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Beyond the initial 140 ms, lexical decision and reading aloud are different tasks: An ERP study with topographic analysis

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ABSTRACT

Most of our knowledge on the time-course of the mechanisms involved in reading derived from electrophysiological studies is based on lexical decision tasks. By contrast, very few ERP studies investigated the processes involved in reading aloud. It has been suggested that the lexical decision task provides a good index of the processes occurring during reading aloud, with only late processing differences related to task response modalities. How-19 ever, some behavioral studies reported different sensitivity to psycholinguistic factors between the two tasks, 20 suggesting that print processing could differ at earlier processing stages. The aim of the present study was thus 11 to carry out an ERP comparison between lexical decision and reading aloud in order to determine when print pro-22 cessing differs between these two tasks. Twenty native French speakers performed a lexical decision task and a 23 reading aloud task with the same written stimuli. Results revealed different electrophysiological patterns on 24 both waveform amplitudes and global topography between lexical decision and reading aloud from about 25 140 ms after stimulus presentation for both words and pseudowords, i.e., as early as the N170 component. 26 These results suggest that only very early, low-level visual processes are common to the two tasks which differ 27 in core processes. Taken together, our main finding questions the use of the lexical decision task as an appropriate 28 paradigm to investigate reading processes and warns against generalizing its results to word reading. 29

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35 1. Introduction

Investigation of the cognitive processes involved in reading has be-36 come of particular interest over the last decades. The lexical decision 37 task is one of the most common paradigms used to investigate print pro-38 cessing in behavioral (González-Nosti et al., 2014), functional magnetic 39 resonance imaging (fMRI; Fiebach et al., 2002), and electrophysiological 40 41 studies (Bentin et al., 1999; Simon et al., 2004). During the lexical decision task, participants are presented with letter strings and required to deter-42mine as quickly and accurately as possible whether they correspond to 43real words or not by pressing two key buttons. The time taken to make 44 45 a lexical decision to a letter string is considered as an index of the operations needed to access the lexical representation. Overall, it is admitted 46 that the lexical decision task and the reading aloud task rely on similar 47 48 processes, with only late processing differences linked to planning and execution of different response modalities (oral versus button press; 49 Carreiras et al., 2007; Grainger and Jacobs, 1996). The lexical decision 5051task could thus be taken as an index of the processes occurring during 52reading aloud.

However, some behavioral studies reported differences between the
 two tasks in core linguistic processes. Indeed, different predictors have
 been associated with the performance of each task: lexical frequency
 in lexical decision and the first phoneme type in reading aloud
 (Ferrand et al., 2011). Other results suggest a marked sensitivity of
 the lexical decision task to lexical and semantic factors compared to

the reading aloud task, with stronger lexical frequency effects (Balota 59 and Chumbley, 1984; Balota et al., 2004; Schilling et al., 1998) and se-60 mantic effects (Balota et al., 2004; Yap et al., 2012). In contrast, the read-61 ing aloud task appears to be more strongly related to assembled 62 phonological processing, with a strong relationship between reading 63 aloud and phonological decoding ability and orthographic regularity ef-64 fects limited to reading aloud and not found in lexical decision (Katz 65 et al., 2012). 66

These task differences reported in behavioral studies have been sup- 67 ported by fMRI data, with a stronger activation of the Visual Word Form 68 Area (VWFA) in lexical decision compared to reading aloud (Katz et al., 69 2005) and a stronger involvement of the inferior frontal gyrus in read- 70 ing aloud compared to lexical decision (Katz et al., 2005; Valdois et al., 71 2006). Taken together, both behavioral and fMRI results suggest that 72 the lexical decision task promotes larger orthographic unit processing 73 whereas reading aloud promotes the generation of phonology. This distinction has been highlighted by Balota and Yap (2006), who postulated 75 that print processing would be modulated through attentional control 76 systems according to processes which are relevant to the response mo-77 dality of specific tasks. 78

Together, the set of differences among tasks summarized above suggest differences in core processes between lexical decision and reading 80 aloud which could not be limited to processes linked to the response 81 mode. As the lexical decision task is the most used paradigm used in 82 reading studies, it is essential to understand exactly at which processing 83

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stages print processing differs between lexical decision and reading 84 85 aloud. Without a clear understanding of task specificities and given 86 that deciding whether a letter string corresponds or not to a known 87 word does not reflect reading in real life, any conclusion taken from lexical decision data relative to reading abilities could be mistaken. The 88 abovementioned studies suggest differences in orthographic, phonolog-89 ical and semantic processes between the two tasks. However, it should 90 91 be noted that most of the studies comparing lexical decision and reading 92 aloud are based on behavioral or fMRI studies. A more precise insight 93 into the exact processing stages which differ between lexical decision 94and reading aloud could only be obtained with high temporal resolution techniques such as electrophysiological recordings. Event Related Po-95tential (ERP) measurements have indeed allowed to determine on-96 97 line the time course of print processing. Overall, it has been reported in a large variety of tasks including visual orthographic or rhyme judg-98 ments, lexical or semantic decisions and silent reading, that orthograph-99 ic and phonological processes respectively peak at about 200 ms and 100 300 ms (Bentin et al., 1999; Simon et al., 2004), followed by semantic 101 processes at about 400 ms (Kutas and Hillyard, 1980; Simon et al., 1022004). Some insights concerning the time course of the lexicality effect 103 have also been provided with ERP data. Results from such studies have 104 been somewhat inconsistent, with some experiments reporting a lexi-105 106 cality effect as early as around 150-200 ms following stimulus presentation (Dujardin et al., 2011; Hauk et al., 2012; Kim and Straková, 2012; 107 Mahé et al., 2012, 2013; Shaul et al., 2012; but see Simon et al., 2007), 108 while other experiments have reported later effects around 300-109400 ms (Bentin et al., 1999; Pylkkännen and Marantz, 2003; Wydell 110 111 et al., 2003).

