

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM	
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER	
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Memory for restaurant orders		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Technical Report	
7. AUTHOR(s) K. Anders Ericsson and Peter G. Polson		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER	
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Institute of Cognitive Science University of Colorado, Campus Box 345 Boulder, CO 80309		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N00014-84-k-0250	
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Personnel & Training Research Programs, Office of Naval Research (Code 458), Arlington, VA 22217		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS NR 667-536	
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office) Office of Naval Research (ONR), Program in Personnel & Training Research, 800 N. Quincy St. Arlington, VA 22217		12. REPORT DATE March 1985	
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES	
		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified	
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report) Approved for public release, distribution unlimited.		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE	
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)			
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES To appear in M.T.T. Chi, R. Glaser, & M.J. Farr (Eds.), <u>The nature of expertise.</u>			
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Memory skill, exceptional memory, mnemonics, generalizability of skill, transfer, practice effects.			
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) A memory skill of a waiter is described and analyzed in the paper. The waiter (JC) can remember about 20 complete dinner orders without external aids, at the restaurant in which he worked. A laboratory analog of the dinner-order task was constructed and we found that JC's performance on this task was far superior to normal college students. An analysis of JC's memory skill, showed strong support for the three principles which Chase and Ericsson proposed for memory skills in their model of skilled			

memory. First, from thinking aloud protocols we found clear evidence that JC employed sophisticated encoding processes to memorize the dinner orders (meaningful encoding). Second, from analyses of JC's order of recall and from his ability to recall a large number of different lists of dinner orders at the end of a study session (post-session recall), we found evidence that JC stores the dinner-orders in long-term memory and uses special retrieval cues for retrieval (retrieval structure). Two specially designed experiments provided converging support for the validity of these encoding processes and the retrieval structure.

Thirdly, we analyzed the study time used by JC throughout the two-year-long experiment and found a remarkable reduction of study time with further practice (speed-up). Two final experiments examined the degree to which JC's memory skill was specific to dinner orders or could transfer to other types of materials. JC showed considerable transfer to materials, where he could use his sophisticated encoding processes. Although JC's memory performance dramatically decreased for materials where he could not use his encoding processes, his performance was still better than normal students' memory performance for dinner orders. In the discussion we consider aspects of acquired memory skill, which could account for such generalizable performance.

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CLASSIFICATION. Since this Report Documentation Page, DD Form 1473, is used in preparing announcements, bibliographies, and data banks, it should be unclassified if possible. If a classification is required, identify the classified items on the page by the appropriate symbol.

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Block 4. Title and Subtitle. Enter the title in all capital letters exactly as it appears on the publication. Titles should be unclassified whenever possible. Write out the English equivalent for Greek letters and mathematical symbols in the title (see "Abstracting Scientific and Technical Reports of Defense-sponsored RDT/E," AD-667 000). If the report has a subtitle, this subtitle should follow the main title, be separated by a comma or semicolon if appropriate, and be initially capitalized. If a publication has a title in a foreign language, translate the title into English and follow the English translation with the title in the original language. Make every effort to simplify the title before publication.

Block 5. Type of Report and Period Covered. Indicate here whether report is interim, final, etc., and, if applicable, inclusive dates of period covered, such as the life of a contract covered in a final contractor report.

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Block 10. Program Element, Project, Task Area, and Work Unit Numbers. Enter here the number code from the applicable Department of Defense form, such as the DD Form 1498, "Research and Technology Work Unit Summary" or the DD Form 1634, "Research and Development Planning Summary," which identifies the program element, project, task area, and work unit or equivalent under which the work was authorized.

Block 11. Controlling Office Name and Address. Enter the full, official name and address, including office symbol, of the controlling office. (Equates to funding/sponsoring agency. For definition see DoD Directive 5200.20, "Distribution Statements on Technical Documents.")

Block 12. Report Date. Enter here the day, month, and year or month and year as shown on the cover.

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Blocks 15 & 15a. Security Classification of the Report: Declassification/Downgrading Schedule of the Report. Enter in 15 the highest classification of the report. If appropriate, enter in 15a the declassification/downgrading schedule of the report, using the abbreviations for declassification/downgrading schedules listed in paragraph 4-207 of DoD 5200.1-R.

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Block 19. Key Words. Select terms or short phrases that identify the principal subjects covered in the report, and are sufficiently specific and precise to be used as index entries for cataloging, conforming to standard terminology. The DoD "Thesaurus of Engineering and Scientific Terms" (TEST), AD-672 000, can be helpful.

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION		1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS		
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY		3. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF REPORT		
2b. DECLASSIFICATION / DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE				
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)		5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)		
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION	6b. OFFICE SYMBOL <i>(If applicable)</i>	7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION		
6c. ADDRESS <i>(City, State, and ZIP Code)</i>		7b. ADDRESS <i>(City, State, and ZIP Code)</i>		
8a. NAME OF FUNDING / SPONSORING ORGANIZATION	8b. OFFICE SYMBOL <i>(If applicable)</i>	9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER		
8c. ADDRESS <i>(City, State, and ZIP Code)</i>		10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS		
		PROGRAM ELEMENT NO.	PROJECT NO.	TASK NO.
11. TITLE <i>(Include Security Classification)</i>				
12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S)				
13a. TYPE OF REPORT	13b. TIME COVERED FROM _____ TO _____	14. DATE OF REPORT <i>(Year, Month, Day)</i>	15. PAGE COUNT	
16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION				
17. COSATI CODES		18. SUBJECT TERMS <i>(Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)</i>		
FIELD	GROUP			SUB-GROUP
19. ABSTRACT <i>(Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)</i>				
20. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT <input type="checkbox"/> UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED <input type="checkbox"/> SAME AS RPT. <input type="checkbox"/> DTIC USERS		21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION		
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL		22b. TELEPHONE <i>(Include Area Code)</i>	22c. OFFICE SYMBOL	

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PREPARATION OF REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

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Block 5. Monitoring Organization Report Number(s): Enter the unique alphanumeric report number(s) assigned by the Monitoring Agency. This should be a number assigned by a DoD or other government agency and should be in accordance with ANSI STD 239.23-74. If the Monitoring Agency is the same as the Performing Organization, enter the report number in Block 4 and leave Block 5 blank.

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Block 14. Date of Report: Enter the year, month, and day, or the year and the month the report was issued as shown on the cover.

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Example: The subject "Solid Rocket Motors" is Field 21, Group 08, Subgroup 2 (page 32, AD-624 000).

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Block 19. Abstract: The abstract should be a pithy, brief (preferably not to exceed 300 words), factual summary of the most significant information contained in the report. However, since the abstract may be machine-searched, all specific and meaningful words and phrases which express the subject content of the report should be included, even if the word limit is exceeded.

