

## PAPER

## Reading acquisition enhances an early visual process of contour integration

Marcin Szwed,<sup>1,2,3,4,5</sup> Paulo Ventura,<sup>6</sup> Luis Querido,<sup>6</sup> Laurent Cohen<sup>7,8</sup> and Stanislas Dehaene<sup>1,2,3,4,9</sup>

1. INSERM U992, Cognitive Neuroimaging Unit, IFR 49, Gif sur Yvette, France

2. Université Pierre et Marie Curie-Paris 6, Faculté de Médecine Pitié-Salpêtrière, Paris, France

3. CEA, NeuroSpin center, IFR 49, Gif sur Yvette, France

4. Université Paris XI, Orsay, France

5. Psychophysiology Laboratory, Institute of Psychology, Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland

6. Faculty of Psychology, University of Lisbon, Portugal

7. Inserm, ICM Research Center, U975, Paris, France

8. AP-HP, Groupe hospitalier Pitié-Salpêtrière, Department of Neurology, Paris, France

9. Collège de France, Paris, France

## Abstract

The acquisition of reading has an extensive impact on the developing brain and leads to enhanced abilities in phonological processing and visual letter perception. Could this expertise also extend to early visual abilities outside the reading domain? Here we studied the performance of illiterate, ex-illiterate and literate adults closely matched in age, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics, on a contour integration task known to depend on early visual processing. Stimuli consisted of a closed egg-shaped contour made of disconnected Gabor patches, within a background of randomly oriented Gabor stimuli. Subjects had to decide whether the egg was pointing left or right. Difficulty was varied by jittering the orientation of the Gabor patches forming the contour. Contour integration performance was lower in illiterates than in both ex-illiterate and literate controls. We argue that this difference in contour perception must reflect a genuine difference in visual function. According to this view, the intensive perceptual training that accompanies reading acquisition also improves early visual abilities, suggesting that the impact of literacy on the visual system is more widespread than originally proposed.

## Introduction

Integration of contours across the visual field is an essential step in vision, which has been related to the basic architecture of horizontal connections in early visual cortices (Gilbert & Wiesel, 1979, 1989). Here we examine whether even such a basic visual process can be influenced by the acquisition of reading, a major culture-dependent event with an extensive impact on cerebral organization (Dehaene, 2009). Functional neuroimaging studies have shown that learning to read leads to the development of a strong response to letter strings in the fusiform cortex in the left hemisphere, a region known as the visual word form area (Cohen, Lehericy, Chochon, Lemer, Rivaud & Dehaene, 2002; Dehaene, Pegado, Braga, Ventura, Filho, Jobert, Dehaene-Lambertz, Kolinsky, Morais & Cohen, 2010b; Fiez, Balota, Raichle & Petersen, 1999; Price, Wise & Frackowiak, 1996; Puce, Allison, Asgari, Gore & McCarthy, 1996). Anatomically, literate subjects show an increase of grey matter volume in several areas involved in

language processing (Carreiras, Seghier, Baqueiro, Estévez, Lozano, Devlin & Price, 2009), and of white matter in the splenium of the corpus callosum (Carreiras *et al.*, 2009; Castro-Caldas, Petersson, Reis, Stone-Elander & Ingvar, 1998) whose tracts may link the occipital, temporal and inferior parietal regions of both hemispheres. Learning to read also enhances phonemic awareness, the ability to explicitly manipulate the smallest units of spoken language (Morais, Bertelson, Cary & Alegria, 1986). Finally, recently, literacy has been shown to induce a broad enhancement of visual responses to non-letter stimuli such as simple checkerboards in lateral and mesial occipital cortices, including the primary visual area (Dehaene *et al.*, 2010b; see also Szwed, Dehaene, Kleinschmidt, Eger, Valabregue, Amadon & Cohen, 2011). The latter findings led us to ask whether learning to read could also have a behaviorally detectable effect on one of the basic features of the visual system, namely contour integration.

Recognition of everyday objects relies crucially on our ability to detect and integrate contours into coherent

Address for correspondence: Marcin Szwed, Inserm-CEA Cognitive Neuroimaging Unit U992, CEA/NeuroSpin, Bat 145, Point Courrier 156, F-91191 GIF/YVETTE, France; e-mail: mfszwed@gmail.com

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1 percepts. A long line of research starting with Gestalt  
 2 psychology (Köhler, 1947) has been devoted to this sub-  
 3 ject. In particular, it is known that the capacity to integrate  
 4 contours matures late. Five-year-old children are much  
 5 worse at integrating contours than 8-year-old children,  
 6 and adult-level performance is reached only around the  
 7 age of 13 (Kovacs, Kozma, Feher & Benedek, 1999). This  
 8 improvement in contour integration roughly coincides in  
 9 time with the acquisition of literacy. This coincidence  
 10 might be accidental. However, some have argued that  
 11 learning to read involves visual perceptual learning, a  
 12 form of implicit learning that involves improvement in  
 13 visual discrimination by repeated exposure to sensory  
 14 stimuli (Fahle & Poggio, 2004). A key consequence of such  
 15 perceptual learning would be to achieve fast reading by  
 16 integrating the features of several letters in parallel (Nazir,  
 17 2000; Nazir, Ben-Boutayab, Decoppet, Deutsch & Frost,  
 18 2004; Nazir & Huckauf, 2008; Szwed *et al.*, 2011). This  
 19 raises the possibility that such perceptual learning, while  
 20 initially associated to reading, could eventually enhance  
 21 general contour detection ability.

