Task difficulty and individual differences in picture naming speed

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Abstract

Studies show a wide range of individual variability in the time it takes speakers to produce 11 a word or short phrase (e.g., in picture naming tasks). This variability in language 12 production has often been attributed to variability in cognitive skills, such as attention, 13 working memory, or inhibition. However, these skills are not necessarily unitary constructs, and different tasks that measure a certain construct (e.g., inhibition) may measure different 15 aspects of the skill. There is also some evidence (e.g., from dual-task paradigms) that the 16 relationships between cognitive skills and language production are more apparent with more 17 demanding production tasks. In two experiments, we examined the relationship between a 18 variety of cognitive measures (thought to tap into different aspects of these cognitive skills) 19 and picture naming speed. In one of the experiments, the role of task difficulty was also probed by manipulating the perceived amount of time participants were given to name a 21 picture. Only one significant correlation was found between a measure of cognitive skills (sustained attention) and picture naming speed; however, this was not replicated in the 23 second experiment. We discuss the implications of these findings with respect to statistical power, reliability, and the specific tasks used to measure cognitive skills.

Keywords: language production, individual differences, cognitive skills, picture naming

Task difficulty and individual differences in picture naming speed

Speaking is a well-practiced activity that, under many circumstances, feels fairly 29 effortless. However, there is ample evidence that speaking does not necessarily happen 30 automatically and may be at least partially dependent on available cognitive resources. For 31 instance, speaking can interfere with a simultaneous task, such as driving a vehicle (e.g., 32 Kubose et al., 2006) because it takes cognitive resources away from driving (Strayer & Johnston, 2001). Many laboratory studies of language production report a large amount of individual variability in how quickly speakers can, for example, name a picture (Bürki, 2017; Laganaro, Valente, & Perret, 2012; Valente, Bürki, & Laganaro, 2014), and this variability has been assumed to reflect differences in cognitive resources or abilities (e.g., Jongman, 2017; Jongman, Meyer, & Roelofs, 2015; Jongman, Roelofs, & Meyer, 2015; Piai & Roelofs, 2013; Shao, Meyer, & Roelofs, 2013; Shao, Roelofs, Acheson, & Meyer, 2014; Shao, Roelofs, Martin, & Meyer, 2015; Shao, Roelofs, & Meyer, 2012; Sikora, Roelofs, Hermans, & Knoors, 2016).

### <sup>42</sup> Cognitive abilities that predict speed of language production

Several studies have shown that how quickly an individual can produce words or short
phrases is related to more general cognitive skills, including attention (Jongman, 2017;
Jongman, Meyer, et al., 2015; Jongman, Roelofs, et al., 2015), working memory (Lorenz,
Zwitserlood, Regel, & Abdel Rahman, 2019; Piai & Roelofs, 2013; Shao et al., 2012; but
see Klaus & Schriefers, 2018), and inhibition (Shao et al., 2013, 2014, 2015, 2012; Sikora et
al., 2016). For the current study, we are interested in how generalizable these relationships
are, specifically, whether we find similar relationships between picture naming speed and
cognitive tasks when employing a wider battery of cognitive tests that are thought to
measure these constructs. As we discuss in more detail in the next section, some tasks that
have been used to measure certain cognitive skills do not necessarily correlate well with
each other. For example, Flanker and Simon tasks are both thought to measure inhibition,

but correlations between these measures are consistently low (e.g., Paap & Sawi, 2014). A
 skill like inhibition (like other cognitive abilities) is not a unitary construct, and different
 tasks may very well tap into different types or components of inhibition.

This provides an opportunity to learn more about which aspects or components of

inhibition, working memory, or attention are involved in language production. In the following sections, we will give an overview of the cognitive functions that have been found 59 to correlate with language production speed (working memory, inhibition, and sustained 60 attention), and we will discuss tasks that are often used to measure these constructs. 61 Working memory. Working memory can be described as the ability to hold 62 information in mind and manipulate it in order to perform a cognitive task (e.g., Baddeley, 63 1992, 2010). Commonly used tasks to evaluate working memory include, for example, span tasks (e.g., Conway et al., 2005). In span tasks, participants are asked to remember target items whose presentation alternates with distractor items or another task. For instance, the operation span task consists of the alternating presentation of a letter and an arithmetic 67 problem. Participants are asked to solve each math problem and to recall all letters at the end of a sequence (e.g., Unsworth, Heitz, Schrock, & Engle, 2005). Given that this task requires the participant to recall verbal material, it is often used to determine whether 70 participants' performance on a linguistic task correlates or is predicted by working memory 71 scores. In other tasks, participants are asked to remember the positions of a shape on a grid (symmetry span task, e.g., Unsworth, Redick, Heitz, Broadway, & Engle, 2009) or the 73 length and directions of arrows (rotation span task, Harrison et al., 2013).

