

A language-based lens to the working memory struggles of children with Developmental Language Disorder

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Overview

1. Working memory & DLD
2. What is working memory?
3. Working memory training results
4. Language-based strategies for supporting working memory

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Developmental Language Disorder

- A persistent language problem with a significant impact on everyday social interactions or educational progress
 - with no associated differentiating biomedical condition
- Nature of language impairment varies across individuals but can affect:
 - phonology - word finding
 - syntax - pragmatics / language use
 - semantics - verbal learning & memory

Western  Bishop et al., 2017

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Verbal Learning & Memory in DLD

- Some individuals with DLD have difficulties with working memory
 - Vugs et al., 2014; Lum et al., 2012
- But not all individuals with DLD have working memory difficulties
 - Gray et al., 2019; Archibald & Joanisse, 2009



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Verbal Learning & Memory in DLD

- Working memory difficulties in DLD, specifically linked to
 - New word learning
 - Jackson et al., 2021; McGregor et al., 2020
 - Linguistic tasks with a high cognitive load
 - Noonan et al., 2014; Frizelle & Fletcher, 2015



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Verbal Learning & Memory in DLD

- In word learning studies, the difficulty for individuals with DLD seems to be in encoding and not retention
 - McGregor et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2021
- Declarative (long-term) memory appears to be a relative strength in DLD
 - Lum et al., 2012



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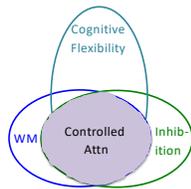
Working Memory

- The ability to hold & manipulate task-relevant information in highly activated & accessible state
 - Our mental workspace
 - Limited in capacity
 - Tasks with high cognitive load can exceed capacity



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WM & Executive Functions



*One pool of online executive resources, diverse functions:
'unity but diversity'*



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Working Memory Jobs

1. Storage and processing of information
 - Not just maintenance of material
 - Build temporary relationships
 - Transformation of information
 - Derivation of new information
2. Maintain appropriate information
 - Activate needed information
 - Suppress irrelevant information



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Storage Load

- How much information
 - how close it is to other information trying to be remembered (can it be chunked?)
- How familiar the information is
 - automaticity
 - how easy it is to recall
 - how well information is organized in the brain
- Opportunities for rehearsal
- When trying to hold new information in mind, there won't be much capacity for additional processing activities



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Note the verbal / language demands: Those with poor phonological or vocabulary knowledge will experience a greater storage burden.



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Processing Load

- What is processing?
 - The chemical & electrical signals in the brain that allow you to comprehend your environment & gain knowledge
 - Thought-based activities allowing you to:
 - attend to a stimuli
 - reason, problem-solve
 - recall something
 - associate information in new ways
 - formulate conversational turns
 - Processing tasks vary in signals / thoughts required to complete the task



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Processing Load

- How familiar / novel the thinking routine is
- How complex the thinking routine is
- How many distractions are occurring (& being processed)
- When trying to think creatively & effortfully, there won't be much capacity for maintaining information in mind

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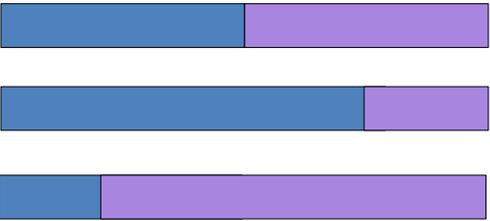
Note the verbal / language demands: Those who have difficulty putting their thoughts into words will have a greater processing burden.

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Coordinating Demands

Storage Processing



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Does Working Memory Training Help Students with Language Disorders?



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Working Memory Training Does Not Improve Language

- No reliable training effects on:
 - Other letter or word lists (Norris et al., 2019)
 - Vocabulary (Melby-Lervåg et a., 2016)
 - Lexical decisions (Gathercole et al., 2019)
 - Sentence repetition (Delage et al., 2021)
 - Sentence comprehension (Gathercole et al., 2019)



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Working Memory Training Does Not Improve Academic Performance

- No reliable training effects on:
 - Decoding (Melby-Lervåg et a., 2016)
 - Reading comprehension (Melby-Lervåg et a., 2016)
 - Arithmetic (Melby-Lervåg et a., 2016)



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Why Doesn't WM Training Improve Language or Academic Performance



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No New Routine

- Digit spans do not require a new routine
 - Repeating digits is a commonly occurring routine so established early in development
 - Rehearsal mechanisms are well-established
- New language & academic learning requires a new cognitive routine!



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Too Much Cognitive Distance

- Transfer occurs between tasks that are closely matched (i.e., require the same routine)
- Digit spans draw on automatic routines, which are difficult to alter
- Training routines are very different from new language & academic learning



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Different Cognitive Processes

- Language knowledge gets established in long-term memory
- Working memory performance can improve for language-based reasons:
 - Language-based strategies supporting retention & recall
 - Experience and knowledge related to verbal material reduces cognitive load



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Near Transfer is the Rule

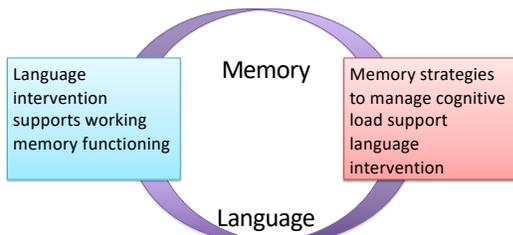
- Broadly speaking, the evidence suggests near transfer
 - for cognitive training
 - even for linguistic training, far transfer is mediated by trained skills
- spend your therapy time on knowledge & skills the child needs



Sala & Gobet, 2017; Melby-Lervåg et al., 2020

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Interconnected Systems in Intervention



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Language Intervention

- Improving language skills will have a positive effect on working memory
 - better word knowledge will reduce storage load
 - more fluid formulations will reduce processing load
 - not a far transfer effect (i.e., we're not increasing WM capacity with language therapy)
 - it's more of a functional change ->
 - increasing the chunk size (reduces storage load)
 - increasing processing efficiency (reduces processing load)
 - > improves WM functioning



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Working Memory Strategies

- Storage-related strategies
 - focus on retention of new information (minimizing processing load)
 - Processing-related
 - facilitating thinking routines / schema (minimizing storage load)
 - General learning principles
- Remember: learning a strategy imposes a cognitive load!



