

# Learning to read and write in different languages: What's the difference?

Dr. Beth A. O'Brien  
Principal Research Scientist  
Deputy Director Centre for Research in Child Development  
*National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological  
University, Singapore*

# Language



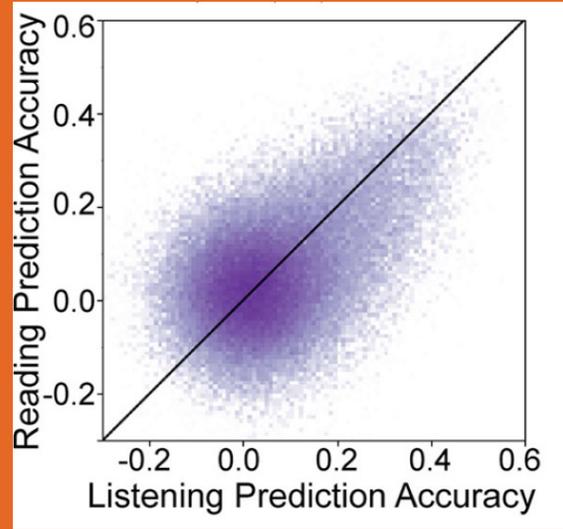
&

*Understanding and Communicating*

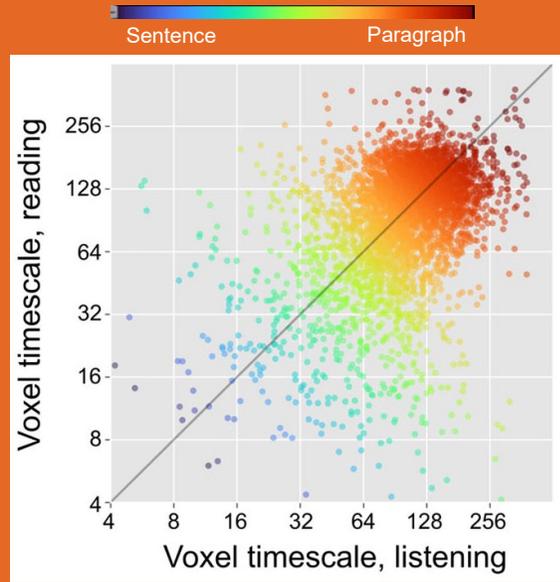
# Literacy



# Overlapping brain networks



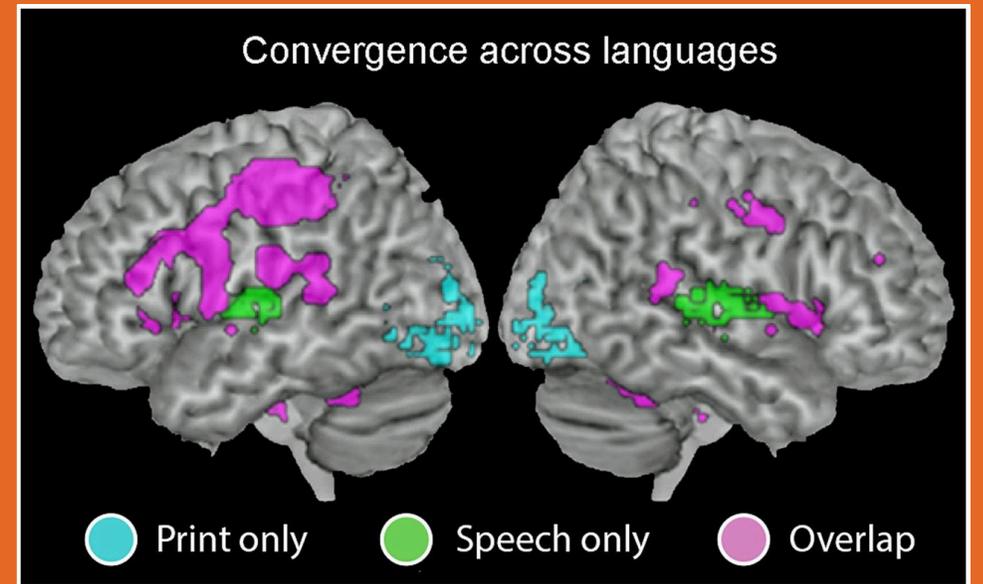
*Deniz et al. (2019)*



*Chen et al. (2024)*

## *Listening to & Reading stories*

***Semantic categorization task***  
***Listening to or Reading words***

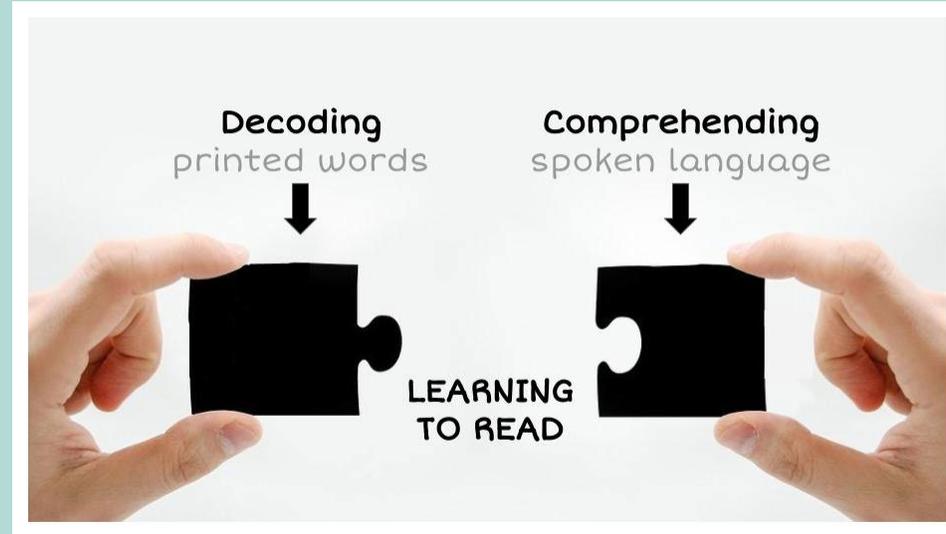


*Rueckl et al. (2018) PNAS*

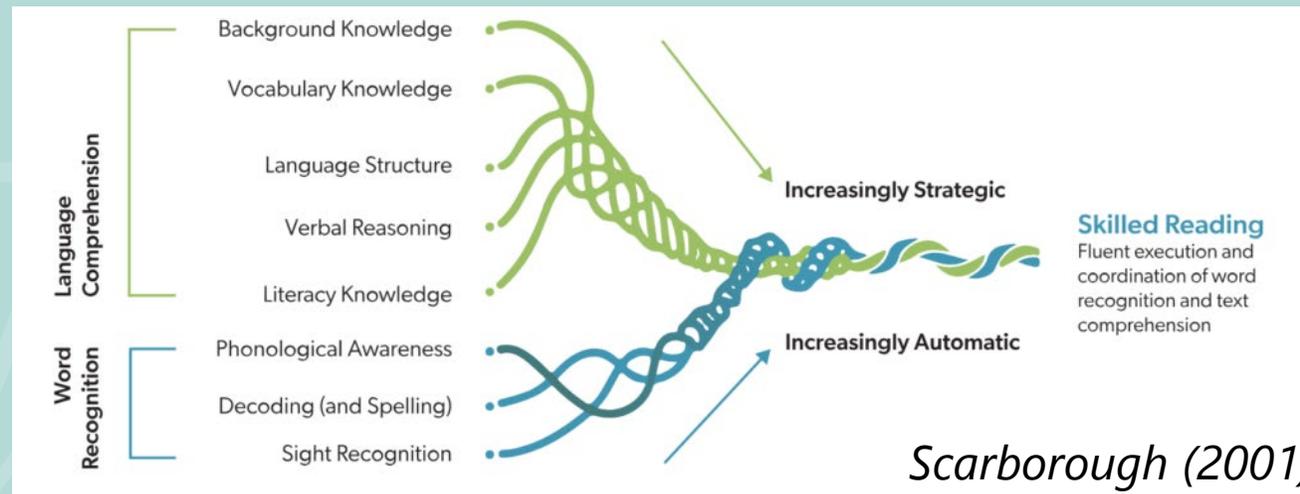
# Reading Models

## Simple View of Reading

$$RC = D \times LC$$



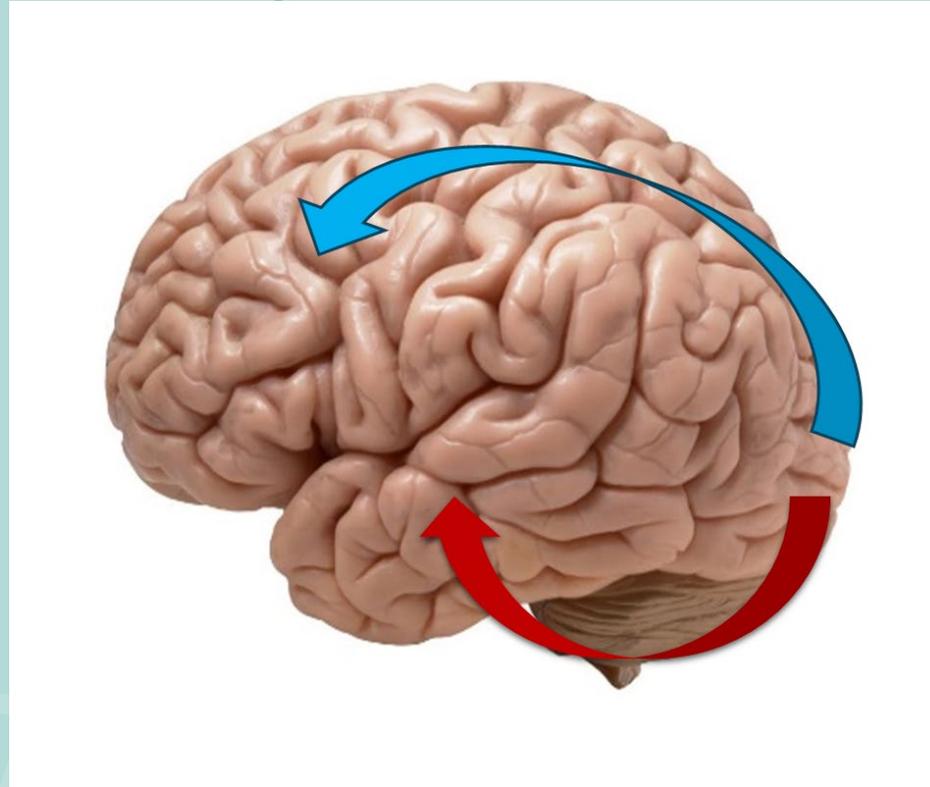
Gough & Tunmer (1986)  
Hoover & Gough (1990)