It should be noted that electrophysiological studies using reading 112 aloud tasks are lacking, with only a few EEG (Bentin et al., 1999; 113 Simon et al., 2004) and MEG studies involving (silent) reading tasks 114 (Chen et al., 2013; Cornelissen et al., 2003, 2009; Wydell et al., 2003). 115To our knowledge, only two electrophysiological studies investigated 116117 processing differences between lexical decision and reading but using either delayed (Yum et al., 2014) or silent reading (Chen et al., 2013). 118 One of those studies was run in Chinese and compared regularity and 119 consistency effects between lexical decision and delayed word reading 120 121 (Yum et al., 2014). Results revealed that both effects were limited to the delayed word reading task and lacking in the lexical decision task, 122suggesting that phonological information would not be automatically 123accessed during character recognition in the lexical decision task. A sec-124125ond recent study has investigated word processing differences in English between lexical decision, semantic decision and silent reading 126 using combined EEG-MEG and fMRI measurements (Chen et al., 1272013). MEG data revealed significant word processing differences be-128 tween lexical decision and silent reading as early as 150 ms following 129130stimulus presentation, with stronger activation in areas involved in orthographic and semantic processes in lexical decision (i.e., left inferior 131temporal cortex and bilateral anterior temporal lobe) and stronger acti-132vation in areas involved in early phonological retrieval in silent reading 133(i.e., left precentral areas). This study allowed the identification of task 134135differences early in the time course of print processing. However, it 136should be noted that this study used a silent reading task and that if this task is successful in avoiding potential speech movement related ar-137tifacts, one cannot be sure whether participants follow task instructions, 138since answers are only requested in a limited number of trials. In addi-139140tion, the use of a silent reading task resulted in between task differences in the experimental design, with participants being requested to give a 141 response to each trial in lexical decision and only to a limited number of 142 trials in reading. Finally, the two tasks differed in the material, with an 143 inclusion of pseudowords limited to the lexical decision task. This may 144 affect task comparison, as performance in the lexical decision task has 145been shown to be especially affected by the difficulty of the word-146pseudoword discrimination (Lupker and Pexman, 2010; Stone and 147 van Orden, 1993). In order to determine which processing stages 148 149 differ between lexical decision and reading aloud, it is absolutely

necessary to compare the two tasks using strictly the same participants, 150 material and experimental design. The aim of the present study was 151 thus to determine exactly which processing stages differ between lexi- 152 cal decision and reading aloud when the same participants, material 153 and design are involved in the two tasks. In addition to the classical am- 154 plitude waveform analysis, topographic analyses were performed in 155 order to identify which periods of stable global electric fields at scalp, 156 functional microstates reflecting particular periods in information pro- 157 cessing, differ across tasks. If task differences are limited to late process- 158 ing stages related to decisional and speech planning processes, ERP 159 waveforms and topographic maps should only differ at late time inter- 160 vals. In contrast, if the lexical decision task and the reading aloud task 161 also differ in orthographic, phonological and/or lexical-semantic pro- 162 cesses, different ERPs should be observed in time windows associated 163 with these processes (i.e., respectively around 200, 300 and 400 ms; 164 Bentin et al., 1999; Simon et al., 2004). Finally, as words and 165 pseudowords were included in both lexical decision and reading 166 aloud, task processing differences could be established for the two 167 kinds of written stimuli. 168

2. Method

2.1. Participants

20 native French speakers (seven men), aged 20–35 years (mean 171 25.7 years) took part in the experiment. They were all right-handed as 172 determined by the Edinburgh Handedness Scales (Oldfield, 1971; 173 mean lateralization quotient index range: 96%; range: 80–100%). They 174 were undergraduate students and reported having normal or 175 corrected-to-normal vision and did not suffer from any neurological or 176 means and problem. All participants gave their written with the second consent 177

motor problem. All participants gave their written informed consent 177 to participate in the study and were paid for their participation. The 178 study protocol was approved by the local research ethical committee 179 at the University of Geneva. 180

2.2. Material

The same material was used for both the lexical decision task and 182 the reading aloud task. A total of 120 mono- and bisyllabic words 183 were selected from the French lexical database Lexique 3 (New 184 et al., 2001). All words were four-to-six letter long with an average 185 print lexical frequency of 89.4 per million. 100 orthographically 186 legal and pronounceable pseudowords were created by changing at 187 least two letters (which were never the first letter) in the set of 188 words. Words and pseudowords were matched on a set of pertinent 189 variables (see Table 1). Pseudowords were created for the require-190 ment of the lexical decision task but were also displayed in the read-191 ing aloud task in order to compare the two tasks with exactly the same stimulus presentation. All stimulus material is provided in Appendix 1.