Shao et al. (2012) found a correlation between participants' performance on the operation span task and their speed of naming pictures of actions (though not pictures of objects), suggesting that working memory is at least partially involved with word production. However, as suggested by various authors (Conway et al., 2005; Engle, Tuholski, Laughlin, & Conway, 1999; Shipstead, Redick, & Engle, 2012), participants'

scores on span tasks are not completely independent from the demands of the task. For instance, two participants with the same working memory capacities but different arithmetic skills will likely obtain different scores on the operation span task. Therefore, it is of interest to test whether other types of span tasks (e.g., rotation or symmetry) are also related to picture naming speed, as the demands of the distractor items in these tasks may influence participants' scores on the tasks.

Inhibition. Inhibition is described as the ability to resolve conflicts and suppress irrelevant information. Recent studies, however, suggest that inhibition is not a unitary construct (Rey-Mermet & Gade, 2018; Rouder & Haaf, 2019). For instance, inhibition can be characterized as being selective or non-selective (Shao et al., 2013, 2015). Non-selective inhibition is the ability to inhibit any unwanted response (De Jong, Coles, & Logan, 1995), while selective inhibition describes the ability to inhibit a more specific response that directly competes with the desired response. Several authors further subdivide selective inhibition into two different types: stimulus-stimulus conflict and stimulus-response conflict (Hommel, 1997; Kornblum, 1994; Scerrati, Lugli, Nicoletti, & Umiltà, 2017).

Stimulus-stimulus conflicts arise from an incompatibility between overlapping task-relevant and task-irrelevant features of the stimulus to be processed, while stimulus-response conflicts arise from an overlap of incongruent stimulus and response features (Kornblum, 1994).

Measures of both selective and non-selective inhibition have been found to correlate with picture naming speed or the magnitude of experimental effects in a picture naming task (Shao et al., 2013, 2015). For instance, Shao et al. (2013) measured non-selective inhibition by means of a stop-signal reaction time task (Logan & Cowan, 1984), which is thought to assess the ability to inhibit a motor response that has already been initiated, i.e., a non-linguistic response. On this task, participants are asked to respond to a stimulus presented, but on a certain proportion of the trials, they hear a tone to indicate they should withhold their response on that trial. Shao et al. (2013) report correlations between

performance on the stop-signal reaction time task and word production speed, suggesting
that the relationship between language production and non-selective inhibition may not be
specific to the language domain.

Shao et al. (2013, 2015) measured selective inhibition using a within-task measure 110 derived from distributional properties of the task. In those studies, participants performed a picture-word-interference task, in which they named pictures with printed distractor 112 words overlayed on them. The distractor words were either semantically related or 113 unrelated to the target word. Participants typically need more time to produce words when 114 they see semantically related distractors than unrelated distractors (i.e., the semantic 115 interference effect, see Bürki, Elbuy, Madec, & Vasishth, 2020 for review). Shao et al. 116 (2013, 2015) used the delta plot procedure (Ridderinkhof, Scheres, Oosterlaan, & Sergeant, 117 2005; Ridderinkhof, Wildenberg, Wijnen, Burle, et al., 2004) to compute a measure of 118 inhibition, which can be understood as the change in the semantic interference effect over 119 the trials in the experiment with the slowest response times. Shao et al. (2013, 2015) found 120 that this within-task measure of inhibition correlated with the magnitude of the semantic 121 interference effect in a picture-word interference task, as well as in a semantic blocking task 122 (Shao et al., 2015). 123

While it is certainly intuitive that inhibition is needed for a task such as the 124 picture-word interference task, we showed using simulated data that the correlation 125 between this within-task measure of inhibition and the semantic interference effect arises as 126 a mere consequence of the distributional properties of the data (Fuhrmeister & Bürki, 127 2022). Specifically, the semantic interference effect is largest in the slowest responses; 128 therefore, it is not surprising that this measure that is computed in part with the effect size 129 over the slowest trials correlates strongly with the mean semantic interference effect. 130 Especially since Shao et al. (2014) found a correlation between the size of the semantic 131 interference effect and the ERP N2 component (thought to reflect inhibition), it is certainly 132

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possible that selective inhibition is involved in language production; however, we need
different measures of inhibition to support this idea. In the current study, we have two
different measures of selective inhibition that we will correlate with picture naming speed
to further test this assumption.

Sustained attention describes the ability to maintain alertness to detect 137 infrequent events over a long period of time (Sarter, Givens, & Bruno, 2001). Several 138 studies have found relationships between measures of sustained attention and language 139 production (Jongman, Meyer, et al., 2015; Jongman, Roelofs, et al., 2015). For example, Jongman and colleagues have used measures of sustained attention with geometrical shapes 141 (Jongman, Roelofs, et al., 2015) or digits (Jongman, Meyer, et al., 2015; Jongman, Roelofs, 142 et al., 2015). In addition, they have used both visual and auditory variations of a sustained 143 attention task and found that both variations correlated with word production speed (Jongman, Roelofs, et al., 2015). This provides some evidence that relationships between sustained attention and language production measures may reflect more general attention abilities and may not be specific to a certain domain.

