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Bilingualism at the core of the brain. Structural differences between bilinguals and monolinguals revealed by subcortical shape analysis

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ABSTRACT

Naturally acquiring a language shapes the human brain through a long-lasting learning and practice process. This 19 is supported by previous studies showing that managing more than one language from early childhood has an 20 impact on brain structure and function. However, to what extent bilingual individuals present neuroanatomical 21 peculiarities at the subcortical level with respect to monolinguals is yet not well understood, despite the key role 22 of subcortical gray matter for a number of language functions, including monitoring of speech production and 23 language control – two processes especially solicited by bilinguals. Here we addressed this issue by performing 24 a subcortical surface-based analysis in a sample of monolinguals and simultaneous bilinguals (N = 88) that only 25 differed in their language experience from birth. This analysis allowed us to study with great anatomical precision 26 the potential differences in morphology of key subcortical structures, namely, the caudate, accumbens, putamen, 27 globus pallidus and thalamus. Vertexwise analyses revealed significantly expanded subcortical structures for bilinguals, localized in bilateral putamen and thalamus, as well as in the left globus 29 pallidus and right caudate nucleus. A topographical interpretation of our results suggests that a more complex 30 phonological system in bilinguals may lead to a greater development of a subcortical brain network involved 31 in monitoring articulatory processes.

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38 Introduction

The human brain displays a considerable degree of structural plastic-39 ity. Learning or practicing a given skill can trigger experience-dependent 40 changes in dendrification, vascularization, glial support and axonal 41 42 myelination and rearrangement that, in some cases, impact macroanatomical brain morphology as measured by magnetic resonance 43imaging (MRI) techniques (Zatorre et al., 2012). A particularly interesting 44 capacity that naturally shapes the human brain is language (Li et al., 4546 2014), one of the most important cognitive attributes of humans. In this context, the study of bilingualism has proved to be a powerful way to 47 understand how this long-lasting language learning process affects 48 49 brain morphology (Costa and Sebastián-Gallés, 2014; Li et al., 2014).

fMRI studies directly comparing bilinguals and monolinguals show
 that the former generally make increased activations of cortical areas tra ditionally related to language processing (mainly because of more de manding word retrieval and articulatory processes; Parker Jones et al.,
 2012) as well as of brain regions involved in cognitive control (relevant
 for language switching, error monitoring and language interference

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http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.neuroimage.2015.09.073 1053-8119/© 2015 Published by Elsevier Inc. inhibition; Abutalebi, 2008; Abutalebi and Green, 2007; Indefrey, 56 2006). Therefore, the morphology of structures involved in these pro- 57 cesses is expected to reflect bilingual experience. Indeed, research on 58 the neuroanatomical differences between bilinguals and monolinguals 59 has observed increased cortical gray matter volume in bilinguals in 60 areas relevant for vocabulary acquisition and low-level auditory process- 61 ing, among other language functions. Some of those areas are left- 62 lateralized, such as the left inferior parietal cortex (Mechelli et al., 63 2004; Abutalebi et al., 2015) and left anterior temporal pole (Abutalebi 64 et al., 2014), whereas others show bilateral effects, e.g. inferior frontal 65 gyrus (Klein et al., 2014), Heschl's gyrus (Ressel et al., 2012), anterior cin- 66 gulate cortex (Abutalebi et al., 2012) and cerebellum (Pliatsikas et al., 67 2014). Moreover, at the level of the underlying white matter connec- 68 tions, both integrity increases (Luk et al., 2011; Mohades et al., 2012; 69 Pliatsikas et al., 2015) and decreases (Mohades et al., 2012; Gold et al., 70 2013) have been observed in bilinguals compared to monolinguals in a 71 number of commisural (anterior corpus callosum) and association 72 white matter tracts (e.g. inferior longitudinal and fronto-occipital fascic-73 ulus), with mainly bilateral, but also left-lateralized effects being report-74 ed. Furthermore, García-Pentón et al. (2014) recently reported that 75 bilinguals display greater structural connectivity and network efficiency 76 in two left-lateralized language-related subnetworks, at the expense of 77 decreased global network efficiency. 78

