

**GET IT IN A BIT!**  
**EARLY STEPS IN THE VISUAL IDENTIFICATION OF COMPLEX WORDS**

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Recent models of the visual identification of complex words differ substantially as to how they structure their early processing stages. The critical divide seems to be whether semantics kicks in early on (e.g., Grainger and Ziegler, 2011), or rather later in processing, after morphological analysis has been only orthographically grounded for a while (e.g., Taft, 2006). Classic masked priming data do not provide a clear-cut answer in this respect as scholars debate hotly as to whether, e.g., *dealer-DEAL* yields equivalent masked priming to *mother-MOTH* (e.g., Diependaele et al., 2011; Davis and Rastle, 2010). We thus resorted to a different technique, i.e., incremental masked priming (IMP), to assess whether (and, if so, when) transparent and opaque effects diverge. IMP has the big advantage of getting rid of unrelated primes — thus excluding possible inhibitory effects brought about by the baseline — and of allowing to test different SOAs with the same participants on the same items — thus allowing to assess the effect of prime presentation time with a finer temporal resolution. Results indicated a cross-over interaction between SOA and morphological relationship, so that morpho-orthographic effects dominated at short SOAs, but morpho-semantic effects did so at SOAs closer to the awareness threshold.

Another aspect that has been poorly studied is how the classic morpho-orthographic pattern responds to task manipulations. Duñabeitia et al. (2011) have shown that not only morpho-orthographic, but even morpho-semantic effects disappear when participants set out for a purely orthographic task (i.e., same-different task). This shows that morpho-orthographic segmentation isn't an obligatory process, but is silent as to whether it serves *necessarily* lexical identification, because the same-different task doesn't require lexical identification at all. We thus set up a new paradigm where primes were still presented outside participants' awareness, but the task required people to make contact with lexical representations. Eye tracking data showed clear morpho-semantic effects, but neither morpho-orthographic nor form effects, proving that semantically-blind morphological segmentation isn't necessary for lexical access (Marelli et al., 2012).

Finally, current models remain agnostic as to how morpheme position is coded in the system, so as to make the reader able to distinguish between *hangover* and *overhang*, and to appreciate that *preheat* is a word, but *heatpre* isn't. By exploiting both masked priming and morpheme inhibition effects in nonword rejection times, we showed that suffix representations are position-locked, i.e., suffixes are only identified as such after an existing stem (Crepaldi et al., 2010), but free stem representations are not, so that letter strings like *moonhoney* drive significant activation in the lexical representation for *honeymoon* (Crepaldi et al., 2012).

Overall, these data show that none of the existing model is able to account for the available evidence, and that theories should be modified so that (i) morpho-orthography and morpho-semantic interact in a complex way to determine how each specific word is processed; (ii) processing is modulated by task demands; (iii) morpheme representations are sensitive to the positional constraints revealed by everyday-life input.

## References

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