

Progress in elementary school reading linked to growth
of cortical responses to familiar letter combinations
within visual word forms.

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Conflict of Interest Statement

The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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F.W. and B.D.M. conceived the study. F.W., S.M., R. S. G., E.Y.T, L.R.H., and Q.T.H.N. conducted the experiment(s). F.W. and B.K. analyzed the data. F.W. wrote the original draft, B.K., L.R.H., E.Y.T., R.S.G., A.M.N., and B.D.M. edited the draft. All authors reviewed the manuscript.

Ethics Approval Statement

The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board of Stanford University. A parent or legal guardian of each participant received a written description of the study and gave written informed consent before the session; each participant also assented to participating.

Permission To Reproduce Material From Other Sources

Figures were created in MATLAB (2020a) using publicly available code (<https://github.com/svndl/rcaExtra>)

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Research Highlights

- Longitudinal changes in cognitive responses to coarse print tuning, visual word form structure, and whole word representation were examined in early readers.
- Visual word form structure processing demonstrated striking patterns of growth with nearly doubled in EEG amplitude and increased left lateralization.
- Longitudinal changes in brain responses to visual word form structural information were linked to the growth in rapid automatic naming for letters.
- No longitudinal changes were observed for whole word representation processing and coarse tuning for print.

Abstract

Learning to read depends on the ability to extract precise details of letter combinations, which convey critical information that distinguishes tens of thousands of visual word forms. To support fluent reading skill, one crucial neural developmental process is one's brain sensitivity to statistical constraints inherent in combining letters into visual word forms. To test this idea in early readers, we tracked the impact of two years of schooling on within-subject longitudinal changes in cortical responses to different properties of words (coarse tuning for print, and fine tuning to visual word forms and whole word representations) and their growth in reading skill. Three stimulus contrasts—words versus pseudofonts, words versus pseudowords, pseudowords versus nonwords—were presented while high-density EEG Steady-State Visual Evoked Potentials (SSVEPs, $n=31$) were recorded. Internalization of abstract visual word form structures over two years of reading experience resulted in a near doubling of SSVEP amplitude, with increasing left lateralization. Longitudinal changes in brain responses to such word form structural information were linked to the growth in reading, especially in rapid automatic naming for letters. No such changes were observed for whole word representation processing and coarse tuning for print. Collectively, these findings indicate that sensitivity to visual word form structure develops rapidly through exposure to print and is linked to growth in reading skill.

Keywords EEG–SSVEP Visual word form structure Whole word representation
Reading growth Reliable Components Analysis (RCA) Early readers

1

2 **1 Introduction**

3 Visual word recognition is a rapid yet complex process involving multiple dimensions of
4 analysis, including the specific shape of each letter form, the rules of letter combination
5 within a word form, and whole word representation. Given this complexity, it has long been
6 an ambition of developmental and educational cognitive neuroscience research to clarify how
7 emerging expertise at different levels of word processing is connected with changes in visual
8 reading circuits and how these neural changes influence reading skills. Such work can help
9 elucidate the neural basis of individual differences in reading acquisition and reading skills,
10 and also help demonstrate within-individual changes due to specific educational activities.

11 A large body of literature (Bentin et al., 1999; Brem et al., 2005; Eberhard-Moscicka et
12 al., 2015; Maurer et al., 2006; Wang & Maurer, 2017) has investigated visual word recognition
13 by contrasting responses to words versus visual controls (e.g., pseudofonts, strings combined
14 with artificial character set font). Taken together, studies have consistently reported brain
15 sensitivity to words compared to pseudofonts, a finding that is referred to as “coarse neural
16 tuning” for print (Maurer et al., 2006). During development, coarse neural tuning starts to
17 emerge when children begin to read, following an inverted U-curve with an initial increase
18 (van de Walle de Ghelcke et al., 2021) and then a later decrease starting in second grade
19 (Maurer et al., 2006, 2010).

20 The often-used coarse neural tuning contrast (words versus pseudofonts) is limited, how-
21 ever, in its connection to theory-driven insights into word recognition development, which
22 stress the importance of multiple levels of word reading expertise (Carreiras et al., 2014).
23 This limitation leads to ambiguity in recovering the unique contributions of specific proper-
24 ties of words to developmental changes in reading and brain circuitry. Thus it is an open
25 question whether coarse neural tuning reflects merely the aggregation of increasing word

Abbreviations: Reliable Components Analysis (RCA); steady-state visual evoked potentials (SSVEP).

26 specific knowledge, or instead reflects insights into word form structures, perhaps as they
27 map to phonological patterns (Maurer & McCandliss, 2007).

28 Event-related potential (ERP) studies have attempted yet failed to isolate different levels
29 of visual word processing in early readers (Eberhard-Moscicka et al., 2015; Zhao et al., 2014).
30 For instance, Zhao and colleagues found brain sensitivity to visual word form structure
31 only in 7-year-old children with high reading fluency, but failed to reveal sensitivity to
32 whole visual word knowledge (Zhao et al., 2014). At the same time, steady-state visual
33 evoked potential (SSVEP) paradigms have been increasingly used, as this approach rapidly
34 measures discrimination responses with high signal-to-noise ratio (SNR) in only a few minutes
35 of stimulation (Norcia et al., 2015) and has high test-retest reliability (Dzhelyova et al.,
36 2019). Despite these advantages, SSVEP studies on word reading have not yet successfully
37 differentiated effects of learning at the whole word level from effects of word form structure
38 learning in early readers (i.e., kindergartners in Lochy et al. (2016) or first and second
39 graders in van de Walle de Ghelcke et al. (2021)). More importantly, no study so far has
40 systematically tracked the developmental trajectories and neural dynamics of multiple levels
41 of word reading expertise in early reading acquisition.

42 The current study aims to address this gap by isolating different levels of word reading
43 expertise that emerge over the course of reading development, and by better connecting
44 brain signals related to these different levels of word recognition with early reading fluency
45 and reading growth.

46 In our recent SSVEP study (Wang et al., 2022), we isolated different levels of word-related
47 information using multiple well-controlled contrasts and an adjusted SSVEP paradigm. Typ-
48 ically, SSVEP paradigms involve presentation of two categories of stimuli that differ in a
49 particular aspect (e.g., words versus pseudofonts) at two distinct, experimentally defined
50 periodic rates. Previous SSVEP studies have used this “base/deviant” approach at faster
51 stimulation rates, wherein deviant stimuli were embedded within a sub-multiple of the base
52 rate that is greater than two, for example, 1.2 Hz deviant and 6 Hz base rates. We used an

53 adjusted paradigm—which we refer to as “image alternation” mode—involving slower stim-
54 ulation rates, where image exemplars from two categories of stimuli alternate at slower 1 Hz
55 alternation and 2 Hz base rates. This slower image alternation mode has been shown to elicit
56 responses with a higher SNR (Yeatman & Norcia, 2016; Barzegaran & Norcia, 2020; Wang
57 et al., 2021) than base/deviant approaches and may thus be more suitable for capturing
58 reading-related brain signals in children (Wang et al., 2022).

59 We used three stimulus contrasts. First, the commonly used words–pseudofonts contrast
60 was included to probe coarse neural tuning. Second, we used a pseudowords–nonwords con-
61 trast to investigate responses specific to orthographic structures within visual word forms
62 while controlling for visual familiarity and whole word representation. In this contrast, well-
63 structured orthographically reasonable letter combinations (pseudowords) were alternated
64 with letter strings that violate orthographic constraints (nonwords). Notably, to avoid po-
65 tential confounding of consonant-vowel distributions, orthographically illegal nonwords were
66 created by reordering letters from consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) pseudowords instead
67 of pure consonant strings used in previous contrasts (Zhao et al., 2014). Finally, responses
68 to whole visual words was examined through a words–pseudowords contrast, which serves
69 to contrast information on the level of a word unit while controlling for letter and letter
70 combination structure experience.

71 In all, the stimulus contrasts and stimulation rates in the present study are those used
72 in our recent non-longitudinal SSVEP study (Wang et al., 2022). Additionally and most
73 importantly, longitudinal EEG data were recorded over a two-year interval in order to (1)
74 track the developmental profile of different levels of word information, and (2) clarify to what
75 extent sensitivity to visual word form structure and/or sensitivity to whole word knowledge
76 relates to reading fluency and reading growth.

77 2 Methods

78 2.1 Participant Sample

79 Thirty-three English-speaking children, with normal or corrected-to-normal vision and no
80 reading disabilities, completed behavioral and EEG sessions at two time points. Samples
81 were collected during October through November, 2019 (T1¹), and again two years later
82 (T2). Two participants were excluded due to data quality issues, resulting in $N = 31$
83 participants (16 males, 15 females), whose EEG data were analyzed. The T1 sample included
84 10 kindergarteners, 12 first graders, and 9 second graders ($m = 6.78$ years, $s = 0.81$ years),
85 and correspondingly 10 second graders, 12 third graders, and 9 fourth graders at T2 (mean
86 = 8.78 years, $s = 0.79$ years).

87 2.2 Behavioral Assessment

88 Behavioral assessments were administered in separate sessions on average 7.97 ($s = 4.97$)
89 days and 4.58 ($s = 7.21$) days either before or after the EEG session for T1 and T2, respec-
90 tively. All children were tested on two sub-tests of the Comprehensive Test of Phonological
91 Processing, Second Edition (CTOPP-II, Wagner et al. (2013))—Rapid Automatized Naming
92 (RAN) of colors and letters—for their phonological awareness and rapid naming abilities. In
93 addition, the Sight Word Efficiency (SWE) and the Phonemic Decoding Efficiency (PDE)
94 subtests of the Test of Word Reading Efficiency, Second Edition, (TOWRE-II, Torgesen
95 et al. (2012)) were used to measure efficiency of sight word recognition and phonemic de-
96 coding ability. We used the letter-word identification subset of Woodcock-Johnson Tests of
97 Achievement, Fourth Edition (WJ-IV; Schrank et al. (2014)) to assess word decoding abil-
98 ity. Finally, the handedness of each participant was defined by the Edinburgh Handedness
99 Inventory (Oldfield, 1971). Participant demographics and results of behavioral assessments

¹At T1, a total of 57 healthy, English-speaking children participated. Out of these initial 57 subjects, nine were excluded from further analyses (e.g., EEG data quality issues). The remaining sample ($N=48$) included 15 kindergarteners, 16 first graders and 17 second graders (see Wang et al. (2022)).

