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## 2 Sequential Learning

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### 6 Synonyms

7 Sequential processing; Serial learning; Serial order  
8 behavior

### 9 Definition

10 For most higher organisms, the *order* in which events  
11 occur is of paramount importance (e.g., spoken language,  
12 music, animal communication, and motor skills). The  
13 cognitive and neural processes involved in learning about  
14 the proper ordering of events and stimuli are called sequen-  
15 tial learning. Sequential learning can be applied toward  
16 encoding a specific sequence in its entirety (e.g., A-C-E-F)  
17 as well as learning the distributional properties among  
18 multiple sequences, in which the learner induces the  
19 fragments or underlying regularities common to all exem-  
20 plars (e.g., noticing that the fragment *A-B* occurs in the  
21 following three sequences: *A-B-D-E*, *C-A-B-A*, *D-A-B-C*).  
22 Hierarchical sequential patterns can also be acquired,  
23 a type of learning that may be crucial for much of  
24 human cognition and behavior, especially language  
25 processing. Sequential learning can occur implicitly or  
26 explicitly, under supervised or unsupervised conditions,  
27 or through any combination thereof.

### 28 Theoretical Background

29 Although research exploring serial order behavior has  
30 a long tradition, beginning with the early work of  
31 Ebbinghaus, it was Lashley (1951) seminal paper that  
32 elevated the importance of sequential processing in the  
33 psychological sciences. Lashley was one of the first to fully  
34 recognize and appreciate the ubiquity of sequencing in  
35 human behavior, thought, and language. For example,  
36 the sentence “please pass me the *bottle* that is near the  
37 *glass*,” has a vastly different meaning from “please pass me  
38 the *glass* that is near the *bottle*,” despite the fact that the

only difference between the two sentences is the order in 39  
which the words *bottle* and *glass* occur. To take one of 40  
Lashley’s own examples, in English, an adjective generally 41  
precedes the noun. “*I see the red ball*” is grammatical but 42  
“*I see the ball red*” is not. In French, the opposite is true. 43

In addition to language and communication, other 44  
domains in which sequential order is important include 45  
motor and skill learning, music perception and produc- 46  
tion, problem solving, and planning. Clearly, however, not 47  
all serial order behaviors are *learned*. Many sequential 48  
behaviors in humans and other species appear to be largely 49  
pre-wired, such as grooming movements, simple locomo- 50  
tion, and respiration. Thus, sequential learning encom- 51  
passes the cognitive and neural mechanisms involved in 52  
the process of *acquisition* itself, which may be independent 53  
from other issues relevant to serial order behavior more 54  
generally, such as how serial patterns are perceived (but 55  
not necessarily learned), represented in the mind and 56  
brain (whether they were originally pre-wired or learned 57  
sequences), or produced. 58

There are at least three different modes of sequential 59  
learning, each corresponding to a different type of 60  
sequence pattern (Conway and Christiansen 2001): fixed, 61  
statistical or probabilistic, and hierarchical. 62

*Fixed* sequential learning is perhaps the simplest type, 63  
involving learning of any arbitrary serial pattern or list 64  
(e.g., A-E-G-K), such as a phone number. In language, the 65  
use of fixed sequences can be found at different levels, 66  
including idioms and stock phrases (e.g., “once upon 67  
a time”) or even words themselves, which can be con- 68  
strued as fixed sequences of phonemes. This type of 69  
sequential learning is informed by a vast amount of pre- 70  
vious research in areas such as list learning, Hebb repeti- 71  
tion effects, short-term memory, and working memory 72  
(e.g., Marshuetz 2005). 73

Many situations facing humans and other higher 74  
organisms involve more complex patterns that consist of 75  
statistical patterns of co-occurring elements within multi- 76  
ple exemplars. For example, if one were to consider the 77  
entire corpus of English speech that a listener may perceive 78  
over the course of a year, the sound sequences “fun-ny” 79  
and “ro-bot” are each likely to occur more frequently than 80  
“ny-rob.” This is true because *funny* and *robot* are English 81

82 words, whereas *nyrob* would generally only be heard across  
83 a word boundary (e.g., “I see the funny robot”). Being  
84 sufficiently sensitive to the frequently co-occurring sounds  
85 in continuous speech, a process known as word segmen-  
86 tation, allows a language learner to induce which speech  
87 sounds constitute a word versus which sounds just happen  
88 to co-occur because they are the final and initial sounds of  
89 two separate words that were spoken consecutively.