22 Integration of information across the visual field has  
 23 been extensively studied using the contour integration  
 24 paradigm (reviewed in Hess, Hayes & Field, 2003; Kov-  
 25 acs, 2000). In this paradigm, observers are presented with  
 26 a contour made out of local elements (Gabor patches)  
 27 embedded in an array of distractors (Figure 1). To detect  
 28 the contour, the observer has first to perceive the local  
 29 orientation of the individual elements and then to con-  
 30 nect them into a coherent contour by relying solely on  
 31 collinearity cues. By manipulating only the orientation of  
 32 elements, it is possible to make contours more or less  
 33 salient. In this way, long-range cortical interactions  
 34 underlying contour integration can be studied selectively.

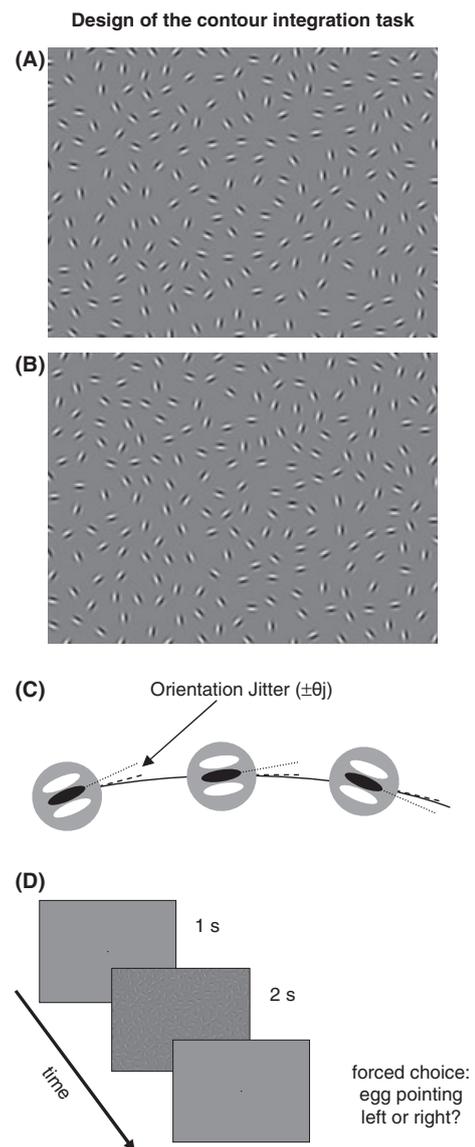
35 Here we propose that the several thousands of hours  
 36 spent on learning to read would not only make one an  
 37 expert reader, but also lead to improvements in fine-  
 38 grained visual integration in general. This hypothesis  
 39 predicts that in a contour integration task, illiterate  
 40 subjects should have a lower performance than ex-illit-  
 41 erate and literate controls closely matched in age,  
 42 socioeconomic and cultural characteristics (Table 1).

## 45 Methods

### 47 Contour detection task – stimuli

49 We used a variant of the contour integration task  
 50 developed by Kovacs and colleagues (Gervan & Kovacs,  
 51 2010; Kovacs & Julesz, 1993; Kozma-Wiebe, Silverstein,  
 52 Feher, Kovacs, Ulhaas & Wilkniss, 2006). The stimuli  
 53 consisted of a closed chain of Gabor patches forming an  
 54 egg shape within a background of randomly oriented  
 55 Gabor stimuli. The egg was pointing either left or right  
 56 (Figure 1A, B).

57 Stimuli were generated using a Monte Carlo technique,  
 58 where the contour and the background were controlled



**Figure 1** Stimuli and experimental design. (A, B) Samples of stimuli used. The images consisted of a closed chain of Gabor patches forming an egg-like shape within a background of randomly oriented Gabor stimuli. The egg was pointing either left or right. (A) Egg with  $0^\circ$  jitter pointing left. (B) Egg with  $11\text{--}12^\circ$  jitter pointing right. (C) The orientation jitter ( $\theta_j$ ) controlled the orientation of the element with respect to the contour, and thus, the stimulus difficulty ( $\theta_j = 0^\circ$  – perfect alignment). (D) Experimental design. The subjects performed a two-choice forced orientation judgment task. These images in (A, B) are published with the kind permission of I. Kovács, and are equivalent to those employed in Kozma-Wiebe *et al.* (2006) and in Gerván and Kovács (2010).

independently (Kozma-Wiebe *et al.*, 2006). The carrier spatial frequency of the Gabor patches was 5 c/deg and their contrast was 95%. The spacing between the contour elements was kept constant ( $8\lambda$ , where  $\lambda$  is the wavelength of the Gabor stimulus), as was the average spacing between the background elements. The D value (average background spacing/contour spacing) of each image was 0.9. This means that the distance between distractor

**Table 1** Subject populations. Ex-illiterates and illiterates were defined as adults who had received no early schooling during childhood. Among this population, ex-illiterates had fulfilled adult literacy courses, while illiterates were still unable to read even simple words (but could identify some letters). Literate subjects had received a normal education in literacy at an early age and were all normal readers. All subjects were of gipsy ethnicity, lived in a small town in the outskirts of Lisbon, were fully functional in their daily lives and socially integrated. They were thus matched as closely as possible on socioeconomic and cultural characteristics. The values given are mean  $\pm$  SD and SEM

Gabor patches was on average equal to 0.9 of the distance between Gabor patches forming the egg contour. It is known from previous results that with such stimuli ( $D < 1$ ), the contour can only be detected on the basis of long-range horizontal interactions between the adjacent elements and not on the basis of first-order density cues. This is because the distance between target elements is larger than the distance between targets and distractors.

The difficulty of the task was varied by jittering the orientation of the Gabor patches forming the contour. The orientation jitter ( $\theta_j$ ) controlled the orientation of the element with respect to the contour (Figure 1C). The orientation jitter of the contour elements was varied between 0 and 24 degrees across six difficulty levels (0 deg, 7–8 deg, 11–12 deg, 15–16 deg, 19–20 deg, 23–24 deg). Figure 1 A, B shows two contours, one (A) with 0 deg jitter pointing left, another with 11–12 deg jitter pointing right.

