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# How do we learn that $2 + 3 = 5$ ?

Behavioral and neural evidence for procedural automatization of arithmetic during development

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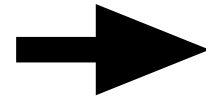
Jérôme Prado  
Centre de Recherche en Neurosciences de Lyon  
CNRS, INSERM, & Université de Lyon  
France



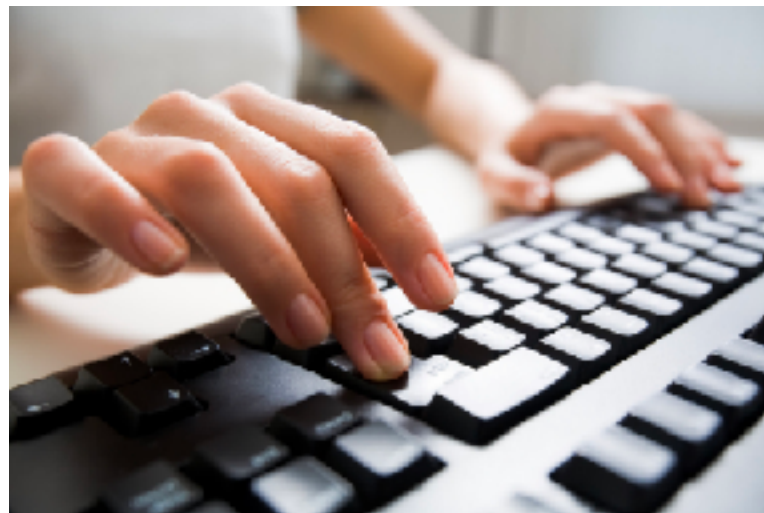
INT, Marseille – July 6 2023

# Automaticity in the mind

- Doing simple arithmetic is fast, effortless, autonomous, and unconscious



Automatic



# How does a task become automatic?

“automaticity is memory-based processing and automatization is a shift from algorithmic processing [...] to memory retrieval”

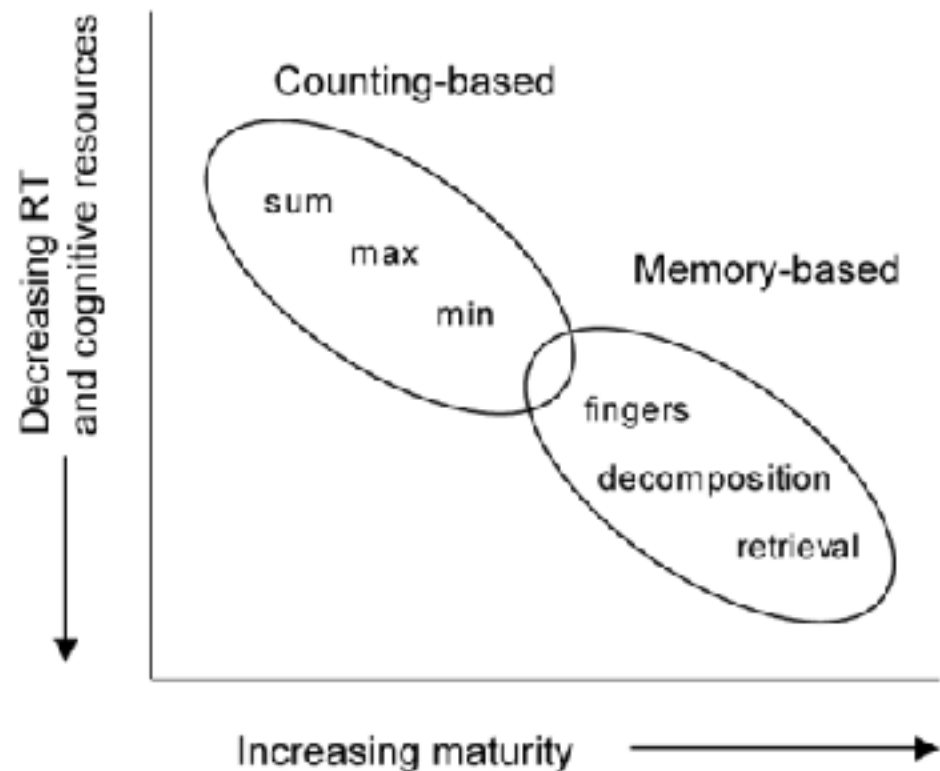
Logan (1997)

- A novel task initially requires effortful mental computation
- Each instance of encountering the task creates a memory trace or strengthens the connection between stimulus and response
- Automatic tasks rely on retrieving associations from memory



Objects or thoughts that are experienced concomitantly become progressively associated in memory

# Mental arithmetic as a case study of automatization



- Solving simple arithmetic problems repeatedly should lead to an association between operands and answer
- This association may be verbal in nature
- Solving simple arithmetic problems should not involve access to number magnitude in expert individuals

Dehaene and Cohen (1995) Mathematical cognition

Geary & Hoard (2005) Handbook of mathematical cognition



# Are arithmetic facts retrieved from verbal memory?

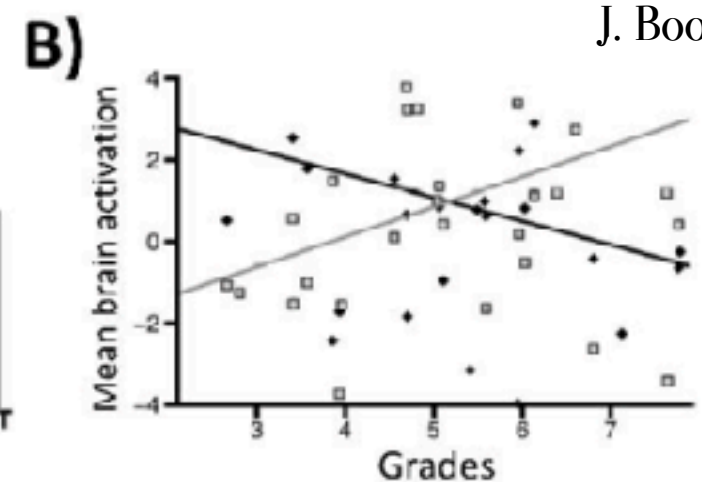
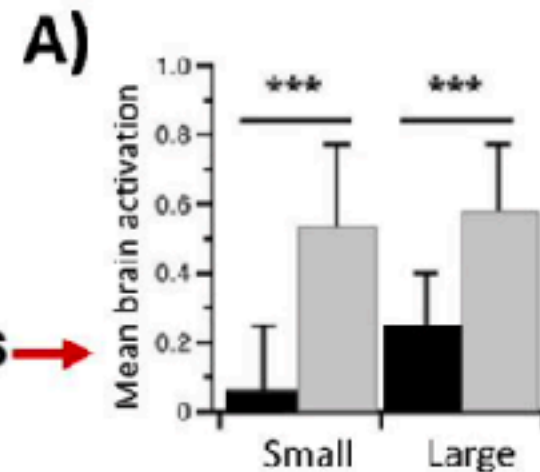
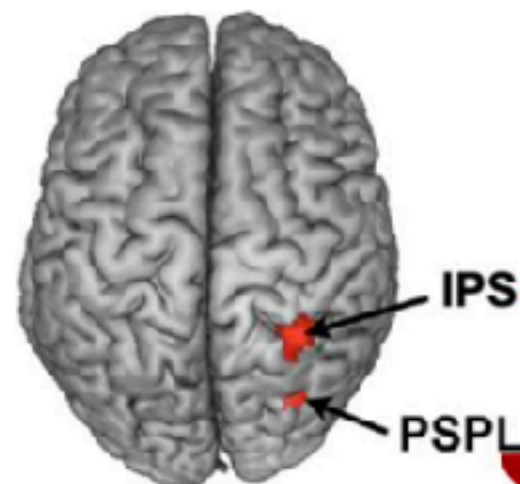
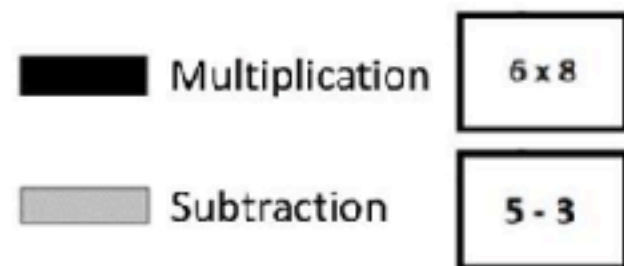


J. Booth

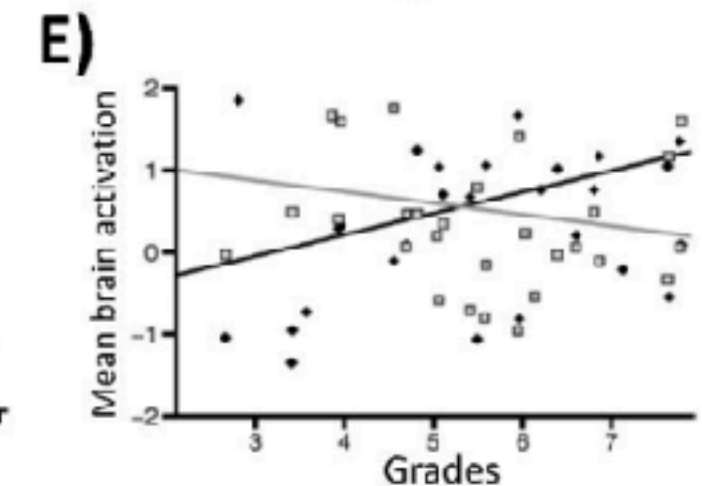
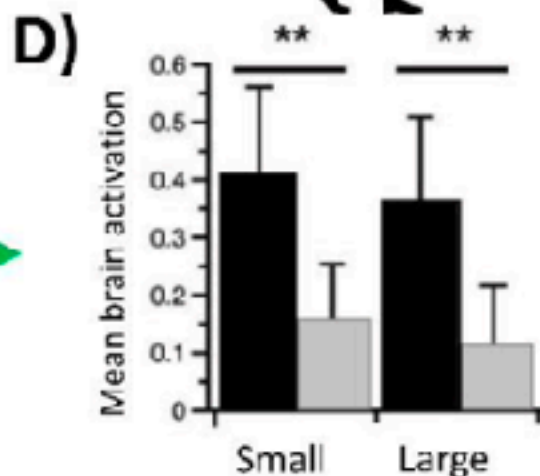
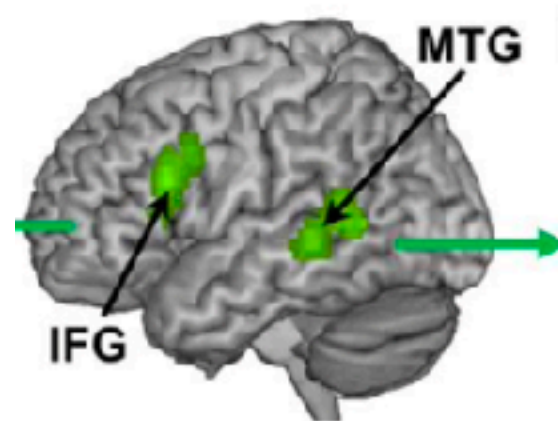
n = 26 adults

n = 34 children

## Quantity mechanisms



## Verbal mechanisms



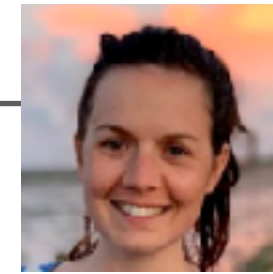
Prado, Mutreja, & Booth (2014) Dev. Science

Prado, Mutreja, Zhang, Mehta, Desroches, Minas, & Booth (2011) HBM

# Are arithmetic facts retrieved from verbal memory?



P. Bhatia



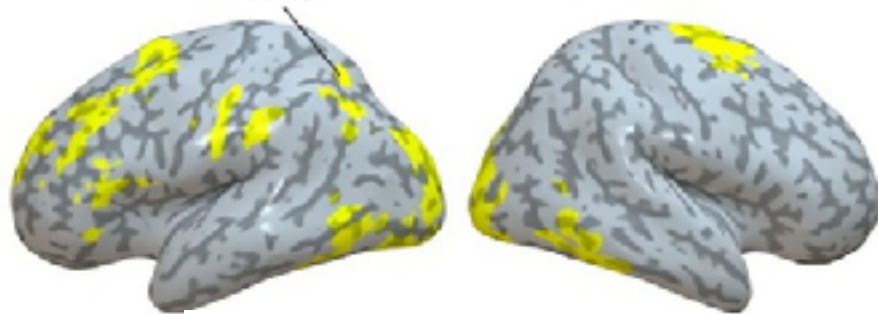
C. Girard



T. Nakai

5-year-olds (n=43)

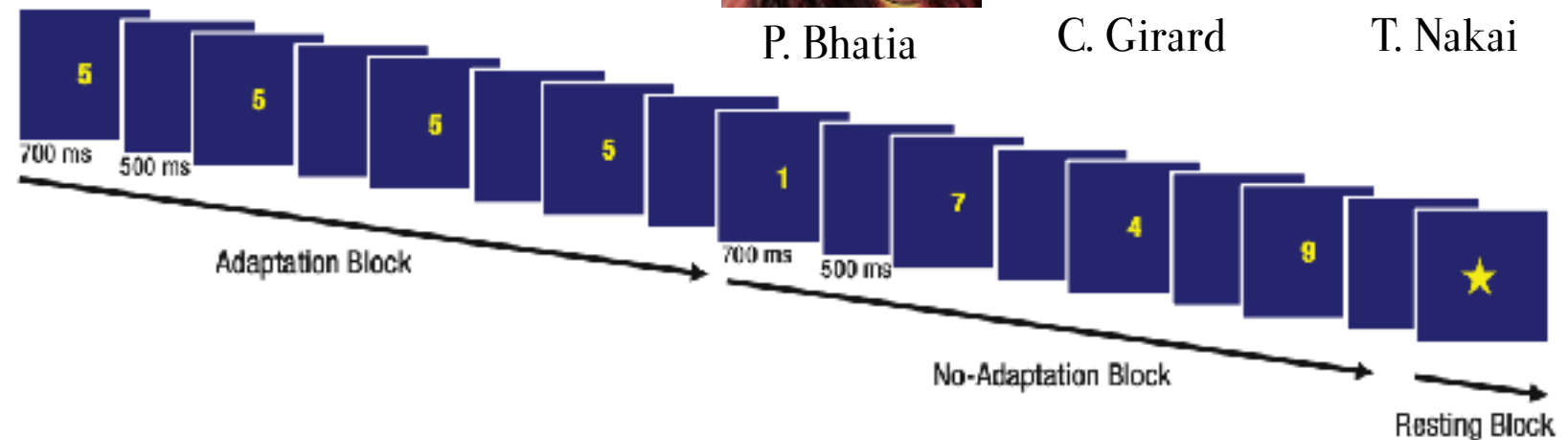
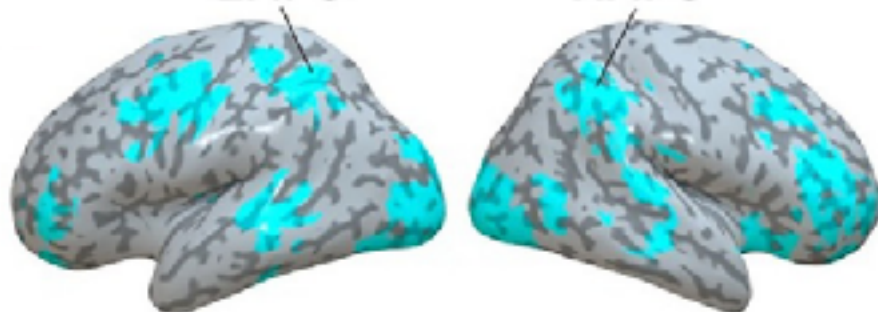
L. IPS



