

Neural Sources Underlying Visual Word Form Processing as Revealed by Steady State Visual Evoked Potentials (SSVEP)

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Abstract

EEG has been central to investigations of the time course of various neural functions underpinning visual word recognition. Recently the steady-state visual evoked potential (SSVEP) paradigm has been increasingly adopted for word recognition studies due to its high signal-to-noise ratio. Such studies, however, have been typically framed around a single source in the left ventral occipitotemporal cortex (vOT). Here, we combine SSVEP recorded from 16 adult native English speakers with a data-driven spatial filtering approach—Reliable Components Analysis (RCA)—to elucidate distinct functional sources with overlapping yet separable time courses and topographies that emerge when contrasting words with pseudofont visual controls. The first component topography was maximal over left vOT regions with an early latency (approximately 180 msec). A second component was maximal over more dorsal parietal regions with a longer latency (approximately 260 msec). Both components consistently emerged across a range of parameter manipulations including changes in the spatial overlap between successive stimuli, and changes in both base and deviation frequency. We then contrasted word-in-nonword and word-in-pseudoword to test the hierarchical processing mechanisms underlying visual word recognition. Results suggest that these hierarchical contrasts fail to evoke a unitary component that might be reasonably associated with lexical access.

Keywords EEG SSVEP RCA spatial filtering visual word form processing vOT feedforward and feedback connections

Declarations of interest None

1 Introduction

Reading is a remarkable aspect of human cognitive development and is essential in everyday life. Through frequent exposure to printed words, visual specialization for letter strings is developed (Maurer et al., 2006), and skilled readers can read around 250 words per minute (Rayner, 1998). Such high reading speed requires fast visual word recognition that is dependent on specialized visual processes and brain sources.

Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) studies have reliably localized an area of the left lateral ventral occipitotemporal cortex (vOT) that is particularly selective to printed words relative to other visual stimuli such as line drawings (Centanni et al., 2017) and faces (Baker et al., 2007; Dehaene et al., 2005; Dehaene & Cohen, 2011). The sensitivity of the left vOT site to visual words is reproducible across different languages and fonts (Krafnick et al., 2016) and individuals (Dehaene et al., 2010; McCandliss et al., 2003), and is invariant to font, size, case, and even retinal location (Dehaene et al., 2001, 2004).

Numerous fMRI studies have proposed that the vOT follows a hierarchical posterior-to-anterior progression, with posterior regions being more selective to visual word form processing while anterior parts are more weighted to high-level word features (Dehaene et al., 2005; Vinckier et al., 2007). The posterior-to-anterior gradient is accomplished by increasing neuron receptive fields from posterior occipital to anterior temporal regions, and as a result, the sensitivity of neurons hierarchically increases from letter fragments to individual letters, bigrams, trigrams, morphemes, and finally entire word forms (Dehaene et al., 2005). A recent study by Lerma-Usabiaga et al. (2018) suggested that, in addition to sub-regions within the vOT, other regions of the language network (e.g., angular gyrus) are also involved in the rapid identification of word forms by transferring and integrating information from and towards the vOT. Lerma-Usabiaga et al. (2018) further suggested that the posterior area of vOT is structurally connected to the intraparietal sulcus mostly through a bottom-up path-

Abbreviations: Reliable Components Analysis (RCA); Reliable Component 1 (RC1); Reliable Component 2 (RC2); steady-state visual evoked potential (SSVEP).

26 way while the middle/anterior area is connected to other language areas most likely through
27 both feed-forward and -backward connections (see also Price & Devlin (2011)).

28 In contrast to fMRI with its high spatial resolution, electroencephalography (EEG) can
29 detect text-related brain electrical activity with high temporal resolution. Event-related
30 potentials (ERP) studies have characterized a component that peaks between 150 to 200 ms
31 with an occipito-temporally negative and fronto-centrally positive topography, termed N1 (or
32 N170). This N1 component is typically larger for word and word-like stimuli than for visually
33 controlled symbols (Brem et al., 2006; Maurer et al., 2005, 2006). During development, N1
34 sensitivity to printed words emerges when children learn print-speech sound correspondences,
35 especially in alphabetic languages (Brem et al., 2010) within the first two years of school
36 reading education (Maurer et al., 2005).

37 More recently, Steady-State Visual Evoked Potential (SSVEP) paradigm have also been
38 used to investigate visual word recognition due to its high signal-to-noise (SNR) ratio. In
39 contrast to typical ERP approaches demanding long inter-stimulus intervals, the SSVEP
40 paradigm presents a sequence of stimuli at a fast periodic rate (e.g., 10 Hz, 100 ms per
41 item). The presentation of temporally periodic stimuli elicits periodic responses at the
42 predefined stimulation frequency and its harmonics (i.e., integer multiples of the stimulus
43 frequency). Those periodic responses are referred to as SSVEP because they are stable in
44 amplitude and phase over time (Regan, 1966, 1989). Importantly, the SSVEP paradigm
45 can provide high SNR ratio in only a few minutes of stimulation due to its small noise
46 bandwidth. However, the SSVEP paradigm has long been limited to the field of low-level
47 visual perception and attention (for a review, see Norcia et al. 2015). Only recently, this
48 paradigm has been extended to more complex visual stimuli processing, such as objects
49 (Stothart et al., 2017), faces (Alonso-Prieto et al., 2013; Farzin et al., 2012; Liu-Shuang et al.,
50 2014), numerical quantities (Guillaume et al., 2018; Van Rinsveld et al., 2020), text (Yeatman
51 & Norcia, 2016), letters (Barzegaran & Norcia, 2020), and words (Lochy et al., 2015, 2016,
52 2018, 2020). These SSVEP studies of higher-level processes have used different presentation

53 paradigms including adaptation and “base/deviant” approaches. The adaptation approach
54 has been used to examine whether stimulus presentation locations affect perception, mainly
55 in relation to holistic processing of faces, by comparing upright or inverted faces with either
56 the same or different identity (Rossion et al., 2012). In the “base/deviant” stimulation
57 mode, a sequence of “base” stimuli are presented at a periodic rate (e.g., 6 Hz) with every
58 other image being either an intact image that differs from the base in a particular aspect
59 or a scrambled one (Farzin et al., 2012; Yeatman & Norcia, 2016). For example, a base of
60 6 Hz alternates with a 3 Hz “deviant” ($6/2=3$ Hz), which is also called “image alternation”
61 mode. Alternatively, the base stimuli are regularly interspersed with deviant stimuli at a
62 sub-multiple of the base rate that is greater than two (Liu-Shuang et al., 2014; Lochy et
63 al., 2015, 2016, 2018)—for example, a base of 10 Hz with every 5th image (instead of every
64 other image) being a deviant, i.e., deviant frequency is 2 Hz (base frequency 10 Hz divided
65 by 5). However, to our knowledge, no study has directly compared the “image alternation”
66 mode and the mode wherein deviant stimuli are presented at a sub-multiple greater than
67 twice the base rate. Therefore, the current study compared these two modes to determine
68 which of these two modes elicits responses with a higher signal-to-noise ratio. Findings from
69 this research would provide an important consideration relevant to designing future studies
70 of early readers.

71 Of present interest, two SSVEP studies on text and letter recognition have revealed multi-
72 ple underlying sources with different temporal dynamics and scalp topography (Barzegaran
73 & Norcia, 2020; Yeatman & Norcia, 2016) either by defining different regions of interest
74 (Yeatman & Norcia, 2016) or employing a spatial filtering approach (Barzegaran & Norcia,
75 2020). Other SSVEP work has focused on only a single source of word-related processing
76 in the left hemisphere (Lochy et al., 2015, 2016, 2018) by analyzing periodic responses from
77 several pre-selected (literature-based) sensors. In contrast to data analyses of several pre-
78 selected sensors that reduced the whole map of evoked data to a restricted and typically
79 biased subset (Kilner, 2013), spatial filtering approaches offer a purely data-driven alterna-

80 tive for selecting sensors. These methods compute weighted linear combinations across the
81 full montage of sensors to capture and isolate different neural processes arising from different
82 underlying cortical sources (M. X. Cohen, 2017). A number of linear spatial filters, such as
83 Principal Components Analysis (PCA) and Common Spatial Patterns (CSP) (Blankertz et
84 al., 2008), have been applied to SSVEP data, mainly in the brain-computer interface (BCI)
85 field (e.g., Mohanchandra et al. 2014). In cognitive neuroscience, a spatial filtering technique
86 referred to as Reliable Components Analysis (RCA) has been increasingly used (Barzegaran
87 & Norcia, 2020; Dmochowski et al., 2012, 2015). RCA derives a set of spatial components
88 (i.e., spatial filters operationalized as topographic weights) that maximize across-trial or
89 across-subject correlations (“reliability”) while minimizing noise (“variance”). Specifically,
90 RCA first discovers the optimal spatial filter weighting of the signal, then projects the data
91 through this spatial filter to enable investigation of phase-locked topographic activities and
92 to capture each temporal/topographical source of reliable signal across events and subjects
93 (detailed information described in Dmochowski et al. 2012, 2015).

94 Moreover, in conjunction with a recently developed RCA approach, Norcia et al. (2020)
95 for the first time estimated the latency of the SSVEP Norcia et al. (2020). This was done
96 by fitting a line through the phases at harmonics with significant responses; the slope of the
97 line is interpreted as the response latency. Latency estimation of component(s) can provide
98 insight into temporal dynamics of different processes located at different sources, extending
99 on the majority of previous SSVEP studies, which have only focused on topographies and
100 amplitudes (Lochy et al., 2015, 2016, 2018).