90 Word segmentation is an example of the more general  
91 phenomenon of *statistical* or *probabilistic* sequential learn-  
92 ing, which involves inducing the common underlying  
93 distributional patterns from among multiple exemplars.  
94 In language, learners can use the statistical or probabilistic  
95 properties of linguistic input to discover the structure not  
96 just of words, but also of other properties such as phonol-  
97 ogy (sound patterns) and syntax (Saffran 2003). Although  
98 language provides a wealth of examples of statistical  
99 sequential learning, many nonlanguage domains also  
100 have probabilistic structure, in which a given element of  
101 a sequence does not perfectly predict the next element, but  
102 rather may predict it in a probabilistic fashion. Thus,  
103 statistical learning is likely used in many aspects of per-  
104 ceptual and motor processes, such as learning to imitate  
105 the complex movements of a dancer, or learning the  
106 melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic structures of different  
107 styles of music.

108 The previous two forms of sequential learning – fixed  
109 and statistical – are both similar in that they involve  
110 learning the relationships between adjacent elements,  
111 a process sometimes referred to as “chaining.” However,  
112 as Lashley (1951) made clear, even though a sequence may  
113 appear as a chain of linear elements, there may exist an  
114 underlying hierarchical structure. For example, in the  
115 repeating sequence “1-3-2-3-1-2-1-3-2-3-1-2...,” each  
116 item can be followed by one of two possible items (e.g.,  
117 “1” is followed by either “3” or “2” with equal probability).  
118 Only by taking into account the previous context in which  
119 an item occurs can one accurately predict the subsequent  
120 item (e.g., knowing that the “1” is preceded by “2” allows  
121 one to accurately predict “3”). With these more complex  
122 patterns, it is necessary to encode not just the preceding  
123 element in a sequence, but the previous two or more  
124 elements. Such a strategy of encoding long-distance or  
125 nonadjacent relationships among items in a sequence  
126 might provide the basis for *hierarchical* sequential learn-  
127 ing, in which primitive units are combined to create more  
128 complex units (forming a “chunk”), which in turn can be  
129 combined to create even more complex units in a recursive  
130 fashion. Learning hierarchical structure has several advan-  
131 tages over merely learning the “flat” linear structure,  
132 including it being easier to self-repair in the event of

failure and providing easier and more efficient access to 133  
subroutines of sequences (Bapi et al. 2005). 134

135 In human language, hierarchical structure is especially 135  
evident in the realm of syntax. In the sentence, “*The cat* 136  
*chased the mouse*,” there are two phrases, a noun phrase 137  
 (“*the cat*”) and a verb phrase (“*chased the mouse*”), with 138  
the latter containing a secondary noun phrase within it 139  
 (“*the mouse*”). Once one has learned that a particular 140  
phrase is a noun phrase (e.g., “*the mouse*”) and assuming 141  
one has also learned the basic structure of English syntax, 142  
the phrase forms a single unit that can then be inserted 143  
into other situations that require a noun phrase (“*The* 144  
*mouse ate the cheese*” or “*I see the mouse*”). In addition to 145  
language, other domains such as complex motor skills and 146  
problem solving can have hierarchical structure. 147

### 148 **Important Scientific Research and Open** 149 **Questions**

150 A key question is to what extent other animal species, such  
151 as nonhuman primates, demonstrate equivalent sequen-  
152 tial learning abilities to humans. By exploring the abilities  
153 and limitations that other primates have for processing  
154 sequential information, we can begin to understand the  
155 evolutionary origins of such capabilities in humans as well  
156 as the unique aspects of human sequential learning.

