TITLE

Brain activation for language and its relationship to cognitive and linguistic measures

AUTHORS AND AFFILIATIONS:

Irene Balboni*[d-e], Alessandra Rampinini* [a,e], Olga Kepinska[b,c], Raphael Berthele #[d,e], Narly
Golestani #[a,b,c,e]

a.   Department of Psychology, Faculty of Psychology and Education Science, University of
7   Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland
8   b.   Vienna cognitive Science Hub, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.
9   c.   Department of Behavioural and Cognitive Biology, Faculty of Life Sciences, University
10   of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.
d.   Institute of Multilingualism, University of Fribourg, Fribourg, Switzerland.
e.   National Centre for Competence in Research Evolving Language, Switzerland.

* Joint first author

Joint last author

Corresponding author:

Irene Balboni, irene.balboni@unifr.ch and irene.balboni@unige.ch
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ABSTRACT

Language learning and use are complex cognitive skills requiring domain-general cognition and

sensori-motor skills, these also being important for numerical and music processing. Previous

studies have explored behavioural associations across domains and neural underpinnings of

specific abilities, yet less work has examined these questions together in the same participants.

We collected data from 152 participants on behavioural measures of language, reading,

multilingual experience, cognition, musicality, arithmetic, and motor skills, along with fMRI data

during L1 story listening. Participants varied in multilingual language experience and reading

aptitudes, including both typical (TRs) and dyslexic readers (DRs). Using multivariate Partial

Least Squares correlation, we identified a main component linking cognitive, linguistic, and

phonological measures to brain areas underlying lexico/semantics, combinatorial processing, and

amodal semantic processing. A second analysis excluding DRs showed closer associations

between cognitive/linguistic, literacy, phonological and memory processes within the same brain

network as in the full sample. Here, we also isolated additional, complementary components,

including one involving speed, automatization and lexical access, linked to auditory and motor

brain areas. This suggests greater coherence and more integrated, 'expert' processing in TRs. This

work is a first step in exploring complex relationships between language and non-linguistic

functions that are important to it.

KEYWORDS

Language, Cognition, Brain-Behaviour Relationships, Dyslexia, Bilingualism

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1. INTRODUCTION

Language learning and use are complex, multi-component processes, yet most individuals acquire a first language (L1) and use it effortlessly. However, individual differences in L1 processing exist not only in children but also in adults (for a review, see Kidd et al., 2018), even though in adults, language skills and processing are usually thought to be consolidated and at the highest, 'ceiling' performance levels. Variability amongst native speakers has been demonstrated in different linguistic domains, for example in grammatical abilities (Dąbrowska 2012; Dąbrowska 2018), speech fluency (Mulder and Hulstijn 2011), vocabulary and lexical knowledge (Mulder and Hulstijn 2011; Dąbrowska 2018), the consistency of native phoneme production (Kartushina and Frauenfelder 2014) and sentence comprehension (Vuong and Martin 2014; Engelhardt et al. 2017). This variability is also found in language aptitude, the potential for second language (L2) learning (Wen et al. 2017).

Language skills are also linked to domain-general cognition, and the interaction between different language domains and cognition contributes to the highly variable profiles between individuals (Kidd et al. 2018). Some examples include the heavy reliance of language on working memory processes (Wen 2012; Singleton 2017; Feng et al. 2021), the comprehension of complex input being mediated by domain-general executive control abilities (Vuong and Martin 2014; Engelhardt et al. 2017) and lexical and grammatical processes being supported by general declarative memory processes and procedural memory mechanisms, respectively (Ullman 2004; Ullman 2016).

Domain-specific skills such as motor abilities, musicality and numerical skills have also been shown to interact with language. Early development of motor skills has been associated with

faster language development in children (Libertus and Violi 2016; Gonzalez et al. 2019). This

association might be due to the fact that better motor skills, for example the ability to sit, are

associated with more active participation in language and communication (Libertus and Violi

2016), but also because of the presence of common underlying mechanisms subserving both

verbal (i.e. oral) and nonverbal (i.e. sitting) motor control (Alcock and Krawczyk 2010). Musical

skills have also been shown to interact with language skills. Language and music share a number

of features: both rely on symbolic systems to convey information through the auditory channel,

are governed by combinatorial rules, and they partially share their genetic underpinnings (Nayak

et al. 2022). In the clinical domain, musical interventions targeting auditory and attentional skills

have been successfully used to remediate dyslexia (Rolka & Silverman, 2015)(Rolka &

Silverman, 2015).

Arithmetic and numeracy, i.e. informal mathematical skills not requiring symbols and

predictive of mathematical development (for an overview see Purpura & Lonigan, 2013), is

another kind of domain-specific skill that interacts with language. Numeracy and language both

rely on processes such as working memory and executive functions. The phonological processes

that underpin language and reading have an impact on the ability to perform mathematical

operations that rely on the rehearsal of verbal information (Simmons and Singleton 2008).

Mutual relationships between language and early numeracy already exist in pre-schoolers

(Purpura and Napoli 2015), with early mathematical abilities shown to be mediated by early

mathematical language (e.g. mastering of words such as 'more', 'fewer', 'count'; Toll & Van

Luit, 2014). Finally, dyslexia, which affects reading and phonological processes, and dyscalculia,

a deficit related to the use of numerical information and the learning of mathematics, often co-

occur and share common genetic risks (van Bergen et al. 2023).

Both functional and structural neuroimaging studies have uncovered neural differences

underlying individual variation in key language processing and learning abilities. For example,

neural correlates have been revealed for foreign speech sound production (Golestani and Pallier

2007), foreign speech sound discrimination (Golestani and Zatorre 2004; Golestani et al. 2007;

Turker et al. 2018; Turker et al. 2019), vocabulary knowledge (Lee et al. 2007) and grammar

learning (Kepinska, Pereda, et al. 2017; Kepinska, Rover, et al. 2017; Kepinska, de Rover, et al.

2017; Kepinska, de Rover, et al. 2017; Kepinska et al. 2018). Other works have explored the

relationship between language-specific and other domain-general skills tested using a wide set of

tasks (Hintz, McQueen, et al. 2024; Hintz, Voeten, et al. 2024), with some papers exploring the

interaction between cognition and language in relation to different neural correlates (Turker et al.

2017; Turker et al. 2019; Feng et al. 2021; Ramoser et al. 2024). However, a comprehensive

multivariate investigation relating not only language-specific skills but other cognitive and

domain-specific skills to brain functional activation during language tasks is, to our knowledge,

still lacking.