101 Employing the spatial filtering component analysis (RCA) approach used in Barzegaran
102 & Norcia (2020) and Norcia et al. (2020), here we reproduced and extended a previous
103 SSVEP study of French word processing (Lochy et al., 2015), with 4-letter English word
104 versus pseudofont comparisons. Our goal was to determine whether multiple sources could
105 be revealed in conditions where only a single source of activity was described. Should this
106 prove to be the case, we were further interested in whether these potential sources could be

107 consistently detected at different stimulus presentation rates and retinal locations.

108 Specifically, the current study addresses these questions by presenting familiar words
109 interspersed periodically among control stimuli (i.e., pseudofonts) in three different styles:
110 (1) pseudofont base at a presentation frequency of 10 Hz and word deviant at 2 Hz; (2)
111 same presentation rates as in (1) but with stimulus presentation locations jittered around
112 the center of the screen; and (3) pseudofont base at a presentation frequency of 6 Hz and
113 word deviant at 3 Hz. To investigate the hierarchy of visual word recognition, we included
114 two additional stimulus contrasts: word deviant in nonword base, and word deviant in
115 pseudoword base.

116 Based on the evidence from Lerma-Usabiaga et al. (2018) and Barzegaran & Norcia
117 (2020), we hypothesized that word deviants among pseudofont base stimuli would elicit
118 more than one neural discrimination source when subjected to RCA, producing at least two
119 reliable signal sources with distinct temporal and topographical information. We sought to
120 further investigate whether RCA component topographies and time-courses were specific to
121 particular experimental parameters or whether similar components could be elicited across
122 a wider range of presentation rates and changes in stimulus locations.

123 Finally, we wished to test a central assumption in previous reports (e.g., Lochy et al.
124 (2015)) based on the notion that hierarchical aspects of visual word processing can be clearly
125 isolated based on progressively specific contrasts of word-in-pseudofont, word-in-nonword,
126 and word-in-pseudoword. Here, RCA provides a novel opportunity to first investigate distinct
127 component topographies elicited from word-in-pseudofont contrasts, and then to investigate
128 the hypothesis that word-in-nonword and word-in-pseudoword contrasts successfully isolate
129 a subset of these sources.

130 2 Methods

131 2.1 Ethics Statement

132 This research was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Stanford University. All
133 participants delivered written informed consent prior to the study after the experimental
134 protocol was explained.

135 2.2 Participants

136 Data from 16 right-handed, native English speakers (between 18.1 and 54.9 years old, median
137 age 20.7 years, 7 males) were analyzed in this study. All participants had normal or corrected-
138 to-normal vision and had no reading disabilities. Data from 5 additional non-native English
139 speakers were recorded, but not analyzed here. After the study, each participant received
140 cash compensation.

141 2.3 Stimuli

142 The study involved four types of stimuli—words (W), pseudofonts (PF), nonwords (NW),
143 and pseudowords (PW)—all comprising 4 elements (letters or pseudoletters). The English
144 words were rendered in the Courier New font. Pseudofont letter strings were rendered from
145 the Brussels Artificial Character Set font (BACS-2, Vidal & Chetail (2017)), mapping be-
146 tween pseudofont glyphs and Courier New word glyphs. Nonwords and pseudowords were
147 also built on an item-by-item basis by reordering the letters of the words: nonwords were un-
148 pronounceable, statistically implausible letter string combinations, while pseudowords were
149 pronounceable and well-matched for orthographic properties of intact words (Keuleers &
150 Brysbaert, 2010). Bigram frequencies were matched between words ($M(\pm SD) = 13664 (\pm$
151 $11007)$), pseudowords ($M(\pm SD) = 15177 (\pm 8549)$) and nonwords ($M(\pm SD) = 12775 (\pm$
152 $6065)$) ($F(2, 87) < 1, p = 0.57$). Stimulus parameters are summarized in Table 1, and exam-
153 ple stimuli are shown in Figure 1. All words were common monosyllabic singular nouns. The

154 initial and final letters in all words, pseudowords, and nonwords were consonants. Words
155 were chosen to be frequent (average 97.7 per million) with limited orthographic neighbors
156 (average 2.3, range from 0 to 4) according to the Children’s Printed Word Database (Mas-
157 terson et al., 2010). Words were also chosen with attention to feedforward consistency. All
158 words were fully feedforward consistent based on rime according to the database provided
159 by Ziegler et al. (1997). When averaging across consistency values for each word’s onset,
160 nucleus, and coda in the database provided by Chee et al. (2020), words had an average
161 token feedforward consistency of 0.79. All in all, there were 30 exemplars of each type of
162 stimulus, for 120 exemplars total. All images were 600×160 pixels in size, spanning 7.5
163 (horizontal) by 2 (vertical) degrees of visual angle.

164 We investigated five experimental conditions. Conditions 1, 2, and 3 involved word
165 deviants embedded in a stream of pseudofont base. For conditions 1 and 2, word deviants
166 were presented at a rate of 2 Hz and were embedded in a 10-Hz stream of pseudofonts.
167 In order to explore the influence of presentation location on word processing, condition 1
168 stimuli were presented in the center of the screen, while in condition 2, stimulus positions
169 were spatially jittered around the center of the monitor (8 pixels range, visual angle of
170 0.1 degrees). Moreover, to directly compare the effect of different base/deviant ratios, in
171 condition 3 we used a deviant frequency of 3 Hz (based on the study of Yeatman & Norcia
172 (2016)) and a base frequency of 6 Hz; this involved the same word-in-pseudofont contrast
173 as condition 1, and was presented at the center of the monitor. Finally, conditions 4 and 5
174 presented word-in-nonword and word-in-pseudoword contrasts, respectively (see also Lochy
175 et al. (2015)). Like condition 1, word deviants were presented at the center of the monitor
176 at 2 Hz, in a base stream of 10 Hz.

177 **2.4 Experimental Procedure**

178 Participants were seated in a darkened room 1 m away from the computer monitor. Prior
179 to the experiment, a brief practice session was held to familiarize the participant with the

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	Condition 4	Condition 5
Stimuli	W in PF	W in PF	W in PF	W in NW	W in PW
Deviant / Base	2 Hz / 10 Hz	2 Hz / 10 Hz	3 Hz / 6 Hz	2 Hz / 10 Hz	2 Hz / 10 Hz
Position	Centered	Jittered	Centered	Centered	Centered

Table 1: **Stimulus conditions.** Five stimulus conditions were used to probe different types of processing during word recognition. Conditions 1–3 assessed processing of words (W) relative to pseudofonts (PF), while conditions 4 and 5 assessed processing of words relative to nonwords (NW) and pseudowords (PW), respectively. Word-in-pseudofont contrasts were presented with 2-Hz deviant and 10-Hz base, either centered (condition 1) or jittered (condition 2) around the center of the monitor. The centered word-in-pseudofont contrast was also presented with 3-Hz deviant and 6-Hz base (condition 3). Word-in-nonword (condition 4) and word-in-pseudoword (condition 5) contrasts were presented centered on the screen with frequency rates of 2-Hz deviant and 10-Hz base.

180 experimental procedure.

181 Each stimulation sequence started with a blank screen, the duration of which was jittered
182 between 2500 ms and 3500 ms. Then, W deviant stimuli embedded in the stream of base
183 stimuli (PF, NW, or PW) were presented at a rate of 2 Hz (i.e., every 500 ms), with a base
184 rate of 10 Hz (i.e, every 100 ms) in conditions 1, 2, 4, and 5; in condition 3, W deviant
185 were presented at a frequency of 3 Hz (i.e, every 333 ms) with a base rate of 6 Hz (i.e, every
186 167 ms), during which deviant and base alternated with each other. Thus, a W deviant
187 stimulus was presented every 5 item presentations in conditions 1, 2, 4, and 5, and every 2
188 items in condition 3. Each condition comprised four trials (each trial lasted for 12 seconds),
189 and was repeated four times, resulting in 16 trials per condition, and 80 trials total in all
190 conditions. 20 trials (5 conditions \times 4 trials of each) comprised a block, and the order of
191 trials in each block and all 4 blocks were randomized.

