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PHILOSOPHISCHE FAKULTÄT



Es fängt mit Lesen an.

Stiftung Lesen

Complexity of Reading within Cognitive Science Jurgis Škilters jurgis.skilters@lu.lv

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Outline

- 1. Interrelations between vision, language comprehension, and other cognitive and perceptual processes during reading
 - Eye movement research
- 2. Impact of format of tools on the reading comprehension
 - Reading as a part of a central cognitive extension enabling the modern society and science
- 3. Multi-facetedness of reading
 - A cross-disciplinary collaboration between different research areas and fields in the research on reading
 - Architecture of reading

1.

Interrelations between vision, language comprehension, spatial cognition, and other cognitive and perceptual processes during reading

What is reading?

"reading is the ability to extract visual information from the page and comprehend the meaning of the text"

Rayner, K., Pollatsek, A., Ashby, J., & Clifton Jr, C. (2012). *Psychology of reading*. 2nd Ed. New York: Psychology Press. p. 19

visual information

language, text

Research on eye movements

Since late 70ties

Groundbreaking work in linking visual and linguistic processing



http://www.open.ac.uk/about/campus/jennie-lee-research-labs/sites/www.open.ac.uk.about.campus.jennie-lee-research-labs/files/styles/medium/public/HCI%202%20Lab-4.jpg?itok=YgwUgM4R Table 1

Approximate Mean Fixation Duration and Saccade Length in Reading, Visual Search, Scene Perception, Music Reading, and Typing

Task	Mean fixation duration (ms)	Mean saccade size (degrees)		
Silent reading	225	2 (about 8 letters)		
Oral reading	275	1.5 (about 6 letters)		
Visual search	275	3		
Scene perception	330	4		
Music reading	375	i		
Typing	400	1 (about 4 letters)		

Note. Values are taken from a number of sources and vary depending on a number of factors (see Rayner, 1984). Eye movements: sensitive to

- the type of visual task and
- type of reading

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Eye Movements in Reading and Information Processing: 20 Years of Research

Keith Rayner University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Psychological Bulletin 1998, Vol. 124, No. 3, 372-422

Visual attention in reading: Eye movements reflect cognitive processes

KEITH RAYNER University of Rochester, Rochester, New York 14627

Two hypotheses regarding the nature of fixation durations in reading were discussed. One position suggests that semantic processing lags behind the perceptual input of information. The other position suggests that semantic processing is more rapid and immediate. Eye movement data of skilled readers reading passages of text were analyzed. It was found that the main verb of the sentence received more visual attention than other key grammatical elements within a sentence. On the basis of the overall result pattern, it was argued that eye movements are affected by cognitive processes occurring at the time of the fixations.

"On the basis of the overall result pattern, it was argued that eye movements are affected by cognitive processes occurring at the time of the fixations." (my emphasis: JS)

	The	S	v	the	0	F Value*	Significance Level
Number of Fixations**							
Forward Fixations	10.5	47.4	47.2	21.8	42.5	78.30	.001
Regressive Fixations	2.7	8.1	8.1	3.6	7.5	9.05	.001
Fixation Durations (msec)							
Forward Fixations	167	204	231	208	214	14.43	.001
Regressive Fixations	123	185	233	135	212	5.51	.002
Total Time (msec)							
Per Character F	15	35	41	36	36	19.18	.001
Total Time Per Character	19	42	49	41	44	22.82	.001

Means of Significant Effects

*The degrees of freedom in all cases are 4/36.

**Mean number of fixations per subject (based on 45 sentences per subject).

Eye movements as sensitive to different parts of sentence

Eye movements during reading: some current controversies

Review

Matthew S. Starr and Keith Rayner

Table I. Develo	pmental charac	cteristics of ey	ye movements durin	g reading

	Grade level*						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Adult
Fixation duration (ms)	355	306	286	266	255	240	233
Fixations per 100 words	191	151	131	121	117	106	94
Frequency of regressions (%)	28	26	25	26	26	22	14
* Grade 1 children in the US are typically 6 years old, when reading instruction begins.							

Eye movements as **developmentally** sensitive and informative

Eye movements as sensitive to the **type of text**

96 Skilled reading of text

Topic	Fixation duration ^a	Saccade length ^b	Regressions (%) ^c	WPM	
Ti-lt fation	202	92	3	365	
Light fiction	202	8.3	6	321	
Newspaper article	202	8.3	4 .	313	
Baschology	216	8.1	11	308	
Psychology English literature	220	7.9	10	305 -	
English metature	233	7.0	11	268	
Mathematics	253	7.3	18	243	
Dhrwice	261	6.9	17	238	
Biology	264	6.8	18	233	
M	231	7.8	11	288	

 TABLE 4.1
 Variability in adults reading different types of text

Mean fixation duration, mean saccade length, proportion of fixations that were regressions, and words per minute reading time (WPM) for 10 good college-age readers reading different types of text.

۳ In ms.

^b In character spaces (4 character spaces = 1° of visual angle).

^e Percentage of total fixations that were regressions.