# Reading Models

## Dual Route Model of reading words aloud

**Lexical**  
Addressed  
phonology  
(ventral)

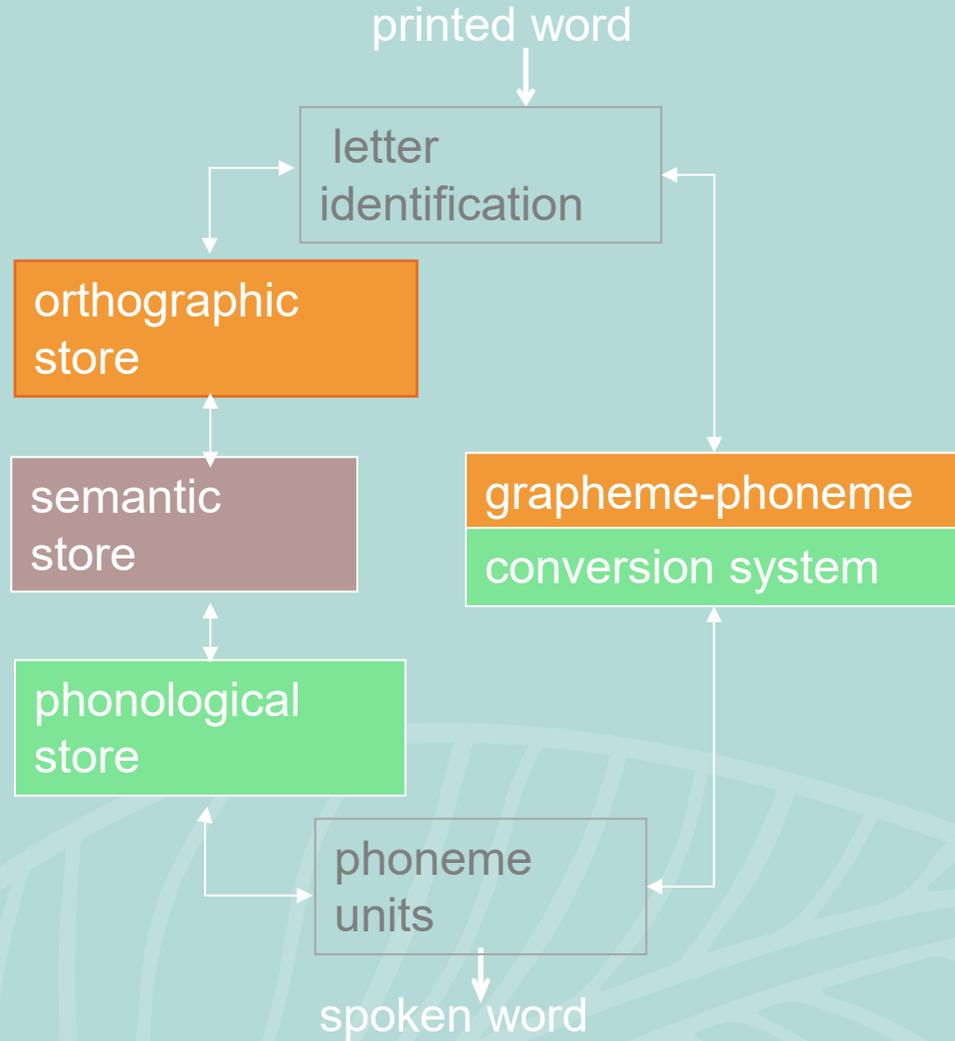


**Sublexical**  
Assembled  
phonology  
(dorsal)

*Coltheart et al. (1993)*  
*Jobard et al. (2003)*

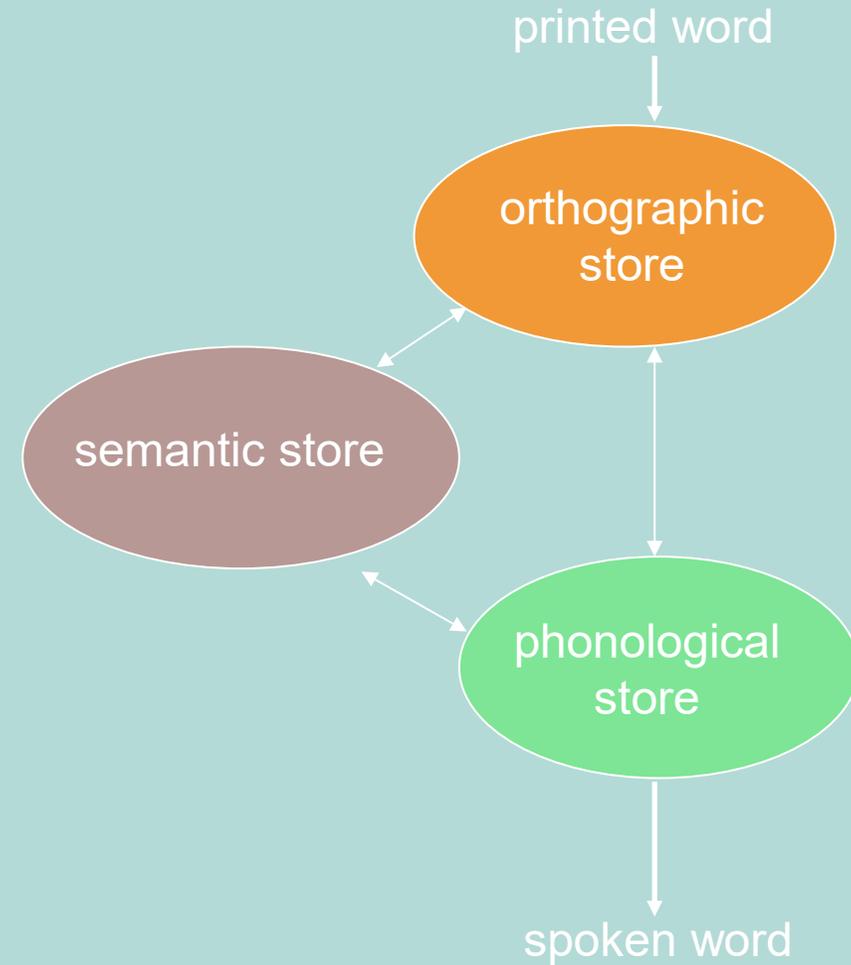
# Reading Models

## Dual Route Model



Castles & Coltheart (1993)

## Triangle Model



Seidenberg and McClelland (1989)  
Plaut et al. (1996)



# Reading in different scripts

**Universal Properties**

?

**Language Specific Properties**

# Reading models across languages

## Orthographic Depth Hypothesis

*Katz & Feldman (1983)*



## Psycholinguistic Grainsize Theory

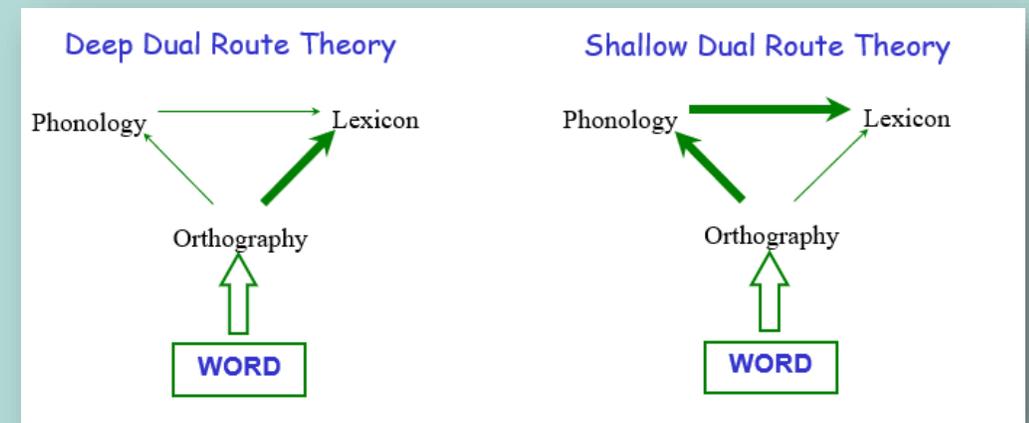
The unit level of processing for reading is affected by: *Ziegler & Goswami (2005)*

- The consistency of Print-Speech,
- Availability of phonological units in the language,
- Granularity of Writing System

