

1 **Sonority-Related Novel-Word Learning Ability of Children with Cochlear Implants with**
2 **Optimal Oral-Language Exposure**

3 Yasmeen Hamza¹, Areti Okalidou², Ann Dierckx³, Astrid van Wieringen¹,

4 ¹ KU Leuven - University of Leuven, Department of Neurosciences, Research Group
5 Experimental ORL

6 ² University of Macedonia, Department of Educational and Social Policy

7 ³ University Hospital Leuven, Leuven, Belgium

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18 **Corresponding Author:**

19 Address correspondence to Yasmeen Hamza, KU Leuven - University of Leuven, Department of
20 Neurosciences, Research Group Experimental ORL, O&N II, Herestraat 49/721, Leuven,
21 Belgium, 3000.

22 Email: yasmeenabdelkarimmohamed.hamza@kuleuven.be

ABSTRACT

23

24 **Objectives** The current study investigated how children with CIs, with optimal exposure to oral-
25 language, perform on sonority-related novel-word learning tasks. By optimal oral-language
26 exposure, we refer to bilateral cochlear implantation below the age of two years. Sonority is the
27 relative perceptual prominence/loudness of speech sounds of the same length, stress, and pitch.
28 The current study is guided by a previous study that investigated the sonority-related novel-word
29 learning ability of a group of children with CIs, in the Greek language, of which the majority
30 were implanted beyond the age of two unilaterally.

31 **Design** A case-control study with 15 Dutch-speaking participants in each of the three groups, i.e;
32 children with CIs, normal-hearing children (NHC), and normal-hearing adults (NHA) was
33 conducted using a sonority-related novel “CVC” word-learning task. All children with CIs are
34 implanted before the age of 2 years with preimplant hearing aids. Thirteen out of the 15 children
35 had bilateral cochlear implants. The CVC words were constructed according to four sonority
36 conditions, where N is non-sonorous and S is a sonorous phoneme: NSN, NSS, SSN, and SSS.
37 Outcome measures were accuracy and reaction times (RTs). In addition, the Peabody picture
38 vocabulary test and the digit span forward test were administered to the children.

39 **Results** There were no statistical differences in accuracy or RTs between the children groups on
40 the overall score, and across the different conditions. However, children with CIs, unlike NHC,
41 scored statistically less accurately and with longer RTs relative to NHA, on the overall task.
42 Within-group comparisons showed that none of the groups performed statistically differently on
43 any of the conditions. The NHC showed higher receptive vocabulary scores relative to children

44 with CIs. Additionally, the group of children with CIs entailed a statistically significantly higher
45 number of children with “weak” short-term memory.

46 **Conclusions** Children with CIs who have optimal oral-language exposure showed age-
47 appropriate sonority-related novel-word learning abilities and strategies relative to their NH
48 peers. However, children with CIs continue to show lower receptive vocabulary scores than
49 NHC, despite the equivalent novel-word learning ability. This suggests that children with CIs
50 may have difficulties in retaining newly learned words. Future work should look into possible
51 causes of the gap in performance. This would eventually aid in rehabilitation tailored to the
52 needs of the individual.

53

INTRODUCTION

54 **Children with Cochlear Implants**

55 Cochlear implants (CIs) are considered to be standard care for children with bilateral profound
56 sensorineural hearing loss (Wilson, 2015). As of 2010, the estimate of children with CIs
57 worldwide is over 80,000 (Kral and O'Donoghue, 2010). The CI restores audibility, helps
58 achieve speech perception, spoken word recognition, good spoken language levels, and allows
59 for integration within oral society, both socially and academically for many CI users (van
60 Wieringen and Wouters, 2015; Wilson, 2013; 2015). However, speech perception and
61 communication performance outcomes remain highly variable (Kral and O'Donoghue, 2010; van
62 Wieringen and Wouters, 2015). Multiple factors including the relatively degraded electrical
63 transmission of the speech-related acoustic cues and auditory deprivation, in addition to other
64 factors (neural degeneration, parental support and involvement, etiology of hearing loss, duration
65 of CI use, type of CI, the modality of hearing, cognitive functions, and additional disabilities) are
66 responsible for such variability (Jung et al., 2012; See et al., 2013; van Wieringen and Wouters,
67 2015). Contemporary CIs convey temporal envelope modulations in an excellent manner. The
68 current greatest challenge for CI is the delivery of fine spectro-temporal cues (Lorenzi et al.,
69 2006; Whitmal et al., 2015). The aim of the current study was to provide a better understanding
70 of the effect of auditory deprivation on the perception and utilization of the speech-related
71 acoustic cue of sonority, in addition to how those factors affect the novel word-learning (NWL)
72 abilities of children with CIs. This would provide input for future rehabilitation aiming at
73 reducing variability in outcomes.

74 **Lexical Access, Novel-Word Learning, and Vocabulary Acquisition**

75 Several interactive processes are involved when learning new words and building a lexicon.
76 Figure 1 demonstrates a simplified summary of the processes involved. The process of learning a
77 new word occurs over time as the child is exposed to the word in multiple varied contexts, which
78 allows form-to-meaning linkage to be stored in lexical memory to develop receptive vocabulary
79 (Gupta, 2005). Figure 1 starts with “fast mapping” which describes the first time the child creates
80 the object-novel label association (Walker, 2013). After that, the child uses retention procedures
81 to store the newly learned word in the long-term memory, to be part of a lexicon (Gupta, 2005).
82 Later on, the child utilizes the existent lexicon to extend on it by creating new object-novel label
83 associations (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 1999).

84 To learn new words, phonological representations need to be encoded and mapped onto
85 meanings. Fast mapping is the ability to create the referent-novel word association after few
86 exposures. Fast mapping includes both the ability to identify the correct referent (referent
87 selection) and to retain this newly formed label–object mapping in the memory (Carey and
88 Bartlett, 1978). The fast mapping retention ability is known to be fragile and greatly affected by
89 the saliency of the referent and repetition (Walker and McGregor, 2013).

90 After the correct referent-novel word association has been made, the child needs to utilize
91 retention processes to store the newly learned lexical representations in long-term memory as
92 part of a lexicon, and to be able to use it later on (Markson and Bloom, 1997). Memory develops
93 over time, skilled word learners use internal verbal rehearsal procedures to maintain words in
94 working memory which facilitates the encoding of words into long-term memory and
95 development of lexical representations (Gathercole and Baddeley, 1989).

96 To expand the lexicon, the child will utilize extension procedures. Extension is the knowledge
97 that a word labels a group of similar objects, rather than only the original exemplar. Extension
98 ability develops around the age of 2 years when the child develops the understanding that words
99 can refer to categories. This involves determining the word's correct category extension, so they
100 can extend to multiple exemplars of a referent (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 1999).

101 It is important to realize that the processes described are more interactive than sequential. For
102 example, the child's existent lexicon (Storkel and Lee, 2011) and extension ability (Hirsh-Pasek
103 et al., 1999) affects the success of fast mapping, the retention ability is affected by the saliency of
104 the referent and repetition (Walker and McGregor, 2013), and the extension ability is affected by
105 the existent lexicon (Hirsh-Pasek et al., 1999).

106 During the process of fast mapping, the child needs to first access the lexical unit. The process of
107 lexical representation and access varies with development: early in life children adopt a holistic
108 or less detailed lexical representations known as whole-word learning (Hallé and de Boysson-
109 Bardies, 1994), later in life children develop more detailed representations using a smaller
110 number of units (Bertoncini and Mehler, 1981; Vihman, 2016).

