

Factors explaining deficits in reading acquisition: The case of Williams syndrome

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▶ To cite this version:

Anne-Sophie Pezzino, Nathalie Marec-Breton, Corentin Gonthier, Agnès Lacroix. Factors explaining deficits in reading acquisition: The case of Williams syndrome. Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research, 2021, 64 (10), pp.3894-3908. 10.1044/2021_JSLHR-19-00404 . hal-03627529

HAL Id: hal-03627529 https://hal.science/hal-03627529

Submitted on 26 Jan 2024

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1	Factors explaining deficits in reading acquisition:
2	The case of Williams syndrome
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21 ABSTRACT

22

Purpose: Multiple factors impact reading acquisition in individuals with reading disability, 23 24 including genetic disorders such as Williams syndrome (WS). Despite a relative strength in oral language, individuals with WS usually have an intellectual disability and tend to display 25 deficits in areas associated with reading. There is substantial variability in their reading skills. 26 While some authors have postulated that phonological deficits are at the source of their 27 28 reading deficits, others have suggested that they can be attributed to visuospatial deficits. The present study was the first to undertake an in-depth exploration of reading skills among 29 French-speaking children and adults with WS. We tested the assumption that some factors 30 influence performance on single-word identification among individuals with WS, with a focus 31 on the roles of phonological awareness and visuospatial skills. Method: Participants were 29 32 French-speaking adults with WS and 192 controls matched for nonverbal mental age and 33 reading level. We administered tests assessing reading (decoding and word recognition), 34 35 vocabulary (expressive and receptive), phonological and visuospatial skills. We also controlled for chronological age and nonverbal reasoning. Results: Phonemic awareness was 36 37 the most predictive factor of single-word identification in the WS group. Visuospatial skills also contributed, but not more nor beyond other factors. More broadly, reasoning skills may 38 39 also have accounted for the variability in single-word identification in WS, but this was not the case for either chronological age or vocabulary. Conclusions: There is considerable 40 41 heterogeneity among adults with WS, who may be either readers or prereaders. Similar 42 profiles identified among individuals with other specific learning disabilities suggest that high 43 reading variability is not specific to the neuropsychological profile of WS. We discuss a multidimensional approach to the factors involved in reading deficits in WS. 44

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Keywords: reading, multidimensional approach, phonological skills, visuospatial skills,
Williams syndrome

49 **1. Introduction**

50 Reading is a daily necessity for individuals who want to remain informed or entertained, or who want to use modern technologies for social and communication purposes (functional 51 literacy; see World Literacy Foundation, 2015). Learning to read can be difficult for 52 53 individuals with intellectual disability, as is the case in genetic disorders such as Williams syndrome (WS). However, studies on French-speaking individuals with intellectual disability 54 are still rare, even though learning to read is more complex for deep orthographies such as 55 56 French. Deep orthographies (e.g., French and English) are characterized by substantial inconsistencies in the relationships between graphemes and phonemes, whereas shallow 57 orthographies (e.g., Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian) are characterized by more consistent 58 relationships (for a review, see Castles et al., 2018). French contains orthographic 59 inconsistencies and complexities, including multiletter graphemes (around 130 graphemes for 60 61 37 phonemes), context-dependent rules, irregularities, and morphological effects, but a simple syllabic structure (Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). Orthographic depth affects the time it 62 takes to learn spelling-to-sound mapping (for dyslexia, see Paulesu et al., 2001), but not the 63 64 factors underlying reading skills (similar across European languages) (Caravolas et al., 2012).

Studying reading skills and their acquisition in French-speaking individuals with WS could help them to gain equal educational and learning opportunities in our society. Although the purpose of reading is ultimately to understand what is being read, the present study focused on single-word reading, which can be regarded as a foundation skill for other abilities, including reading comprehension (Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). As word identification is a crucial step in reading acquisition, it is important to verify that it is fully mastered before examining the higher-level processing required for comprehension.

73 1.1. Cognitive and language profile in Williams syndrome

74 WS is a rare neurodevelopmental disorder with an estimated prevalence of 1 in 7500-20 000, caused by the deletion of 16-28 genes on chromosome 7 (7q11.23) (Scherer & 75 Osborne, 2007; Strømme et al., 2002). Researchers have reported mild-to-moderate 76 77 intellectual disability in most individuals with WS, with an average intellectual quotient (IQ) between 50 and 60 (for a review, see Martens et al., 2008). The cognitive profile of a typical 78 individual with WS is very heterogeneous (for a review, see Pezzino et al., 2017): language 79 production, receptive vocabulary and face recognition skills are considered to be relatively 80 preserved, whereas phonological processing (including phonological awareness¹ and 81 82 auditory-verbal memory) and visuospatial processes (including perceptual abilities, 83 visuoconstructive abilities, visuospatial memory) are severely affected (Dessalegn et al., 2013; Menghini et al., 2010; Pezzino et al., 2017; for neuroimaging studies, see Landau et al., 84 2006). In this section, we focus on language skills and visuospatial skills, which are of 85 particular importance for the acquisition of reading. 86

87 1.1.1. Language skills

Vocabulary is not totally preserved in WS: performance is higher for receptive vocabulary than for expressive vocabulary, with 86% of individuals with WS below the 10th percentile in expressive vocabulary (Karmiloff-Smith et al., 1997; Laing et al., 2001; Martens et al., 2008; Mervis, 2009; Monnery et al., 2002; Ypsilanti et al., 2005). More broadly, some language skills in individuals with WS have been observed to follow the same pattern found in typical development, but with a delayed developmental trajectory². These include lexicosemantic skills, word fluency, syntax, morphosyntax, and semantic skills (Karmiloff-

¹ Phonological awareness (or metaphonological) is a meta-cognitive skill allows one to attend to, discriminate, remember, and manipulate sounds at the sentence, word and oral units (syllable and phonemes) level.

 $^{^2}$ This notion is developed in the neuroconstructivism approach of Karmiloff-Smith (1998), whereby some skills may be relatively preserved despite atypical development. When performance of individuals with WS is similar to or better than that of individuals matched on nonverbal mental age, it can be concluded that the development of the relevant skills is delayed but not atypical. In other words, development can show a typical pattern, but with a level equivalent to that of a child with a lower chronological age but the same mental age.

Smith et al., 1997; Martens et al., 2008). Other skills demonstrate an atypical pattern of
development, including phonological processing, verbal fluency, morphology, semantic
integration, and pragmatic skills (for French speakers, see Monnery et al., 2002; for Italian
speakers, see Bello et al., 2004; Burani et al., 2006; Vicari et al., 2004; for English speakers,
see Mervis, 2009; Perovic & Wexler, 2007; Ring & Clahsen, 2005; Stojanovik, 2006). These
early linguistic specificities contribute to a reduced lexical repertoire (Martens et al., 2008;
Perovic & Wexler, 2007; for the dysphasia profile, see Lahey & Edwards 1999).

Even within impaired language abilities, individuals with WS can display major 102 dissociations. For example, the literature on WS systematically highlights weaknesses in 103 104 phonological processing. However, in the case of phonological awareness, syllable awareness is intact in individuals with WS (except for syllable suppression), and rime performance is 105 comparable to that of chronological age-matched peers, whereas phonemic awareness is 106 107 poorer (Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008; Menghini et al., 2004). The source of these deficits is unclear. Phonological deficits have been attributed to auditory-verbal memory deficits, 108 impeding phonological unit manipulation and phonological coding (using the phonological 109 loop) (Garayzabal & Cuetos Vega 2008; Karmiloff-Smith et al., 1997; Levy et al., 2003; 110 111 Majerus et al., 2003; Menghini et al., 2010; Rhodes et al., 2011; Temple, 2003; for a review, 112 see Majerus, 2019). Some studies point to an atypical development of the language system in WS, with a detrimental effect of phonological variables on lexicosemantic variables, 113 potentially related to abnormal auditory-perceptual processing (Majerus et al., 2011). Other 114 115 studies also suggest that the phonological deficits could be explained by atypical development of prosody (all oral features of verbal expression; see Catterall et al., 2006) or an excessive 116 117 cognitive load in phonological tasks (Cupples & Iacono, 2002; Levy et al., 2003).