100 are summarized in Table 1.

101 **2.3 Stimuli and Experimental Paradigm**

102 Four types of stimuli were used: Words, pseudofonts, pseudowords, and nonwords. Words
103 were high frequency (average: 2110 per million, range: 629–5851 per million) three-letter
104 CVC English words rendered in Courier New font. Pseudofonts were word stimuli presented
105 in the Brussels Artificial Character Set font (BACS-2, Vidal & Chetail (2017)), which provide
106 well-matched visual controls of Courier New letters. Pseudowords were generated on an
107 item-by-item basis by semi-randomly rearranging letters of words stimuli while retaining a
108 CVC structure, rendering them still pronounceable with well-matched bigram frequencies
109 ($t(30) = 0.26, p = 0.79$) and orthographic neighborhood sizes ($t(30) = 0.79, p = 0.43$)
110 with words. Finally, nonwords stimuli were also built on an item-by-item basis by semi-
111 randomly shuffling letters across pseudowords to produce unpronounceable exemplars not
112 following English orthographic and phonological rules. Bigram frequencies and orthographic
113 neighborhood sizes of nonwords and pseudowords differed significantly (both $t(30) > 6.26$,
114 both $p < 0.001$). In all, we prepared 32 high-frequency W, 16 PF, 32 PW and 16 NW, for a
115 total of 96 stimulus exemplars. All stimuli images, spanning 9.4 (horizontal) by 2.5 (vertical)
116 degrees of visual angle, were presented in black font on a gray background at the center of
117 the screen. Stimuli images and background contrast was set at 95%.

118 Using these four categories of stimuli, three different contrast conditions were investi-
119 gated: Coarse print tuning (words–pseudofonts alternation), whole word representation pro-
120 cessing (words–pseudowords alternation), and sensitivity to visual word form structure (pseu-
121 dowords–nonwords alternation). The three conditions were presented in the aforementioned
122 fixed order (see Limitations). To avoid potential learning effects from stimulus repetition in
123 SSVEP studies (De Rosa et al., 2022), the 16 words used in the words–pseudofonts condition
124 differ from those words used in words–pseudowords; the 16 pseudowords in words–pseudowords
125 differ from those in pseudowords–nonwords. Each condition started with a blank screen

126 shown for a random interval of 1500–2500 ms. Then, a given image was presented for 500
127 ms, with a complete cycle of stimulus alternation lasting 1000 ms; these periods denote
128 the 2-Hz *base frequency* (i.e., 2 items per second) and 1-Hz *alternate frequency* (i.e., one
129 item/alternate per second), respectively. Stimulus conditions and examples are shown in
130 Figure 1. Participants performed a repetition detection task, pressing a button on a re-
131 sponse pad with their preferred hand after detection of a stimulus presented three times
132 consecutively (Figure 2).

133 Twelve successive 1-second epochs (each containing 2 stimuli: 1 *alternative* stimulus, 1
134 control stimulus) comprised one trial. For each condition, 12 trials were presented in pre-
135 randomized sequences. Four “non-target” trials, four “terminal” trials, and four “catch” trials
136 depending on whether and when repetition targets appeared. Specifically, non-target trials
137 contained no repeated stimuli (Figure 2A); in terminal trials, repeated stimuli appeared at
138 the end (Figure 2B); while repeated stimuli randomly appeared elsewhere during catch trials
139 (Figure 2C). Only one target appeared in each terminal and catch trial. Feedback on task
140 performance was provided after the end of each trial. Participants were given breaks as
141 needed between trials.

142 Because EEG data from catch trials contained movement artifacts related to the key
143 press, EEG data corresponding only to the four non-target trials and four terminal trials
144 were analyzed. For these 8 trials included per participant, the first and last 1-second epochs
145 of each 12-second trial were excluded to avoid transient responses associated with ocular
146 artifacts which occurred more at beginnings and endings of trials. In all, 10 epochs (i.e.,
147 seconds) of data from each of 8 trials per participant were analyzed.

148 **2.4 Experimental Procedure and Data Acquisition**

149 Participants sat in a dimly lit room 1 m away from a computer screen. Prior to EEG
150 recording, participants were instructed on the repetition detection task and performed a
151 brief practice session with corrective feedback. EEG sessions took approximately 45–50

152 minutes, including setup and between-trial breaks. As compensation, each child received a
153 small token gift after the study.

154 128-sensor EEG (Electrical Geodesics, EGI NA 400 amplifier) were recorded against
155 Cz reference, sampled at 500 Hz. Impedances were kept below 50 k Ω . Recorded data
156 were digitally low-pass (50 Hz) and high-pass (0.3 Hz) filtered offline using Net Station
157 Waveform Tools. Filtered data were then imported into in-house signal processing software
158 for preprocessing.

159 **2.5 EEG Preprocessing and Analysis**

160 During preprocessing, EEG data were first re-sampled to 420 Hz. This was done to ensure
161 an integer number (herein 7) of time samples per video frame given the frame rate of 60 Hz,
162 as well as integer numbers of frames (i.e., 60 frames per 1 Hz cycle and 30 frames per 2 Hz
163 cycle) per stimulus cycle given the current stimulation frequencies of 1 Hz and 2 Hz. Then,
164 sensors were interpolated with the average of data from six neighboring sensors if more than
165 15 % of samples exceeded a $\pm 60 \mu V$ amplitude threshold. The continuous EEG data were
166 then re-referenced to average reference (Lehmann & Skrandies, 1980) and segmented into
167 1-second epochs. Epochs with more than 10 % of time samples exceeding a $\pm 60 \mu V$ noise
168 threshold, or with any time sample exceeding an artifact threshold of ($\pm 70 \mu V$) (reflecting
169 e.g., eye blinks, eye movements or body movements), were rejected from further analyses.

170 Recursive Least Squares (RLS) filters were then used to filter the epoched EEG signal
171 in the time domain (Tang & Norcia, 1995). The filters were tuned to each of the analysis
172 frequencies (i.e., alternate frequency 1 Hz, base frequency 2 Hz, and their harmonics) and
173 converted to complex amplitude values by means of the Fourier transform. Complex-valued
174 RLS outputs were decomposed into real and imaginary Fourier coefficients as input for
175 subsequent analyses.

176 2.5.1 Reliable Components Analysis (RCA)

177 Instead of analyzing periodic responses from several pre-selected (literature- or SNR-based)
178 sensors that may lead to a bias in reporting false positives (Kilner, 2013) and fail to sepa-
179 rately describe activities underlying multiple cortical sources (Wang et al., 2021), we spatially
180 filtered the sensor-space data using RCA. RCA has been shown to capture and isolate dif-
181 ferent neural processes arising from different underlying sources (Dmochowski et al., 2012),
182 and topographies of corresponding spatial filters can strongly resemble lead fields generating
183 observed SSVEPs (Dmochowski et al., 2015).

184 RCA is a matrix decomposition technique, which decomposes the entire 128-sensor array
185 into a set of reliable components that maximizes between-trial covariance relative to within-
186 trial covariance (Dmochowski et al., 2012, 2015). Given a sensor-by-feature (i.e., real and
187 imaginary Fourier coefficients at selected frequencies of interest) EEG data matrix, RCA
188 computes optimal weightings of sensors (i.e., linear spatial filters), through which the sensor-
189 by-feature matrices transformed to component-by-feature matrices, with each component
190 representing a linear combination of sensor (Dmochowski et al., 2015).

191 The resulting weight vectors (spatial filters) are vectors of length N_{sensor} which represent
192 linear weightings of sensors (i.e., linear spatial filters). Sensor-space EEG data can then be
193 projected through (i.e., multiplied by) these weight vectors to transform the spatial dimension
194 of the data from sensors to spatial components, where the number of components is typically
195 much smaller than the number of sensors. The spatial filtering process of RCA is conceptually
196 similar to process of deriving linear spatial components using Principal Components Analysis
197 (PCA) in that both involve eigenvalue decompositions returning multiple components sorted
198 in descending order of criteria explained; however, where PCA optimizes sensor weightings
199 to maximize variance explained within one data matrix, RCA computes sets of weights to
200 maximize covariance across pairs of data matrices (trials). Moreover, in contrast to PCA,
201 the spatial filters computed by RCA are not constrained to be orthogonal (Dmochowski et
202 al., 2012). Technical details on the RCA technique are provided by Dmochowski et al. (2012,

203 2015).

204 RCA produces three outputs that are of interest in our present analyses. First, the weight
205 vectors themselves, which are the eigenvectors of the RCA calculation, can be visualized as
206 scalp topographies using a forward-model projection (Parra et al., 2005). These visualiza-
207 tions are thought to reflect the propagation of synchronized activity captured by the weight
208 vectors onto the scalp (Parra et al., 2005). Next, each weight vector (eigenvector) is accom-
209 panied by an eigenvalue, which we refer to as the coefficient of a given component. These
210 coefficients give a measure of optimized across-trials correlation for each component. Finally,
211 the component-space data (i.e., the spatially filtered sensor-space data) undergo subsequent
212 analysis and visualization.

213 **2.5.2 RCA Calculations**

214 In order to test whether low-level visual features were well matched across conditions, we
215 computed RCA on base frequency and its harmonics. Specifically, we computed RCA over
216 the first five harmonics of the base (2 Hz, 4 Hz, 6 Hz, 8 Hz, and 10 Hz). As done in a previous
217 analysis of a superset of T1 data (Wang et al., 2022), these calculations were performed on
218 all conditions together to enable direct quantitative comparisons of responses to low-level
219 visual stimulus features in a shared component space. However, we computed RCA for T1
220 and T2 separately in order to investigate potential developmental changes of such responses.