In the present work, we explored multivariate brain-behavioural associations between a broad

range of behavioural tasks with individual brain activation during L1 speech listening, in part

using data from a recently acquired dataset (Rampinini et al. 2024 Aug 28). Activation for speech

in the native language has been shown to remain stable over time, as shown by participants

scanned using a similar localizer paradigm as in this study, with an average interval of 8.5

months between scans (Mahowald and Fedorenko 2016). The extent of activation of the language

network is also related to multilingual language experience, with polyglots activating the same

traditional perisylvian language regions as multilingual speakers, but to a lesser extent (Jouravlev

et al. 2020). Further, brain activation for L1 is thought to partially overlap with that for L2,

although some dissociations are found, particularly at lower proficiency levels (Sebastian et al.

2011; Cao et al. 2013) and at later ages of acquisition (Liu and Cao 2016). Better L1 skills are

predictive of higher coactivation for printed and spoken language (i.e. print-speech convergence;

Marks et al., 2019), shown to underlie more successful reading development (Shankweiler et al.

2008; Preston et al. 2016; Marks et al. 2019). Moreover, L1 neural responses have been found to

be partially predictive of L2 learning skills (Díaz et al. 2022; Fuhrmeister et al. 2023). Given that

neural activation for L1 language processing has been associated with individual differences in

L2 outcomes, in reading skills, in multilingual experience and/or in predisposition, it can be

considered to be a good indirect marker for individual differences underling these aspects of

language skill and experience.

Here, we explore the overarching, complex relationship between language, cognition, and

non-linguistic domain-specific skills, and brain activation for native language speech processing.

Previous work has explored the behavioural associations between different domains (Hintz et al.

2020; Berthele and Udry 2021; Rampinini et al. 2024), and a wealth of publications have

investigated the neural underpinnings of individual (or of a smaller number of) language abilities.

However, less work has been done to explore key dimensions supporting language processing

beyond language-specific skills and their corresponding neural correlates in a multivariate way.

Although recent work has started to highlight the importance of multimodal and multivariate

analyses of language learning profiles, this approach remains relatively underexplored (Feng et

al. 2021). In the present study, we collected data from a relatively large participant sample (n =

152) on behavioural measures of language, cognition, musicality, arithmetic and motor skills, as

well as on measures of language and reading experience. Moreover, brain activation for speech in

their L1 was collected during a story listening task. Participants varied broadly in terms of their

multilingual language experience, with knowledge of 1 to 26 languages, and in terms of their

reading aptitudes, with the inclusion of both typical and dyslexic readers. Here, we leverage the

variability of our participant sample and of the wide array of behavioural data to uncover, in a

data-driven way, the associations and dissociations within and between each data type (i.e. brain

and behaviour). We use Partial Least Squares correlation (PLS), a method that identifies

components that explain shared variance between two data types, to uncover this relationship. We

aim to shed light on convergences and divergences between the main cognitive dimensions

related to language processing, and their relationship with neural activation for speech.

2. METHODS

2.1. Stimuli and procedure

2.1.1. Participants

152 participants took part in the study. Participants were healthy, mostly speaking French as a

first language and having knowledge of two or more languages. None of the participants had

official qualifications for language translation or interpretation, nor did they have professional

musical training. Participants who spoke more than 6 languages were included in the study even

if French was not their native language, if they reported advanced French proficiency. Figure 1

depicts the multilingual background of the participants in the sample included in the analysis,

TRs had on average higher multilingualism scores than DRs (as shown also in the Supplementary

results). Details of the participants' language and demographic backgrounds are available in the

supplementary materials (Table 1). The final sample only included participants who did not have

missing data on any of the measures analysed. It consisted of 134 participants, aged between 18.1

and 47.2 years ($M = 24.0$, $SD = 4.9$, 92 females). A subset of these participants ($n = 25$) was

diagnosed with dyslexia before taking part in the study. A second analysis was run only on 109

typically reading participants (TRs), again selected based on having no missing data. In this

subsample, participants were between 18.2 and 47.2 years of age ($M = 24.1$, $SD = 5.07$, 74

females).

Figure 1. Language background of the participants in the sample. Each bar represents the

language experience of one participant; the height of the stacked bars within each bar represents

the self-reported speaking proficiency for individual languages (the taller the bar, the higher the

speaking proficiency for that language). Before plotting, the data was sorted based on cumulative

language experience values; as a result, the left-hand side of the figure displays hyperpolyglots'

data while the right-hand side shows data from monolinguals. Dyslexic readers are marked in

dark pink.

2.1.2. Procedure

Each participant took part in 4 different sessions (spread over several testing days): session 1 to

fill in online questionnaires, session 2 to perform a portion of the tasks online while supervised

by one trained member of the team, session 3 to complete in-person tasks that required closer

supervision or standardized hardware and session 4 for neuroimaging and genetic data collection

(the latter not included in this study). Questionnaires (session 1) were delivered using Qualtrics

XM©, online tasks (sessions 2 and 3) were delivered using Gorilla, and the fMRI task (session 4)

was presented using Psychtoolbox3 (Matlab r2021b). An overview of all the tasks and

behavioural measures are presented in Table 1. Detailed description of the hardware, procedure,

and extended descriptions of the behavioural tasks and their references can be found in

(Rampinini et al. 2024). All eligible participants provided signed informed consent for all

subsequent experimental procedures and data reuse. The study received ethical approval from the

Geneva Cantonal Ethical Commission (Protocol N. 2021-01004).

2.1.2.1.   fMRI data collection

All participants took part in an MRI session where we collected brain structural (MPRAGE),

MP2RAGE, DWI) data, and functional imaging data during resting-state, and during music,

reading and language localizers, the latter both in the participants L1 and L2. In this work, we

only analysed fMRI data from the language localiser in the L1, and used the T1 MPRAGE

sequences for co-registration. Images were acquired using a Siemens 3T Magnetom-Prisma

scanner at Campus Biotech (Geneva), equipped with a 64-channel coil. T1-weighted MPRAGE

structural images were collected using 208 sagittal slices (TRs = 2,300 ms, TE = 3,26 ms, voxel

size: 1×1×1 mm;). BOLD activation was measured using a whole-brain EPI sequence

(acceleration factor -1, FOV=224 mm, voxel size: 2×2×2 mm, TRs = 2000,0 ms, TE=32,00 ms

flip angle 75 □, interleaved acquisition, 72 slices).

During the fMRI task, participants passively listened to intact and degraded speech passages

of the story 'Alice in Wonderland' while fixating a black fixation cross on a white screen. The

stimuli and task are openly available (http://web.mit.edu/evlab/aliceloc/index.html), and the

procedure for the degradation of low-level auditory features is described in Malik-Moraleda and

colleagues (2022). We used the localiser to present intact and degraded passages for both the L1

and the L2 to each participant. In total, 3 runs were acquired, each including 5 fixations blocks of

12 seconds and 16 blocks of 18 seconds each, 4 per each of the intact and degraded conditions.

No response was required, and participants took short, self-timed breaks between blocks.