	Words	Pseudowords	t-Value
Number of letters	5 (4-6)	5.1 (4-6)	-1.2 ^{ns}
Number of phonemes	3.4 (3-5)	3.6 (3-5)	-1.4 ^{ns}
Number of syllables	1.3 (1-2)	1.3 (1-2)	-1^{ns}
Bigram frequency (per million)	826.3 (±452.7)	909.6 (±596.9)	-1.2 ^{ns}
Number of orthographic neighbors	$2.5(\pm 2.5)$	$2.9(\pm 2.9)$	-1.4^{ns}
Number of phonological neighbors	10.7 (±8.2)	$10(\pm 8.7)$	0.6 ^{ns}
First syllable frequency (per million)	481.1 (±311.4)	453.4 (±325.2)	-0.9 ^{ns}
Second syllable frequency (per	302 (±64.1)	289 (±62.6)	0.1 ^{ns}
million)			

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195 2.3. Procedure

The participants were tested individually in a soundproof dimly light room and sat at 60 cm in front of a computer screen. All participants performed both a lexical decision task and a reading aloud task in counterbalanced order, with an interval filled with an unrelated task in between. Each task was divided into 4 blocks of words and pseudowords presented in pseudorandom order (no more than 3 consecutive words or pseudowords).

203 The software E-prime (E-Studio) presented the trials and record-204ed the response latencies (RTs) and the errors for the lexical decision task. The procedure was the same in both lexical decision and read-205ing aloud. Each trial began with a black fixation cross presented for 206207400 ms in the center of a gray screen. A gray screen was used to avoid extreme light exposition. The fixation cross was then replaced 208 by a gray screen for 100 ms, followed by the stimulus for 800 ms. 209 Stimuli were presented in Courier New font, with 18-point lower 210 case letters and subtended approximately 3.6° of the visual angle. 211 The next trial began after a random inter-trial interval of 900-212 1100 ms for the lexical decision task and 1400-1600 ms for the read-213 ing aloud task. Before each experimental task, the participants per-214 formed six practice trials. 215

216 For both tasks, participants were instructed that they would see 217words and pseudowords on the computer screen. In the lexical decision task, participants were asked to decide as quickly and accurately as pos-218 sible whether the stimulus corresponded to a real word or not by press-219ing a YES response key or a NO response key with the right hand. In the 220 221 reading aloud task, participants were required to read aloud as quickly and accurately as possible the stimulus displayed, whether it was a 222 word or a pseudoword. The spoken responses were digitized and re-223corded for later response latency and accuracy check. After elimination 224 225of errors, latencies of vocal responses (i.e., the number of ms separating 226the stimulus onset from the articulation onset) were systematically checked with speech analysis software (Check Vocal; Protopapas, 2272007). 228

229 2.4. EEG acquisition and pre-analyses

EEG was recorded continuously using the Active-Two Biosemi EEG system (Biosemi V.O.F. Amsterdam, Netherlands) with 128 channels covering the entire scalp. Signals were sampled at 512 Hz with bandpass filters set between 0.16 and 100 Hz.

Offline, ERPs were then bandpass-filtered to 0.2-30 Hz and notch-234filtered to 50 Hz and reaveraged to average references. Averaging was 235computed with epochs of 500 ms starting at the stimulus onset using 236the Cartool software (Brunet et al., 2011). Epochs contaminated by 237238eye blinking, movements or other noise were rejected and excluded from averaging after visual inspection performed in addition to an 239automated selection criterion rejecting epochs with amplitudes 240reaching \pm 100 μ V. In addition, only trials with correct responses and 241 valid RTs were retained. As a result, a minimum of 61 averaged trials 242243per participant in each condition and task entered the ERP analyses 244(words: 65-112 epochs [mean = 94] in lexical decision; 61-119 epochs [mean = 91] in reading aloud; pseudowords: 64–90 epochs [mean =24579] in lexical decision; 64–92 epochs [mean = 70] in reading aloud). 246Artifact electrodes were interpolated using 3-D spline interpolation 247 248 (Perrin et al., 1987), with an average of 10 sites interpolated for each participant. 249

250 2.5. Waveform analyses

The ERPs were first subjected to standard waveform analysis to determine the time periods where amplitude differences were found between conditions. This analysis was performed on all electrodes and data-points. Repeated measure ANOVAs were computed on amplitudes of the evoked potentials between task (i.e., lexical decision task versus reading aloud task) and stimulus type (words versus pseudowords) 256 using STEN toolbox (developed by Jean-François Knebel; http://www. 257 unil.ch/fenl/home/menuguid/infrastructure/software-analysis-tools. 258 html). Only differences over at least five clustered electrodes and ex- 259 tending over at least 20 consecutive time-frames (i.e., 40 ms) were 260 retained with an alpha criterion of 0.01. 261