192 In order to maintain participants’ attention throughout the experiment, a fixation color
193 change task was used. During the recording, the participant continuously fixated on a
194 central cross, which was superimposed over the stimuli of interest and pressed a button
195 whenever they detected that the color of the fixation cross changed from blue to red (2
196 changes randomly timed per sequence/trial). The color change task was on a “staircase”
197 mode, during which the time of color change flashes became faster as the accuracy increased,

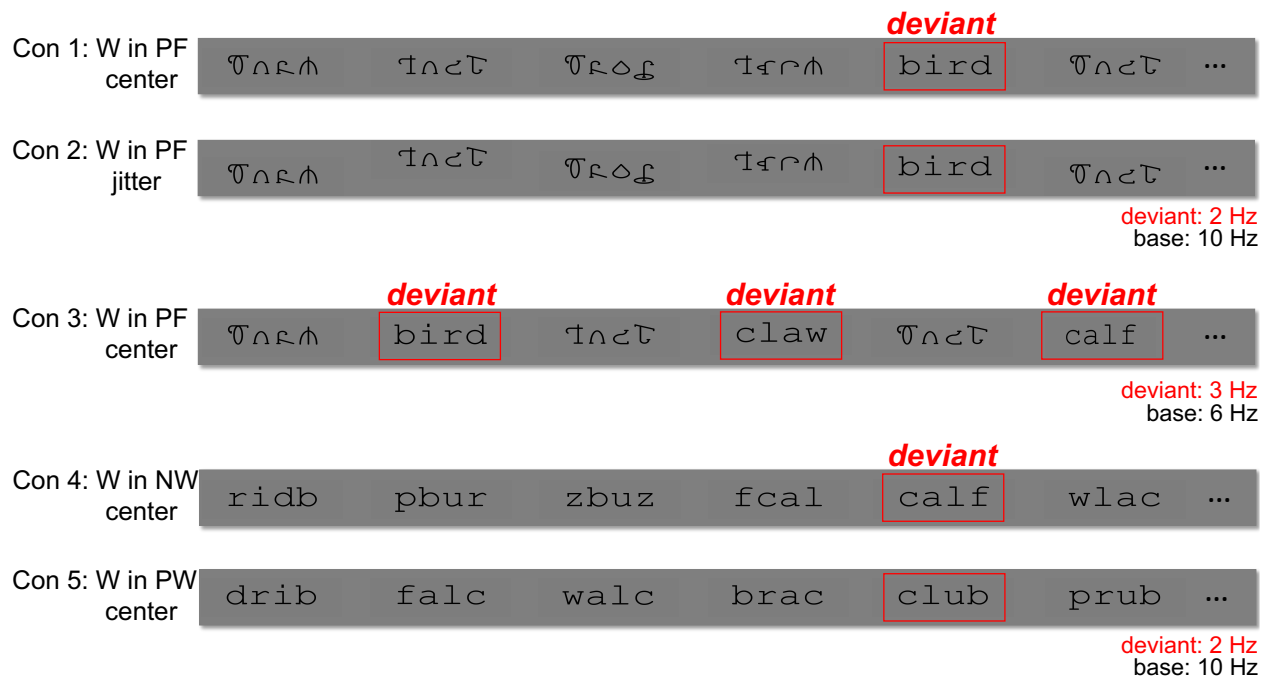


Figure 1: **Examples of stimuli presented in the experiment.** 2-Hz word deviants were embedded in a 10-Hz stream of pseudofont (W in PF) in conditions 1 and 2. Condition 2 used the same word and pseudofont stimuli as Condition 1, but spatially jittered their location on the monitor. Condition 3 presented the same stimuli used in Condition 1 but with 3-Hz deviant and 6-Hz base frequencies. 2-Hz word deviants were embedded in a 10-Hz stream of nonword (W in NW) and pseudoword (W in PW) base, respectively, in conditions 4 and 5.

198 or became slower when the accuracy decreased. The whole experiment took around 30
 199 minutes per participant, including breaks between blocks.

200 2.5 EEG Recording and Preprocessing

201 The 128-sensor EEG were collected with the Electrical Geodesics, Inc. (EGI) system (Tucker,
 202 1993), using a Net Amps 300 amplifier and geodesic sensor net. Data were acquired against
 203 Cz reference, at a sampling rate of 500 Hz. Impedances were kept below 50 k Ω . Stimuli
 204 were presented using in-house stimulus presentation software. Each recording was bandpass
 205 filtered offline (zero-phase filter, 0.3–50 Hz) using Net Station Waveform Tools. The data
 206 were then imported into in-house signal processing software for preprocessing. EEG data
 207 were re-sampled to 420 Hz to ensure an integer number of time samples per video frame

208 at a frame rate of 60 Hz, as well as an integer number of frames per cycle for the present
209 stimulation frequencies. EEG sensors with more than 15% of samples exceeding a 30 μV
210 amplitude threshold were replaced by an averaged value from six neighboring sensors. The
211 continuous EEG was then re-referenced to average reference (Lehmann & Skrandies, 1980)
212 and segmented into 1-second epochs. Epochs with more than 10% of time samples exceeding
213 a 30 μV noise threshold, or with any time sample exceeding an artifact threshold of (60 μV)
214 (e.g., eye blinks, eye movements, or body movements), were excluded from further analyses on
215 a sensor-by-sensor basis. The EEG signals were filtered in the time domain using Recursive
216 Least Squares (RLS) filters (Tang & Norcia, 1995) tuned to each of the analysis frequencies
217 and converted to complex amplitude values by means of the Fourier transform. Given 1-
218 second data epochs, the resulting frequency resolution was 1 Hz. Complex-valued RLS
219 outputs were decomposed into real and imaginary coefficients for input to the spatial filtering
220 computations, as described below.

221 **2.6 Analysis of Behavioral Data**

222 Behavioral responses for the fixation cross color change task served to monitor participants'
223 attention during EEG recording. We conducted one-way ANOVAs separately for reaction
224 time and accuracy to determine whether participants were highly engaged during the whole
225 experiment.

226 **2.7 Analysis of EEG Data**

227 **2.7.1 Reliable Components Analysis**

228 Reliable Components Analysis (RCA) is a matrix decomposition technique that derives a
229 set of components that maximizes trial-to-trial covariance relative to within-trial covari-
230 ance (Dmochowski et al., 2012, 2015). Since response phases of SSVEP are constant over
231 repeated stimulations, RCA uses this trial-to-trial reliability to decompose the entire 128-

232 sensor array into a small number of reliable components (RCs), the activations of which
233 reflect phase-locked activities. Moreover, RCA achieves higher output SNR with a low trial
234 count compared to other spatial filtering approaches such as PCA and CSP (Dmochowski et
235 al., 2015).

236 Given a sensor-by-feature EEG data matrix (where features could represent e.g., time
237 samples or spectral coefficients), RCA computes linear weightings of sensors—that is, linear
238 spatial filters—through which the resulting projected data exhibit maximal Pearson Prod-
239 uct Moment Correlation Coefficients (Pearson, 1896) across neural response trials. The
240 projection of EEG data matrices through spatial filter vectors transforms the data from
241 sensor-by-feature matrices to component-by-feature matrices, with each component repre-
242 senting a linear combination of sensors. For the present study, EEG features are the real and
243 imaginary Fourier coefficients at selected frequencies. As RCA is an eigenvalue decomposi-
244 tion (Dmochowski et al., 2012), it returns multiple components, which are sorted according
245 to “reliability” explained (i.e., the first component, RC1, explains the most reliability in the
246 data). Forward-model projections of the eigenvectors (spatial filter vectors) can be visualized
247 as scalp topographies (Parra et al., 2005). As eigenvectors are known to receive arbitrary
248 signs (Bro et al., 2008), we manually adjusted the signs of the spatial filters of interest based
249 on the maximal correlation between raw sensor data and RCA data. Quantitative com-
250 parisons of topographies (e.g., across conditions) were made by correlating these projected
251 weight vectors. Finally, we computed the percentage of reliability explained by individual
252 components using the corresponding eigenvalues, as described by Dmochowski et al. (2015).

253 **2.7.2 RCA Calculations**

254 In order to test whether low-level features were well matched across conditions, we first
255 computed RCA at base frequencies only. Specifically, we input as features the real and
256 imaginary frequency coefficients of the first four harmonics of the base (i.e, 10 Hz, 20 Hz,
257 30 Hz, 40 Hz for conditions 1, 2, 4 and 5; 6 Hz, 12 Hz, 18 Hz, 24 Hz for condition 3). RCA

258 was computed separately for each stimulus condition.

259 We next computed RCA at deviant frequencies in order to investigate the processing
260 differences between words and control stimuli (herein pseudofonts, nonwords, and pseu-
261 dowords). For the deviant analyses, this involved real and imaginary coefficients at the
262 first four harmonics (2 Hz, 4 Hz, 6 Hz, and 8 Hz) in conditions 1, 2, 4, and 5. To ex-
263 plore whether visual word processing can further be consistently detected under different
264 presentation rates, we conducted RCA on data for condition 3. For this, we input frequency
265 coefficients of odd harmonics of the deviant, excluding base harmonics (i.e., 3 Hz, 9 Hz,
266 15 Hz, 21 Hz—excluding 6 Hz, 12 Hz, 18 Hz, 24 Hz).

267 To assess the possible role of local adaptation to the stimulus presentation, we also
268 measured responses to word-in-pseudofont using spatially jittered stimuli (condition 2). In
269 comparing RCA results of conditions 1 (word-in-pseudofont with centered presentation lo-
270 cation) and 2 (word-in-pseudofont with jittered presentation location), we found the RC
271 topographies of conditions 1 and 2 to be highly correlated (RC1: $r = 0.99$; RC2: $r = 0.95$).
272 Therefore, we subsequently computed RCA on these two conditions together to enable direct
273 quantitative comparison of the projected data in a shared component space.

274 **2.7.3 Analysis of Component-Space Data**

275 For each deviant RCA analysis, we report spatial filter topographies and statistical analysis
276 of the projected data for the first two components returned by RCA. For each component, we
277 analyzed component-space responses at each harmonic input to the spatial filtering calcula-
278 tion. We first projected the sensor-space data through the spatial filter vectors for RCs 1 and
279 2. The data were averaged across epochs on a per-participant basis, and statistical analyses
280 were performed across the distribution of participants. The distribution of real and imag-
281 inary coefficients together at each harmonic formed the basis of a Hotelling's two-sample
282 t^2 test (Victor & Mast, 1991) to identify statistically significant responses. We corrected
283 for multiple comparisons using False Discovery Rate (FDR; Benjamini & Yekutieli (2001))

284 across 8 comparisons (4 harmonics \times 2 components per condition).