2.2. Analysis

2.2.1. Behavioural data

Behavioural data for the questionnaires and the tasks completed on the Gorilla online platform

were analysed and scored using in-house Python scripts. Tasks requiring manual scoring, such as

spelling or foreign language imitation, were scored manually by native speakers. All measures,

with their corresponding tasks and scores, are outlined in Table 1. A more detailed description of

the behavioural tasks, together with descriptive results and reliability indices for each task, can be

found in Rampinini and colleagues (2024). The supplementary materials (Figure 1) include plots

with scores for all participants in all of the included behavioural measures, divided by reading

group.

Variable name	Task Name	Brief task description	Selected score	Domain
Reading history	AHRQ	Reading experience, enjoyment and familiarity with reading difficulties	AHRQ index	Language experience
Musical abilities	AMMA	Sensitivity to tonal and rhythm change	Accuracy	Domain-

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				specific skills
Alerting network (ANT)	ANT-I	Ability to use an auditory alerting cue to speed the reaction to a target	RT no cue trials – RT cued trials	General cognition
Orienting network (ANT)	ANT-I	Ability to use an orienting cue to orient attention to the target location	RT incorrectly cued trials - RT correctly cued trials	General cognition
inhibition (ANT)	ANT-I	Ability to correctly report target direction irrespective of the surrounding flankers (Simon task)	RT incongruent trials - RT congruent trials	General cognition
Grammar analysis	ArtGram	Ability to infer morphosyntactic characteristics of an artificial language and translate sentences after the presentation of some examples and dictionary	Accuracy	Language skills
Artificial grammar learning	Brocanto	Grammaticality judgment of sentences in an artificial grammar after repeated presentation of grammatical examples	Accuracy	Language skills
Visual memory span	Corsi blocks	Reproducing a visuo-spatial sequence	Span (forward and backward)	General cognition
CVLT short term	California Verbal Learning Test	Ability to recall a 16-item list immediately after presentation (5 trials) and after presenting an interference list.	Accuracy	General cognition
CVLT long term	California Verbal Learning	Recognition, 20 minutes after encoding, of items memorized. Presentation of both targets and semantic and phonological distractors	Accuracy	General cognition

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	Test			
Visual declarative memory	DecLearn	Ability to recognize both real and invented objects 10 minutes after incidental encoding	Accuracy	General cognition
Verbal memory span	Digit span	Short-term and working memory span for digits	Span (forward and backward)	General cognition
Foreign speech sounds imitation	Farsi uvular production	Imitation abilities for uvular sound production	Percentage of correct responses	
Finger tapping speed	Finger tapping	Tapping speed with dominant and non-dominant hands	Average tapping speed	Motor skills (speed)
Foreign speech sound discrimination	Hindi dental retroflex contrast	Adaptive task measuring ability to discriminate a dental-retroflex plosive consonant contrast	Accuracy weighted by difficulty	Language skills
Multilingualism (speaking)	LEAP-Q	Self-report of language experience: number of languages known, in what modality, manner and age of acquisition, proficiency and current exposure	Entropy scores for speaking	Language experience
Multilingualism (comprehension)	LEAP-Q	Self-report of language experience: number of languages known, in what modality, manner and age of acquisition, proficiency and current exposure	Entropy scores for comprehension	Language experience
Multilingual exposure	LEAP-Q	Self-report of language experience: number of languages known, in what modality, manner and age of acquisition, proficiency and current exposure	Entropy scores for exposure	Language experience
Motivation	MFQ	Self-report for motivation for language	Total score	Language

(attitude)		learning		motivation
Motivation (openness)	MFQ	Self-report for motivation for language learning	Total score	Language motivation
Rote learning	MLAT 5	Vocabulary learning in an unknown language	Accuracy	Language skills
Musical training	MUSEBAQ	Questionnaire on musical experience and type and amount of musical training	Musical training index	Music experience
Phoneme suppression	Phoneme suppression	Repetition of nonword removing the first sound	Accuracy	Phonological awareness
Purdue pegboard dominant	Purdue pegboard test	Test for fine motor dexterity	Average number of completed trials, dominant hand only	Motor skills (dexterity)
RAN (RT)	Rapid automatized naming	Rapid naming of objects, colours, digits	Average reaction time (all categories)	Literacy mediator
Fluid intelligence	Raven's APM	Reasoning abilities, ability to complete an incomplete pattern	Accuracy	General cognition
Arithmetic	Revised tempo test	Speeded resolution of sums and subtractions	Maximum number of completed trials	Domain-specific skills
Word spelling	ECLA16	Spelling of words after auditory presentation	Accuracy	Literacy
Pseudoword spelling	ECLA16	Spelling of pseudowords after auditory presentation	Accuracy	Literacy

Spoonerism	Spoonerisms	Ability to transpose the initial sounds of two pseudowords	Accuracy	Phonological awareness
Procedural memory	Serial reaction time	Ability to tap following the pattern visually present on screen, implicit sequence presented across 5 blocks	Procedural learning gain	General cognition
Reading text (Alouette)	Alouette	Ability to correctly read a non-sensical text passage within 3 minutes.	Accuracy	Literacy
Reading text (Pollueur)	Pollueur	Ability to correct a text passage within 3 minutes.	Accuracy	Literacy
Word reading (RT)	ECLA16, EVALEC	Reading of regular and irregular words	Average reaction time per block	Literacy
Pseudoword reading (RT)	ECLA16, EVALEC	Reading of pseudowords	Average reaction time per block	Literacy
Nonword repetition	Nonword repetition	Repetition of nonwords with increasing span length	Accuracy	Phonological awareness

Table 1. Overview of the tasks, scores and resulting variables obtained from behavioural testing.

All the scores, including reaction times and other metrics used in this analysis, were transformed

such that higher values consistently indicate better performance.

2.2.2. Preprocessing fMRI data

Functional images were preprocessed using FSL 6.0. Preprocessing was carried out using FEAT

(FMRI Expert Analysis Tool, version 6.0) with a standard preprocessing pipeline that included

the following steps: removal of non-brain tissue using optiBET (Lutkenhoff et al. 2014), B0

unwarping using fieldmap images and nonlinear registration to structural T1 images (BBR,

FNIRT), and spatial smoothing using a Gaussian kernel of 5 mm FWHM. Data were motion-

corrected using ICA-AROMA (Pruim et al. 2015) and no participant had an absolute

displacement higher than 5 mm (which would have resulted in their exclusion from the sample).

We then removed nuisance regressors (white matter, WM, and cerebral-spinal fluid, CSF),

performed high-pass filtering at 90 s and registered the preprocessed data to the MNI152 standard

space (Grabner et al. 2006). The BOLD response was modelled using a double-gamma

haemodynamic response function (HRF). Activation for intact and degraded L1 speech listening

was modelled, and the intact *vs.* degraded speech contrast was generated.