118 *1.1.2. Visuospatial skills*

Regarding visuospatial skills, studies report the preservation of visuoperceptual skills 119 120 requiring intermediate or late perceptual processing (shape, object and face recognition; for reviews, see Heiz, 2019). Deficits in early perceptual processing (line orientation judgement) 121 and visuoconstructive skills (copying, drawing and constructing cube patterns; Heiz, 2019; 122 Martens et al., 2008) seem to stem from difficulty with simultaneous local and global 123 processing (i.e. processing of details versus the broader pattern; Farran et al., 2003; Heiz & 124 125 Barisnikov, 2016), as well as from difficulty with mental manipulation of visuospatial representations (as involved for example in the block design task; see Farran et al., 2003; for 126 neuroimaging studies, see Landau et al., 2006; Rondan et al., 2008). Visuomotor integration 127 128 skills demonstrates a typical pattern of development, but with a delayed trajectory, marked by deficits in visuomotor perceptual integration and motor coordination in graphic production 129 tasks (Heiz, 2019; Heiz & Barisnikov, 2016; Wuang & Tsai, 2017). Individuals with WS also 130 131 have visuospatial working memory deficits (difficulty with maintaining and recalling serial information; for a review, see Majerus, 2018, 2019). However, studies suggest more 132 difficulties with spatial structuring and visual exploration than with short-term storage 133 (Rhodes et al., 2011). Hoffman et al. (2003) described it as a cascade effect combining 134 135 executive deficits. More broadly, the nature of the task may affect the choice of local/global 136 processing and help to explain the visuospatial performance of individuals with WS (D'Souza et al., 2016). 137

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139 *1.2*.

1.2. Reading ability in Williams syndrome

Reading comprehension, the overarching goal of all reading activities, is the multiplicative product of written word recognition (which requires explicit teaching before it is automatized) and verbal comprehension (a natural process requiring no explicit teaching; for a review, see Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). By the time they start learning to read, learners already have relatively sophisticated spoken-language skills, including knowledge of
the meaning of many spoken words (Casalis et al., 2015). Written word recognition, however,
is another matter.

Lexical quality (the quality of stored mental representations specifying the form and 147 meaning of each word) is determined mainly by exposure to printed words (Perfetti, 2007). It 148 affects the development of orthographic representations and, consequently, single-word and 149 150 sentence reading performance (Casalis et al., 2015). If lexical quality is low, some of the reader's limited cognitive resources have to be directed to word recognition (a low-level 151 process), meaning that comprehension (a high-level process) is compromised (for a review, 152 153 see Castles et al., 2018). The act of decoding words provides an opportunity to acquire orthographic knowledge, which remains available for future encounters with the word (see 154 self-teaching hypothesis; Share, 2004). Once the alphabetic code (phoneme-to-grapheme 155 156 transcription) has been learned and understood, prereaders (i.e., individuals who are beginning to learn how to read, and exhibit some basic decoding skills) can decode most printed words, 157 enabling them to access their pronunciation and vocabulary, and hence their meaning, if the 158 words are familiar in their oral form (Ehri, 2017; for a review, see Castles et al., 2018). As a 159 160 result of the self-teaching process during independent reading, less attention has to be paid to 161 the words' orthographic and phonological characteristics, enabling individuals to focus on 162 their meaning (Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019).

In the case of WS, studies have shown delayed reading development from the early stages onwards, compared with typically developing children matched on reading age (Steele et al., 2013). The mean reading age of adult individuals with WS ranges from 6 to 8 years (Laing et al., 2001; Levy et al., 2003; Udwin et al., 1996). The results of most studies of reading skills in WS are consistent with the dual-route theory, which distinguishes between two cognitive processes: visual word recognition and reading aloud (for computational models, see Coltheart et al., 2001; Perry et al., 2010). The first route involves decoding words by translating a word's spelling into its sound, thereby accessing its meaning. This makes it possible for new and unfamiliar words to be read, based on alphabetic decoding. The second route involves word recognition by gaining access to meaning directly from the spelling, without having to decode its phonology. This allows for the reading of familiar words, where there is direct access to meaning.

Research findings on the abilities involved in reading skills in WS seem to depend on 175 which language system is being studied. In the case of shallow orthographies, studies have 176 highlighted decoding deficits in Italian speakers, compared with mental and lexical age-177 178 matched controls (Barca et al., 2010; Menghini et al., 2004), and word recognition deficits in 179 Spanish speakers, compared with mental age-matched controls (Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008). By contrast, in deep orthographies such as English, research has highlighted deficits in both 180 181 routes (Conners, 2003; Laing et al., 2001; Levy et al., 2003; Temple, 2003). Given this variability in findings for WS, single-case studies and case series form an important aspect of 182 the evidence base in reading. For instance, a single-case study (Temple, 2003) of a 13-year-183 old English-speaking girl with WS indicated both an inability to read pseudowords (PW) and 184 nonwords, highlighting a difficulty in word decoding, and semantic errors when reading 185 186 frequent words, highlighting a difficulty in word recognition. It has been suggested that the reading profile in this deep orthographic system is similar to that observed in profound 187 dyslexia. Barca et al. (2010) reported the case of an Italian-speaking girl with WS aged 13 188 189 years and 8 months. In this shallow orthographic system, the teenager suffered a relative weakness in decoding words, compared with recognizing words. In contrast to these cases 190 with decoding difficulties, Garayzábal and Cuetos (2008) reported that 12 Spanish-speaking 191 children with WS (mean age: 12 years and 5 months) performed similarly to mental age-192 matched controls on nonword reading (word decoding), whereas their word reading (word 193

recognition) was impaired. A study of two English-speaking teenagers with WS who had 194 195 similar general cognitive profiles further supported the presence of intra-individual differences in reading skills: one performed 8 years below chronological age on all word 196 reading, whereas the other was only 3 years below chronological age on word reading, and 197 was 2 years above chronological age on nonword reading (Dessalegn et al., 2013). Some 198 studies have reported nonword reading skills comparable to those of controls matched for 199 200 reading age and receptive vocabulary (Laing et al., 2001) or mental age (Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008), whereas other studies have found lower nonword reading skills than those of mental 201 age-matched controls (Menghini et al., 2004). Reading skills (word identification) can 202 203 therefore be considered as relatively preserved in some individuals with WS, but impaired in 204 others. A consensus has nonetheless been reached on the existence of a lack of automatization of reading processes (Barca et al., 2010; Levy et al., 2003; Steele et al., 2013). 205

206 1.3. Predictors of reading ability in Williams syndrome

The variability in reading skills raises the question of the specificity of the neuropsychological profile of WS. For those individuals who can read, it is important to understand the factors underlying their reading skills. Measuring an individual's reading comprehension does not make it possible to identify problems emerging in the course of reading acquisition (e.g., difficulties with the lexicon, word identification, implementation of high-level processing or working memory). It is therefore essential to start by checking whether word identification and the underlying skills are correctly acquired.

Reading acquisition requires the coordination and interaction of a number of cognitive processes and mechanisms, such as oral language, phonological awareness, auditory-verbal memory, and both auditory and visual perception (see Frith's cognitive model; Frith, 2001). For instance, to master the alphabetic code, prereaders need to segment phonemes explicitly into spoken words and recognize the previously learned graphic symbols that correspond to

the identified sounds. The metalinguistic skills of phonemic awareness (extracting the 219 220 relevant phonemic units from the continuous stream of speech heard) and visual analysis 221 skills are thus essential to reading acquisition (for a review, see Castles et al., 2018). Mastering the decoding of grapheme-to-phoneme relationships enables printed words to be 222 translated into spoken language, thereby accessing information about meaning. If prereaders 223 have difficulty with symbol-sound mapping, reading acquisition will be limited to 224 225 memorizing the meanings of printed words, and it is unlikely that this strategy can be scaled up to a full vocabulary (for a review, see Marinus & Castles, 2015). Building an orthographic 226 lexicon is therefore fundamental for lightening readers' mental load, enabling them to 227 228 establish a higher level of processing.