111 Template-driven word learning is whole-word processing, with a tendency for learning words
112 with a particular prosodic frame. The word template acts as a lexical generalization pattern that
113 later spurs further learning of words that fit into the same template. The template shape is
114 dynamic rather than static, as the child's phonological knowledge increases and stabilizes. Once
115 the child masters more variable and complex sequences of the adult language, template-driven
116 word learning fades away from a child's phonological system (Macken, 1979; Vihman, 2016).

117 Fast-mapping studies focus on understanding what children learn about a word after minimal
118 exposure to a new label (Jaswal and Markman, 2001). This ability develops during the period of
119 whole-word learning (Jaswal and Markman, 2001). Novel-word test paradigms aim at replicating
120 the complex process of fast mapping in a controlled environment. The tasks include exposing a
121 child to a novel (and/or nonsense) word and a target referent followed by assessing the child's
122 ability to associate the word with the referent (Carey and Bartlett, 1978; Davidson et al., 2014;
123 Robertson et al., 2017; Spiegel and Halberda, 2011).

124 **Sonority and Sonority-Related Language Phonotactics**

125 Sievers (1881) linked sonority to audibility using a perceptual experiment, proposing that more
126 audible sounds rank higher in sonority. Sonority (or vowel-likeness) is a scalar phonological/
127 phonetic aspect referring to the loudness or relative perceptual prominence of a particular
128 segment compared to other sounds of the same length, stress, and pitch (Ladefoged, 1993;
129 Parker, 2008). Speech sounds include vowels which are considered to be sonorous (S), while
130 consonants could be sonorous (S) or obstruents (non-sonorous; NS) (Clements, 1990). Parker
131 (2008) provided a novel physical correlate of sonority, in which sonority was viewed as the
132 sound level extremes of phonemes: maxima for vowels and minima for consonants.

133 Sonority plays a grammatical role in defining within-syllable and across-syllable structure
134 through language-universal phonotactic principles. According to the sonority sequencing
135 principle (SSP), each well-formed syllable has a peak of sonority (usually a vowel) with the
136 more sonorous consonants located closer to the peak and the less sonorous ones further away
137 from it (Blevins, 1995). Sonority dispersion principle (SDP), derived from the SSP, states that
138 the larger the degree of sonority rise from the onset to the nucleus of the syllable, and the smaller

139 the fall from the nucleus to the coda is, the more optimal the sonority sequencing is (Clements,
140 1990). Therefore, the universal tendency for a sound to occur in a syllable coda vs. onset is
141 directly proportional to how high vs. low it is in sonority, respectively (Blevins, 1995). In the
142 application of the sonority-related sequencing principles as a language-universal rule, the ideal
143 syllable ends in a vowel. However, if postvocalic consonants are present sonority should decline
144 gradually (or remain level) from the nucleus of the syllable to the end of the coda. As the syllable
145 structure becomes ill-formed (as defined by the SSP), listeners tend to systematically misidentify
146 the syllable. This phenomenon has been documented in numerous languages e.g., English
147 (Berent et al., 2011; Berent et al., 2009; Berent et al., 2007), French (Maïonchi-Pino et al., 2012),
148 Hebrew (Berent et al., 2013), Korean (Berent et al., 2008), and continuous artificial speech
149 (Ettliger et al., 2012). Figure 2 demonstrates the impact of relative perceptual prominence and
150 sonority-related grammatical rules on the CVC novel words. Vowels are always sonorous. By
151 manipulating the consonants in each position, once to be sonorous and once non-sonorous, four
152 possible sonority conditions were obtained: NSN, NSS, SSN, and SSS. As you move from the
153 left end towards the right end of the continuum, the overall temporal envelope sound minima
154 decreases with increasing perceptual prominence (SSS, followed by SSN and NSS, and finally
155 NSN). All the sonority conditions respect SSP with a rise from the onset to the nucleus of the
156 syllable and fall from the nucleus to the coda. In terms of SDP, the most optimal condition is
157 NSS, as it has the maximum rise and the minimum fall, while the least optimal is SSN, as it has
158 the least rise and the maximal fall, with a relative violation of the SDP where the fall is greater
159 than the rise. In between lies the conditions NSN followed by SSS.

160 **Profound Hearing Loss and Novel-Word Learning**

161 Hearing impairment affects children’s fast mapping (Davidson et al., 2014), word learning
162 ability (Robertson et al., 2017; Stelmachowicz et al., 2004), vocabulary (Oktapoti et al., 2016),
163 and the ability to learn phonological features of new words (Stelmachowicz et al., 2004).

164 Relatively few studies have assessed the NWL abilities of children with CIs (Davidson et al.,
165 2014; Hamza et al., 2018; Houston et al., 2005; Houston and Miyamoto, 2010; Houston et al.,
166 2012; Pimperton and Walker, 2018; Willstedt-Svensson et al., 2004). Prior to cochlear
167 implantation, these children were exposed to a (preimplant) period of auditory deprivation. It is
168 thus expected that children with CIs, following auditory deprivation, would have altered word-
169 learning abilities that would affect their lexical acquisition. Houston et al. (2005) demonstrated
170 that, on average, children with CIs perform poorer than NH peers on NWL tasks. However, with
171 the universal neonatal screening programs, earlier detection of hearing loss and intervention with
172 cochlear implantation has become feasible even within the first year of life (Roland et al., 2009).
173 The importance of early oral-language exposure on the NWL abilities of children with CIs has
174 been demonstrated through the correlations between young age of implantation and better NWL
175 performance (Houston et al., 2005; Houston et al., 2012; Willstedt-Svensson et al., 2004).
176 Furthermore, the ability of children with CIs to learn new words has been linked to good
177 expressive/receptive vocabulary, phonological processing, and working memory span.

178 **Study Motivation, Objectives, and Hypothesis**

179 Sonority plays a role in NWL (lexical access and fast mapping) through the perceptual
180 prominence cues and sonority-related grammatical rules. Given that temporal envelope cues are
181 well conveyed and processed by CI users, children with CIs are expected to benefit from

182 perceptual prominence cues. Davidson et al. (2014) have highlighted the role of audibility in
183 NWL by demonstrating that children with CIs who possess greater audibility, as defined by a
184 better pure tone average, had better NWL performance. In contrast, sonority-related grammatical
185 rules are language-learning rules and therefore are expected to be delayed or hindered in children
186 with CIs who are exposed to significant preimplant periods of auditory deprivation.

187 Hamza et al. (2018) examined the abilities of children with CIs to learn CV-CV novel words in
188 different sonority conditions that rely on perceptual prominence cues vs sonority-related
189 grammatical rules. The study included 15 children with CIs matched to 25 normal-hearing
190 children (NHC) according to chronological age, and 50 normal-hearing adults (NHA). The mean
191 age of implantation was 2;4 +/- 0;8, with more than two-thirds of participants implanted beyond
192 their second year of age. All children had only one CI. Additionally, more than two-thirds did
193 not receive hearing aids prior to implantation. Children with CIs showed higher accuracy
194 performance on learning word templates with perceptually prominent components (SS-SS)
195 relative to the words starting with a less perceptually prominent syllable (NS-SS, NS-NS). This
196 pattern was not observed in NHC, who were equally accurate across all conditions. Therefore,
197 even though both children groups did not differ in accuracy performance as an overall and across
198 the different sonority conditions, they did perform differently in the different sonority conditions.
199 High accuracy performance on the SS-SS word template NWL was further shown through the
200 adult-equivalent performance of the group of children with CIs (4;11 – 15;2) on the perceptually
201 prominent condition solely, whereas the group of NHC (3;9 – 15;2) showed adult-comparable
202 performance on more than one condition. This led the authors to conclude that the children with
203 CIs adopted the early-stage word learning strategy known as “template-driven word learning”
204 using the static template of SS-SS. Additionally, children with CIs demonstrated significantly

205 longer RTs relative to the NHC as an overall. The longer RTs by children with CIs were driven
206 by the longer RTs on the SS-SS condition, relative to the NHC. The authors attributed the longer
207 RTs on the SS-SS condition to high listening effort required by the children with CIs to reach
208 such high-accuracy performance.