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Here we focused on the morphological peculiarities that bilinguals 79 80 might show at the subcortical level, namely, the basal ganglia and thalamus. The basal ganglia have received increased attention regarding 81 82 their functional role in a wide array of language-related processes, such as speech production (Binder et al., 2005; Bohland and Guenther, 83 2006; Kuljic-Obradovic, 2003; Riecker et al., 2002; Rosen et al., 2000; 84 Sakurai et al., 1993), rule learning (De Diego-Balaguer et al., 2008), 85 86 and phonological processing (Tettamanti et al., 2005; Tricomi et al., 87 2006; Watkins et al., 2002), among others. The basal ganglia are an im-88 portant component of the procedural memory system, which underlies 89 the extraction and computation of language regularities and rules 90 (e.g., mental grammar) (Ullman, 2004). Similarly, the thalamus is itself a key structure for language function with a well-established role in lan-9192guage production and lexical decision (for a review of fMRI studies, see Llano, 2013), articulation, prosody, semantic processing, and verbal 93 memory (for a review of electrical stimulation studies, see Hebb and 94 95 Ojemann, 2013). Importantly to our current goals, fMRI studies specifically focused on bilingualism have tended to underscore the relevance 96 of subcortical structures for managing two or more languages. In partic-97 ular, different studies have reported increased activation of the caudate 98 nucleus in language switching (Abutalebi et al., 2007a; Crinion et al., 99 2006; Garbin et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2007, 2009). Also, there is evi-100 101 dence of recruitment of the putamen during demanding articulatory and motor control processes, generally observed in bilinguals 102 (Abutalebi et al., 2013; Klein et al., 1994; Tettamanti et al., 2005). In 103 this vein, bilingualism is hypothesized to train a gating system in the 104 striatum that modulates prefrontal cortex activation for language con-105106 trol and application of language rules (Stocco et al., 2012). In spite of the substantial evidence, the literature is almost inexistent regarding 107the subcortical structural signature of bilingualism, with only two 108 small-sized, whole-brain voxel-based morphometry (VBM) studies 109110 reporting subcortical gray matter differences between bilinguals and monolinguals: Zou et al. (2012) showed greater volume in the head of 111 the left caudate nucleus in bimodal bilinguals, who use spoken and 112 sign languages, compared to monolinguals. Also, Abutalebi et al. 113(2013) showed an increased volume in the left putamen of female mul-114 tilinguals compared to a group of monolingual participants. These stud-115 116 ies suggest that bilingualism may shape the morphology of subcortical brain regions involved in language switching and articulatory processes, 117 respectively. However, their limitations in terms of sample size and 118 other restrictions (e.g. only females, language bimodality), as well as 119 120 the lack of specificity of VBM approaches to study subcortical morphology, may have well reduced their sensitivity to fully capture the effect of 121 bilingualism on subcortical gray matter. 122

123 Recent advances in brain morphometry now allow investigating subcortical morphology in an anatomically meaningful fashion while 124125boosting sensitivity for capturing potential effects. Whereas VBM has long been considered a standard approach in morphometric studies, it 126is acknowledged that it cannot differentiate between size, shape and/ 127or positional effects (Zatorre et al., 2012). At the cortical level, surface-128based morphometry techniques have addressed this issue by allowing 129130the measurement of different aspects of the cortex (e.g., thickness and 131 surface area) while providing a more accurate characterization of cortical anatomy. However, at the subcortical level, it was not until the 132advent of shape analysis techniques (e.g., Patenaude et al., 2011) that 133134successfully estimating regional shape variations in subcortical struc-135tures with high anatomical precision was possible. This approach has been mainly applied to unveil abnormal subcortical morphology in 136 mental disorders or disease (Coscia et al., 2009; Harms et al., 2007; 137 Kang et al., 2008; McKeown et al., 2008; Qiu et al., 2008; Xu et al., 138 2008) but recently also to understand the role of subcortical shape in 139high-order cognition in healthy populations (Burgaleta et al., 2013b). 140