In WS, three hypotheses have been put forward to explain reading variability: one general assumption relating to intellectual functioning (Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008; Howlin et al., 1998; Levy et al., 2003), and two specific hypotheses regarding phonological and visuospatial skills (Brawn et al., 2018; Dessalegn et al., 2013; Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008; Levy et al., 2003). It should be noted that these hypotheses are not incompatible: deficits in phonological and visual skills may exacerbate reading deficits attributable to an intellectual deficit.

236 1.3.1. General intellectual functioning factors and reading skills

Results indicate that a minimum threshold of reasoning skills is required in order to access reading in WS (Levy et al., 2003; Mervis, 2009). For instance, Howlin et al. (1998) reported that the nonreaders in their sample had a significantly lower full score IQ, verbal IQ and perceptual IQ than the group who was able to read. More broadly, adults with WS who have mild-to-moderate intellectual disability (IQ between 35 and 70) have the reading skills of 7- to 9-year-old children (Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008; Howlin et al., 1998). Levy et al. (2003) found that individuals with an IQ above 70 read within the low-to-average range, whereas those with a full-score IQ of 50-70 read at their IQ level. In individuals with a severe-to-profound intellectual deficit (IQ \leq 34), Laing et al. (2001) found a reading level equivalent to a verbal mental age of 4 years and 7 months. We can therefore conclude that in individuals with WS, word identification (word and nonword reading) is significantly correlated with IQ, suggesting that a low IQ can explain poor reading skills (Levy & Antebi, 2004). Nevertheless, a unitary view of overall intellectual functioning is not enough to understand the reading variability in WS - or indeed in typical development (Conners, 2003).

251 1.3.2. Phonological awareness factors and reading skills

Phonological awareness of phonemes or syllables allows individuals to analyze and 252 manipulate sounds in words (by segmenting and blending sounds). These oral language skills 253 are considered to be the most predictive for word reading in French children with typical 254 development (Schuele & Boudreau, 2008). Specific decoding deficits or dyslexia can be 255 caused by deficits in phonological and/or auditory processing (Nithart et al., 2009). For 256 instance, poor readers have deficits in the retention of verbal material and use of phonological 257 codes (related to a lack of subvocal rehearsal in auditory-verbal memory; Dufva et al., 2001; 258 for a neuroimaging study, see Pugh et al., 2013). However, there is no definitive evidence that 259 260 phonological awareness skills precede reading acquisition (Castles, Wilson, & Coltheart, 2011). Moreover, authors recognize that some phonological awareness tasks may place too 261 262 many demands on metacognitive abilities in the context of intellectual disability (Cupples & Iacono, 2002). 263

In WS, some studies have identified a relationship between reading skills and phonological processing, including phonemic awareness and auditory-verbal memory (Brawn et al., 2018; Laing et al., 2001; Levy et al., 2003; Majerus et al., 2003; Menghini et al., 2004; Temple, 2003). Studies have reported a correlation between word reading and performance on some phonological tasks in WS (syllable deletion, rime detection, phonemic awareness),

compared with groups matched on mental age (Laing et al., 2001; Menghini et al., 2004) or 269 270 reading age (Laing et al., 2001). Reading variability in WS therefore appears to be related to a lack of phonological awareness. However, some weaknesses in phonological coding also 271 seem to stem from auditory-verbal memory deficits (Levy et al., 2003; Majerus et al., 2003; 272 Menghini et al., 2004; Temple, 2003). This variability can thus be explained by deficits in 273 phonological processes, in the area of metalinguistic and/or executive skills and, more 274 275 broadly, in the categorical perception of speech sounds (phonetic recognition) (Catterall et al., 2006; Majerus et al., 2011). By contrast, phonological awareness did not seem to be a 276 significant longitudinal predictor of reading growth when early reading development was 277 278 explored in 26 children with WS aged 4-8 years (Steele et al., 2013).

279 1.3.3. Visuospatial factor and reading skills

Visual and perceptual skills are involved in the sequential processing of written words, 280 from identifying the letters, graphemes and whole words (size, general shape, orientation) to 281 coding their position in words or sentences (spatial relationships between letter strokes, 282 letters' position in the word) (Frey & Bosse, 2018; Frith, 2001; Habib, 2002; Sprenger-283 Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). Furthermore, a visual attention window is activated during the 284 analytical (letter, syllable or grapheme) or global processing of the written word (for 285 computational models, see Ans et al., 1998; Bosse et al., 2007). More broadly, the 286 identification of orthographic irregularities also depends on visual analysis skills (Bosse et al., 287 2007; Castles et al., 2018). Neuroimaging studies featuring a written exposure task have 288 confirmed the involvement of visual skills, by pointing out the activation of the visual word 289 290 form area (VWFA) in the occipitotemporal ventral visual area (Dehaene et al., 2010). Knowledge about letters, including perceptual invariance, sensitivity to letter combinations 291 and orthographic patterns, indeed appears to be clustered in the VWFA (Dehaene et al., 292 293 2010).

Studies report that visuospatial and executive deficits, such as deficits in visual 294 295 attention, are partly responsible for the reading disorders observed in some cases of developmental dyslexia (Bosse et al., 2007; Lallier et al., 2010; Peyrin et al., 2011). In the 296 neurobiological model of developmental dyslexia (Ramus, 2004), reading disorders stem from 297 a left perisylvian brain abnormality that gives rise to phonological deficits affecting 298 phonological awareness, short-term verbal memory, and access to the phonological lexicon. 299 300 Through a *snowball effect*, these deficits can induce dysfunctions of the magnocellular system that contribute to auditory and visual deficits and, subsequently, to disturbances in the 301 posterior parietal cortex, reinforcing the visual deficits. Phonological deficits can therefore 302 303 also induce auditory and visual specificities. This assumption seems to be supported by 304 neuroimaging studies showing that early deficits in phonemic representations (temporal planum) cause atypical visual word form area development in children with dyslexia 305 306 (Monzalvo et al., 2012).

In WS, reading deficits may be related to deficits in the visual processing of words 307 (Brawn et al., 2018; Dessalegn et al., 2013; Levy et al., 2003). Dessalegn et al. (2013) found 308 that two 16-year-olds with WS (BMP and HFK) differed by more than five grade levels on 309 310 reading skills, despite having similar cognitive profiles (reasoning skills and phonological 311 awareness). HFK had equivalent performance on nonword and word reading, whereas BMP performed better on nonword than word reading. Furthermore, BMP performed better on 312 letter processing, object orientations (perceiving or remembering), and ordering tasks than 313 314 HFK. The authors suggested that HFK's poor reading skills were coming from visuospatial processing deficits (Dessalegn et al., 2013). Other researchers have suggested that reading 315 316 deficits are induced by deficits in eye saccades, such as poor saccadic control and shorter adaptation saccades (Van Herwegen, 2015). Reading deficits in WS may therefore be 317 explained by weaknesses in visual and visuomotor skills (Dessalegn et al., 2013). 318

319 1.4. Objectives of the current study and hypotheses

320 The present study was the first to explore the variability of reading skills, and especially its predictors, among French-speaking children and adults with WS. Based on work in other 321 languages, we assumed that some factors are involved in reading development in WS. 322 Accordingly, several factors, rather than just one, probably contribute to the variability in 323 single-word identification (Levy et al., 2003). We assessed two major predictors of reading 324 325 skills: phonological awareness and visuospatial skills; and we also controlled for nonverbal mental age (or nonverbal reasoning), reading skills (decoding and word recognition), and oral 326 language. The WS group was compared to two control groups matched on sex and either 327 328 nonverbal mental age (C_M) or reading level (C_R) (e.g. Laing et al., 2001; Menghini et al., 2004). 329

Our first objective was to clarify the nature of similarities and/or differences in reading 330 skills, as well as phonological and visuospatial skills, between the WS group and the two 331 control groups (Dessalegn et al., 2013; Laing et al., 2001; Levy et al., 2003; Majerus et al., 332 2003; Menghini et al., 2004; Van Herwegen, 2015). Our second objective was to explore how 333 phonological and visual differences are related to reading efficiency (word identification), 334 335 after controlling for chronological age, nonverbal mental age and vocabulary (receptive and 336 expressive). Variability in reading efficiency may or may not be solely dependent on either phonological or visuospatial skills (e.g., Laing et al., 2001; Menghini et al., 2004; Temple, 337 2003). We tested for two predictions: the phonological and visuospatial performance of the 338 339 WS group would be similar to or higher than that of the C_M group and lower than that of the C_R group (H1); and this performance would be related to reading skills in the WS group (H2). 340 341 Given the paucity of results regarding visuospatial skills in the literature, we expected phonological awareness to be a better predictor of word identification than visuospatial skills 342 in the WS group, as well as in both control groups. We also explored whether the links 343

between phonological or visuospatial performance and reading skills were similar for the WSgroup and for matched controls.