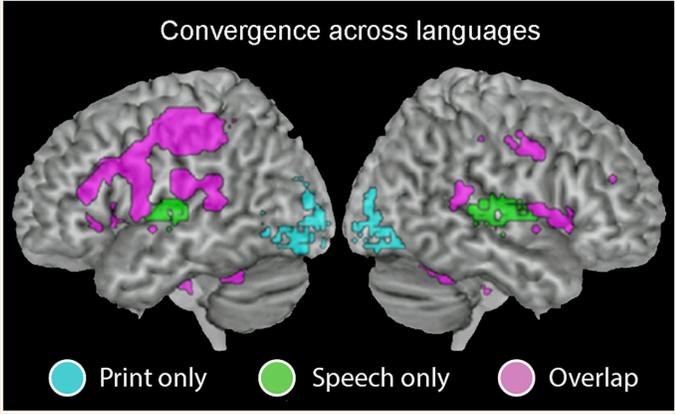
## Lexical Constituency Model

*Perfetti et al. (2005; 2013)*

Readers use relevant Print-Speech units which maximize efficiency

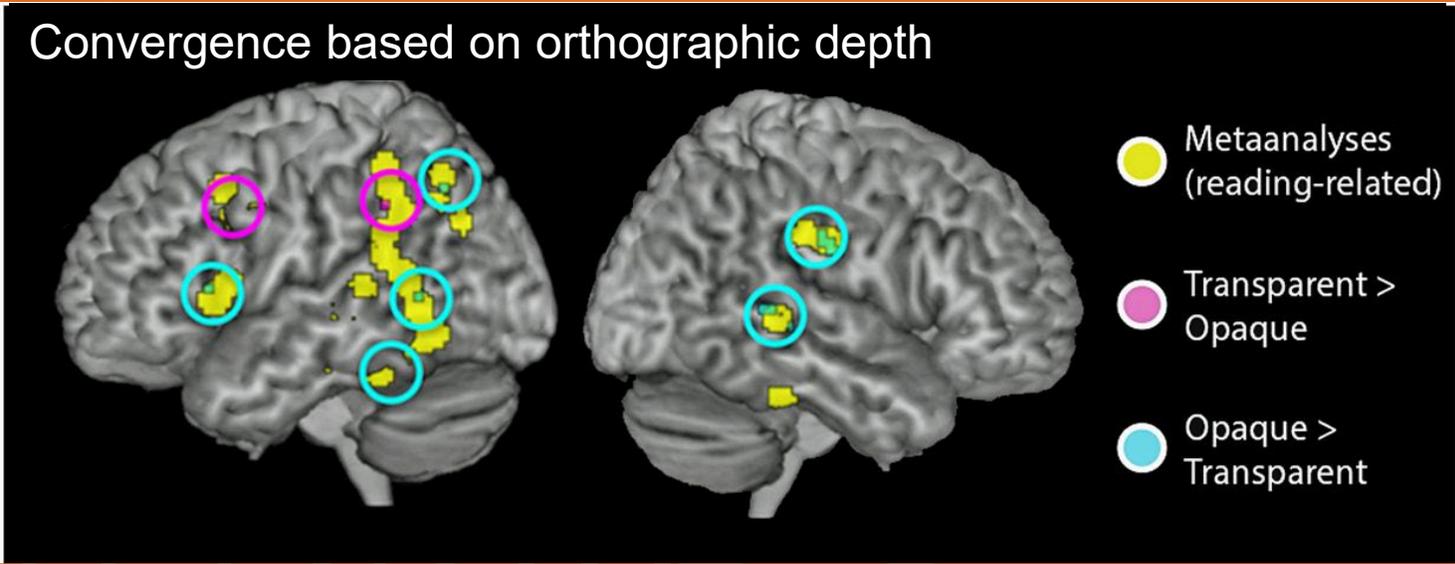


# Overlapping brain networks



*Semantic categorization task  
Listening to or Reading words*

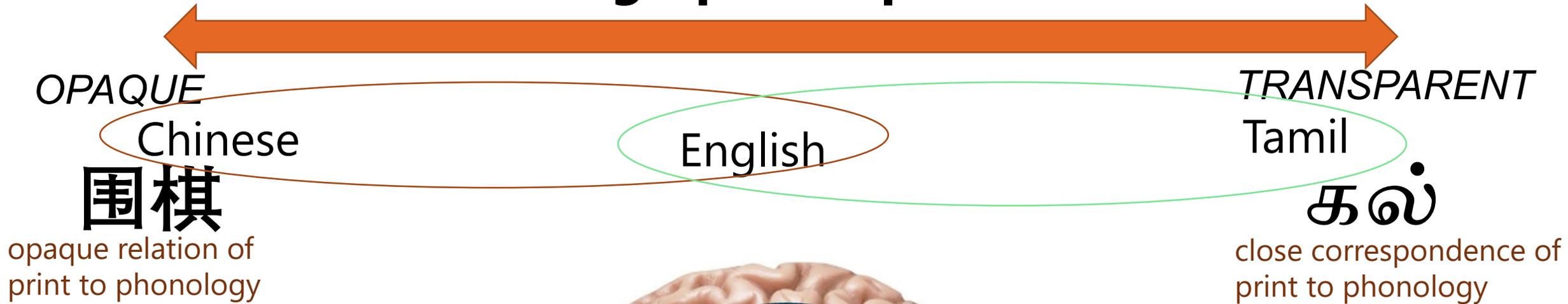
Print-speech overlap



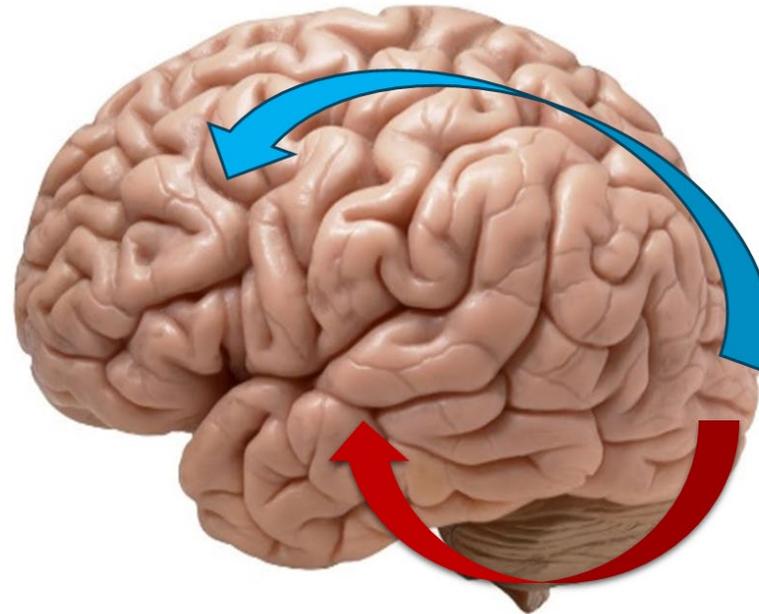
Spanish  
English  
Hebrew  
Chinese

# Impact of script sets on the neural representations of reading

## orthographic depth



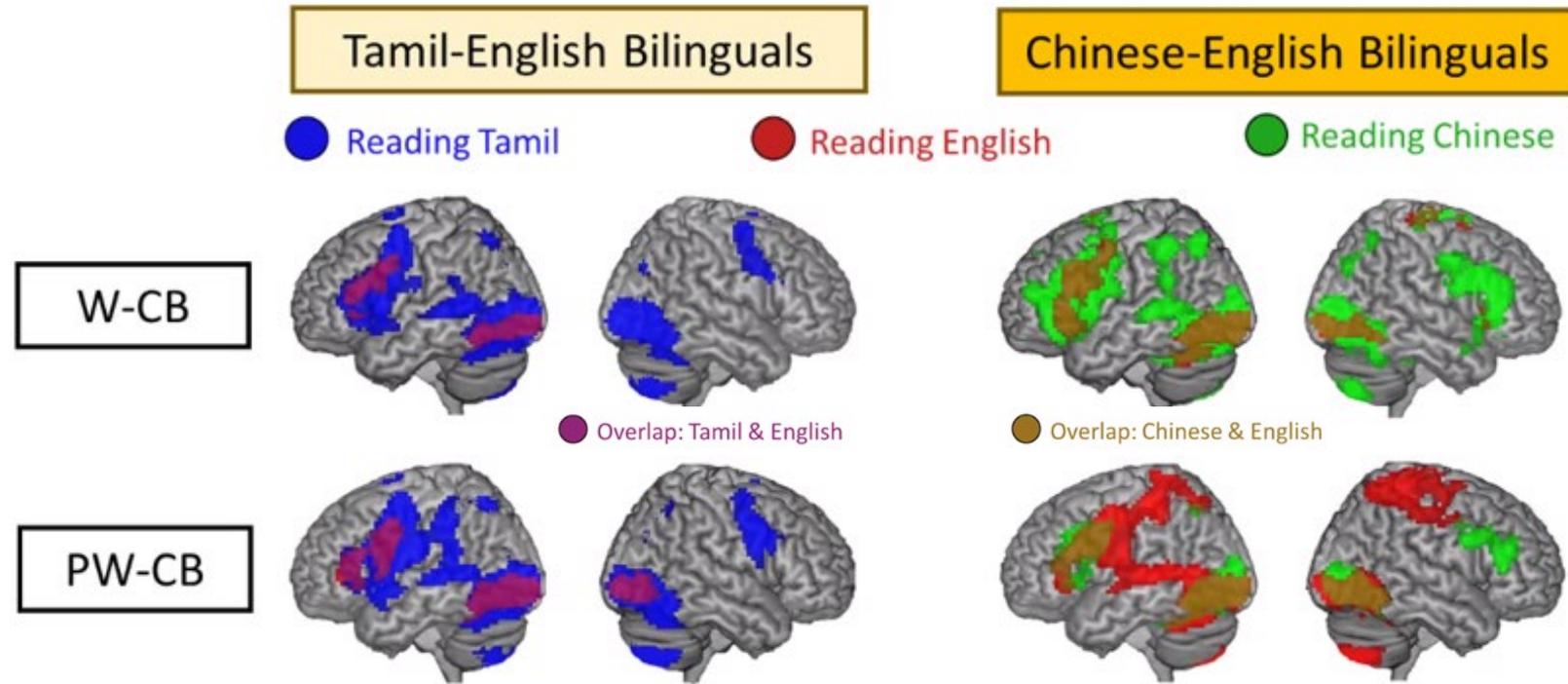
**Lexical**  
(ventral)



**Sublexical**  
(dorsal)

*Wu et al. (2020)*

# Impact of script sets on the neural representations of reading

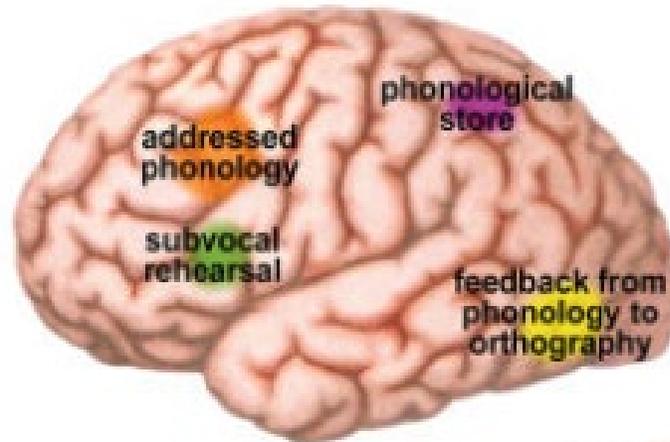


Reading transparent script (Tamil) engaged more sublexical processing in the dorsal stream (IFG) compared to English

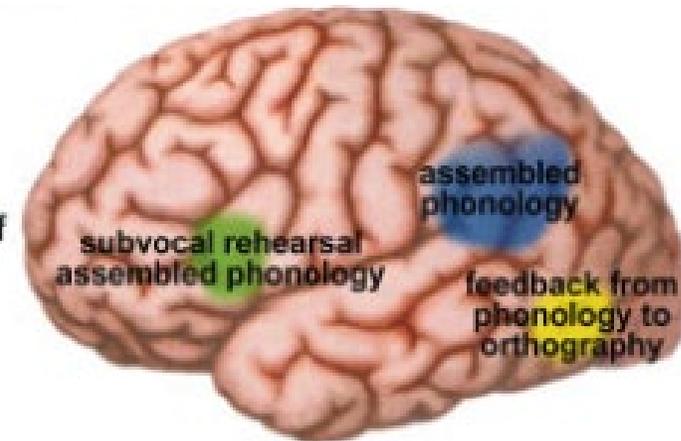
Reading opaque script (Chinese) recruits lexico-semantic processing in the ventral stream (frontal areas), while reading English showed divergence for nonwords, engaging more dorsal (parietal) areas