Testing was performed in a dimly lit room. Day-to-day consistency of illumination was verified with a luminance meter (Sekonic). The images subtended an area of  $12.8 \times 9.6$  degrees of visual field. The mean luminance of the monitor was  $16.5 \text{ cd/m}^2$ .

#### Contour detection task – experimental procedure

The experimental procedure is depicted in Figure 1D. Each trial began by 1 s fixation. The stimulus was then shown for 2 s. It was followed by a fixation cross that remained on the screen until the subjects gave an answer. Subjects performed a two-choice forced orientation judgment task in which they had to decide whether the contour was pointing left or right. Since subjects were not familiar with computers, the answer was given vocally. The experimenter then recorded the response with the keyboard. Before the experiment, the subjects were familiarized with the task, first using a PowerPoint presentation followed by a short trial session in which feedback was provided (10 stimuli at each of the 0, 11–12 and 19–20 deg difficulty (jitter) levels). In the main experiment subjects saw 60 stimuli at each of the six difficulty (jitter) levels. The stimuli were presented

starting with the easiest (0 level) and ending with the most difficult (23–24 level). No feedback was provided.

In our experiment, we used a two-choice forced discrimination task. Contour integration can be studied both with discrimination tasks and simple detection tasks (e.g. Field, Hayes & Hess, 1993; Kovacs *et al.*, 1999) and the results obtained with the two types of task are generally consistent (e.g. Kuai & Yu, 2006). Here we chose to use a discrimination task rather than a detection task because we were concerned that illiterate subjects might have less self-confidence than ex-illiterates and literates. In a detection paradigm, this could lead them to give up more easily on more difficult stimuli and to report ‘not detected’. To avoid such a situation of ‘stereotype threat’ (Smith, 2004), where illiterates think of themselves as less able and less skilled and act according to this self-image, we used a forced-choice procedure that required subjects to respond on every trial and minimized this potential confound.

#### Subjects

Three groups of subjects were tested in Portugal: literates ( $n = 17$ ), ex-illiterates ( $n = 17$ ), and illiterates ( $n = 14$ ). Ex-illiterates and illiterates were defined as adults who had received no early schooling during childhood. Among this population, ex-illiterates had fulfilled adult literacy courses (and typically went on to use reading on a daily basis at home and at work), while illiterates were still unable to read even simple words (but could identify some letters). Finally, literate subjects, who had received 4 years of normal education at an early age and were all normally proficient readers, were matched to these groups in age ( $F(2, 47) < 1, p = .86$ ). This design allowed us to separate between the effects of literacy *per se* and the broader effects of schooling, which include literacy but also a variety of other learned abilities (e.g. numeracy, mathematics, social skills, executive control, etc.).

Details of the three groups are summarized in Table 1. All subjects were of gipsy ethnicity and all lived in social projects in a small town in the outskirts of Lisbon. They were thus matched as closely as possible on socioeconomic and cultural characteristics, and all came from very similar households. All subjects had normal or corrected-to-normal visual acuity (Snellen chart for illiterate subjects). The average acuities for the three groups were 18.6/20, 19.8/20 and 18.6/20 for illiterate, ex-illiterate and literate groups, respectively (difference not significant, ANOVA,  $F(2, 95) = 1.78; p = .19$ ), and all subjects’ acuities were equal or superior to 15/20. All the subjects were fully functional in their daily lives and socially integrated. The subjects were recruited through a Portuguese non-governmental agency (AMUCIP; Association of the Gipsy Women of Portugal). Subjects received 40 Euros for their participation. All subjects underwent a battery of simple tests in order to verify their reading skills. In the letter identification task, the subjects were asked to name the 23 printed letters of the

1 Latin alphabet commonly used in the Portuguese lan-  
 2 guage. The word reading task comprised six simple  
 3 words to be read aloud. For pseudoword reading, eight  
 4 simple pseudowords were created by changing the first  
 5 phoneme of real words (e.g. 'tavallo' instead of 'cavalo',  
 6 which means 'horse' in Portuguese). The sentence read-  
 7 ing task was a validated Portuguese version of the  
 8 'Lobrot' test (Sucena & Castro, 2009), which comprises  
 9 36 sentences that must be completed with one word,  
 10 chosen among five options, in 5 minutes or less. A 100%  
 11 correct performance in the Lobrot test is reached by the  
 12 majority of children in the 4th grade.

13 Further details of the three groups are summarized  
 14 below and in Table 1.

15

#### 16 Illiterates

17

18 The illiterate subjects did not attend school at all as  
 19 children. They were able to identify five letters, on aver-  
 20 age, but they were unable to read words or pseudowords.

21

#### 22 Ex-illiterates

23

24 Like the illiterates, ex-illiterates had not attended school  
 25 during childhood. All had attended and fulfilled adult  
 26 literacy courses (one subject for 3 years; all the others for  
 27 4 years). Two subjects had attended a professional  
 28 training program (aimed at learning a job; Portuguese  
 29 government New Opportunity Program), one for  
 30 3 months and another for 9 months. Ex-illiterates iden-  
 31 tified all single letters, and were very good at reading  
 32 simple words and pseudowords. In the sentence-level  
 33 reading test (Lobrot), this group was only slightly worse  
 34 than the literates ( $t(32) = 2.65, p < .01$ ).

35

#### 36 Literates

37

38 The literates comprised subjects from the same commu-  
 39 nity as the illiterate and ex-illiterate groups, but with  
 40 4 years of early education. As expected, reading perfor-  
 41 mance was very good in all literate subjects.

42

#### 43 Data analysis

44

45 We fitted individual psychometric curves with a logistic  
 46 function using a Maximum Likelihood (ML) criterion.  
 47 The fitting was done in Matlab using the Palamedes  
 48 toolbox (Prins & Kingdom, 2009). The detection  
 49 threshold was defined as 75% correct performance. The  
 50 results were analyzed in Minitab (Minitab, Inc) and R  
 51 (<http://www.r-project.org/>).