221 To assess the processing difference between alternate and control stimuli, we computed
222 RCA over the first five odd harmonics of alternate (1 Hz, 3 Hz, 5 Hz, 7 Hz, and 9 Hz),
223 excluding even/base harmonics (2 Hz, 4 Hz, 6 Hz, 8 Hz, and 10 Hz). We computed RCA
224 separately for each condition and testing time point to investigate different neural mecha-
225 nisms underpinning multiple levels of information processing that were evoked by different
226 stimulus contrast conditions over developmental stages.

227 2.5.3 Statistical Analyses of RC Data

228 Statistical significance of the coefficients (eigenvalues) of RCA components was assessed
229 using permutation test. As in Wang et al. (2022), we generated surrogate versions of the
230 sensor-space data: For every 1-second epoch of a 10-second trial (accounting for within-trial,
231 across-epoch correlations introduced by RLS filtering) the phases of the data were rotated
232 by a random angle, independently for each harmonic. We computed RCA over 500 such
233 surrogate versions of the data and treated the resulting distributions of RCA coefficients as
234 null distributions for computing p-values of the observed (intact) coefficients. These p-values
235 were then corrected for multiple comparisons using FDR (Benjamini & Yekutieli, 2001). The
236 significance of coefficients for *alternate* RCA calculations were tested separately for each
237 condition, given RCA was computed separately for each condition in order to investigate
238 different neural mechanisms underpinning multiple levels of word information processing.
239 In contrast, the significance of coefficients for base RCA calculations was tested on three
240 conditions together, as the calculation of spatial filters on three conditions together enables
241 direct quantitative comparisons of responses to low-level visual stimulus features in a shared
242 component space (Wang et al., 2022).

243 For each RC, a 1-second epoch of frequency-domain component-space data contained 10
244 data points (5 harmonics times 2 real and imaginary coefficients). Component-space data
245 were first averaged across 1-second epochs on a per-participant basis. Following this, statis-
246 tical analyses were performed across distributions of participants. We performed Hotelling’s
247 two-sample t^2 tests (Victor & Mast, 1991) on distributions of real and imaginary Fourier
248 coefficients on a per-harmonic, per-component basis to identify responses that differed sig-
249 nificantly from zero in the complex plane, correcting for multiple comparisons using False
250 Discovery Rate (FDR, Benjamini & Yekutieli (2001)).

251 To identify and compare overall response amplitude *across* multiple significant harmonics,
252 we combined harmonic response amplitude using the root sum of squares (henceforth referred
253 to as *RSS* projected amplitude), that is, the square root of the summed squared amplitudes

254 at multiple harmonics (Tlumak et al., 2011; Appelbaum et al., 2010).

255 For alternate harmonics results (RCA trained on each condition separately), we first
256 computed a two-way repeated-measures ANOVA with within-subjects factors of condition
257 and testing time point on response amplitude (RSS amplitude) across three stimulus con-
258 trasts. Then, we performed paired-sample, two-tailed t tests on *RSS* projected amplitudes
259 across testing time points for RC separately in each condition; for words–pseudowords and
260 pseudowords–nonwords, where only the first harmonic (1 Hz) was significant, we further
261 performed paired-sample t tests (two tailed) on projected amplitude at 1 Hz. For base
262 harmonics results (RCA trained on three conditions together), we performed a two-way
263 repeated-measures ANOVA (within-subjects factors of condition and testing time point) on
264 *RSS* projected amplitudes for each RC separately.

265 We used the Circular Statistics toolbox (Berens et al., 2009) to compare distributions of
266 RC phases for harmonics with significant responses at both testing time points. For alternate
267 harmonics, we computed circular t tests at a given harmonic between two testing points;
268 here, words–pseudofonts results were corrected for 3 comparisons, while words–pseudowords
269 and pseudowords–nonwords involved no multiple comparisons as only the first harmonic was
270 significant. For base harmonics, using the Circular Statistics Toolbox (Berens et al., 2009),
271 we computed circular ANOVA across three conditions at each harmonic within time point,
272 followed by pairwise circular t tests; results were FDR-corrected across 5 comparisons (5
273 significant harmonics).

274 **2.5.4 Visualization of RCA Data**

275 In visualizing the EEG results, we first present scalp topographies (i.e., forward-model pro-
276 jection of the spatial filters) of reliable components. Second, we present mean responses
277 of projected data as vectors in the 2D complex plane: The vector length represents the re-
278 sponse amplitude and the angle of the vector relative to 0 degrees (counterclockwise from the
279 3 o'clock direction) represents the phase. Error ellipses around the vectors are the standard

280 errors of the mean (SEM). Third, we present amplitudes (μV) at each harmonic for each
281 component in bar plots, with statistically significant responses indicated with asterisks, as
282 determined by adjusted p_{FDR} values of Hotelling's two-sample t^2 tests of combined real and
283 imaginary coefficients.

284 **2.6 Analysis of brain-behavior relationships**

285 We explored possible brain-behavior relationships using RSS projected amplitudes from
286 alternate RCA output for words–pseudofonts and 1 Hz amplitude for words–pseudowords
287 and pseudowords–nonwords in conjunction with reading scores. To test the association be-
288 tween brain signals and reading performance at different developmental stages, we performed
289 linear regressions of response amplitude with each of the reading scores (i.e., RANcolor,
290 RANletter, TOWRE, and WJ), separately for T1 and T2. Next, to relate the development
291 of brain responses to changes in reading performance, we computed linear regression of the
292 change in response amplitude from T1 to T2 ($RSS_{T2} - RSS_{T1}$ for words–pseudofonts, ampli-
293 tude at 1 Hz $_{T2}$ – amplitude at 1 Hz $_{T1}$ for words–pseudowords and pseudowords–nonwords),
294 with corresponding reading performance improvements (i.e., RANcolor $_{T2} - RANcolor_{T1}$,
295 RANletter $_{T2} - RANletter_{T1}$, TOWRE $_{T2} - TOWRE_{T1}$, and WJ $_{T2} - WJ_{T1}$). Outliers deter-
296 mined by Cook's Distance (Cook, 1977) based on the regression model were removed if they
297 exceeded the $4/n$ threshold (n total data points).

298 **2.7 Behavioral Analysis**

299 For the repetition detection task performed during EEG sessions, we computed d' based on
300 the z-transformed probabilities of hits and false alarms (Macmillan & Creelman, 2004). A
301 two-way repeated-measures ANOVA with within-subjects factors of condition and testing
302 time point was computed on d' across conditions and time points.

303 **3 Results**

304 **3.1 Alternate RCA Results**

305 Reliable component (RC) coefficients, which indicate the extent of across-trials covariance
306 explained by a given component, dropped steeply after the first RC (see supplement, Figure
307 S2). We therefore focused our alternate RCA results solely on the maximally correlated
308 component, RC1. A two-way repeated-measures ANOVA showed a significant main effect of
309 condition ($F(2,60) = 56.80, p < 0.001$) and a significant interaction effect between condition
310 and testing time point ($F(2,60) = 6.77, p < 0.01$). No significant main effect of testing time
311 point was found ($F(1,30) = 0.08, p = 0.78$).

312 **3.1.1 Development of sensitivity to word form structure (pseudowords–nonwords)**

313 For responses to pseudowords–nonwords, the contrast designed to probe visual word form
314 structure processing, RC1 is maximal over occipital electrodes on both hemispheres at the
315 first testing time point, T1 (Figure 3A). Responses are statistically significant at the first
316 two harmonics 1 Hz and 3 Hz (Hotelling’s two-sample t^2 test, $p_{FDR} < 0.01$, corrected for
317 10 comparisons, Figure 3C). At the second testing time point, T2, the activation is more
318 left lateralized (Figure 3B) with statistically significant responses at only the first harmonic,
319 1 Hz ($p_{FDR} < 0.001$, corrected for 10 comparisons, Figure 3C). Developments of lateralizaion
320 of brain responses at T1 and T2 are shown in Figure S5B.

321 In order to investigate changes in response amplitude across testing time points, we
322 computed paired sample t-tests (two tailed) of amplitude. We considered only the first two
323 harmonics (1 Hz and 3 Hz), for which responses were significant at at least one testing time
324 point. Paired t-test (two tailed) of RC1 amplitudes at 1 Hz showed that amplitudes at
325 T2 are significantly higher than (nearly double) those at T1 ($t(1, 30) = 2.74, p_{FDR} < 0.01$,
326 corrected for two comparisons), while no significant difference between testing time points
327 was observed at 3 Hz ($t(1, 30) = 0.71, p_{FDR} = 0.48$, corrected for two comparisons). There

328 was no significant difference in phase at 1 Hz (the only significant harmonic at both testing
329 time points) between the testing time points (circular t-test; $p = 0.55$).

330 **3.1.2 Development of whole word representation processing (words–pseudowords)**

331 The words–pseudowords contrast was designed to detect whole word representation process-
332 ing. We first calculated RCA on each testing time point separately, as was done for the other
333 two contrasts. Since EEG responses to this contrast were relatively weak, we further pooled
334 the sensor-space data across testing time points to calculate the RCA filters.

335 As shown in Figure 4A&B, the topographies of RC1 trained on T1 and T2 separately
336 include activation over occipital and temporal electrodes, with relatively weak and noisy re-
337 sponses. The topography of RC1 trained on the two time points together includes activation
338 at more anterior left vOT electrodes (Figure 4C). Projected data were statistically significant
339 at 1 Hz ($p_{FDR} < 0.01$) and 5 Hz ($p_{FDR} < 0.05$) at T1, and only at 1 Hz ($p_{FDR} < 0.01$) at T2
340 (Figure 4D). A paired sample t-test (two tailed) showed no significant difference in RC1 *RSS*
341 amplitude between T1 and T2 ($t(1, 30) = 1.88, p = 0.07$). In addition, a paired-sample t-test
342 of projected amplitude at the first harmonic (significant at both testing time points) showed
343 no significant difference between T1 and T2 ($t(1, 30) = 0.33, p = 0.74$). Phase comparisons
344 between testing time points at 1 Hz (Figure 4E) were also not significant (circular t-test;
345 $p = 0.17$).