### Experiment 1

The goal of the current study is to extend previous findings on the relationship 149 between cognitive skills and word production and to test how generalizable these 150 relationships are. As discussed above, some tasks thought to measure a common construct 151 do not necessarily correlate with each other, suggesting they measure different aspects of 152 the skill. This provides an opportunity to better understand relationships between 153 cognitive skills and word production. For instance, we ask whether cognitive tasks 154 performed in different domains (e.g., linguistic, non-linguistic, auditory, visual) thought to 155 measure a similar construct similarly predict word production speed. 156

In the first experiment, participants performed a picture-word interference task, in which they named pictures with printed distractor words superimposed on the pictures.

The task included several conditions: a baseline condition, in which participants saw a line
of Xs printed on the picture; a semantic condition, in which participants saw a distractor
that was either semantically related or unrelated to the picture; and a phonological
condition, in which participants saw a distractor that was either phonologically related or
unrelated to the target. The picture naming data have been reported elsewhere (Bürki &
Madec, 2022; Fuhrmeister, Madec, Lorenz, Elbuy, & Bürki, 2022). For the present
reanalysis, we analyze only trials in the baseline condition to test whether measures of
working memory, inhibition, or attention predict speed of simple picture naming.

167 Method

# 168 Participants

A total of 45 participants (ages 18-30, mean age = 23, SD = 3.51) were recruited for the study. All participants were native speakers of German and reported normal hearing and no history of psychiatric, neurological, or language disorders. Participants were paid or received course credit for their participation in the study, and they gave informed consent according to the University of Potsdam's (Germany) ethical committee guidelines.

### Procedure

Participants performed several tasks over three different sessions. In the first session, 175 participants completed a picture-word interference task, a delayed naming task, and a word 176 naming task (i.e., reading aloud). Again, only the baseline condition of the picture-word 177 interference task is reported here. The continuous EEG was also recorded during the 178 picture-word interference task, but those data are also reported elsewhere (Fuhrmeister et al., 2022). In the second and third sessions of the experiment, the following cognitive tests were administered: the German MWT-B (Mehrfachwahl-Wortschatztest, Version B, Lehrl, 183 1975), the coding subtest of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Fourth Edition 182 (WAIS-IV, Wechsler, 2008), the digit span forward and backward subtest of the Wechsler 183

Memory Scale Revised (Wechsler, 1987), and the Corsi Block-Tapping Task forward and backward. These tests are part of the battery of tests used in an institutional project on variability in language and are used to allow comparisons across age groups and to screen potential control participants for projects that involve participants with aphasia. These tests were not analyzed in the present study and will not be reported further. During the third session, participants performed eight cognitive tasks (see Table 1) to test for relationships between measures of cognitive functions and performance on the language production task.

# 192 Stimuli and task descriptions

Picture naming task. Stimuli for the picture naming task consisted of 90 pictures from the Multipic database (Duñabeitia et al., 2018). Lemma frequencies (mean frequency = 1991.3, SD = 3678.4, range 9-21184) for the words were obtained from the dlex database (Heister et al., 2011). As mentioned above, the original task contained several conditions with distractor words printed on the pictures; however, only trials from the baseline condition, which consisted of six Xs superimposed on the picture, are reported here.

Participants were first familiarized with the pictures: They saw one picture at a time on the screen with its corresponding name and were asked to read the words silently. The presentation of items was randomized.

For the picture naming task, participants first completed a short training phase,
followed by the main task, which consisted of five blocks of trials. Each picture was
presented once per block, and there was an equal number of trials in each condition per
block. Pictures were presented in a pseudorandom order in each block. The structure of a
trial was as follows: a fixation cross appeared on the screen for 2200-2300ms; then the
picture was displayed either for 2300ms or until the participant started speaking. Vocal
responses were recorded for 3000ms starting at the onset of picture presentation. A trial

ended with an inter-trial interval that had a random duration between 1000 and 1200ms.

Cognitive skills. Following previous work on the relationship between language
production and domain-general cognitive abilities, we included tasks to measure
participants' working memory, sustained attention, and inhibition abilities. In order to
replicate and extend previous findings in the language production literature, we included
several tasks that have been used (or were similar to those that have been used) in
previous studies. In addition, we included tasks that targeted different aspects of these
cognitive skills.

Span tasks. We administrated two blocks of each span task (operation span,
symmetry span, and rotation span), following the recommendations of Foster et al. (2015)<sup>1</sup>.
Recall that each task consists of sequences of target and distractor items, and participants
are asked to respond to distractor items (e.g., solve a math problem). At the end of each
sequence, participants attempted to recall all target items in the order they were presented.