285 To test whether phase information was consistent with a single phase lag reflected sys-
286 tematically across harmonics, we fit linear functions through the corresponding phases of
287 successive harmonics, as such a linear relationship would implicate a fixed group delay which
288 can be interpreted as an estimated latency in the SSVEPs (Norcia et al., 2020). At har-
289 monics with significant responses for both RCs (condition 1, conditions 1 and 2 comparison,
290 condition 3), we used the Circular Statistics toolbox (Berens et al., 2009) to compare distri-
291 butions of RC1 and RC2 phases at those significant harmonics. The results were corrected
292 using FDR across 2 comparisons (2 significant harmonics) for condition 1 and conditions 1
293 and 2; condition 3 involved no multiple comparisons as only one harmonic was significant.
294 For each of these harmonics, we additionally report each mean RC2-RC1 phase difference in
295 msec.

296 For each deviant RCA analysis, we present topographic maps of the spatial filtering com-
297 ponents, and also visualize the projected data in three ways. First, mean responses are
298 visualized as vectors in the 2D complex plane, with amplitude information represented as
299 vector length, phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 radians (counter-
300 clockwise from the 3 o'clock direction), and standard errors of the mean as error ellipses.
301 Second, we present bar plots of amplitudes (μV) across harmonics, with significant responses
302 (according to adjusted p_{FDR} values of t^2 tests of the complex data) indicated with asterisks.
303 Finally, we present phase values (radians) plotted as a function of harmonic; when responses
304 are significant for at least two harmonics, this is accompanied by a line of best fit and slope
305 (latency estimate).

306 For each base RCA analysis, we report spatial filter topographies and statistical analysis
307 of the projected data for the first component returned by RCA. As with the deviant RCA
308 analysis, we also corrected for multiple comparisons using FDR (Benjamini & Yekutieli, 2001)
309 across 4 comparisons (4 harmonics \times 1 component per condition). In contrast to deviant
310 RCA analysis, we visualize the projected data only in bar plots of amplitudes (μV) across

311 harmonics, with significant responses (according to adjusted p_{FDR} values) indicated with
312 asterisks. Phase information and latency estimation are not included here because temporal
313 dynamics are less accurate and less interpretable, especially at high-frequency harmonics
314 (e.g., 30 Hz and 40 Hz) (Cottureau et al., 2011; Norcia et al., 2015).

315 **3 Results**

316 **3.1 Behavioral Results**

317 For the color change detection task, the mean and standard deviation (SD) of accuracy
318 and reaction time across five conditions are summarized in Table 2. Separate one-way
319 ANOVAs indicate that there was no significant difference across conditions in either ac-
320 curacy ($F(4, 70) = 0.09$, $p = 0.98$) or reaction time ($F(4, 70) = 0.08$, $p = 0.99$). Thus, we
321 concluded that participants were sufficiently engaged throughout the experiment¹.

	Condition 1	Condition 2	Condition 3	Condition 4	Condition 5
Stimuli	W in PF	W in PF	W in PF	W in NW	W in PW
Accuracy(%±SD)	95.2(±12.7)	95.6(±11.4)	94.0(±12.7)	96.5(±10.4)	95.8(±12.0)
Reaction Time (ms±SD)	356.5(±45.1)	350.6(±40.7)	361.4(±38.6)	352.6(±37.2)	356.1(±38.0)

Table 2: **Accuracy and reaction time of responses to cross color change.** Values are mean (±SD).

322 **3.2 Base Analyses Results**

323 We performed RCA on responses at harmonics of the base frequency in order to investigate
324 neural activity related to low-level visual processing; results are summarized in Figure 2.
325 Panel A displays topographic visualizations of the spatial filters for maximally correlated
326 (RC1) components (reliability explained: 37.5%). Here, all topographies show maximal

¹We did find one subject’s accuracy was lower (53.8%) than others. But we still included this participant’s data in our analysis after confirming that this participant showed a cerebral response to the base stimulation (as in Van Rinsveld et al. (2020)). We observed that this participant’s responses to the base rate were not an outlier (i.e., were within one standard deviation) compared with other participants.

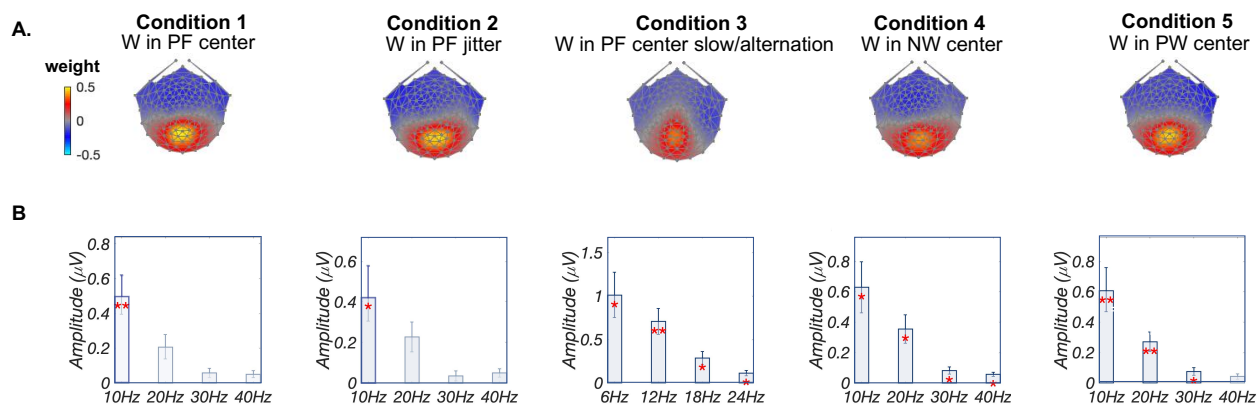


Figure 2: **Base Analysis: Low-level visual processing.** A: Topographic visualizations of the spatial filters for maximally correlated components (RC1) for all conditions. B: Projected amplitude for each harmonic and condition in bar charts, *: $p_{FDR} < 0.05$, **: $p_{FDR} < 0.01$.

327 weightings over medial occipital areas; correlations among components for conditions 1, 2, 4,
 328 and 5 are high ($r \geq 0.84$), and correlation for condition 3 is lower but still high ($r = 0.78$).
 329 The plots in Panel B present projected amplitudes (i.e., projecting data through the spatial
 330 filter) in bar plots, with statistically significant responses in the first, second, and fourth
 331 harmonics ($p_{FDR} < 0.01$, corrected for 4 comparisons) in condition 1 (word-in-pseudofont
 332 center); the first harmonic ($p_{FDR} < 0.05$) in condition 2 (word-in-pseudofont jitter); all four
 333 harmonics ($p_{FDR} < 0.05$) in conditions 3 (word-in-pseudofont center slower/alternation) and
 334 4 (word-in-nonword center); and the first three harmonics ($p_{FDR} < 0.05$) in condition 5
 335 (word-in-pseudoword center). Amplitude comparisons across conditions showed that there
 336 is no significant difference between conditions 1, 2, 4, and 5 ($F(3, 60) = 2.21$, $p = 0.09$),
 337 while amplitudes in condition 3 are significantly higher than other conditions ($p < 0.05$).

338 3.3 Deviant Analyses Results

339 Deviant analyses were conducted to investigate the mechanisms and sources underlying visual
 340 word processing. Given increasing evidence supporting segregations within vOT (Lerma-
 341 Usabiaga et al., 2018) and the discovery of distinct sources for text and letter recognition
 342 (Barzegaran & Norcia, 2020), we hypothesized that multiple sources should be captured

343 during word-related processing (word-in-pseudofont). Due to previous observations of an
344 apparent posterior-to-anterior gradient of responses to visually versus linguistically related
345 sub-regions within vOT (Vinckier et al., 2007; Lerma-Usabiaga et al., 2018), we hypothe-
346 sized that different condition manipulations (word-in-pseudofont, word-in-nonword, word-
347 in-pseudoword) would evoke different response topographies and phases.

348 For word deviant responses appearing in a pseudofont base context (word-in-pseudofont,
349 condition 1), the first two reliable components explained the majority (RC1: 34.7%; RC2:
350 18.7%) of the reliability in the data. As shown in Figure 3A, the topography of the first
351 component (RC1) was maximal over left posterior vOT regions, while the second component
352 (RC2) was distributed over more dorsal parietal regions. Significant signals were present in
353 the first three harmonics of complex-valued data in RC1 and the first two harmonics of RC2
354 (Figure 3B, see Methods). More detailed amplitude and phase information are presented
355 in Figure 3C. For RC1, the projected data contained significant responses in the first three
356 harmonics (2 Hz, 4 Hz, and 6 Hz; $p_{FDR} < 0.01$, corrected for 8 comparisons), while the linear
357 fit across phase distributions for these three harmonics produced a latency estimate of 180.51
358 ± 0.7 ms. Data projected through the RC2 spatial filter revealed two significant harmonics
359 at 2 Hz and 4 Hz ($p_{FDR} < 0.01$) and a longer latency estimate of 261.84 ms (standard error
360 is unavailable when there are two data points). Circular statistics of RC1 and RC2 phase
361 comparisons showed that RC2 phases are significantly longer (2 Hz: 82.9 ms; 4 Hz: 68.1 ms)
362 than RC1 (circular t-test; $p_{FDR} < 0.01$ for both 2 Hz and 4 Hz, corrected for 2 comparisons).