8-year-olds (n=46)

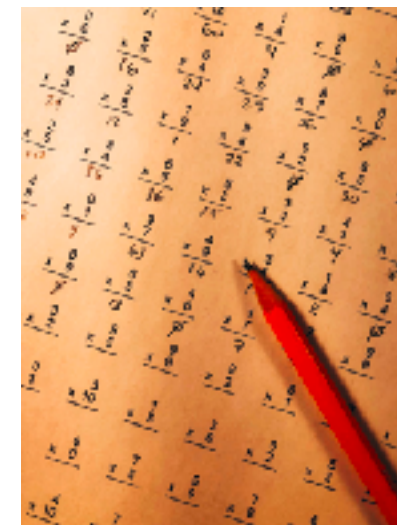
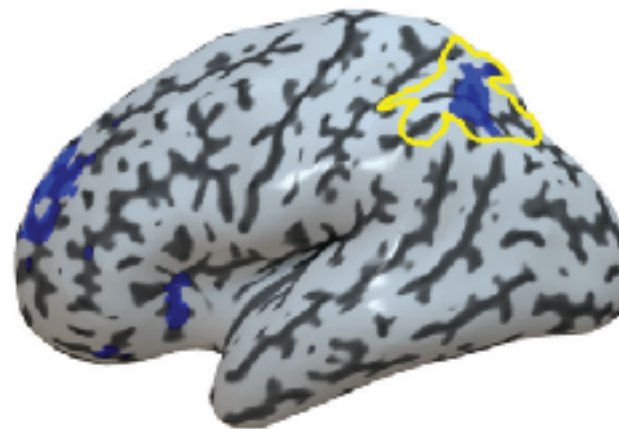
L. IPS

R. IPS

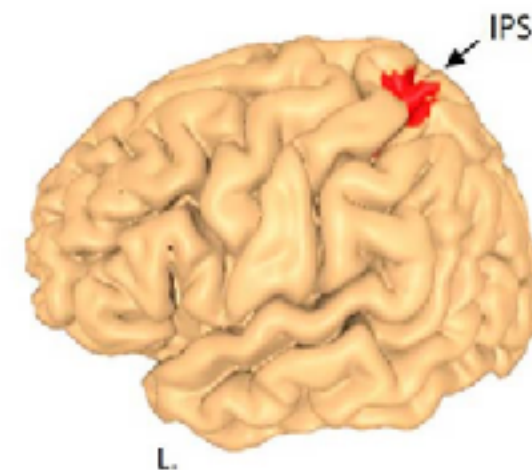


Correlation with arithmetic skills

8-year-olds (n=50)



Adults (n=48)



Bhatia, Longo, Chesnokova, & Prado (2022) Cereb. Cortex

Girard, Bastelica, Léone, Epinat-Duclos, Longo, & Prado (2022) Psych. Science

Nakai, Girard, Longo, Chesnokova, & Prado (2023) PLOS Biol.



# Are arithmetic facts retrieved from verbal memory?

- Simple arithmetic facts engage parietal mechanisms supporting numerical magnitude
- Single-digit multiplication may be an exception, as it is associated with language mechanisms
- This is likely to be due to teaching strategies emphasizing the explicit learning of multiplication facts

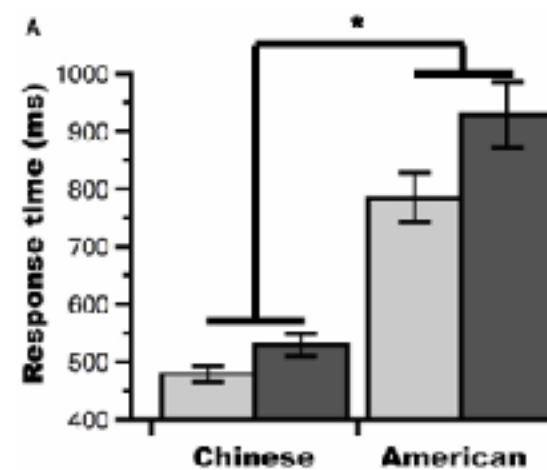
**MULTIPLICATION TABLE**

1 1x1=1 1x2=2 1x3=3 1x4=4 1x5=5 1x6=6 1x7=7 1x8=8 1x9=9 1x10=10	2 2x1=2 2x2=4 2x3=6 2x4=8 2x5=10 2x6=12 2x7=14 2x8=16 2x9=18 2x10=20	3 3x1=3 3x2=6 3x3=9 3x4=12 3x5=15 3x6=18 3x7=21 3x8=24 3x9=27 3x10=30	4 4x1=4 4x2=8 4x3=12 4x4=16 4x5=20 4x6=24 4x7=28 4x8=32 4x9=36 4x10=40	5 5x1=5 5x2=10 5x3=15 5x4=20 5x5=25 5x6=30 5x7=35 5x8=40 5x9=45 5x10=50
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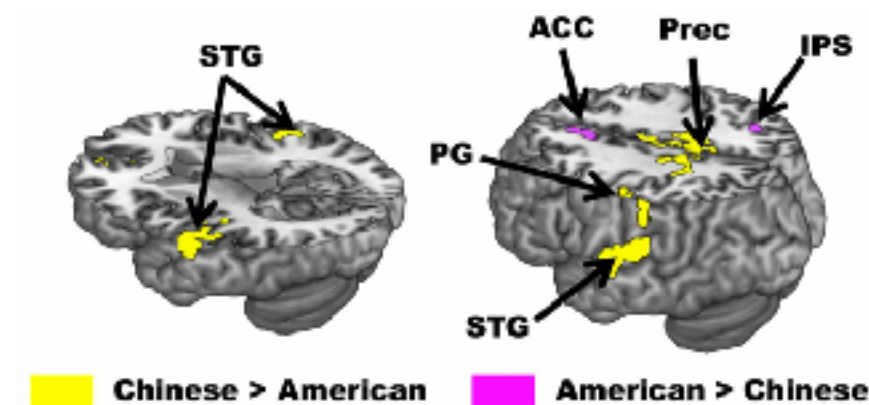
  

**九九乘法口诀表**

一一得一	一二得二	一三得三	一四得四	一五得五	一六得六	一七得七	一八得八	一九得九
二二得四	二三得六	二四得八	二五得十	二六得十二	二七得十四	二八得十六	二九得十八	
三三得九	三四得十二	三五得十五	三六得十八	三七得二十一	三八得二十四	三九得二十七		
四四得十六	四五得二十	四六得二十四	四七得二十八	四八得三十二	四九得三十六			
五五得二十五	五六得三十	五七得三十五	五八得四十	五九得四十五				
六六得三十六	六七得四十二	六八得四十八	六九得五十四					
七七得四十九	七八得五十六	七九得六十三						
八八得六十四	八九得七十二							
九九得八十一								



Small  
Large

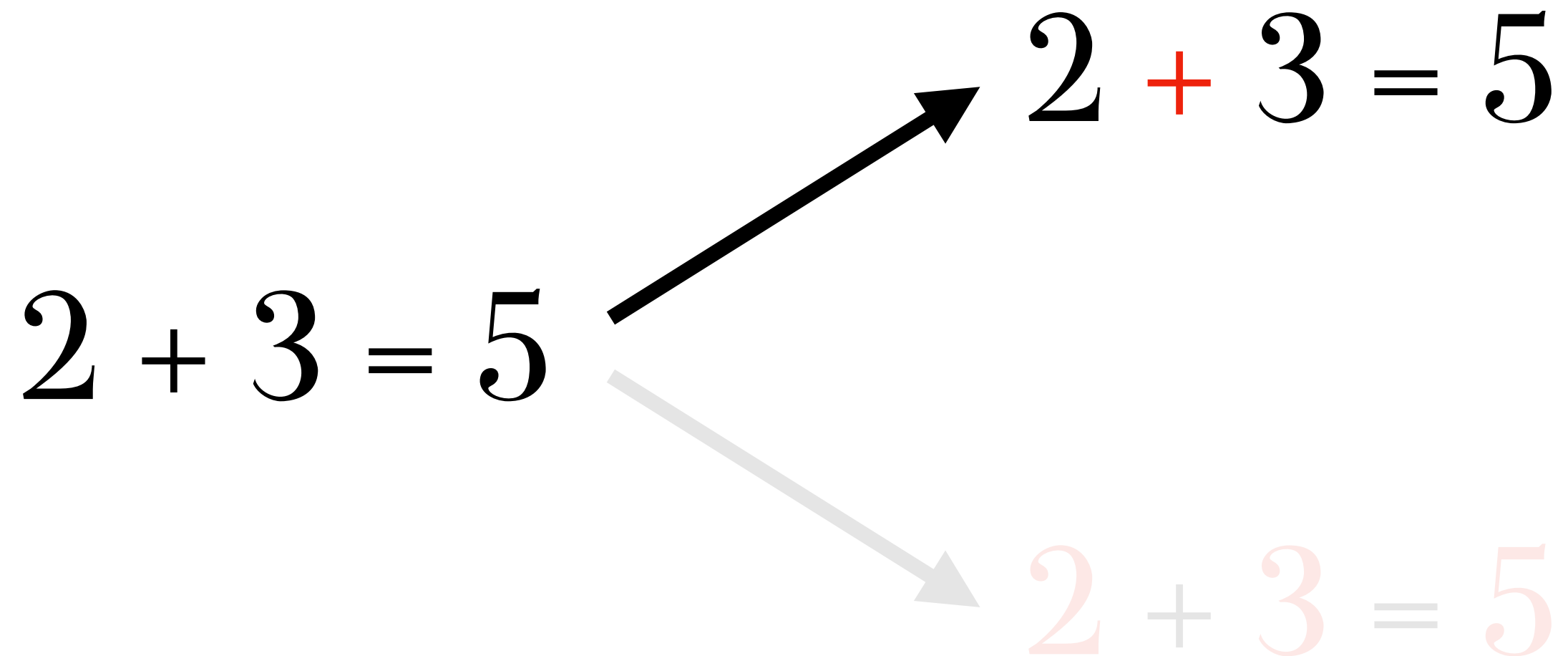


n = 26 adults in US  
n = 27 adults in China

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# Dissecting arithmetic facts

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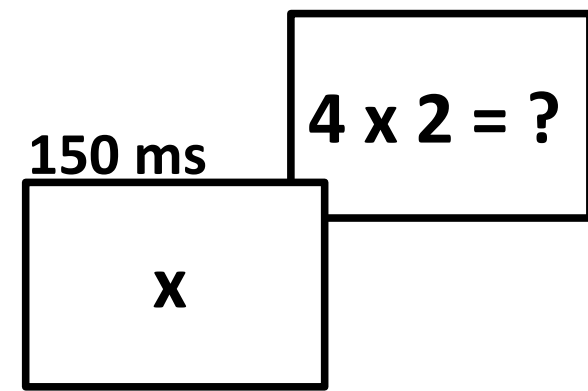
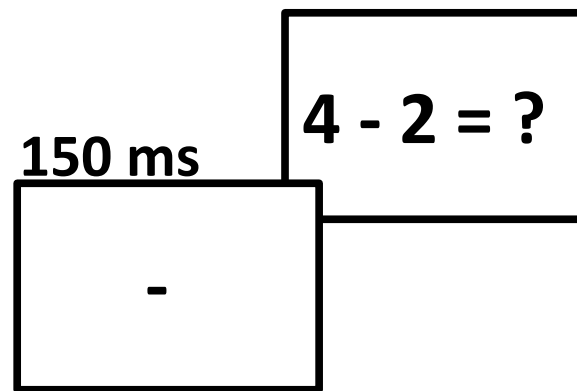
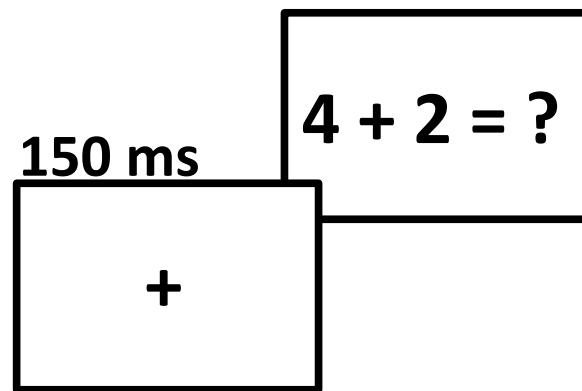
# Operator processing



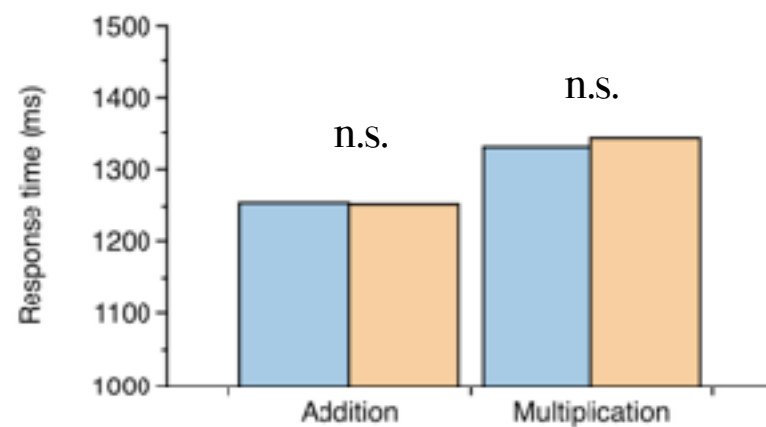
C. Poletti



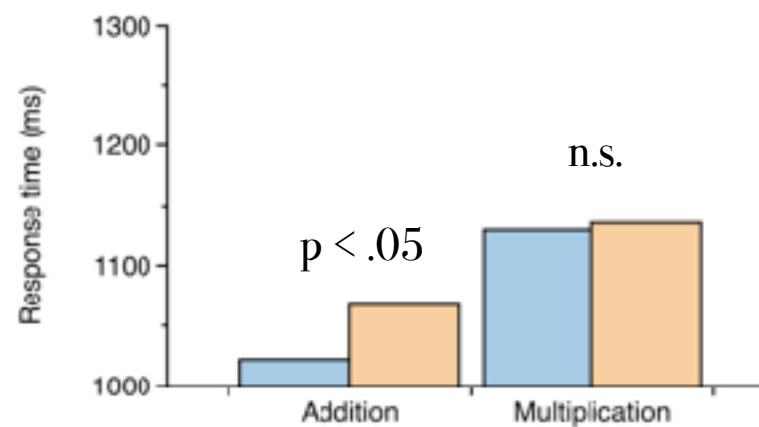
C. Thevenot



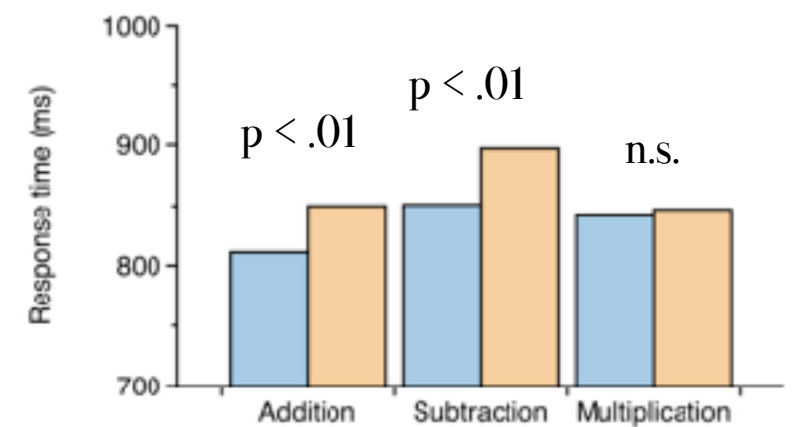
10-12-yo (n = 33)



