarin-

254 English).

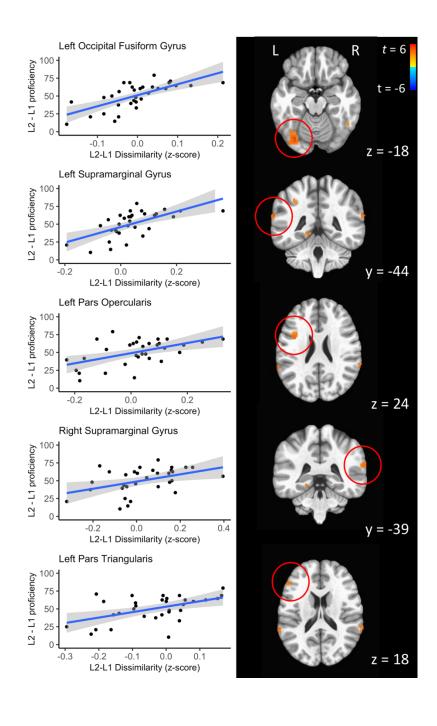
3.3.2 Regression with proficiency and age of acquisition

In order to determine whether proficiency or AoA predicted the degree of difference in
 representational similarity within- and between-language, subject-wise searchlight maps were

258	submitted to linear regression. L2-L1 Proficiency difference predicted greater within-language
259	representational similarity than between-language similarity in several areas including the left
260	fusiform, IFG, bilateral STG, and right lingual gyrus, shown in Figure 2 and Table 3. All areas
261	showed a positive relationship, indicating that as the difference in proficiency between languages
262	increased, so did the degree of difference in representation between English and Mandarin.
263	The relationship between AoA and representational similarity is shown in Figure 3 and
264	Table 3. AoA positively predicted greater within-language than between-language
265	representational similarity in the left middle temporal gyrus and right inferior occipital gyrus,
266	indicating that later AoAs were associated with larger differences between L1 and L2 in these
267	areas. In contrast, AoA showed a negative correlation with the left inferior parietal lobe and right
268	insula and calcarine sulcus, indicating that earlier AoAs were associated with smaller L1-L2
269	representational differences in these areas.
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Table 3. Regions where proficiency or AoA significantly predicted z-score

	MNI						
Predictor	Region	COO	rdinate	es	Voxels	t	р
		X	у	Ζ			
L2-L1 Proficiency	R Cerebellum	6	-81	-30	35	5.23	< .001
	L Occipital fusiform gyrus	-33	-75	-18	96	4.72	< .001
	L Supramarginal gyrus	-66	-45	21	13	4.2	< .001
	L Precentral gyrus	-33	-9	66	12	4.1	< .001
	L Pars opercularis	-39	3	24	20	4.07	< .001
	R Cerebellum	33	-66	-48	25	4.03	< .001
	R Middle occipital gyrus	51	-81	0	9	3.97	< .001
	L Anterior intra-parietal sulc	us -36	-48	42	9	3.9	.001
	R Primary visual cortex	18	-60	9	26	3.88	.001
	R Inferior temporal gyrus	48	-51	-24	12	3.76	.001
	L Lingual gyrus	-15	-45	-9	13	3.71	.001
	R Supramarginal gyrus	66	-45	24	17	3.7	.001
	R Orbitofrontal cortex	33	33	-3	10	3.63	.001
	L Pars triangularis	-51	33	18	8	3.61	.001
	R Visual cortex ventral V3	21	-78	-6	8	3.51	.001
	R Cerebellum	3	-57	-45	7	3.31	.003
AoA	R Visual cortex ventral V3	42	-93	-6	8	5.09	< .001
	L Middle temporal gyrus	-54	-24	-9	9	4.34	< .001
	L Anterior intra-parietal sulc	us -39	-45	48	15	-3.5	.002
	R Insula	39	21	0	16	-3.46	.002
	R Calcarine sulcus	18	-51	9	8	-3.32	.002
<i>Note</i> . Coordinates 2	denote the location of peak act						



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Figure 2. The relationship between difference in L2-L1 proficiency and L2-L1 similarity. *Z*score values represent the mean across the entire ROI. Higher *z*-scores indicate greater differences between correlation values between-language vs. within-language. Statistical maps are thresholded at p = .01, overlaid on an MNI brain atlas. L = left, R = right. Cluster locations and sizes are reported in Table 3.

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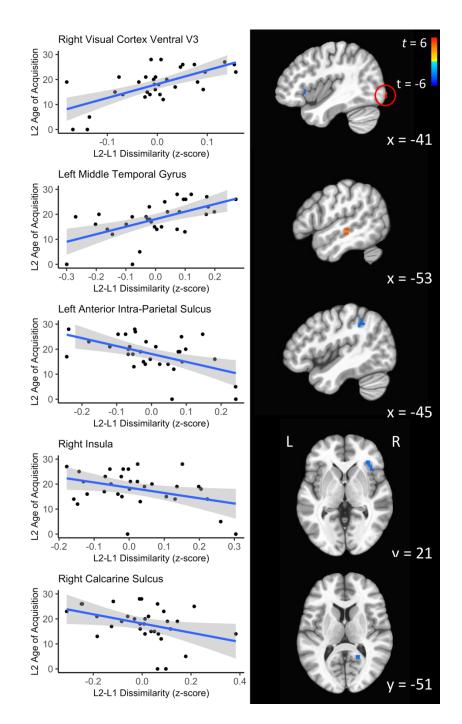


Figure 3. The relationship between L2 AoA and L2-L1 dissimilarity. *Z*-score values represent the mean across the entire ROI. Higher *z*-scores indicate greater differences between correlation values between-language vs. within-language. Statistical maps are thresholded at p = .01, overlaid on an MNI brain atlas. L = left, R = right. Cluster locations and sizes are reported in Table 3.