363 As mentioned in Methods, we found that when word-in-pseudofont stimuli were pre-
364 sented at jittered retinal locations (condition 2), the resulting RC topographies correlated
365 highly with those computed from responses in the centered condition 1 (RC1: $r = 0.99$;
366 RC2: $r = 0.95$). Therefore, in Figure 4 we report RCA results of conditions 1 and 2 in
367 a common component space. As expected, the RC1 and RC2 topographies (Panel A) are
368 similar to those reported when training the spatial filters on condition 1 alone (as presented
369 in Figure 3). The summary plots of the responses in the complex plane (Panel B), show

370 overlapping amplitudes (vector lengths) and phases (vector angles) between these two condi-
371 tions, especially at significant harmonics (first three in RC1 and first two in RC2). In Panel C
372 response amplitudes did not differ significantly across four harmonics (2 Hz: $p = 0.70$; 4 Hz:
373 $p = 0.96$; 6 Hz: $p = 0.91$; 8 Hz: $p = 0.65$), nor did the derived latency estimations (RC1:
374 180.42 ms and 173.72 ms for conditions 1 and 2 respectively; RC2: 260.16 ms and 233.32 ms
375 for conditions 1 and 2 respectively). Thus, we did not find evidence that local adaptation is
376 appreciable for these stimuli. Additionally, circular statistics of RC1 and RC2 phase com-
377 parisons showed that RC2 phases are significantly longer (2 Hz: 83.2 ms; 4 Hz: 42.2 ms)
378 than RC1 ($p_{FDR} < 0.05$ for both 2 Hz and 4 Hz, corrected for 2 comparisons).

379 Furthermore, these two RCs were also detected when presenting word-in-pseudofont at a
380 slower alternation presentation rate, with 3 Hz deviant and 6 Hz base (condition 3, Figure 5).
381 Similar to conditions 1 and 2, topographies between conditions 1 and 3 were highly correlated
382 (RC1: $r = 0.99$; RC2: $r = 0.91$). Although it was not possible to estimate the latency, as
383 responses for condition 3 were significant only at the first harmonic (i.e., 3 Hz) for both
384 components (RC1: $p_{FDR} < 0.001$; RC2: $p_{FDR} < 0.01$, Panel C), circular statistics showed
385 that RC2 phase at 3 Hz is significantly longer (82.0 ms) than RC1 ($p < 0.001$).

386 Finally, for conditions 4 and 5, word deviants appearing in the other two base contexts
387 (word-in-nonword, word-in-pseudoword) produced components with weaker responses that
388 were associated with distinct topographies, consistent with the hypothesis that each contrast
389 was associated with overlapping yet distinct neural sources (Figure 6). Of note, no more
390 than one significant harmonic is observed for each component: for condition 4 word-in-
391 nonword, only the third harmonic of RC2 is significant (6 Hz, $p_{FDR} < 0.05$, corrected for 8
392 comparisons); for condition 5 word-in-pseudoword no harmonic is significant ($p_{FDR} > 0.14$,
393 corrected for 8 comparisons). Due to the lack of significance at multiple harmonics, it was
394 not possible to estimate latencies for these conditions.

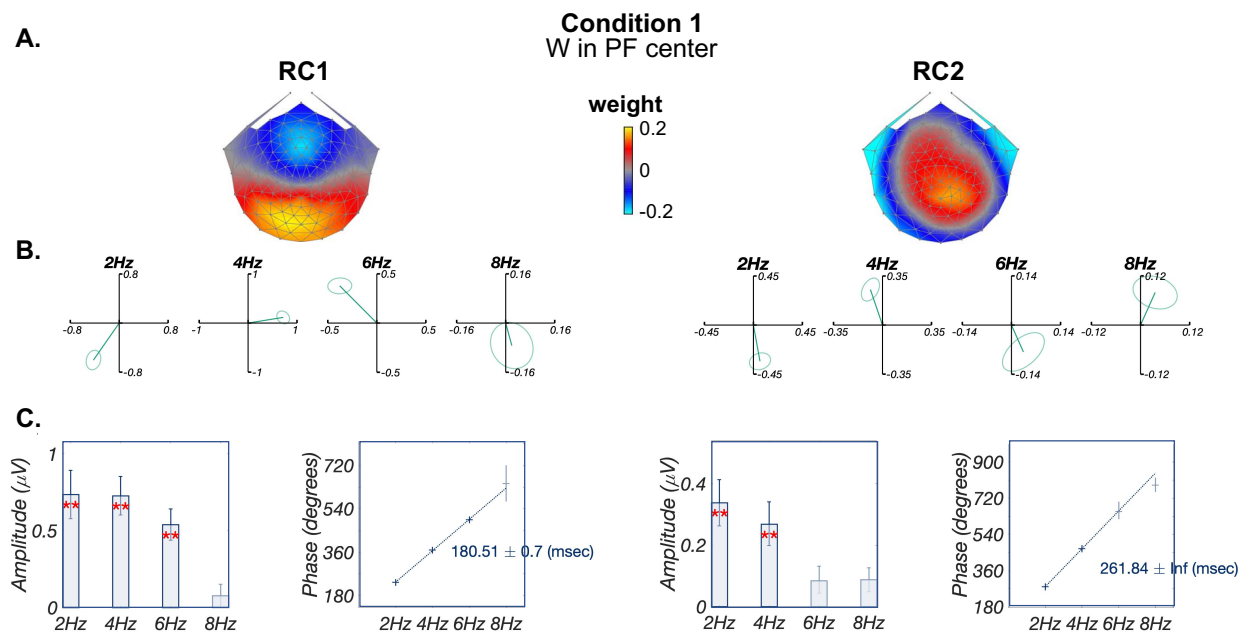


Figure 3: **Deviant Analysis: visual word form processing.** A: Topographic visualizations of the spatial filters for the first two components (RC1 and RC2); B: Response data in the complex plane, where amplitude information is represented as the length of the vectors, and phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 radians (counterclockwise from 3 o'clock direction), ellipse indicates standard error of the mean for both amplitude and phase; C: Projected amplitude (left) for each harmonic in bar charts, **: $p_{FDR} < 0.01$, as well as latency estimations (right) across successful harmonics.

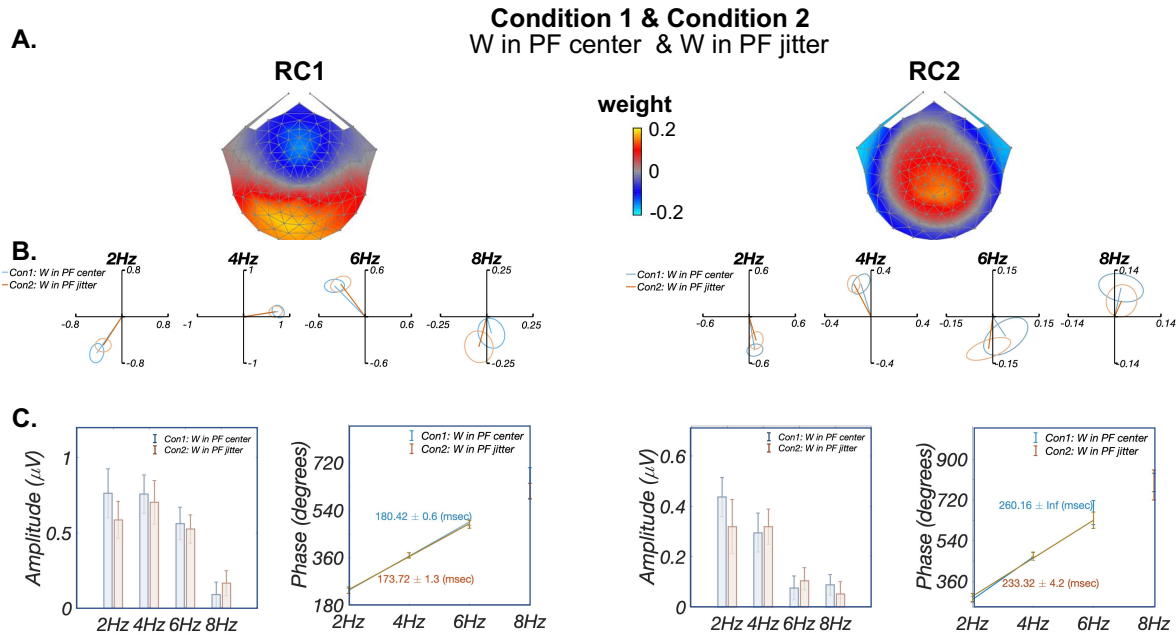


Figure 4: Deviant Analysis: visual word form processing responses are similar irrespective of stimulus location. RCA was trained on response data from conditions 1 and 2 together as their RCs were highly similar when trained separately. A: Topographic visualizations of the spatial filters for the first two components (RC1 and RC2); B: Response data in the complex plane, with condition 1 (W in PF center) in blue and condition 2 (W in PF jitter) in red. Amplitude (vector length) and phase (vector angle, counterclockwise from 0 radians at 3 o'clock direction) overlap across conditions especially at significant harmonics (first three harmonics in RC1 and first two harmonics in RC2). Ellipses indicate standard error of the mean; C: Comparison of projected amplitude (left) and latency estimation (right) between two conditions. Response amplitudes did not differ significantly across the four harmonics ($p > 0.65$), latency estimation derived from phase slopes across harmonics were also similar between conditions (RC1: 180.42 ms and 173.72 ms for conditions 1 and 2 respectively; RC2: 260.16 ms and 233.32 ms for conditions 1 and 2 respectively)