346 **3.1.3 Development of coarse print tuning (words–pseudofonts)**

347 For responses to the words–pseudofonts contrast, aimed at coarse print tuning, the topog-
348 raphy of RC1 at T1 includes bilateral peaks at posterior vOT electrodes (Figure 5A). At
349 T2, the topography is more lateralized and maximal at left vOT electrodes (Figure 5B &
350 supplement Figure S1B). The projected data were statistically significant in the first three
351 harmonics (1 Hz, 3 Hz, and 5 Hz, $p_{FDR} < 0.001$; corrected for 10 comparisons) at T1, and
352 all five harmonics at T2 (1 Hz, 3 Hz, and 5 Hz, $p_{FDR} < 0.001$, 7 Hz and 9 Hz, $p_{FDR} < 0.05$;

353 corrected for 10 comparisons, Figure 5C). A paired sample t-test (two-tailed) showed no sig-
354 nificant difference in RC1 amplitude between T1 and T2 ($t(1, 30) = 1.10, p = 0.28$). Phase
355 comparisons (Figure 5D) between testing time points at 1 Hz, 3 Hz and 5 Hz showed no
356 significant difference (circular t-test; $p_{FDR} > 0.37$, corrected for 3 comparisons); phases were
357 not compared for 7 Hz and 9 Hz given that signals were significant at only one testing time
358 point.

359 3.2 Brain-behavior relationships

360 Brain-behavior analyses were performed to assess the relationship between component-space
361 EEG amplitudes and behavioral reading abilities: Rapid naming abilities (RANcolor, RANletter),
362 word reading efficiency (TOWRE), and word decoding ability (WJ). See *Behavioral Assess-*
363 *ments* in *Materials and Methods* section and Table 1 for detailed information.

364 At T1, no clear relationships were found between response amplitudes of RC1 and reading
365 scores for all three contrasts either before or after outlier removal (all $p_{FDR} > 0.17$, corrected
366 for 4 comparisons).

367 However, brain-behavior relationships changed with 2 years of reading instruction in
368 school (T2), as illustrated by significant linear relationships between response amplitudes to
369 words–pseudofonts with WJ (word decoding, $r = 0.5, p_{FDR} < 0.05$, corrected for 4 compar-
370 isons, Figure 6A), as well as pseudowords–nonwords with RANletter ($r = 0.4, p_{FDR} < 0.05$,
371 corrected for 4 comparisons) and WJ (word decoding, $r = 0.7, p_{FDR} < 0.001$, corrected
372 for 4 comparisons, Figure 6B), after removal of outliers. No significant relationships were
373 found between response amplitudes to the words–pseudowords contrast and reading scores
374 (all $p_{FDR} > 0.28$).

375 Even more interestingly, we found a strong correlation between brain signal *improvement*
376 (Amplitude at 1 Hz_{T2} – Amplitude at 1 Hz_{T1}) for visual word form structure (pseudowords-
377 nonwords) and letter reading speed *improvement* (RANletter_{T2}–RANletter_{T1} , $r = 0.6, p_{FDR} <$

378 0.01, after outlier removal and correction for five comparisons), see Figure 6C ².

379 **3.2.1 Base RCA Results**

380 We performed RCA on EEG responses at the base frequency and its harmonics (2 Hz, 4 Hz,
381 6 Hz, 8 Hz, and 10 Hz) in order to investigate neural activity underlying low-level visual
382 processing. Similar with alternate results, we focused the base results on the maximally
383 correlated component RC1. Figure 7A displays the topographies of RC1 separately for T1
384 (top) and T2 (bottom). RC1s are similar across testing time points, which are distributed
385 over bilateral occipito-temporal region. Amplitudes (bar plots) are presented in Figure 7B.
386 Figure 7C presents projected data (i.e., projecting data through the spatial filter) in the
387 complex plane and shows overlapping amplitudes (vector lengths) and phases (vector angles)
388 across three conditions and time points. Two-way repeated-measures ANOVA with within-
389 subjects factors condition and testing time point revealed that neither the main effects nor
390 the interaction were significant (all $F < 2.61$, all $p > 0.1$) on the projected amplitudes at
391 each harmonic for RC1. Comparisons of phase across three conditions within a testing time
392 point showed no significant difference (circular ANOVA, T1: all $F < 2.61$, all $p > 0.1$, T2:
393 all $F < 2.61$, all $p > 0.1$). Thus, we consider the responses at the base frequency to be
394 comparable across conditions and testing time points.

395 **3.3 Behavioral Results**

396 We computed d' based on the z-transformed probabilities (the mean and standard deviation
397 (SD) across three conditions are summarized in Table 2.) of hits and false alarms (Macmillan
398 & Creelman, 2004). A two-way repeated-measures ANOVA of d' revealed a main effect of
399 testing time point, with a higher hit rate at T2 compared to T1 ($F(1, 185) = 17.04, p <$
400 0.001). No significant difference was found across the three conditions ($F(2, 185) = 1.95, p =$
401 0.15), and no interaction between condition and testing time point was found ($F(2, 185) =$

²Regression models in Figure 6 still hold after running models with age as a covariate.

402 1.80, $p = 0.17$).

403 4 Discussion

404 Over two years of school reading instruction, visual word form structure processing demon-
405 strated striking patterns of growth: EEG responses nearly doubled in amplitude with in-
406 creased left lateralization (Figure 3). More importantly, cortical entrainment of visual word
407 form structure was significantly correlated with the growth in reading skill, especially in
408 automatic rapid naming of letters. No such changes were observed for whole word repre-
409 sentation processing, indicating that sensitivity to visual word form structure is uniquely
410 linked to growth in reading. Theoretically, this finding sheds new light on current theories of
411 word reading development and provides implications for models of visual word recognition.
412 Practically, it yields insights for educational interventions and activities to improve reading
413 fluency.

414 4.1 Development of brain sensitivity to visual word form structure 415 (pseudowords–nonwords) in early readers

416 Behavioral studies have shown that sensitivity to visual word form structure develops rapidly
417 through exposure to print (Deacon et al., 2013), even in fully unfamiliar and complex scripts
418 (Chetail, 2017). Here, we measured changes in brain sensitivity (in terms of response ampli-
419 tude and topography) underpinning word form structure processing over two years of reading
420 instruction. The doubled response amplitude likely reflects increased sensitivity to ortho-
421 graphically reasonable word form structures, perhaps as they map to phonological patterns,
422 as a result of reading expertise due to repeated exposure to print (Compton, 2000).

423 The maximally reliable spatial component of word form structure processing was dis-
424 tributed over the occipito-temporal (OT) regions and became increasingly left lateralized
425 over two years (Figure 3A&B and supplement Figure S1). Presumptive activation over the

426 left OT area here is consistent with previous studies showing its involvement in prelexical
427 orthographic processing (Binder et al., 2006; Cohen et al., 2002; McCandliss & Noble, 2003).
428 For example, an fMRI study with adult participants found sensitivity of the left lateral
429 fusiform (occipitotemporal) gyrus to familiar over unfamiliar letter sequences (as measured
430 by mean positional bigram frequency), even when these sequences did not resemble words
431 (Binder et al., 2006). With the slower frequency rates (compared with 2 Hz oddball em-
432 bedded in 10 Hz base in Lochy et al. (2016)) and a relatively explicit repetition detection
433 task used in the present study, it is also likely that the brain responses to stimulus con-
434 trasts reflect orthographic and/or phonological decoding. Debska and colleagues (Dębska
435 et al., 2019) suggested the involvement of automatic orthographic decoding in pseudoword
436 recognition especially under orthographically demanding tasks (e.g., phoneme matching task
437 in their study, repetition detection task in our study). Future studies with different tasks
438 and/or more precise manipulations to control potential decoding are needed to improve our
439 knowledge on this issue.

440 Previous studies have not examined the lateralization changes of word form structure
441 processing in early readers. Instead, most previous findings are centered on the lateralization
442 patterns of coarse neural tuning effect and support the assumption that the degree of left
443 lateralization for print is dependent on the level of reading expertise with a script (Maurer
444 et al., 2008; Spironelli & Angrilli, 2009). Indeed, we also found a left lateralization shift for
445 coarse print tuning as in previous literature (Araújo, Faísca, et al., 2015; Brem et al., 2005;
446 Hauk et al., 2006; Zhao et al., 2014). Moreover, the current study extends previous findings
447 and additionally revealed a left lateralization shift for visual word form structure tuning.
448 Right hemisphere activation is usually detectable in the early stages of learning to read,
449 and tends to reduce or disappear as development proceeds (Turkeltaub et al., 2003). This
450 reduced involvement of right hemisphere areas over the course of reading development reflects
451 the experience-driven functional refinement of the skill zone for reading, which manifests as
452 greater recruitment of left hemispheric OT regions (Turkeltaub et al., 2003). Of note, no

453 lateralization changes were found for whole-word lexical processing (pseudowords–nonwords).
454 The current findings on different patterns of lateralization changes for different levels of word
455 information processing further reveal that such changes are not a genetic lateralization shift
456 of left vOT over time. Rather, it shows specificity of letter and word form structure, at least
457 during the early reading stage.

458 **4.2 Correlations between brain sensitivity to visual word form struc-** 459 **ture and reading fluency**

460 We also found that brain sensitivity to word form structure contributes to reading fluency.
461 Children with larger response amplitudes to word form structure had better reading perfor-
462 mance in rapid letter naming (RAN for letters) as well as word decoding (measured with
463 letter-word identification using WJ) at T2 (Figure 6B). This finding aligns with the obser-
464 vation of brain sensitivity to visual word form structure in skilled adult readers but not
465 in dyslexic individuals (Araújo, Faísca, et al., 2015). Such deviation between typical and
466 dyslexic readers suggests a connection between sufficient tuning to visual word form struc-
467 ture and typical reading skills. In relation to this, a developmental ERP study demonstrated
468 neural sensitivity to visual word form structure in 7-year-old children with high reading abil-
469 ity, but not in those with low reading skill (Zhao et al., 2014). Collectively, the current study
470 and previous ERP studies provide evidence that the ability to detect and apply visual word
471 form structure is a crucial factor promoting reading success (Conrad et al., 2013).