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

1a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION Unclassified			1b. RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS None		
2a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY			3. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF REPORT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited		
2b. DECLASSIFICATION / DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE					
4. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)			5. MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)		
6a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION Institute of Cognitive Science		6b. OFFICE SYMBOL <i>(If applicable)</i>	7a. NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION Office of Naval Research		
6c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) University of Colorado Campus Box 345 Boulder, CO 80309			7b. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code) Personnel & Training Research Programs 800 N. Quincy St. Arlington, VA 22217		
8a. NAME OF FUNDING / SPONSORING ORGANIZATION		8b. OFFICE SYMBOL <i>(If applicable)</i>	9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER		
8c. ADDRESS (City, State, and ZIP Code)			10. SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS		
			PROGRAM ELEMENT NO.	PROJECT NO. NR00014-84-K-0250	TASK NO. NR667-536
					WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO.
11. TITLE (Include Security Classification) A Cognitive Analysis of Exceptional Memory for Restaurant Orders, unclassified					
12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S) K. Anders Ericsson and Peter G. Polson					
13a. TYPE OF REPORT Technical Report		13b. TIME COVERED FROM _____ TO _____		14. DATE OF REPORT (Year, Month, Day) 85 April 25	15. PAGE COUNT 50
16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION					
17. COSATI CODES			18. SUBJECT TERMS (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)		
FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP	Memory skill, exceptional memory, mnemonics, general-izability of skill, transfer, practice effects.		
19. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number)					
<p>A memory skill of a waiter is described and analyzed in the paper. The waiter (JC) can remember about 20 complete dinner orders without external aids, at the restaurant in which he worked. A laboratory analog of the dinner-order task was constructed and we found that JC's performance on this task was far superior to normal college students. An analysis of JC's memory skill, showed strong support for the three principles which Chase and Ericsson proposed for memory skills in their model of skilled memory. First, from thinking aloud protocols we found clear evidence that JC employed sophisticated encoding processes to memorize the dinner orders (meaningful encoding). Second, from analyses of JC's order of recall and from his ability to recall a large number of different lists of dinner orders at the end of a study session (post-session recall)</p>					
20. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT <input type="checkbox"/> UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED <input type="checkbox"/> SAME AS RPT. <input type="checkbox"/> DTIC USERS			21. ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION		
22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL			22b. TELEPHONE (Include Area Code)		22c. OFFICE SYMBOL

we found evidence that JC stores the dinner-orders in long-term memory and uses special retrieval cues for retrieval (retrieval structure). Two specially designed experiments provided converging support for the validity of these encoding processes and the retrieval structure.

Third, we analyzed the study time used by JC throughout the two-year-long experiment and found a remarkable reduction of study time with further practice (speed-up). Two final experiments examined the degree to which JC's memory skill was specific to dinner orders or could transfer to other types of materials. JC showed considerable transfer to materials, where he could use his sophisticated encoding processes. Although JC's memory performance dramatically decreased for materials where he could not use his encoding processes, his performance was still better than normal students' memory performance for dinner orders. In the discussion we consider aspects of acquired memory skill, which could account for such generalizable performance.

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The second dimension of the matrix (shown in Table 2) was by category. Furthermore, JC had special encoding schemes for each category of the menu. For example, salad dressings were encoded by their first letter such that bleu cheese was encoded as B, oil and vinegar as O, thousand island as T, and so on. If the first four dressings were bleu cheese, oil and vinegar, oil and vinegar, and thousand island, JC would recode them as B-O-O-T and if possible relate the sequence of four letters to an English word, in this case, BOOT. Temperatures were encoded as a spatial pattern in terms of how well the meat was cooked, exploiting the fact the temperatures are ordered. For example, rare, medium, medium-rare, rare, would have a spatial pattern similar to the one shown in Figure 1.

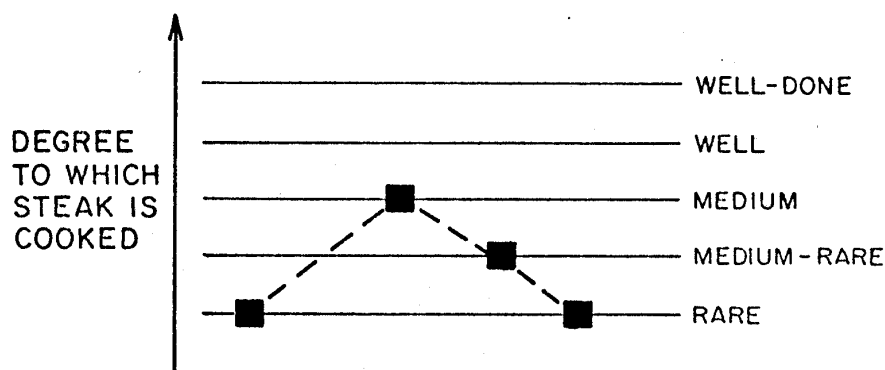


Figure 1

The spatial pattern corresponding to four temperatures of steaks in sequence: rare, medium, medium-rare, rare.

Starches were nearly always encoded as serial patterns, because with only three different starches, there was bound to be at least one repetition in a block of four orders. Entrees were the most variable, and JC reports relying on repetitions and also patterns emerging from a subdivision of the various meat orders into expensive and inexpensive steaks.

Generating within-category encodings requires considerable memory overhead. When a new order is presented, JC has to decide which category to encode, retrieve the earlier items from that category, encode the old items and the new item, and then use the same procedure for the remaining categories. Items in the current order have to be kept in a rehearsal buffer before they are successfully encoded with earlier items in their respective categories. Old and new items in a category must be in attention at the same time in order to permit the recognition of serial patterns in the items. The maximum capacity for attention, i.e., 4 or 5 items, is consistent with the largest within-category chunks used by JC while encoding dinner orders from one table. The assumptions of independent storage in a rehearsal buffer and size of units of encodings are remarkably consistent with the research on memory for digits (Chase & Ericsson, 1981, 1982).

The analysis of performance with and without thinking-aloud and automatic irrelevant verbalization support the conclusion that no additional cognitive processing during the think-aloud trials (except vocalization) is involved, hence the verbalized information is information otherwise needed. In addition, retrospective reports from silent and "think-aloud" trials contained very similar information on a process with the same structure.

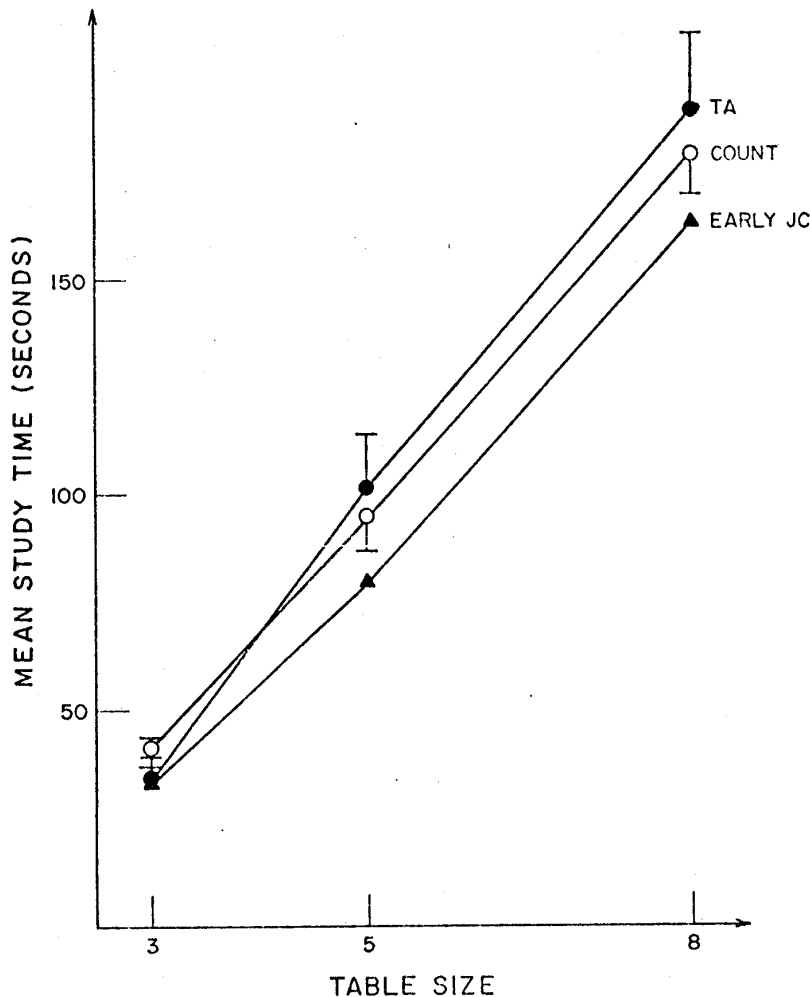


Figure 2

Study-time as a function of table size for Think-aloud (TA) condition, counting from 1 to 10 (COUNT) and silent control trials from the first experiment.