2.6. Global topographic ERP pattern analyses

While the waveform analysis will inform on whether and when differ-263 ences in amplitudes appear between tasks, the global topographic pattern 264 will further inform on whether different amplitudes are due to simple 265 modulation in strength of the electric field or to different underlying neurophysiological mechanisms. Different periods of stable global electric 267 fields (of topographies), likely correspond to particular periods in mental 268 information processing (Changeux and Michel, 2004; Koukou and 269 Lehmann, 1987; Lehman et al., 1998), thus indicating different processes 270 across tasks. 271

We first run a topographic analysis on each sampling point to iden-272 tify periods of significant topographic modulation between tasks. This 273 procedure (called TANOVA, although it is not an analysis of variance) in-274 volves a non-parametric randomization test to the global dissimilarity 275 between two electric fields (Lehmann and Skrandies, 1984; Murray 276 et al., 2008). The permutation of the data is accomplished by re-277 assigning randomly the topographic maps of single subjects to the dif-278 ferent conditions. The global dissimilarity of these random group-279 averaged ERPs is compared time-point by time-point with the values 280 of topographic dissimilarity of the actual conditions. A time-period cri-281 terion of 20 time-frame consecutive significant differences and an 282 alpha criterion of 0.01 were applied. 283

Then a spatio-temporal segmentation was run. This spatio-temporal 284 segmentation analysis (Brunet et al., 2011) allows summarizing ERP 285 data into a limited number of topographic map configurations. This 286 spatio-temporal segmentation allowed the identification of time pe- 287 riods during which different tasks (i.e., lexical decision and reading 288 aloud) evoked different electric fields at scalp. This method presents 289 the advantage of independence of the reference electrode (Michel 290 et al., 2001; Michel et al., 2004) and insensitivity to pure amplitude 291 modulations across conditions (topographies of normalized maps are 292 compared). A spatio-temporal segmentation was applied to the grand- 293 averages (i.e., from 60 ms to 500 ms after stimulus onset) to compare 294 the two tasks for each kind of stimuli. To determine the most dominant 295 map configurations, we used a modified hierarchical clustering analysis 05 (Pascual-Margui et al., 1995; Michel et al., 2001) the agglomerative hi- 297 erarchical clustering (Murray et al., 2008). A modified cross-validation 298 criterion was used to determine the optimal number of maps that best 299 explained the group-averaged data sets across conditions. Statistical Q6 smoothing was used to eliminate temporally isolated maps with low 301 strength. This procedure is described in detail in Pascual-Marqui et al. 302 (1995). Additionally, a given topography had to be present for at 303 least 20 time-frames. Then, the pattern of map templates observed in 304 the averaged data was statistically tested by comparing each of these 305 map templates with the moment-by-moment scalp topography of indi- 306 vidual subjects' ERPs from each condition. Each time point was labeled 307 according to the map with which it best correlated spatially, yielding a 308 measure of map presence in milliseconds. This procedure referred to 309 as 'fitting' allowed to establish how well a cluster map explained indi- 310 vidual patterns of activity (GEV: Global Explained Variance) and its 311 duration. 312

In order to analyze whether maps were more representative of one 313 task compared to the other, the map presence, the GEV and the map duration observed in each subject's data were used for statistical analysis. 315 Repeated measure ANOVAs were computed on both GEV and map duration with the factors Task and Lexicality. Concerning map presence, 317 Pearson chi square tests were applied when relevant. 318

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319 3. Results

320 3.1. Behavioral results

Incorrect responses, outliers (mean RT \pm 3 SD) and contaminated 321 epochs in ERPs data were excluded from the RT analysis. Latencies and 322 error rates for each task and stimulus type are displayed in Table 2. Anal-323 ysis of the RTs revealed a significant main effect of Task (F(1,19) = 8.8,324 325 p < .01), with faster RTs in the reading aloud task (562 ms \pm 95.5) com-326 pared to the lexical decision task (596 ms \pm 115.5). The effect of Lexicality, with pseudowords eliciting longer RTs than words (F(1,19) = 313, p < 327 .001), and the Task * Lexicality interaction (F(1,19) = 9.7, p < .01) were 328 both significant. Planned comparisons revealed a larger Lexicality effect 329 in lexical decision (61 ms; F(1,19) = 215, p < .001) compared to reading 330 aloud (40 ms; F(1,19) = 69.6, p < .001). Concerning the error rate, the ef-331 fect of Task was significant (F(1,19) = 16.6, p < .001), with a higher error 332 rate for reading aloud (8.1% \pm 4) than that for lexical decision (5.7% \pm 333 334 4.2). The effect of Lexicality, with pseudowords generating more errors than words (F(1,19) = 18.3, p < .001), and the Task * Lexicality interac-335 tion (F(1,19) = 56.4, p < .001) were both significant. Planned compari-336 sons revealed that the Lexicality effect was significant in the reading 337 338 aloud task (9.6%; F(1,19) = 69.1, p < .001) but not in the lexical decision 339 task (F < 1).

