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Acquisition

Working Memory in Second Language Acquisition and Processing



Edited by Zhisheng (Edward) Wen,
Mailce Borges Mota and Arthur McNeill

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: 87

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Working Memory in Second Language Acquisition and Processing

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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This series brings together titles dealing with a variety of aspects of language acquisition and processing in situations where a language or languages other than the native language is involved. Second language is thus interpreted in its broadest possible sense. The volumes included in the series all offer in their different ways, on the one hand, exposition and discussion of empirical findings and, on the other, some degree of theoretical reflection. In this latter connection, no particular theoretical stance is privileged in the series; nor is any relevant perspective – sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, neurolinguistic, etc. – deemed out of place. The intended readership of the series includes final-year undergraduates working on second language acquisition projects, postgraduate students involved in second language acquisition research, and researchers and teachers in general whose interests include a second language acquisition component.

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Foreword

On a foreign language student's first trip abroad, an assignment might be asking a hotel concierge for directions to a popular café, navigating the streets and public transportation system and, at dinner, translating the waiter's dining recommendations for those companions who do not speak the language. These activities – formulating and following a plan, following directions and simultaneous translation – would be virtually impossible without the attentional and immediate memory system known as *working memory*. A convenient analogy for working memory is to think of it as the mental workspace of the mind: the small amount of memory that holds information and the capacity for attention control to manipulate that information for ongoing use. This dynamic working memory and attention system guides behaviour and permits conscious awareness of goal-relevant information. Another important function of the working memory system is to prevent potentially irrelevant or distracting information from gaining access to our consciousness. By deliberately focusing or dividing attention, that foreign language student can pay attention, make and maintain plans and engage in goal-directed behaviour.

It is for good reason that working memory processes are among the most important and widely studied components of human cognition. Working memory processes have been implicated in a variety of native language linguistic processes, such as paying attention to conversation, auditory and reading comprehension, speech planning, verbal problem solving and language use. Many aspects of first and second language comprehension rely heavily on working memory capacity: Working memory is positively correlated with first and second language vocabulary learning, reading and listening comprehension and writing proficiency (Atkins & Baddeley, 1998; Baddeley, 2000; Daneman & Hannon, 2007; Engle, 2001). Working memory is used when taking notes (Piolat *et al.*, 2005), while following directions (Engle *et al.*, 1991) or when ignoring visual and auditory distractions as well as internal distractions from one's own intruding thoughts and daydreams (Engle, 2001).

These same working memory processes are equally important outside of the verbal domain to learning, skills and abilities, including general fluid intelligence (Engle *et al.*, 1999), reasoning ability (Kyllonen & Christal, 1990), mathematical ability (Ashcraft & Krause, 2007) and spatial ability (Kane *et al.*, 2004). Because working memory plays an important role in these broader cognitive processes and abilities, it comes as no surprise that working memory is considered to be one of the most critical components of cognitive and linguistic achievement. The importance of working memory for everyday activities has been widely studied by cognitive psychologists interested in how memory works, by developmental psychologists interested in lifespan changes, by clinicians and psychiatrists interested in deficits due to illness or injury, and by educators interested in individual differences. While considerable progress has been made, the scientific study of the role of working memory in second language acquisition, by comparison to some of these other disciplines, has only just begun.

As almost anyone who has tried to learn another language can attest, second language learning can be a frustrating and time-consuming experience. This is true for adults and children alike. Despite serious effort and dedication, not all learners will achieve anything like native language proficiency. Even fewer still will learn to speak a second language without an 'accent'. For only the rarest of individuals, second language learning is easy and fast. For the vast majority of learners who want results, adult, post-critical period foreign language learning is not a casual enterprise. These observations of individual differences in ultimate attainment, as well as individual differences in the ease and rate of second language learning, suggest that there are abilities and talents that make some people better able than others to learn a second language. Hence, for these people, there is a *second language aptitude*.

Many factors complicate the scientific study of second language acquisition. For starters, the rate of learning is not a direct function of time on task, and it, as well as the way in which learners learn, varies by individual (McLaughlin, 1992). Furthermore, the greater the degree of dissimilarity between the second language a person wants to learn and his/her native language, the greater the difficulty of language learning. Some are fairly similar to the person's native language. English, for example, is one of 48 different living Germanic languages, which include Swedish, Dutch and German, and the majority of the English vocabulary is derived from Latin and French, which are members of another Indo-European language family, the Romance languages. As a result of these similarities, Swedish and French are easier for native English speakers to acquire than are languages from other more distally related language families. Learning Korean, which is a language isolate, or Arabic, a Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family, represents a more significant

challenge to native English speakers than learning more similar languages. Importantly, while the degree of similarity between a learner's native and target language is a determiner of the degree of difficulty of learning the language, research suggests that all languages require more or less the same aptitudes to learn (Carroll, 1985).

A fundamental tenet of cognition is that complex, high-level processes are dependent on lower-level, more elementary processes. For example, reading requires a complex interaction of lexical activation, syntactic parsing and meaning integration. If there is a deficiency in any one of these steps, the larger process fails. Some elementary processes are not specialised to any particular domain or broader skill, but are believed to be fundamental parts of all cognition.

It follows that people who possess processing advantages for these lower-level skills should also demonstrate processing advantages for more complex tasks. Variations between people for these skills are called individual differences, and there are four individual differences that are most clearly implicated as being important for understanding how well people perform high-level cognition (Kyllonen & Christal, 1990).