	Chinese	English	Tamil
Word (W)	低	teach	கால்
Pseudoword (PW)	攪	smake	காத்
Nonword (NW)	尪	prtwn	ச்டச
Dummy (DM)	绿	green	நீலம்
Checkerboard (CB)	☐	☐	☐

# Dual Route Model



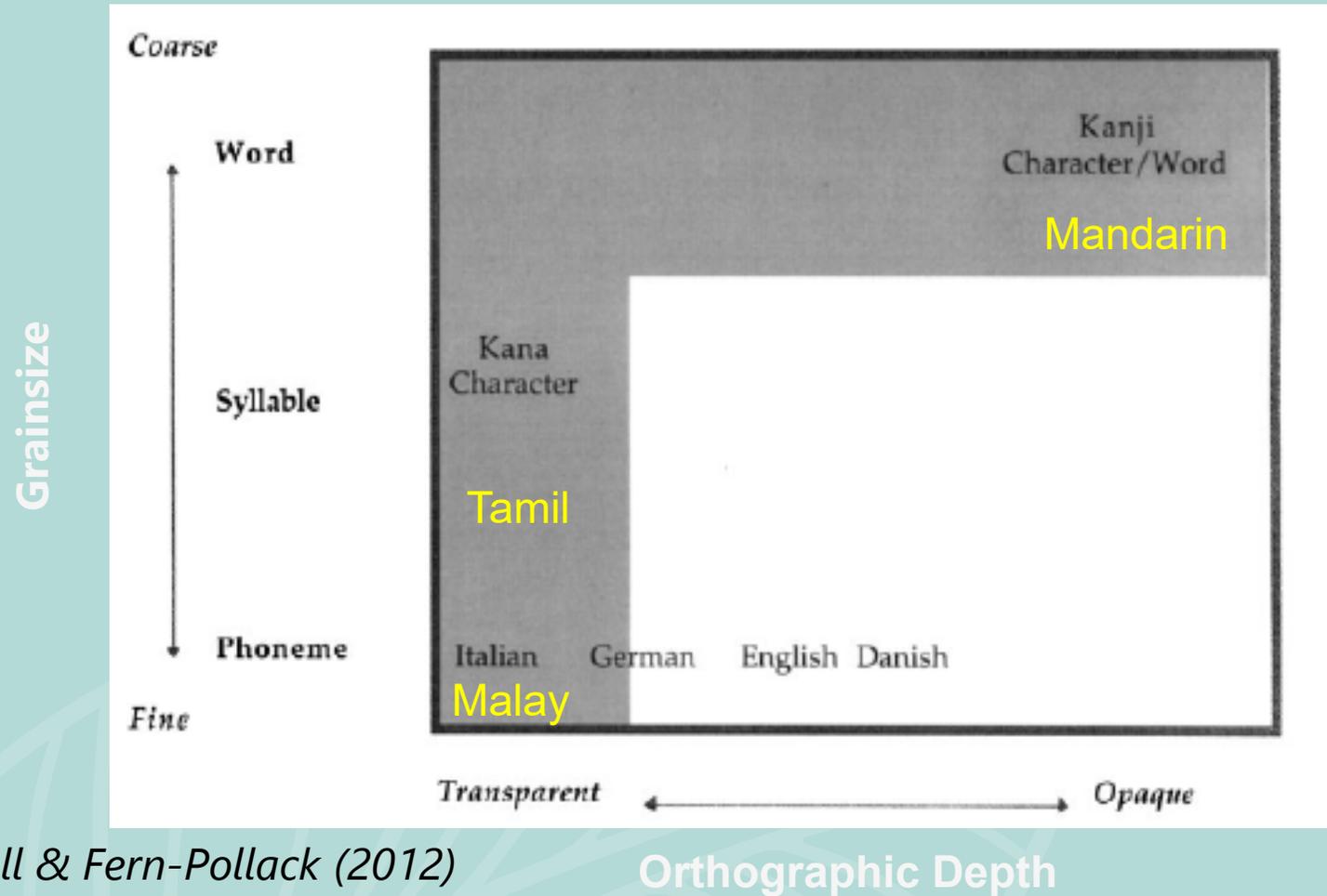
a. Neural systems for phonological processing of written Chinese characters



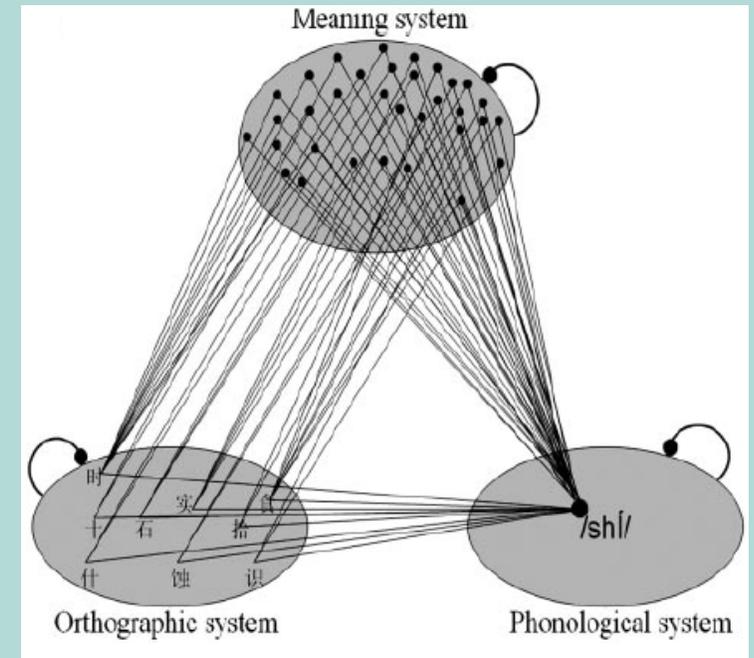
b. Neural systems for phonological processing of written alphabetic words

# Reading models across languages

## Cognitive demands of reading



Wydell & Fern-Pollack (2012)



*Lexical Constituency Model*  
What are the relevant units that specify word identification?

# Reading models across languages

## Predictors of reading ability

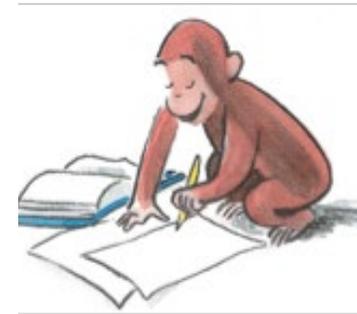
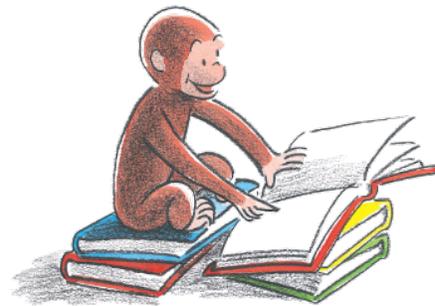
**Phonological Awareness** – strongest predictor of word reading ability in alphabetic languages ( $r=0.57$ ); best discrimination of children with dyslexia ( $ES = - 1.37$ )

*(Melby-Lervåg et al., 2012)*

**Phonological Awareness** stronger correlate of reading in English than in Chinese  
**Morphological Awareness** in Chinese produced significantly larger correlations with reading accuracy

*(Ruan et al., 2017)*

**“Building blocks of reading may, therefore, comprise a variety of adjustments related to early word recognition” (p. 63, McBride, 2016)**