13-15-yo (n = 28)



Adults (n = 18)

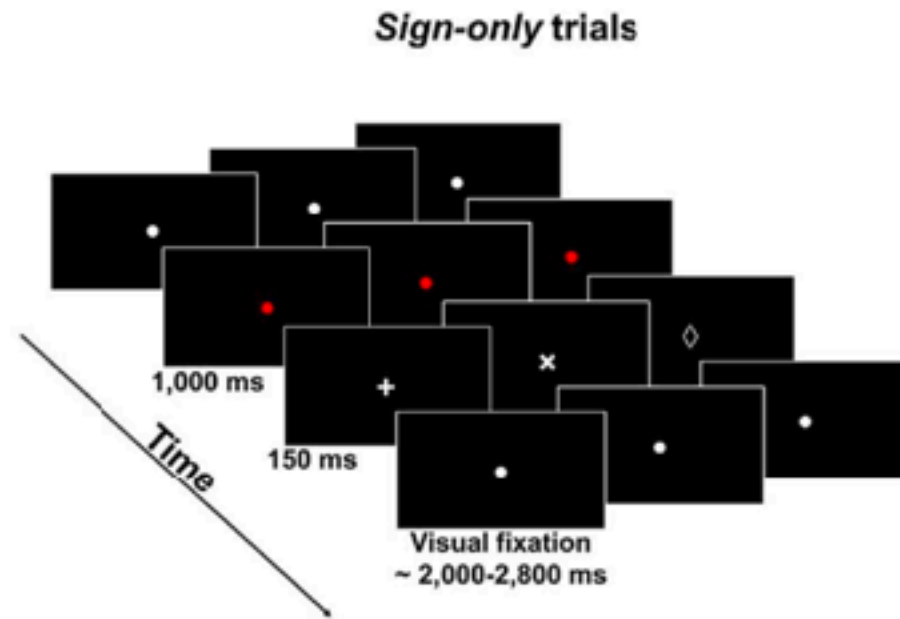


priming  
no priming

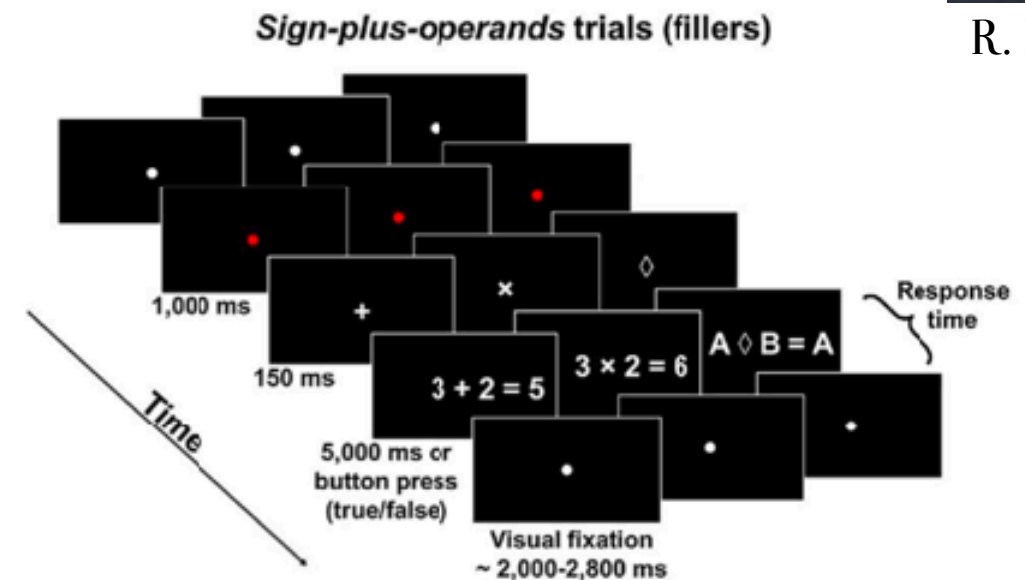
# Operator processing



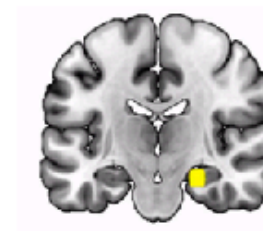
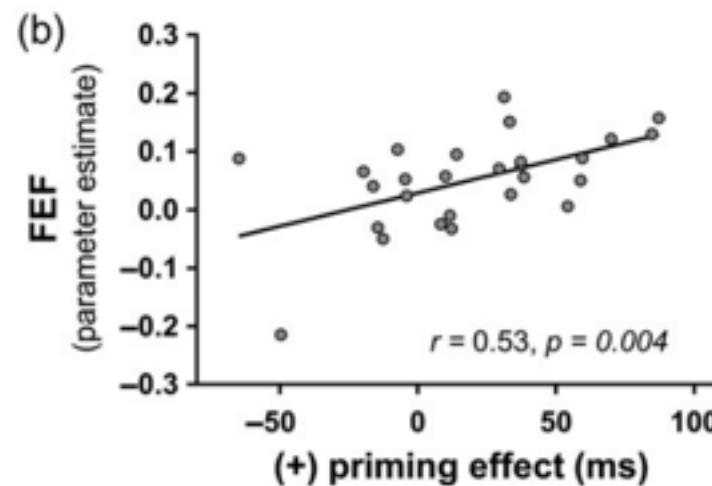
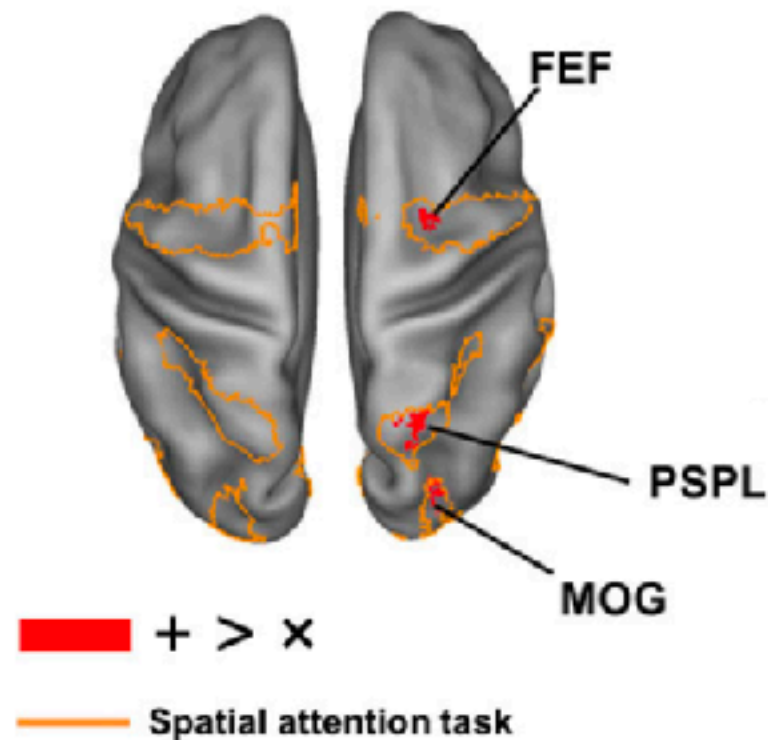
R. Mathieu



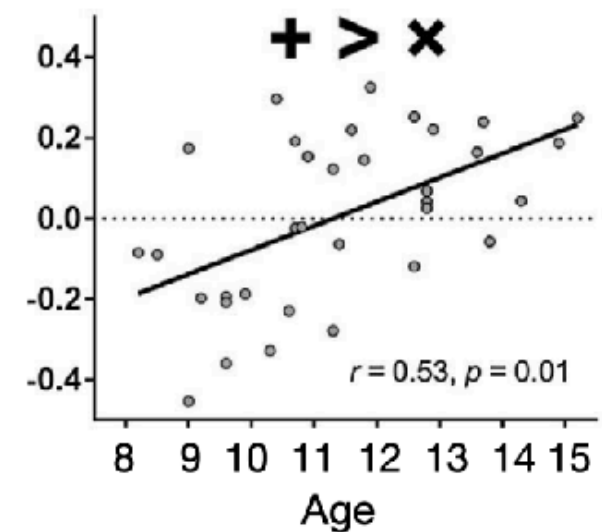
n = 27 adults



n = 34 children



Parameter estimate

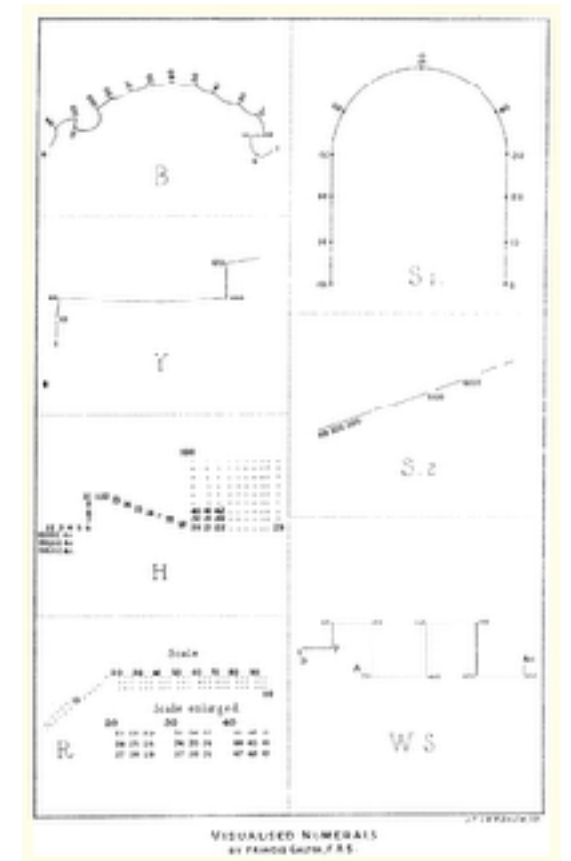


Mathieu, Epinat-Duclos, Léone, Fayol, Thevenot, & Prado (2018) Dev. Cog. Neuro.

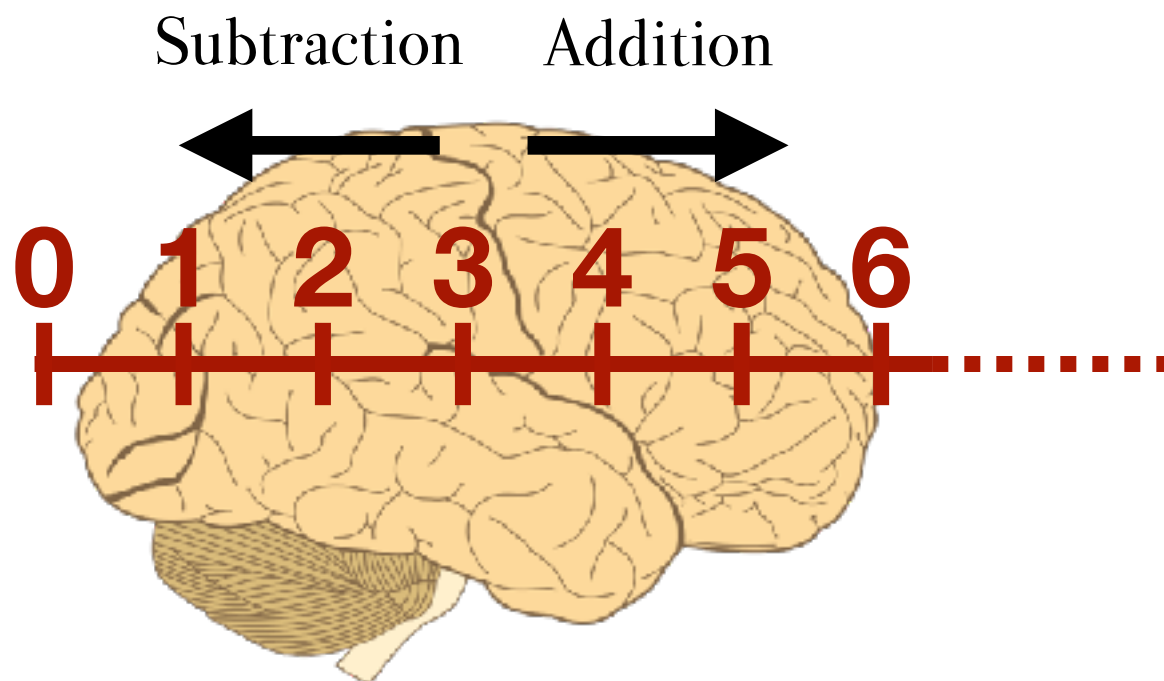
Mathieu, Epinat-Duclos, Sigovan, Breton, Cheylus, Fayol, Thevenot and Prado (2018) Cereb. Cortex

# Numbers in space

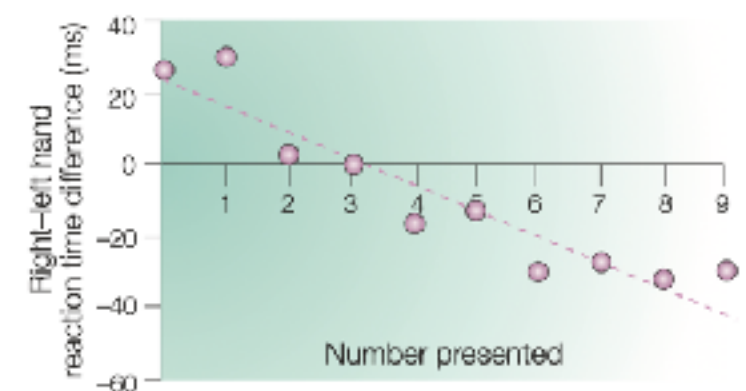
- There is evidence of explicit and implicit associations between numbers and space (i.e., the mental number line)
- Adding and subtracting may involve navigating along the mental number line



Galton (1881)



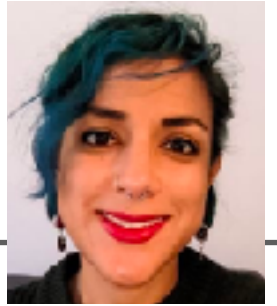
SNARC effect



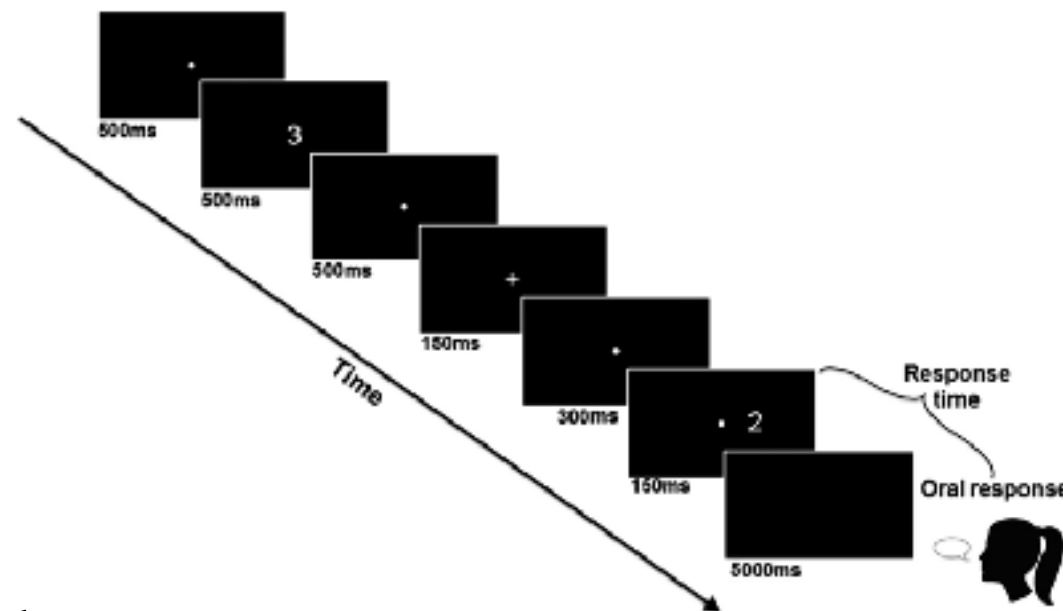
Dehaene, Bossini, & Giraux (1993) JEP: Gen.