209 In an effort to understand the role of oral-language exposure on the sonority-related NWL (S-
210 NWL) of children with CIs, Hamza et al. (2018) conducted a subgroup analysis. The subgroup
211 analysis included 12 children with CIs matched to 12 NHC on the postimplant age (CIs: 3 ; 2 –
212 12 ; 8; NHC: 3 ; 8 – 13 ; 6). Results showed that children with CIs continued to show the same
213 template-driven word learning pattern in terms of accuracy, as when matched on chronological
214 age. However, both children subgroups showed no differences in RT performance. This led the
215 authors to conclude that children with CIs exposed to preimplant periods of auditory deprivation
216 continued to show the pattern of template-driven word leaning utilizing the static template of
217 highly sonorous components (SS-SS), even after equivalent periods of oral-language
218 (postimplant) exposure. Extended periods of postimplant oral-language exposure presumably
219 reduced the listening effort. However, since the prolonged RT durations were initially driven by
220 the SS-SS template, this could mean that children with CIs matched to NHC on postimplant age
221 show enhanced template-driven word learning, since they no longer required extended RTs to
222 achieve the high accuracy.

223 In the current study, we hypothesized that the children with CIs in the Hamza et al. (2018) study
224 performed less accurately on conditions relying highly on sonority-related grammatical cues as a
225 result of the significant preimplant periods of auditory deprivation, and quality of unilateral
226 auditory input.

227 Early age of implantation is associated with better speech and language outcomes both
228 receptively and expressively (Dettman et al., 2016; Driver and Jiang, 2017; Miyamoto et al.,
229 2017; Nicholas and Geers, 2008; Niparko et al., 2010). Studies have shown that children who
230 receive a CI below 18–24 months of age achieve better language outcomes than those implanted
231 later (Dettman et al., 2016; Niparko et al., 2010). Furthermore, age-appropriate spoken language
232 skills are more likely with younger age of implantation (Boons et al., 2012; Levine et al., 2016;
233 Miyamoto et al., 2017), even after an average of 8.6 years of additional CI use (Geers and
234 Nicholas, 2014). Studies have shown that children implanted below 2 years of age show
235 significantly better auditory-verbal growth relative to children implanted younger than 3;6-4
236 years (Dettman et al., 2016). Additionally, children implanted younger than 2 years can show
237 equivalent performance to their NH peers in some areas of language development (Levine et al.,
238 2016). Moreover, Children with bilateral CIs have been shown to outperform unilateral users on
239 both the receptive and expressive language outcomes (Boons et al., 2012; Sparreboom et al.,
240 2015), as well as verbal intelligence (Jacobs et al., 2016). Therefore, we further hypothesized
241 that the children with CIs, who are exposed to less significant auditory deprivation due to early
242 bilateral implantation, would be able to perform well across the different sonority conditions,
243 whether they rely on perceptual prominence or language-related grammatical cues, and that their
244 manner of performance would be similar to that of their NH peers.

245 In Flanders (Dutch-speaking part of Belgium), newborn hearing screening, implemented since
246 1998, assesses around 96% of newborns (Desloovere et al., 2013). The screening program is
247 integrated with the diagnosis of hearing loss, early intervention, and rehabilitation in a single
248 program. Since the implementation of newborn hearing screening, the number of children with
249 severe to profound hearing loss implanted prior to 18 months has drastically increased (De

250 Raeve, 2016). Furthermore, two CIs (simultaneous and sequential) are fully reimbursed by The
251 Belgian National Health Insurance Institute for children less than 12 years of age since 2010 (van
252 Wieringen and Wouters, 2015). Therefore, Flanders children with severe to profound hearing
253 loss are likely to have been detected and implanted well before 2 years of age, with the younger
254 ones detected after 2010 implanted bilaterally. Additionally, immediately after diagnosis, all
255 children receive hearing aids to determine potential benefit from amplification, thereby ensuring
256 early auditory exposure.

257 In the current study, we investigate whether profoundly hearing-impaired children who receive
258 bilateral CIs before 2 years would be able to benefit from the different sonority cues as the NHC.
259 This was investigated in a sample of Flemish children using a similar study design as in the
260 Greek study (Hamza et al. 2018), with modifications to fit the Flemish language phonotactics.

261 **MATERIALS and METHODS**

262 **Participants**

263 A case-control study was conducted including three groups of Flemish-speaking participants: 15
264 children who received their CI(s) at the University Hospital Leuven were pair-matched with 15
265 NHC according to age, and 15 young NHA. The sample size of children with CIs was equal to
266 the number of children with CIs in the Greek study (Hamza et al. 2018). The normal-hearing
267 groups were matched in number. Children with CIs age ranged between 4;6 and 15;10, 6 were
268 females and 9 were males. Children with CIs included in the present study were of relatively the
269 same age range (within 4 months) as in Hamza et al. (2018). The minimum age was set to 4;6
270 guided by the finding of Nicholas and Geers (2008) that children who receive early CIs (12-16
271 months) are likely to overcome the language delays relative to NHC by the age of 4;6. Children

272 with CIs had to be prelingually deaf and early implanted, as defined by an age of implantation of
273 maximally 2 years. Participants had no additional disabilities and were within mainstream
274 schools. All implanted devices were CochlearTM utilizing the ACE processing strategy. Recent
275 mapping within the last 6 months and free-field pure-tone average (PTA) thresholds of equal or
276 below 40 dB HL in the better hearing ear were also part of the inclusion criteria. Apart from two
277 participants, all children were bilaterally implanted. Those two participants had no hearing aids
278 on the contralateral ear, due to lack of residual hearing. The age at testing, age of implantation
279 and postimplant age as defined by the earliest implant, aided laterality, preimplant and
280 postimplant PTA thresholds of each of the children with CIs are depicted in Table 1. Normal-
281 hearing children were pair-matched to the children with CIs within one chronological year
282 (Mean=10;8, Range= 4;9-15;8, SD= 3;1). Inclusion criteria for the NHC included normal
283 hearing, typical-development as evidenced by an average performance at school and age-
284 appropriate receptive vocabulary and short-term memory scores.

285 Informed consents were obtained from all the participants older than 18 years. For participants
286 younger than 18 years, consents were obtained from one of the parents. This study has been
287 approved by the Medical Ethical Committee of the University Hospitals KU Leuven (approval
288 number B322201523727).