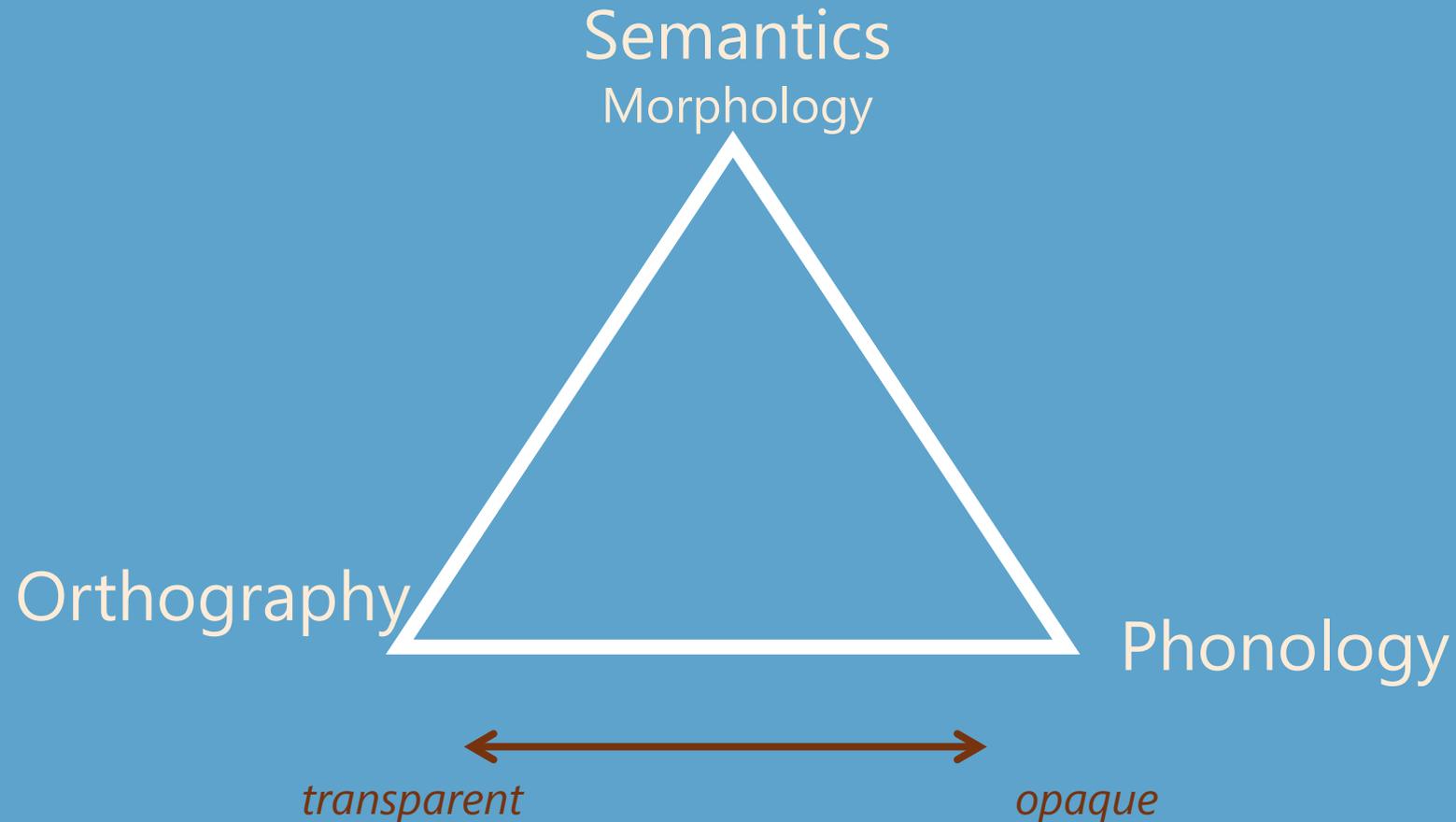


**What about spelling?**

# Spelling

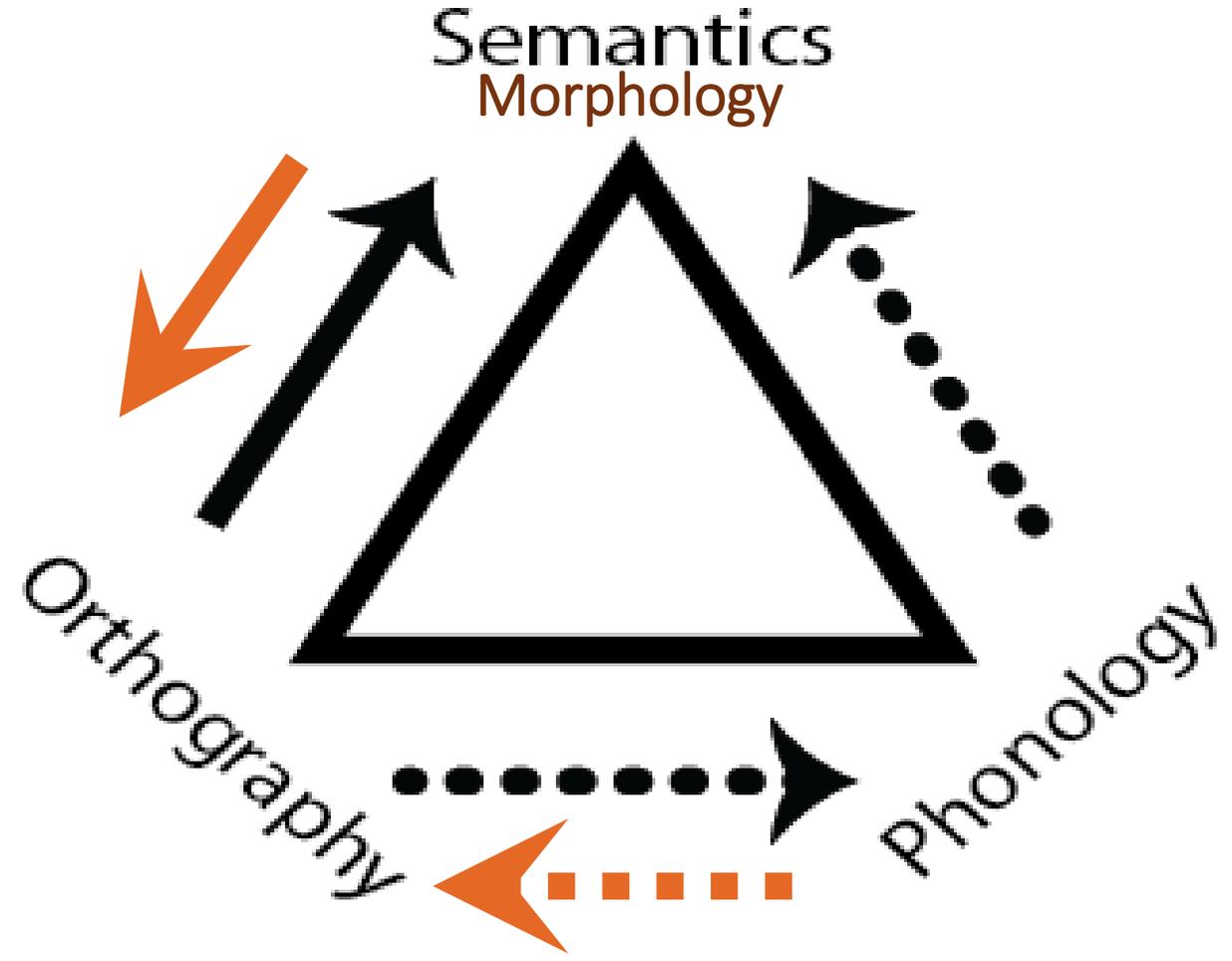
## Cognitive demands across scripts

What information do spellers use in different languages?



# Triangle Model

## Triple Word Form Theory (Triple Code)



*Plaut (1997)*

*Bahr et al. (2015)*



# Spelling error coding schemes

**POMAS** *Bahr et al. (2012)*    **CoST** *Daffern et al. (2015)*

## Phonological



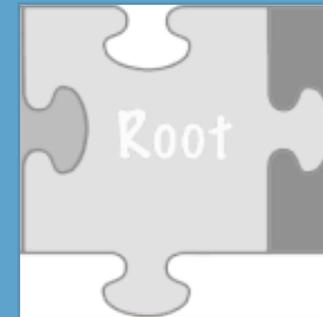
An incorrect representation of the sounds. This type of error includes the use of an allophone, an omission or addition of phonological elements, which can also include tone, stress, and retroflex (supra segmental).

## Orthographic



Errors are defined as spelling conveying the same phonology but with incorrect, ambiguous letters (e.g., pseudohomophones)

## Morphological



Misspelling the target word/character with one that preserves the correct representation of sound but that has a different semantic, or a substitution with a semantically related word (e.g., homophones). This includes words, or parts of the word, that sound alike but have different meanings

# Study 1

What information do spellers use in different languages?

## **PARTICIPANTS**

568 Primary 1 bilingual children in Singapore

Mean age 6 years, 8 months

- 128 English + Malay
- 119 English + Tamil
- 321 English + Chinese

## **MEASURES**

Completed a word dictation task, with 10 items selected from school curriculum list



# script features

*stone*

*pergi*

## English script:

## Malay script:

Orthographic inventory

Phonological Syllable units

Phonological representation

Word forms

Subword forms

Graphemic elements

- 26 letters
- Complex (6 types)
- morphophonemic
- multi-letter words
- Consonant clusters, vowel digraphs
- letter strokes, upper lower case

- 25 letters (not X)
- Short , agglutinative, reduplication
- phonemes > meaning
- multi-letter words
- Few consonant clusters, vowel pairs split at syllable boundary
- letter strokes, upper lower case

# script features

கல்

**Tamil script:**  
Akshara

- large (247)
- alphasyllabic
- phonemes > meaning
- multi-akshara words
- consonant-vowel glyphs, diacriticals
- strokes ~ linear – usually L/R

围棋

**Chinese script:**  
Characters

- larger (K's)
- morphosyllabic, non-alphabetic
- meaning > phonology
- single to multi-character words
- character components ~ semantic/phonetic radicals
- strokes ~ square – L/R, top/bottom, surround

Orthographic inventory

Phonological Syllable units

Phonological representation

Word forms

Subword forms

Graphemic elements

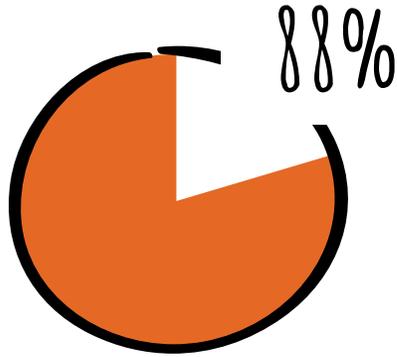
# Predictions

## ❖ Script differences

We expected different types of spelling errors based on the most unambiguous units in the script:

- For Malay language, phonological errors would be most frequent, given that it is a very transparent alphabet; although previous studies suggests morphological awareness contributes to better spelling ability
- For Tamil, most frequent error types would be phonological, as akshara are linked to phonological syllables and this follows previous findings, although orthographic errors might be expected given the orthographic breadth
- For Chinese, morphological and orthographic errors would be most prevalent given the opaque relation of print to phonology and a lexical level of word identification.

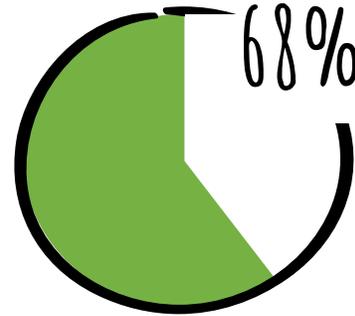
# Percentages of spelling error types primary 1 students



CHINESE

Morphemic errors (inc.  
Homophone substitutions), or  
wrong character

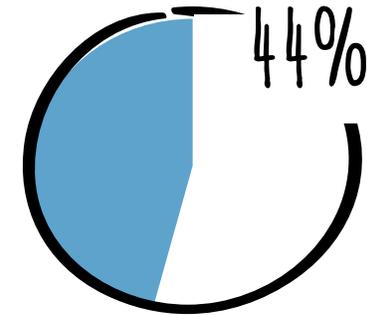
坐 instead of 做  
(zuò) 'sit' for 'do'



MALAY

Phonological errors  
Vowel substitutions  
or omissions

'dena' instead of 'dan'  
(and/with)



TAMIL

Phonological errors  
Consonant, retroflex  
substitutions

இன்பம் instead of  
இம்பம் (joy)

# Results

## Script differences

### ❖ Phonological Errors

Malay\* > Tamil > Chinese

\*issues with vowels

### ❖ Morphological Errors

Chinese > Malay > Tamil\*

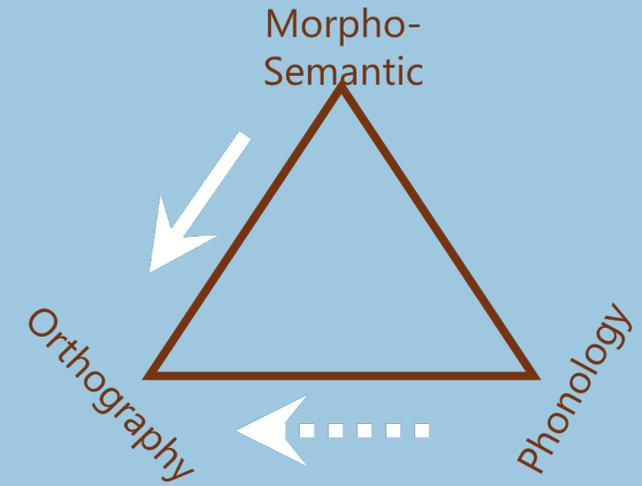
\*no issues

### ❖ Orthographic-graphemic Errors

Malay > Chinese\* > Tamil

\*little issues with character configuration

### ❖ Other errors (blanks or unrelated words) predominated for Chinese responses



# limitations

Item lists were ecologically valid, but offered uneven and limited opportunities for some error code types

Dictation task required full word response, yielding blank response or guesses

Cross-sectional study at one age level

The bilingual children's English spelling was not analysed within the Triple Code framework

# Study 2

## What information do spellers use in different languages?

### PARTICIPANTS

Bilingual cohorts in Singapore:

- Kindergarteners (Mean age = 4.90 years old)
  - 1<sup>st</sup> Graders (Mean age = 6.86 years old)
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> Graders (Mean age = 8.81 years old)
- 
- 390 English + Malay
  - 253 English + Tamil
  - 761 English + Chinese

**MEASURES.** Spelling test using a cloze procedure to target specific features identified as exemplars of triple word form constructs (based on Daffern et al., 2015, CoST).