# Operator processing



A. Díaz-Barriga Yáñez

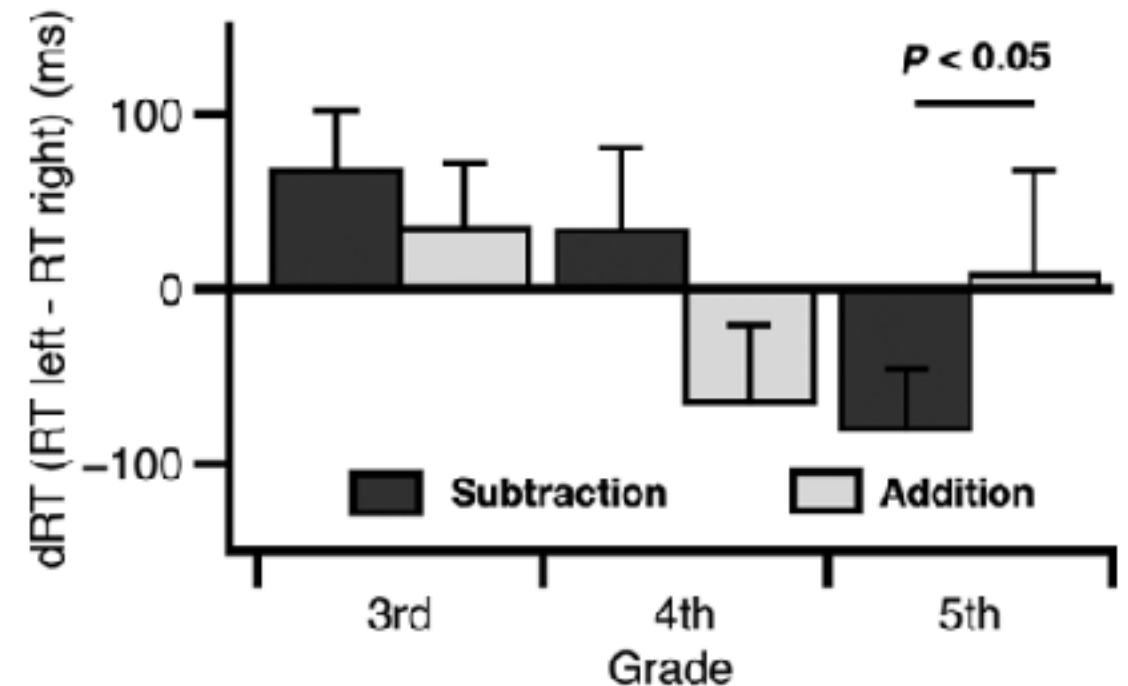
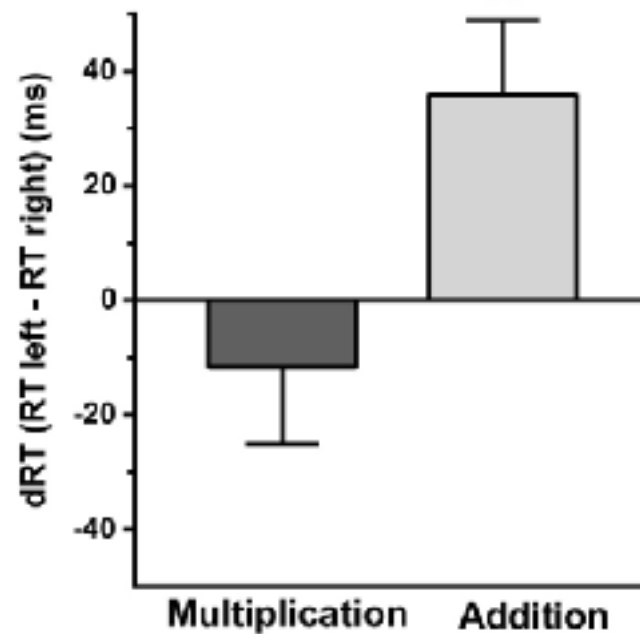
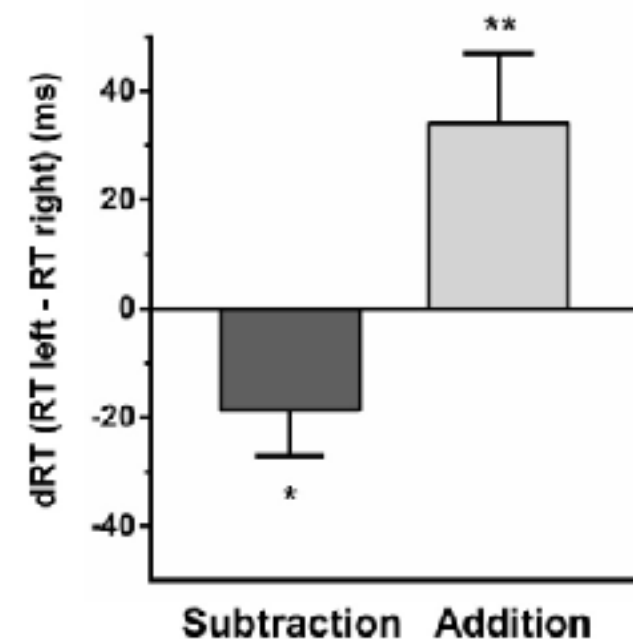


Adults

Children (n = 101)

n = 34

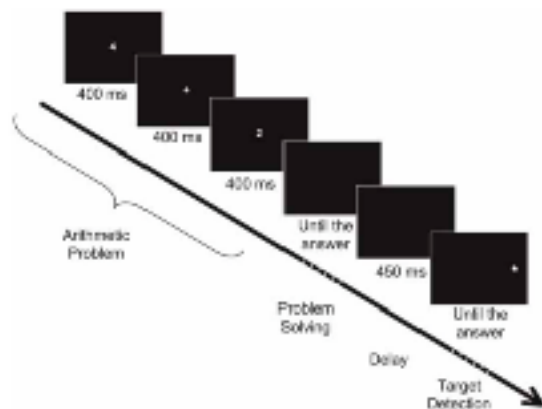
n = 22



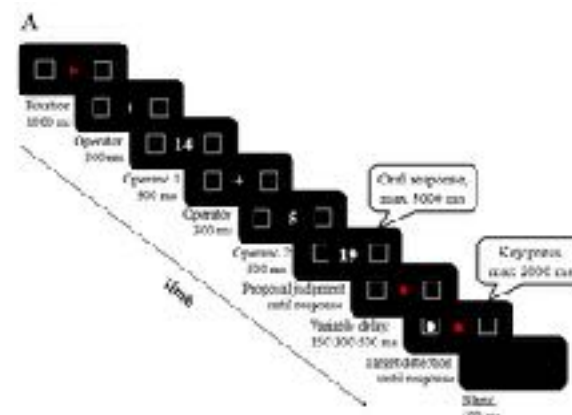
# Arithmetic and space



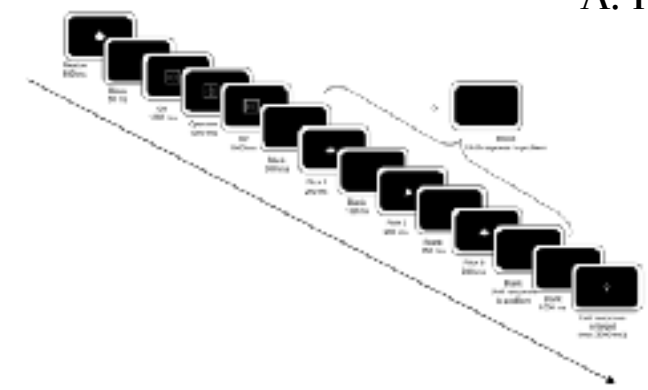
A. Knops



Masson & Pesenti (2014)

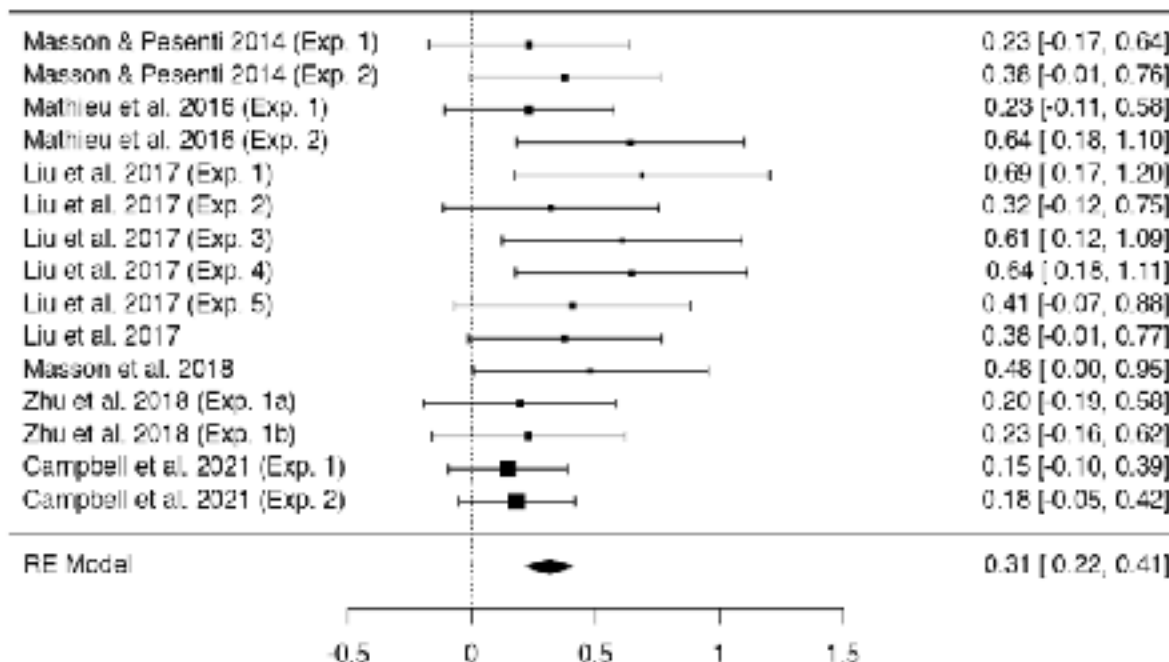


Liu et al. (2017)

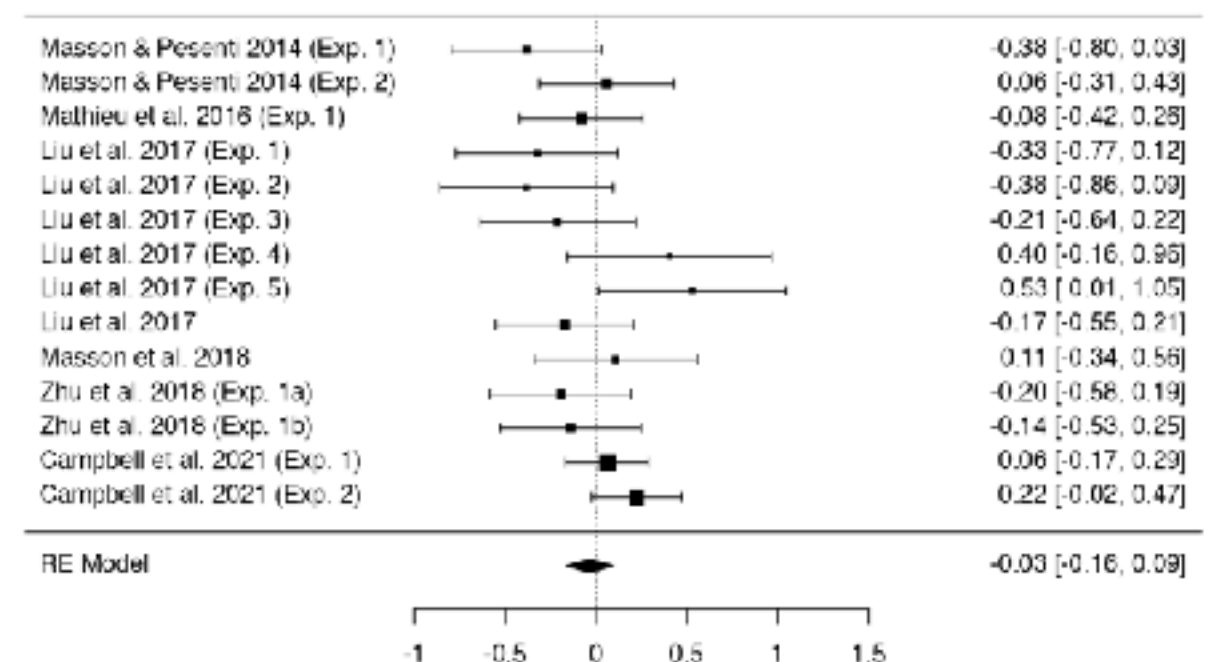


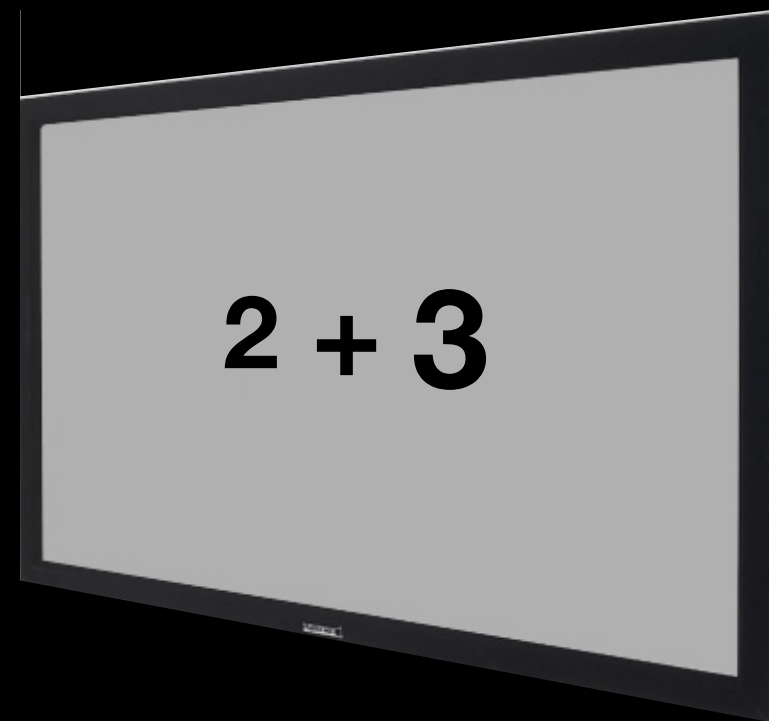
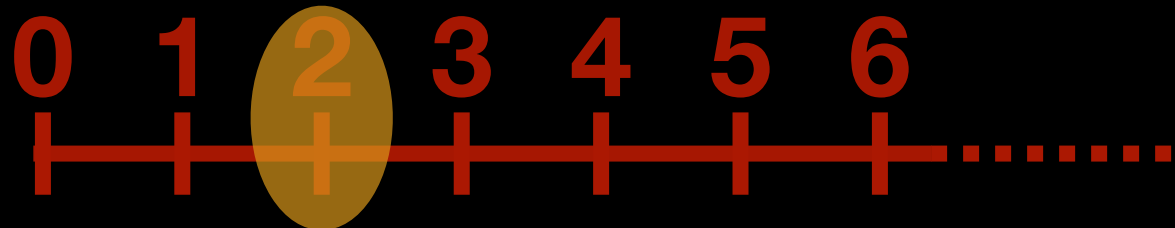
Masson & Pesenti (2015)