As discussed in the introduction, the operation span task consists of target items 222 (letters to be recalled) and distractor items (math problems). The target and distractor 223 items are presented in alternating order, and participants are asked to recall the letters in 224 the order they were presented. In the symmetry span task, a sequence consists of the 225 alternating presentation of a 4x4 grid containing a single square and a geometrical shape 226 that may or may not be symmetrical relative to the vertical axis. The positions of the 227 squares in the 4x4 grid are the target items, and the symmetrical or asymmetrical 228 geometrical shapes are the distractor items. After each geometrical shape, participants 229 must determine whether the shape was symmetrical or not. After each sequence, participants are asked to recall the positions of the squares in the 4x4 grid. In the rotation 231 span task, a sequence consists of a rotated letter that can be vertically reversed or not and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These tasks are available from the Georgia Tech Attention and Working Memory Lab website (http://englelab.gatech.edu). We used their scripts to implement the tasks in OpenSesame (Mathôt, Schreij, & Theeuwes, 2012) for stimulus presentation.

of an arrow (long or short) pointing in one of 8 possible directions. Arrow lengths and directions are the target items, and rotated letters are the distractor items. After each distractor item, participants must determine whether the letter was reversed or not. Following the presentation of a sequence, participants are asked to recall the lengths and directions of the arrows.

To determine the length of a sequence in the span tasks, we followed recommendations from Draheim, Harrison, Embretson, and Engle (2018). In the operation span task, the length of a sequence varied from three to eight items; in the symmetry span task, from two to six items; and in the rotation span task, from two to five items. Each block contained sequences of all possible lengths, and each block was repeated for each task (i.e., two blocks total per task).

Stop-signal reaction time task. As described briefly above, the stop-signal reaction time task is thought to measure non-selective inhibition, i.e., the suppression of any unwanted or irrelevant response (De Jong et al., 1995). In this task, participants are asked to respond to various stimuli ("go" trials), but on some trials, they are asked to inhibit their response ("no-go" trials).

During the go trials, a fixation cross was displayed for 250 ms at the center of the 249 screen and then replaced by either the symbol "<" or the symbol ">". Participants were 250 instructed to press a left keyboard key after the onset of the "<" symbol and a right 251 keyboard key after the onset of the ">" symbol. During the no-go trials, a tone (750Hz, 252 lasting 75 ms) sounded shortly after the onset of the visual symbols, indicating to the 253 participants that they should not respond on these trials. This was an adaptive task: At 254 the beginning of the procedure, the delay between the onset of the visual symbol and the 255 onset of the tone (i.e., the stop signal delay) was 250 ms (i.e., the tone was displayed 250 256 ms after the onset of the visual symbol). The stop signal delay was then adjusted 257 depending on the participant's performance. Following successful inhibition, the stop signal 258

delay was increased by 50 ms. When participants failed to inhibit the response on a no-go trial, the stop signal delay was reduced by 50 ms.

Following the recommendations of Matzke, Verbruggen, and Logan (2018), the task
started with a familiarization block of 20 go trials. Then, participants performed a practice
block with 18 go trials and 6 no-go trials. For this practice block, participants were
instructed to not slow down their responses on go trials (Matzke et al., 2018). Three
experimental blocks followed, consisting of 48 go trials and 16 no go trials. Participants
were asked to perform the task as quickly as possible.

Flanker task. In the Flanker task, an arrow pointing either to the left or to the 267 right is presented at the center of the screen, and participants have to determine the 268 direction of the arrow using the corresponding left or right arrow key on the keyboard. 269 This central arrow is flanked either by arrows pointing in the same direction ("">">, 270 congruent condition), the opposite direction («>«, incongruent condition), or by straight 271 lines (->-, neutral condition). Participants started with 18 training trials, six in each 272 condition. There were four experimental blocks, each consisting of 46 congruent trials, 46 273 incongruent trials and 46 neutral trials (see Hedge, Powell, & Sumner, 2018 for justification 274 regarding the number of trials in this task). 275

**Simon task.** In the Simon task, participants started with a familiarization phase 276 of 40 trials. During this phase, a blue (50% of trials) or red circle appeared in the center of 277 the screen. Participants had to press a key on the left hand side of the keyboard upon 278 seeing a blue circle and on the right hand side upon seeing a red circle. They were asked to 279 respond as quickly as possible. The familiarization phase was followed by a practice phase with 56 trials. A trial started by the presentation of a fixation cross located at the center of 281 the screen for 500ms. Then a blue or red circle appeared either on the left-hand or 282 right-hand side of the fixation cross. Trials with the blue circle appearing on the left-hand side or with a red circle appearing on the right hand side are called congruent trials, 284 because the position of the circle and the correct response key are on the same side.

Conversely, trials where the blue circle appears on the right-hand side or a red circle on the left-hand side are called incongruent trials. During this practice phase, there were 42 congruent trials (21 blue and 21 red circles), and 12 incongruent trials (6 blue and 6 red circles). After the practice phase, participants performed the same task in two experimental blocks of 120 trials each, with 90 congruent trials and 30 incongruent trials (see Wöstmann et al., 2013 on the selection of the number of trials).