**PROCEDURE.** Children were asked to look at a target word and to fill in the blank with the correct letter(s)/akshara(s)/character to form the word (e.g., \_ook for “book”). Each word has a corresponding picture above to aid in the identification of the word. As additional guidance to the kindergarten students, an audio of each word is played.



items designed for each age level

10.		11.		12.		13.		14.	
	s__kor		ke__		mende__ar		__hari		
15.		16.		17.		18.		19.	
	__tas								

6.		7.		8.		9.	
	b__k		d__ll		cat__		di__
11.		12.		13.		14.	
	c__n		day__		an__mals		s__l

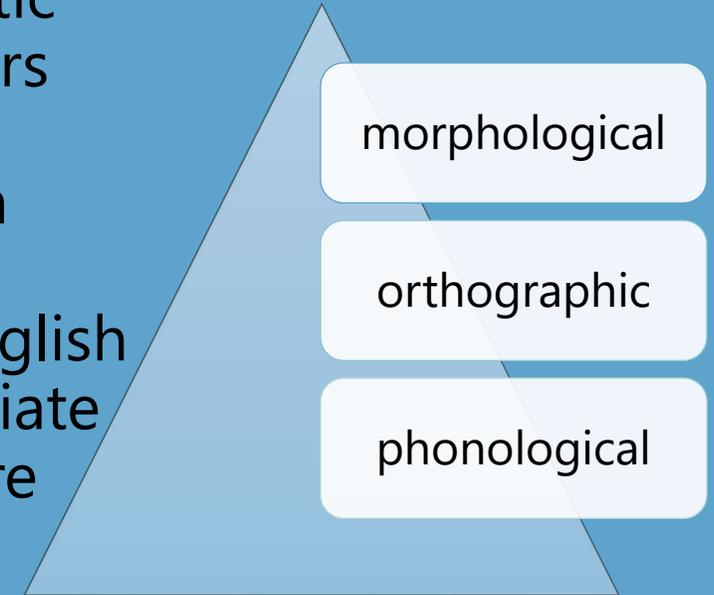


# Predictions

## ❖ Script differences

Following previous results, transparent alphabetic scripts would yield more phonological errors, non-alphabetic scripts and opaque scripts more morphological errors

Alternatively, shared strategies across English and each language may be determined by their typological distance; where Malay would most closely reflect English error types (phonological), while Chinese would deviate with more morphological errors, and Tamil with more orthographic errors



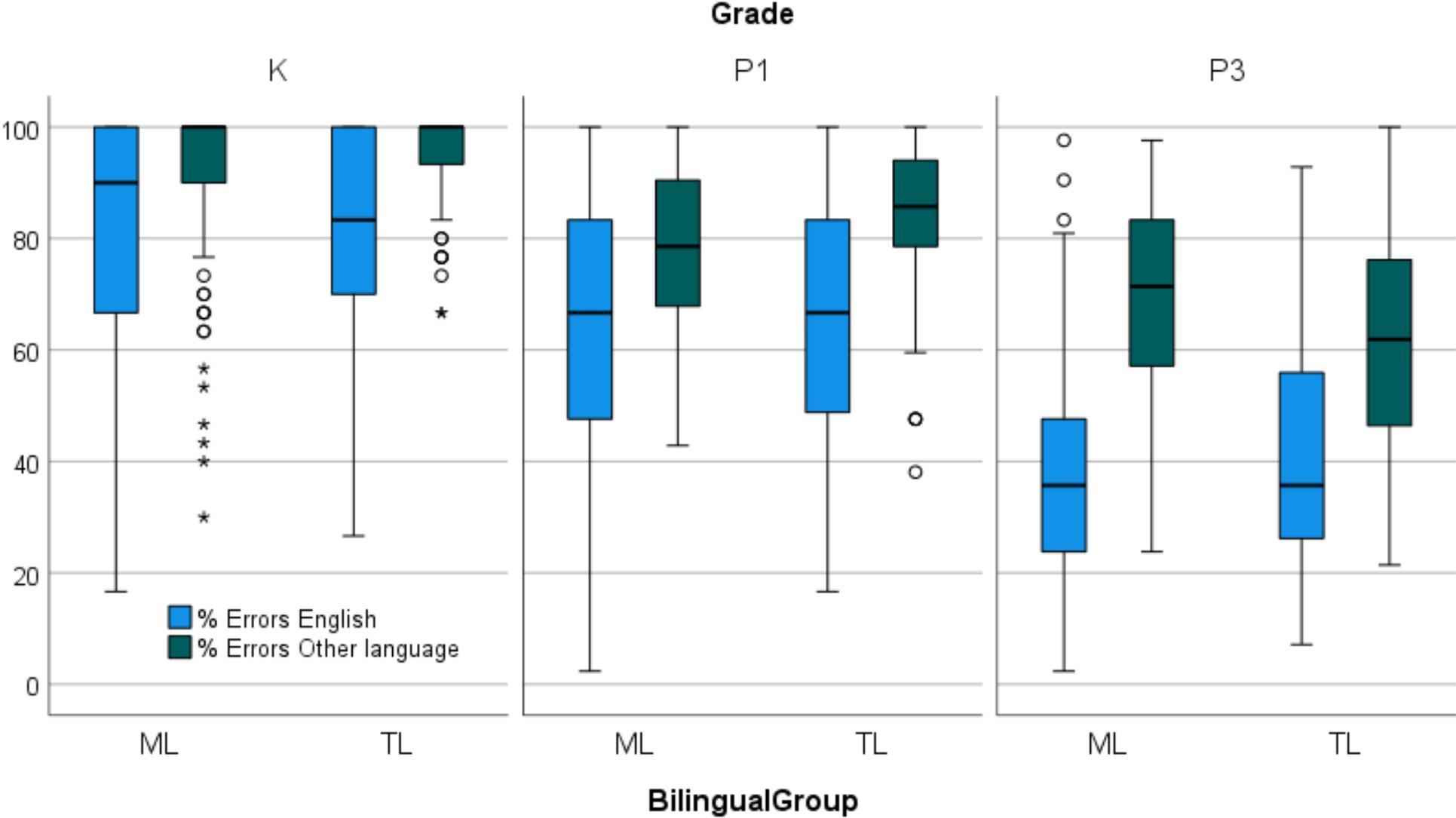
## ❖ Age differences

Similar age differences per script, following spelling development phases (sound (P) → pattern (O) → meaning (M) )

# Results (preliminary)



# % spelling errors by Group and Grade levels



# Triple Code Errors,

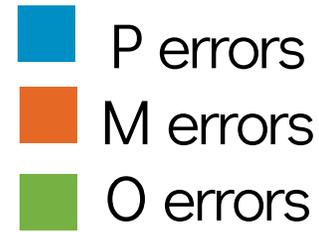
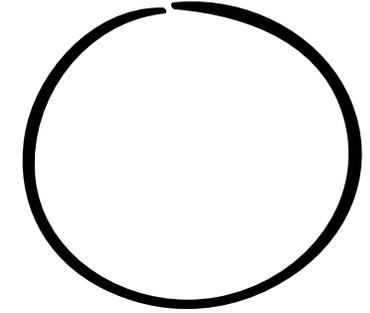
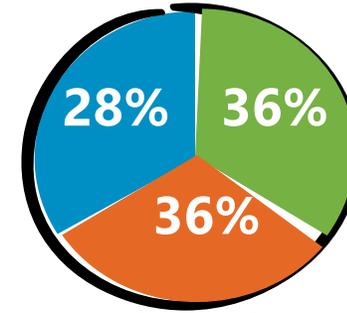
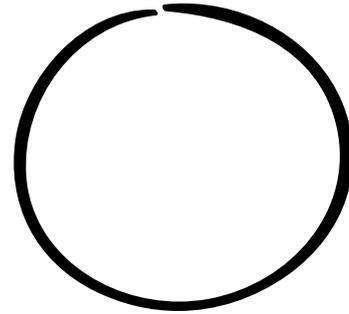
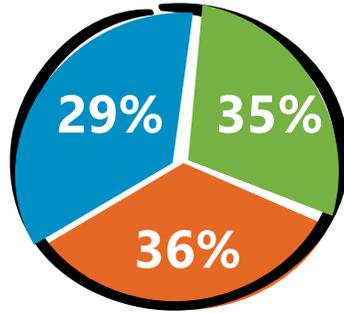
ENGLISH

MALAY

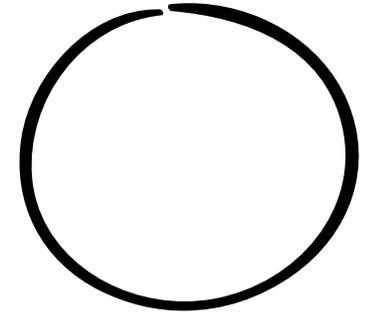
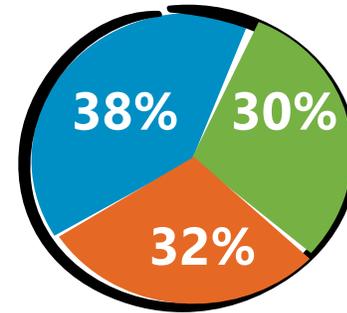
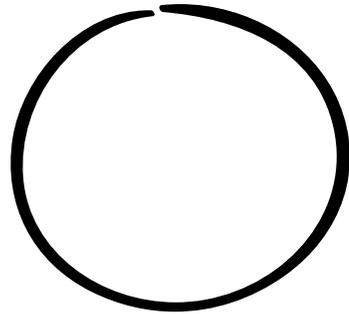
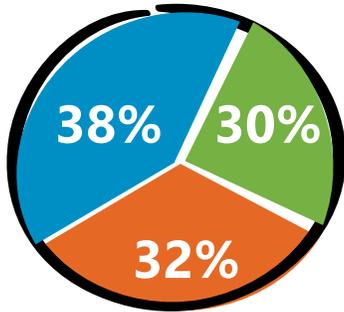
ENGLISH