Protocol Data Supporting the Model of JC's Memory Skill

Table 3 presents a complete verbatim transcription of JC's think-aloud protocol for a 5-top (table with 5 people). The underlined portions are evidence relevant to the model; the remainder of the protocol is requests for presentations and simple repetitions of the just-presented order.

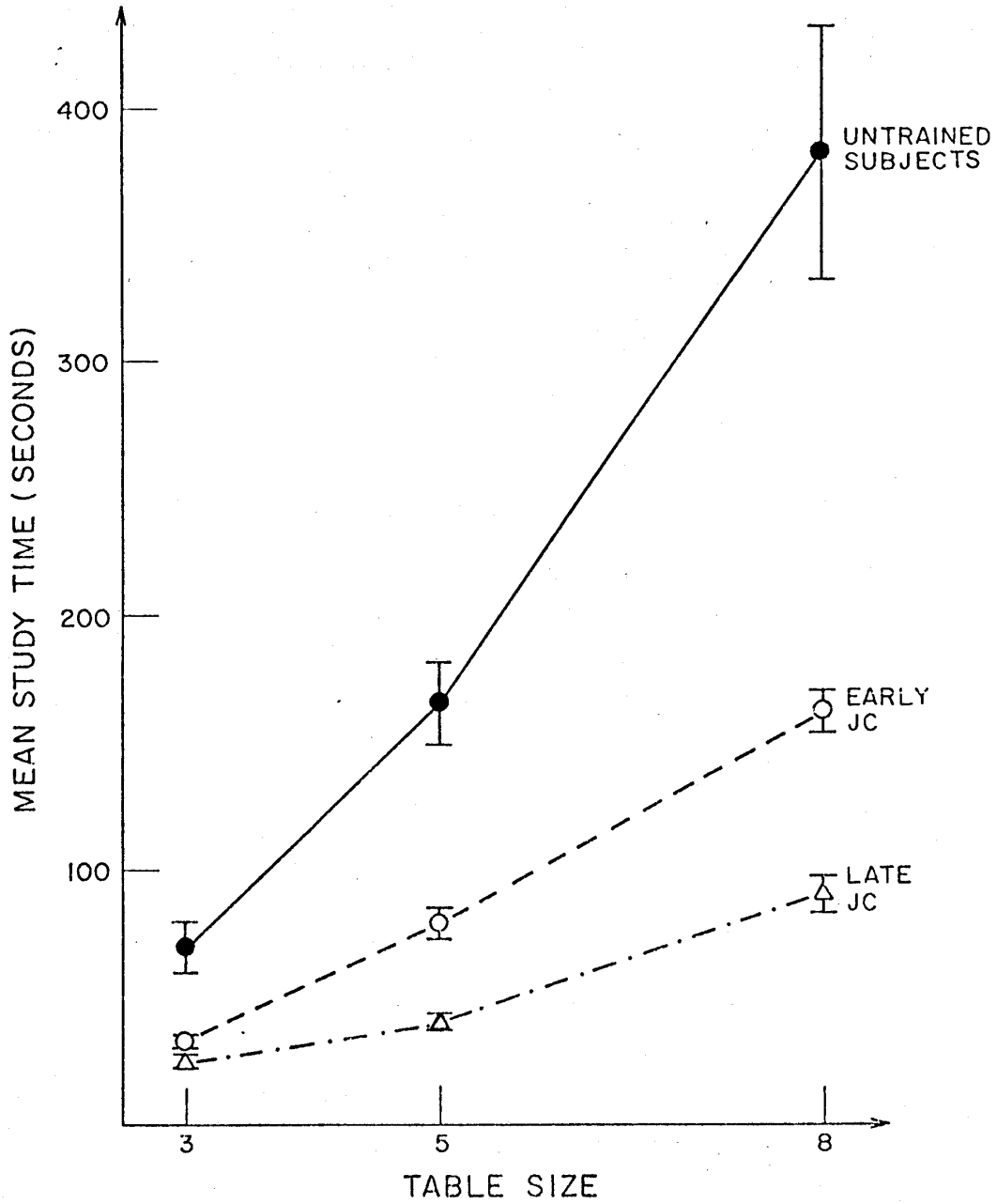


Figure 3

Study-time as a function of table size for untrained subjects and the memory expert (JC) early and late in the experimental investigation.

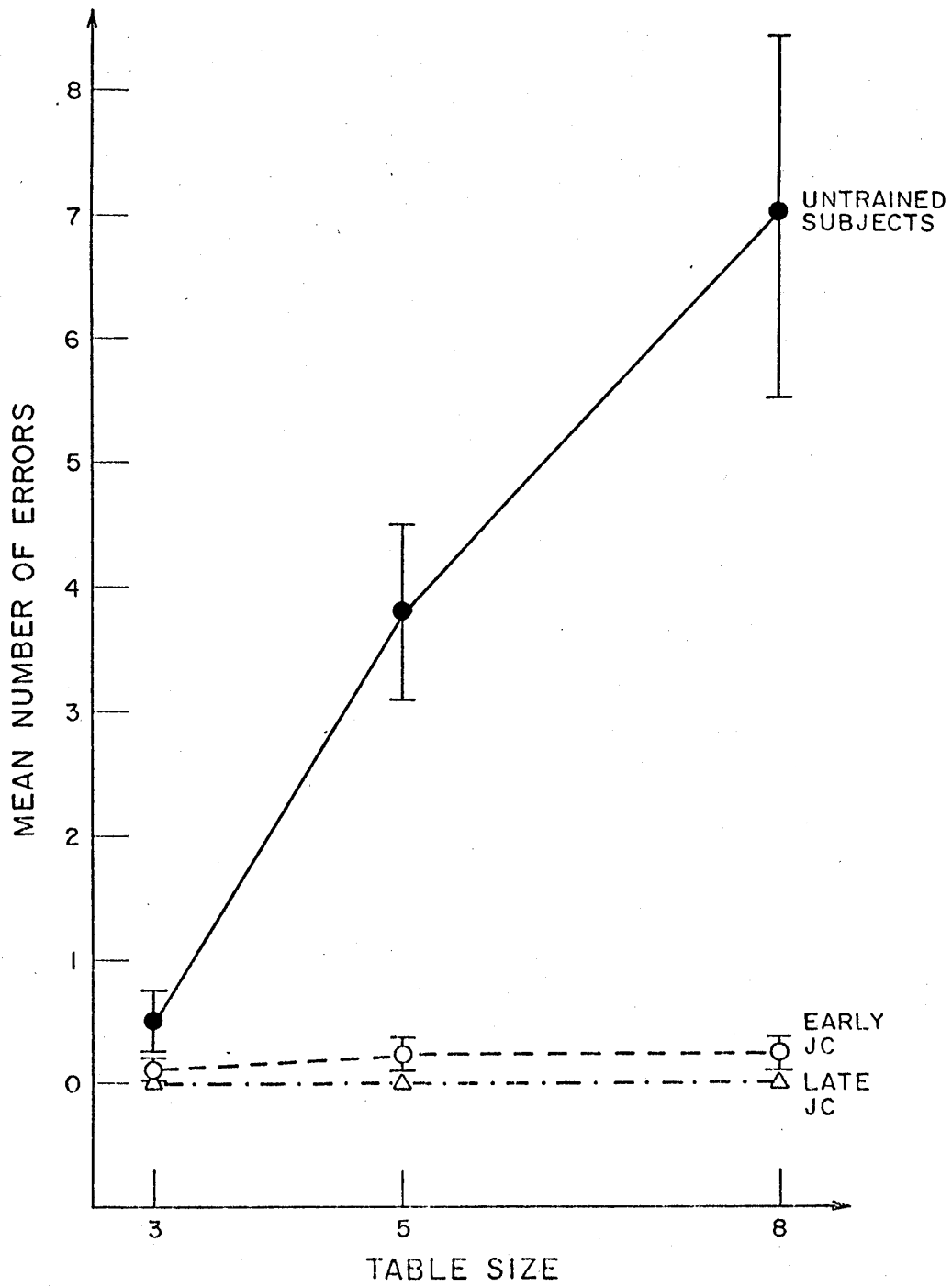


Figure 4

Mean number of errors as a function of table size for untrained subjects and the memory expert (JC) early and late in the experimental investigation.