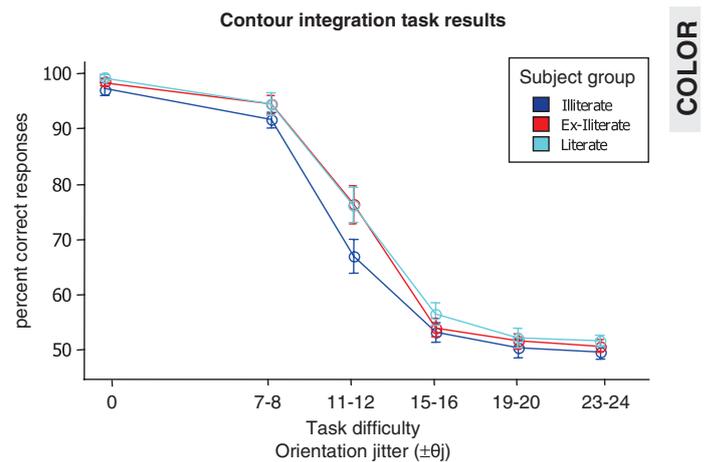
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#### 54 Results

55

56 Figure 2 shows the percentages of correct responses for  
 57 contours of increasing difficulty plotted for each group  
 58 of subjects. All subjects were very accurate for contours



**Figure 2** Contour integration task results. The percentages of correct responses for contours of increasing difficulty are plotted for each subject group (group sizes:  $n = 14$  for illiterates, and  $n = 17$  for ex-illiterates and literates). There was a significant effect of literacy on the subjects' capacity to correctly detect contours ( $p = .029$ ). Pairwise comparisons revealed significant differences between the illiterates and literates ( $p = .043$ ) and the illiterate and ex-illiterates ( $p = .013$ ). Chance level is 50%. Error bars denote SEM.

with no jitter (0 deg difficulty; all scores > 88%), indicating excellent task comprehension and compliance in all three groups. Median performances at this easiest level of difficulty were 98.33% for the illiterate and ex-illiterate groups and 100% for the literate group (difference non-significant,  $p = .25$ , Kruskal-Wallis test for non-normally distributed data). All performed at chance level (50%) for the two most difficult conditions: 19–20 deg and 23–24 deg.

We analyzed the data in an ANOVA with group and difficulty level as factors. Group was treated as a between-subjects factor and task difficulty as a within-subject factor. There was a significant effect of literacy on the subjects' capacity to correctly detect contours (ANOVA:  $F(2, 45) = 3.83; p = .029$ , no significant interaction with difficulty level,  $F(10, 225) = 0.94; p = .49$ ). Pairwise comparisons revealed significant differences between the illiterates and literates ( $F(1, 29) = 4.48; p = .042$ ) and the illiterate and ex-illiterates ( $F(1, 29) = 7.03; p = .012$ ). The difference between the ex-illiterates and literates was non-significant ( $F(1, 32) = 0.37; p = .54$ ). We conclude that illiterates have lower performance in the contour integration task.

The responses of a subject to a physical parameter – in our case the visibility of a contour – can be modeled by a psychometric function. This approach allows one to compute a single parameter, the detection threshold, which summarizes the subjects' responses across several difficulty levels. We estimated the individual subjects' detection thresholds by fitting a logistic function to their responses, with the slope and lapse rates as free parameters (the lapse rate is the percentage of errors made

under optimal viewing conditions that is not attributed to the failure of the detection process itself but rather to sub-optimal efficiency of higher cognitive processes such as attention or concentration; Kingdom & Prins, 2010; Wydell, Vuorinen, Helenius & Salmelin, 2003). Figure 3A depicts an example of curve fitting for one subject (DA).

Figure 3B shows the individual subjects' psychometric curves for the illiterate, ex-illiterate and literate groups. Figure 3C shows the estimated detection thresholds for the illiterate, ex-illiterate and literate groups. Detection thresholds were lower for the illiterate group ( $9.7 \pm 0.5$  deg, mean  $\pm$  SEM), than for the ex-illiterate group ( $11.5 \pm 0.4$  deg, mean  $\pm$  SEM) and the literate group ( $11.8 \pm 0.4$  deg, mean  $\pm$  SEM). There was a significant effect of group on the subjects' capacity to correctly detect contours (ANOVA,  $F(2, 47) = 6.65$ ,  $p = .003$ ). Pairwise comparisons revealed significant differences between the illiterate and literate groups ( $F(1, 30) = 12.65$ ,  $p = .001$ ) and the illiterate and ex-illiterate groups ( $F(1, 30) = 8.14$ ,  $p = 0.008$ ). The difference between the ex-illiterate and literate groups was non-significant ( $F(1, 32) = 0.55$ ,  $p = .35$ ). We conclude again that illiterates have lower performance in the contour integration task.

To make sure that our result does not rely on a few subjects who failed to properly understand instructions, we repeated our analysis this time removing three illiterate subjects who scored below 92% in the easiest condition. The main effect remained significant, with an overall effect of literacy ( $F(2, 44) = 3.70$ ;  $p = .033$ ) and a significant difference between the illiterate and ex-illiterate populations ( $F(1, 27) = 4.33$ ;  $p = .047$ ). This leads us to the conclusion that the effect of literacy on contour detection is robust, and does not rely unduly on a few illiterate subjects with the lowest scores.