472 **4.3 Correlations between brain sensitivity to coarse tuning and** 473 **reading skill**

474 Previous SSVEP studies (e.g., preschoolers in Lochy et al. (2016); first and second graders in
475 van de Walle de Ghelcke et al. (2021)) revealed significant correlations between response am-
476 plitude for coarse print tuning and reading scores. In the current study, however, amplitude

477 of the coarse tuning contrast was only related to reading skill (specifically word decoding
478 ability) at T2 but not at T1. Such discrepancies may be due to the relatively explicit task
479 (repetition detection task, rather than monitoring fixation color change in previous studies)
480 and slower presentation rates in an alternation paradigm used in our design.

481 First, explicit tasks might focus purely on proficiency ability differences (Zobl, 1992),
482 rather than implicit tasks that might ambiguously combine proficiency ability differences
483 with spontaneous tendencies and strategies (Nosek et al., 2011). Children in a sample might
484 have equal ability to carry out a computation when explicitly directed to do so (and thus
485 no correlation with skill), yet still differ in their spontaneous tendency (Bennett-Branson
486 & Craig, 1993) to carry out the task given an implicit task situation, and that implicit
487 tendency may well correlate with skill level (Liang et al., 2021). In addition, we found the
488 relationships between brain responses and reading skills grew stronger over 2 years via the
489 more explicit task. This finding further supports the assumption that this is a longitudinal
490 change in computational ability (evoked by an explicit task) rather than longitudinal changes
491 in spontaneous tendencies (evoked by an implicit task). Hence, explicit tasks might hold
492 advantages for tracking development in studies that focus more on ability differences when
493 other influences (like spontaneous goal or strategy differences) are minimized.

494 Second, in contrast to previous fast frequency rates in an oddball paradigm (e.g., 2 Hz
495 oddball and 10 Hz base in Lochy et al. (2016)), the slower rates (i.e., 1 Hz alternate and
496 2 Hz base) in a two-stimulus evenball design (e.g., alternating pseudowords and nonwords
497 once per second) may also explain the discrepancy. Slower presentation rates may drive
498 more attention to the visual word form encoding/decoding processes, which may enable the
499 capture of processing stability of coarse tuning and result in diminished correlations between
500 amplitude and reading skill, especially at the very beginning of reading acquisition (herein
501 at T1).

502 Future studies outside of the scope of the current investigation will be explicitly designed
503 to better capture the influences of different frequency rates and different task modulations

504 on neural responses and brain-behavior correlations.

505 **4.4 Correlation between development of brain signal and growth in** 506 **reading fluency**

507 Remarkably, our results showed that the development of brain sensitivity to word form
508 structure is significantly correlated with growth in early reading skill. We found that early
509 readers with larger changes in amplitudes to word form structure had higher improvement
510 in RAN (letters not colors, Figure 6C).

511 A potential interpretation for this relationship is that beginning readers who are slow
512 to identify individual letters may not activate the letters in memory close enough in time
513 to encode the letter combinations that occur most frequently in print (Bowers et al., 1994).
514 This is consistent with the assumption that the inability to sufficiently automatize letter
515 recognition interferes with letter string processing and growth of orthographic knowledge
516 (Manis et al., 2000). For instance, Bowers and colleagues reported a deficit in word form
517 structure learning in their RAN deficit group (Bowers et al., 1999). Numerous studies have
518 suggested that RAN is a strong predictor of reading fluency (for a meta-analysis, see Araújo,
519 Reis, et al. (2015); for a review, see Georgiou et al. (2013)). Given that no significant
520 correlations were found with RAN for colors, the current study provides support for the
521 idea that the growth of brain sensitivity to visual word form structure specifically relates to
522 reading fluency and reading development, instead of general articulation speed.

523 In addition, it might be also possible that the development of brain sensitivity to word
524 form structure reflects improvement in grapheme-to-phoneme conversion and/or decoding.
525 During early reading acquisition, children first need to learn to decode letters into words
526 by identifying letters and mapping letters to corresponding sounds. Years later, a form of
527 perceptual expertise emerges in which groups of letters are rapidly and effortlessly conjoined
528 into integrated visual percepts (McCandliss et al., 2003). Supporting this, researchers have
529 also found automaticity of word decoding to be a critical component of fluent reading ability

530 (usually measured with RAN as in the present study) and is essential for high levels of reading
531 achievement (Pikulski & Chard, 2005; Roembke et al., 2019). Moreover, slower presentation
532 rates and the 3-in-a-row repetition detection task in the current study might draw more
533 cognitive resources and attention to the decoding process.

534 To conclude, the development of visual word form structure encoding and decoding mech-
535 anisms is an important aspect of word recognition skill that allows readers to process letters
536 and letter combinations rapidly and fluently. It will be interesting to explore the similar-
537 ities/differences between effects of encoding and decoding on visual word form structure
538 learning in future studies.

539 **4.5 Evidence for sensitivity to whole word representation in early** 540 **readers**

541 Brain responses to word-level representations have also been studied previously; inconsistent
542 results are presumably due to this effect being less pronounced and more task- and devel-
543 opmental stage-dependent (Maurer et al., 2006; Xue et al., 2008). For example, past ERP
544 studies (Zhao et al., 2014; Maurer et al., 2006) reported larger amplitudes for words than
545 for pseudowords in children (7-8 y old 2nd graders), which was also demonstrated in adult
546 ERP (Hauk et al., 2012) and SSVEP (Lochy et al., 2015) studies. In contrast, Brem et al.
547 (an ERP-fMRI study with 10 y old children and adolescents, Brem et al. (2009)) and Hauk
548 et al. (an ERP study with adults, Hauk et al. (2006)) reported stronger neural responses for
549 pseudowords than for words. Yet other studies, including ERP (9-13 y old pre-adolescents
550 in Araújo et al. (2012); 7.6 y old second graders in Eberhard-Moscicka et al. (2015); 6.5 y
551 old kindergarteners in Maurer et al. (2006)) and SSVEP (5 y old preschoolers in Lochy et al.
552 (2016); 6-7 y old first and second graders in van de Walle de Ghelcke et al. (2021)) studies
553 found null effects.

554 The current study was able to capture brain signals related to representation of familiar
555 words over occipital and temporal regions (Figure 4), potentially due to slower presentation

556 rates in an SSVEP alternation paradigm with a repetition detection task. However, no
557 correlations between response amplitudes and reading skills were found for this contrast in
558 either of the two testing time points. The ambiguity of brain-behavioral relationships here
559 might be due to the small size of this word representation effect (Eberhard-Moscicka et al.,
560 2015). Future studies can examine this issue further by recruiting participants spanning a
561 larger range of word representation processing and/or by employing more explicit tasks (e.g.,
562 lexical decision task), which might better engage this type of processing. An alternative
563 explanation is that the words we used were all very high frequency, simple, and short (3
564 letters). Such stimuli do not require much attention on word decoding, resulting in less
565 robust correlations with reading skills related to decoding (WJ) and automatized letter
566 naming (RAN for letters). This speculation could be resolved through a further test of word
567 form structure learning and reading development with more complex, longer stimuli with
568 variable frequencies.

569 **4.6 Implications for reading models and educational neuroscience** 570 **research**

571 Response amplitudes to coarse neural tuning (words–pseudofonts) were significantly corre-
572 lated with amplitudes to word form structure (pseudowords–nonwords), instead of whole
573 word representation (words–pseudowords), at both testing time points (see supplement, Fig-
574 ure S3). Moreover, similar correlations between brain signal and reading skill (mainly word
575 decoding ability) were found for contrasts of coarse neural tuning and word form struc-
576 ture. These findings may indicate that, at least during early reading acquisition, the words-
577 pseudofonts contrast often used in previous studies might primarily pick up information
578 about sublexical letter form and/or word form structure rather than whole-word lexical
579 processing.

580 Despite high correlation and information overlap between coarse tuning (words–pseudofonts)
581 and word form structure tuning (pseudowords–nonwords), developmental changes—in terms

582 of response amplitude—occurred only for word form tuning and not coarse tuning. Several
583 factors may play a role in the disparity. First, cognitive and attentional processes of vi-
584 sual word form structures in very high-frequency familiar words and unfamiliar pseudowords
585 might be different. Compared with very familiar 3-letter words which most likely can be au-
586 tomatically encoded (Spironelli & Angrilli, 2009), unfamiliar pseudowords possibly require
587 additional attention and processing energy (e.g., decoding) due to lack of visual familiar-
588 ity (Maurer et al., 2005). This increase in attention and potential effortful decoding might
589 explain the amplitude increase mostly on these unfamiliar pseudowords forms. Second, it
590 is likely that developmental changes of coarse tuning happen earlier than sublexical visual
591 word form structure tuning. A previous SSVEP study found automatic encoding of familiar
592 words (vs. pseudofonts) in preschoolers (Lochy et al., 2016). In an ERP study, Maurer
593 and colleagues found increased coarse tuning in second graders compared with non-reading
594 kindergarteners (Maurer et al., 2006). Our samples, however, included children spanning
595 kindergarten to second grade with a two-year follow up, which might have missed the key
596 increasing stage (i.e., between kindergarten to second grade). Thus, longitudinal studies
597 with only beginning readers (i.e., kindergarteners) might better capture the developmental
598 changes of coarse tuning. Finally, distinguishing words from pseudofonts involves different
599 demands from distinguishing pseudowords from nonwords. Future studies comparing words
600 and pseudowords processing in the same base context (e.g., pseudofonts) would speak directly
601 to this question.

602 Nevertheless, our findings of developmental changes of visual word form structure tuning
603 over two years and the relationship with reading skill (mainly decoding) improvement suggest
604 that word form structure processing plays a crucial role in reading fluency and reading growth
605 in early readers.