Study-Times for Individual Orders

The study-times for individual orders are measured from the beginning of the presentation of the order until the presentation of the "next" order. This time includes requests for previously presented items of complete dinner-orders. The analyses of the naive subjects' recall coding and data suggests a sequential memorization of complete dinner-orders. Such memorization would lead to a linear increase of the time required for committing each new order.

Figure 5 presents the study-times for individual orders for the normal subjects. The data strongly supports the sequential hypothesis as the study-times for the first five orders are approximately equal regardless of table-size. The study-times roughly increase in a linear fashion with the number of earlier presented orders, except for the first order (no previous orders) and the eighth order, which contains a large number of requests of re-presentations of earlier orders. Naive subjects memorized the dinner-orders as they were a list of dinner-orders (units of 4 ordered items) with their cognitive process being independent of the length of the list to be presented. It was only at the end of the longer lists (tables of 5 and 8) that they use differential amount of effort to commit the entire list to memory.

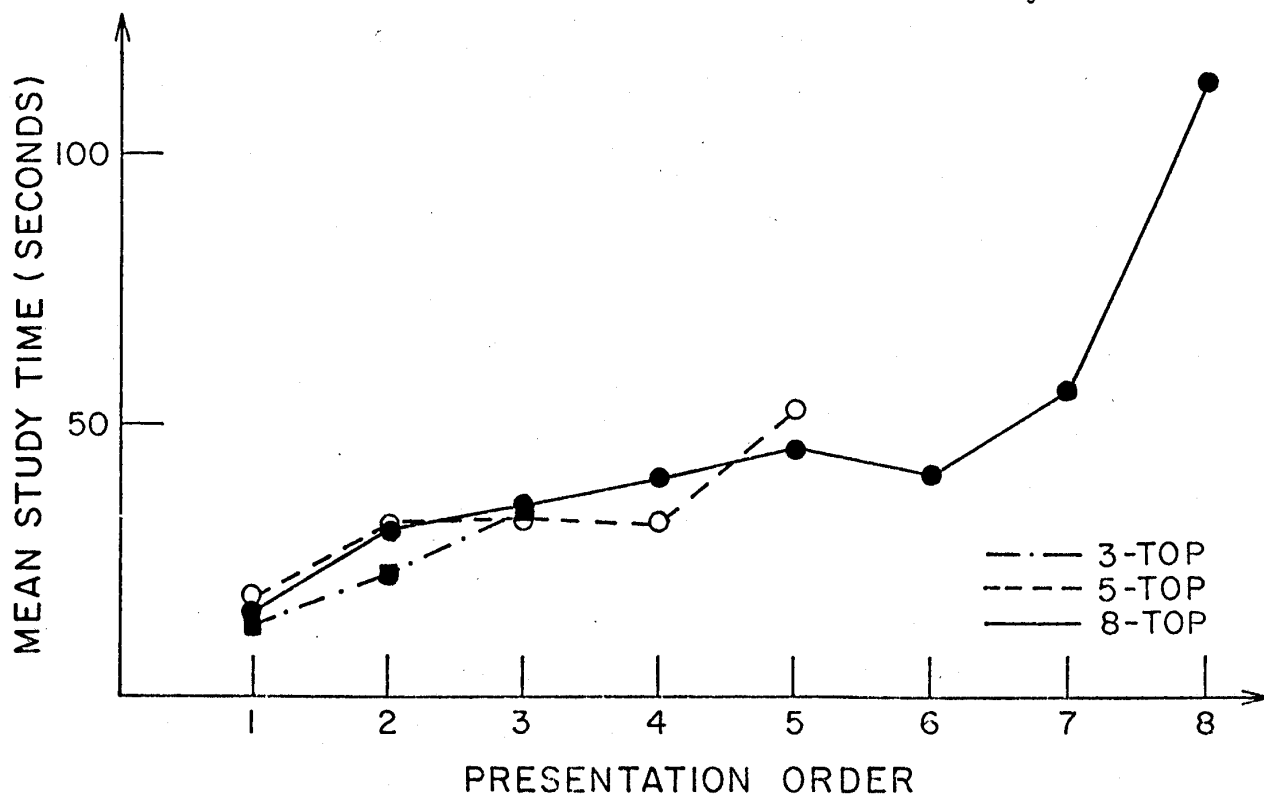


Figure 5

Average study-times for individual dinner orders as a function of presentation order for untrained subjects studying orders from tables 3, 5 and 8 people.

Figure 6 shows the average study times for each dinner order where each line corresponds to a given table size for JC's data. Comparison of Figures 5 and 6 shows that the naive subjects and JC show strikingly different patterns of study times. This is especially apparent for tables of 8. Study time increases linearly across the first four orders and then there is a sharp drop in study time between orders four and five. The study time again increases for orders five through eight and the first and last half of the serial position curves are strikingly similar. This pattern of study times is exactly what would be predicted from the model of JC's memory skills described in an earlier section. Recall that the model assumes that JC encodes items by category and in groups of four. Study times are predicted to progressively increase within a group of four because of larger processing demands for the later orders within each group. With the exception of the first order within a group, storage of items in subsequent orders requires that JC first retrieve earlier presented items of the same category, to allow extracting of patterns involving all items within the group of items of that category.