157 Unfortunately, few studies have provided direct com-  
158 parisons between nonhuman primates and humans. The  
159 evidence that is available suggests a number of common-  
160 alities as well as crucial differences between the species  
161 (Conway and Christiansen 2001). In terms of fixed  
162 sequential learning, primates appear to be capable of  
163 encoding, storing, and recalling arbitrary fixed sequences  
164 consisting of motor actions as well as visual stimuli, with  
165 proficiency comparable to that of human preschoolers. In  
166 terms of statistical sequential learning, one particular spe-  
167 cies of primate, the cotton-top tamarin, appears to have  
168 some of the same basic capabilities, at least on a par with  
169 human infants. However, in the case of hierarchical learn-  
170 ing, there is growing consensus that nonhuman primates  
171 lack human-like proficiency. Most studies have demon-  
172 strated that apes and monkeys rarely use hierarchical  
173 routines in their spontaneous and learned actions.  
174 Whether this suggests a genuine cognitive limitation for  
175 learning hierarchical sequential patterns or is due to other  
176 methodological or contextual discrepancies is not entirely  
177 clear. Even so, the apparent species differences especially in  
178 hierarchical learning may be one crucial reason that  
179 nonhuman primates are generally incapable of acquiring  
180 human-like language.

181 In general, the pattern of performance differences  
182 across species suggests that some aspects of human

183 sequential learning (fixed and statistical) derives from  
184 evolutionarily old cognitive substrates, whereas hierarchi-  
185 cal sequential learning may be a more recent development.  
186 A related key issue, then, is to understand the neural bases  
187 of sequential learning. In humans, findings from neuro-  
188 imaging studies indicate that the frontal cortex  
189 (e.g., prefrontal cortex, premotor cortex, supplementary  
190 motor areas, etc.), subcortical areas (e.g., basal ganglia),  
191 and the cerebellum play essential roles in sequence learn-  
192 ing and representation (Bapi et al. 2005). The ways in  
193 which these different brain areas interact appear to be  
194 complex and may partly depend on the nature of the  
195 task demands. For example, in some cases, the prefrontal  
196 cortex appears necessary for learning new sequences while  
197 the basal ganglia only become active once the sequences  
198 become well-practiced. In other cases, learning appears to  
199 occur first in the basal ganglia, which then guides learning  
200 in prefrontal cortex. A third possibility is that the basal  
201 ganglia contribute to reinforcement learning while the  
202 cortex is specialized to handle unsupervised learning  
203 situations.

204 One issue that neuroscience studies can help resolve is  
205 to what extent the three types of sequential learning (fixed,  
206 statistical, and hierarchical) are in fact distinct mecha-  
207 nisms. Consistent with the behavioral findings with  
208 nonhuman primates, some evidence does suggest that  
209 hierarchical processing in humans relies on an evolution-  
210 arily newer brain region, Broca's area (Friederici et al.  
211 2006). A second issue that neuroimaging studies can  
212 help illuminate is whether different domains such as lan-  
213 guage, music, and skill learning are mediated by  
214 a common pool of neural regions or whether domain-  
215 specificity exists. The evidence here is mixed; on the one  
216 hand, there is evidence suggesting that Broca's area is used  
217 across multiple domains including both music and lan-  
218 guage and therefore may act as a kind of "supramodal"  
219 sequence processor; on the other hand, a handful of stud-  
220 ies have shown that sensory-specific brain regions (e.g.,  
221 occipital cortex) are involved in the acquisition of sequen-  
222 tial patterns in a modality-specific manner.

Because the majority of sequential learning research 223  
has been devoted to a handful of domains (spoken 224  
language acquisition, motor skill learning, and music), 225  
there is a need to explore connections to other areas of 226  
cognition and behavior. Very few studies have also inves- 227  
tigated how these three types of sequential learning skills 228  
develop in humans. One possibility is that there is 229  
a progression of developmental stages, with fixed sequen- 230  
tial learning developing first, then statistical learning, and 231  
finally hierarchical learning. Another possibility is that the 232  
different facets of sequential learning develop more or less 233  
in parallel, or in an interactive fashion. In the realm of 234  
education, there is a need to further explore how sequen- 235  
tial learning is used in areas such as mathematics, reading, 236  
and writing, and whether individual differences in sequen- 237  
tial learning may relate to various aspects of cognitive, 238  
linguistic, and educational outcomes. 239

## Cross-References 240

- ▶ [Animal Learning and Intelligence](#) 241
- ▶ [Implicit Learning](#) 242
- ▶ [Implicit Sequence Learning](#) 243
- ▶ [Sequence Learning](#) 244
- ▶ [Statistical Learning](#) 245

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