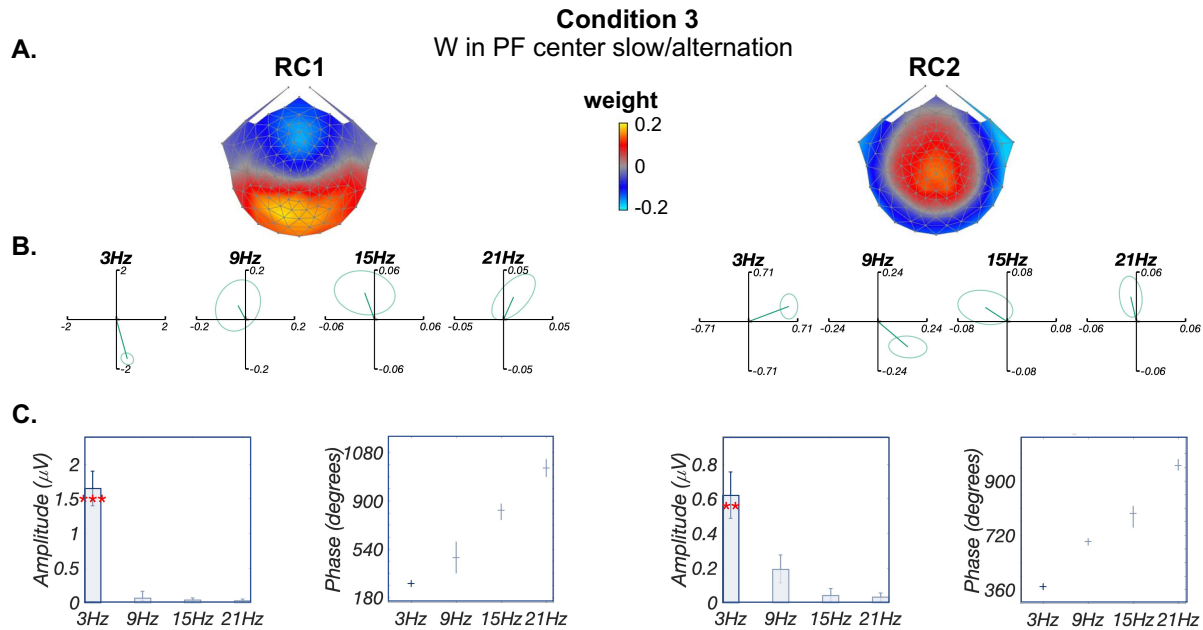


Figure 5: **Deviant Analysis: visual word form processing evidenced by changing presentation rates.** A: Topographic visualizations of the spatial filters for the first two components (RC1 and RC2); B: Response data in the complex plane, where amplitude information is represented as the length of the vectors, and phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 radians (counterclockwise from 3 o'clock direction), ellipse indicates standard error of the mean; C: Projected amplitude for each harmonic in bar charts, **: $p_{FDR} < 0.01$, ***: $p_{FDR} < 0.001$. Only one significant harmonic prevents us from estimating latency from the phase slope.

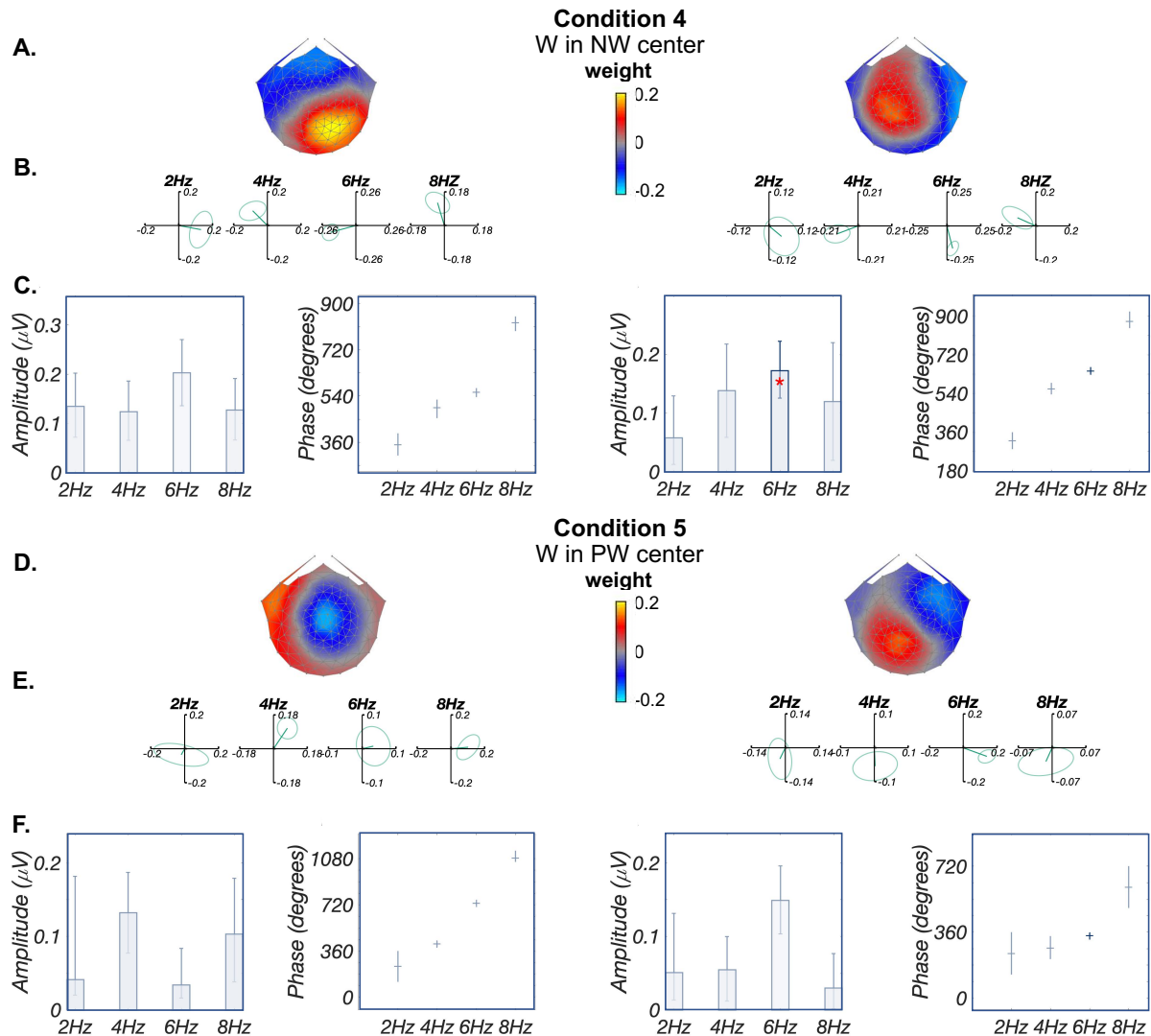


Figure 6: **Deviant Analysis: lexical-semantic processing.** For condition 4 (W in NW center), A&D: Topographic visualizations of the spatial filters for the first two components (RC1 and RC2) for conditions 4 (W in NW center) and 5 (W in PW center), respectively; B&E: Response data in the complex plane for conditions 4 and 5, respectively. Amplitude information is represented as the length of the vectors, and phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 radians (3 o'clock direction), ellipse indicates standard error of the mean. Only the third harmonic has signal for both components in condition 4, while seems the second harmonic for RC1 and the third harmonic for RC2 have signal for condition 5; C&F: Projected amplitude for each harmonic in bar charts, *: $p_{FDR} < 0.05$, for condition 4, only the third harmonic is significant in each component; for condition 5, only the third harmonic in RC2 is significant. Having a single significant harmonic prevents us from estimating the phase slope, that's why no latency estimates were provided.

395 4 Discussion

396 In this study, we examined the functional and temporal organization of brain sources involved
397 in visual word recognition by employing a data-driven component analysis of Steady-State
398 Visual Evoked Potential (SSVEP) data. We recorded SSVEP word deviant responses ap-
399 pearing in pseudofont base contexts, projecting the multisensor EEG recordings onto single
400 components using Reliable Components Analysis (RCA). Results at the first four harmonics
401 of the base frequency revealed one component centered on medial occipital cortex. Results at
402 harmonics of the deviant frequency revealed two distinct components, with the first compo-
403 nent maximal earlier in time over left vOT regions, and the second maximal later in time over
404 dorsal parietal regions. These two components are found to generalize across static versus
405 jittered presentation locations as well as varying rates of stimulation. In addition, distinct
406 topographies were revealed during word deviant responses in the other two base contexts
407 (i.e., pseudowords, nonwords), which—compared with word-in-pseudofont contrast—have
408 different demands of distinguishing words from visual control stimuli.