Conjunctive continuous performance task. In this task, participants see a 292 flow of visual symbols that vary in shapes (i.e. squares, triangles, stars, circles) and in color 293 (i.e. blue, green, red, yellow). Participants must press a button as soon as they see a red 294 square. We followed the procedure outlined in Shaley, Ben-Simon, Meyorach, Cohen, and 295 Tsal (2011). The task included 320 trials: 30% of trials contained the target (i.e., the red 296 square); 17.5% of trials contained red, non-square symbols; 17.5% of trials contained 297 square, non-red symbols, and the remainder of the trials contained non-red and non-square 298 symbols. The inter-trial interval ranged from 1000 ms to 2500 ms, by steps of 500 ms. 299

Continuous time expectancy task. For this task, participants saw visual 300 patterns and were asked to identify a pattern that was presented for a longer duration than 301 the others. We used four visual patterns, as in O'Connell et al. (2009). The standard 302 duration in our task was set to 800ms, and the target duration was set to 1300ms. The 303 procedure started with a familiarization block, followed by a training block, and ended 304 with a single experimental block. During the familiarization block, 32 patterns appeared 305 one by one on the screen. Four of these patterns were target patterns, while the other ones 306 were standard patterns. Participants had to detect the target patterns but were not asked 307 to respond. A training block followed only if participants reported that, during the 308 familiarization block, they noticed some patterns (the target) lasting longer than the other 300 ones. During the training block, they were instructed to press the space bar as soon as 310 they noticed a target. There were 24 trials and among them, 3 targets. If participants were 311 unable to detect the three targets during the training block, they had to perform it again 312

until they were able to detect every target. The experimental block consisted in 674 trials,
with 84 targets. Distances between two deviant trials ranged from 4 to 10 trials, with 12
trials for each of these numbers. Following the presentation of a target, participants had to
provide an answer within 700ms.

### 317 Analyses

# 318 Computing scores from cognitive measures

### Picture naming measures and correlations

To derive measures of word production speed, we estimated ex-gaussian parameters 320 of each participant's response time distribution, following previous work (Jongman, Meyer, 321 et al., 2015; Jongman, Roelofs, et al., 2015; Shao et al., 2013). An ex-gaussian distribution 322 often provides a good fit to reaction time data and is composed of three parameters:  $\mu$ ,  $\sigma$ , 323 and  $\tau$ . The  $\mu$  and  $\sigma$  parameters represent the mean and standard deviation of the 324 Gaussian portion of the distribution, respectively, and the  $\tau$  parameter represents the mean 325 and standard deviation of the exponential part of the distribution (Balota & Yap, 2011; 326 Tse, Balota, Yap, Duchek, & McCabe, 2010). The  $\tau$  parameter can be understood 327 conceptually as the proportion of abnormally slow responses, or the right tail of the 328 reaction time distribution. We estimated ex-gaussian parameters for each participant 329 separately using the mexaguss() function in the retimes package (Massidda & Massidda, 2013) in R (R Core Team, 2021). We then tested for correlations between the ex-gaussian 331 parameters  $\mu$  and  $\tau$  and measures of cognitive skills ( $\mu$  and  $\tau$  because we do not have theoretical motivation to think that we should find relationships between cognitive skills 333 and variance). We acknowledge that this approach leads to a number of statistical tests 334 being done, which can inflate Type I error rates. However, because we do not know which 335 cognitive tests these relationships will generalize to, it is important to fully explore these 336 relationships. Therefore we view Experiment 1 as an exploratory endeavor, in which we 337 will first pinpoint plausible extensions of the relationships found previously in the literature by reporting correlations without correcting for multiple comparisons. We will replicate relationships found in Experiment 1 in a confirmatory manner in Experiment 2. All analyses were performed in R (R Core Team, 2021), and pre-processed data and analysis scripts are publicly available in the OSF repository at https://osf.io/4ftex/.

Results

# 344 Descriptive statistics

We first calculated descriptive statistics (mean and standard deviation) of all of the 345 cognitive measures to determine whether there is a sufficient amount of variability among 346 participants to obtain meaningful correlations with each of the measures. In Table 1 we 347 report the mean and standard deviation of each of the measures, and a histogram of the 348 scores can be seen in Figure 1. Visual inspection of the histograms suggests a ceiling effect 349 for the conjunctive continuous performance task, which is confirmed by the descriptive 350 statistics (M = 1.00, SD = .01). Due to this ceiling effect, we would not expect to be able 351 to find meaningful correlations with this measure, so we do not consider it in any further 352 analyses. All other measures seem to have a sufficient spread of scores to use in further 353 analyses. 354

#### 355 Correlations among measures

Next, we report correlations among all measures to determine whether the cognitive tests thought to measure similar constructs are correlated with each other. Based on previous literature, we expected to find correlations among the inhibition measures (Simon, Flanker, and SSRT tasks) and working memory measures (operation, symmetry, and rotation span tasks). However, some previous work has not found correlations among tasks thought to measure similar skills, such as inhibition (e.g., Paap & Sawi, 2014); therefore, we may see only weak or no correlations among these skills. Figure 2 reports correlations between all pairs of tasks. The span tasks correlated fairly well with each other, and there

Table 1 Mean and standard deviation (sd) of scores on all cognitive tests.