289 Similar to the Greek study (Hamza et al., 2018), a battery of tests was selected including the S-
290 NWL, audiological, and language tests, as described in the next section. Audiological tests
291 included pure-tone audiometry to ensure normal hearing of the control groups. In addition,
292 speech audiometry tests using the monosyllabic CVC ‘Vlaamse opnamen voor
293 spraakaudiometrie’ NVA word lists (Wouters et al., 1994) were administered to document the
294 speech recognition abilities of the children with CIs. The Peabody picture vocabulary test

295 (PPVT) (PPVT-III-NL; Schlichting, 2005), and the digit span forward test (DST) (CELF-4-NL;
296 Kort, et al., 2008) were used to compare the receptive language scores and the short term
297 memory of both children groups respectively, and to ensure that the NHC had at least average
298 performance. The battery of tests took 40 minutes on average depending on the child's age and
299 responsiveness. Aided free-field pure-tone average thresholds (500 Hz to 2 kHz), speech
300 audiometry correct percent scores, PPVT (Schlichting, 2005) and DST (Kort et al., 2008)
301 percentile of the children with CIs are depicted in Table 1.

302 **Materials**

303 **Sonority Experiment**

304 Sonority Related-Novel Word Learning Experiment Design and Stimuli

305 The S-NWL experiment was a computer-based, novel-word lexical identification task following
306 the same design as the one used in the Greek Study (Hamza et al., 2018), with modifications of
307 the word stimuli to follow the Flemish language phonotactics. This included the use of a
308 different word template “CVC”, as the “CV-CV” word forms are infrequent in the Flemish
309 Language (Schiller et al., 1996). The CVC words were extracted from the lists of Bosman and
310 Smoorenburg (1995), if not, they were derived by manipulating a phoneme in the word extracted
311 (for example, there were no words with trills) in Bosman and Smoorenburg (1995) word lists.
312 All CVC words were constructed using short vowels to avoid the confounding factor that in the
313 Flemish Language, sonorant sounds are more prone to deletion in production following a long
314 vowel (Fikkert, 1994). The short vowel /y/ and schwa vowel were excluded, as guided by
315 Bosman and Smoorenburg (1995), since very few CVC words exist in Flemish with those

316 vowels. Moreover, in the CVC final position, devoicing occurs to the obstruents (Schiller et al.,
317 1996). Thus, only voiceless sounds in the final position were allowed.

318 In the current study, token effect was controlled for apriori by the creation of 4 different versions
319 of the experiment with different token lists that were randomly assigned. Each experiment
320 entailed 16 CVC words, within the four sonority conditions (SSS-SSN-NSS-NSN), illustrating
321 novel objects (MacRoy-Higgins et al., 2013). Each version contains 9 words from the Bosman
322 and Smoorenburg (1995) list and 7 derived words. The average frequency of occurrence of the
323 CV and VC components of tokens of the 4 lists for each of the sonority conditions were within
324 one standard deviation (SD) from the mean (CELEX 2; Baayen et al., 1995). We refer to Table 2
325 for an inventory of the S-NWL experiment stimuli, the sonority condition, and phonemic
326 content.

327 Sonority-Related Novel Word Learning Experiment Procedure

328 Figure 3 illustrates the procedure for one trial, which was repeated for all the 16 trials of the
329 experiment. Each trial consisted of a pair of CVC words of opposing sonority conditions guided
330 by the Greek study (Hamza et al., 2018). The fast-mapping (Carey and Bartlett, 1978) procedure
331 was used to familiarize the novel object with the specific novel word label. This was repeated for
332 each novel word of the pair. Carrier phrases used for fast mapping were “This is a ___” and
333 “Look, a _____.” Then, an identification task with a choice of three picture array format
334 including the two familiarized objects and a third foil object appeared with an audio playing
335 “Show me + target word.” The time lag between the slides was programmed to 1000 msec, to
336 ensure that identification was based on the presentation of discrete trials. Both accuracy

337 measures and RTs (from the offset of the target-word audio) were recorded and logged through
338 the touch screen.

339 Sonority-Related Novel Word Learning Test Setting

340 Testing took place in a sound-treated booth of the ENT department of the University Hospitals
341 Leuven. A story scenario¹ was developed to instruct the children. A practice session including
342 six trials (two with real object words and four with novel words following the 4 sonority
343 conditions) was employed before testing. The practice sessions followed the same procedures as
344 the testing phase. A pass score criterion of above 50% in the trial session was mandatory before
345 moving on to the testing phase. None of the participants in the current study required repetition
346 of the practice session. One participant (other than the 15) could not pass the score criterion of
347 the practice session, even after repetition, and therefore did not proceed to the testing phase.
348 Hand position was standardized using a palm-shaped pad, with versions customized for left and
349 right-handed participants. The stimuli were played through a single loudspeaker placed at 0°
350 Azimuth calibrated at 70 dB HL at 70 cm from seating position. A single sound source was used
351 to provide equal input to both sides. The testing session lasted 20 minutes including the practice.

352 Acoustical Analyses of the Sonority Experiment Audio-Stimuli

353 Novel word stimuli and carrier phrases were recorded by a native Flemish female speaker using
354 Edirol R-4 Pro portable audio recorder in a sound-treated booth. Using Cool Edit Pro 2.1 (Cool
355 Edit/Pro, version 2.1; Syntrium Software, Phoenix, AZ, USA), the carrier phrase and the target

¹ "Many strange things are in a Magic Box. They look funny and have funny names too. The computer will say their name a few times. Then the computer will ask you to choose one funny thing. It will say, "Show me-----". Once you hear the name, press with your finger at the screen, as quickly as possible (use gestures). Let's practice with some things that you know first!"

356 words were normalized separately to their averaged RMS of 32.535 dB HL. This was to ensure
357 that the results under test were not due to differences in presentation intensity. The carrier
358 phrases were then collated to the target words.

359 Acoustic analyses of the stimuli were conducted using the Parker (2008) methodology. The
360 sound minima were used as a physical correlate of the sonority classes of nonsonorous and
361 sonorous consonants per position (consult Supplemental Digital Content 1.doc for the detailed
362 procedure of measurement). Figure 4 illustrates the token “xar” as an example of the
363 measurements performed on PRAAT. Table 3 illustrates the intensity minima values recorded
364 for the various phonemes in the CVC word stimuli. An independent-samples *t* test showed that
365 the dB minimum value of the sonorous consonants were statistically higher than the nonsonorous
366 consonants in the first position [$t(62) = 8.514; p = 0.002$] and the second position [$t(62) =$
367 $8.063; p < 0.001$]. Furthermore, four real Flemish words, that were recorded by the same speaker
368 and used in the training phase, were analyzed using the same Parker methodology on PRAAT.
369 **Table 4** shows that similar sonority intensity trends were observed for the sonorous vs
370 nonsonorous sounds per position for the Flemish real words.

371 **Visual Reaction Time Experiment**

372 A nonverbal, visual task (Hamza et al., 2018) was administered, as a control condition, to ensure
373 that the process of picture selection had no influence on the RT results. The absence of RT
374 differences between groups on the visual task excludes generic motor differences in the process
375 of picture selection between the compared groups. Eight trials presented a rabbit appearing on
376 the screen in one of the three picture positions; the participant was instructed to catch the rabbit

377 appearing on the screen as quickly as possible by touching the screen in the same manner as in
378 the sonority experiment. The quickest visual RT of the eight trials was logged.

379 **Data Analyses**

380 The two major outcome performance measures of the sonority experiment were accuracy and
381 reaction times. Accuracy was expressed in percent correct score, and RT was expressed in
382 milliseconds. Performance accuracy was the primary outcome, and so only, the RTs of the
383 accurate responses were analyzed. Furthermore, trials where the RT was not logged from the first
384 touch of the screen due to technical failure, as reported by the tester present, were removed from
385 the data set. The percent of trials eliminated from the RT data set was 5.83% for NHA, 6.67% for
386 NHC, and 14.17% for children with CIs. An α level of 0.05 was used for all statistical tests.