606 Sensitivity to word form structure has been rarely or not even taken into account in cur-
607 rent models of visual word recognition (Chetail, 2015, 2017; Harm & Seidenberg, 2004). Most
608 of these models, including Dual Route Cascaded (DRC) model (Coltheart et al., 2001) and

609 triangle model (Harm & Seidenberg, 1999), have focused mainly on properties of lexical-
610 semantic and phonological representations and processes. It will be important for future
611 research and reading models to implement visual word form structure in a manner analo-
612 gous to what has been done with semantics and phonology. This extra word form structure
613 component of the model would provide insights for bridging educational practice and neuro-
614 science to improve early reading fluency.

615 **4.7 Limitations**

616 Several limitations of the present study should be addressed. First, we examined the longitu-
617 dinal changes of the hierarchical processing of word information in an unbalanced condition
618 order. We started with the intention to replicate and extend the coarse print tuning ef-
619 fect (words–pseudofonts) that has been investigated in numerous studies. Then, we aimed
620 to functionally dissociate two related functions of the visual word form system linked to
621 two orthographic grain sizes (lexical and sublexical) by contrasts of words–pseudowords and
622 pseudowords–nonwords, respectively. As a consequence, we cannot rule out the possibility
623 of serial order carryover effects from one condition to the next. Future studies may use
624 counterbalanced condition orders to more precisely capture the condition effects, although
625 this would come at the cost of a much larger sample size. Second, the small sample sizes of
626 the grade groups limit us from making conclusions about different brain-behavior relations
627 based on different grades. Future studies with larger sample sizes in each age and/or grade
628 group will enhance our ability to trace the developmental trajectories of brain-behavior rela-
629 tionships in children at different stages of learning to read. Finally, an explicit task was used
630 in the current study, which was revealed might hold advantages for tracking development in
631 studies that focus more on reading ability differences (see Discussion). However, the explicit
632 task increased the difficulty of disentangling encoding and decoding processing of words.
633 Future studies including both implicit and explicit tasks may help to clarify whether the
634 (development) changes of visual word form structure processing are specific to encoding or

635 decoding, or even both. Nevertheless, we believe our results still provide interesting insights
636 into the developmental profile of different levels of word information and their effects on
637 reading skill.

638 5 Conclusion

639 This longitudinal study demonstrates developmental changes—in terms of response ampli-
640 tudes and left lateralization—of visual word form structure processing in early readers. More-
641 over, the word form structure effect became stronger in faster readers, supporting its func-
642 tional role in early reading ability. No such changes were observed for responses to whole
643 word representation. Taken together, our results suggest that word form structure process-
644 ing, which is indispensable for further accessing the phonology and semantics of written
645 words, may be an important factor influencing reading ability growth. Such knowledge is
646 crucial to better understand how children develop sensitivity to visual words and is insightful
647 for models of visual word recognition.

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819 **Table**

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Sex (female/male)	3/7	6/6	6/3
Handedness (right/left)	9/1	10/2	8/1
T1	Kindergarten	Grade 1	Grade 2
Age in years	5.88(±0.42)	6.81(±0.31)	7.74(±0.24)
Test of word reading efficiency (TOWRE)	10.55(±9.32)	63.33(±28.07)	79.22(±22.73)
Rapid automatic naming of colors (RANcolor)	42.80(±9.02)	37.50(±7.66)	36.89(±9.23)
Rapid automatic naming of letters (RANletter)	45.11(±15.00)	25.33(±6.34)	22.33(±2.78)
Word decoding ability (WJ)	15.50(±5.38)	43.83(±14.02)	51.44(±8.56)
T2	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4
Age in years	7.90(±0.38)	8.80(±0.34)	9.73(±0.23)
Test of word reading efficiency (TOWRE)	79.30(±21.11)	100.42(±13.46)	104.11(±19.41)
Rapid automatic naming of colors (RANcolor)	30.20(±4.96)	31.42(±5.99)	27.63(±7.40)
Rapid automatic naming of letters (RANletter)	21.09(±3.20)	19.03(±3.89)	18.49(±4.27)
Word decoding ability (WJ)	54.11(±7.77)	62.33(±5.10)	62.22(±3.80)

Table 1: **Subject characteristics and behavioral assessments at T1 and T2.** Values are mean(±SD). TOWRE: Number of real words and pronounceable nonwords read in 45 seconds. RAN: Time (ms) used to quickly and accurately name all stimuli (e.g., letters or colors) on a test form. WJ: Number of correctly named letters and words until getting 6 in a row wrong. T1: First testing time; T2: Second testing time (two years later).

	words–pseudofonts	words–pseudowords	pseudowords–nonwords
T1	1.00(±0.20)	1.04(±0.30)	1.10(±0.27)
T2	1.22(±0.18)	1.53(±0.24)	1.28(±0.23)

Table 2: **d' of the repetition detection task performance during EEG sessions for each of three conditions at T1 and T2.** d' was computed based on the z-transformed probabilities of hits and false alarms. Values are mean(±SD).

820 Figures

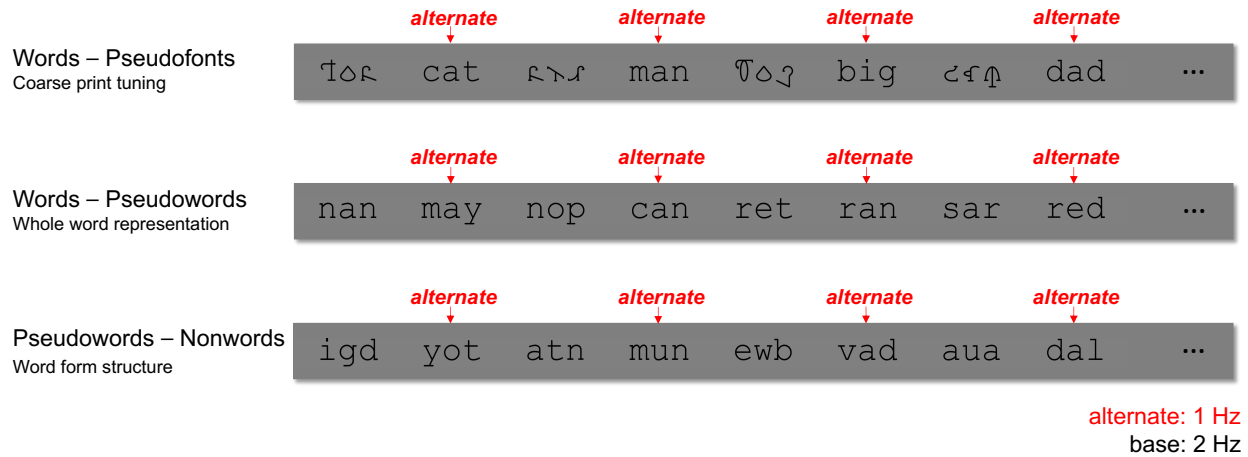


Figure 1: **Experimental Design.** Examples of stimuli presented in the experiment. 1 Hz alternates were embedded within a 2 Hz base stream in all three conditions. The first condition assessed coarse print tuning with words alternating with pseudofonts (W–PF). The second condition assessed lexical fine tuning with words alternating with orthographically legal pseudowords (W–PW). The third condition assessed sublexical fine tuning with orthographically legal pseudowords alternating with orthographically illegal nonwords (PW–NW). All contrasts were presented centered on the screen.

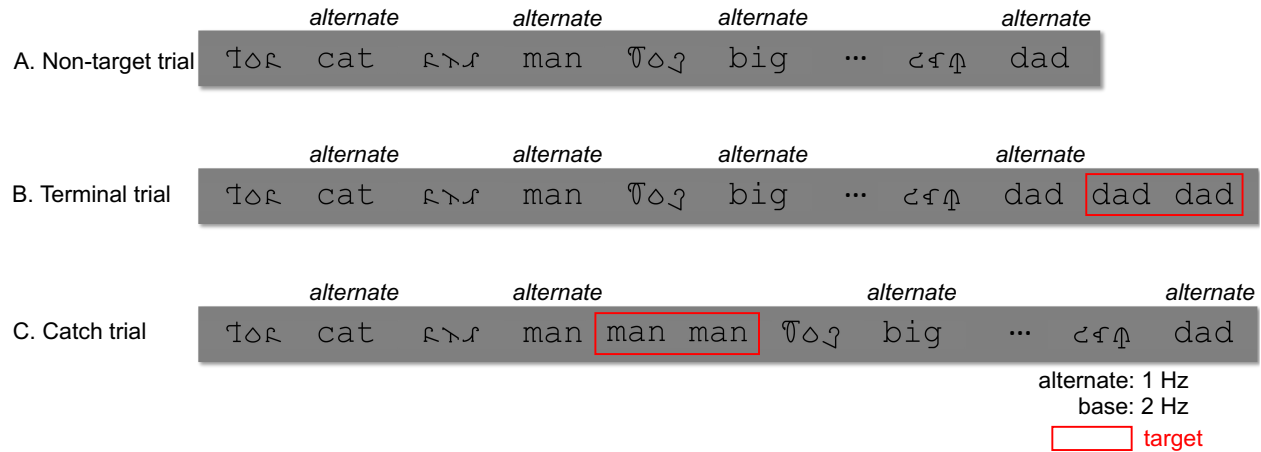


Figure 2: **Different types of trials in words–pseudofonts contrast.** Twelve trials of pre-randomized sequences were presented for each condition (words–pseudofonts contrast shown here as an example): Four non-target trials (A), four terminal trials (B), and four catch trials (C). EEG data corresponding to the four catch trials were excluded from analysis due to excessive response-related movements during recording. For the eight trials included per participant, the first and last 1-second epochs of each 12-second trial were excluded to avoid transient responses associated with ocular artifacts which occurred more at beginnings and endings of trials