340 3.2. ERP results: waveform analysis

Fig. 1 shows time points of significant amplitude differences between 341 the lexical decision task and the reading aloud task (Fig. 1A) and between 342 words and pseudowords (Fig. 1B) with an alpha criterion of .01 and a 343 minimum duration of 20 time-frames, while the Task * Lexicality interac-344 tion did not reveal any difference on amplitudes. Significant differences 345 appeared between the two tasks between 180 and 500 ms following 346 stimulus onset mostly on a cluster of 27 anterior and 16 central-347 348 posterior sites. Amplitude differences between words and pseudowords 349 were observed between 400 and 500 ms mostly at the central-posterior 350 sites

351 3.3. ERP results: topographic analysis

Fig. 2 (left part) shows the time-window of task differences in the TANOVA analysis with an alpha criterion of .01, indicating different topographies between the two tasks from 150 ms to 500 ms following stimulus onset for words and mostly between 160–370 ms for pseudowords. The TANOVA analysis also revealed late topographic modulations (i.e., after 430 ms) related to the Lexicality effect, in both lexical decision and reading aloud (Fig. 2, right part).

359 As displayed in Fig. 2B, the spatio-temporal segmentation applied on the average data of lexical decision and reading aloud tasks from 60 ms 360 to 500 ms after stimulus onset revealed eight different electrophysio-361 logical template maps accounting for 91.04% of the variance. From 362 about 140 to 500 ms, different electrophysiological spatial configura-363 364 tions were observed between the two tasks for both words (on the 365 left) and pseudowords (on the right). Only the first period of stable elec-366 trophysiological activity corresponding to the P100 component (Map A, from 60 to 140 ms in Fig. 2B) was common to the two tasks. 367

t2.1 Table 2

t2.2 Mean latencies in ms and error rate in percentage for each task and stimulus type (stant2.3 dard deviations into brackets).

t2.4	Conditions	RTs	Error rate
t2.5	Lexical decision word	565 (116)	5.8 (3.5)
t2.6	Lexical decision pseudoword	626 (115)	5.6 (4.9)
t2.7	Reading aloud word	542 (87)	3.3 (2.4)
t2.8	Reading aloud pseudoword	582 (104)	12.9 (5.5)

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The map templates observed in the grand averaged ERPs were vali- 368 dated by the results of the fitting procedure applied to individual ERP 369 data in each task (i.e., lexical decision and reading aloud) and stimulus 370 type (word and pseudoword) in two time-windows: from 140 to 371 240 ms for maps B and C and from 260 to 500 ms for maps D, E, F, G 372 and H (see Table 3). Repeated measure ANOVAs were computed on 373 both GEV and map duration with the factors Task and Lexicality. Pear- 374 son chi square tests were applied on map presence data when relevant. 375 Within the first time window, the fitting procedure confirmed that the 376 period of stable electric field labeled "map B" appeared more frequently 377 in lexical decision compared to reading aloud (85% of map presence in 378 lexical decision and 40% in reading aloud; Chi 2 on Task effect = 8.7, 379p < .01). Repeated measure ANOVAs revealed a significant Task effect 380 for both GEV (GEV = 45.5% in lexical decision, and GEV = 17.5% in 381 reading aloud; F(1,19) = 15.7, p < .001) and map duration 382 (F(1,19) = 14.4, p < .01). The main effects of Lexicality and Task * Lex- 383 icality interaction were not significant. The fitting procedure also con- 384 firmed that the period of stable electric field labeled "map C" appeared 385 more frequently in the reading aloud task compared to the lexical deci-386 sion task (77.5% of map presence in reading aloud, 32.5% of map pres-387 ence in lexical decision; Chi 2 on Task effect = 8.9, p < .01). Repeated 388 measure ANOVAs revealed a significant Task effect for both GEV (read-389 ing aloud: GEV = 14%, lexical decision: GEV = 2.5% GEV; F(1,19) = 8.4, 390 p < .01) and map duration (F(1,19) = 14.4, p < .01). The main effects of 391 Lexicality and Task * Lexicality interaction were not significant. 392

The fitting procedure in the second time window revealed that map D 393 tends to be specific to reading aloud compared to lexical decision (72.5% 394 of map presence in reading aloud compared to only 40% of map presence 395 in lexical decision; Chi 2 = 5.1, p = .02). Repeated measure ANOVAs re- 396 vealed a significant Task effect for both GEV (44% and 15% in reading 397 aloud and lexical decision respectively; F(1,19) = 12.7, p < .01) and 398 map duration (F(1,19) = 14, p < .01). The main effects of Lexicality and 399 Task * Lexicality interaction were not significant. Map E did not differ sig- 400 nificantly between the two tasks. Map F tended to be more specific to lex- 401 ical decision compared to reading aloud (Chi 2 on map presence in the 402 individual data = 5.6, p = .02). ANOVAs performed on GEV and map du- 403 ration yielded only to a tendential Task effect on map F(GEV; F(1,19) = 4, 07)p = .06; map duration: F(1,19) = 4.9, p = .04). Concerning map H, sta- 405 tistical analysis revealed a stronger map presence in lexical decision com- 406 pared to reading aloud (Chi 2 on map presence in the individual ERPs = 4078.6, p < .01). ANOVAs revealed only a tendential Task effect on map dura- 408 tion (F(1,19) = 6.3, p = .02). Finally, map G displayed a significant Lexi- 409 cality effect on GEV (F(1,19) = 17.3, p < .001). Concerning map duration, 410 statistical analysis revealed a tendential Task effect (F(1,19) = 3.8, p = 411.06) and a significant Lexicality effect (F(1,19) = 15.9, p < .001). 412