346

347 **2. Method**

348 **2.1.** *Participants*

We recruited 28 French-speaking individuals with WS (14 females and 15 males; mean age = 15.70 years, *SD* = 8.10, range = 7.07-36.10). All participants had been diagnosed with WS based on genetic (fluorescence in situ hybridization (FISH) method), clinical and physical examinations (facial dysmorphology, cardiovascular and musculoskeletal system anomalies). As WS is rare, samples are traditionally small and the age distribution wide (e.g., Laing et al., 2001; Menghini et al., 2004; Steele et al., 2013). We recruited our participants with WS via the Autour des Williams association, Williams France federation, and genetic centers.

356 We used the Assessment of Cognitive Functions and Learning (Billard & Touzin, 2012) to control for a number of parameters that may be involved in reading profile 357 variability, beyond socio-economic and contextual factors: nonverbal reasoning (nonverbal 358 mental age), print exposure, vocabulary (receptive and expressive), reading skills (word 359 360 identification), and type of schooling. According to the parents' and participants' answers, all 361 individuals with WS had a medium socio-economic status, were (or had been) schooled in France, and were monolingual. Just 10% received standard schooling with a special needs 362 teaching assistant (person helping them follow courses), while 45% divided their time 363 between traditional and specialized schooling, 14% were in a specialized educational 364 structure, and 31% were in a specialized vocational structure. Most participants with WS 365 performed below the 5th percentile on Raven's colored progressive matrices (using norms for 366 the closest age group), and would thus be considered as having an intellectual disability. Two 367

participants performed at the 10th percentile, two performed around the 50th percentile, andone performed around the 75th percentile.

To examine differences in the involvement of phonological and visuospatial skills in 370 word identification (H1 & H2), participants with WS were matched with control groups on 371 sex and either nonverbal mental age (C_M) or reading level (C_R). Mental age was measured 372 using Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices, and reading level was measured using the 373 374 frequent word (FW) reading and PW reading subtests of the Assessment Battery of Written Language (described in Section 2.2). Participants with WS were matched with C_M on 375 performance ± 1 point on Raven's matrices, and with C_R participants on performance ± 3 376 377 points on both frequent word reading and pseudoword reading.

A total of 518 control participants were tested for this study, and those who matched a 378 participant with WS were kept in the final sample. The C_M group comprised 90 typically 379 developing children (42 girls and 48 boys; mean age = 5.41 years, SD = 1.17, range = 380 3.06-8.04). The C_R group comprised 102 typically developing children (42 girls and 60 boys; 381 mean age = 6.84 years, SD = 1.30, range = 5.07-11.09 years). All participants with WS had at 382 least one matched control in both the C_M group and the C_R group; the median number of 383 controls was three per participant with WS per control group. In other words, the median 384 participant with WS had six matched controls in total. 385

All controls were typically developing French-speaking children, recruited from schools in the French city of Rennes. They had the same socio-economic and contextual characteristics as the WS group. All control participants were in mainstream schooling and none had repeated a grade. Controls whose mental age differed from their chronological age by more than 12 months were excluded (this is one of the screening criteria for intellectual disability in France; INSERM, 2016).

The individuals with WS had been exposed to print for 3-18 years (M = 9.4 years, SD 392 393 = 4.6). Children in the C_M group had 1-2 years of print exposure (M = 1.38 years, SD = 0.47), and children in the C_R group had 1-6 years of print exposure (M = 1.99, SD = 0.92). The data 394 regarding print exposure in the three groups are summarized in Table 1. All participants in all 395 groups had learned or were learning to read using the syllabic breakdown method. All 396 participants with WS were either readers or prereaders (decoders), as measured with the 397 BELEC (Mousty et al., 1994; see next section). Few of the C_M participants were readers 398 (14%) or prereaders/decoders (23%). Fewer than half the C_R participants were readers (44%), 399 but 37% were prereaders or decoders. On average, participants had no difficulty processing 400 401 sound units (PPVT-R; Dunn et al., 1993; see next section).

402

[Insert Table 1 approximately here]

403 **2.2.** *Measures*

All tasks were administered individually to each participant. The instructions and the experimental context were identical for all participants. All participants (or the legal guardians for the participants under 18) gave their informed consent.

407 2.2.1. Reading skills

A measure of word identification (decoding and recognition) was used both to match 408 409 control participants on reading skills in the C_R group, and to test our second hypothesis regarding how phonological awareness and visuospatial skills predict reading. Word 410 identification was assessed with subtests drawn from the Assessment Battery of Written 411 412 Language (BELEC; Mousty et al., 1994; for its psychometric qualities, see Bouchard & Fitzpatrick, 2009). The Word Identification Mechanisms (MIM) Series A subtest is composed 413 of 12 training items and 72 experimental items (24 FW, 24 PW, and 24 rare words) divided 414 into 12 lists (6 words per list). We only retained reading accuracy for FW and PW, which 415

respectively reflect the word recognition and decoding routes. The words' main 416 417 characteristics were length (short: 5 letters; long: 9-12 letters) and orthographic complexity (complex words contained more letters per syllable than simple ones). For each lexical 418 category (FW/PW), we used lists of words containing short and simple (e.g., /image/ or 419 /fumal/), short and complex (e.g., /brune/ or /piète/), long and simple (e.g., /littérature/ or 420 /panacillane/), or long and complex (e.g., /merveilleux/ or /obyptienne/) words. In the FW 421 lists, 14 were nouns (6 concrete, 8 abstract, and 1 gender inflection), six were adjectives (all 422 abstract with no inflection), and four were verbs (3 concrete, 1 abstract with no inflection). 423 Participants had to read the words aloud as quickly as possible. We counted the number of 424 425 words that were correctly read (/24 points for each category).

426 *2.2.2. Covariates*

427 2.2.2.1. Mental age (nonverbal reasoning)

We used Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices test (Raven et al., 1998) to match participants with controls on nonverbal mental age in the C_M group. This test was standardized on a typical French population aged 4-11.5 years (for its psychometric qualities, see Matthews, 1988). It comprises three sequences (A, Ab and B) of 12 items of increasing complexity: Sequence A is perceptual, Sequence Ab is figurative, and Sequence B is conceptual. For each item, an incomplete matrix has to be completed by the participant with one of six options. We calculated the number of correct answers (/36 points).

435 2.2.2.2. *Receptive and expressive vocabulary*

Receptive vocabulary was evaluated with the French adaptation of the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test-Revised (PPVT-R; Dunn et al., 1993; for its psychometric qualities, see Bouchard & Fitzpatrick, 2009). Form A is composed of five training items and 170 experimental items of increasing difficulty. Participants are shown four black-and-white images, and have to pick the one that corresponds to a French word read out by the experimenter. The test stops when the participant fails on six out of eight consecutive items(/170 points).