## Addition

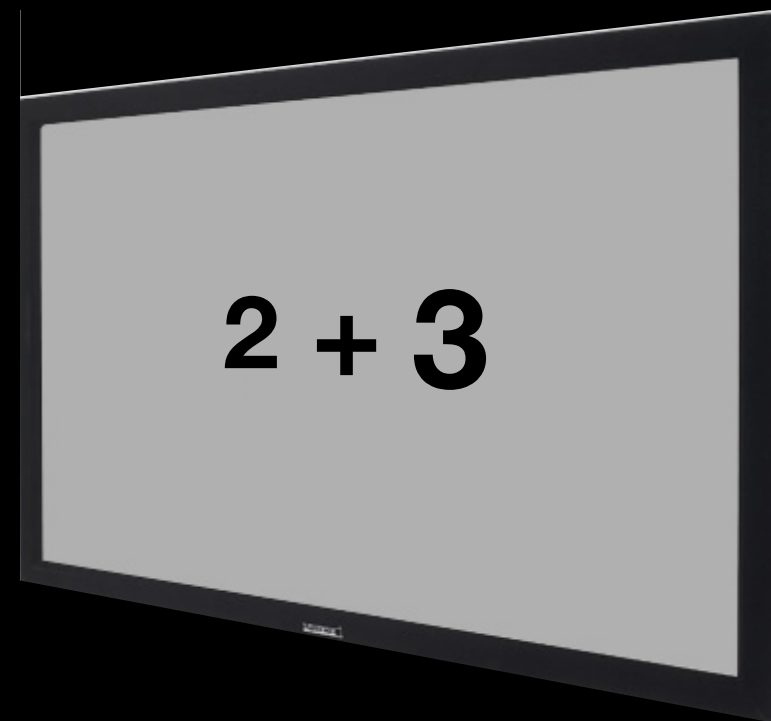
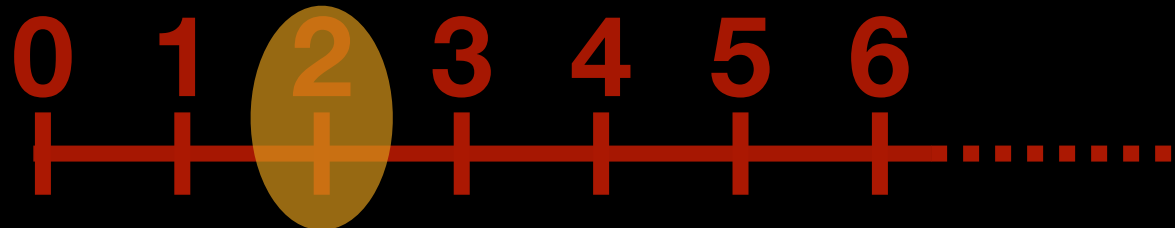


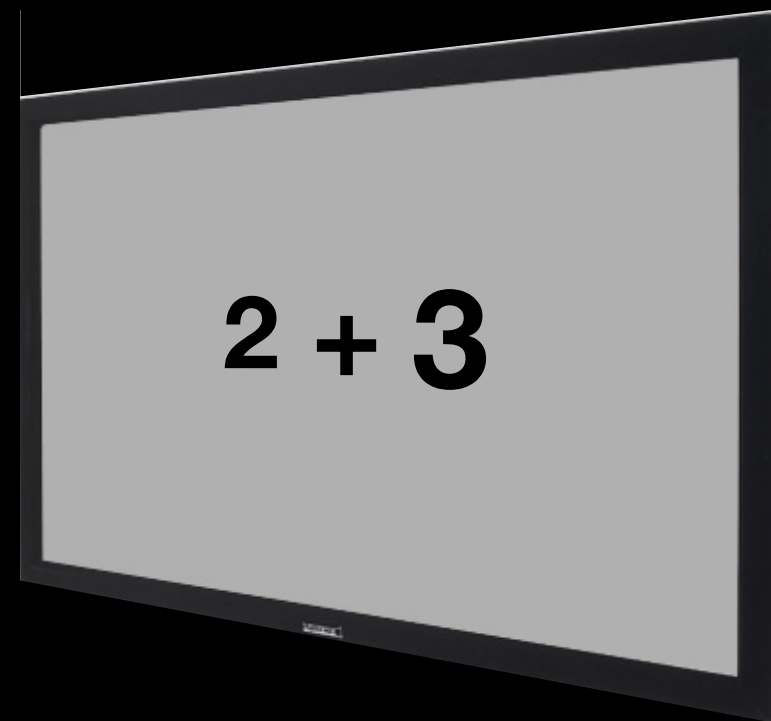
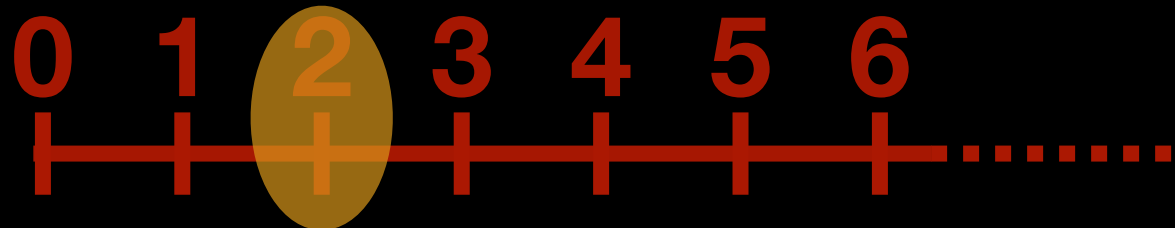
## Subtraction

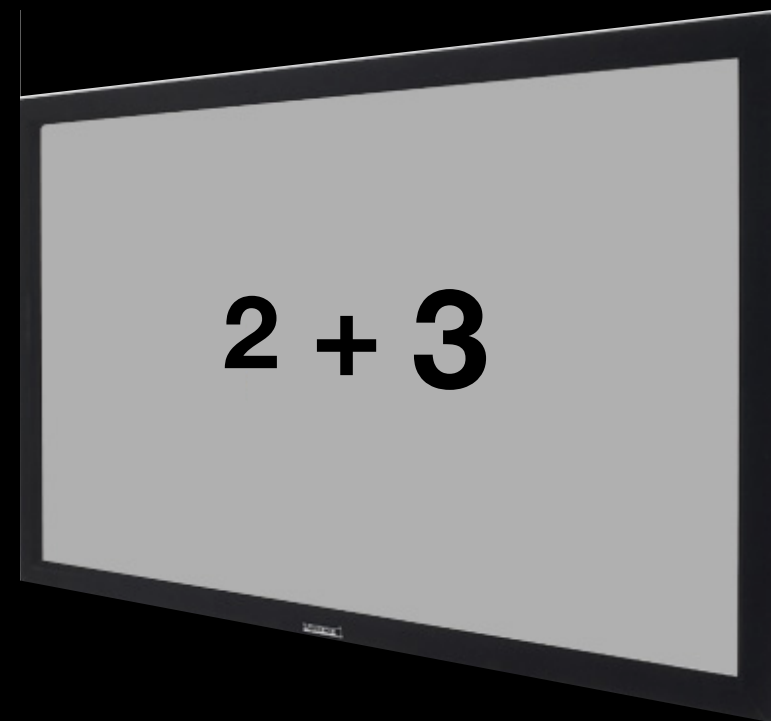
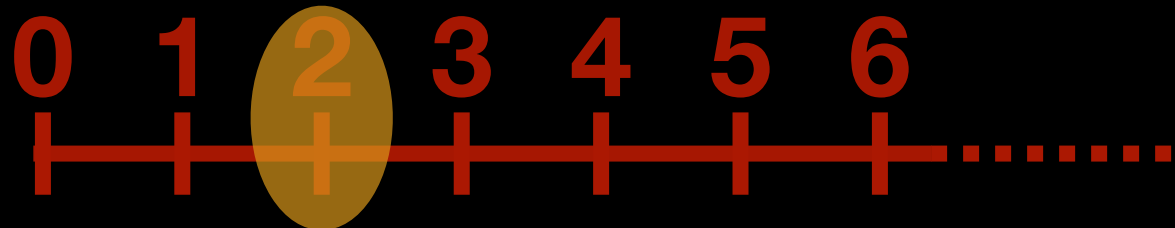










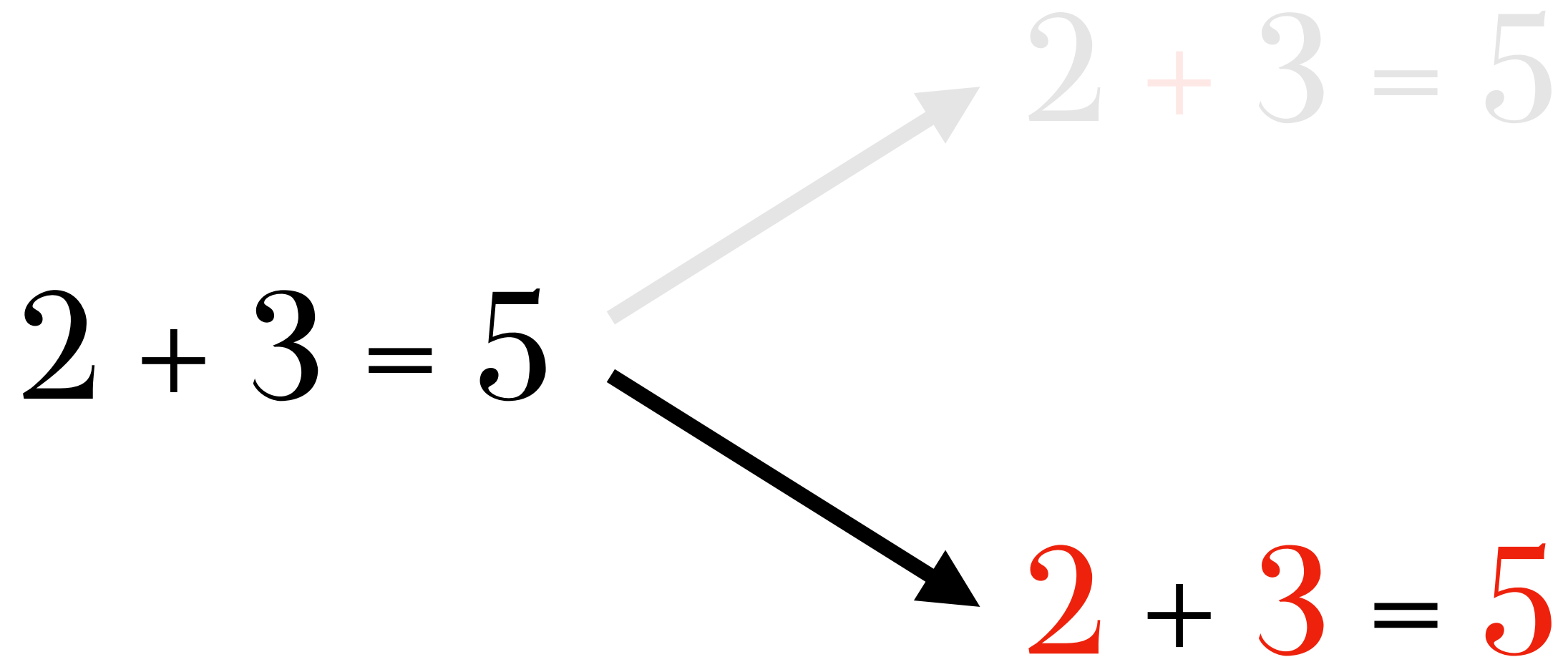




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# Dissecting arithmetic facts