Rayner, K., Pollatsek, A., Ashby, J., & Clifton Jr, C. (2012). *Psychology of reading*. 2nd Ed. New York: Psychology Press. p. 96

- In exploring a visual and oculomotor process, we are exploring reading...
- Reading as a mapping between visual and linguistic processes

visual information

language, text

In cognitive science we are interested in elaborating

cognitive architectures

of human perceptual and cognitive processes...

What is the cognitive architecture of reading?

Before answering let me briefly give **an overview of the involved processes**

Visual processing,

- horizontal scanning
 - feature detectors

Visual word lexicon / Stored representations of words

semantics

Grapheme-to-phoneme conversion

Stored lexical phonology

Sub-lexical phonological recoding (without semantics)

Ellis & Young, 1988

...the situation is even more complex



What is the cognitive architecture of reading?

some sketches



FIGURE 15.2 A simplified representation of the working memory model (based on Baddeley & Hitch, 1974).

The role of the (central) cognitive system



FIGURE 6.8 The revised logogen model of lexical access (based on Morton, 1979b).



FIGURE 6.7 The original logogen model of lexical access (based on Morton, 1979b).

Harley, T. A. (2014). *The psychology of language: From data to theory*. 4th Edition.

London: Psychology press.



FIG. 4.1. The Triangle model of reading (after Seidenberg & McClelland, 1989).

Or: is reading an **interactive** process?

The role and impact of other cognitive processes on reading

- The central processing hypothesis:
 - The underlying cognitive processes are determining
- The script dependent hypothesis:
 - Orthographic processing / orthographic transparency
- In fact, both approaches are complementary

Geva, E., & Siegel, L. S. (2000). Orthographic and cognitive factors in the concurrent development of basic reading skills in two languages. *Reading and Writing*, *12*(1-2), 1-30.

These 'architectures' are neglecting that perception

- attention
- memory
- tactile/haptic abilities
- visuo-spatial abilities

contribute as well

but to a different extent

 However, there does not seem to be a straightforward link between <u>cognitive abilities</u> (e.g., intelligence tests) and <u>reading</u> <u>comprehension</u>

Cutting, L. E., & Scarborough, H. S. (2006). Prediction of reading comprehension: Relative contributions of word recognition, language proficiency, and other cognitive skills can depend on how comprehension is measured. *Scientific studies of reading*, *10*(3), 277-299.

S Reading Comprehension Language Comprehension Word

This corresponds to the idea (popular in cognitive science...) that reading ability is a result of

a modality free general language comprehension factor

and a name retrieval factor simple symbol activation from visual input

(i.e., general language comprehension)

AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF LEARNING DIFFICULTIES 2019, VOL 24, NO. 1, 75–93 https://doi.org/10.1080/19404158.2019.1614081

LEARNING DIFFICULTIES AUSTRALIA EMINENT RESEARCH AWARD WINNER 2019

The cognitive foundations of learning to read: a framework for preventing and remediating reading difficulties

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(when symbol is retrieved from memory as a response to visual input).

Perfetti, C. A. (1986). Cognitive and linguistic components of reading ability. In *Acquisition of Reading Skills (1986)* (pp. 11-40). Routledge.

Word Recognition



Check for updates

cognitive science...) that

Cognitive foundations framework (2019)

Reading comprehension							
Language comprehension				Word recognition			
Back- ground knowledge	Linguistic knowledge			Alphabetic coding skill			
	Phono- logic k. k.	Syn-	Se-	Con- cepts	Knowlec alphabeti	owledge about abetic principle	
		man- tic k.	about print	Letter knowledge	Phonemic awareness		

- 1. Word / sentence length
- 2. Word / sentence frequency
- 3. Morphology

Comprehension

requires grammar and semantics to be interrelated with the relevant situation model (Kintsch & Rawson, 2005)

To sum up so far:

- Reading as an interaction between
- Visual, linguistic processing and background knowledge
 - But attentional, sensorimotor, perceptual processes are involved as well
 - Cognitive architecture of reading and the impact of cognitive and perceptual factors – not entirely clear yet

2.

Impact of *format of tools* on the reading comprehension

- We are adjusting our perception to the format and
- We are adjusting the format to our perception

Risko, E. F., & Gilbert, S. J. (2016). Cognitive offloading. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, *20*(9), 676-688.

Format matters ...

- Format (screen) does have impact
 - (cp. work by prof. Mangen)

- Digital reading:
- Switching between applications
- Multitasking
- Hyperlinks
- Instead of horizontal scanning in analogue reading

adaptive process

- "Cognitive chameleons"
- we are good in adapting to new formats and this might have consequences –
 - a more superficial way of reading, memorizing, and recalling
 - E.g., Speed over accuracy... shallow processing... Recall limits

Risko, E. F., & Gilbert, S. J. (2016). Cognitive offloading. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, *20*(9), 676-688.