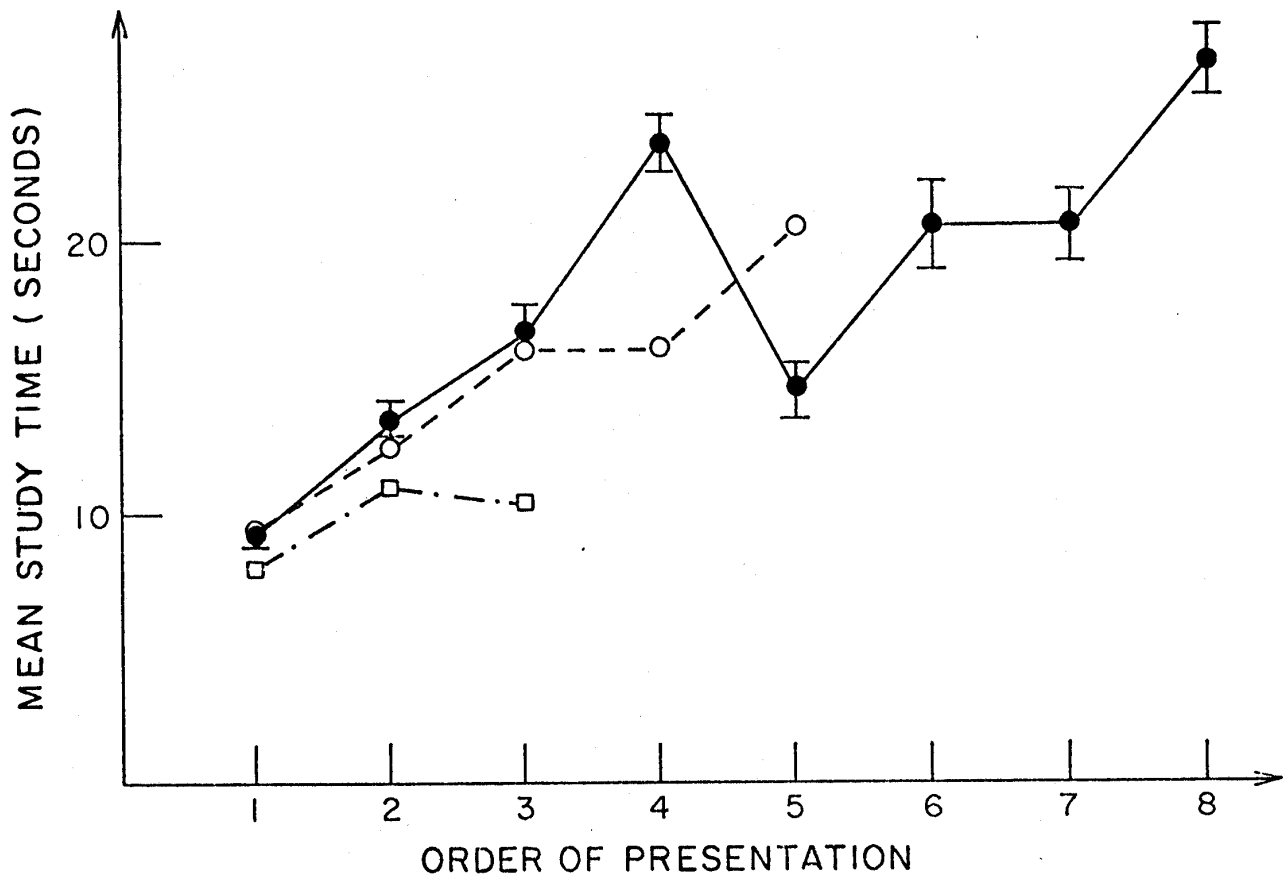


Figure 6

Average study-times for individual dinner orders as a function of presentation order for memory expert (JC) studying orders from 3, 5 and 8 people.

to tables 1 through 6 to serve as cues in the post-session recall, and during the other two sessions, the pictures corresponding to table 7 through 12 were presented. His accuracy of cued recall is given for both dinner orders and category lists ("Animal orders") in Figure 7.

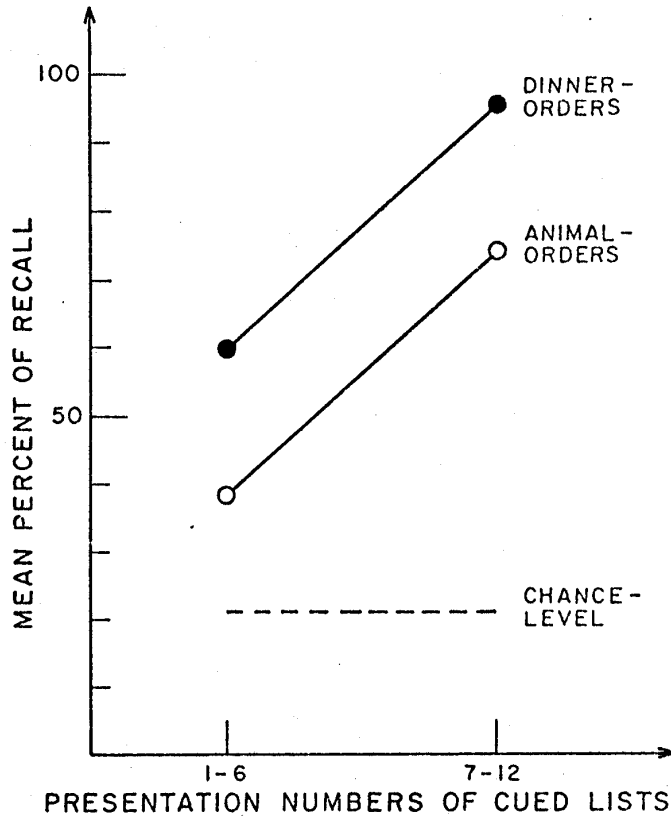


Figure 7

Mean percent correct recall of lists as a function of presentation number, when JC was given a post-session cued recall for either the first or last half of studied lists.

His recall of information about dinner orders is virtually perfect for the second block; 122 of 128 presented items, and reliably less for the first block. The recall of the analogous category lists have the same pattern, but the level of accuracy is lower. For these lists we noticed a couple of very obvious intrusions from Block 1 onto cued recall of Block 2. On both occasions with cued recall of Block 2, JC recalled one entire sub-list of items for a 5-top from Block 1. (The probability of one such event occurring by chance is less than one in 3000.)

Given that recall for dinner orders was virtually perfect for block 2, we examined the recall of dinner-orders from block 1 for differences in the amount recalled from each category, e.g., salad dressings. If systematic differences

were found it might suggest that the better recalled category was more closely associated with the pictures of faces. When corrections for incorrect guesses were made, starches were recalled best (72%), entrees and salad dressings second (58% and 50% respectively) and temperatures worst (38%). Hence these results lend no support to the earlier suggestion that entrees are more directly associated to faces.

In sum, the evidence for post-session memory for the studied information is clear and in accordance with the characteristics of skilled memory (Chase & Ericsson, 1982). Furthermore, we observed clear interference from previously studied lists of the same structure and with the same type of information. Passage of time and other kinds of lists appeared to have smaller, if any, effect. Hence, only for lists of the same structure and content the massive inference effects observed in normal laboratory studies were obtained (Underwood, 1957).

Improvement in Performance During the Year-Long Experiment

During the year-long experiment JC showed a remarkable improvement. After the initial couple of sessions, his recall accuracy was virtually perfect for all the table-sizes. His improvement was also exhibited in a steady decrease in the study-times. In Figure 8 the average study-times for three different sessions are given.

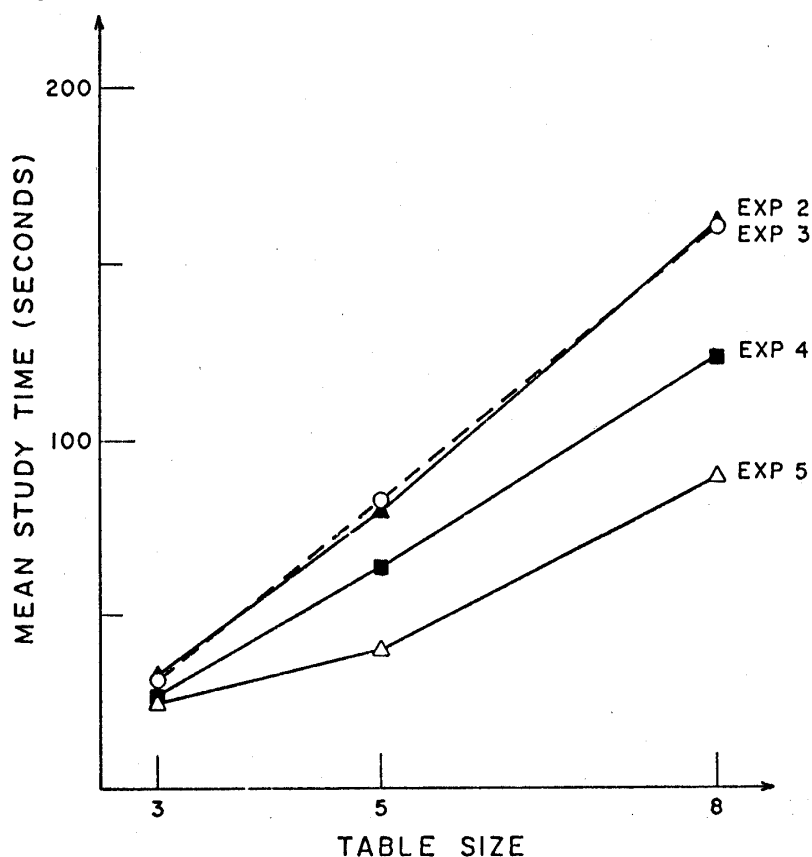


Figure 8

Mean total study-time as a function of table size for memory expert (JC) in the four consecutive experiments.