TAMIL

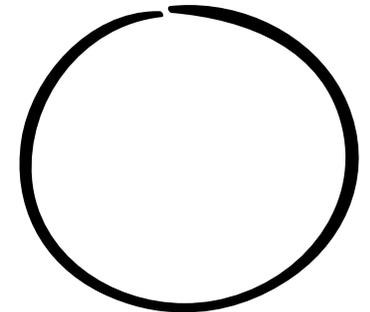
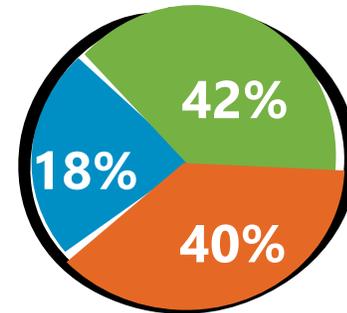
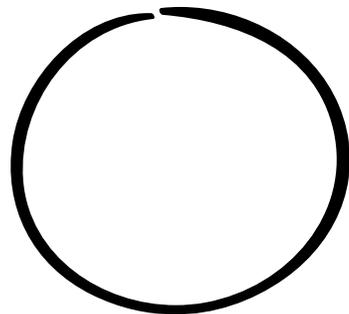
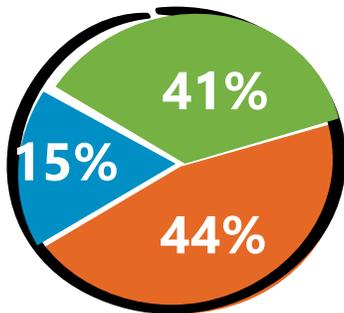
K



P1



P3



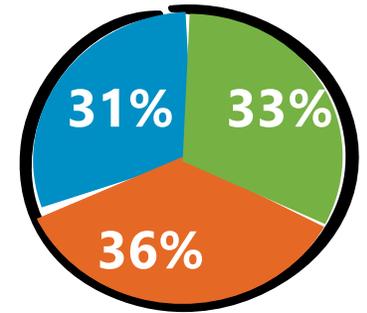
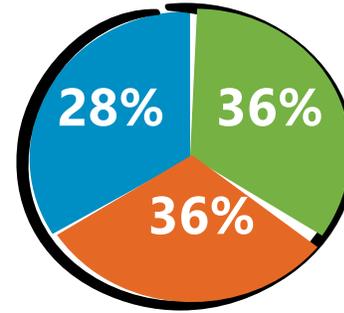
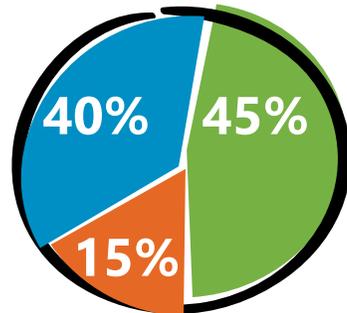
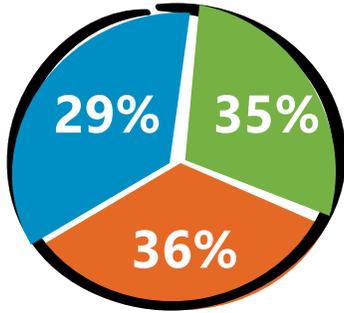
ENGLISH

MALAY

ENGLISH

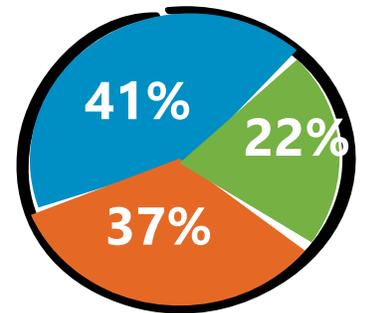
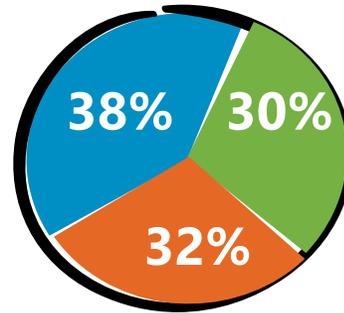
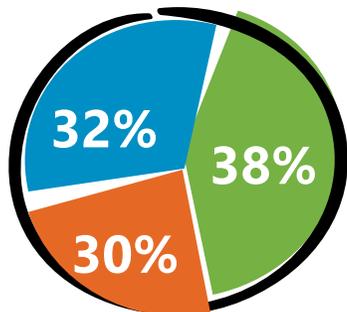
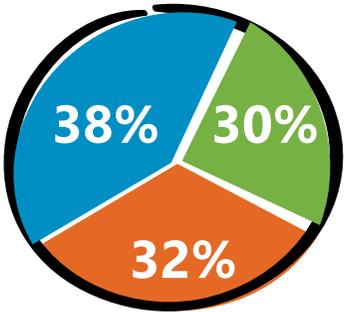
TAMIL

K

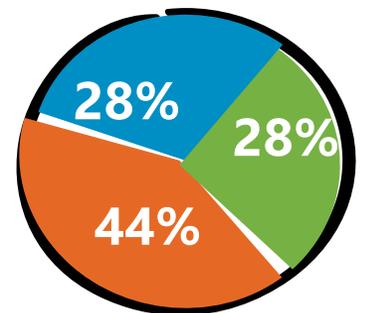
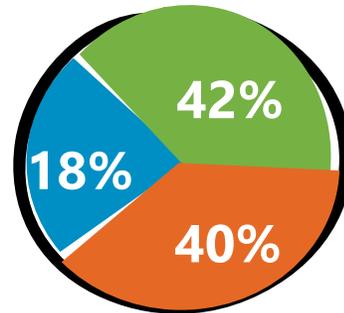
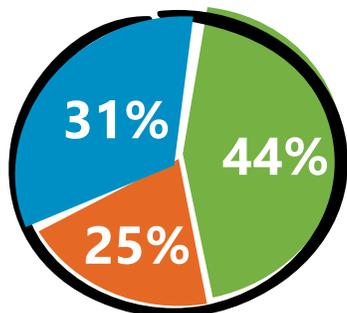
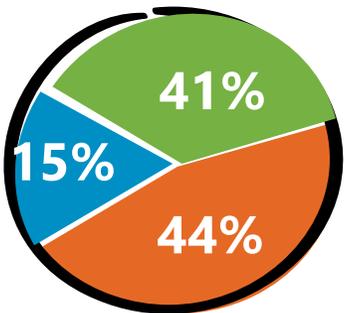


P errors  
M errors  
O errors

P1



P3



# ❖ Script differences

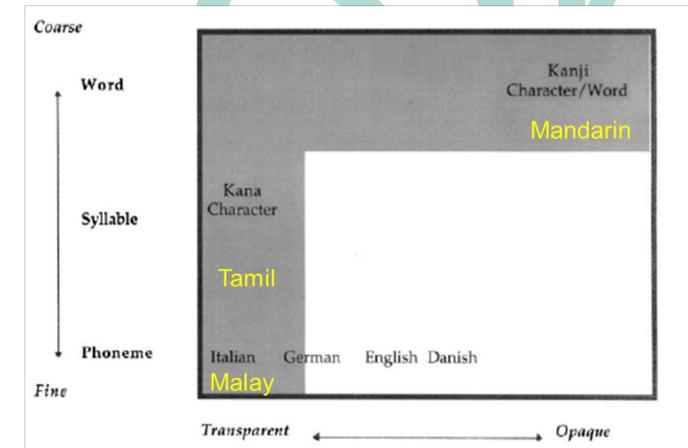
While Malay and Tamil are each relatively transparent scripts, they can code oral language at different grainsizes.

Phonological errors were not the most common for Malay (more orthographic errors), but they were as common or more than orthographic errors for Tamil.

Morphological errors played least role for Malay, but stronger role for Tamil.

As far as cross-linguistic strategies, both bilingual groups show similar spelling error type patterns for English words, without regard to typological distance between their script sets.

Cognitive demands of reading



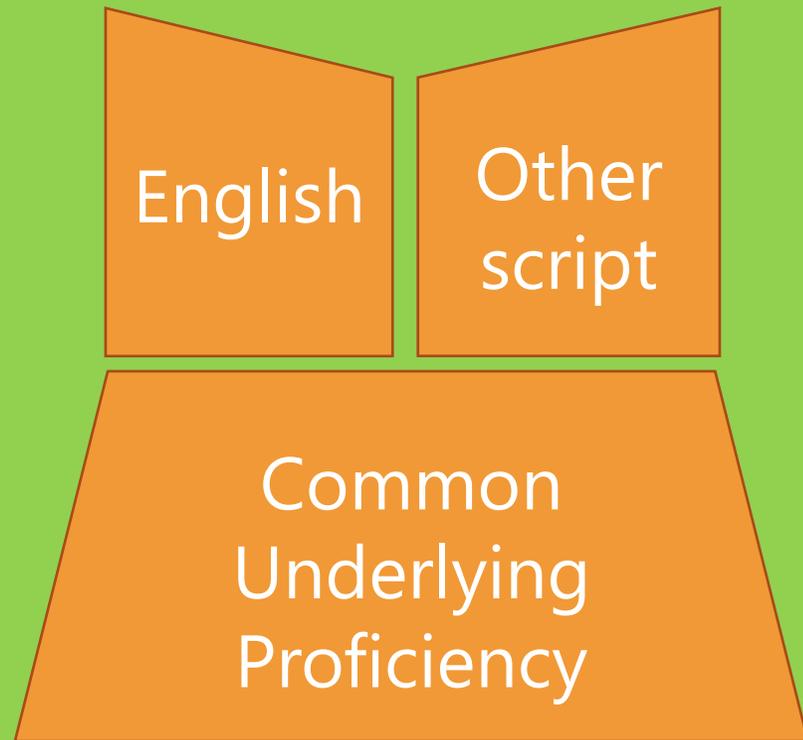
# ❖ Age differences

Across grades, phonology played a more important role at primary entry level than at preschool or middle primary – in particular for English and Tamil. Whereas for Malay, the same pattern of errors persisted across these grade levels.

Thus, changes in spelling development may not follow developmental phases universally, but might be more affected by the nature of the script, the cognitive demands of spelling in that script, and strategies that spellers adopt to meet the demands.