- reading is a part of a <u>central cognitive extension</u> enabling the modern society and science
- We are cognitive hybrids
 - Combining external and internal resources
- History of modern human mind is a history of cognitive hybridization / complementarization

We are still in the same paradigm that was established when the typographic culture was established. *Merlin Donald*: Modern culture as an continuous interaction between exograms and engrams

Why is our culture, technology, and society so powerful?



www.swedishcollegium.se

Complementing internal resources with external tools has benefits and supports our perception, memory, math, ... and has critically contributed to the development of abstract 90 ZHANG AND NORMAN knowledge

Zhang, J., & Norman, D. A. (1994). Representations in distributed cognitive tasks. *Cognitive science*, *18*(1), 87-122.

Risko, E. F., & Gilbert, S. J. (2016). Cognitive offloading. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, *20*(9), 676-688.



Figure 1. The theoretical framework of distributed representations. The internal representations form an internal representational space, and the external representations form an external representational space. The internal and external representational spaces together form a distributed representational space, which is the representation of the

Offloading of internal memory onto external [digital] tools is crucial in the 21st century

- One of the most automatic and natural routines
- Shared knowledge and shared memory
 - Nothing extraordinary new....

but

• it also leaves memory and knowledge vulnerable to manipulation

Risko, E. F., Kelly, M. O., Patel, P., & Gaspar, C. (2019). Offloading memory leaves us vulnerable to memory manipulation. *Cognition*, *191*, 103954.

- But once the external media are rapid and fragile in terms of changes made by others...
 - ...internal memories are increasingly fragile and exposed to manipulation
 - In fact, the frequent users do not necessarily notice manipulations and encode the manipulated content back into the biological memory (generating false memory)
 - Source information as inherently uncertain and sometimes obscure
- This is rarely the case with the printed media and handwritten media

Risko, E. F., Kelly, M. O., Patel, P., & Gaspar, C. (2019). Offloading memory leaves us vulnerable to memory manipulation. *Cognition*, *191*, 103954.

Marsh, E. J., & Rajaram, S. (2019). The digital expansion of the mind: Implications of internet usage for memory and cognition. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*.

- Repeated content (seems to be truer, easier to process) impacts the spread of manipulated messages
 - Although initial accuracy seems to prevent it...
 - Illusory truth effect repeated messages in campaigns, political propaganda

Brashier, N. M., Eliseev, E. D., & Marsh, E. J. (2020). An initial accuracy focus prevents illusory truth. *Cognition*, *194*, 104054.

To sum up so far:

- Humans as hybrids are powerful
 - and ability to map internal and external contents is a cause of modern science and society
- Fast-changing digital media are making humans
 - Less focused
 - Not able to select the content
 - vulnerable to manipulated facts and less accurate content in general
- Changes in the social function of digital social networks
 - Support-feedback-cycle instead of information transmission
 - False collective memories
 - Tool in strategical communication

3.

Multi-facetedness of reading; A cross-disciplinary collaboration between different research areas and fields in the research on reading

What is reading?

Let me return to the question regarding the cognitive architecture of reading...

- Linguistic process
- Visual process
- Socio-cultural & historic process
- Cognitive process
- Perceptual process (involving other modalities than just vision)
- ???

- All answers are correct
- All answers are necessary to understand the reading in all its complexity

Research on reading involves all disciplines mentioned before

- Reading is a stage-wise process
- Therefore, research can focus on a particular stage of it



Core argument and summary

Core argument and summary

1. Reading as a process involving visual, linguistic but also other perceptual and cognitive abilities

- There is no single cognitive architecture of reading although there are several plausible sketches of it....
- 2. Format critically constrains reading and comprehension;
 - Humans are "cognitive chamelaons" in adjusting to different formats; there are costs and benefits of them..
 - External (not only digital) format enables a hybrid cognitive processing which is the core of modern knowledge society and culture
 - Manipulability and vulnerability of content in digital format...

Core argument and summary (continued)

3. Reading as a stage-wise process for integrating different areas, research fields and enabling a cross-diciplinary work to elaborate an empirically supported comprehensive cognitive and cultural architecture of reading

• We do not have it yet in 2019!





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Journal of Eye Movement Research 8(3):4, 1-12

Laicane, I., Skilters, J. & Lacis, I. (2015) Simple Configuration Effects on Eye Movements in Horizontal Scanning Tasks

Simple Configuration Effects on Eye Movements in Horizontal Scanning Tasks

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Laicane, I., Skilters, J. & Lacis, I. (2015) Simple Configuration Effects on Eye Movements in Horizontal Scanning Tasks



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How strong and weak readers perform on the Developmental Eye Movement test (DEM): norms for Latvian school-aged children

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Attention as a strong predictor of reading skills

© Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht 2016

Visuo-spatial deficits cause phonological deficits (Vidyasagar & Pammer, 2009)

Problems in attention → problems in grapheme processing , translation of graphematic information into phonemic information and development of phonemic awareness How strong and weak readers perform on the developmental



Fig. 1 Box plots for vertical DEM scores by age group (*left plot*); 95 % confidence intervals for the mean differences of vertical DEM scores between any two age groups via Tykey's HSD test using ANOVA on ranked data (*right plot*); ADJ time adjusted time

N= 1487