Test	Skill being measured	mean	sd
Conjunctive continuous performance	Sustained attention	1.00	0.01
Continuous time expectancy	Sustained attention	0.82	0.15
Flanker RT cost	Selective inhibition	63.47	21.73
Operation Span	Working memory	0.75	0.16
Rotation Span	Working memory	0.77	0.15
Simon RT cost	Selective inhibition	63.95	26.62
Stop-signal reaction time	Non-selective inhibition	207.41	47.63
Symmetry Span	Working memory	0.73	0.13

was also a significant correlation between the SSRT task and the symmetry span task.

### Correlations between cognitive skills and word production speed

The correlations between the ex-gaussian parameters and measures of cognitive skills 366 can be found in Table 2. Only the continuous time expectancy task correlated with the  $\mu$ parameter (i.e., the mean) suggesting that higher scores on the sustained attention task 368 corresponded to faster naming speed. No correlations were found between cognitive skills 369 and  $\tau$  (exponential). 370

Discussion 371

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In Experiment 1, we tested whether several cognitive skills thought to be related to 372 individual differences in language production correlated with other related measures (that 373 perhaps tap into different aspects of these skills). We additionally tested whether any of 374 these measures correlated with the  $\mu$  and  $\tau$  (exgaussian) parameters of the distribution of 375 response times in a picture naming task.

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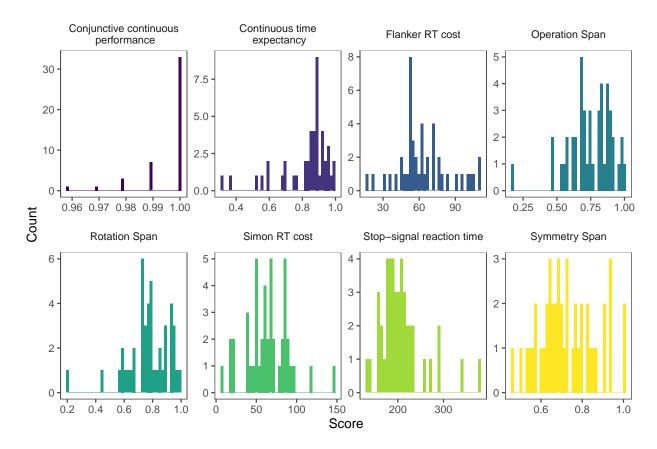


Figure 1. Histogram of participants' scores on all cognitive tests. Note the difference in axes.

We found significant correlations among the span tasks that measure working memory. However, the inhibition measures did not seem to related to each other very well, with some correlations close to zero. We did not have enough variability in the conjunctive continuous performance task that measures attention to test for a correlation with the other measure of attention (continuous time expectancy task).

\*\*\* something about replicating Jongman et al attention correlations (did we, or was
theirs with tau?) maybe discuss in a little detail...

# Experiment 2

In Experiment 2, we test whether certain cognitive skills predict picture naming speed when participants are encouraged to respond faster, and we compare this with a non-speeded condition.

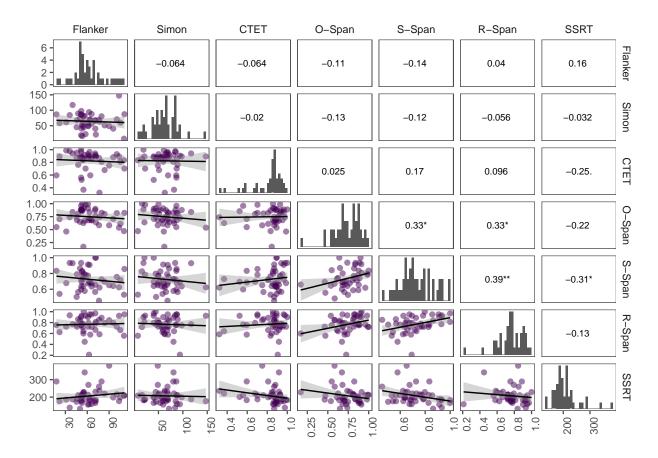


Figure 2. Correlations between all cognitive measures in Experiment 1. Flanker = Flanker RT cost, Simon = Simon RT cost, CTET = continuous time expectancy task, O-Span = operation span task, S-Span, R-Span = rotation span task, SSRT = stop-signal reaction time task. Significance levels: \*\*\* = < .001, \*\* = .01, \* = .05, . = .1

In Experiment 1, we found little support for the idea that cognitive skills predict 388 picture naming latencies. However, the picture naming task was quite simple, and 389 cognitive skills or resources may be more important when the task is more difficult. Some 390 evidence for this idea comes from studies using a dual-task paradigm (e.g., Ferreira & 391 Pashler, 2002). For example, Piai and Roelofs (2013) had participants perform picture 392 naming and tone discrimination tasks in a dual-task paradigm. They found a relationship 393 between a measure of updating ability (i.e., working memory, as measured by an operation 394 span task) and participants' picture naming speed, as well as the interference effect from 395 the dual task: Participants with better updating or working memory abilities were faster to 396

Table 2 Correlations between cognitive skills and mu and tau parameters of picture naming response time distributions.