4. Discussion

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The aim of the present ERP study was to determine exactly when 414 print processing differs between lexical decision and reading aloud 415 tasks. The same participants performed the tasks on the same material 416 and design. 417

4.1. Early task differences

The core finding is the observation of early print processing differ- 419 ences between lexical decision and reading aloud. Indeed, waveform am- 420 plitude analysis revealed task differences from ~180 ms to the end of the 421 analyzed interval. Topographic analysis revealed only one common peri-422 od of topographic stability between lexical decision and reading aloud. 423 This common microstate (between 90–100 and 140 ms) corresponds to 424 the P100 component, which has been associated with visual feature analysis (Dien, 2009). After the P100, from ~140 ms to the end of the analyzed interval (i.e., 500 ms), the two tasks displayed completely distinct microstates. It should be noted that in both the amplitude waveform analysis and the topographic analysis, task differences did not vary between 429

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Fig. 1. Significant differences on ERP waveform amplitude on each electrode (Y axes) and time point (X axes) between lexical decision and reading aloud (left part, Fig. 1A) and between words and pseudowords (right part, Fig. 1B). Only differences over at least five clustered electrodes and 20 time frames, with an alpha criterion of .01 are displayed in red. The electrode sites yielding significant differences at 300 ms and 400 ms for the Task effect and at 450 ms for the Lexicality effect are displayed under each graphic. Examples of waveform are displayed below for the Task and Lexicality effect for Fz, Cz and Oz, (For interpretation of the reference to color in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

words and pseudowords. This suggests general differences in print pro-430 cessing between the two tasks which would not depend on lexicality. 431 This finding, together with previous MEG results by Chen et al. (2013), 432 433 showing activation differences between lexical decision and silent reading as early as 150 ms following stimulus onset, rules out the hypothesis 434 of differences limited to late processing stages between lexical decision 435and reading. Our data rather suggest that after the low-level visual analy-436 sis, print stimuli are processed differently according to the task. 437

438 In the lexical decision task, the stable topographic configuration re-439corded between ~140–250 ms characterized by posterior negativity (i.e., map B in Fig. 2B) appeared to be predominant, with very strong 440 map presence over participants and high GEV. In visual word recognition 441 studies, the time window between 150 and 250 ms has been associated 442 with the N170 component, reflecting the expert processing of print in 443 the VWFA in a large variety of tasks including the lexical decision task 444 (Brem et al., 2009; Dujardin et al., 2011; Maurer et al., 2005; Mahé et al., 445 2012). In addition, the topographic configuration recorded in our study 446 corresponds to the classical topography of the N170 component, with 447 the left posterior-temporal peak of negativity (Brem et al., 2009; 448 Maurer et al., 2005; Maurer et al., 2005b). In contrast, a different stable 449 electric field configuration, with anterior and posterior negativities sur-450rounding central positivity, was recorded in the reading aloud task be-451 452 tween ~140 and 240 ms (i.e., map C in Fig. 2B). It should be noted that in this time-window the period of topographic stability seems to be 453 more stable across participants in the lexical decision task than that in 454 the reading aloud task (larger GEV and presence for map B in lexical deci- 455 sion than for map C in reading aloud). Overall, our electrophysiological 456 data revealed that the electrophysiological pattern previously associated 457 with the expert processing of print appears to be a major processing 458 stage of written strings only in lexical decision, a task promoting the or- 459 thographic pattern analysis in order to distinguish familiar words from 460 pseudowords. Our data could thus be in accordance with previous results 461 showing stronger left inferior temporal gyrus activation in lexical decision 462 compared to silent reading in MEG (Chen et al., 2013) and to reading 463 aloud in fMRI (Katz et al., 2005) at a location consistent with the VWFA. 464 In fact, the N170 component has repeatedly been associated with the ac- 465 tivation of the VWFA in studies using ERP source analysis (Brem et al., 466 2006, 2009) or combining EEG and fMRI measurements (Brem et al., 467 2006). 468

4.2. Late task differences and potential impact of the response mode 469

One might argue that the electrophysiological differences reported 470 between the two tasks could be partly a consequence of the different re-471 sponse mode (oral vs. button press). Concerning responses requiring 472 button press, data coming from studies measuring the Lateralized 473

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Fig. 2. A. Results of the TANOVA analysis (1 - p) for the Task effect (on the left) and for the Lexicality effect (on the right). Only differences over at least 20 time frames, with an alpha criterion of .01 are displayed in red. B. Grand average ERPs (128 electrodes) from each task (i.e., lexical decision on the top and reading aloud below) and each stimulus type (words on the left and pseudowords on the right) and temporal distribution of the topographic maps revealed by the spatio-temporal segmentation analysis in each data. Colors illustrate the time-window of each period of topographic stability. Corresponding map templates are displayed below. (For interpretation of the references to colors in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the web version of this article.)