409 4.1 Low-level visual processing implicates medial occipital areas

410 RCA analyses of EEG responses at the first four harmonics of the base frequency revealed a
411 maximally reliable component located centered on medial occipital sensors across all condi-
412 tions. This scalp topography corresponds to expected activations reported in fMRI literature
413 (López-Barroso et al., 2020; Turkeltaub et al., 2003; Szwed et al., 2011) and in EEG source
414 localization studies (Rossion et al., 2003; Proverbio & Adorni, 2009). Medial occipital sensors
415 are directly over early retinotopic visual areas known to support the first stages of visual
416 processing, including of letter strings and objects (Dehaene et al., 2015). Early stages of
417 letter/word and object processing primarily involve low-level visual feature analysis, e.g.,
418 luminance, shape, contour, line junctions and letter fragments (Ben-Shachar et al., 2007;
419 Ostwald et al., 2008; Szwed et al., 2011). In our study, basic low-level visual stimulus prop-

420 erties such as spatial frequency, spatial dimensions and the sets of basic line-junction features
421 (Changizi et al., 2006) were well matched across pseudofonts, nonwords and pseudowords
422 base contexts, as well as between base and deviants within each contrast. This may ex-
423 plain comparable responses in terms of amplitudes and topographies across conditions with
424 the same presentation rates. The amplitudes in condition 3 (word-in-pseudofont alternation
425 presentation mode) are higher than other conditions, which may result from higher signal-
426 to-noise ratio in one stimulation cycle of alternation presentation mode Yeatman & Norcia
427 (2016). Nevertheless, consistent responses—in terms of underlying brain sources—across
428 different contrasts, and at different image update rates and retinal locations support that
429 current medial occipital activation reflects low-level visual features processing rather than
430 higher-level word-related processing.

431 **4.2 Visual word form processing implicates two distinct sources** 432 **and processing times**

433 RCA of word deviants in the word-in-pseudofont contrast produced two distinct components
434 with differing latencies. The first component was maximal over ventral occipito-temporal
435 (vOT) regions with slight left lateralization. Phase lag quantification of the first component
436 revealed a linear fit of phases across successive harmonics, providing evidence of a latency
437 estimation around 180 ms.

438 This 180-ms latency is consistent with the timing of the N170 component revealed in ERP
439 data, which typically peaks around 140–180 ms especially in adults (Eberhard-Moscicka et
440 al., 2015; Maurer et al., 2005). With its characteristic topography over the left occipitotem-
441 poral scalp, the N170 is considered to be an electrophysiological correlate of left vOT special-
442 ized activation for printed words in fMRI studies, as evidenced by magnetoencephalography
443 (MEG, Hirshorn et al. (2016)), EEG source localization (Brem et al., 2009; Maurer et al.,
444 2005) and simultaneous EEG-fMRI recordings (Pleisch et al., 2019).

445 Word deviant responses attributed over left-lateralized vOT area in the current study are

446 consistent with numerous fMRI studies showing that the left vOT plays a critical role in fast
447 and efficient visual recognition of words (Cohen et al., 2000, 2002), indicated by selective
448 responses to visually presented words compared with random letter strings and symbols (e.g.,
449 pseudofonts) (Dehaene & Cohen, 2011; Rauschecker et al., 2012). This left occipito-temporal
450 activation has also been revealed in SSVEP studies of word recognition (Lochy et al., 2015,
451 2016). Additionally, using the same RCA approach as in the current study, Barzegaran &
452 Norcia (2020) also reported responses at left vOT cortex when viewing images containing
453 sets of intact versus scrambled letters (Barzegaran & Norcia, 2020). Consistent findings in
454 fMRI, ERP, and SSVEP studies support the reliable involvement of left vOT in processing
455 of words and letters. This specificity of left vOT for words and letters over other visual
456 stimuli is an outcome of literacy acquisition (Dehaene et al., 2015) and emerges rapidly after
457 a short term of reading training (Brem et al., 2010; Chyl et al., 2018; Pleisch et al., 2019), a
458 finding which has also been reported in different writing systems (Bolger et al., 2005; Szwed
459 et al., 2014).

460 In addition to the first component, we also observed a second RC that was maximal
461 over dorsal parietal regions. A linear fit across phases of successive harmonics demonstrated
462 a latency estimation of around 260 ms, which is consistent with EEG and MEG studies
463 showing phonological effects occurring 250–350 ms after the onset of a visual word (Ashby &
464 Martin, 2008; Grainger et al., 2006; Sliwinska et al., 2012). Finding of a second component
465 is consistent with the increasing evidence showing that visual word recognition is not only
466 limited to the left vOT. Instead, other higher-level linguistic representation areas also support
467 final word recognition (Long et al., 2020; Lerma-Usabiaga et al., 2018; Price & Devlin, 2011).
468 For example, a recent fMRI study showed that, connected with the middle and anterior vOT,
469 other language areas (e.g., the supramarginal, angular gyrus, and inferior frontal gyrus) are
470 responsible for lexical information processing especially for real words (Lerma-Usabiaga et
471 al., 2018). Additionally, anterior vOT is structurally connected to temporo-parietal regions,
472 including the angular gyrus (AG, Booth et al. (2004); Yeatman et al. (2013); Lerma-Usabiaga

473 et al. (2018)), the supramarginal gyri (SMG, Kawabata Duncan et al. (2014); Seghier & Price
474 (2013)) and the superior temporal gyrus (STS, Stevens et al. (2017)). Those areas have been
475 involved in mapping between orthographic, phonological and semantic representations for
476 written words and letter strings (Church et al., 2011; Raij et al., 2000; Van Atteveldt et al.,
477 2004; Vandermosten et al., 2016). In relation to this, an intracranial EEG study suggested
478 the left vOT is involved in at least two distinct stages of word processing: an early stage
479 that is dedicated to gist-level word feature extraction, and a later stage involved in accessing
480 more precise representations of a word by recurrent interactions with higher-level visual and
481 nonvisual regions (Hirshorn et al., 2016). The dorsal parietal brain sources in our study may
482 reflect the later stage of integrating information between anterior vOT (Lerma-Usabiaga et
483 al., 2018) and other language areas (Kay & Yeatman, 2016; Schurz et al., 2014; Woodhead et
484 al., 2014) to enable orthographic-lexical-semantic transformations (Woolnough et al., 2020).

485 A leading model, the Local Combination Detector (LCD) model (Dehaene et al., 2005),
486 has been proposed to explain the neural mechanisms underlying visual specialization for
487 words. This model suggests that the receptive fields of neurons (detectors) especially in
488 the left vOT progressively increase from posterior to anterior regions. As a result, the
489 sensitivity of neurons increases from familiar letter fragments and fragments combinations
490 to more complex letter strings (e.g, bigrams and morphemes) and whole words. However,
491 given the functional and structural connections between vOT (especially anterior regions)
492 and other language areas mentioned above (i.e., AG, SMG, and STS), a considerable number
493 of studies support the interactive theory in which feed-forward and feed-back processing
494 mechanisms together contribute to final recognition of a word (Dehaene et al., 2005; Dehaene
495 & Cohen, 2011; Dehaene et al., 2015; Long et al., 2020). Specifically, the forward pathway
496 conveys bottom-up progression from early visual cortex (e.g., visual area 4, V4) to vOT,
497 which accumulates inputs about the elementary forms of words (Schurz et al., 2014), and
498 continually from vOT to higher-level linguistic representation areas, which enable integration
499 of orthographic stimuli with phonological and lexical representations (Price & Devlin, 2011).

500 Meanwhile, vOT also receives top-down modulations (backward pathways) from higher-level
501 language regions, which provide (phonology and/or semantic) predictive feedback to the
502 processing of visual attributes.

503 To summarize, two components were derived in a data-driven fashion from the SSVEP.
504 The first component is located at more left vOT region, while the second component is
505 located more at parietal dorsal area. We speculate that the first component reflects more
506 hierarchical bottom-up forward projections from early visual cortex to posterior vOT, while
507 the second component represents both bottom-up and top-down integration between anterior
508 vOT with other areas of language network. However, these interpretations are speculative
509 without the evidence of source localization data. Thus, more evidence (e.g., source localiza-
510 tion and functional connectivity) are needed for verification in future studies.

511 **4.3 Reliable Components are invariant to stimulus location and** 512 **presentation rate**

513 Our results replicated and extended previous work on multiple distinct brain sources involved
514 in different stages of word processing. These findings were further corroborated by present-
515 ing stimuli at jittered locations. The response invariance we observe is in agreement with
516 previous studies, in which left vOT activation was identical whether stimuli were presented
517 in the right or left hemifield, suggesting that left vOT activation for words and readable
518 pseudowords depends on language-dependent parameters and not visual features of stimuli
519 (Cohen et al., 2000, 2002). In line with this, Maurer and colleagues (2008) directly com-
520 pared responses to words and faces under two contexts: blocks that alternated faces and
521 words versus blocks of only faces or words. Results demonstrated that responses to words
522 were consistently left-lateralized and were not manipulated by context in skilled readers. In
523 contrast, context (Maurer et al., 2008) and spatial orientation (Jacques & Rossion, 2007)
524 systematically influenced the degree to which a face is processed. Findings of this kind
525 further suggest that responses to words depend more on linguistic rather than contextual

526 factors (Hauk et al., 2006), which may be driven by the way that words are learned and
527 read (Maurer et al., 2008). Anatomically, it has also been proposed that the visual word
528 form system is homologous to inferotemporal areas in the monkey, where cells are selective
529 to high-level features and invariant to size and position (Cohen et al., 2000). The similar-
530 ity of the component structure (brain sources) under different presentation rates suggests a
531 fairly broad temporal filter is involved in word vs pseudofont discrimination. Of note, the
532 amplitudes when slowing down the presentation rates are stronger than using higher rates,
533 which sheds light on the choice of the stimulus frequency for studies with children and for
534 examining higher-level visual processes (see also Norcia et al. (2015)).