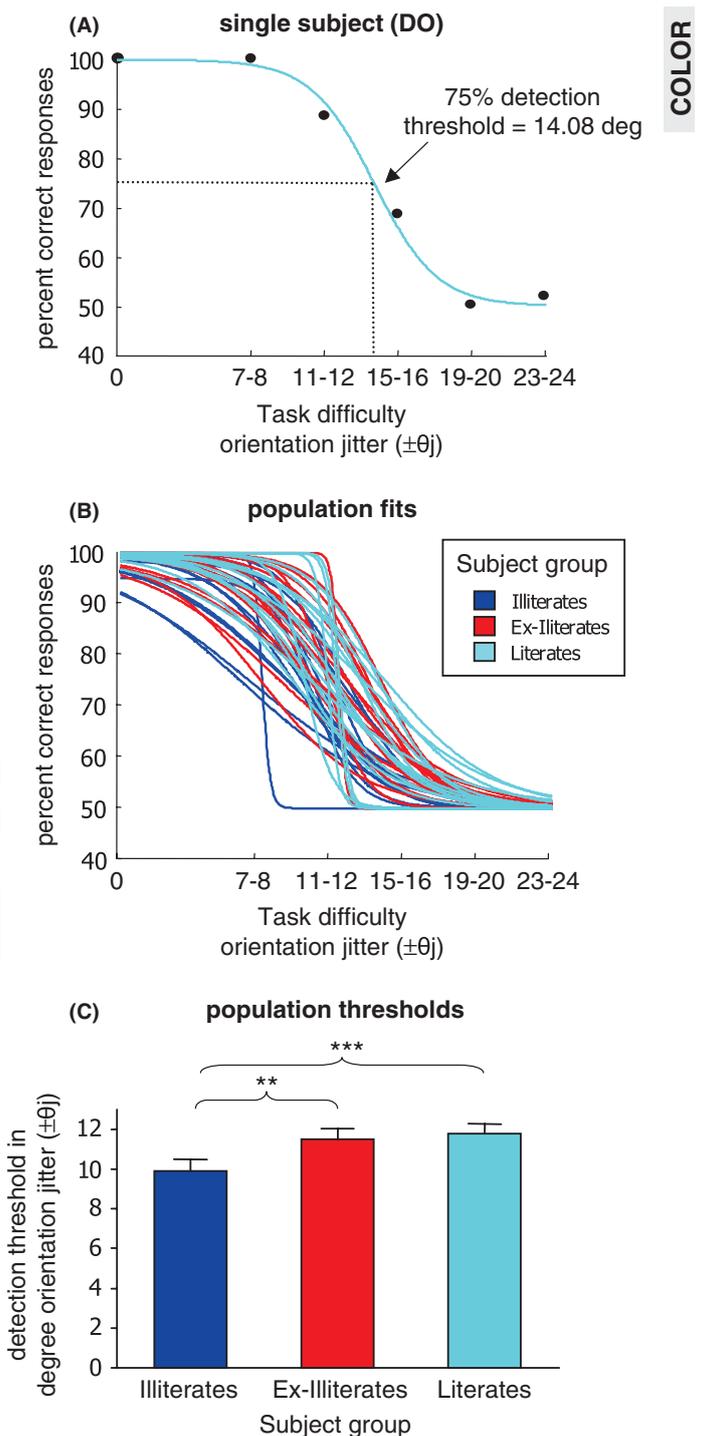
## Discussion

Our results indicate that illiterate subjects are less efficient at integrating visual contours than matched ex-illiterate and literate subjects. To our knowledge, this is the first demonstration of an impact of literacy on early visual processes. Indeed, as reviewed below, previous demonstrations of the impact of literacy on visual cognition were restricted to late and possibly strategic aspects of visual analysis.

### Previous studies on the impact of literacy on visual cognition

Aspects of visual cognition which have been studied in illiterates included both early perceptual processes and post-perceptual processes involved in the conscious, intentional analysis of the visual world.

Early perceptual processes in illiterate and literate adults were studied by Kolinsky, Morais and Verhaege



**Figure 3** Psychometric curves and contour detection thresholds. We estimated the individual subjects' psychometric curves using a logistic function. (A) Example fitting for subject DA, a literate. A logistic function is fitted to the results (dots), and threshold is determined at 75% correct performance. (B) Individual subjects' psychometric curves for the illiterate, ex-illiterate and literate groups. The resulting 75% detection thresholds are depicted in (C). Significance levels: \*\*  $p = .008$ ; \*\*\*  $p = .001$ ; Error bars in (C) denote SEM.

(1994) using illusory contour stimuli. The authors found no differences in the rate of observed illusory contours between these subject groups.

1 In contrast, several differences between illiterate and  
 2 literate subjects have been reported for conscious, post-  
 3 perceptual analytic processes. A first set of reports focused  
 4 on the processing of whole–part relationships. In a task in  
 5 which subjects had to detect a part made of three segments  
 6 within a figure made of six segments, Kolinsky, Morais,  
 7 Content and Cary (1987) found that illiterates and  
 8 ex-illiterates performed at the same level, and that both  
 9 those groups did less well than literate children attending  
 10 the second grade. In another study, Ventura, Pattama-  
 11 dilok, Fernandes, Klein, Morais and Kolinsky (2008) used  
 12 the Framed-Line-Test, in which subjects have to draw a  
 13 line that is identical to a reference line embedded in a  
 14 square frame. Depending on the task, what should be  
 15 matched is either the absolute length of the model line  
 16 (absolute task) or its ratio to the surrounding frame (rel-  
 17 ative task). They found that schooled literates performed  
 18 better on the absolute than on the relative task. However,  
 19 both illiterate and ex-illiterate subjects showed the reverse  
 20 pattern. Thus, both studies were taken as an indication  
 21 that performance depends not on literacy *per se* but on  
 22 schooling, since differences were found between, on the  
 23 one hand, schooled literate adults, and on the other hand  
 24 unschooled subjects irrespective of their reading ability.