Readiness Potential (LRP), taken as an index of specific response preparation in the motor cortex, indicate an occurrence of motor preparation occurring approximately 100 ms before response latency (i.e., with a peak of LRP; e.g., Killikely and Szücs, 2013; Müller and Hagoort, 2006). Here, given the distribution of RTs in the lexical decision task (596 ms \pm 115), an impact of response preparation processes should be limited to the end of the second time interval analyzed (i.e., 260– 500 ms). This is in line with the observation that topographic consisten- 481 cy across participants was lower in this time window, probably due to 482 variability in response latencies and motor preparation (see GEV data 483 and map presence for maps E, F and H). 484

Concerning the reading aloud task, the last period of topographic 485 stability (i.e., map G, appearing between 420–500 ms) displayed very 486 low topographic stability across participants. Given its proximity to 487

49.1	Table 2
t3.1	Table 3

12.0	For each tonography	proconce in the	individual EDDa	CEV and duration i	n timo framos ('	TE) for each to	all and stimulus time
t3.2	FOI Eacii LODOgiadiiv.	Diesence in the	IIIUIVIUUAI ERPS.	GEV allu uulauoli l	II UIIIE II allies (IF IOI Edulita	isk and sunnuus lvde.

3.3		Map pres	sence			GEV				Map du	iration		
3.4		Lexical d	ecision	Reading	aloud	Lexical d	ecision	Reading	aloud	Lexical	decision	Reading	g aloud
3.5		W	PW	W	PW	W	PW	W	PW	W	PW	W	PW
3.6	140–240 ms												
Q2	Map B	85%	85%	35%	45%	43%	48%	16%	19%	38	39	14	18
3.8	Map C	35%	30%	80%	75%	2%	3%	13%	15%	13	12	37	33
:3.9 :3.10	260–500 ms												
3.11	Map D	45%	35%	70%	75%	13%	17%	42%	46%	19	21	56	64
3.12	Map E	50%	60%	20%	40%	6%	5%	1%	3%	36	34	19	26
t3.13	Map F	45%	45%	10%	25%	12%	12%	4%	6%	23	26	8	13
t3.14	Map G	45%	15%	65%	35%	4%	1%	6%	1%	15	8	30	12
t3.15	Map H	50%	60%	10%	15%	14%	14%	6%	3%	29	32	9	5

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mean RTs (562 ms \pm 96) it is likely due to variability in response laten-488 489 cies and articulatory programming. Finally, it should be noted that the 490 map displaying the most consistence across participants in reading 491 aloud (with especially high GEV and map presence) was located in the 230–420 ms time interval (map D in Fig. 2). This suggests that processes 492specific to reading aloud would occur during this time interval. The in-493terpretation of the cognitive processes related to this time window 494can only be hypothetical, as electrophysiological data concerning the 495496 time course of reading aloud are limited. The interval of our map D partly encompassed the time window previously associated to early phono-497498 logical activation in reading aloud (i.e., around 150-330 ms; Timmer and Schiller, 2014 for a review) or to grapheme-to-phoneme mapping 499500in silent reading (i.e., 270-336 ms for the N320 component; Simon 501et al., 2004). Consequently one may hypothesize that the time interval associated to map D could integrate several cognitive processes specific 502 to reading aloud, including phonological processes. 503

504 4.3. Lexicality effect across tasks

Behavioral data revealed a stronger lexicality effect in lexical decision 505than in reading aloud on RTs and a lexicality effect on accuracy limited to 506reading aloud. Concerning electrophysiological data, the waveform am-507508plitude and the topographic analysis converged on a very late lexicality effect, occurring after 430 ms following stimulus presentation. This late 509lexicality effect was similar across tasks. The time window of the lexicality 510effect is inconsistent in the literature: some studies reported a lexicality 511effect as early as the N170 time window (Dujardin et al., 2011; Mahé 512513et al., 2012; Shaul et al., 2012) while other studies described later effects, around 300-400 ms following stimulus presentation (Bentin et al., 1999; 514Pylkkännen and Marantz, 2003; Wydell et al., 2003). It should be noted 515that even if the present electrophysiological results do not support an 516517early lexicality effect nor an interaction with task, the experimental design may not be the ideally suited for the investigation of lexicality as 518519each participant saw the stimuli twice (once in each task). This design was chosen to optimize the between tasks comparison, which was the 520main focus of the experiment. However, stimulus repetition may have re-521duced the lexicality effect in the ERP data, as this effect has been reported 522 523 to be affected by stimulus repetition in previous electrophysiological studies (Almeida and Poeppel, 2013; Bermúdez-Margaretto et al., 5242014). The use of different lists of stimuli across tasks would be best suited 525in future to compare the time course of the lexicality effects across reading 526527and lexical decision tasks.