The most striking result is steady decrease in study-time, along with the lack of any sign of reaching a stable final performance-level. One should also notice that the improvement appears to be proportional over table-sizes and at each level of practice the study-times can be described as a linear function of table-size. Before turning to a discussion of this practice effect, let us compare the study-times for individual orders at different levels of practice, which are given in Figure 9. The rather clear increase in latency associated with grouping items into groups of four or five appears to have almost vanished with further practice. However, the reduction of study-times, as shown in the previous figure, is essentially unchanged.

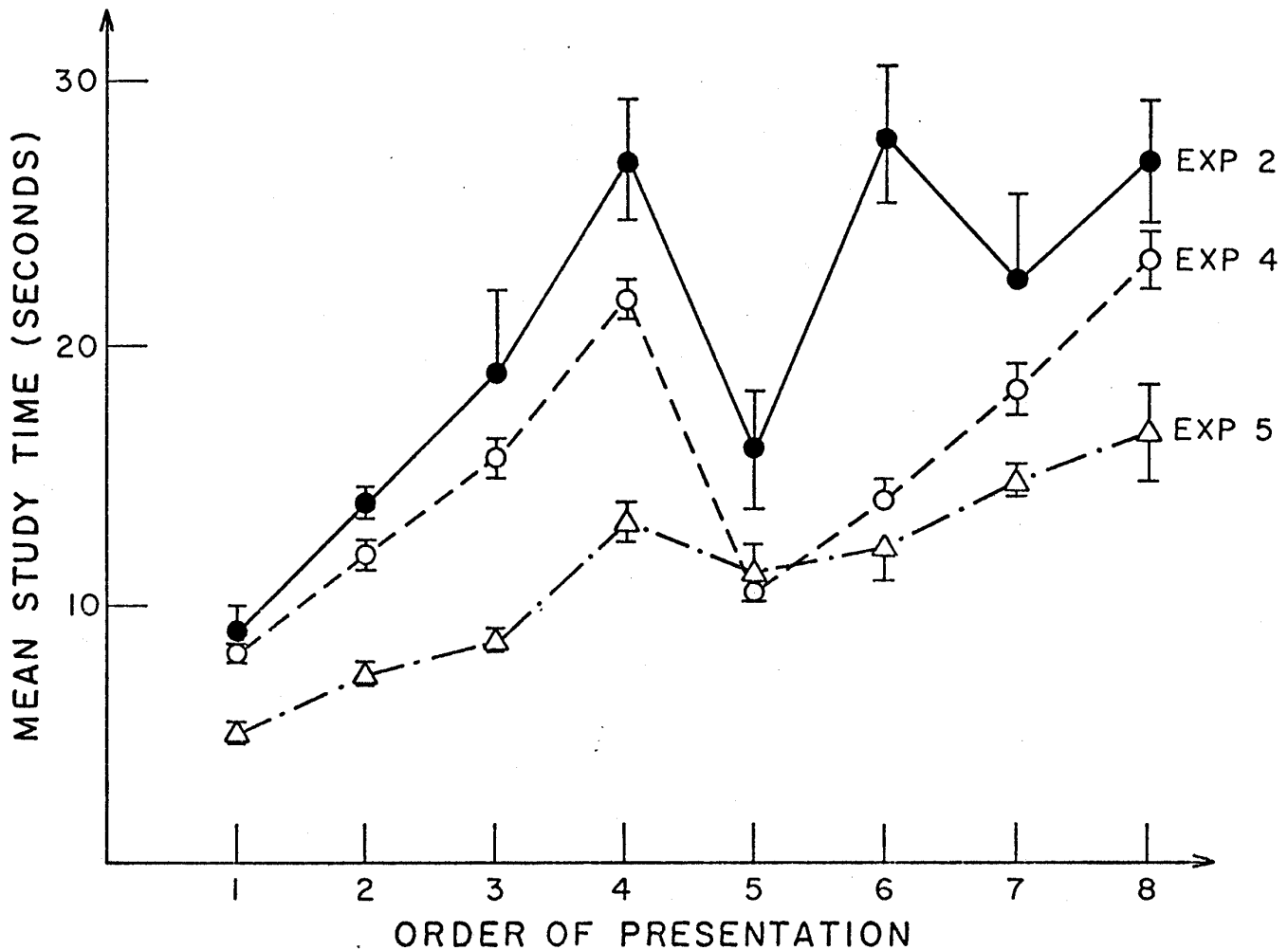


Figure 9

Study-time for individual dinner orders as a function of presentation order for memory expert (JC) in three different experiments.

Results. The detailed method of analysis as well as the actual analysis is presented elsewhere (Ericsson & Polson, in preparation) and hence only the major findings are discussed here. No effects were found for the experimental condition (normal vs. category presentation) or its interaction with table-size. The effect of table-size was large and accounted for nearly 90% of the variance.

An analysis of the average study time for both conditions showed no difference between conditions even for the first session. The absence of practice effects suggests that JC did not have to adapt to the category presentation, and thus this method of presentation is compatible with his usual encoding processes.

In the category presentation condition we have recorded the time taken to memorize three, four or five items of a given category. An initial analysis showed that the time taken to memorize such a group of items appeared the same regardless of when it was presented in the sequence. This contrasts markedly with the linear increases of study times observed for individual dinner orders as function of presentation order discussed earlier. Hence there is good evidence that storage of within-category groups is direct and non-cumulative.

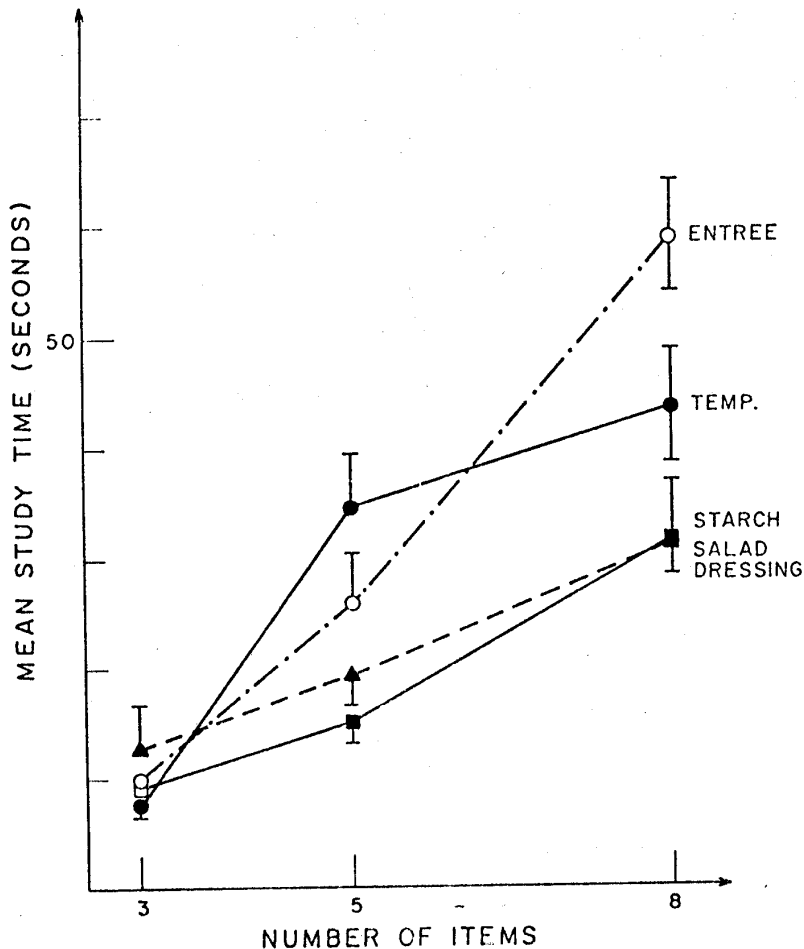


Figure 10

Average study-time with standard error bars for groups of 3, 5, and 8 items from different categories i.e., salad dressings (filled circles), starches (unfilled circles), tempreatures (filled squares) and entrees (unfilled squares).

of course, highly significant, and all the effects reported below were at least significant at 1%-level. The main effect of condition (normal vs. varied presentation) was significant as well as its interaction with table-size.