Expressive vocabulary was evaluated with the Picture Naming subtest of the Oral 443 Language, Written Language, Memory and Attentional Skills battery (L2MA2; Chevrie-444 Muller et al., 2010; for its psychometric qualities, see Bouchard & Fitzpatrick, 2009). 445 Participants have to name images presented one by one by the experimenter. If a participant 446 does not respond within 4 seconds or responds incorrectly, the experimenter has to provide a 447 448 strictly phonetic cue (e.g., saying /j/ to evoke the word /joue/). This subtest is composed of 54 color images divided into four main categories: body parts (/7), geometric shapes (/7), 449 objects/animals (/30), and general (/10). Only the first three categories (/44 points) are used to 450 gauge oral production skills. 451

452 2.2.3. Determinants of reading acquisition: phonological and visuospatial skills

453 2.2.3.1. Phonological awareness

Phonological awareness was evaluated with seven subtests from the L2MA2 (Chevrie-454 Muller et al., 2010; for its psychometric qualities, see Bouchard & Fitzpatrick, 2009). Syllable 455 awareness was tested with two subtests: syllable segmentation (pronouncing all the syllables 456 457 in a PW; e.g., /bilu/), and deletion (deleting the first or last syllable of a PW; e.g., /kinu/). Phonemic awareness was measured with five subtests: initial and median phoneme 458 459 identification (identifying the first or middle sound of a PW; e.g., /poub/ or /panr/), phoneme 460 segmentation (identifying all the sounds of a PW; e.g., /pal/), and initial and median phoneme substitution (replacing the first or middle letter of a PW; e.g., /vour/ or /kat/). We counted the 461 numbers of correct answers for the syllable (/10 points) and phonemic (/35 points) awareness 462 463 subtests.

464 *2.2.3.2. Visuospatial abilities*

We used the Geometric Figure Copy subtest (GFC) of the L2MA2 (Chevrie-Muller et al., 2010; for its psychometric qualities, see Bouchard & Fitzpatrick, 2009) to assess visuoconstructive skills. Participants had to reproduce 15 geometric figures. We counted the number of correctly reproduced figures (/46 points: the first 14 on 3 points, and the last one on 4 points).

470 2.3. Data Analysis

To analyze differences in mean performance between groups (H1), we tested the effect 471 472 of group as a categorical independent variable on performance. If the effect was significant 473 when we simultaneously analyzed the three groups, we performed two follow-up analyses comparing the WS and C_M groups and the WS and C_R groups. To look for differential 474 relations between reading skills and their predictors (phonological awareness and visuospatial 475 476 abilities) in the three groups (H2), we tested the interaction between group (categorical variable) and each predictor of reading skills (continuous variable), which enabled us to see 477 478 whether the effect of predictors of reading skills varied significantly as a function of group.

Inspection of descriptive statistics revealed that phonological awareness for syllables 479 and phonemes, as well as for FW reading and PW reading, had non-normally distributed 480 481 residuals. These variables were rank-transformed prior to data analysis (all results were comparable when retaining the non-transformed variables; inspection of the residuals 482 confirmed that rank-transforming the variables substantially improved normality). For the test 483 of mean differences between groups (H1), FW reading and PW reading were considered 484 separately. For the test of predictors of reading skills (H2), because these two variables were 485 very highly correlated (r = .88-.97 in the three groups), they were averaged to form a single 486

reading skills composite variable which was then rank-transformed (all results werecomparable when these two variables were analyzed separately).

Statistical analyses were performed using mixed linear modeling: this is equivalent to 489 classic regressions and analyses of variances, except that the analysis takes clustering of 490 participants into account. In the context of our design, where each participant with WS was 491 matched to multiple controls, this was the only solution that avoided violating the assumption 492 of independence between all participants. This was achieved by defining 28 clusters of 493 participants, with each cluster comprising one participant with WS and their matched 494 controls. This resulted in clusters of variable size, with the median cluster for a given 495 496 participant with WS including three controls matched on nonverbal mental age and three controls matched on reading level. All analyses then included a random intercept specific to 497 each cluster of participants, thus accounting for non-independence between the matched 498 participants. All analyses also included group (WS, C_M or C_R) as a fixed effect. Models with 499 500 and without the parameter of interest were compared using chi-square tests. All analyses were performed using the lme4 package for R (Bates et al., 2015). 501

3. Results

505	Descriptive statistics for mean performance in the three groups are displayed in
506	Table 2. A first series of analyses examined significant differences between groups for each
507	variable, by comparing a model including group as a fixed effect to a model not including
508	group. The results are displayed in Table 3. Overall, participants with WS were significantly
509	older than both C_M and C_R . Their nonverbal reasoning performance was significantly lower
510	than that of the C _R group, whereas their reading skills were significantly higher than those of
511	the C_M group, for both FW and PW reading. The receptive vocabulary of participants with
512	WS was significantly higher than that of the C_{M} group, but comparable to that of the C_{R}
513	group. Conversely, their expressive vocabulary was comparable to that of the C_M group, but
514	significantly below that of the C _R group.
515	
516	[Insert Table 2 approximately here]
517	
518	Our first hypothesis predicted that participants with WS would exhibit specificities in
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519 520 521	terms of the predictors of reading skills considered here, namely phonological awareness for phonemes and syllables, and visuospatial ability. The statistical tests summarized in Table 3 showed that this was indeed the case. Participants with WS scored significantly higher than
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Our second hypothesis predicted that phonological awareness and visuospatial ability 529 530 would be related to reading skills in the WS group, and possibly to a greater extent than in the C_M and C_R groups. We first explored the relations between the various measures and reading 531 skills using bivariate correlations, which are summarized in Table 4. Consistent with our 532 533 hypothesis, phonological awareness for both phonemes and syllables, as well as visuospatial ability, were all related to reading performance in the WS group. This was also the case for 534 535 the two groups of matched controls. As for the other measures, chronological age predicted reading skills in the two control groups, but not in the WS group. This was expected, given 536 these participants' lifelong learning of reading. Nonverbal reasoning was strongly predictive 537 538 of reading skills in all three groups. Receptive and expressive vocabulary scores were poorer 539 predictors of reading skills in the WS group than in the two control groups. Receptive vocabulary in particular was a good predictor of reading skills in the C_R group, but not in the 540 541 WS group.

542

[Insert Table 4 approximately here]

Bivariate correlations suffer from two major issues in this context: they do not account 543 for potential covariates such as age, reasoning ability or vocabulary, which could inflate 544 545 correlations between variables; and they do not test whether the relation between variables is significantly different across groups. To further explore these results, we thus tested the 546 contributions of vocabulary to reading skills when controlling for chronological age and 547 reasoning ability as covariates, and the contributions of phonological awareness and 548 visuospatial ability to reading skills when controlling for chronological age, reasoning ability, 549 550 and vocabulary as covariates. We also tested whether these contributions differed as a function of group by testing whether there was a significant interaction between these 551 predictors and the group variable, indicating significantly different slopes between groups. In 552 other words, the following analyses tested the effect of possible predictors on reading skills in 553

models including predictors, group, the interaction between the two, and select covariates thatcould artificially inflate effects, using mixed linear models.

The results of these analyses are summarized in Table 5. Phonological awareness for 556 phonemes was the single best predictor of reading skills in the three groups when controlling 557 for other variables. There were no significant differences between groups. Phonological 558 559 awareness for syllables was not a significant predictor for either the WS group or the C_R group; it was however a significant predictor in the C_M group. A marginally significant 560 561 interaction with group confirmed that phonological awareness was a marginally better 562 predictor in the C_M group. A similar pattern emerged for visuospatial ability: it was not a significant predictor for either the WS or the C_R group, but it was a significant predictor in the 563 C_M group, and the interaction with group was significant. Vocabulary was a poor predictor of 564 565 reading skills in all three groups when controlling for age and reasoning ability. There was a significant difference between groups for receptive vocabulary, driven by a somewhat higher 566 correlation in the two control groups, but all correlations were nonsignificant. 567

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- 569

[Insert Table 5 approximately here]

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571 **4. Discussion and perspectives**

There is considerable heterogeneity between readers and prereaders with WS. To explain this variability, it is important to study word identification skills before examining comprehension skills. Phonological and visuospatial contributions were also considered simultaneously in the study of Dessalegn et al. (2013) among English-speaking participants with WS, but no study had previously been conducted in French, another language with a deep orthographic system. The present study was the first to explore variability in single-word

reading among French-speaking children and adults with WS, and to compare the results with 578 579 those of two control groups matched for nonverbal mental age and reading level (under the reasoning that comparisons with reading level rather than mental age may be more relevant 580 when studying the factors contributing to reading variability; e.g., Karmiloff-Smith et al., 581 1997). By controlling for a number of developmental variables (chronological age, nonverbal 582 mental age, receptive and expressive lexicon) we were able to pinpoint some of the factors 583 responsible for differences in the mastery of reading skills for single-word identification by 584 individuals with WS. In this discussion, we focus on four aspects of the results: patterns of 585 reading skills in individuals with WS; the role of phonological skills; the role of spatial skills; 586 587 and the role of vocabulary.