387 The accuracy percentage scores in the S-NWL were not normally distributed even after \log_{10}
388 transformation. Therefore, nonparametric tests were applied to the raw untransformed data. For
389 between-group comparisons, the Kruskal–Wallis test was used for main effects, followed by the
390 Mann–Whitney U test. For within-group comparisons, the Friedman one-way analysis of
391 variance (ANOVA) was applied, followed by the Wilcoxon test.

392 The visual task RT was normally distributed, as evidenced by the one-sample Kolmogorov-
393 Smirnov test. The sonority experiment RT data were \log_{10} transformed to achieve normality and
394 homoscedasticity before being analyzed. For each of the visual and sonority RT data, one-way
395 ANOVA's were used for between-group comparisons with independent variable "Group" and
396 dependent variable "RT" with post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction for multiple
397 comparisons. Repeated-measures one-way ANOVA was used for within-group comparisons,

398 with post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. For conceptual
399 reasons, RT data are reported as untransformed raw values.

400 Pairwise and post hoc comparisons were done even in the absence of main effects to ensure that
401 there were no differences between the groups.

402 For normally distributed data, a Bayes factor (BF) was calculated using Bayes factor independent
403 sample test for pairwise comparison, and a Bayes factor related sample test for within-group
404 comparison. The Bayes factor (BF) estimates the strength of evidence towards the null or
405 alternate hypotheses. A BF of 1 indicates equal support for the null and alternate hypotheses. A
406 BF smaller than 1 shows increasing levels of support of the alternate hypothesis over the null
407 hypothesis, whereas a BF greater than 1 indicates evidence in favor of the null hypothesis over
408 the alternate hypothesis (Jarosz & Wiley, 2014). The interpretations of Bayes factor values in the
409 current study are based on Jeffreys' (1961) recommendations.

410 Data were analyzed using IBM SPSS software package version 20.0 (Kirkpatrick and Feeney,
411 2013).

412 **RESULTS**

413 **Demographics**

414 The mean chronological age of the children with CIs in the Greek and Flemish studies was not
415 statistically different [$t(28) = 1.489$; $p = 0.148$]. However, the children with CIs in the two
416 studies differed statistically in terms of the age of implantation [$t(28) = 6.105$; $p < 0.001$] and
417 consequently the postimplant age [$t(28) = 2.699$; $p < 0.012$]. Therefore, we can conclude that the
418 children with CIs in the current study show no difference in chronological age to those of Hamza

419 et al. (2018), but are exposed to an earlier and longer duration of oral-language exposure.
420 Furthermore, the Flemish study entailed a statistically significantly higher number of children
421 with bilateral CIs (Chisquare test of independence, $\chi^2 = 19.548$; $df = 1$; $p < 0.001$). Table 5
422 shows the chronological age, implantation age, postimplant age, and the number of children with
423 two CIs in each of the two studies.

424 **Performance on S-NWL Task by the Different Groups**

425 **Accuracy Performance**

426 The accuracy performance on the S-NWL ranged between 87.5% and 100% for the NHA group,
427 81.25% and 100% for the NHC group, and 75% and 100% for children with CIs. Median
428 accuracy performance was 100% for the NHA group, whereas it was 93.75% for each of the
429 children groups, as illustrated in Figure 5.

430 Kruskal–Wallis analysis showed no statistically significant main effect of group on the overall
431 accuracy performance ($p=0.129$), as well as on each of the sonority conditions (NSN: $p = 0.145$;
432 NSS: $p = 0.784$; SSN: $p = 0.195$; SSS: $p = 0.731$). However, further pairwise comparison using
433 Mann–Whitney U test showed that the NHA performed statistically significantly more accurately
434 than children with CIs on the overall task ($U = 67$; $df = 29$; $p = 0.046$).

435 Within-group comparisons using Friedman one-way ANOVAs showed that there was no main
436 effect of the sonority condition on accuracy performance for all groups [NHA: $\chi^2(3) = 1.435$; $p =$
437 0.697 , NHC: $\chi^2(3) = 0.714$, $p = 0.870$, CIs: $\chi^2(3) = 1.849$, $p = 0.604$]. Further pairwise
438 comparison using the Wilcoxon test confirmed that none of the groups performed significantly

439 different on any of the conditions ($p > 0.05$). Group performance within and across the different
440 sonority conditions is shown in Figure 6.

441 Accuracy performance on the S-NWL task by NHC was positively correlated with age ($r = 0.740$,
442 $p = 0.002$). Accuracy performance on the S-NWL task by the children with CIs did not correlate
443 with age ($r = 0.140$, $p = 0.618$), age at implantation ($r = -0.130$, $p = 0.645$), nor postimplant age ($r =$
444 0.164 , $p = 0.559$).

445 **Reaction Time Performance**

446 Analysis of the RTs on the visual task experiment using one-way ANOVA showed that there is
447 no statistically significant main effect of the test groups on the RT [$F(2,42) = 3.044$; $p = 0.058$].
448 Post hoc tests with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons further showed that there
449 were no statistically significant RT differences between any of the groups on the visual task
450 ($p > 0.05$). Bayes analyses showed anecdotal evidence in favor of the alternate hypothesis on
451 comparison between adult and both children groups (BF-NHC = 0.499; BF-CI = 0.432).
452 Comparison between the two children groups revealed moderate evidence in favor of the null
453 hypothesis (BF = 3.809). Collectively, statistical analyses support the absence of RT difference
454 on the visual task between the groups of children. However, differences between the adult and
455 children groups cannot be fully explained. Group performances on the visual task are depicted in
456 Figure 7.

457 With regard to the average RT on the S-NWL, one-way ANOVA indicated a statistically
458 significant main effect of group on the average RT [$F(2,42) = 8.779$; $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.295$]. Post
459 hoc analysis with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons showed that the NHA (mean =
460 287 msec; SD = 88 msec) yielded statistically significantly faster RTs than children with CIs

461 (mean = 824 msec; SD = 435 msec; $p < 0.001$), but not NHC (mean = 571 msec; SD = 417 msec;
462 $p = 0.097$). The children groups did not show statistically different RTs on the sonority treated
463 lexical perception task ($p = 0.165$). Bayes analyses showed moderate and strong evidence in
464 favor of the alternate hypothesis on comparison of the adult group to NHC (BF = 0.279), and
465 children with CIs (BF = 0.003) respectively. Comparison across children groups showed
466 anecdotal evidence in favor of the null hypothesis (BF = 1.276). Collectively, statistical analyses
467 support the absence of RT difference on the S-NWL task between the children groups, and the
468 presence of RT difference on the S-NWL task between the NHA and children with CIs.
469 However, given the contrast between the interpretation of the p value and the BF, differences
470 between the NHA and NHC groups cannot be fully validated.