2.2.3. Extraction of individual level activity with parcellation

Once the intact *vs.* degraded brain activation contrast was computed for each participant, we

defined different brain parcels in order to maintain a whole-brain approach while reducing the

numbers of brain variables for the PLS analysis (i.e. as compared to a voxel-based approach). We

included all cortical and subcortical regions. For the cortical regions, a total of 397 parcels, or

regions of interest (ROIs) were identified. The cortex was segmented using the Glasser

multimodal parcellation (Glasser et al. 2016). The parcellation was adapted to volume space,

registering it to the same MNI152 template as the functional data (Horn 2016 Jun). The volume

was then split by hemisphere to obtain 180 parcels per hemisphere. In the results section, cortical

ROI labels correspond to each area's name in the original parcellation publication (Glasser et al.

2016). ROIs for the hippocampus were excluded from the cortical parcellation because

hippocampal areas were defined using a subcortical atlas, as follows: subcortical regions

comprising bilateral hippocampus, thalamus, amygdala, pallidum, putamen, and caudate nucleus

were identified using the Harvard-Oxford subcortical atlas (Makris et al. 2006). Cerebellar

regions were identified using a probabilistic cerebellar atlas (Diedrichsen et al., 2009; full list of

cerebellar ROIs in the supplementary material). Both subcortical and cerebellar areas were

extracted using a threshold of 50%. The full list of ROIs is presented in the supplementary

materials. For each of the ROIs obtained using the above parcellations, average contrast values

for the difference in brain activation for intact *vs.* degraded speech were extracted. The resulting

brain dataset extracted for each participant contained the average contrast values for each of the

397 ROIs.

2.2.4. PLS

Both brain and z-scored behavioural datasets were corrected for age, sex and handedness through

residual calculation before the data was input to the PLS correlation (; Krishnanet al., 2010, 2011;

McIntosh & Lobaugh, 2004) analysis. We used PLS to evaluate the multivariate relationship

between the two data modalities, brain and behavioural, aiming to isolate components that

capture shared variance between the two sets of data. After data preprocessing and preparation,

the analysis was performed using the myPLS toolbox (https://github.com/danizoeller/myPLS). A

correlation matrix between behavioural and brain data was generated, and then the main

components which explained the relationship between the two modalities were extracted through

singular value decomposition. For each component, brain and behavioural weights were

calculated: these explain how strongly each single variable contributed to the multivariate

correlation between the data modalities in that component. Behavioural weights, or saliences,

represent how strongly each variable contributes to the correlation between modalities explained

by each component. Brain weights, or saliences, represent how strongly each ROI, in our case the

average contrast values for the difference in brain activation for intact *vs.* degraded L1 speech

listening for each region, contributes to the correlation between modalities explained by each

component. The significance of each component was assessed using 1000 permutations, and the

stability of the weights of each variable per component was evaluated using a bootstrapping

procedure (500 samples). The significance of each variable was determined using a *Z* score >=|3|

threshold, which corresponds to a two-tailed probability of 0.0013. Previous work suggested that

a Z score >=|2| (Krishnan et al. 2011) or >=|2.57| (equivalent to a two-tailed probability of 0.01;

McIntosh & Lobaugh, 2004) could be used, but in the present analysis, given the significant

number of variables used in both datasets, we chose a stricter threshold to consider the results

robust/significant. The results report weight means and standard deviation after bootstrapping for

each variable/ROI. More details on permutation, bootstrapping and thresholding procedures are

available in the Supplementary Materials (Supplementary methods section). As mentioned in the

Participant section, we initially ran the analysis on the full sample including TRs and DRs (*n*

=134), and then on a subsample including TR participants only (*n*=109). We could not perform a

separate analysis on the DRs alone due to their smaller sample size (*n* =25), which, given the

number of variables included in the analysis, would likely have resulted in overfitting and poor

generalization (Mihalik et al. 2022). To ensure that any potential differences between the two

analyses were due to sample characteristics and not to differences in sample size, we ran an

additional PLS analysis on a third subsample, hereafter referred to as the verification subsample.

This had the same sample size as the subsample of TRs only (n=109), but included the same

proportion of TRs and DRs as the full sample.

3. RESULTS

3.1.Partial least square results

Overall, the analysis on the whole sample resulted in one significant component whereas the

analysis including TR participants only resulted in 3 significant components. The analysis from

the verification subsample showed a substantial overlap with the results in the whole sample,

confirming that differences between the latter and the TRs only sample were likely due to

differences driven by sample characteristics and not sample size reduction. All the results for the

verification subsample are available in the supplementary material.

3.1.1. Brain and behavioural relationships in the whole sample

We applied a PLS analysis to the 36 behavioural measures and to the average activation (contrast

values for intact *vs.* degraded L1 speech) from the 397 cortical and subcortical areas during L1

speech listening. One component was significant after permutation testing ($p = .006$, $r = .34$).

Figure 2 shows the contribution of each variable from both modalities to the brain-behavioural

correlation component (more details are available in the Results section of the Supplementary

Material). The component explained 36% of the brain-behavioural covariance

At the behavioural level, the component was mostly positively associated with half of the

behavioural tasks (Figure 2A). This component identified an association between measures of

general cognition (memory in particular), language skills (with a prominent role of grammar) and

to a lesser extent of phonological skills. More specifically, a positive association was found

between the brain measures and measures of language and cognition that rely heavily on memory

processes (such as Nonword repetition, declarative and verbal memory, and Rote learning),

pattern recognition and learning (morphosyntactic patterns for a grammar analysis task, and

visual patterns for fluid intelligence scores), or a combination of both (as seen in artificial

grammar learning). Artificial grammar learning skills were, both in the full sample and in the

typical readers only (see next analysis) the strongest contributors to the component. Another set

of measures pertain to the auditory domain and to auditory working memory: musicality and

phonological awareness (including spoonerisms, nonword repetition, and foreign speech sound

imitation), and to a literacy measure involving sound-symbol correspondences (i.e. word

spelling). Multilingualism scores, with a stronger influence of multilingual comprehension than

of speaking, also contribute positively to this component. Moreover, there was a positive

contribution of alerting skills, i.e. a measure of response readiness and of sustained attention to

incoming stimuli (Ishigami et al., 2013), and of motor dexterity (Purdue pegboard test). Last,

Multilingual exposure, differently from multilingual comprehension and speaking abilities,

contributed negatively to the component, with a relatively low weight compared to positively

associated variables.

