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Is the left-to-right orientation universal?

- Zebian (2005): Investigated the spatial orientation of the mental number line in the following groups:
 - 1. Arabic monoliterates (right-left writing system)
 - 2. Arabic-English biliterates
 - 3. Illiterate Arabic speakers who only read numerals
 - 4. English controls
- "Reverse association" between numbers and space in (1) and much smaller effect in (2)
- However, verbal naming task used that may have been less sensitive (e.g. no "SNARC" effect in group 4)

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- Rashidi-Ranjbar et al. (2014). Head turning/random number generation paradigm administered to Iranian subjects (Farsi is read right-to-left but numbers are read left-to-right)
 - Key finding: No evidence for more small numbers after right relative to left head turns
 - Congruency between reading habits for words and numbers is required to induce significant horizontal spatial-numerical associations.
- However, effect emerges even among pre-schoolers (Shaki et al. 2012)
 - Early biologically driven preference further shaped culturally?

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- Cultural shaping hypothesis: Cultural conventions such as the orientation of writing, mathematic axes etc. shapes spatial numerical interactions
- Gobel et al. (2018): What kind of cultural experience may alter the association between numbers and space at such a young age?
 - Story reading: pervasive activity in the homes, preschools, and day-care centers of literate societies
 - E.g., 30–50% of parents of preliterate children read to their children at least once a day (Raikes et al., 2006)
 - Directionality in shared parent/child reading activities?

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Gobel et al. (2018)

- Exp1 (spatial layout of books): English vs. Hebrew books with a targeted reader age range of infancy to 8 year
- Key finding: English-language books portray actions going from left to right on the page, whereas Hebrew- language books portray events developing from right to left

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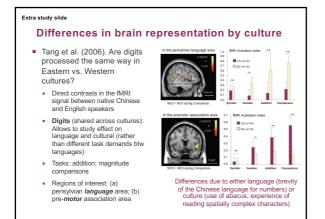
Gobel et al. (2018)

- Exps. 2/3 (observation of adults' interactions with books)
- 2 version of the "Very Hungry Caterpillar" book created and read by parents to preliterate British and Arab children. Children asked to count before and after



 Led to changes in counting direction. Suggests that (even brief) reading observation is a driver of spatial directionality

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Part 1: Summary and conclusions

- Three systems used to deal with numbers
 - 1. Large approximate numerosities: System for representing approximate numerical magnitudes subject to Weber's Law
 - 2. Very small numbers: Subitizing system- up to 4
 - 3. Large exact numerosities: combination of the systems above, plus, language.
- Behavioural evidence for an association between numbers and space in a variety of cultures - > Spatial mapping of numbers is a universal cognitive strategy
 - Cultural characteristics may affect the strength of the association, including new spatial habits (e.g., via learning a second language), or brief reading experience
- Many interesting questions await future research!

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Part 1 reading

- Göbel, Shaki, & Fischer (2011). The Cultural Number Line: A Review of Cultural and Linguistic Influences on the Development of Number Processing. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 42(4), 543-565.
- Göbel, McCrink, Fischer, & Shaki (2018). Observation of directional storybook reading influences young children's counting direction. *Journal* of Experimental Child Psychology, 166, 49-66.
- Tang, Y., Zhang, W., Chen, K., Feng, S., Ji, Y., Shen, J., et al. (2006). Arithmetic processing in the brain shaped by cultures. PNAS, 103(28), 10775-10780.

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