- *Working memory capacity*, the ability to temporarily retain information for short periods of time.
- *Declarative knowledge*, overall knowledge about the world or the domain at hand.
- *Procedural memory*, memory for automatised (non-conscious) procedures.
- *Processing speed*, how fast someone processes information.

These factors have been proposed as the primary sources of individual differences on cognitive tasks. They stem from a general outline of a standard cognitive architecture which charts the structures and processes that characterise human information processing, or the process of acquiring, retaining and using information.

This architecture is by no means comprehensive, but models used to explain performance on various cognitive and learning tasks have been developed from this framework (e.g. Anderson & Lebiere, 1998; Cowan, 1995). Individual differences may arise from any of the memory structures (procedural, working and declarative) or processing cycles (cognitive, motor and perceptual) in this framework, the key components being the type and extent of knowledge in declarative and procedural memory, working memory capacity and the speed with which one can execute the processing cycles (Kyllonen & Crystal, 1990). These are the four components of the four-sources model. Working memory capacity is thought to be the central factor in this model and is therefore considered to have the greatest influence on an individual's performance on cognitive and learning tasks.

Working memory is capacity and time limited, as is easy to see from one's own experience of memory limitations and forgetting. Who has not had the experience of meeting someone new and almost immediately forgetting his/her name, sometimes even before the conversation is over? There could be any number of reasons why this happens (inattentiveness, distractibility, information overload), but the point is that there are constraints on how much information can be managed, processed and integrated effectively all at once. Perhaps not surprisingly, people vary in their working memory capacity and in how susceptible they are to short-term forgetting.

Attention control is important to the function of the working memory system. Research indicates that attention control is one of those ubiquitous cognitive processes which operates across domains. Our view is that it is a central, limited-capacity, domain-general resource that can be voluntarily applied to holding and manipulating information in memory. The *central* aspect of attention indicates that the resource is shared among all modalities (vision, hearing, etc.) and types of information coding (phonological, orthographic, spatial, etc.). The *limited-capacity* aspect indicates that one type of manipulation or storage can be increased only at the expense of other types.

Science distinguishes between two fundamentally different forms of attention: exogenous and endogenous attention. From the amoeba that orients and moves away from bright illumination to the tourist entranced by the neon lights of Radio City Music Hall, organisms from the lowest form to the most advanced involuntarily orient towards (or sometimes away from) a stimulus that captures their attention. In contrast to exogenous attention, endogenous attention is paying attention to stimuli or locations of one's own choosing. Only the most evolved animals can voluntarily select objects to attend to. With intention and effort, the endogenous allocation of attention is under voluntary control, as when people allocate their attention according to variable instructions or pay-offs. However, attention is not completely voluntary: flashing lights, loud noises and sudden movements can involuntarily grab attention away from where it is intended, thus triggering an exogenous orienting response. Such a distraction can cause a lapse in attention to the task and, by extension, a failure to remember critical components of the task that was being completed (e.g. remembering the name of your new acquaintance or the context of the newspaper article you were just reading).

There are many diverse theoretical descriptions of the working memory system (cf. the 12 unique perspectives in Miyake and Shah [1999]). Baddeley and Hitch (1974) first described working memory as having two different subsystems or components: visuospatial working memory for manipulating and briefly maintaining information from the spatial domain; and phonological working memory for handling

verbally mediated representations and processing (see also Baddeley, 1986, 2007; Baddeley & Logie, 1999). Research on structural models of working memory has addressed the further subdivision of these two primary components into subcomponents. Of relevance to the language community, Caplan and Waters (1999) suggested that verbal working memory should be differentiated for verbal (but not syntactic) processes for cognitive tasks generally versus syntactic/grammatical processes that support linguistically mediated tasks such as sentence processing and comprehension. Contrary to the approach that describes working memory in multiple task-specific processes, Kane *et al.* (2004) demonstrated that linguistic and non-linguistic (but still verbally mediated) tasks rely on a single pool of working memory resources and that working memory processes are by and large domain general.

More recent theories of working memory, such as Cowan's (1995, 2001, 2005) embedded processes model, are process oriented rather than structural. Cowan's model distinguishes a zone of privileged and immediate access – *the focus of attention* – from activated but not immediately accessible long-term memory. Information in the focus of attention is readily accessible and resistant to forgetting, but because the capacity of focus of attention is quite limited, very few items or fixed groups of items (*chunks*) can reside there. According to Cowan, that capacity may be as little as four items for the average individual. In contrast, the activated portion of long-term memory is not capacity limited, but memory in this state is prone to forgetting due to decay and/or interference (i.e. confusion with other similar information in memory). Attentional control processes are responsible for manipulating the contents of working memory. They activate, focus, update, switch and inhibit memory during information processing.

Because learning one's native language and learning a second one are both cases of language learning, the usual assumption is that information about one illuminates the other. Support for the idea that working memory plays an important role in second language acquisition comes from the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis, which states that a learner's competence in the second language is at least partially dependent on competence in the first language (Cummins, 1979). This would be expected if working memory plays a role in ability for both first and second language processing. There is evidence showing that working memory is correlated with second language vocabulary acquisition time (Ellis, 1996), English as a second language vocabulary ability (Miyake & Friedman, 1998), second language explicit grammar learning (Tagarelli *et al.*, 2011) and second language reading and writing ability (Bergsleithner, 2010).

Linck *et al.* (2014) conducted the first comprehensive formal meta-analysis on the relationship between working memory and the products of second language acquisition: the development of second language