588

589 4.1. Single-word identification skills in WS

590 Our results show that French-speaking individuals with WS are able to learn to read with 591 the appropriate teaching. From a cross-linguistic perspective, some differences became 592 clearer. Unlike young Spanish and Italian speakers who showed deficits in word recognition 593 (e.g., Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008) and decoding (e.g., Barca et al., 2010; Menghini et al., 594 2004), respectively, our sample's French speakers with WS exhibited word identification 595 skills (word recognition and decoding skills) appropriate for their nonverbal mental age, 596 despite French being an opaque orthographic system.

To clarify the characterization of reading procedures in French WS speakers, we observed the lexicality, length and complexity effects. First, in the WS and C_R groups, reading performance was lower for PW than for FW, in contrast to the C_M group (see Table 3). This points to a relatively typical development of single-word identification skills in French speakers with WS, as PW reading is typically more difficult than FW reading, owing to the gradual implementation of the self-teaching mechanism (e.g., Castles et al., 2018; Share, 603 2004; Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). This observation means that there is a lexicality 604 effect among individuals with WS, who found FW easier to read than PW, as did the C_R 605 group. Second, qualitative results indicated greater difficulty reading long and complex words 606 than short and simple words. This reflected the presence of length and complexity effects in 607 the WS group, as in the C_R group. These results show the ongoing automatization of decoding 608 in WS, as well as in typically developing children matched on reading level (e.g., Barca et al., 609 2010; Levy et al., 2003; Steele et al., 2013).

610 Overall, the level of single-word reading in the WS group was well above their level of reasoning skills and single-word recognition appeared to be a relative strength despite a lower 611 nonverbal mental age than the C_R group (difference of 6.56 points or 2 years). We noted 612 differences in PW reading between the WS and C_R groups, with the WS group performed 613 worse than the C_R group. The use of two matching criteria to constitute the C_R group, namely 614 FW and PW reading, may explain this difference (see Table 3), as the groups were matched 615 on performance \pm 3 points on both FW and PW reading, possibly contributing to the 2-points 616 difference on PW reading. 617

Consistent with the literature, we also found a positive correlational link between single-618 619 word identification and nonverbal reasoning in the WS group, as in both control groups (see Table 4) (e.g., Brawn, et al., 2018; Howlin et al., 1998; Levy et al., 2003; Mervis, 2009). 620 621 However, no effect of chronological age was observed in the WS group, unlike the two 622 control groups. Although the reading skills of individuals with WS improve with age and schooling, they do not correspond to their chronological age and their print exposure (e.g., 623 Conners, 2003; Laing et al., 2001). These findings suggest that individuals with WS exhibit 624 625 delayed rather than atypical development of single-word identification.

626 To better understand the factors involved in the reading accuracy in the WS group, we 627 examined four types of reading errors: (1) no semantic errors (semantic relationship between target and response), but (2) visual errors (responses shared the first letter or 50% of letters 628 629 with the target) in the form of substitutions (e.g., 'stire \rightarrow 'strie') or omissions (e.g., 'tonil' \rightarrow 630 'toni'), (3) visuosemantic errors resulting mainly in a change of the final phoneme (e.g., 'gentillesse' \rightarrow 'gentil'), and (4) decoding errors (e.g., 'image' \rightarrow 'imague') (for reading errors, 631 see Dessalegn et al., 2013; Temple, 2003). All errors were made at an equal rate during PW 632 633 reading, whereas only visuosemantic and decoding errors were made during FW reading in the WS group. These qualitative observations point to the implication of phonological factors 634 (decoding errors) and visual factors (visual and visuosemantic errors) during single-word 635 recognition, despite executive factors (visuomotor and/or phono-articulatory coordination). 636

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Overall, proficient single-word identification in French-speaking individuals with WS may be more consistent with the results of English case studies suggesting a reading profile similar to that of profound dyslexia, including greater reading deficits for FW vs. PW (Levy et al., 2003; Temple, 2003). Further studies focusing more specifically on word identification in French-speaking individuals with WS are needed. Our first qualitative observations of reading errors in the WS group confirm the involvement of phonological and visual factors, and probably executive factors. Deficits of these factors may explain lower reading skills in WS.

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- 646

6 4.2. Phonological contribution to learning to read in WS

647 Phonemic awareness was the best predictor of single-word reading in the WS group after 648 controlling for developmental determinants (chronological age, nonverbal reasoning, 649 vocabulary), as was also the case in the C_R group (see Table 5). It was also an excellent 650 predictor in the C_M group, though visuospatial skills were slightly more predictive. In contrast

to the English-language longitudinal study by Steele et al. (2013), who found that phonemic 651 652 awareness did not appear to be a significant longitudinal predictor of reading growth in WS, our results indicated that typical and atypical French-speaking readers share a similar profile 653 with phonemic awareness being predictive of reading skills (e.g., Castles et al., 2011; for 654 655 research on dyslexia, see Nithart et al., 2009; Ramus, 2004). The differences between these studies may be contingent on the phonological task used by the authors (Steele's study tests 656 657 epi-phonology rather than metaphonology), but also on the variability in the phonological factors involved in learning to read depending on the depth of the reference orthographic 658 system, even for two opaque languages (English and French). In French typical development, 659 660 phonemic awareness is fundamental to understanding the alphabetic principle, which is the 661 first step toward automatizing decoding (e.g., Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). During development, phonological deficits may be reinforced by reading disorders, in addition to 662 663 being considered as risk factors (e.g., for typical development, see Castles et al., 2011; for dyslexia, see Nithart et al., 2009; Ramus, 2004). 664

Our results seem to be consistent with the notion of typical but delayed development of 665 reading skills in the WS group, possibly related to early weaknesses in the alphabetic 666 667 principle implementation. Theses weaknesses may be induced by phonemic awareness deficits (i.e., phoneme identification, segmentation and substitution performance) in the WS 668 group compared to C_R group, (see Table 3) (see, for example, Brawn et al., 2018; Garayzábal 669 670 & Cuetos, 2008; Levy et al., 2003; Menghini et al., 2004). By contrast, syllable awareness appeared to be a strength in the WS group (e.g., Garayzábal & Cuetos, 2008; Menghini et al., 671 2004; Rhodes et al., 2011). In addition, reading skills were positively correlated with 672 phonemic awareness (see Tables 4 and 5). Thus, phonemic awareness deficits seem to be both 673 the cause and the consequence of reading disability in the WS group. 674

Deficits in phonetic contrast perception of speech sounds (allophonic perception) can 675 676 lead to weak phonemic discrimination and, therefore, exacerbate these phonological deficits (phonemic awareness) (e.g., Catterall et al., 2006; Majerus et al., 2011). Incorrect detection or 677 use of phonemic information therefore results in incomplete and unstructured phonological 678 representations in individuals with WS (e.g., Garayzabal & Cuetos, 2008; Karmiloff-Smith et 679 al., 1997; Majerus, 2019). In line with the neurobiological model (Ramus, 2004), the literature 680 on WS reports general deficits in phonological processing, such as auditory-verbal memory 681 (e.g., articulatory loop deficits; see Majerus et al., 2003; Menghini et al., 2004) and slow 682 lexical retrieval (Monnery et al., 2002). All these phonological deficits (phonemic awareness, 683 684 auditory-verbal memory and lexical retrieval) prevent phonological unit manipulation, phonological coding and the construction of stable phonological representations in individuals 685 with WS. 686