In the present study we used the subcortical shape analysis approach
to explore, for the first time, whether bilinguals display a distinctive
morphology of the subcortical gray matter compared to monolinguals.
This approach allowed us to robustly characterize the anatomical

boundaries of subcortical structures for each participant and to test for 145 potential morphological differences between groups at the vertex 146 level. We recruited monolinguals (Spanish speakers) and simultaneous 147 bilinguals (Catalan-Spanish speakers) who did not differ in average ed- 148 ucational level, socioeconomic background and proficiency in other lan- 149 guages. Spanish and Catalan are two Romance languages that share a 150 great amount of lexical cognates (words that share a common etymo- 151 logical origin and differ in their phonology) and differ mainly at the pho-152 nological level. All participants underwent MRI acquisition, and 153 subsequent subcortical segmentation and surface reconstruction were 154 performed for all striatal structures (caudate, accumbens, putamen, 155 and globus pallidus) and thalamus. We then computed the perpendicu- 156 lar vertex displacements with respect to a sample-specific average sur- 157 face, thus representing relative surface expansions or contractions at the 158 regional level. Because bilinguals are hypothesized to more strongly re- 159 cruit brain areas involved in articulatory and language switching pro- 160 cesses, we expected to find a plasticity effect (expansion) primarily on 161 the putamen (articulation) and the caudate nucleus (language 162 switching) in bilinguals compared to monolinguals, as well as in the 163 thalamus, given its key role in language functions. Nucleus accumbens 164 was included under the assumption that, given its reduced volume as 165 well as the low spatial resolution typically found in fMRI studies, its po- 166 tential relevance for language might have been obscured by the struc- 167 tures in its vicinity. In addition to these analyses, and for the sake of 168 completeness, we also applied voxel-based morphometry to address 169 potential differences in cortical gray matter between bilinguals and 170 monolinguals. Based on our previous work on Catalan-Spanish bilin- 171 guals, we mainly expected significant differences favoring bilinguals in 172 the auditory cortex (Heschl's gyrus, Ressel et al., 2012). 173

Methods

Participants

88 right-handed participants took part in the study. All participants 176 were undergraduate students at the University Jaume I of Castellón de 177 la Plana (Spain) so they had the same educational level. None of them 178 reported known auditory or neurological deficits. Forty-six participants 179 were monolingual Spanish speakers (26 females; mean age = 21.85 years, SD = 4.13) and 42 were simultaneous Catalan–Spanish bilinguals 181 (22 females; mean age = 21.64 years, SD = 2.17). The study followed 182 the ethical protocol of the University Jaume I. All the participants were paid for their participation. 184

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Sample characteristics were similar to those in Ressel et al. (2012) 185 regarding the languages spoken and proficiency level, although here 186 we used a greater sample size and our bilingual participants acquired 187 their two languages simultaneously. The bilingual participants learned 188 both Catalan and Spanish from birth and used them daily. They all 189 attended bilingual schools since age 5 at the latest as part of the official 190 linguistic policy of the Castellón region (see Table 1 for further details on 191 participants' self-reported linguistic background). Catalan and Spanish 192 are two Romance languages that differ mainly at the lexical and phono- 193 logical level. Catalan has a larger set of allophones, with 8 vowel sounds 194 (compared to 5 in Spanish) and three affricate consonants (/dz/, /dZ/, / 195)ts/) in addition to the Spanish /tS/. The Spanish fricative unvoiced 196 consonants /T/ and /x/ are substituted in Catalan by /S/ and /Z/, respec- 197 tively. There are also differences in the realization of certain allophones 198 (e.g. /j/, /l/, /w/). Other peculiarities of the Catalan language include the 199 lack of diphthongization of Latin short \check{e} , \check{o} , the high prevalence of $/\kappa/200$ and /p/ at the end of words, and the presence of final obstruent 201 devoicing -e.g. amic ('male friend') vs. amiga ('female friend'). Impor- 202 tantly, Spanish and Catalan have many cognate words (65-70%; Harris 203 and Vincent, 1988). 204

Monolingual participants were also university students that moved 205 from other regions of Spain to Castellón to enroll in university courses. 206 Focusing on university students minimizes potential group differences 207

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