25 However, literacy, rather than schooling, was shown to  
 26 be critical in the Cooper visual task (Brito-Mendes,  
 27 Morais & Kolinsky, 2005). Cooper and Podgorny (1976)  
 28 attempted to distinguish between holistic and analytic  
 29 processing using a same–different decision task on visual  
 30 patterns. Asking subjects to classify pairs of closed and  
 31 irregular black-colored shapes as same or different, she  
 32 found that some subjects used a holistic strategy ('same'  
 33 responses were faster than 'different' responses, and the  
 34 degree of dissimilarity did not affect 'different' responses),  
 35 whereas others used an analytic strategy ('same' responses  
 36 were not faster than 'different responses', and latency to  
 37 'different' responses increased as similarity increased).  
 38 Examining illiterate, ex-illiterate, and literate people in this  
 39 task, Brito-Mendes *et al.* (2005) found that illiterates  
 40 displayed clear signs of holistic processing, whereas both  
 41 ex-illiterates and literates showed a more analytic  
 42 processing.

43 A second set of studies on high-level visual tasks in  
 44 illiterate subjects focused on the ability to discriminate  
 45 mirror images (enantiomorphy). Most natural categories  
 46 are invariant for left–right inversion. Accordingly, our  
 47 visual system readily performs mirror-image generaliza-  
 48 tion, a process that has been explored at the level of  
 49 single inferotemporal neurons (Logothetis & Pauls, 1995;  
 50 Rollenhagen & Olson, 2000), and using fMRI in healthy  
 51 humans (Dehaene, Nakamura, Jobert, Kuroki, Ogawa &  
 52 Cohen, 2010a). However, mastering the Latin alphabet  
 53 requires taking mirror-image contrasts into account, in  
 54 order to distinguish e.g. p from q and b from d. Hence,  
 55 learning to read may push the beginning reader to  
 56 'unlearn' invariance for mirror symmetry even for non-  
 57 linguistic stimuli (e.g. Dehaene *et al.*, 2010a). Under such  
 58 a view, a perceptual sensitivity to enantiomorphy would

develop under the pressure of literacy acquisition. In a  
 recent study (Kolinsky, Verhaege, Fernandes, Mengarda,  
 Grimm-Cabral & Morais, submitted) this hypothesis was  
 evaluated by comparing the performance of unschooled  
 illiterate adults, schooled literates and unschooled adults  
 alphabetized at adult age (i.e. ex-illiterates) in various  
 sorting and same–different comparison tasks. Illiterates  
 performed far worse than all other subjects when the task  
 required paying attention to enantiomorphic differences.  
 Learning a writing system that incorporates enantio-  
 morphic letters thus reduces the default invariance for  
 mirror symmetry, a process which seems to generalize to  
 non-linguistic stimuli.

In summary, literacy has been shown to improve per-  
 formance in high-level visual tasks such as the Cooper task  
 (Brito-Mendes *et al.*, 2005). The present study shows that  
 such improvement extends to an early visual contour  
 detection task. We believe that similar results should be  
 obtained with all contour stimuli that form a good conti-  
 nuity such as circles (e.g. Kuai & Yu, 2006), as previous  
 work shows that contour detection is particularly enhanced  
 whenever the contour is a closed shape with good Gestalt  
 continuity (Kovacs & Julesz, 1993). On the other hand, it is  
 less certain whether the improvements due to literacy  
 would extend to contour stimuli that do not form good  
 Gestalt continua like the lines used by Field and colleagues  
 (1993). As will be discussed now, our findings suggest that  
 low-level perceptual mechanisms involved in contour  
 detection may be modified by the acquisition of reading.

#### *Reading, contour integration and low-level visual processing*

Reading has been traditionally viewed as a high-level  
 process, yet fast reading of small letter size text puts  
 heavy demands on early visual processing. Indeed, it has  
 also been suggested that early visual cortex may develop  
 preferential tuning for letters (Nazir, 2000; Nazir *et al.*,  
 2004; Nazir & Huckauf, 2008). Nazir and colleagues  
 have argued that the capacity to detect several letters in  
 parallel, which is the hallmark of skilled reading, relies  
 on perceptual learning in early visual areas.

Perceptual learning is a form of implicit learning that  
 leads to performance improvement through repeated  
 exposure to stimuli (reviewed in Fahle & Poggio, 2004). It  
 is known that perceptual learning can lead to functional  
 changes in early sensory cortices (e.g. Karni & Sagi,  
 1991; Sasaki, Nanez & Watanabe, 2010; Schoups, Vogels,  
 Qian & Orban, 2001; Sigman, Pan, Yang, Stern, Sil-  
 bersweig & Gilbert, 2005) and that these modifications  
 sometimes occur in parallel with the modifications of  
 connections between the visual and 'decision-making'  
 areas of the brain (Chowdhury, DeAngelis & Fine, 2008;  
 Law & Gold, 2008).

It is well established that contour integration is asso-  
 ciated with the same neural structures, i.e. the early visual  
 cortex (area V1) in conjunction with higher-level areas  
 that provide top-down contextual control. These neural

1 correlates of contour processing have been firmly estab-  
 2 lished by psychophysical methods (Fahle & Poggio,  
 3 2004), fMRI (Kourtzi, Tolias, Altmann, Augath &  
 4 Logothetis, 2003; Schwartz, Maquet & Frith, 2002) and  
 5 primate electrophysiology (Kourtzi *et al.*, 2003; Li, Piech  
 6 & Gilbert, 2008). In particular, it is known that contour  
 7 integration relies on horizontal connections in the pri-  
 8 mary visual cortex which connect distant orientation  
 9 columns sharing the same line orientation preference  
 10 (Gilbert & Wiesel, 1979, 1989).