528 5. Conclusion

Overall, our electrophysiological data revealed early processing differ-529530ences between the lexical decision task and the reading aloud task, with a predominance of the expert processing of print in lexical decision only. As 531it has been suggested (Balota and Yap, 2006), the task used impacts on the 532processing stages involved in print processing. As a consequence, one 533could question the use of the lexical decision task in the assessment of 534535reading abilities. This question is of particular relevance as the lexical de-536cision task is extensively used in ERP studies (Bentin et al., 1999; Simon et al., 2004; Hauk et al., 2012) whereas the use of reading aloud tasks is 537limited. 538

In conclusion, even if the lexical decision task provides a good index
 of visual word recognition processes, the present findings warns against
 an overgeneralization of lexical decision data to the processes occurring
 during reading aloud. Future studies should thus interpret very carefully
 lexical decision data, especially in the case of studies designed to better
 understand reading disorders.

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Appendix 1. Stimulus material

Words

554
555

t4.1

absent	coeur	huile	poing
accent	corps	idole	point
achat	court	image	poker
adulte	crabe	index	porc
allure	cube	1115	pouce
arche	cyan	Jade	quoi
archet	cygne	Jardin	rhum
argent	denors	Jockey	rythme
aspect	demi	joli	sabot
asthme	dieu	joyeux	sauf
aube	dinde	jupon	second
auburn	doigt	meute	sept
avoir	faisan	mythe	seul
bœuf	famine	nerfs	sinon
cake	faon	nuque	soeur
cerf	femme	oeil	taupe
chacun	fils	oeuf	temps
chaise	foetus	oeuvre	timbre
chauve	foin	oignon	toast
chlore	foot	onde	toit
chœur	fougue	orme	toux
chose	fugue	ours	trou
chou	fusil	paon	truffe
chrome	geai	pardon	type
chute	gentil	parfum	vaccin
cing	ghetto	peau	veau
clef	guidon	pied	viande
cloche	hall	pirate	vieil
clown	heure	plante	vivre
		1	
club	hiver	poids	volcan
^{club} Pseudoword	hiver 1s	poids	volcan
club Pseudoword	hiver ds	poids	volcan
club Pseudoword	hiver ds cluge	poids guippo	ponve
club Pseudoword achon adolge	cluge coum	guippo halic	ponve pude
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif	cluge coum crag	guippo halic hoise	volcan ponve pude puldot
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux	cluge coum crag crige	guippo halic hoise hule	volcan ponve pude puldot quaive
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albeux albeux	cluge coum crag crige cronse	guippo halic hoise hule idave	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou	guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour crour cune	guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crou crou crour cune cunge	guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crour crour cune cune cunge cynne	guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crou crou crou crou crou crou crou	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crou crour cunge cunge cynne dappe dehage	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou randou remon rori sebau
club Pseudoword achon adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour crour cunge cynne dappe dehage dian	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm ante archou astint ausbet bence	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cune cune cune cynne dappe dehage dian diso	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crour crour cune cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige caige	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cune cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige ccaime chage	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crou crour cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anterm anterm archou astint ausbet bence caige caige caime chage	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou feume	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun surous
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux albeux aleibe ancrou anste ancrou anste ancrou astint ausbet bence caige caime chage chande charou	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour crour cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou feume fipuge	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude oulphe	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun surous taige
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige caime chage chande charou choune	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou feume fipuge fome	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude oulphe ouphau	ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun surous taige tausbe
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste ancerm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige caige caige chage chande charou choune cibe	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cune cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou feume fipuge fome fonque	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude oulphe ouphau pastou	volcan ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau sebau sebau sup sipe sipun sonve soun surous taige tausbe tibe
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige caime chage chande chande chande chou cibe cife	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cune cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone falone fantou feume fipuge fome fonque fouc	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude oulphe ouphau pastou piruge	volcan ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun surous taige tausbe tibe toust
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste anterm anve archou astint ausbet bence caige caime chage chande charou choune cife cife cinve	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou feume fipuge fome fonque fouc funce	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude oulphe ouphau pastou piruge plonve	volcan ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun surous taige tausbe tibe toust vistou
club Pseudoword adolge agoif albaux albeux aleibe ancrou anste ancrou anste anterm archou astint ausbet bence caige caime chage charou chage charou choune cibe cife cife cinve cleu	hiver ds cluge coum crag crige cronse crou crour cunge cynne dappe dehage dian diso dunge falone fantou feume fipuge fome fonque fouc funce gantin	poids guippo halic hoise hule idave iluge inar inse intax jave jayaux jophau lugis mauce munne neube nouse oude oulphe ouphau pastou piruge plonve plunne	volcan ponve pude puldot quaive quaux quin rancte rardou raup remon rori sebau seum sipe sipun sonve soun surous taige tausbe tibe toust vistou voble

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