All cortical and subcortical brain regions showing a significant contribution to the

component, and their weights, are shown in Figure 1B (results for cerebellar ROIs and

uncorrected results can be found in the Supplementary Materials). Overall, better performance on

the above tasks correlated with stronger activation of bilateral anterior temporal cortical areas

(e.g. STGa, STSda, STSva, TGd, TGv, TE1), posterior cingulate areas (e.g. RSC, v23abm,

POS1), inferior parietal regions (PGi, PGs, PFm), and temporo-parietal-junction (TPJ; TPOJ1,

TPOJ2, TPOJ3). The latter regions – inferior parietal cortex and adjacent temporo-parietal

junction – showed somewhat left *versus* right hemisphere lateralization, respectively. Other areas

that displayed a significant positive activation in relation to behavioural measures comprised

predominantly left-lateralised dorsolateral prefrontal (8v, 8c) and inferior frontal (IFJp, 45)

regions. Better scores also positively correlated with activity in medial temporal regions such as

the entorhinal cortex (EC) and perirhinal cortex (PeEC) in the left hemisphere, presubiculum

(PreS) in the right hemisphere and para-hippocampal (PHA3) areas bilaterally. Subcortically,

Figure 2c shows a positive correlation with bilateral amygdala and right hippocampus. None of

the cerebellar regions were significantly associated with the component.

Figure 2. Results of the behavioural, cortical and subcortical saliences/weights for the significant correlational PLS component in

the whole sample. Blue represents significant positive weights, red represents significant negative weights, and grey represent

non-significant ones. (A) Contribution of behavioural variables to the component (for all scores, higher values represent better

performance). (B) Contribution of cortical ROIs to the component. (C) Contribution of subcortical areas to the component. For

each component, mean weights, SD and brain uncorrected results can be found in the supplementary material, in the

Supplementary results section.

3.1.2. Brain-Behavioural relationship in typical readers only

We applied a second PLS analysis to the same behavioural and brain measures presented in the

above section, but this time, we included only participants without a dyslexia diagnosis *(n = 109)*.

After permutation testing, we identified 3 significant components.

Component 1

The first component accounted for 44% of the variance ($p = .001$, $r = .45$). Behaviourally, this

component resembles the one identified in the whole sample, but it is associated with a higher

number of memory measures and, differently from the whole-sample analysis, includes a larger

number of literacy measures (brain and behavioural saliences are shown in Figure 3).

A positive association was found with memory measures (such as Nonword repetition,

Visual declarative and Verbal memory span, and Rote learning), pattern recognition and learning

(Grammar analysis, Fluid intelligence, Artificial grammar learning), auditory measures including

working memory: musicality and phonological awareness (including Spoonerisms, Nonword

repetition, and Foreign speech sound imitation), and to a literacy measure involving sound-

symbol correspondences (i.e. Word spelling). Positive associations were present also for

multilingualism scores for comprehension and speaking, alerting skills and motor dexterity

(Purdue pegboard test). Moreover, focusing on the differences in the present TRs analysis

compared to that in the full sample, here component 1 was associated with additional measures

for memory (CVLT long term, Visual memory span), arithmetic, literacy and literacy mediators

(RAN, both Reading text measures, Reading history). Also, even though this component includes

measures of phonological abilities in both the TRs and the whole-sample analyses, in this

analysis including only the TRs group, the phonological measures play a more prominent role

(i.e. higher weights). This suggests a stronger influence of phonology, which is particularly

interesting when considering that this component also encompasses literacy measures. Finally, in

the whole sample, multilingualism exposure contributes negatively to the component.

At the brain level, the ROIs contributing to the first component were similar to those

contributing to the single component found in the whole sample, with more bilateral activation

especially in temporal areas. Higher behavioural scores were associated with more activity in

middle-to-superior posterior (STSdp, STSdp) and anterior (STSda, STSva, TE1a, STSva, STSda,

STGa, TGd, TGV) temporal areas, in frontal areas (IFJa and 45 on the left, 45 and 47l on the

right), in posterior inferior parietal regions (e.g. PGi, and surrounding clusters, again

predominantly left-lateralised) and in temporoparietal regions (e.g. TPOJ2), the latter again

somewhat right lateralised in extent. There was also a positive correlation with medial posterior

cingulate (RSC, POS1, 23ab, 31pv and surrounding areas), and bilateral presubiculum (PreS) and

parahippocampal (PHA1, PHA2, PHA3) areas. Subcortically, areas that contribute positively to

the relationship are the right hippocampus and left amygdala, and the cerebellum on the right crus

II. All results for cerebellar ROIs and uncorrected results can be found in the Supplementary

Materials.

Figure 3. Results of the behavioural, cortical and subcortical saliences/weights for the first significant correlational PLS

component in the typical readers. Blue represents significant positive weights, red represents significant negative weights, and

grey represents non-significant ones. (A) Contribution of behavioural variables to the component (for all scores, higher values

represent better performance). (B) Contribution of cortical ROIs to the component. (C) Contribution of subcortical areas to the

component. For each component, mean weights, SD and brain uncorrected results can be found in the supplementary material, in

the Supplementary results section.

Component 2

The second component (Figure 4) accounted for 19% of the variance ($p = .012$, $r = .35$). This

component was mostly negatively associated with tasks mainly related to motor and processing

speed and lexical access compared to Component 1. Negative associations were present for motor

speed, with Finger tapping speed (and not for dexterity, as in Component 1) and lexical access,

reading and memory (RAN, CVLT short term, word and pseudoword reading, non-sensical text

reading) and phonological perception. Two tasks measuring Visual declarative memory and

phonological skills (Spoonerisms) were also positively associated with the component, with

overall smaller weights compared to the negatively correlated measures.

At the brain level, mirroring the behavioural results, lower-level auditory and

sensorimotor areas were associated with this second component. Poorer performance on the tasks

negatively contributing to the component was associated with more activation in bilateral early

auditory (A1, MBelt, PBelt, LBelt, A4, A5) and other auditory temporal association areas (TA2).

Moreover, left primary motor (4) and bilateral sensorimotor cortices (areas 3a, 3b on the left, and

areas 1, 2 on the right) were involved. Smaller positive contributions came from bilateral

opercular/insular regions (e.g. OP4, 43, FOP1 bilaterally, OP1, RI, PFcm on the left). None of the

subcortical or cerebellar ROIs contributed significantly to this second component. All results for

cerebellar ROI and uncorrected results can be found in the Supplementary Materials.

Figure 4. Results of the behavioural and cortical and subcortical saliences/weight for the second significant correlational

component in the typical readers. Blue represents positive weights, red represents negative weights, and grey represent non-

significant ones. (A) Behavioural correlation for each individual variable to the component (for all scores higher values represent

better performance). (B) Cortical ROI correlations with the component. (C) Subcortical areas correlations with the component.

For each component, mean weights, SD and brain uncorrected results can be found in the supplementary material, in the

Supplementary results section.

Component 3

The third component accounted for 8% of the variance ($p = .026$, $r = .67$). This component

showed the most complex pattern of results in the analysis. Figure 5A shows that it was

behaviourally negatively associated with measures of auditory and phonological skill (e.g.