11 The idea that reading acquisition might also partially  
 12 rely on changes in early visual cortex has received  
 13 relatively less attention (see however Nazir, 2000; Nazir  
 14 *et al.*, 2004; Nazir & Huckauf, 2008). Nevertheless, that  
 15 idea has been recently substantiated by two fMRI  
 16 experiments. Szwed and colleagues (2011) studied acti-  
 17 vations to words and objects in early and intermediate  
 18 visual areas (V1, V2, V3v, V4) in adult readers. Consis-  
 19 tent with previous reports (see for example Grill-Spector  
 20 & Malach, 2004), these areas were either equally or more  
 21 activated by scrambled objects than by intact objects.  
 22 However, for words the pattern was reversed, as words  
 23 caused more activation than scrambled words. Thus early  
 24 visual cortices exhibited a preference for written materi-  
 25 als. This effect could reflect early visual perceptual  
 26 learning under the pressure for fast, parallel processing  
 27 that is more prominent in reading than other visual  
 28 cognitive processes.

29 In a second study, Dehaene and colleagues (2010b)  
 30 measured brain activation to various stimulus classes  
 31 including faces, objects, words and horizontal and vertical  
 32 checkerboards in literate and illiterate adults. Among  
 33 other findings, Dehaene and colleagues found that literacy  
 34 increases occipital responsivity to essentially all the con-  
 35 trasted black-and-white visual stimuli used in their study.  
 36 Furthermore, literacy enhanced responses in the primary  
 37 visual cortex not only to written words, but also to hori-  
 38 zontal checkerboards presented at the foveal and hori-  
 39 zontal location in which words are commonly perceived  
 40 (Rayner, 1998). Thus, the perceptual learning associated  
 41 with the acquisition of literacy seems to generalize to  
 42 checkerboard stimuli presented at the trained location.

43 Along the same lines, we suggest that some visual  
 44 expertise associated with literacy is generic enough to  
 45 facilitate contour integration beyond alphabetic stimuli.  
 46 Letters are made of small high-contrast contours. We  
 47 speculate that detecting letters in a rapid and effortless  
 48 manner – a key ability in skilled reading – relies on  
 49 contour detection more than other forms of visual cog-  
 50 nition such as object recognition, which is less parallel  
 51 and also relies on cues such as texture or movement.  
 52 Under such a view, learning to read would involve  
 53 extensive training in contour detection leading to chan-  
 54 ges in early visual cortex (area V1) and higher-level visual  
 55 areas that are commonly associated with visual percep-  
 56 tual learning (Chowdhury *et al.*, 2008; Karni & Sagi,  
 57 1991; Law & Gold, 2008; Sasaki *et al.*, 2010; Schoups  
 58 *et al.*, 2001; Sigman *et al.*, 2005).

### *Underlying neural mechanisms*

What exactly are the neuronal integration mechanisms that are left underdeveloped in illiterates, and what are the changes in learning? The detection of contours relies on perceptual binding of individual elements into a coherent shape. On a neuronal level, the individual elements – line fragments of a given orientation – are detected by cells in primary visual area V1 which are sensitive to line orientation (Hubel & Wiesel, 1968). V1 cells respond to lines of a preferred orientation (e.g. vertical) falling into their receptive field, which is a quite small fragment of the visual field (0.2–1 deg). Importantly, their responses are also influenced by the presence of other line fragments beyond the classical receptive field. On a behavioral level, these influences have been extensively explored in the collinear facilitation (or lateral facilitation) paradigm, which studies contrast detection of elements within a contour (e.g. Polat & Sagi, 1993; Solomon & Morgan, 2000; Wehrhahn & Dresch, 1998; Yu & Levi, 2000), (for a recent review, see Loffler, 2008). In this paradigm, observers are required to detect the presence of a near-threshold Gabor patch flanked by other, clearly visible Gabor patches ('flankers'). The detection of the target is usually facilitated when the flankers are collinear.

It has been established that on a neuronal level these influences arise predominantly from horizontal interactions between neighboring V1 cells (e.g. Kapadia, Ito, Gilbert & Westheimer, 1995) which are carried out by the plexus of connections in superficial layers of the cortex (e.g. Gilbert & Wiesel, 1989). These connections provide the substrate for complex computations engaged in binding distinct elements into one contour. Critically, it has been shown that the functioning of these connections can be modified by training. Thus, extensive training can alter response properties of V1 cells, and induce in them strong responses to contours that lie beyond their classical receptive field (Li *et al.*, 2008). V1 cells can be therefore made to 'pay attention' to more complex features.

A person learning to read has to learn quick and parallel detection of complex visual targets – letters. We argue that this learning process involves plastic changes in early visual cortex parallel to those described in primates by Li *et al.* (2008). Such changes would lead to remodeling of the plexus of connections in superficial layers of the early visual cortex (e.g. Gilbert & Wiesel, 1989) accompanied by changes in the way that these connections can be modulated by higher order areas (McManus, Li & Gilbert, 2011).

While the few anatomical studies comparing illiterate subjects to literate controls did not find evidence of grey matter changes in early visual areas (Carreiras *et al.*, 2009), several experiments have nevertheless shown that the adult human brain can undergo structural plasticity (indexed by grey matter changes) in response to the acquisition of a new skill (e.g. Maguire, Gadian, Johnsrude, Good, Ashburner, Frackowiak & Frith, 2000). Notably, Kwok, Niu, Kay, Zhou, Mo, Jin, So and Tan (2011) have recently

1 demonstrated that such changes can occur in the visual  
 2 system: learning new color categories can produce rapid  
 3 increase in grey matter in areas V2/V3 of adult human  
 4 subjects after as little as 2 hours of training. We believe  
 5 that similar changes in early visual areas driven by the  
 6 acquisition of literacy could underlie the improvement in  
 7 contour detection capacity reported here.