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# The problem-size effect

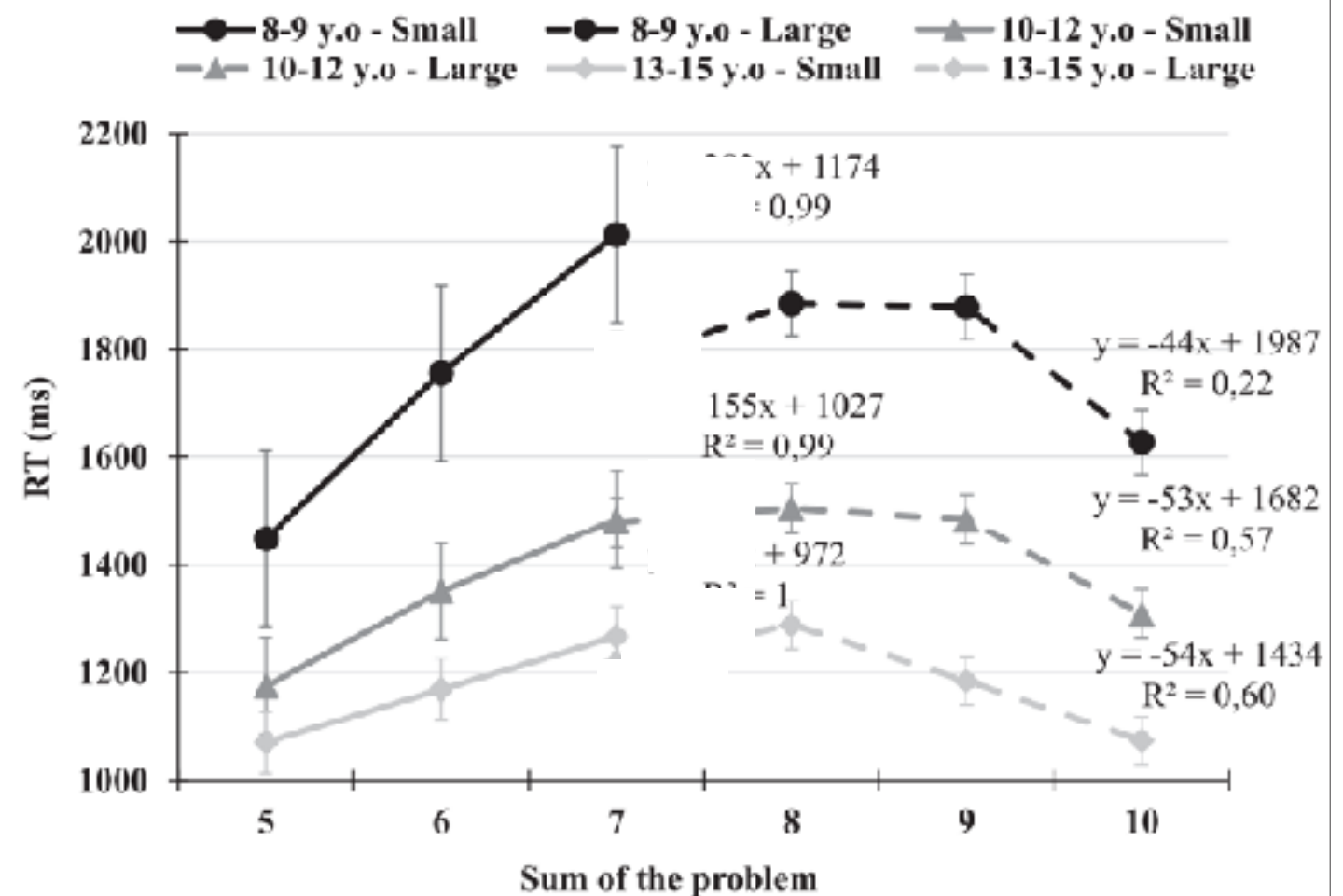
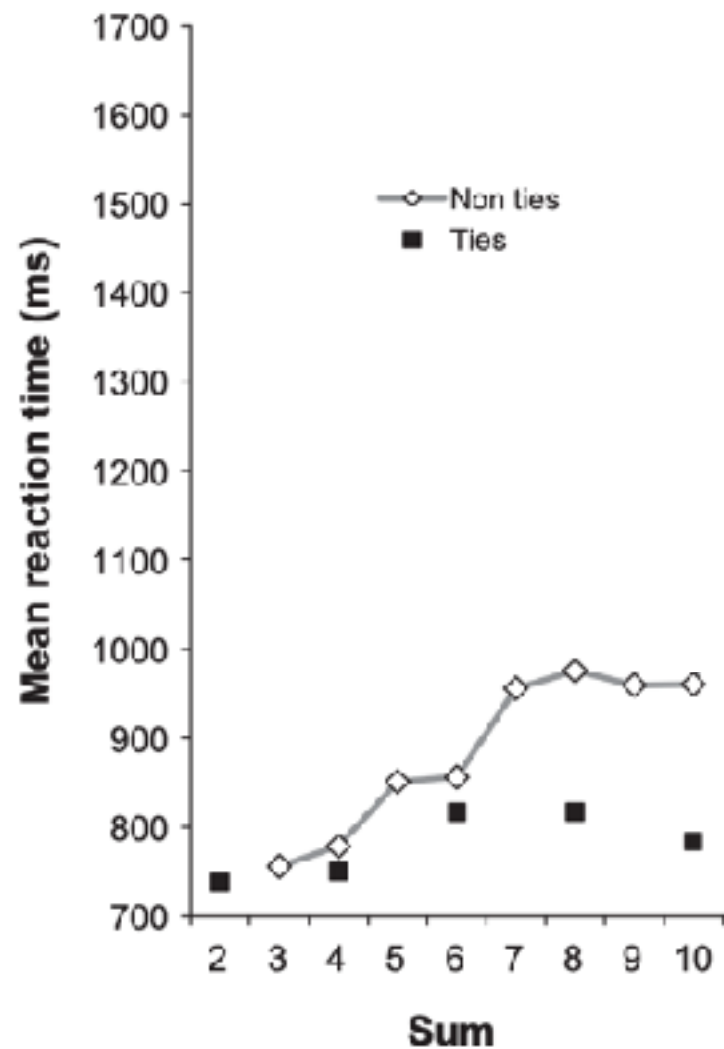


C. Poletti

Adults (n = 90)

2 + 3  
2 + 4  
3 + 2  
3 + 4  
4 + 2  
4 + 3

- 8-9-yo (n = 39)
- 10-12-yo (n = 42)
- 13-15-yo (n = 24)



# The 'magical' number 4

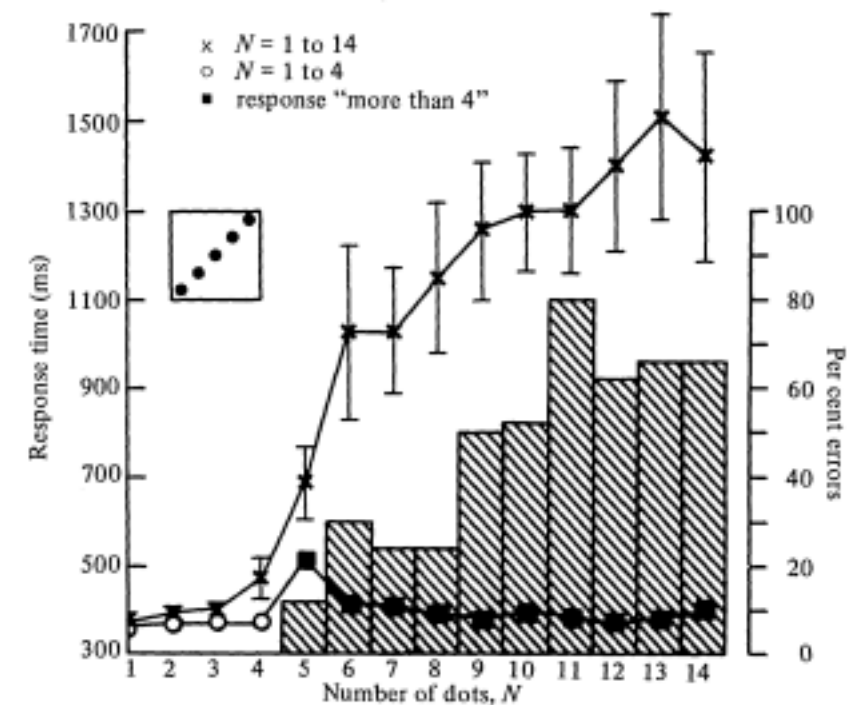
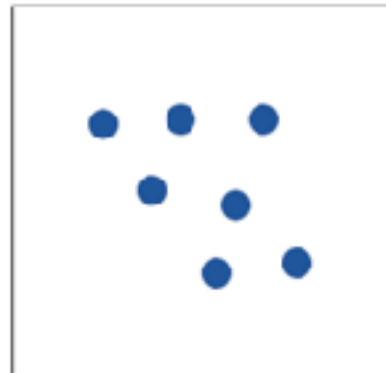
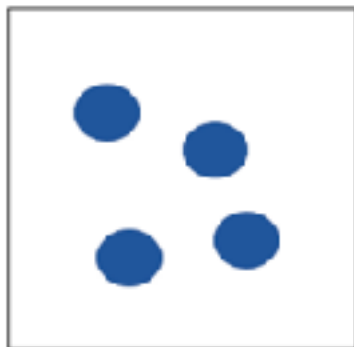
## What is Magic About the Magical Number Four?

Dietrich Simons and Dietrich Langheinrich



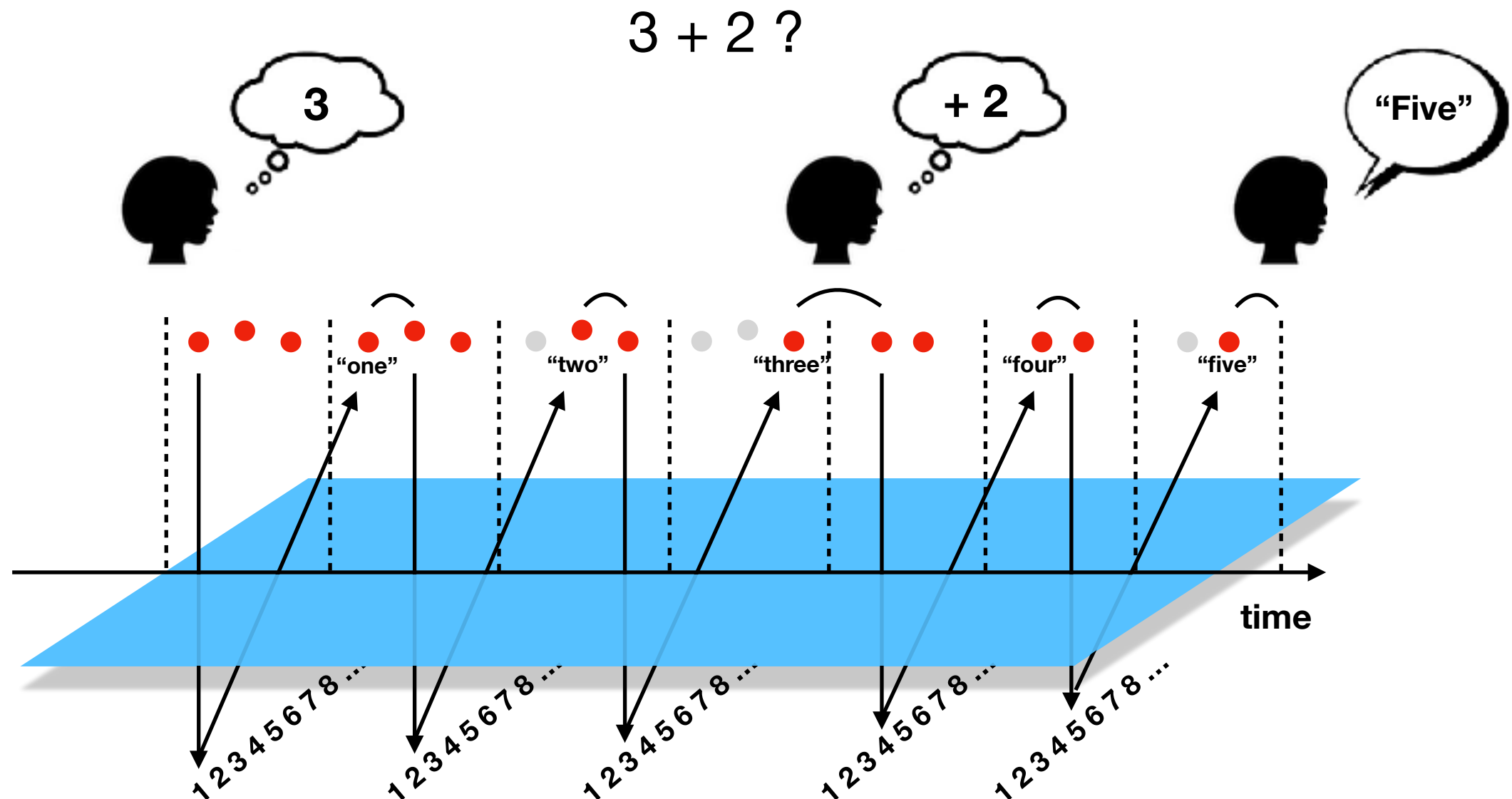
### The magic number $4 \pm 0$ : A new look at visual numerosity judgements

Janette Atkinson, Fergus W Campbell, Marcus R Francis





# An automatized counting model



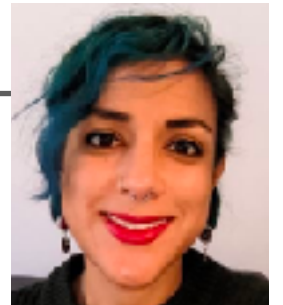
1. Brain regions in which activity is associated with the problem-size effect in children should still contribute to the problem-size effect in adults
2. BUT this should be limited to problems with operands  $\leq 4$

# Neural development of the problem-size effect

- n = 128 participants

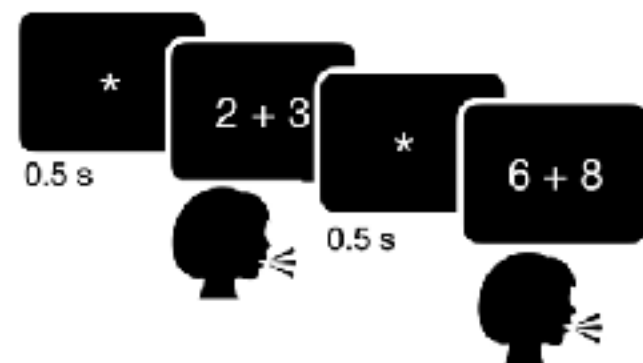


- 8–9–yo (n=31)
- 11–12–yo (n=31)
- 14–15–yo (n=26)
- Adults (n=40)