Nonword repetition, Foreign speech sound discrimination, Phoneme suppression) and Verbal

memory span score, and positively associated with a mix of cognitive, linguistic, and multilingual

experience measures, some of which are negatively correlated with the previous components (e.g.

Text reading, RAN, Orienting).

In terms of relationships with brain activation, we observed a clearly lateralised pattern,

mostly in higher-level language regions (Figure 5B). In the left hemisphere, regions contributing

positively to the component included early auditory (MBelt, Pbelt) and associative auditory areas

(STSda, STSva, STSdp, STSvp, STGa, A4, A5), as well as some clusters in opercular regions

(45,43, OP4). Negative relationships were observed in right-lateralised areas such as the inferior

frontal (IFJp, IFJa, IFSp, IFSa, 44, 45) and dorsolateral prefrontal cortices (55b, 8c, P9-46v,

p47r), in the temporoparietal junction (e.g. TPOJ1, DTV), in the posterior STS and in other

medial clusters (SFL, SCEF). In the right hemisphere, positive associations were only found with

a left parahippocampal area (PHA2) and with one region in the posterior cingulate cortex

(v23ab). None of the subcortical regions were significantly associated with this component

(Figure 5c), and only the left cerebellar area VIIb negatively contributed, though marginally, to

the component (Supplementary material).

Figure 5. Results of the behavioural and cortical and subcortical saliences/weight for the second significant correlational

component in the typical readers. Blue represents positive weights, red represents negative weights, and grey represents non-

significant ones. (A) Behavioural correlation for each individual variable to the component (for all scores higher values represent

better performance). (B) Cortical ROI correlations with the component. (C) Subcortical areas correlations with the component.

For each component, mean weights, SD and brain uncorrected results can be found in the supplementary material, in the

Supplementary results section.

4. Discussion

We investigated brain-behaviour associations by examining, in a data-driven and multivariate

manner, behavioural measures of linguistic, domain-general and domain-specific skills and brain

activation during story listening in the native language. We performed two PLS analyses, one on

the full sample including typical (TRs) and dyslexic (DRs) readers, and the other only in typical

readers. The former analysis allowed us to explore brain-behaviour relationships across a wider

range of performance – one which included a (language/reading) learning disorder, and the latter

allowed us to determine which relationships are more likely to be observed in typical readers.

Results that are consistent across the two analyses/samples are likely to reflect more stable and

potentially more generalisable results. Results that differ between the two analyses/samples are

likely to reflect differences arising from the additional inclusion of individuals with a previous

history of reading disorder, and/or differences arising from inclusion of individuals with lower

multilingual language experience, given that DRs on average has a lower multilingual language

experience and exposure than the TRs.

In the next sections, we will discuss the brain-behaviour multivariate components arising

from the two analyses, in light of how brain activation during speech processing is related to

positive or negative relationships with subsets of tasks.

4.1. Overview of the components

4.1.1. Component 1

Behaviourally, Component 1 (accounting for 36% of the brain-behavioural covariance in the full

sample, and 44% of the variance in the TRs) in both samples showed an association between

higher-level cognitive and linguistic skills, particularly for memory and grammar, and

phonological awareness. These were associated with neural activation in higher-level areas

within the language network known to be involved in combinatorial processes, in amodal

semantic hubs and in areas involved in phonological processing. In the TRs sample,

behaviourally this component also included literacy measures, with a heavier involvement of

memory and of phonological skills. This suggests that while language and cognitive measures are

strongly and consistently associated when only typically reading participants are analysed,

literacy also becomes part of this association.

Overall, there are substantial similarities between the brain-behavioural association

observed in the two analysis. In more detail, two of the tasks that positively contributed to this

component reflect grammatical rule learning and knowledge (i.e. Artificial grammar learning and

Grammar analysis) and pattern recognition (i.e. Fluid intelligence) skills, tasks that both reflect

higher-level pattern/rule learning/recognition, arguably important components of cognition and

intelligence. In fact, Artificial grammar learning was the strongest behavioural contributor to the

brain-behavioural relationship. Neurally, activity in the bilateral dorsal and ventral anterior

temporal lobes (ATL) was one of the strongest contributors to the brain-behaviour relationship of

this component, again in both analyses. The ATL has been shown to be more active during

reading of jabberwocky (sentences made of meaningless words) compared to lists of nonwords,

indicating that this region is sensitive to abstract syntactic structure (Fedorenko et al. 2010;

Pallier et al. 2011), and to be involved in lexico-semantic and compositional semantic processes

(Hickok and Poeppel 2007). The left IFG (area 45) also contributed to this component; this area

is known to support morphosyntactic processes (Hickok and Poeppel 2007) and is proposed to be

involved in the semantic combinatorics (Friederici 2006; Schell et al. 2017).

The were also positive behavioural contributions of tasks that support or are related to

lexico-semantic processing, such as memory and vocabulary learning tasks (e.g. Verbal memory,

Rote learning and Visual declarative memory scores). Both brain imaging research and

neuropsychological work on patients with stroke or neurodegeneration support the role of the

ATL as an amodal, domain-general hub supporting semantic and conceptual knowledge and

memory (Lambon Ralph et al. 2010; Lambon Ralph et al. 2016; Gainotti 2017). In both

analyses/samples, we found contributions of other brain areas that are also known to be amodal

semantic hubs: the bilateral IPL (PGi, PGs), bilateral posterior cingulate/retrosplenial (e.g. RSC,

POS1, v23ab), medial prefrontal (9m, left-lateralised in the whole sample and bilateral for TRs),

bilateral parahippocampus, and subiculum areas in the right hemisphere and entorhinal cortex in

the left hemisphere (Fernandino et al., 2016). The study by Fernandino and colleagues assessed

cortical activation in response to 900 words having different sensorimotor properties (colour,

shape, motion, sound, manipulation). Using conjunction analysis, they found activation in

bilateral IPL, posterior cingulate, retrosplenial cortex, medial prefrontal cortex and left

parahippocampal cortices for all semantic categories, suggesting that these regions serve as

amodal hubs, where unimodal information converges. However, in contrast with their findings,

the medial temporal regions that we identified via a multivariate approach were bilateral.

Another set of tasks that was positively correlated with this component pertained to

phonological/auditory processing and working memory (e.g. Foreign speech imitation,

Spoonerisms, Phoneme suppression, Musical abilities). These tasks contributed in both

samples/analyses, but more so in the TRs analysis. These skills may partly drive the correlation

with the activation in the posterior STS, known to be involved in speech and phonological

processing (Hickok and Poeppel 2007; Hein and Knight 2008). Also, the relationship with

phonological and language processing (imitation and multilingualism) may be driven by the

activation with the IPL, a central hub in the dorsal phonological route of reading (Kuhl et al.

2020; Turker and Hartwigsen 2021). The IPL is associated with sound-based representations,

supporting categorical perception of phonemes (Coslett and Schwartz 2018), perception of

ambiguous speech (Kilian-Hütten et al. 2011) working in combination with IFG areas to support

phonological memory processes (Kellmeyer et al. 2013).