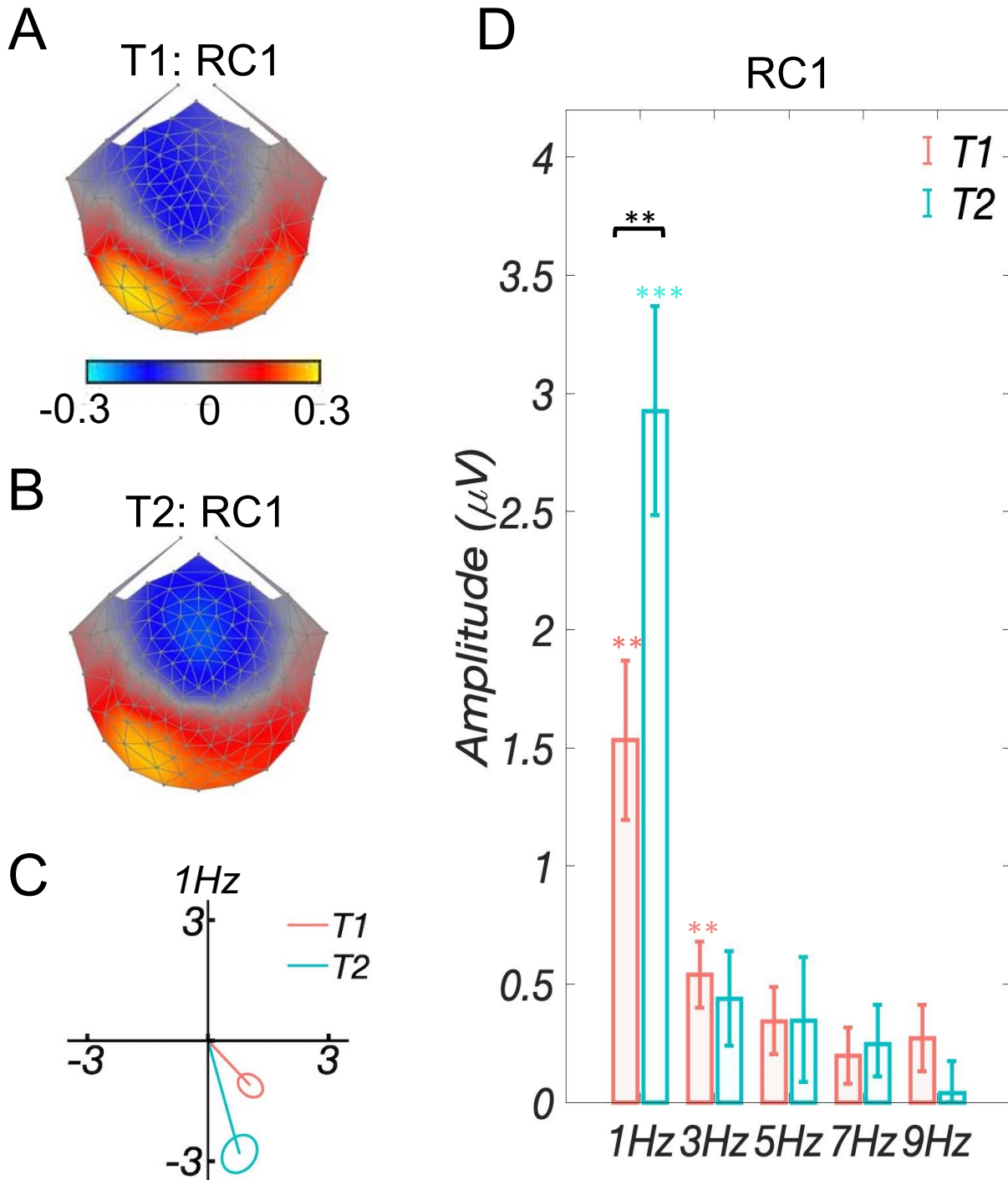


Figure 3: Alternate Analysis: Developmental changes of visual word form structure tuning (pseudowords–nonwords) in early readers. A: Topographic visualization of the spatial filter (bilateral OT) for the maximally reliable component (RC1) at T1; B: Topographic visualization of the spatial filter (left OT) for RC1 at T2; C: Response data at the first harmonic (1 Hz, the only significant harmonic at both testing time points) presented in the complex plane: Amplitude information is represented as the length of the vector, and phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 degree (counterclockwise from 3 o'clock direction), ellipses indicate standard error of the mean (*SEM*). No significant phase difference ($p = 0.55$) was found between T1 and T2; D: Projected amplitude for each harmonic at T1 (orange) and T2 (blue), respectively. The first two harmonics were significant at T1, while only the first harmonic was significant at T2. A significant difference ($p < 0.01$) was found at 1 Hz between T1 and T2. No significant differences were revealed at other harmonics. **: $p_{FDR} < 0.01$, ***: $p_{FDR} < 0.001$.

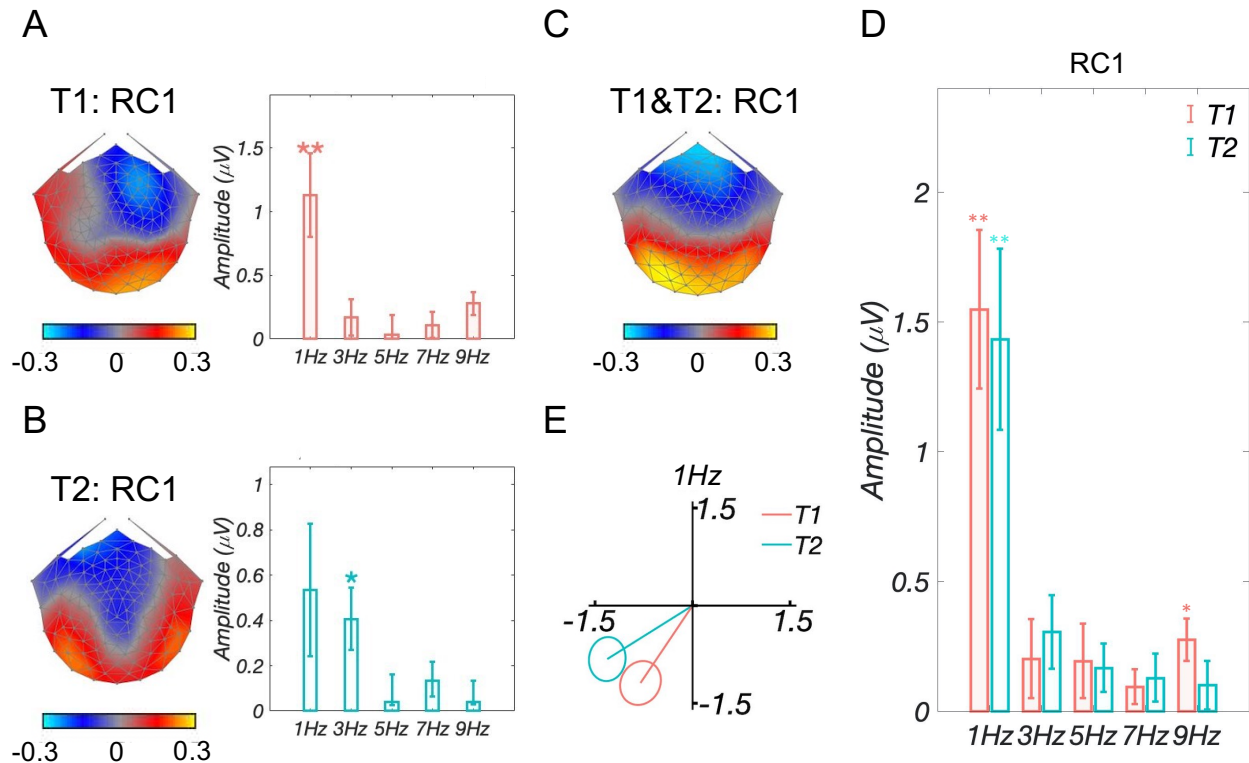


Figure 4: **Alternate Analysis: Sensitivity to whole word representation (words–pseudowords) in early readers.** A&B: Topographic visualizations of spatial filters and responses amplitudes for the maximally reliable component (RC1) trained on T1 and T2 separately; C: Topographic visualization of the spatial filter (more anterior left vOT) for RC1 trained on pooled T1 and T2 samples; D: Projected amplitude of RC1 (trained on T1 and T2 together) for each harmonic at T1 (orange) and T2 (blue), respectively. At T1, 1-Hz and 9-Hz harmonics were significant, while only the 1-Hz harmonic was significant at T2. There was no significant *RSS* amplitude difference ($p = 0.07$) between T1 and T2. Projected amplitude at the first harmonic showed no significant difference ($p = 0.74$) either between T1 and T2; E: Response data at the first harmonic (1 Hz, the only significant harmonic at both testing time points) presented in the complex plane, where amplitude information is represented as the length of the vector, and phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 degree (counterclockwise from 3 o'clock direction), ellipse indicates standard error of the mean (*SEM*). No significant phase difference ($p = 0.17$) was found between T1 and T2; *: $p_{FDR} < 0.05$, **: $p_{FDR} < 0.01$.