471 Similarly, across group comparisons, using one-way ANOVAs, for each sonority condition,
472 showed a main effect of the different experimental groups on the reaction time for all sonority
473 conditions [NSN: $F(2,42) = 6.833$; $p = 0.003$, $\eta^2 = 0.246$; NSS: $F(2,42) = 9.062$; $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 =$
474 0.309 ; SSN: $F(2,42) = 7.505$; $p = 0.002$, $\eta^2 = 0.263$; SSS: $F(2,42) = 6.040$; $p = 0.005$, $\eta^2 =$
475 0.223]. Post hoc analysis with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons showed that the
476 NHAs were statistically significantly faster on all conditions than children with CIs ($p < 0.005$),
477 but not NHC (NSN: $p = 0.196$, NSS: $p = 0.061$, SSN: $p = 0.161$, SSS: $p = 0.176$). Bayes analysis
478 showed anecdotal- strong evidence in favor of the alternate hypothesis on comparison of the
479 adult group to NHC (NSN: 0.327, NSS: 0.087, SSN: 0.475, SSS: 0.644), and strong- extreme
480 evidence in favor of the alternate hypothesis in comparison to children with CIs (NSN: 0.028,
481 NSS: 0.007, SSN: 0.006, SSS: 0.008). Comparison between the children groups showed that the
482 RTs of the two groups were not statistically significantly different on all sonority conditions
483 (NSN: $p = 0.235$, NSS: $p = 0.221$, SSN: $p = 0.198$, SSS: $p = 0.406$). Bayes analysis showed

484 anecdotal evidence in favor of the null hypothesis for the children groups (NSN: 1.48, NSS:
485 1.458, SSN: 1.391, SSS: 1.968). The RTs on the different sonority conditions, across the
486 experimental groups, are shown in Figure 8.

487 Within-group comparisons using 3 repeated-measures one-way ANOVAs showed that for all
488 groups there was no main effect of sonority conditions on the RT [NHA: $F(3, 42) = 2.071, p =$
489 $0.118, \eta^2 = 0.129$; NHC: $F(3, 42) = 0.083, p = 0.969, \eta^2 = 0.006$; CI: $F(3, 42) = 0.489, p =$
490 $0.692, \eta^2 = 0.034$]. Post hoc analysis with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons
491 further validated that there was no difference in RT across sonority conditions for each of the 3
492 test groups ($p > 0.05$). Bayes analyses showed anecdotal-moderate evidence in favor of the null
493 hypothesis on comparison of RT across the different sonority conditions, for each of the 3 groups
494 ($BF = 1.133 - 5.144$).

495 **Performance on Language-Related Parameters by the Children Groups**

496 All NHC were TD as validated through the normal-hearing thresholds at all frequencies, reported
497 average school performance, and average PPVT (Schlichting, 2005) and DST (Kort et al., 2008)
498 scores.

499 **Performance on PPVT (Schlichting, 2005)**

500 An independent-samples t test comparison of the PPVT (Schlichting, 2005) percentile scores of
501 the 2 children groups showed that NHC scored statistically significantly higher than the children
502 with CIs [$t(28) = 4.179; p < 0.001$], as shown in Figure 9. Bayes Factor (0.009) showed extreme
503 evidence in favor of the alternate hypothesis. Chi-square test of independence showed that the
504 group of children with CIs entailed a statistically significantly higher number of children with

505 “weak” receptive vocabulary relative to the NHC (NHC=0%, CI=53.3%; Chi-square test of
506 independence, $\chi^2 = 14.067$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.002$). Accuracy performance on the S-NWL task were
507 correlated positively with PPVT raw scores (Schlichting, 2005) ($r=0.697$, $p=0.004$) for NHC, but
508 not children with CIs ($r= -0.209$, $p=0.454$). Reaction times were not correlated with PPVT raw
509 scores for both NHC ($r= -0.384$, $p=0.175$), and children with CIs ($r= -0.015$, $p=0.959$) after
510 correction for age. Correction for age was rationalized by the generic effect of age on RTs.

511 **Performance on DST** (Kort et al., 2008)

512 An independent-samples *t* test comparison of the DST percentile scores (Kort et al., 2008) of the
513 2 children groups showed no statistically significant difference [$t(24.014) = 1.167$; $p = 0.255$], as
514 shown in Figure 9. Bayes analysis showed anecdotal evidence (BF=2.151) in favor of the null
515 hypothesis for the children groups. However, chi-square test of independence showed that the
516 group of children with CIs entailed a statistically significantly higher number of children with
517 “weak” short-term memory relative to the NHC (NHC=0%, CI=46.67%; Chi-square test of
518 independence, $\chi^2 = 11.869$; $df = 1$; $p = 0.006$).

519 **The Relationship between Fast mapping, Retention and Receptive Vocabulary**

520 Accuracy and RT (after correction for age) performance on the S-NWL task were not correlated
521 with DST raw score for both NHC (Accuracy: $r= 0.199$ $p=0.476$; RT: $r= -0.301$, $p=0.295$) and
522 the children with CIs (Accuracy: $r= -0.297$, $p=0.283$; RT: $r= 0.03$, $p=0.920$). The lack of
523 correlation between S-NWL measures and DST scores could mean that the current S-NWL task
524 is not a good predictor of the retention processes necessary for building a lexicon. In Contrast,
525 DST raw scores were correlated with PPVT raw scores for both NHC ($r=0.562$, $p=0.029$) and
526 children with CIs ($r= 0.694$, $p=0.004$) suggesting the role of working/short-term memory in

527 developing a lexicon. Figure 10 depicts the correlations between S-NWL scores and PPVT
528 scores, as well as between DST raw scores and PPVT raw scores among the two children groups.

529 **DISCUSSION**

530 The current study investigated how well children with CIs, with optimal exposure to oral-
531 language, perform on S-NWL tasks. By optimal oral-language exposure, we refer to reduced
532 auditory deprivation through cochlear implantation below the age of two years and bilateral
533 hearing. Hamza et al. (2018) previously demonstrated that children with CIs may be adopting
534 template-driven word learning with the preferred template of words entailing perceptually
535 prominent components (SS-SS), even after equivalent postimplant auditory exposure period to
536 NHC. In Hamza et al (2018), the majority of children with CIs was implanted beyond the age of
537 two with no hearing aids prior to implantation. Furthermore, all the children listened with one CI.
538 This led to the current hypothesis that the template-driven word learning performance of the
539 children with CIs in the Greek study could be attributed to preimplant periods of auditory
540 deprivation.

541 To test the hypothesis concerning the benefit of optimal oral-language exposure, we employed
542 test-paradigms similar to the Greek study but adapting to language-specific phonotactics. For
543 example, the word structures used in the Greek and Flemish studies were slightly different: “CV-
544 CV” vs. “CVC” respectively. However, those were the simplest label word forms possible in
545 both languages in terms of medium frequency of occurrence. In the Greek study’s subgroup
546 analysis, children with CIs showed an accuracy score of 83%-100%, while in the current study
547 children with CIs accuracy scores ranged between 81 and 100%. Both studies showed high
548 accuracy scores (ceiling effect), yet in the Greek study, a sonority effect was shown for children

549 with CIs in the form of template-driven word learning, unlike in the Flemish study. The aim of
550 the current study was to identify if children with CIs who are implanted bilaterally at an earlier
551 age would not show reliance on sonority saliency cues and develop more age-appropriate word-
552 learning strategies, where they can learn words of different sonority templates with equal
553 accuracy. The difference between the children with CIs in the Greek and Flemish study was
554 statistically significant with regard to implantation below the age of two and bilateral CIs.

555 The current study has provided additional evidence of the role of optimal oral-language exposure
556 on the auditory processing skills of children with CIs. Hamza et al. (2018) demonstrated that
557 longer RTs were required by children with CIs when matched to NHC on chronological age, but
558 not when matched on postimplant age. This highlighted the importance of oral-language
559 exposure in the form of postimplant exposure on RTs. In the Flemish study, children with CIs
560 did not differ in RTs from age-matched NHC. This finding, in turn, denotes the importance of
561 oral-language exposure in the form of early bilateral implantation on auditory processing and
562 possibly listening effort experienced by the children with CIs, as expressed through RTs. Despite
563 the fact that both children groups showed no difference in RTs, NHC showed adult-comparable
564 RTs, while children with CIs lagged behind NHA RTs. However, the NHA-equivalent RT
565 achieved by NHC is not supported by BF, and therefore it is possible that with a larger sample
566 size that the NHC would also lag behind NHA. Furthermore, differences in RT between NHA
567 and children groups could be due to generic motor differences, as shown by Visual RT BF.