The prominent role of grammatical processing and of verbal declarative memory in this

first component inevitably recalls Ullman's declarative/procedural model. According to this

model, in our L1 the lexicon is learned through declarative memory processes and relevant neural

substrates, while grammar is learned through procedural memory (Ullman, 2004, 2016). In

contrast, for our L2 both grammar and lexicon are supported by declarative memory, with

grammar gradually shifting to the procedural system as a function of proficiency (Ullman, 2004,

2016). The tasks associated with this component tapped into lexicon and memory for verbal

items, as well as into the learning and analysis of artificial languages, which are expected to

assess L2 grammar learning processes. In line with this, our results show that procedural memory

(measured through a serial reaction time task) did not contribute to the component. However, the

declarative-based tasks that do contribute to the component correlate positively with brain

activation in areas supporting declarative processes, in combination with a set of semantic and

amodal conceptual hubs. This suggests that the learning and use of novel (i.e. L2-like)

grammatical rules and verbal memory may rely on declarative skills and underlying medial

temporal structures, as suggested by the declarative/procedural models, but that they are

additionally supported by combinatorial and amodal semantic systems.

4.1.2. Component 2

Component 2 (accounting for 19% of the brain-behavioural covariance), obtained in the analysis

with TRs participants only, represents a complementary, lower-level component compared to

Component 1. Behaviourally, there are negative contributions from tasks reflecting

automatization, processing and motor and processing speed and lexical access (i.e. the latter

referring to how we access words that are stored in the mental lexicon) (Penolazzi et al. 2007).

What appears to commonly underlie most of the tasks showing negative weights is that most

require fast processing and quick reactivity (RAN, Orienting and Finger tapping speed). In terms

of the brain, lower auditory and sensorimotor cortices contribute positively to this component.

The negative relationship between the brain and most of the behavioural measures of this

component could reflect optimisation or efficiency, with lower behavioural scores being

associated with increased brain activation. There were also, however, positive contributions of

Spoonerisms, measuring phonological awareness, and of Visual declarative memory to this

component.

In more detail, bilateral activation of auditory and sensorimotor areas was associated with

the above tasks, with a left-lateralised bias particularly in superior temporal regions and in the

frontal opercular regions. Lower behavioural scores were associated with greater activation in

auditory areas including the planum temporale, which are important for both phonological and

orthographic processing in good readers (McNorgan et al. 2014). Moreover, greater activation

was present in the TPJ, known to be important for speech-related auditory-motor association, this

being a fundamental step in lexical access (Davis 2016 Jan 1) and being required in several of the

tasks that are negatively associated with this component.

Most of these tasks also require speech production, which can explain the involvement of

frontal opercular and motor areas. Bilaterally, the posterior frontal opercular/insular area 43 is

associated with movements such as swallowing, area FOP1 is associated with imagined

movements, and OP4 integrates sensorimotor information into actions (Baker et al. 2018).

There was also activation in the left motor (area 4) and sensorimotor areas (areas 3a and

3b). Areas 4 and 3b are thought to be involved in the control of hand/finger movements and in the

processing of finger-specific information, respectively (Baker et al. 2018) The involvement of

motor cortices is consistent with the correlation with our motor speed task. Moreover, left area 4

has been shown to be active during passage and alphabet writing tasks (Beeson et al. 2003).

4.1.3. Component 3

Component 3 (accounting for 8% of the brain-behavioural covariance), again identified only in

TRs, showed a more complex pattern of associations. Behaviourally, it was positively associated

with cognitive and multilingualism scores, and negatively with auditory/phonological abilities.

These performances were associated with more activation in left superior temporal and some

inferior frontal/opercular areas, and with less activation in right hemispheric IPL/TPj and

IFG/DLPFC areas.

In particular, better memory, inhibition and multilingualism scores were associated with lower

activity in the right inferior frontal sulcus regions (IFS; IFSa, IFSp, IFJa, IFJa), right middle

frontal gyrus (area 8, p9-46v), right IFG (44, 45, p47r), and IPL/TPJ regions (e.g., TPOJ1, STV,

PFm, PSL). The right IFS has been linked to music, reasoning, attention (Ruland et al. 2022) and

to rule implementation (Demanet et al. 2016). The right middle frontal gyrus has been shown to

be involved in attention re-orienting (Japee et al. 2015), and its connectivity to be negatively

correlated with numeracy (Koyama et al. 2017), which is also negatively associated in this

component. Moreover, the right IPL/TPJ region supports executive functions (including working

memory and inhibition) (Rothmayr et al. 2011; Igelström and Graziano 2017) and together with

right IFG areas it is part of the ventral attention network, underlying bottom-up attentional

processes (Corbetta and Shulman 2002; Igelström and Graziano 2017). At the same time, in this

component, better scores on these tasks are also associated with poorer phonological

awareness/musical abilities, and with greater engagement of left lateralized, early auditory (A5,

A4, Pbelt, Mbelt), auditory association (STSda, STSvp, STSdp) and opercular areas (43, 45,

OP4).

The relationships within this component suggest that increased multilingualism is associated

with better short- and long-term memory for words and with better attention, but with poorer

phonological awareness and poorer performance on tasks requiring working and short-term

memory for sublexical (i.e. phoneme-level) information. This may be partly explained by the

nature of our sample. Some of the most multilingual speakers (poly- and hyperpolyglots) in this

study were highly proficient but non-native French speakers. Although the hyperpolyglots did not

differ from the other participants in their behavioural scores on these tasks (as shown in the

supplementary results, Table 10), the fact that they were listening to stories and performing tasks

in a non-native language may have led some of them to rely more on lower-level auditory (e.g.

acoustic) processes and on greater engagement of lower-level auditory regions to perform tasks

requiring subtle phonological manipulations. Moreover, within this third component, higher

multilingual experience is associated with clear brain functional lateralisation, suggesting greater

engagement of a left-lateralised higher-level auditory (i.e. belt and parabelt regions including

STS subregions and inferior frontal (i.e. BA 45) language network, and lower (maybe optimised)

engagement of right-lateralised attention and executive areas. It should be noted, however, that

this third (and last) component explains a smaller percentage of the variance (8%) compared to

the other two (63% in total), and that therefore these results and interpretations may not be

representative of broader and generalisable trends.

4.2. Stable associations and differences across samples

Across both samples we have shown that, at the behavioural level, cognition and language mostly

overlap, suggesting a stable association. In both samples, measures including memory and

grammar learning abilities were strong drivers of the brain-behavioural association in the first,

most important component. Although language-specific processes at both the brain and

behavioural levels can be clearly dissociated with finer-grained analyses, and although the

language network has previously been shown to be less responsive to cognitive demands

(Fedorenko and Varley 2016; Fedorenko et al. 2024), language does not occur in a vacuum.