8  
 9 *The role of attention and development and implications*  
 10 *for dyslexia*  
 11

12 Several factors, such as attention, executive control,  
 13 psychiatric or neurological disorders, can impact per-  
 14 formance on the task we used. It has been reported, for  
 15 example, that schizophrenic patients show decreased  
 16 performance on the same contour integration task as  
 17 used here (Silverstein, Hatashita-Wong, Schenkel, Wilk-  
 18 niss, Kovacs, Feher, Smith, Giocochea, Uhlhaas, Car-  
 19 piniello & Savitz, 2006; Silverstein, Kovacs, Corry &  
 20 Valone, 2000; Uhlhaas, Phillips, Mitchell & Silverstein,  
 21 2006). Studies using another visual grouping task also  
 22 reported impairments of visual organization in schizo-  
 23 phrenic patients (van Assche & Giersch, 2009). Both  
 24 types of study have linked the deficit in schizophrenic  
 25 patients to volitional deficits that lead to reduced top-  
 26 down feedback from attention regions (Silverstein,  
 27 Berten, Essex, Kovacs, Susmaras & Little, 2009; van  
 28 Assche & Giersch, 2009). In the case of our study,  
 29 however, it was unlikely that the differences found could  
 30 be due to attention deficits or education since we tested  
 31 groups of ex-illiterate control subjects closely matched in  
 32 age, socioeconomic and cultural characteristics (Table 1,  
 33 Methods).<sup>1</sup> Therefore, we believe that the differences in  
 34 contour integration reported in this paper reflect genuine  
 35 differences in low-level visual function.

36 The late development of contour integration in children  
 37 has been linked (Kovacs, 2000) to the time course of the  
 38 maturation of the visual system (Burkhalter, 1993; Burk-  
 39 halter, Bernardo & Charles, 1993). This maturation results  
 40 from the interplay of innate properties and of environ-  
 41 mental stimulations and interactions. In cases where the  
 42 visual input is abnormal, for example in amblyopic sub-  
 43 jects, contour integration is impeded (e.g. Hess, McIlhagga  
 44 & Field, 1997). Our paper demonstrates that in an oppo-  
 45 site manner, intensive perceptual training such as that in-  
 46 volved in the acquisition of reading may improve contour  
 47 integration abilities above the level reached by subjects  
 48 matched in all respects except literacy.

49  
 50 <sup>1</sup> Moreover, we have recently tested the very same subjects in a different  
 51 visual cognition task that does not put a heavy weight on early visual  
 52 processing: the part-probe verification task adapted from Palmer  
 53 (Kolinsky, Morais & Brito-Mendes, 1990; Kolinsky *et al.*, 1987; Palmer,  
 54 1977). We did not find any differences in performance between illiter-  
 55 ates and ex-illiterates. Thus, the illiterates and ex-illiterates tested in this  
 56 experiment have different performance in the contour integration task  
 57 but similar performance in a different visual cognition task. In our  
 58 opinion, it is therefore very unlikely that our results could be driven by  
 an attentional deficit.

Our results might also bring a new argument into the ongoing debate on dyslexia and whether its causes are visuospatial or phonological (Ahissar, Lubin, Putter-Katz & Banai, 2006; Di Filippo, Zoccolotti & Ziegler, 2008; Valdois, Bosse & Tainturier, 2004; Vidyasagar & Pammer, 2010; Ziegler & Goswami, 2005; Ziegler, Pech-Georgel, Dufau & Grainger, 2010; Bosse, Tainturier & Valdois 2007; Lallier, Donnadieu, Berger & Valdois, 2010; Peyrin, Demonet, N'Guyen-Morel, Le Bas & Valdois, 2011). Previous research has found that among several visuo-spatial deficits, dyslexic subjects have inferior contour integration abilities (Simmers & Bex, 2001). Our results raise the possibility that this deficit, rather than being a cause of dyslexia, could be in fact its consequence. According to this explanation, the putative phonological deficit at the source of the dyslexia would disrupt reading acquisition and therefore, as an indirect consequence, the contour integration abilities of dyslexic subjects would fail to improve as they do in normal readers. This hypothesis might also explain the reduced ability to recognize line drawings of objects observed in dyslexic subjects, which also show reduced PET activations in high-order visual system to both words and drawings (McCrorry, Mechelli, Frith & Price, 2005). If more evidence confirms this possibility, and if other visuospatial deficits observed in dyslexia (e.g. Ziegler *et al.*, 2010) could be explained in a similar manner, it might become possible to reconcile the two apparently contradictory visuospatial and phonological theories of dyslexia.

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<i>Instruction to printer</i>	<i>Textual mark</i>	<i>Marginal mark</i>
Leave unchanged	... under matter to remain	Ⓟ
Insert in text the matter indicated in the margin	∧	New matter followed by ∧ or ∧ <sup>Ⓢ</sup>
Delete	/ through single character, rule or underline or ┌───┐ through all characters to be deleted	Ⓞ or Ⓞ <sup>Ⓢ</sup>
Substitute character or substitute part of one or more word(s)	/ through letter or ┌───┐ through characters	new character / or new characters /
Change to italics	— under matter to be changed	↙
Change to capitals	≡ under matter to be changed	≡
Change to small capitals	≡ under matter to be changed	≡
Change to bold type	~ under matter to be changed	~
Change to bold italic	≈ under matter to be changed	≈
Change to lower case	Encircle matter to be changed	≡
Change italic to upright type	(As above)	⊕
Change bold to non-bold type	(As above)	⊖
Insert 'superior' character	/ through character or ∧ where required	Υ or Υ under character e.g. Υ or Υ
Insert 'inferior' character	(As above)	∧ over character e.g. ∧
Insert full stop	(As above)	⊙
Insert comma	(As above)	,
Insert single quotation marks	(As above)	Ƴ or ƴ and/or ƶ or Ʒ
Insert double quotation marks	(As above)	ƶ or Ʒ and/or Ʒ or ƶ
Insert hyphen	(As above)	⊥
Start new paragraph	┌	┌
No new paragraph	┐	┐
Transpose	└┐	└┐
Close up	linking ○ characters	Ⓞ
Insert or substitute space between characters or words	/ through character or ∧ where required	Υ
Reduce space between characters or words		↑