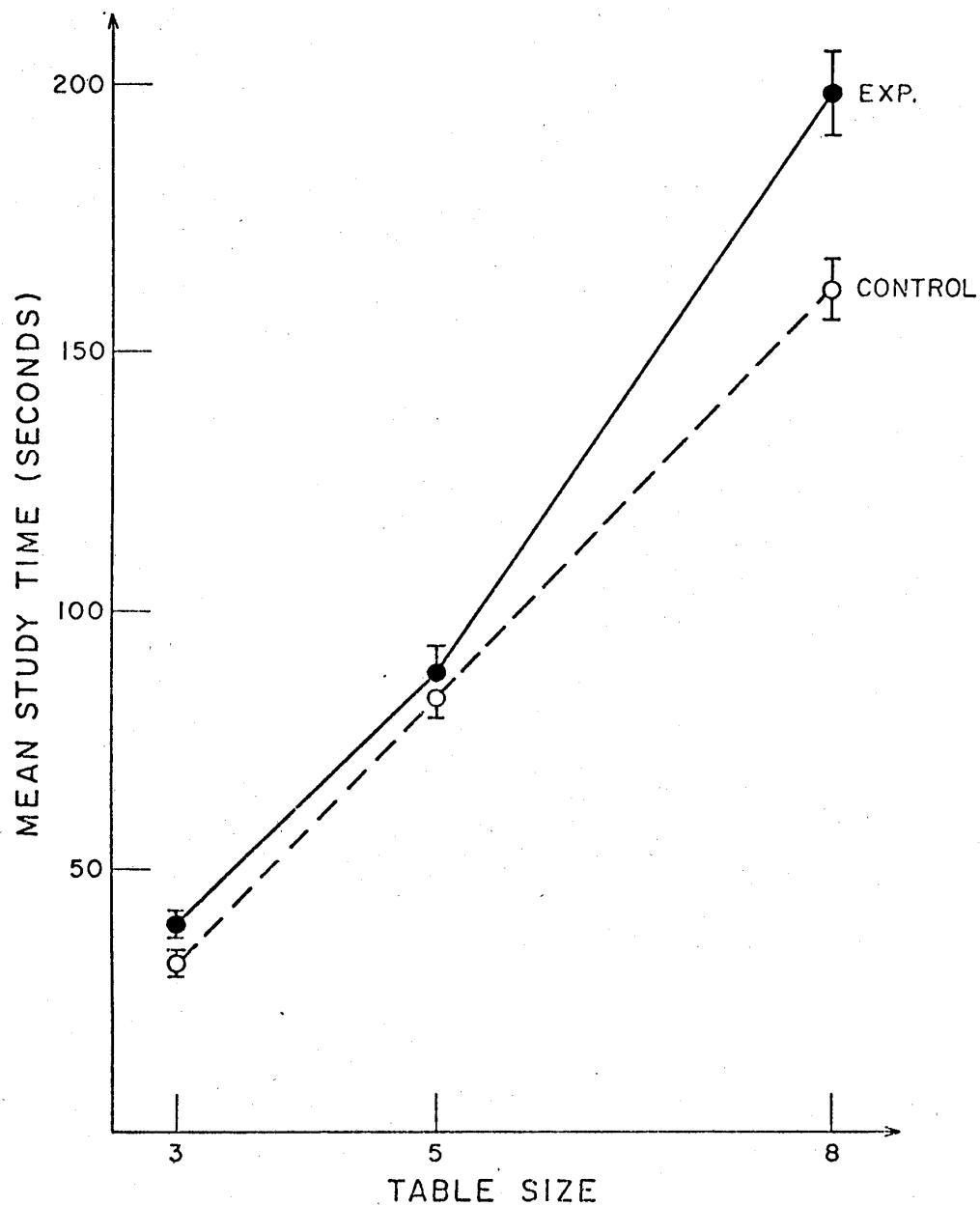


Figure 11

Mean total study-times as a function of table size for control and experimental condition in Varied Presentation Experiment.

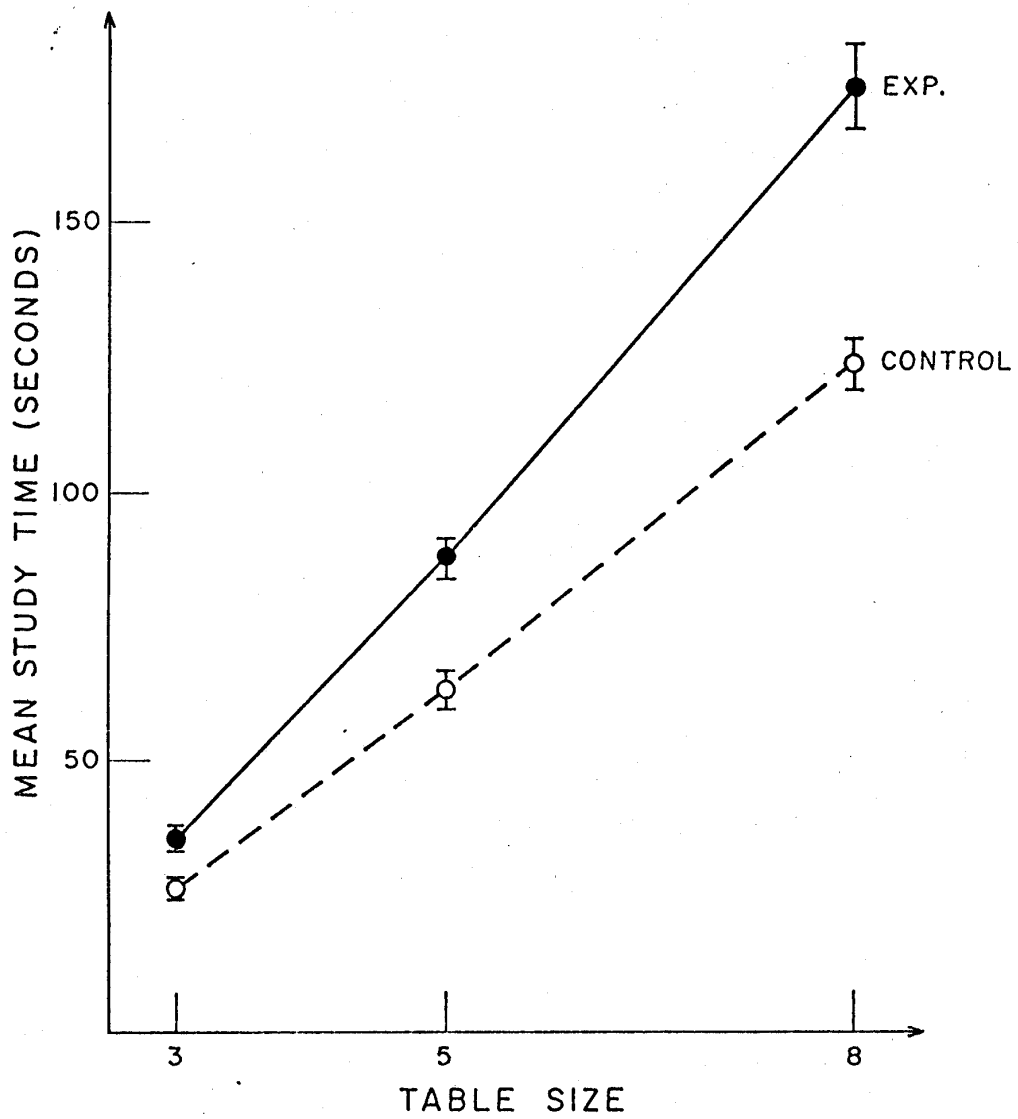


Figure 12

Mean total study-times as a function of "table size" for control and experimental condition in Category Materials Experiment.