Language and cognitive processes interact during language learning, with changes in one domain

influencing other, higher-level skills that develop later (Kidd et al. 2018; Kidd and Donnelly

2020). Moreover, language is mostly used in interaction with other individuals (Levinson and

Holler 2014). This requires us to engage in other cognitive processes beyond simply retrieving

semantic and syntactic information in order to keep track of the narrative, of turn taking and of

conversation (Hasson et al. 2018).

At the brain level, the identified regions are areas known for supporting lexico-semantic,

combinatorial, and phonological processes, and as amodal semantic hubs (particularly in typical

readers only). In other words, the first multivariate component explaining most of the brain-

behaviour covariance corresponds to a higher-level language network known to support semantic

and combinatorial processes, as well as grammatical, mnemonic and partly phonological skills.

The differences between the analysis in the full sample (i.e. including the DRs) and the

analysis including only the TRs shows that in the latter, these cognitive and linguistic processes

are also associated with measures of literacy, particularly for reading fluency and history, while

also showing a stronger role for phonological awareness skills (accompanied by more STG

activation). This may suggest that in typical readers, literacy skills may rely on, or be more

strongly linked to, more general cognitive/linguistic behaviours and their associated high-level

neural mechanisms, reflecting a more specialised, reading-ready cognitive architecture. On the

other hand, in dyslexic readers, these literacy tasks may engage different brain areas, perhaps as

compensatory or more variable neural activations. Moreover, it suggests that when TRs only are

considered, spoken language and literacy skills (along with phonological mediators) are

associated to overlapping neural substrate in this component. This finding is in line with the

print-speech convergence hypothesis, which postulates that successful reading is supported by

strong overlap between the neural substrate processing written and spoken language (Shankweiler

et al. 2008; Rueckl et al. 2015; Preston et al. 2016).

The association between language/cognitive scores and literacy may be unexpected given

previous work by our group in which we modelled data from the same dataset using exploratory

graph analysis to explore the network of relationships between our behavioural scores (Rampinini

et al. 2024). In this previous work, both in the full sample and in TRs only, literacy measures

tended to consistently cluster separately from other language/cognitive scores. However, we need

to consider that the analysis methods used were different and that here, we explored the shared

variance and relationship between different data types, i.e. brain and behaviour, and not just

between variables within one modality. We must consider that "cognitive processes and neural

processes are not the same thing" (Valian 2016), and that while literacy tasks can be dissociated

from other language/cognitive skills at the behavioural level, they could rely on mostly shared

underlying neural substrates.

Finally, multilingualism exposure contributes negatively to the component in the whole

sample only. This negative contribution may be due to the differences between the three

multilingualism variables being measured. Multilingualism exposure assesses the number of

languages currently present in the participants' environment, whereas the other two scores —

Multilingualism (speaking) and Multilingualism (comprehension)—better capture language

knowledge. The participants showed considerable variation in this respect, with some polyglots

speaking or understanding more than 10 languages. As a result, the current exposure measure

may be less informative, as polyglots might not be exposed daily to all the languages they know.

In contrast, less multilingual participants (amongst which we can find DRs) are likely exposed to

multiple languages daily due to the multilingual nature of the region where data collection took

place. Hence, whereas multilingualism speaking and comprehension scores are highly positive

associated, exposure represents an anomaly, since we can have very multilingual speakers having

relatively low current exposure, which makes this measure less informative. This could explain

why only language knowledge, represented by measures assessing cumulative experience with

speaking and understanding one's languages, are positively related to linguistic and cognitive

skills. Conversely, current exposure to language, which provides a snapshot of the language

environment at the time of assessment, does not show the same relationship. Once DRs are

removed, multilingual exposure remains negatively associated with the component but not

significantly, possibly indicating the reduced variability between these three measures given that

DRs are less multilingual.

4.3. Additional components for language in TRs only

When DRs were removed from the sample, more components explaining the common variance

between brain and behaviour were identified. Particularly, Component 2 identified tasks linked to

phonological perception, speed of access to lexical items, naming speed and reading of items

without the support of predictive processes, for example word reading and non-sensical text

reading. This component is likely driven by the superior skills of TRs on these specific tasks. In

the full sample we were not able to identify this component, probably due to the poorer or more

variable performance of DRs that were included in the analysis, and due to the likely activation of

additional compensatory areas involved in these processes in DRs (Kuhl et al. 2020). Such

compensatory processes and brain regions may have increased the variability in the data, thereby

making it harder to extract other components. This suggests that while most features of

Component 1 represent more generalisable associations between brain-behavioural relationships,

the variables and areas associated with Component 2 represent an important building block of

language functions for the typical reading population, but do not cover the full range of

variability at least when it comes to developmental dyslexia. Component 3 also represents a less

generalisable trend, probably due to the inclusion of polyglots in our samples.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, brain-behaviour associations for language-relevant skills and speech processing

were investigated using PLS correlation analysis. Participants with different levels of

multilingual experience and reading ability were included, and the analyses were performed first

on the whole sample and then on a subset of TRs only, to explore which associations were stable

and which were modulated by the presence or absence of DRs.

Overall, in both samples, a main component including cognitive, linguistic and

phonological measures was found to be associated with cortical areas involved in

lexico/semantics, combinatorial processing and amodal semantic areas. Analyses excluding DRs

suggest that literacy and phonological processes may be more closely associated with language

and cognition in TRs than when DRs are included in the sample, pointing to more shared neural

resources between these processes in TRs. Furthermore, results from TRs only indicate that

additional components can be identified in populations without reading deficits, in particular, a

complementary component involving processing and motor speed, automatization and lexical

access that is supported by auditory and motor brain areas.

This work is a first step in exploring complex relationships underlying language use and

learning and domain-general and domain-specific non-linguistic skills in a multivariate way. We

believe that language, as a multifaceted and multicomponent ability, should be studied

comprehensively, that it should include broad behavioural characterisation of speakers and that it

should ideally explore the relationship between different data modalities (e.g. brain function and

structure, functional and structural connectivity, genetics, etc.). We believe that this approach can

advance our understanding of language, of how individual differences arise and of how different

abilities interact, and hope that future work will continue to unveil new aspects of these complex

relationships.

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7. AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Conceptualisation, I.B., A.R., O. K, R. B., N.G.; Data curation and preprocessing, I.B., A.R. and O.K.; Methodology, I.B.; Visualisation, I.B.; writing—original draft preparation, I. B.; writing—review & editing, I.B., A.R., O. K, R. B., N.G, funding acquisition, R.B and N.G.

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9. SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

Supplementary materials are openly available at the project's Open Science Framework page at

https://osf.io/4zcn2/?view_only=f1f5f11ba91c4e168e5321a198b4dc7a

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