	$mu \ r$	mu p	tau r	tau p
Flanker	-0.06	0.67	0.17	0.25
Simon	0.11	0.47	0.05	0.75
CTET	-0.31	0.04	-0.20	0.18
O-Span	-0.08	0.62	0.01	0.95
S-Span	-0.14	0.35	0.25	0.10
R-Span	-0.15	0.33	0.00	0.99
SSRT	0.16	0.30	0.14	0.36

name pictures and were not as affected by the interference from the two tasks. Shao et al. 397 (2012) similarly found evidence that cognitive skills are related to picture naming speed in 398 more demanding task conditions. For example, updating ability (also measured by an 399 operation span task) was correlated with picture naming speed for pictures of actions but 400 not objects. They argue that naming pictures of actions is more difficult than naming 401 pictures of objects because actions are conceptually and grammatically more complex. 402

The goal of Experiment 2 is to test whether relationships between cognitive skills and 403 word production speed is stronger when the task is more difficult. In the current study, we manipulated task difficulty by the perceived amount of time that participants have to 405 name a picture. 406

If more difficult tasks place higher cognitive demands on participants, we predict that 407 better performance on cognitive skills will predict faster response times during the picture naming task in the speeded condition. We may see similar relationships in the non-speeded condition, but we expect that these relationships will be stronger in the speeded than in
the non-speeded condition. Additionally, if the correlation found in Experiment 1 is not a
Type I error, we expect to replicate it here.

413 Method

# 414 Participants

A total of 48 participants (ages 18-20, M = 23.2, SD = 3.5) took part in the experiment. All participants were right-handed, native speakers of German with typical hearing and no history of neurological or language disorders. Participants were either paid for their participation or received course credit. Participants were given details about the experimental procedure and gave informed consent before starting the experiment. The study received ethical approval by the ethical committee of the University of Potsdam (Germany).

# 422 Procedure

The experiment was conducted in two sessions. In the first session, participants 423 completed a picture-word-interference task and three related tasks: a recall task, a delayed 424 naming task, and a reading task; only the results from the picture-word-interference task 425 are reported here. Next, we obtained the following measures of cognitive skills: the 426 German MWT-B (Mehrfachwahl-Wortschatztest, Version B; Lehrl, 1975); the Coding 427 subtest of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale- Fourth Edition (WAIS-IV; Wechsler, 428 2008); the digit span forward and backward subtest of the Wechsler Memory Scale Revised 429 (Wechsler, 1948) and the Corsi Block-Tapping Task forward and backward (Corsi, 1973). During the second session, we administered three span tasks to assess participants' updating abilities, two tasks testing sustained attention abilities, and three tasks measuring non-selective and selective inhibition (see below for tasks descriptions). 433

### Stimuli and task descriptions

**Picture naming task.** To test whether cognitive skills are more strongly related 435 to word production speed in more difficult tasks, participants performed 436 picture-word-interference task (as described in Experiment 1) under two conditions: a 437 speeded and a non-speeded condition. The experiment consisted of two blocks, and each 438 condition was administered in one block. Participants named two lists of pictures: Each 439 list consisted of 20 training trials, 110 filler trials, and 225 test trials (order of condition 440 and presentation of lists were counterbalanced). The structure of each block was as follows: 441 Participants were first familiarized with the pictures and corresponding words that were 442 used in that block of the task. Participants saw each picture displayed with its name in 443 written form, and they were asked to read the name silently and to press a button to advance to the next picture. Participants were told they would be asked to name the 445 pictures using the name from the familiarization phase in a later phase of the experiment. Next, participants completed a short training phase that consisted of 20 trials; training trials were not included in the analyses. After the training phase, participants completed the main picture-word-interference task. On each trial, a fixation cross was displayed on the screen for 800ms, and then the picture appeared. Participants were instructed to 450 produce the name of the picture as fast as possible. The duration for which the item stayed 451 on the screen depended on the experimental condition. Each block contained filler and test 452 trials, and condition (speeded vs. non-speeded) was manipulated with the filler trials only. 453 In each block (both speeded and non-speeded), the picture on each test trial stayed on the 454 screen for 1200ms, but the duration varied for the filler trials. In the non-speeded 455 condition, the pictures on the filler trials stayed on the screen for 1200ms, just like the test 456 trials. However, in the speeded condition, the pictures on the filler trials stayed on the 457 screen for a shorter duration that varied between 400 and 600ms. Only the test trials were 458 analyzed; the purpose of the filler trials was to manipulate the perceived amount of time 450 that participants were given to name the picture. This ensured that the naming latencies

that were compared across blocks were based on the same type of trials.

Cognitive skills. We used the same battery of cognitive tests that were used in
Experiment 1 and computed scores in the same way.

### 464 Analyses

The analyses were idential to Experiment 1, except the exgaussian parameters were calculated for each condition (speeded vs. non-speeded) separately. We first report descriptive statistics, then correlations of cognitive measures with each other, and finally, correlations between cognitive measures and mu and tau parameters from the response time distribution.