687 Our results regarding receptive vocabulary (preserved in the WS group) and expressive vocabulary (altered in the WS group; see Table 3) are respectively consistent with a 688 preservation of phonological and phono-semantic representations, and a deficit of phono-689 articulatory coordination (e.g., Mervis, 2009; Monnery et al., 2002; Ypsilanti et al., 2005). 690 Thus, we suggest that in the WS group there may be executive deficits involved in the 691 692 slowdown of lexical retrieval (especially phonological), and not in the phonological representation's alterations, as is also the case in certain profiles of dyslexia (e.g., Ramus, 693 2004) and in dysphasia (e.g., Lahey & Edwards 1999). This is also broadly consistent with 694 695 studies indicating delayed lexicosemantic development in WS, but no alteration in lexicosemantic representations (e.g., Bello et al., 2004; Martens et al., 2008; Mervis, 2009). 696

697 The phonological processing specificities (phonemic awareness and auditory-verbal 698 memory deficits, and slow lexical retrieval) of individuals with WS, associated with larger 699 executive deficits, may therefore hinder the implementation of decoding, and thus prevent the self-teaching of reading (e.g., on dyslexia see Ramus, 2004). At a higher level, phonological deficits may reflect atypical development in the perceptual processing of phonological units in WS. Longitudinal studies should be conducted to investigate the links between phonological skills and perceptual processing. For example, phonological deficits are the main cause of a specific reading disorder (dyslexia), although they can lead to perceptual processing (auditory and visual) impairments that are secondarily involved in other reading disorders (e.g., neurobiological model; see Ramus, 2004).

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4.3. Visuospatial contribution to learning to read in WS

709 Our measure of visuospatial and especially visuo-constructive skills correlated with reading skills in all three groups (e.g. Brawn et al., 2018), but did not predict any variance in 710 single-word reading in the WS and C_R groups after controlling for developmental 711 712 determinants (chronological age, nonverbal reasoning, vocabulary), contrary to the C_M group (see Table 5). Based on the control groups results, we suggest that during development the 713 visuospatial factors involvement in single-words reading could change from a cause / 714 consequence link to a consequence only link. In WS, altered visuospatial skills may be the 715 716 consequence rather than the cause of reading disability, in line with research on dyslexia (e.g., 717 Ramus, 2004). As with some dyslexia profiles, participants with WS may have specificities in the visual processing of written words (e.g., for dyslexia, see Bosse et al., 2007; Lallier et al., 718 719 2010; Peyrin et al., 2011). According to the literature, copying performance is lower for 720 children with WS than for typical 5-year-olds (e.g., Heiz, 2019). We found that visuospatial performance in the WS group was poorer than that of the C_R group, but similar to that of the 721 722 C_M group (e.g., Heiz & Barisnikov, 2016; Martens et al., 2008). The evidence points to delayed visuospatial development in WS, rather than atypical development (e.g., Heiz & 723 724 Barisnikov, 2016; Martens et al., 2008).

The precise nature of the visuospatial deficits (deficit of visuospatial representation, 725 726 and/or deficit of general processes such as planning and motor programming) has yet to be 727 ascertained (e.g., Heiz & Barisnikov, 2016). In our study, we have assessed visuoconstructive 728 abilities in WS, but not elementary visual abilities. Regarding graphomotor skills, qualitative analyses of GFC performance in the WS group revealed 1) thick, discontinuous, and 729 imprecise lines indicating poor motor coordination (e.g., Wuang & Tsai, 2017), 2) difficulty 730 731 with graphic production (proportions, orientations, locations, intersections between lines, parallel and perpendicular lines, details) (e.g., D'Souza et al., 2016; Heiz & Barisnikov, 2016; 732 733 Rondan et al., 2008), and 3) difficulty copying complex shapes (integration of two or more 734 simple shapes), but not simple ones (lines, crosses, squares and triangles), in contrast to both control groups (e.g., Heiz & Barisnikov, 2016). The poor GFC performance of the WS group 735 may thus be explained by graphomotor deficits, impaired perceptual integration (poor 736 737 comprehension of spatial relations between different pattern elements), as well as by deficits in both early perceptual processing (processing of patterns' elementary characteristics: size, 738 739 orientation or slope) and intermediate-to-late perceptual processing (simultaneous local and global processing) (e.g., Heiz, 2019). Deficits in all these dimensions of visuo-constructive 740 741 skills - motor, visuoperceptual and perceptual integration - may therefore be the consequence 742 of the reading disorder in WS, with the defect in visual strategy caused by the reading disorder leading to impaired development of perceptual systems (e.g., for dyslexia, see Habib, 743 2002). 744

In typical development, elementary visual and visuoperceptual skills are necessary to recover visual linguistic elements (size, general shape and orientation of graphemes) and their visuospatial relationships, allowing for the subsequent identification and coding of their position in a word or a sentence through visuo-attentional processing (e.g., Ans et al., 1998; Frey & Bosse, 2018; Frith, 2001; Sprenger-Charolles & Ziegler, 2019). However, visuo-

attentional processing skills are recognized to be a visual cause of reading disorder (e.g., 750 751 Bosse et al., 2007). This suggests that visuoperceptual and perceptual integration specificities in WS may reduce the visuo-attentional window during reading and, consequently, hamper 752 the processes and mechanisms of letter and word identification (e.g., for typical development, 753 754 see Frey & Bosse, 2018). This hypothesis can be related to research highlighting a deficit in 755 the strategies of alternating between global and local processing of visuospatial information in 756 WS (Rondan et al., 2008). These visuospatial processing peculiarities may result from a deficit 757 in attentional disengagement in WS, at the same time giving weight to the hypothesis of the cascade effect of executive deficits developed by Hoffman et al. (2003). 758

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760 Phonemic awareness therefore seems to be the best predictor of single-word reading in the present study, but elementary visual factors and attentional engagement need to be 761 762 explored further in WS. As in some forms of dyslexia, cerebral specificities (left perisylvian abnormalities) can lead to phonological deficits in WS, which may give rise to other brain 763 dysfunctions, inducing auditory and visuoperceptual deficits (e.g., for WS, see Van 764 Herwegen, 2015; for dyslexia, see Monzalvo et al., 2012). This assumption will need to be 765 766 tested in future studies exploring early perceptual processing and neural networks during 767 reading in WS. Furthermore, mental rotation deficits in complex perceptual situations or ones that concern subtle differences between two elements may induces imprecise orthographic 768 representations (e.g., Farran et al., 2003). Again, longitudinal studies are needed to examine 769 770 the development of orthographic representations in individuals with WS.

771

772 4.4. Lexical contribution to learning to read in WS

773 Despite support for the hypothesis that expressive vocabulary deficits are a consequence 774 of the learning disability rather than a cause, the issue of the role of vocabulary remains

unresolved in WS (e.g., Martens et al., 2008; Monnery et al., 2002; Ypsilanti et al., 2005; for 775 776 research on dyslexia, see Ramus, 2004). Our results showed no effect of vocabulary (receptive and expressive) on the variability of single-word identification in the WS group, 777 and no effect in the two control groups (see Table 5) when controlling for select covariates. 778 The reading level of participants with WS seemed to be lower than their receptive vocabulary 779 level (9.2 years), compared with both the C_R group (8.10 years) and the C_M group (8.1 years) 780 781 (see Table 3) (e.g., Barca et al., 2010; Laing et al., 2001). Learning to read appeared to have an effect on increasing vocabulary level in the two control groups; there is a consequential 782 783 link between reading and lexical level.