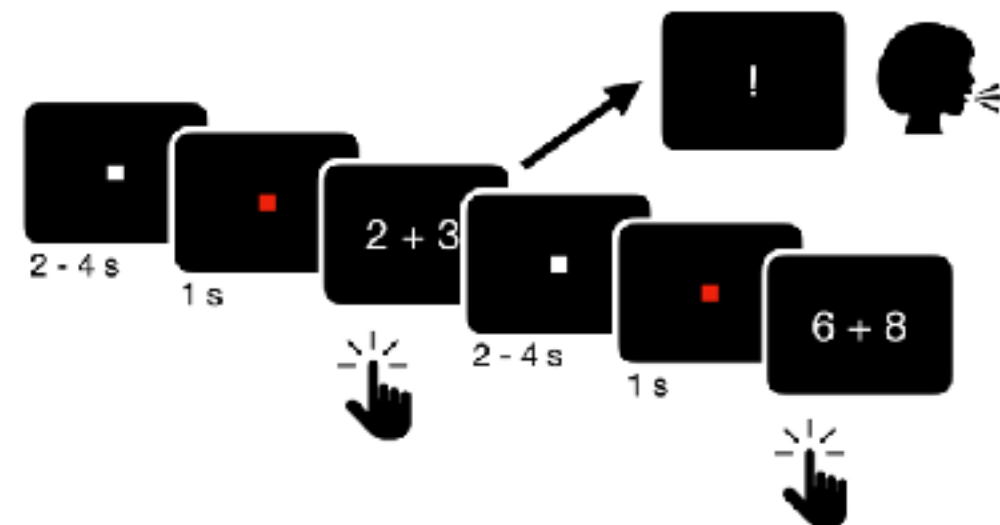


A. Díaz-Barriga Yáñez

## Vocal production (out-of-scanner)

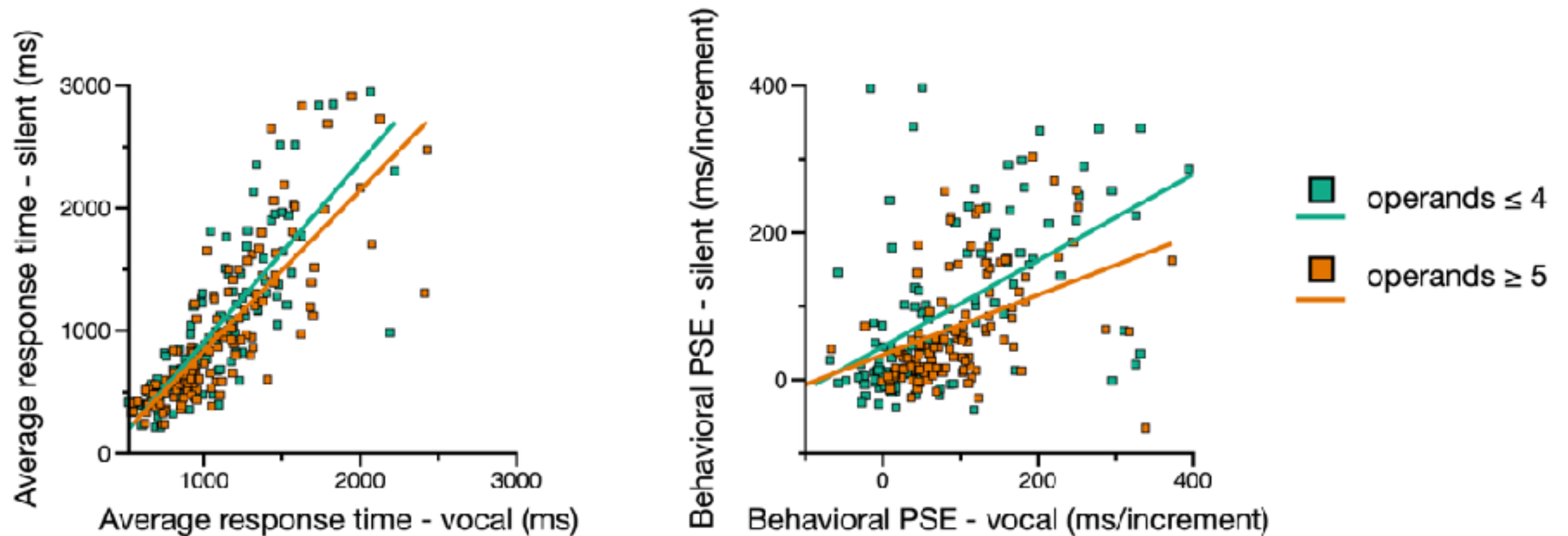


## Silent production (in-scanner)



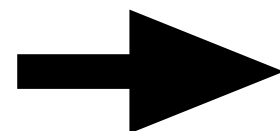
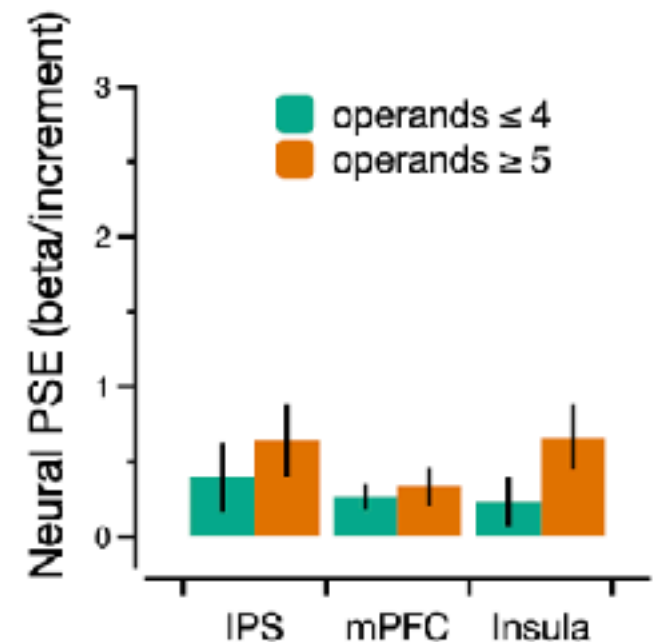
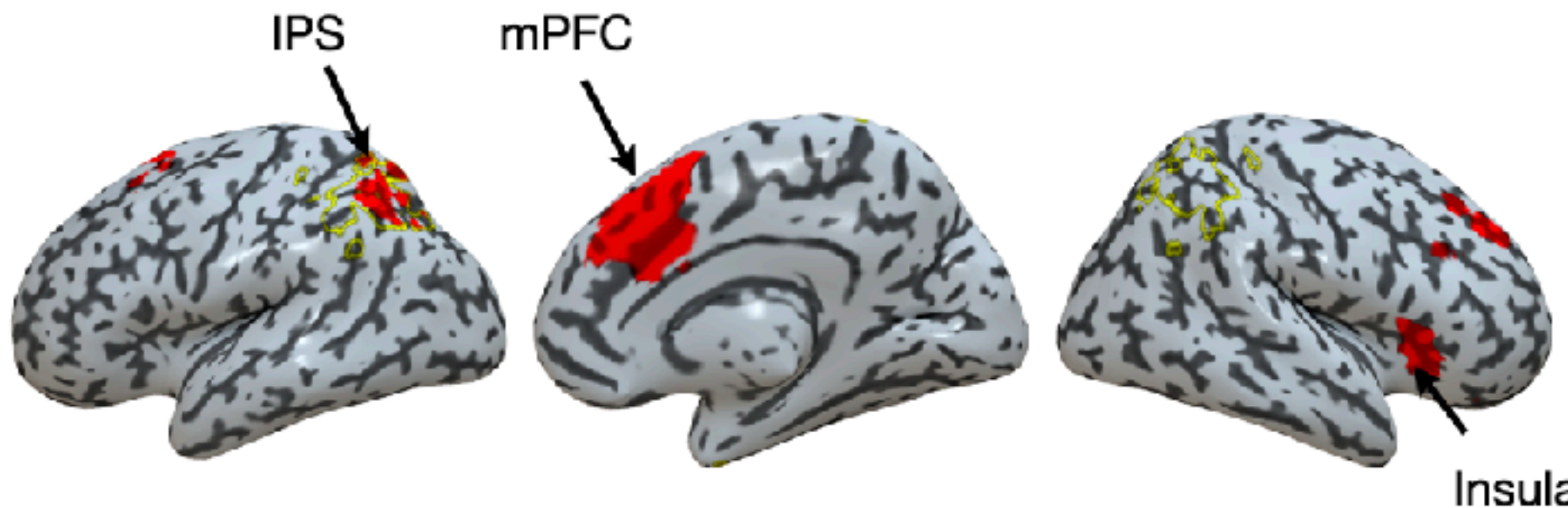
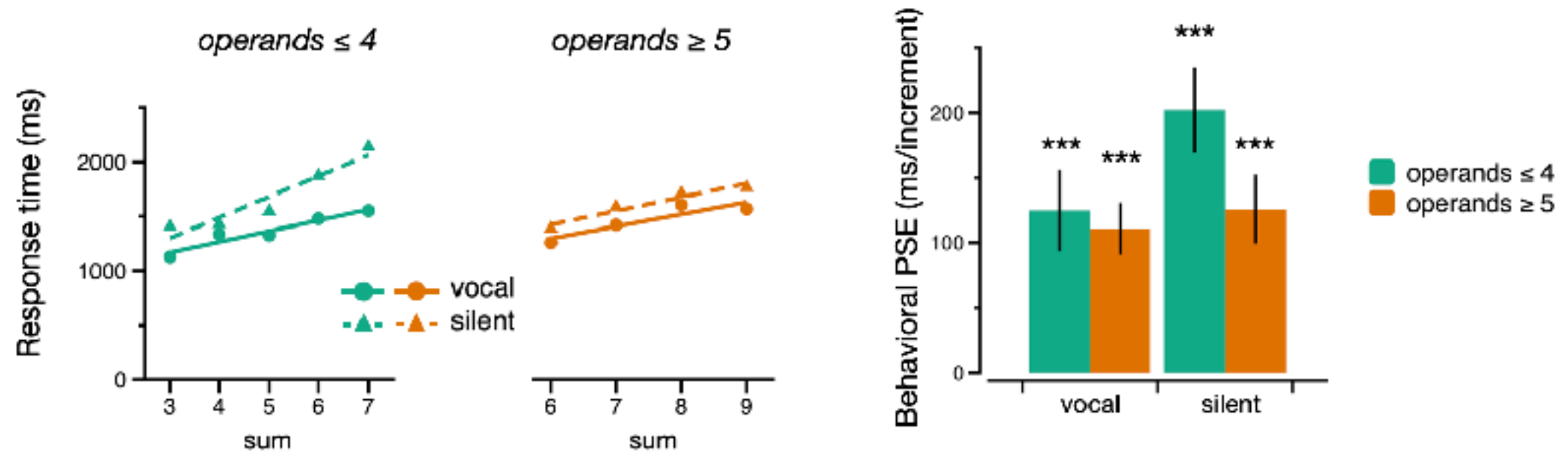
# Neural development of the problem-size effect

Vocal (out-of-scanner) vs. Silent (in-scanner) task



# Neural development of the problem-size effect

Participants younger than 10 (n = 31)

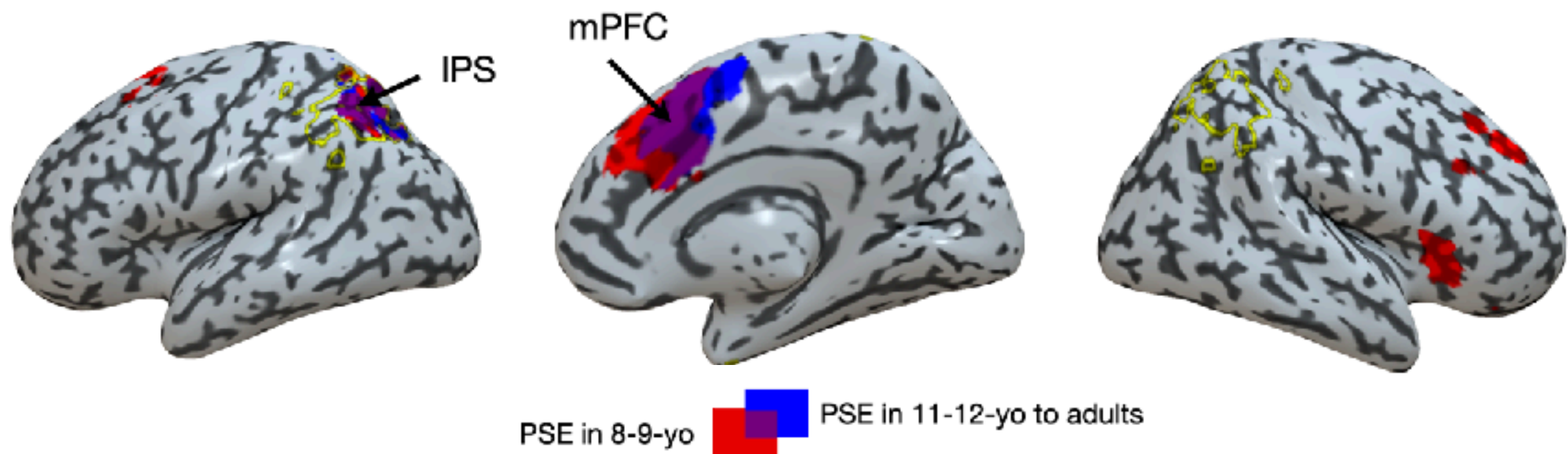
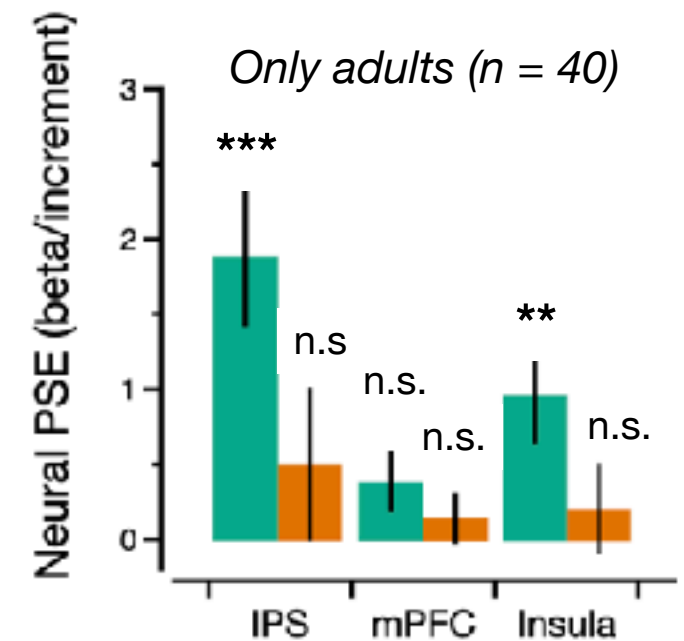
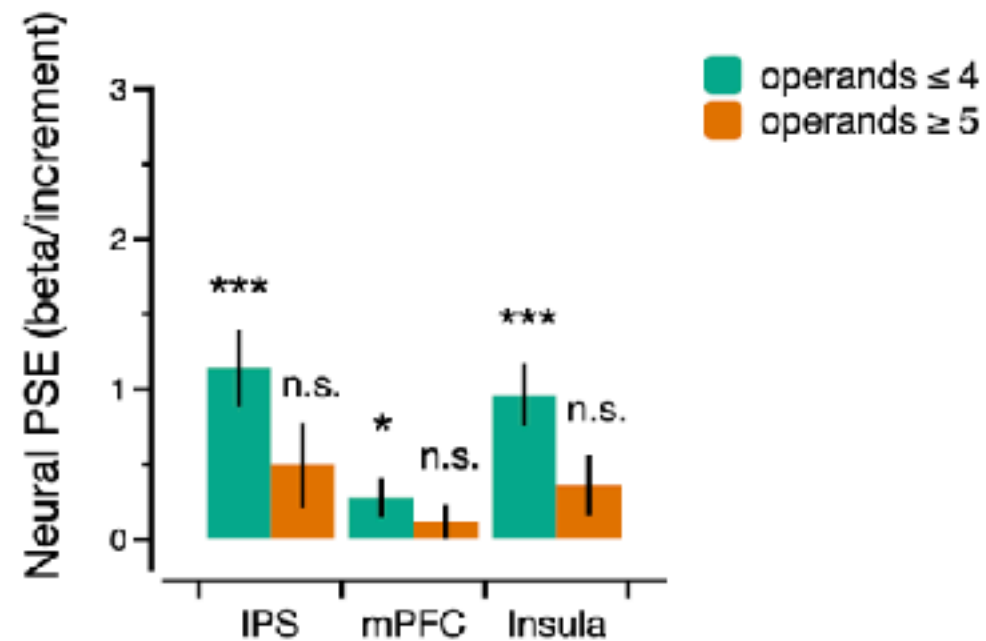
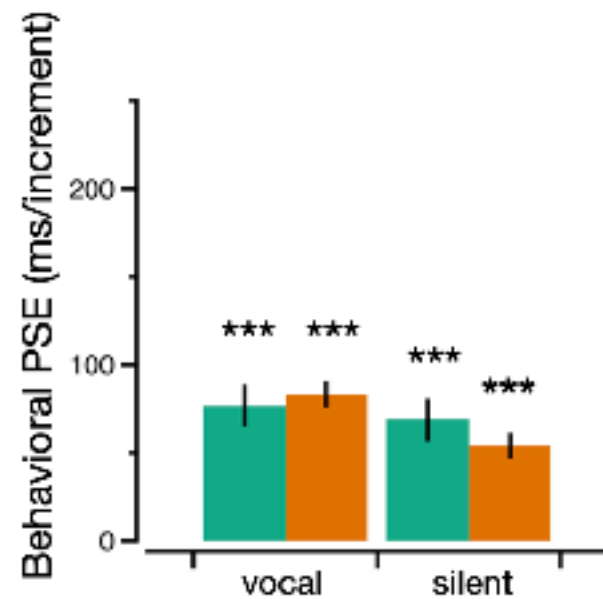