# Bilingual Literacy Development



## **Interdependence Hypothesis**

*(Cummins, 1991)*

a common underlying proficiency that supports both first and second languages

## **The linguistic and orthographic proximity hypothesis**

*(Kahn-Horwitz, Schwartz and Share, 2011)*

Overlap depends on the degree of proximity between linguistic as well as orthographic structure of L1 and L2

***Inner forms of print***  
What is represented

English

Other script

***Outer forms of print***  
Emergent Literacy  
(visual characteristics)

# Cross language effects

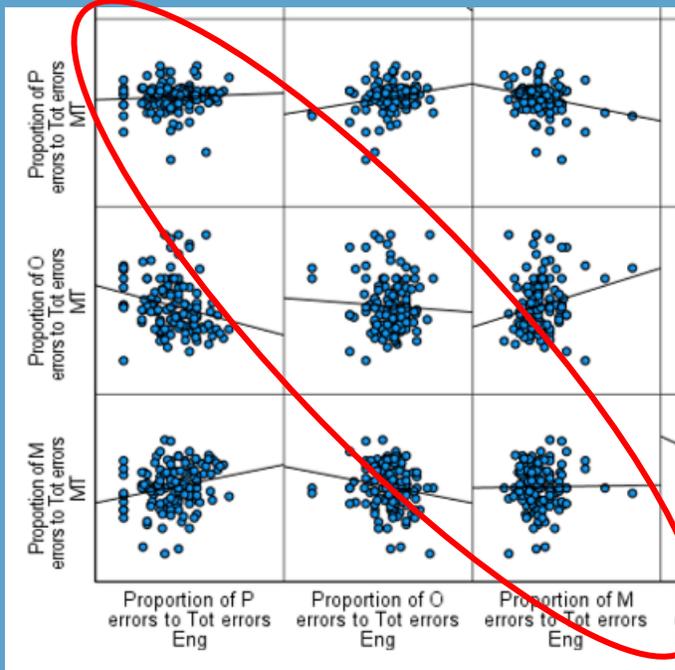
	P errors	O errors	M errors
English-Malay	<b>-0.145</b>	<b>0.228</b>	<b>-0.357</b>
English-Tamil	<b>0.545</b>	<b>0.247</b>	0.129

grade partialled out, bold  $p < .01$

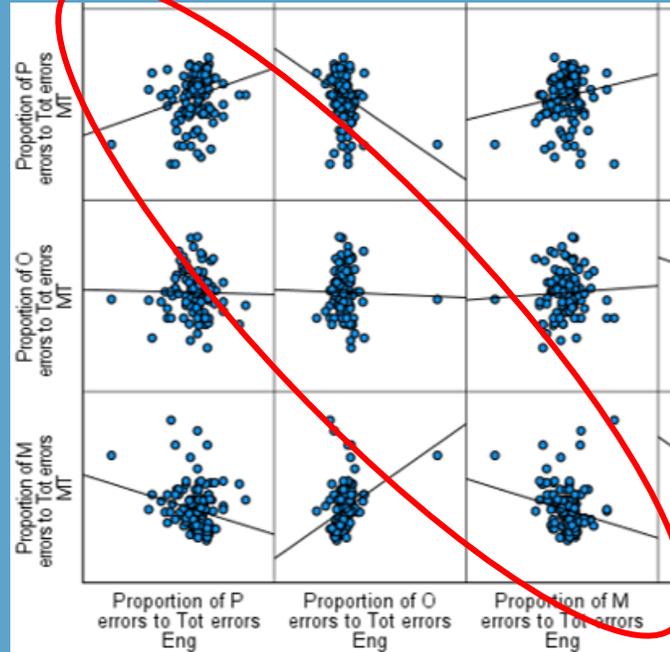
# English-Malay

# Cross-Language Relations by grade

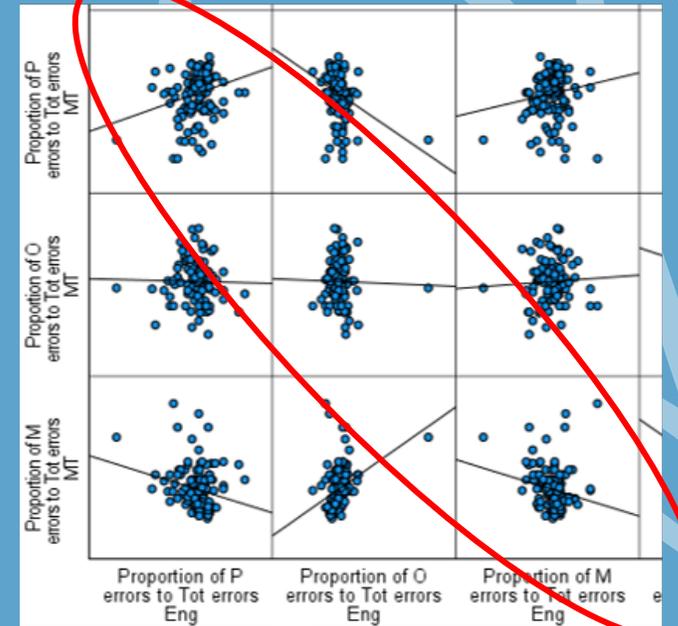
P3



P1



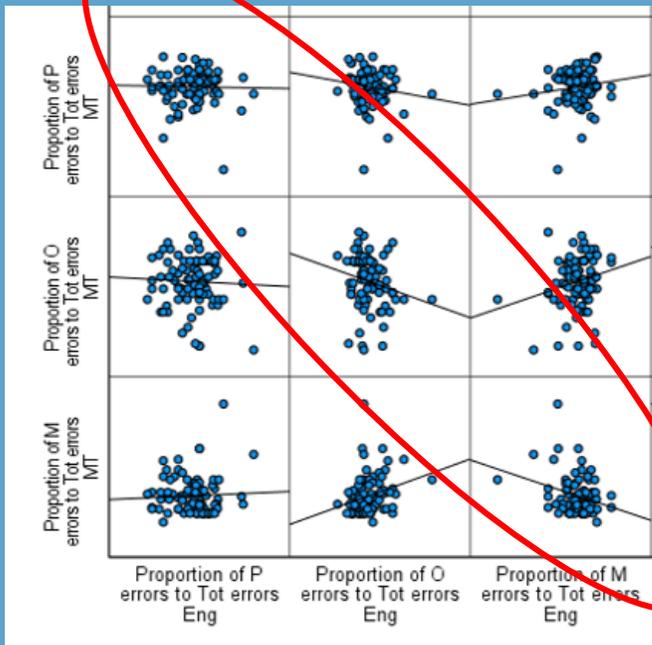
K



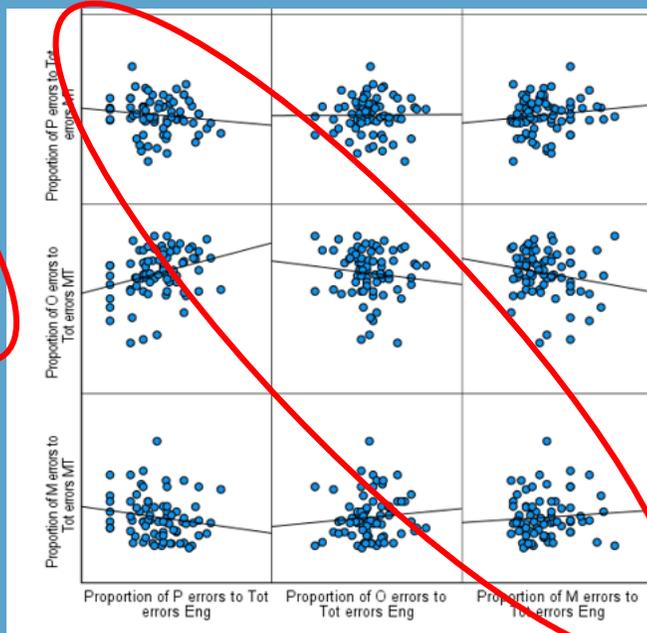
# English-Tamil

# Cross-Language Relations by grade

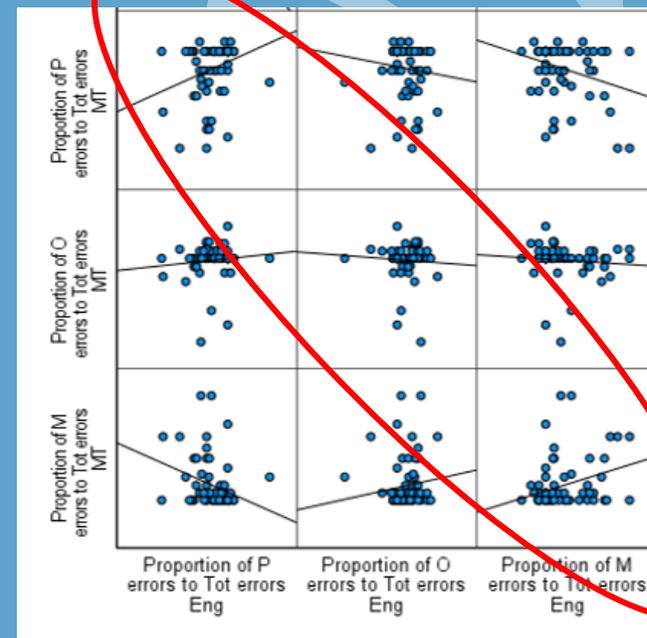
P3



P1



K



# Conclusion

Children learning to read and write in more than one language need to meet the challenge of how each language specifies oral language.

While biliteracy studies suggest children will transfer their knowledge across languages, less is known about children acquiring literacy in multiple languages simultaneously.

Identifying universal and language-specific components of this learning process will help children, and their teachers, leverage on transferrable knowledge.

# Implications

Teachers of beginning biliterates may use opportunities to draw children's attention to cross-language similarities as they learn to decode and encode print, or to process shared narratives

<b>Pre-readers</b>	<b>Beginning readers</b>	<b>Developing readers</b>	<b>Older readers</b>	<b>Assessment</b>
Importance of print and alphabetic knowledge	Decoding and encoding words	Managing more difficult words and sentence structures	Use of strategies to understand text	To identify at-risk individuals, test in multiple languages
Outer forms of print Can point to similarities where possible	To highlight strongest relations between codes (phonology / morpho-semantic – orthography) – Inner forms of print	Add strategies for decoding/encoding besides the strongest link	Metacognitive strategies can be applied across languages	Strategically plan skill assessment for more universal aspects of languages, along with script-specific aspects





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attention**

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என்னால் தமிழ் பேசமுடியும்.  
I can speak English.  
我会讲华语。

# Questions & Discusson