470 Results

We first report descriptive statistics on all cognitive measures. Similar to Experiment 471 1, we want to ensure we have enough variability among participants to find meaningful 472 correlations with the measures. Means and standard deviations for each measure can be 473 found in Table 3, and histograms in Figure 3. Similar to Experiment 1, we see a ceiling 474 effect for the conjunctive continuous performance task, although there is slightly more 475 variability than in Experiment 1. This is mostly due to one participant who has a much 476 lower score; however, this participant did not consistently score low on all measures; 477 therefore, we assume the participant was indeed doing the tasks in good faith. As in 478 Experiment 1, we will not include this measure in the following analyses. 479

Next, we computed the correlations of all the cognitive measures with each other, just as we did in Experiment 1. All correlations can be found in Figure 4. Here we see more significant correlations: The working memory (span task) measures patterned together again, the continuous time expectancy task correlated moderately with the span tasks, and the stop-signal reaction time task correlated with the Simon task (another measure of inhibition), as well as two of the span tasks.

Table 3

Mean and standard deviation (sd) of scores on all cognitive tests.

Test	Skill being measured	mean	sd
Conjunctive continuous performance	Sustained attention	98.13	5.08
Continuous time expectancy	Sustained attention	0.80	0.20
Flanker RT cost	Selective inhibition	75.39	32.86
Operation Span	Working memory	0.79	0.15
Rotation Span	Working memory	0.75	0.12
Simon RT cost	Selective inhibition	70.99	33.04
Stop-signal reaction time	Non-selective inhibition	182.63	65.70
Symmetry Span	Working memory	0.73	0.11

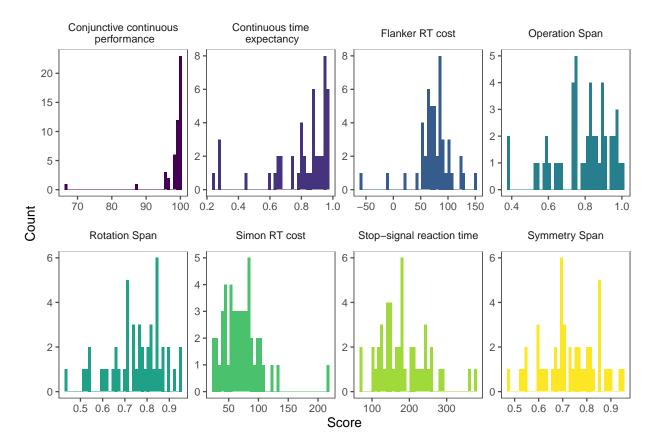


Figure 3. Histogram of participants' scores on all cognitive tests. Note the difference in axes.

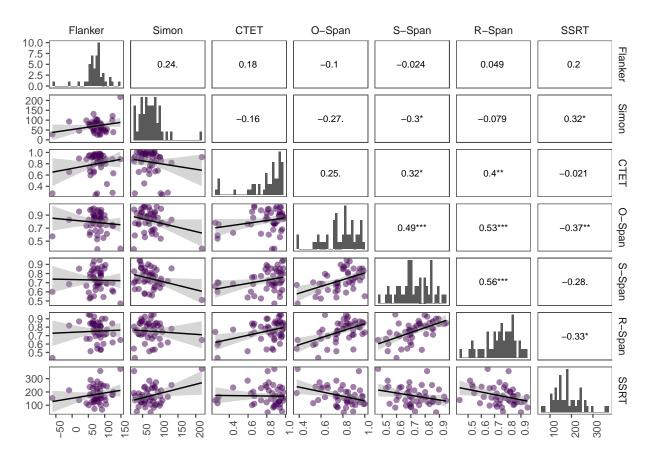


Figure 4. Correlations between all cognitive measures in Experiment 2. Flanker = Flanker RT cost, Simon = Simon RT cost, CTET = continuous time expectancy task, O-Span = operation span task, S-Span, R-Span = rotation span task, SSRT = stop-signal reaction time task. Significance levels: \*\*\* = < .001, \*\* = .01, \* = .05, . = .1

Table 4

Correlations between cognitive skills and mu and tau parameters of picture naming response time distributions in the non-speeded condition of Experiment 2.

	$mu \ r$	mu p	tau r	tau p
Flanker	-0.22	0.14	0.00	1.00
Simon	0.01	0.93	0.21	0.16
CTET	-0.15	0.32	0.05	0.75
O-Span	0.13	0.36	-0.24	0.10
S-Span	-0.04	0.77	0.12	0.43
R-Span	0.11	0.46	-0.11	0.45
SSRT	0.02	0.89	0.17	0.24

Table 5

Correlations between cognitive skills and mu and tau parameters of picture naming response time distributions in the speeded condition of Experiment 2.

	$mu \ r$	mu p	tau r	tau p
Flanker	-0.03	0.82	-0.16	0.28
Simon	0.19	0.21	0.14	0.35
CTET	-0.19	0.18	0.14	0.34
O-Span	0.09	0.54	-0.03	0.86
S-Span	0.01	0.96	0.10	0.49
R-Span	0.04	0.78	-0.01	0.94
SSRT	-0.08	0.58	0.19	0.21

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