Further information & key references:
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314444444>

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Storage-related Strategies

- Repetition
 - students with language and/or working memory issues will need many, many more repetitions
 - 36 times! (Storkel et al., 2017)
 - 2-3 times more than peers
 - spoken aloud
 - how can the child access more repetitions?
 - review with peer
 - listen to recorded words
 - vocabulary card games
 - auditory bombardment



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Storage-related Strategies

- Rehearsal
 - holding information in mind takes cognitive effort
 - decay or ‘overwriting’ can happen very quickly
 - no support from prior knowledge
 - shift attention to processing activity or distraction
 - rehearsal may need to be explicitly taught
 - restating information immediately
 - repeat rehearsal shifting gradually from spoken aloud to silent (i.e., ‘in their head’)
 - ask the child about their rehearsal strategies
 - how are you going to remember what I’m telling you?



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Storage-related Strategies

- Phonological strategies
 - activities emphasizing phonological structure of a word
 - counting syllables
 - identifying sounds
 - improve phonological representation
 - impose lower working memory demands than semantic strategies
 - semantic connections will need to be taught too, but can be layered in



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Storage-related Strategies

- Distributed practice / spaced learning
 - initial memories are fragile
 - spacing out learning episodes support retention
 - relieves working memory in short term
 - encourages effortful retrieval
 - facilitates long-term memory encoding
 - unique learning events re-engage the child
 - engages repeated retrieval
 - when correct responses are supported, correct pathways are reinforced
 - allows for consolidation between practice episodes
 - can promote generalization



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Multiple Means of Learning

- Different processes support verbal or visuospatial information retention
 - provide complementary effects rather than increasing cognitive load
- Multiple means promotes high quality representations with connections established broadly across the brain
- Provides alternate means of access and demonstrating learning
- Embodied learning
 - make connections & engage physical movement



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Processing-related Strategies

- Connections with long-term memory
 - activating background knowledge
 - word & world knowledge
 - increases activation associated with information & supports retention
 - facilitates chunking of information
 - self-generated connections are most effective



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Processing-related Strategies

- Using highly familiar or automatized information
 - allows cognitive capacity for creative thinking
 - e.g., writing a persuasive essay about a sport you know lots about
- Consistent with automatization efforts:
 - fluent word recognition
 - memorized math facts



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Processing-related Strategies

- External aids
 - we use these all the time!
 - help your students use them too!
 - alleviate working memory by providing a permanent record (so you don't have to hold in mind)
 - e.g., graphic organizers; key word lists



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Processing-related Strategies

- Retrieval practice
 - studying & recalling information increases ease of accessibility and durability of the representation
 - self-testing: challenging yourself to generate the newly learned information on your own
 - better than recognition at supporting learning
 - e.g., students read a text, set it aside, then recall & write down what they remember
 - also increases child's awareness of what they know, which can lead to strategy development & use
 - facilitates consolidation



<https://www.western.edu/learning-support/learning-strategies>

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Processing-related Strategies

- Explicitly teach task steps / schema
 - the 'worked example effect' for **novice** learners
 - unguided learning
 - imposes high working memory load
 - overloaded working memory may not retain successful strategies
 - time spent on unrelated or unsuccessful strategies
 - reinforces these unsuccessful strategies
 - causes frustration
 - fade out guided learning as learning increases



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Processing-related Strategies

- Desirable difficulty
 - prolonged use of strategies that provide too much support can deter learning
 - too much repetition
 - too much reliance on worked examples
 - prolonged struggling with a task that is too hard or overloads memory can deter learning
 - frustration
 - desirable difficulty imposes just enough challenge to engage processing fully but doesn't overload



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Processing-related Strategies

- Keep focused on the task
 - interference deters learning
 - manage the amount of information
 - avoid distractions
 - unnecessary or redundant information can impede learning
 - pictures are helpful provided they are relevant, add something to the information, and are integrated into the instruction



Willingham, 2017

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General Learning Principles

- Arousal & attitude matter
 - alert, engaged, motivated, ready
- Intentionality matters
 - focused on task, making effort, consistent feedback
- Salience matters
 - repeated exposure to same stimuli reduces activation
 - sufficiently noticeable; multidimensional
 - engages motivation & emotions
- Intensity matters
 - sufficient training required



Katz & Dack (2012)

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General Learning Principles

- Cognitive distance matters
 - not all neuroplastic responses are alike (limits generalizability?)
 - sufficiently similar to real life applications
- Cognitive miserliness matters
 - tendency to avoid cognitive expenditures
 - prefer to see (reinterpret) things as familiar
 - complex thinking requires cognitive effort
 - consider cognitive fatigue
 - interleave tasks of differing cognitive demands

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If you are...

- Improving language knowledge
 - sufficient intensity
 - high quality representations
 - well-connected to existing knowledge
- Managing working memory load to support learning
- Teaching working memory strategies for the child to use

then you are...



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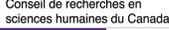
Addressing the working memory needs of your student



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Thank you!

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