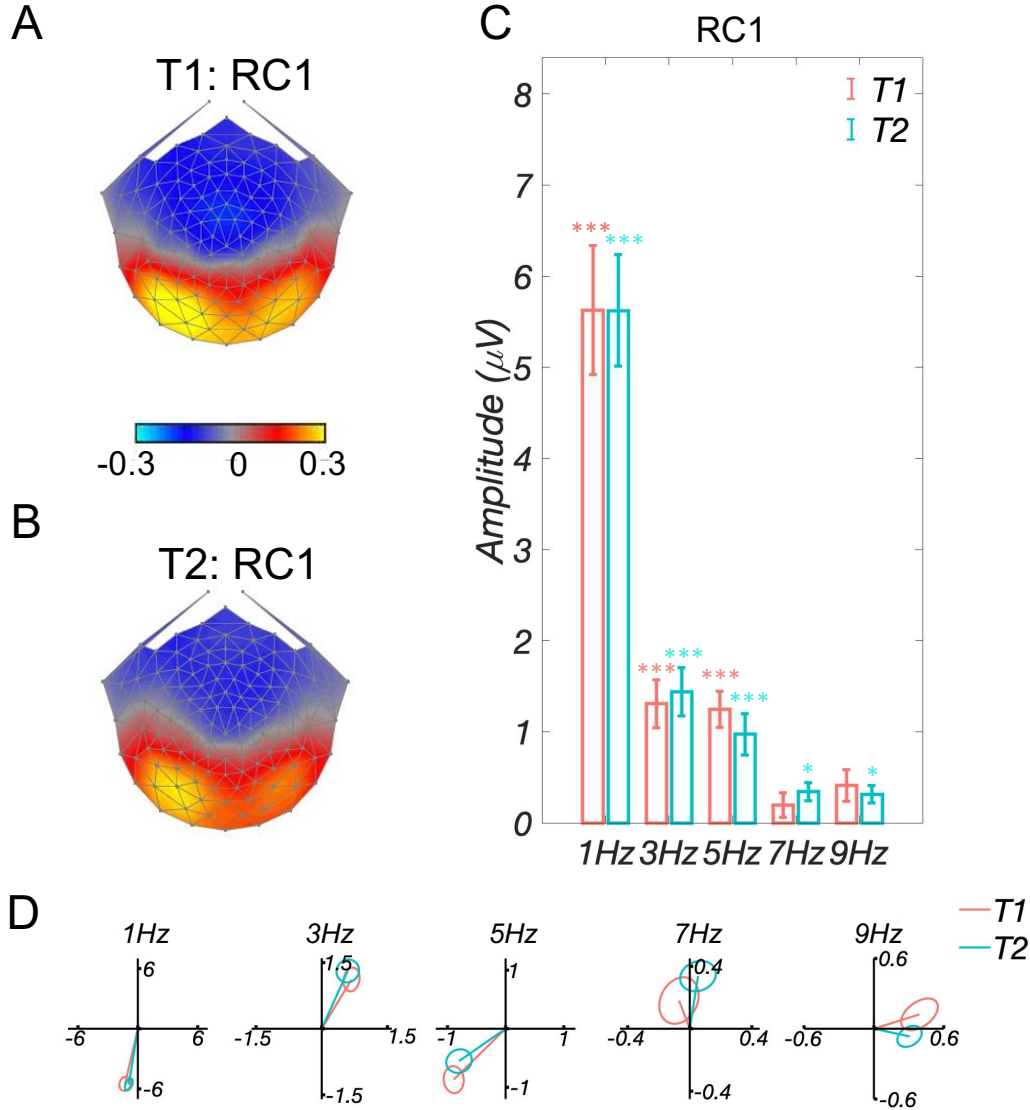


Figure 5: **Alternate Analysis: development of coarse print tuning (words–pseudofonts) in early readers.** A: Topographic visualization of the spatial filter (less left lateralized) for the maximally reliable component (RC1) at T1; B: Topographic visualization of the spatial filter (more left lateralized) for RC1 at T2; C: Projected amplitude of RC1 for each harmonic at T1 (orange) and T2 (blue), respectively. The first three harmonics were significant at T1, and all five harmonics were significant at T2. *RSS* amplitude did not differ significantly ($p = 0.28$) between T1 and T2. D: Response data in the complex plane, with T1 in orange and T2 in blue. Amplitude (vector length) and phase (vector angle, counterclockwise from 0 degrees at 3 o'clock direction) overlap between two testing time points especially for significant harmonics (first three harmonics). Ellipses indicate standard error of the mean. No significant phase differences (1 Hz: $p_{FDR} = 0.61$, 3 Hz: $p_{FDR} = 0.61$, 5 Hz: $p_{FDR} = 0.61$) were found at first three significant harmonics between T1 and T2. *: $p_{FDR} < 0.05$, ***: $p_{FDR} < 0.001$.

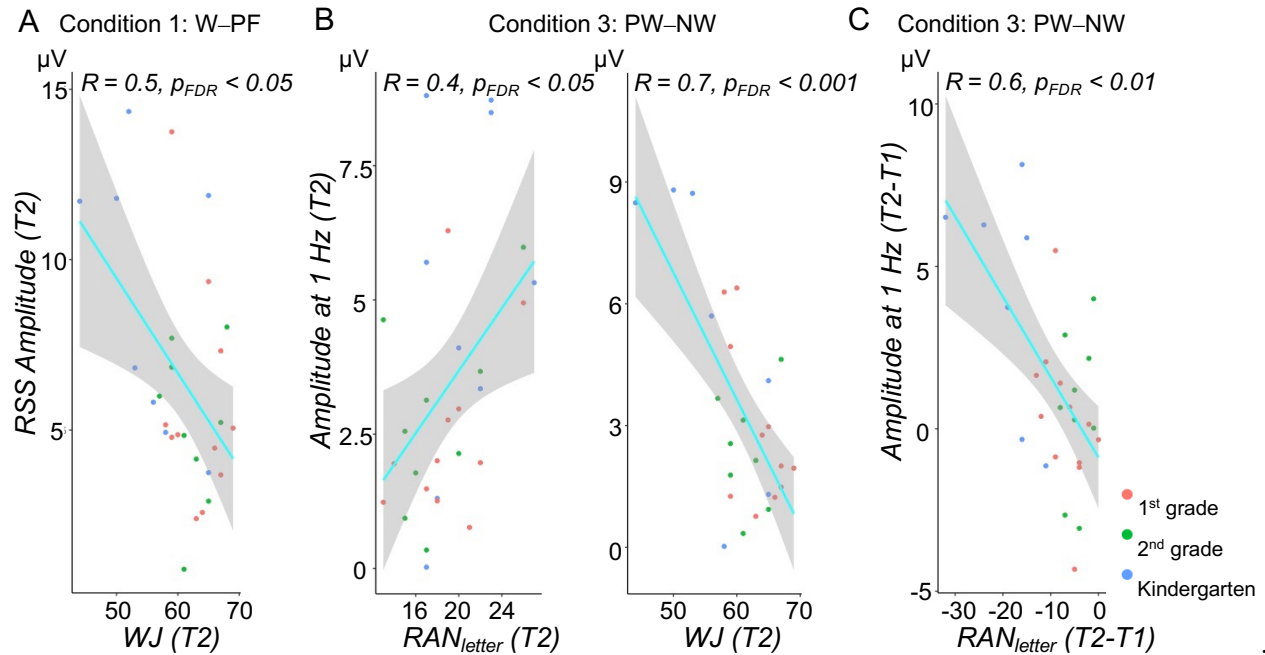


Figure 6: **Statistically significant correlations between reading and brain response amplitudes for words–pseudofonts and pseudowords–nonwords, after outlier removal.** A: Regression between *RSS* amplitude for words–pseudofonts and word decoding ability (Woodcock-Johnson, WJ) at T2; B: Regressions between response amplitude at 1 Hz for pseudowords–nonwords and rapid automatized naming of letters (RAN_{letter}) and WJ at T2; C: Regression between response amplitude improvement (Amplitude at 1 Hz_{T2} – Amplitude at 1 Hz_{T1}) at 1 Hz of pseudowords–nonwords and RAN_{letter} improvement (RAN_{letter}_{T2} – RAN_{letter}_{T1}). No significant relations were found for words–pseudowords. Note: The larger value of WJ and the smaller value of RAN_{letter} represent better reading skill.

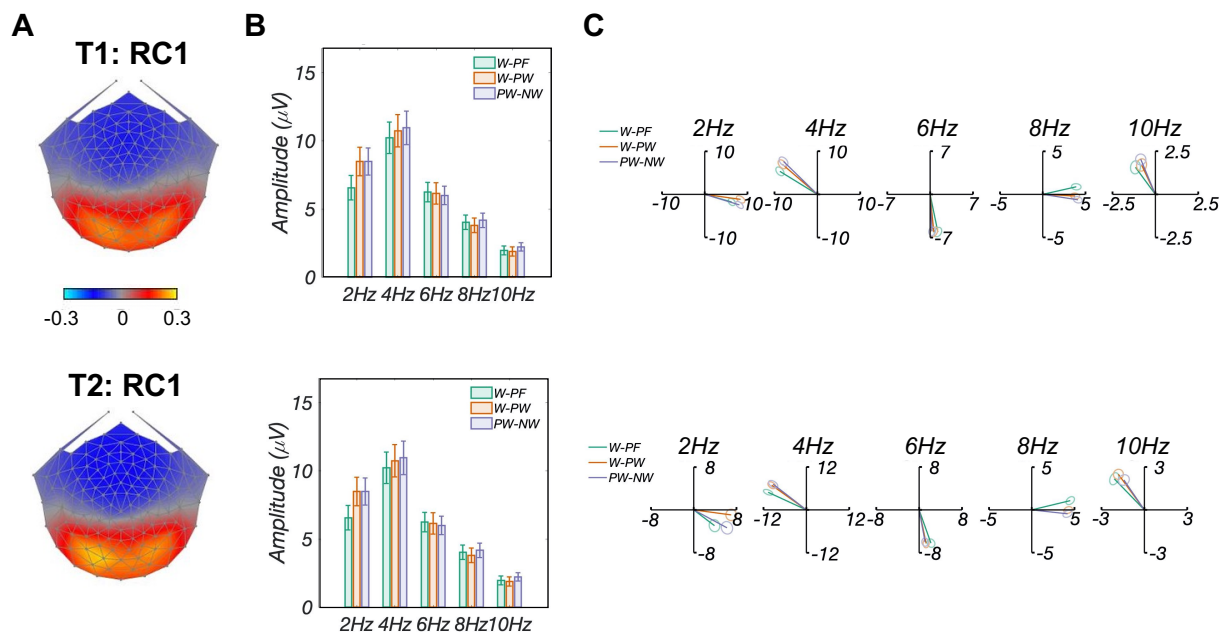


Figure 7: Base analysis comparisons across three conditions and two testing time points. A: Topographic visualizations of the spatial filters (T1: top; T2: bottom) for the first component (RC1); B: Comparison of projected amplitude across three conditions (T1: top; T2: bottom). Response amplitudes across five harmonics did not differ significantly across the three conditions and two testing time points ($p > 0.1$); C: Response data of three conditions presented in the 2D complex plane (T1: top; T2: bottom), where amplitude information is represented as the length of the vectors, and phase information in the angle of the vector relative to 0 degrees (counterclockwise from 3 o'clock direction), ellipse indicates standard error of the mean (*SEM*). Results showed overlapping amplitudes (vector lengths) and phases (vector angles) across three conditions and time points