3 counting-related ROIs



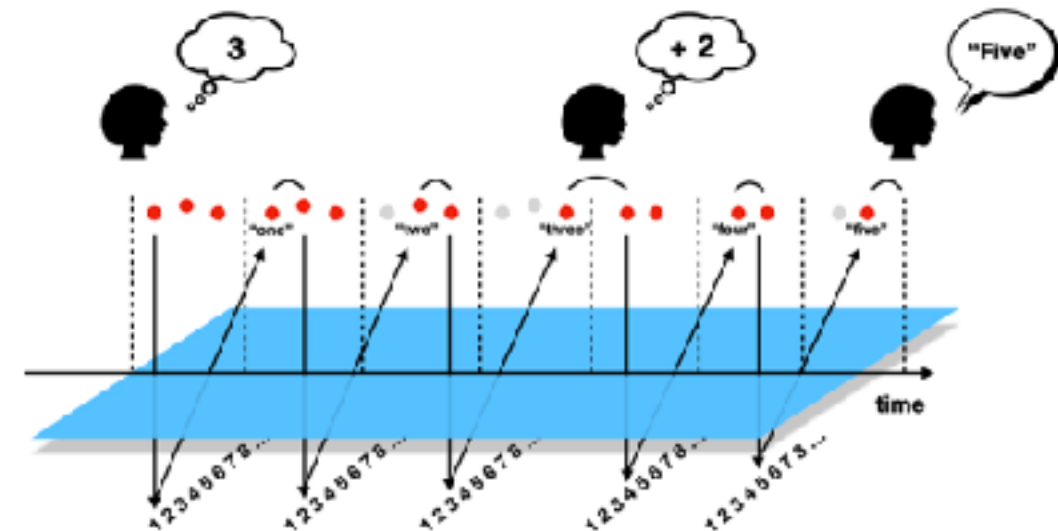
# Neural development of the problem-size effect

Participants older than 10 (n = 97)



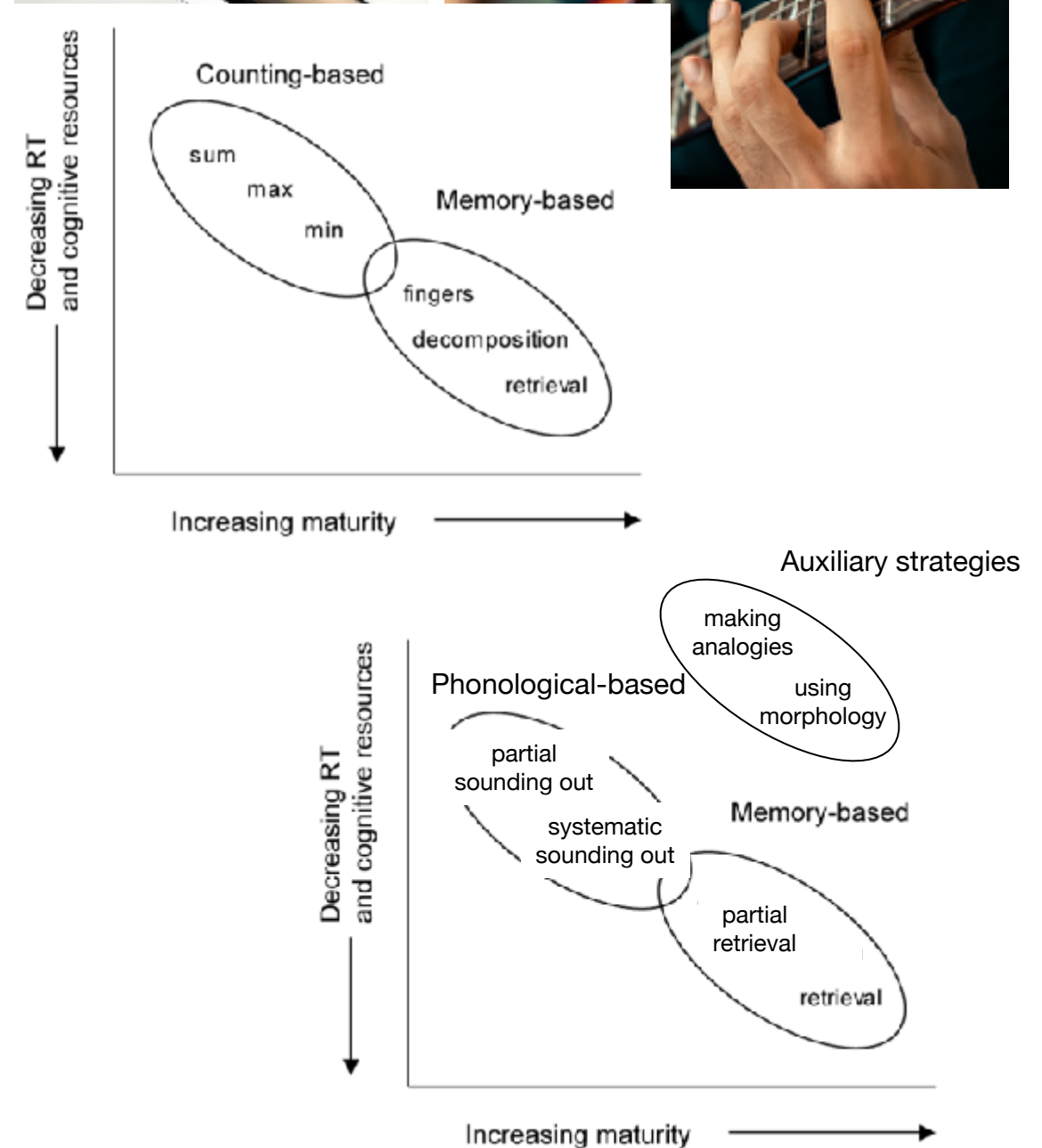
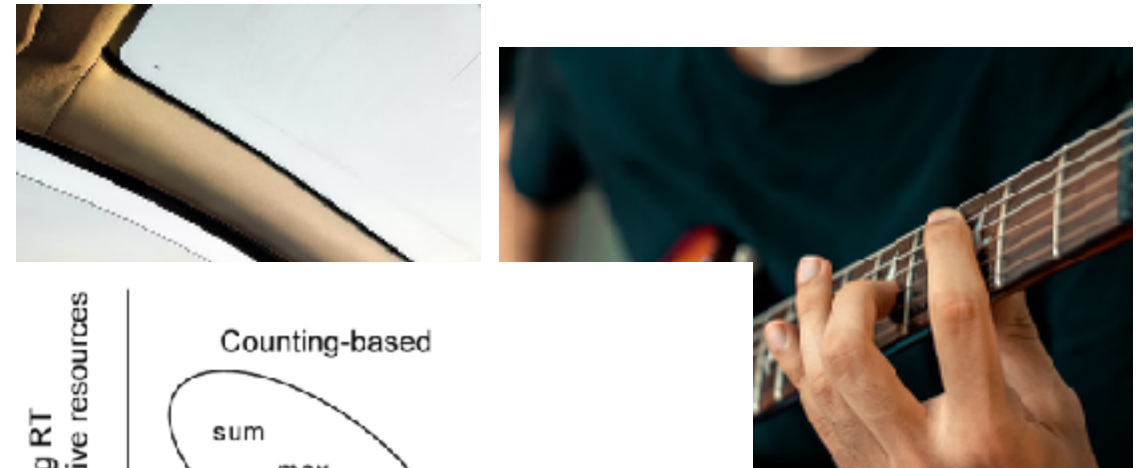
# Neural development of the problem-size effect

- ▶ The problem-size effect decreases over the course of learning, but remains significant even in expert adults and even in very small problems
- ▶ Neuroimaging evidence suggests that qualitatively similar neural mechanisms support the problem-size effect in children and adults, though this is limited to problems with operands  $\leq 4$
- ▶ This is consistent with the idea that a counting procedure may be automatized over the course of development
- ▶ This procedure may involve a tagging of numbers along a mental number line, leading to an association with space



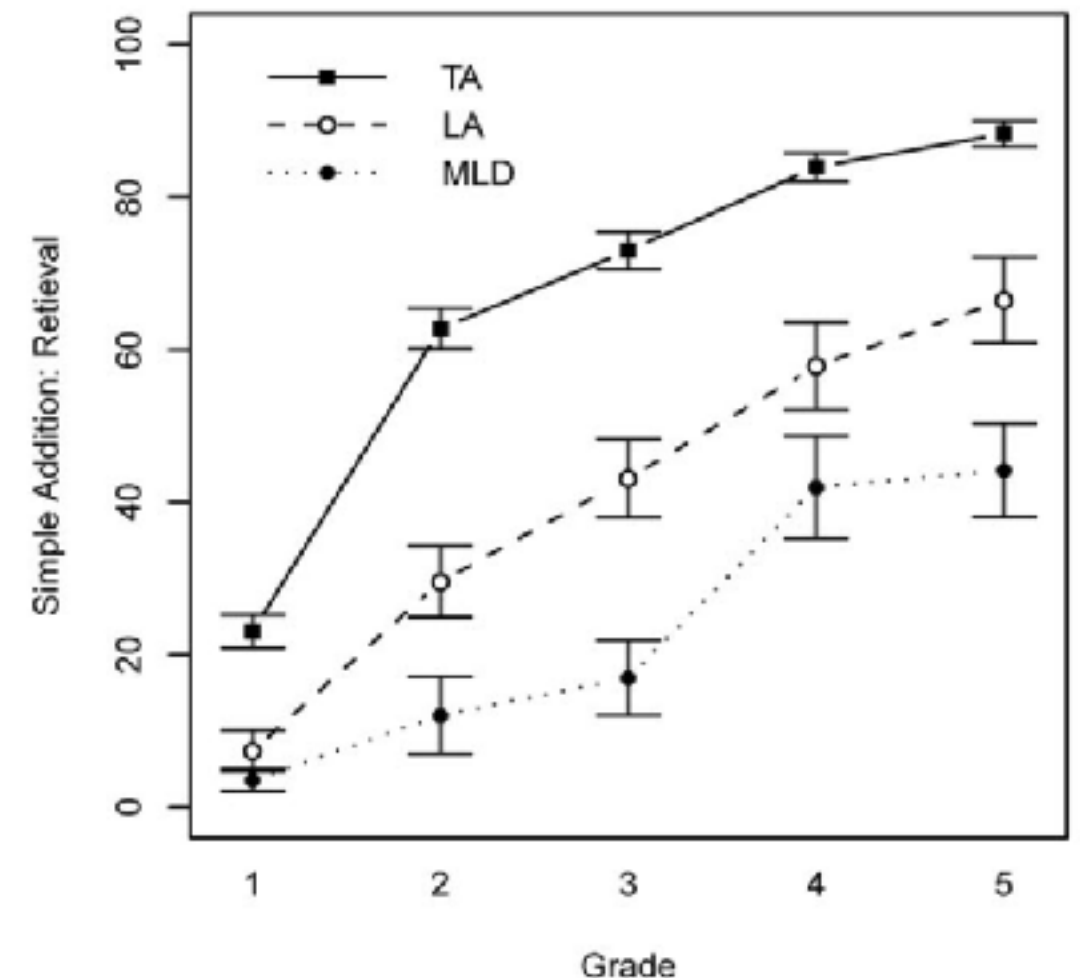
# Theoretical Implications

- ▶ Memory may be largely associative, but that does not mean that learning to solve frequently encountered problems will necessarily rely on building associations in children
- ▶ Learning also involves overly practicing procedures, which may increase in efficiency and become automatic and unconscious in adults
- ▶ Self reports cannot distinguish between automatized procedures and associations
- ▶ Automatized procedures and associations may compete in a “horse race”
- ▶ This has implications for other academic domains



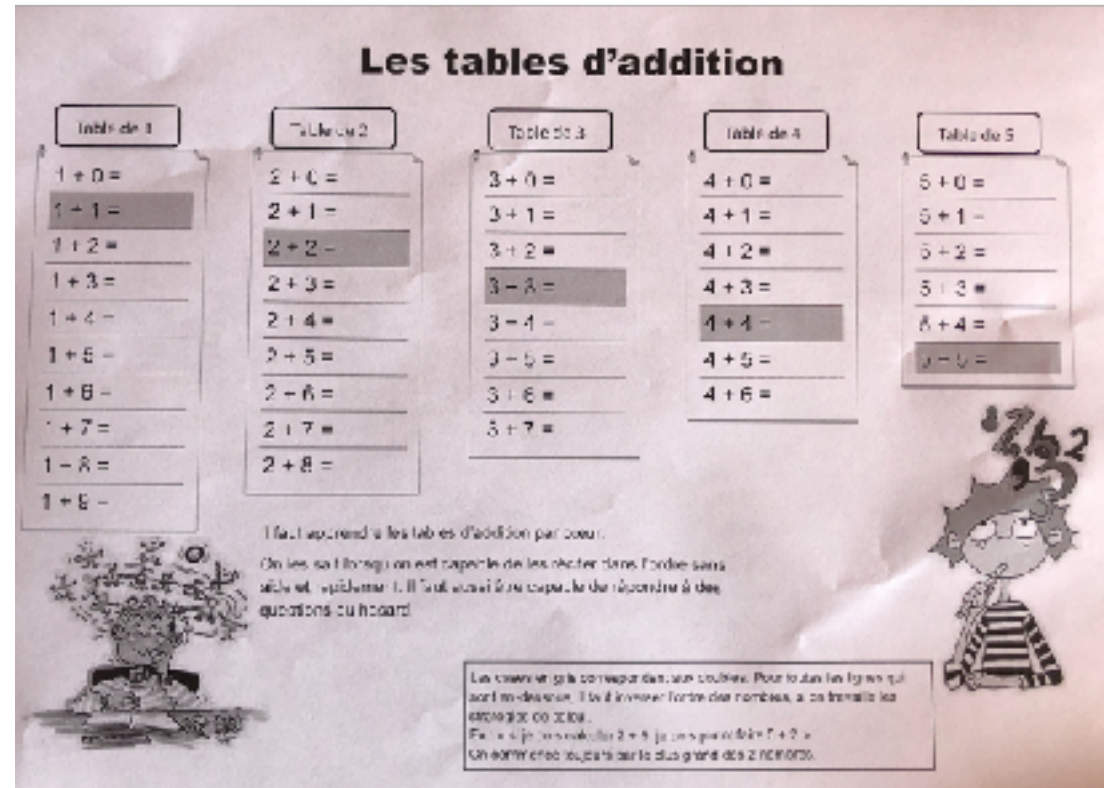
# Clinical implications

- Math learning disability (MLD) affects 5–6% of children worldwide
- A hallmark of MLD is a persistent inability to fluently process arithmetic facts
- This inability is often interpreted as a retrieval deficit due to working memory limitations
- However, MLD might also involve inefficient automatization of procedures
- This is consistent with the procedural deficit hypothesis of learning disabilities





# Educational implications



- There is no doubt that building fluency with arithmetic facts is important
- However, arithmetic facts do not necessarily need to be learned by rote, which comes at a cost of interferences
- Practicing a procedure may be as effective as rote learning, to the extent that its application is straightforward and it is sufficiently practiced
- Multiplication tables make sense, addition tables much less



# Thanks



J. Booth



C. Thevenot



The BBL team



F. Lamberton

D. Ibarrola

All children and parents who participated!