784 We hypothesize that individuals with WS exhibit rapid planning deficits between the phonological form of the chosen word in long-term memory and its articulation (see section 785 4.2). These specificities may induce a lexical retrieval which is much too slow during reading. 786 787 The literature supports this hypothesis, by showing that the reduced lexical access in WS hinders the linguistic development (morphology, syntax, semantic and pragmatic) that 788 789 determines access to reading comprehension regardless of orthographic system depth: transparent in Italian (Bello et al., 2004; Burani et al., 2006; Vicari et al., 2004) and opaque in 790 791 English (Mervis, 2009; Perovic & Wexler, 2007; Ring & Clahsen, 2005; Stojanovik, 2006) 792 and French (Monnery et al., 2002). Thus, as the single-word reading tasks are timed, it is possible that participants with WS did not take the time to rely on their lexical knowledge 793 794 during their reading; this type of task is very time-consuming for them. Longitudinal studies 795 are needed to better understand the nature of lexical determinants involved in learning to read in WS. 796

798 **5.** Conclusion

The unique neuropsychological profile of people with WS may provide a better 799 understanding of the causes and consequences of reading disorders: it is possible that both 800 phonological and visuospatial weaknesses, associated with larger executive deficits, hinder 801 the implementation of decoding, and thus prevent the self-teaching of reading in WS. Our 802 study among French-speaking readers, confirms that phonemic awareness is the best predictor 803 of single-word identification. Variability in single-word identification in the WS group may 804 805 thus be explained by the interaction between the various phonological deficits (phonemic awareness, auditory-verbal memory and lexical access). We suggest that learning to read 806 exacerbates early phonological deficits in WS, or at least makes them more salient. 807 Visuospatial deficits do not appear to contribute to variability of reading skills within the WS 808 group when controlling for other variables, and may be a consequence of the reading disorder 809 810 rather than their cause.

Our study controlled for some developmental variables (chronological age, nonverbal 811 reasoning, vocabulary), but these results need to be reinforced by longitudinal studies, in 812 order to clarify the developmental trajectories of the factors that contribute to written 813 814 language acquisition. Although it is difficult to control some dimensions, including the extent 815 of print exposure or age span, results show that it is better to compare the performance of 816 individuals with WS with that of controls matched on reading level rather than either 817 chronological age or nonverbal mental age. This method can also be applied to many other populations with intellectual disabilities. Despite their atypical intellectual functioning, 818 French-speaking individuals with WS are able to learn to read with the appropriate teaching. 819 820 A better understanding of phonological and visual risk factors, as well as the impact of a 821 reading disorder on these factors, would enable us to tailor literacy instruction to individual

822	specificities. Reading remediation must become widespread to improve functioning in many
823	aspects of individuals' everyday lives.
824	
825	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
826	We are extremely grateful to the Autour des Williams and Williams France
827	associations, the genetic centers, and all the participants for their cooperation and enthusiasm.
828	

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ANNEXES

Table 1. Print exposure (years) and number of participants (n) for each of the three groups $(WS, C_M, C_R).$

	WS (<i>n</i> = 29)	C_M group ($n = 90$)	C _R group (<i>n</i> = 102)
Number of participants for each print exposure duration	10-18 years, <i>n</i> = 13 7-9 years, <i>n</i> = 6 5 years, <i>n</i> = 2 4 years, <i>n</i> = 5 3 years, <i>n</i> = 3	2 years, $n = 13$ 1 year, $n = 21$ 1 year of awareness, $n = 19$ 0 years, $n = 37$	4-6 years, <i>n</i> = 6 2-3 years, n = 38 1 year, <i>n</i> = 38 1 year of awareness, <i>n</i> = 20

	WSg	group (<i>n</i>	= 28)	См	group (<i>n</i>	= 89)	Cr (group (<i>n</i>	= 87)
	М	SD	Range	М	SD	Range	М	SD	Range
Chronological age	15.70	8.10	7 - 36	5.41	1.17	3 - 8	6.84	1.30	5 - 11
Nonverbal reasoning	18.29	5.70	9 - 32	18.45	4.98	9 - 32	24.85	4.94	15 - 33
Frequent word reading	14.82	7.39	1 - 24	5.42	8.74	0 - 24	15.87	7.91	1 - 24
Pseudoword reading	9.75	6.02	1 - 21	4.20	7.02	0 - 22	11.75	6.40	1 - 21
Receptive vocabulary	100.75	24.40	43 - 140	90.34	24.68	31 - 148	97.98	20.50	44 - 142
Expressive vocabulary	36.11	4.83	21 - 43	37.70	8.69	13 - 53	42.67	7.20	23 - 60
Phonological awareness - phonemes	19.32	9.95	0 - 35	10.35	13.23	0 - 35	25.17	9.73	2 - 35
Phonological awareness - syllables	9.25	0.93	7 - 10	7.08	3.00	0 - 10	9.18	1.23	3 - 10
Visuospatial ability	13.18	9.05	1 - 38	14.84	7.53	0 - 33	24.90	8.94	9 - 44

Table 2. Descriptive statistics for all measures for the three groups (WS, C_M, C_R)

Note. Chronological age is expressed in years. Nonverbal reasoning is the raw score on
Raven's CPM (0-36). Pseudoword and frequent word reading are raw scores on the BELEC
(0-24). Receptive vocabulary is the raw score on the PVVT-R (mean 100, standard deviation
15). Expressive vocabulary is the raw score on L2MA2 Picture Naming (0-44). Phonological
awareness for syllables and phonological awareness for phonemes are raw scores on the
L2MA2 (0-10 and 0-35). Visuospatial ability is the raw score on the GFC (0-46).

	WS vs. C _M vs. C _R	WS vs. C _M	WS vs. C _R
Chronological age	$\chi^2(2) = 156.26, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 92.55, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 71.85, p < .001$
Nonverbal reasoning	$\chi^2(2) = 78.07, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 2.88, p = .090$	$\chi^2(1) = 32.44, p < .001$
Frequent word reading	$\chi^2(2) = 93.51, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 31.27, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.13, p = .719$
Pseudoword reading	$\chi^2(2) = 68.26, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 17.58, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 6.33, p = .012$
Receptive vocabulary	$\chi^2(2) = 7.34, p = .025$	$\chi^2(1) = 3.82, p = .050$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.79, p = .373$
Expressive vocabulary	$\chi^2(2) = 22.16, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.15, p = .284$	$\chi^2(1) = 19.02, p < .001$
Phonological			
awareness - phonemes	$\chi^2(2) = 69.84, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 13.15, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 11.20, p < .001$
Phonological	$\chi^2(2) = 48.37, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 18.53, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 0.09, p = .766$
awareness - syllables			
Visuospatial ability	$\chi^2(2) = 74.43, p < .001$	$\chi^2(1) = 1.61, p = .205$	$\chi^2(1) = 39.84, p < .001$

Table 3. Mean differences between groups

Note. This table represents the results of comparisons between a model including group:

1074 dependent variable ~ 1+Group+(1|Cluster); and a model not including group: dependent

1075 variable ~ 1+(1|Cluster).

Table 4. Bivariate correlations between reading skills and their predictors for the three groups

	WS group (<i>n</i> = 28)	С _м group (<i>n</i> = 89)	C_R group ($n = 87$)
Chronological age	07	.68 ***	.69 ***
Nonverbal reasoning	.59 ***	.53 ***	.44 ***
Receptive vocabulary	.30	.23 *	.60 ***
Expressive vocabulary	.28	.47 ***	.39 ***
Phonological awareness - phonemes	.72 ***	.65 ***	.65 ***
Phonological awareness - syllables	.39 *	.57 ***	.38 ***
Visuospatial ability	.60 *	.62 ***	.44 ***

Note. * p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

	WS β	Cм β	C _R β	Predictor*Group interaction test statistic	Predictor*Group interaction p-value
Receptive vocabulary	21	.15	.09	$\chi^2(2) = 6.82$	<i>p</i> = .033
Expressive vocabulary	12	.19	.06	$\chi^2(2) = 3.29$	p = .190
Phonological awareness - phonemes	.52	.45	.35	$\chi^2(2) = 1.19$	p = .550
Phonological awareness - syllables	.18	.34	.12	$\chi^{2}(2) = 4.94$	<i>p</i> = .084
Visuospatial ability	.10	.54	.06	$\chi^2(2) = 13.20$	<i>p</i> = .001

Table 5. Differential relations between reading skills and their predictors for the three groups

1081 *Note.* This table represents the results of analyses predicting reading skills, using models of 1082 the form: reading skills ~ 1+Group+Predictor+Group:Predictor+Covariates+(1|Cluster). The 1083 covariates included chronological age and nonverbal reasoning in all analyses, as well as 1084 receptive and expressive vocabulary when testing for the effects of phonological awareness 1085 and visuospatial ability. β coefficients indicate the standardized slope for the effect of a 1086 predictor on reading skills in a given group; significant slopes are in bold. The test statistic 1087 and *p* value indicate whether this slope differed as a function of group.