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2	9	-

4. Discussion

295 The present study investigated the hypothesis that bilinguals maintain similar, 296 overlapping lexical representations for both of their languages. Using a lexico-semantic 297 recognition task, we found both similarity and dissimilarity in the representation of bilinguals' 298 two languages within the bilingual word recognition network. There were no regions that 299 significantly differed in their representation of English and Mandarin at the group level, however 300 both proficiency and AoA predicted the degree of representational similarity in several areas. 301 That is, individual differences predicted differentiation in the representation of bilinguals' two 302 languages in areas that were significantly activated during the word recognition task in both 303 Mandarin and English. These results extend behavioral and ERP findings that bilinguals have a single, integrated lexicon ^{12,41–43}, demonstrating how the neural representations within activated 304 regions change with language experience. While prior meta-analyses and reviews have argued 305 this on the basis of relative intensity of fMRI activity ^{6,12}, degree of activation cannot tell us 306 307 about how each language is being represented.

308 Consistent with our hypotheses, several regions of the language network showed patterns 309 of representation that differentiated languages depending on individual differences. For example, 310 one of these regions was the left IFG (including both the pars opercularis and the pars triangularis), an area engaged in representing and planning articulatory codes for speech and tone 311 ^{44–47}. Indeed, these features differ between English and Mandarin in that each language has 312 313 phonological features that are not present in the other (e.g., tone in Mandarin, consonant clusters 314 in English). The left IFG showed greater representational similarity between languages when the 315 difference between L1 and L2 proficiency was smaller, suggesting that as bilinguals become 316 more matched in proficiency across their two languages, the phonological representations

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become more integrated. Similarly, language similarity within the bilateral supramarginal gyrus
was greater with smaller proficiency differences, an area important for auditory-motor
integration during word recognition ⁴⁸.

320 One notable result was that of representational dissimilarity in lower L2 proficiency and 321 later AoA speakers throughout the ventral visual stream, a cortical pathway responsible for object recognition and concept representation ⁴⁹. The separate representation in visual areas is 322 323 especially interesting as participants in the present study saw the same images in each language; 324 the manipulation here was only the language in which they heard the names of these objects. As 325 a result, language-dependent differences in this region indicate that this reflects a top-down 326 modulation of high-level visual processing by the linguistic input. Although visual processing of 327 the same images may appear to be a domain-general process, support for it being languagespecific comes from the label-feedback hypothesis, which suggests that language modulates 328 ongoing cognitive and perceptual processing ⁵⁰. In line with this hypothesis, each language's 329 330 verbal label for the paired image influences the perception of that image. Thus, while the image 331 remains the same, the top-down influence of the language is producing separable representations 332 in high-level visual areas, distinguishing between the visual perception of the spoken word *table* 333 vs. that of the spoken word 桌子 (the Mandarin word for table).

There have been numerous studies showing activation differences between L1 and L2, showing greater activation in language areas for one language versus another ^{7,51,52}, or showing additional areas recruited for L2 processing vs. L1 processing ⁹. These differences have largely been attributed to later acquisition of L2, differences in proficiency, or other external factors affecting how L2 was acquired ^{6,51,53}. In contrast, matched bilinguals tend to show overlapping activity in language regions, with little or no differentiation between languages at the univariate

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level ^{54–56}. L2 speakers in the present study showed experience-dependent representational
differences between L1 and L2 in both the language network as well as throughout the ventral
visual stream, providing further evidence for integration of bilinguals' two languages but only
when speakers are matched in ability across those two languages. **Conclusion**We investigated first and second language representation in English-Mandarin bilinguals.
Using RSA, we identified both regions in which individual differences predicted differentiation

347 in representation between English and Mandarin. Experience-modulated within-language

348 representational similarity was present in language-network areas (e.g., portions of the left IFG)

349 as well as several regions of the ventral visual pathway, indicating that top-down language

350 knowledge shapes concept representation in the processing stream.

351 A logical extension of present study is the examination of representational differences in 352 different types of second language processing. For instance, results may differ when comparing two languages that are more similar than English and Mandarin, such as Spanish and French, or 353 354 when using items that vary in similarity, such as cognates and non-cognates. Additionally, word 355 processing does not involve grammatical processing, which is also an important aspect of 356 bilingual language processing that can differ greatly between L1 and L2. Univariate approaches 357 that contrast degree of brain activation may miss important differences in this regard. The 358 multivariate approach used here may thus provide a way forward in our ability to fully discern 359 how L1 and L2 are represented in the brain.

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