568 **Novel-word learning Ability**

569 Our data corroborate previous reports on the role of early implantation and bilateral hearing on
570 the language outcomes of children with CIs (Boons et al., 2012; Nicholas and Geers, 2008;

571 Niparko et al., 2010). Both child groups performed similarly overall and scored with similar
572 accuracies and reaction times in each sonority condition. Most importantly, they were capable of
573 learning words that follow the language phonotactics, regardless of whether they rely on
574 perceptual prominence cues or sonority-related grammatical rules. Unlike Hamza et al. (2018),
575 children with CIs in the current study did not adopt different/ delayed word learning strategies as
576 the static template-driven word learning exhibited by the children with CIs in the Greek study.

577 In the current study sample, children with CIs were as skilled as NHC at “fast mapping” novel
578 sonority-related phonological information under simple testing conditions. This shows that
579 children within the current study may have more developed phonological knowledge. It is
580 documented that for TD children, once more complex sequences of the adult language are
581 mastered, template-driven word learning fades from a child’s phonological system (Macken,
582 1979). Although 2 years of age (Greek study) is already considered very good for exposure to
583 language, the current study shows that children implanted below this age, who present no other
584 disabilities, and who have optimal exposure through bilateral hearing, perform even more in line
585 with NH listeners. Similarly, Quittner et al. (2016) have demonstrated that children who were
586 implanted before the age of 2 outperformed those implanted beyond the age of 2 on a NWL task.

587 The impact of early rich/frequent oral-language exposure on word learning has been
588 demonstrated for individuals with hearing impairment (Robertson et al., 2017; Stelmachowicz et
589 al., 2004). Earlier studies have demonstrated that children with CIs perform poorer than NHC on
590 word learning tasks (Houston et al., 2005). However, since then, the age of implantation has
591 significantly dropped, as a result of the advancement in screening, diagnosis, and technologies
592 (Roland et al., 2009). More recently, Pimperton and Walker (2018) showed that the word
593 learning abilities of a group of children implanted during their first three years of life, with a

594 postimplant age of at least 4 years, was similar to their NH age-matched peers. Davidson et al.
595 (2014) have demonstrated that the NWL ability of children with CIs who received their first
596 implant at 24 months on average falls below NH levels. However, the role of age of implantation
597 on the NWL ability was demonstrated through positive correlations between younger age at
598 implantation and better NWL and vocabulary scores. This has been demonstrated in several other
599 studies, as well (Houston et al., 2005; Houston et al., 2012; Willstedt-Svensson et al., 2004). In
600 the current study, the age of implantation did not correlate with the S-NWL abilities in terms of
601 accuracy and RTs. However, the age of implantation in the current study was restricted by the
602 inclusion criteria to a range of 0;4 and 1;11 resulting in limited variability especially with the
603 small sample size and ease of the task.

604 Looking at the performance of the 2 children that had unilateral implants, aged 10;9 and 13;7,
605 they were able to perform the task with high accuracy (100%). However, looking at their RTs, it
606 appears that unilateral CI children might still employ early word-learning strategies. One of the
607 two CI subjects showed longer RT for NSS condition, which relies highly on SDP, while the
608 other showed shorter RTs for the sonorous conditions (SSS). Consult Supplemental Digital
609 Content 2.doc for a table comparing the performance of each of the unilateral CI subjects to the
610 average performance of the 13 bilateral implantees.

611 **Receptive Vocabulary**

612 Despite the NHC-equivalent performance of children with CIs on the S-NWL task, children with
613 CIs in the current study showed poorer receptive vocabulary relative to NHC. Refer to Figure 1,
614 while children with CIs in the current study may possess NWL abilities that are relatively well-
615 developed as NHC, yet additional factors are responsible for them not reaching NHC-equivalent

616 receptive vocabulary. Since S-NWL and PPVT tests are measuring different abilities, it appears
617 that for children with CIs, the fast mapping ability and the receptive vocabulary acquired are not
618 necessarily hand in hand. This is further expressed by the lack of a statistically significant
619 correlation between the S-NWL and receptive vocabulary scores for children with CIs but not for
620 NHC.

621 In contrast, previous studies have shown a relationship between vocabulary size and the ability to
622 process new words –nonsense words- for NHC (Edwards et al., 2004), and children with CIs
623 (Pimperton and Walker, 2018; Walker and McGregor, 2013). The lack of correlation between S-
624 NWL performance and vocabulary could be due to the small score range and small sample size.
625 However, NHC showed a correlation despite being of equivalent sample size and showing a
626 similar score range. Other possible differences between the current and previous studies include
627 the wide age range of the children with CIs in the current study with much older participants, and
628 the nature of the word stimuli used in the word learning experiment. Pimperton and Walker
629 (2018) utilized real word stimuli of low frequency of occurrence, while Walker and McGregor
630 (2013) used novel words for which frequency of occurrence was not mentioned to be selective.
631 The stimuli used in the current experiment were composed of CV and VC components of
632 medium frequency of occurrence, unlike in vocabulary assessments where children were exposed
633 to words of various frequencies of occurrence, as well as words that are more complex and of
634 longer duration. Frequency of occurrence plays a role in the recognition and lexical access of
635 words with the more frequent components more accurately and faster recognized (Storkel and
636 Lee, 2011).

637 Thus, the simple S-NWL task is not necessarily the best predictor of the lexical learning abilities
638 of children with CIs, as it is not representative of the challenging real-life situations in which

639 they have to acquire new vocabulary. Children in the current experiment were required to learn a
640 limited number (16) of simple monosyllabic words, one at a time within a very structured fast-
641 mapping procedure. This is an atypical situation to what they are exposed to in real-life when
642 acquiring new words. Therefore, future studies need to implement NWL paradigms that replicate
643 real-life scenarios and use more complex word structures and of varying frequency of
644 occurrence.

645 The current study does not imply that children with early CIs do not rely on sonority-related cues
646 or that NWL ability is not an important predictor of language development. It is possible that
647 children with CIs in the current study would rely on sonority-related cues in more difficult
648 conditions, such as in conditions that employ more complex word forms, a greater number of
649 tokens, and difficult listening conditions. However, what this study implies is that children with
650 CIs with optimal oral-language exposure do not adopt deviant sonority-related early word
651 learning strategies in simple testing conditions.

652 **Retention Ability**

653 The gap between the S-NWL ability and the receptive vocabulary scores of children with CIs,
654 when compared to NHC, could also mean that children with CIs have well-developed fast
655 mapping abilities, but not the ability to retain those lexical representations in their memory to be
656 part of a lexicon, as expressed by their poor PPVT scores. Referring to Figure 1, children should
657 be able to retain the newly learned lexical representations in long-term memory (Markson and
658 Bloom, 1997). While the fast-mapping stage of word learning is a first and crucial step for
659 lexical development, yet there is more (Houston et al., 2005). Fast-mapped representations are
660 rarely strong enough to support naming performances, as opposed to strong above-chance-level

661 performance on a forced-choice recognition test (Walker and McGregor, 2013) as the current S-
662 NWL task.