535 **4.4 Hierarchy of visual word processing**

536 Given the word-in-pseudofont contrast results above consistently identified and distinguished
537 two components with distinct topographies and time courses—with the possibility of one
538 being related to processing word visual forms and the other potentially related to higher
539 level integration with language regions—we went on to test whether the hierarchical stimulus
540 contrast approach might also clearly isolate one of these components.

541 Neither word-in-nonword nor word-in-pseudoword sequences successfully evoke com-
542 ponent topographies that resembled either the early or late components of the word-in-
543 pseudofont contrast. Specially, word-in-nonword contrast revealed two components over right
544 occipito-temporal (RC1) and left centro-parietal (RC2) regions, while word-in-pseudoword
545 contrast revealed two components over right centro-frontal (RC1) and left occipito-temporal
546 (RC2) regions. However, component-space neural activations for these two conditions were
547 much weaker and less robust, so caution is needed in their interpretation.

548 Nevertheless, our weak results in word-in-nonword and word-in-pseudoword contrasts are
549 consistent with a recent study by Barnes et al. (2021). Barnes and colleagues (2021) also
550 used a 4-letter English word vs pseudoword contrast, and the same frequency rates (2 Hz
551 word deviants in 10 Hz pseudoword base) as in our study, results finding that only 4 out of

552 40 data sets showing a reliable effect between words and pseudowords. While another study
553 by Lochy et al. (2015), which used 5-letter french words and pseudowords with the same
554 2 Hz/10 Hz rates, revealed response differences between words and pseudowords in 8 out 10
555 readers. Barnes and colleagues argued that the matching of bigram frequency between words
556 and pseudowords (matched in their study but not in Lochy et al. (2015)) could explain the
557 disparity. Bigram frequency was also matched in our study, which further support Barnes's
558 argument. Additionally, other factors may also play a role in the disparity, such as number of
559 letters (4 in ours and Barnes et al. (2021), 5 in Lochy et al. (2015)) and number of syllables
560 (monosyllabic in ours and Barnes et al. (2021), monosyllabic and bisyllabic in Lochy et al.
561 (2015)).

562 Evoked response differences between words and pseudowords and/or nonwords have also
563 been studied previously in ERP studies, but the results have been inconsistent (absent in
564 Araújo et al. (2012); Bentin et al. (1999); Wydell et al. (2003)); present in Eberhard-Moscicka
565 et al. (2015); Kast et al. (2010); McCandliss et al. (1997); Proverbio & Adorni (2009)). Sev-
566 eral reasons for the mixed results have been proposed, including but not limited to language
567 transparency, presentation modes and task demands. For example, it was found that the
568 adult N1/left vOT for words is more sensitive to orthographic than lexical and/or semantic
569 contrasts, especially during implicit reading (Bentin et al., 1999; Maurer et al., 2005). Of
570 note, an implicit color detection task was used in the present study, and the pseudowords
571 and nonwords were created by reordering letters that appeared in the words; these factors,
572 in combination, might have led to more difficult discrimination. In addition, words and
573 pseudowords have elicited relatively smaller N170 amplitudes in less transparent English
574 than in German (Maurer 2005). Compared with more transparent languages (e.g., Italian,
575 German and French), English has greater orthographic depth with inconsistent spelling-to-
576 sound correspondence, leading to more ambiguous pronunciations. As a consequence of the
577 inconsistency of mapping letters to sounds, lexical or semantic processing will be less auto-
578 matic and more demanding (Nosarti et al., 2010), which is even more extreme when reading

579 novel pseudowords and nonwords.

580 In addition, fast stimulus presentation rates (10 Hz, i.e., 100 ms each item) used in the
581 current study may reduce the involvement of higher-level (e.g., semantic) processes (Vinckier
582 et al., 2007; Lochy et al., 2018) tapped by the word-in-nonword and word-in-pseudoword
583 contrasts, especially during implicit tasks not requiring explicit pronunciation and semantic
584 detection of the stimuli. Lower stimulation rates may be necessary to record SSVEP when
585 discriminating higher-level lexical properties in word-in-nonword and word-in-pseudoword
586 contrasts. By contrast, discrimination of word vs pseudofont is robust over the range of
587 presentation rates we examined. Future studies can examine this issue further by varying
588 stimulation rates over broader ranges or by manipulating task demands.

589 **4.5 Future work**

590 In the present study, visual word recognition (W vs PF) was examined using the SSVEP
591 paradigm and a spatial filtering approach, which enabled the identification of robust neural
592 sources supporting distinct levels of word processing within only several minutes' stimula-
593 tion. This approach provided a unique extension of existing knowledge on word recognition
594 regarding retinal location and stimulation rate and points to avenues for further investigation
595 of important questions in reading.

596 First of all, given the short stimulation requirement and robust signal detection due
597 to the high SNR of SSVEP and the spatial filtering approach, the current study points
598 to new possibilities to study individual differences and developmental changes as children
599 learn to read. Children's reading expertise develops dramatically, especially during the
600 first year(s) of formal reading acquisition (Eberhard-Moscicka et al., 2015; Maurer et al.,
601 2006). The high SNR paradigm used here may allow for more efficient (in terms of less
602 time-consuming and less trials requirement) tracing of the developmental changes of brain
603 circuitry due to increasing reading expertise in children at different stages of learning to read.
604 Additionally, in the course of emerging specialization for printed words, neural component

605 topographies would be expected to be increasingly left-lateralized (Maurer et al., 2005). The
606 RCA approach of detecting multiple, distinct brain sources within the same signal response
607 can increase understanding of how exactly such lateralization is best developed through
608 reading training. Furthermore, high inter-subject variability of vOT print sensitivity was
609 revealed in previous studies (Dehaene-Lambertz et al., 2018; Glezer & Riesenhuber, 2013;
610 Pleisch et al., 2019; Stevens et al., 2017; van de Walle de Ghelcke et al., 2020). Therefore,
611 exploring developmental changes—in terms of activity and topography—at the individual
612 subject level will offer a chance to investigate this phenomenon more precisely and deeply.
613 This approach would be especially relevant to early autistic and dyslexic readers, who face
614 difficulties at the beginning of reading education (Frith & Snowling, 1983) when intervention
615 is thought to be most successful.

616 Another interesting direction to explore in future research rests upon the accumulating
617 evidence that early visual-orthographic (“perceptual”) and later lexicon-semantic (“lexical”)
618 processing is located at segregated regions within vOT (Lerma-Usabiaga et al., 2018; Stigliani
619 et al., 2015; Vinckier et al., 2007). To our knowledge, different functional components of
620 word recognition have been studied using general contrast of words with pseudofonts and/or
621 consonant strings (Lerma-Usabiaga et al., 2018), but not yet by directly manipulating ortho-
622 graphic regularity and lexical representation(s) separately. Additionally, studies have shown
623 that perceptual tuning of posterior vOT to sublexical and lexical orthographic features de-
624 velops when reading experience increases (Binder et al., 2006; Zhao et al., 2019). Therefore,
625 isolating perceptual and lexical processing experimentally will be interesting to explore to
626 understand how children’s brains develop specialized visual-orthographic processing.

627 Last but not least, topographic lateralization and amplitudes of responses to text have
628 been shown to differ when presenting stimuli with different temporal frequencies (Yeatman
629 & Norcia, 2016). In addition, it has been proposed that lower stimulation rates may be
630 necessary to record SSVEPs when studying higher-level visual processes (e.g., faces and
631 words) (Norcia et al., 2015). The relatively high stimulation frequency (i.e., 10 Hz) used

632 in the current study may underestimate effects especially associated with more complex
633 “lexical” contrasts (herein word vs pseudoword and word vs nonword) (Lochy et al., 2018),
634 and this may have an even higher impact when it comes to children. Thus, an important
635 question for future work is to see how children develop specialized visual-orthographic and
636 lexical-semantic processing under lower stimulation rates.

637 5 Conclusion

638 In conclusion, the present study applied RCA—a data-driven component approach—on
639 SSVEPs, showing that two distinct functional processes with different temporal informa-
640 tion underlie visual word form recognition, specifically the word in pseudofont contrast.
641 Those two processes are found to be robust across manipulations of stimulus location as well
642 as stimulation frequency and deviant-base ratio. Moreover, when the same approach was
643 applied to other two contrasts (word in nonword and word in pseudoword), distinct neural
644 sources were found, though their activations were less robust. Our results have provided
645 new evidence that different functional circuits support different stages of word processing.
646 These findings point to novel possibilities toward understanding how visual-orthographic and
647 lexical-semantic processing are best developed through learning experience, which could hold
648 important insights into the acquisition of reading skill.

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