663 Phonological working memory has been strongly associated with vocabulary size in NHC
664 (Gathercole and Baddeley, 1989). Studies have shown that children with CIs have an atypical
665 working /short-term memory capacity, which could be the result of an impaired ability to use
666 verbal rehearsal procedures to maintain phonological information in working memory (Dillon et
667 al., 2004; Pisoni and Cleary, 2003; Talli et al., 2018). In the current study, children with CIs
668 entailed a larger number of children who scored weak on the DST (Kort et al., 2008).
669 Furthermore, higher receptive vocabulary scores correlated with higher DST (Kort et al., 2008)
670 scores for both children groups indicating the role of working/short-term memory capacity on
671 developing a lexicon. Kronenberger et al. (2013) showed that the development of working and
672 short term memory over a period of at least 2 years in children with CIs aged 6 to 16 years was
673 related to the vocabulary and language comprehension growth rate.

674 Whether the proposed impaired/delayed ability to retain words is a result of poor working
675 memory components e.g. the facilitator verbal rehearsal and binding procedure (Baddeley, 1986;
676 2000), or impairments in long-term memory storage and retrieval is questionable. Such proposed
677 impairments in memory can be validated by testing children with CIs who have optimal-oral
678 language exposure in immediate and delayed conditions using more complex stimuli and test
679 paradigms. Immediate conditions, as in the current study, assess short-term/ working memory,
680 and delayed conditions administered after at least 30 minutes up to weeks afterwards assess long-
681 term memory (Baddeley, 1990). Houston et al. (2005) demonstrated that children with CIs
682 performed similarly in both immediate and delayed conditions. However, children with CIs in
683 the mentioned study already had poorer word learning abilities than NHC. Additionally, when

684 the analysis included unfamiliar words only, children with CIs performed worse on the delayed
685 condition, which suggests impairments in the long-term memory. More recently, Walker and
686 McGregor (2013) demonstrated that a group of children with CIs implanted below the age of 3
687 years and were as young as 3;6, performed marginally worse on fast mapping, and worse on
688 retention, which is in line with the current study findings.

689 Finally, it is important to note that the acquisition of words is impacted by several variables in
690 addition to memory capacity. Factors as the frequency of exposure, repetition, attention, and
691 extension are important for building up vocabulary (Hart and Risley, 1995; Hollich et al., 2000;
692 Huttenlocher et al., 1991; Schwartz, 2015).

693 **Conclusions**

694 We can conclude that children with CIs who have optimal oral-language exposure in the form of
695 early implantation before the age of two and bilateral hearing did not demonstrate the sonority-
696 related early-word learning strategies demonstrated by Hamza et al. (2018). While fast mapping
697 is an important first step in building a lexicon, however, it takes much more to develop language.
698 Children with CIs in the current study showed lower receptive vocabulary scores than NHC,
699 despite the equivalent NWL ability.

700 **Limitations and Future Research**

701 Future work should probe possible causes of the gap in performance between the NWL ability
702 and the receptive vocabulary built. This includes testing immediate and delayed recall
703 conditions, running longitudinal studies to see whether children with CIs would eventually catch
704 up, using more complex paradigms and difficult listening conditions.

705 It is important to realize that the S-NWL task in the current experiment is rather structured and
706 does not reflect real-life situations. Therefore, the NH-equivalent performance on the S-NWL
707 task could be the result of the simple stimuli and experiment structure. The simple structure used
708 was an essential first step to allow us to draw conclusions and further build on. Further research
709 needs to construct NWL experiments that reflect incidental learning more closely, as in
710 storytelling. The validity of the NWL paradigm used in the current experiment needs to be
711 assessed by comparing it with more real-life scenarios. Additionally, children with CIs in the
712 current study were tested in optimal conditions including sound-treated rooms, controlled stimuli
713 output through speakers, and directed attention. More studies need to look into the effect of
714 challenging listening conditions, including noise, on the NWL abilities of children with CIs.

715 Given the limited sample size, it is possible that a larger degree of evidence could be shown with
716 larger sample sizes. This is particularly true for accuracy scores where BF was not calculated,
717 and for the differences in RT between NHA and NHC where the BF supported the alternate
718 hypothesis while the p value was >0.05 . Future studies comparing the performance of children
719 with CIs with optimal language exposure vs less optimal language exposure within the same
720 study, if applicable, could be more conclusive.

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FIGURE LEGEND

936 **Figure 1:** Diagram summarizes the interactive processes involved in learning new words and
937 building a lexicon, namely: fast mapping, retention and extension.

938 **Figure 2:** Diagram illustrating the PRAAT waveform, spectrogram, and intensity contour of
939 CVC words of varying sonority components.

940 **Figure 3:** Flow chart of the sonority experiment trial. Pictures are of novel objects, obtained with
941 author's permission from a previous study by MacRoy-Higgins et al. (2013).

942 **Figure 4:** PRAAT waveform, spectrogram, and intensity contour of the token /xar/ with
943 demarcation of the phoneme boundaries and the sound peak minima of consonants.

944 **Figure 5:** Box plot comparing the median accuracy percent correct scores and interquartile
945 ranges of the S-NWL in the 3 different experimental groups. No statistically significant
946 differences between groups were detected according to Kruskal Wallis test at $p < 0.05$.
947 Horizontal line indicates the chance level of performance. Different letters indicate significant
948 differences between experimental groups according to pairwise comparison using Mann–
949 Whitney U test at $p < 0.05$.

950 **Figure 6:** Cluster bar chart comparing the sonority accuracy percent correct score on the
951 different sonority conditions within and across test groups. CI indicates cochlear implant; NHA,
952 normal-hearing adults; NHC, normal-hearing children. No statistically significant differences
953 between groups or within groups were detected according to Kruskal Wallis test, and Friedman
954 one-way ANOVAs respectively, at $p < 0.05$.

955 **Figure 7:** Bar chart comparing the visual and sonority-related average reaction time in
956 milliseconds (mean and SD) across the 3 groups. Different letters (a,b) across groups indicate
957 statistically significant differences for the visual and the sonority task reaction times separately,
958 according to post hoc tests with Bonferroni correction at $p < 0.05$. CI indicates cochlear implant;
959 NHA, normal-hearing adults; NHC, normal-hearing children; RT, reaction time.

960 **Figure 8:** Cluster bar chart comparing the reaction time in milliseconds (mean and SD) on the
961 different sonority conditions across test groups. Different letters (a,b) within each sonority
962 condition indicate significant differences between experimental groups according to post hoc test
963 with Bonferroni correction at $p < 0.05$. CI indicates cochlear implant; NHA, normal-hearing
964 adults; NHC, normal-hearing children; RT, reaction time.

965 **Figure 9:** Bar chart comparing the PPVT and DST percentile score performance across children
966 test groups. Different letters (a, b) indicate significant differences across groups according to an
967 independent-samples t test at $p < 0.05$. CI indicates cochlear implant; DST, digit span test; NHC,
968 normal-hearing children; PPVT; Peabody picture vocabulary test.

969 **Figure 10:** Scatter plots showing the correlation between (a) sonority NWL accuracy scores and
970 PPVT raw scores (b) PPVT raw scores and DST raw scores for (1) NHC and (2) children with
971 CIs. Statistically significant correlations ($p < 0.05$) were detected in 1a, 1b and 2b.

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SUPPLEMENTAL DIGITAL CONTENT

973 Supplemental Digital Content 1.doc

974 Supplemental Digital Content 2.doc