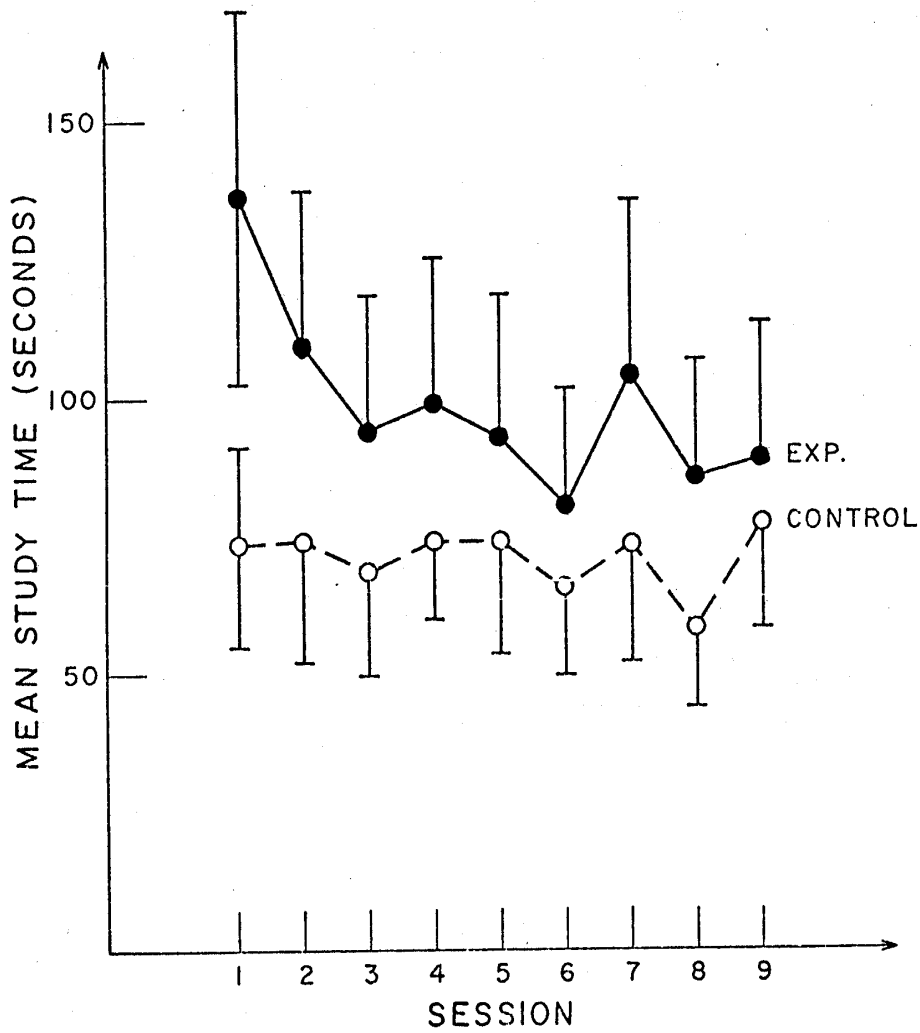


Figure 13

Average total study-times as a function of session number for control and experimental condition in Category Materials Experiment.

It appears clear that JC memorized the animal tables by category and we will now turn to an examination of the pattern of study-times for individual orders. Figure 14 shows the mean study-times for individual orders for control and animal-tables.

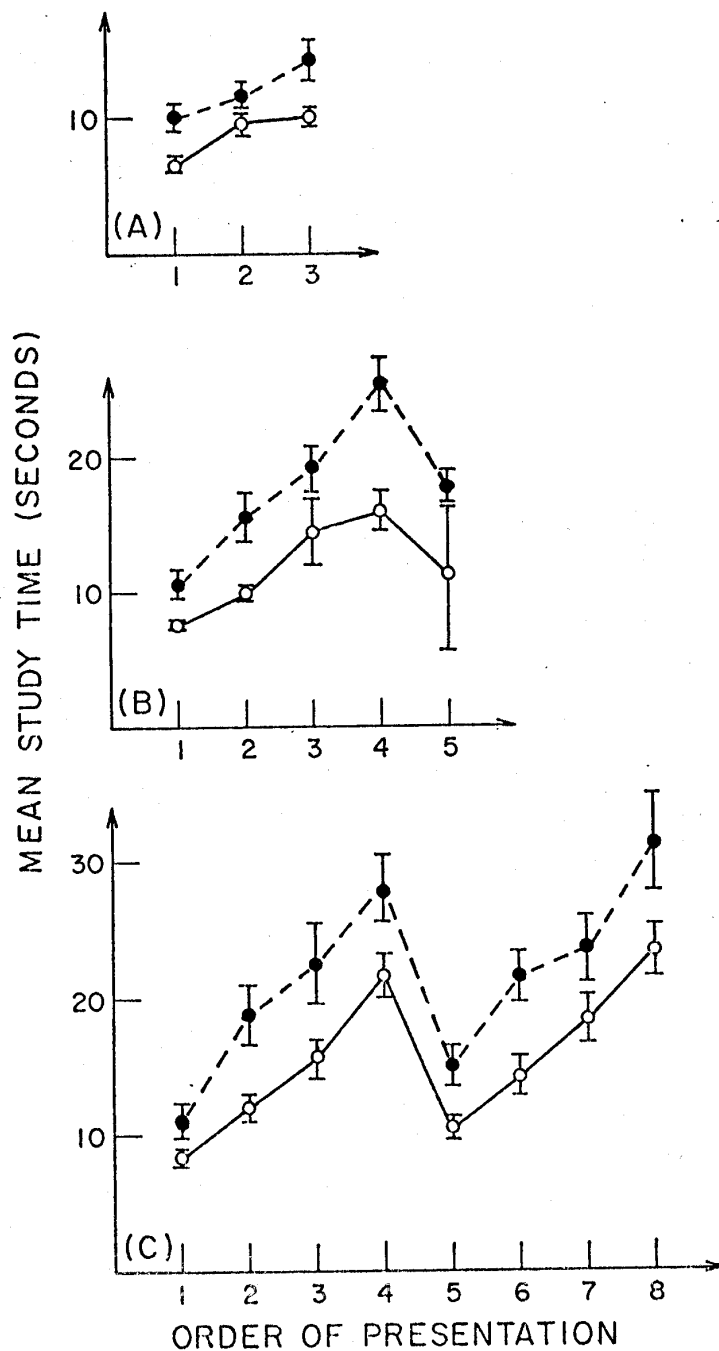


Figure 14

Study-times for individual "dinner-orders" as a function of order of presentation for control and experimental condition in Category Materials Experiment, for lists of 3 "orders" (upper panel), of 5 "orders" (middle panel) and of 8 "orders" (lower panel).

time than Type-B lists, because the Type-A lists are, on the average, more redundant. Finally, less improvement due to practice was expected because the categories from which items were sampled varied from trial to trial.

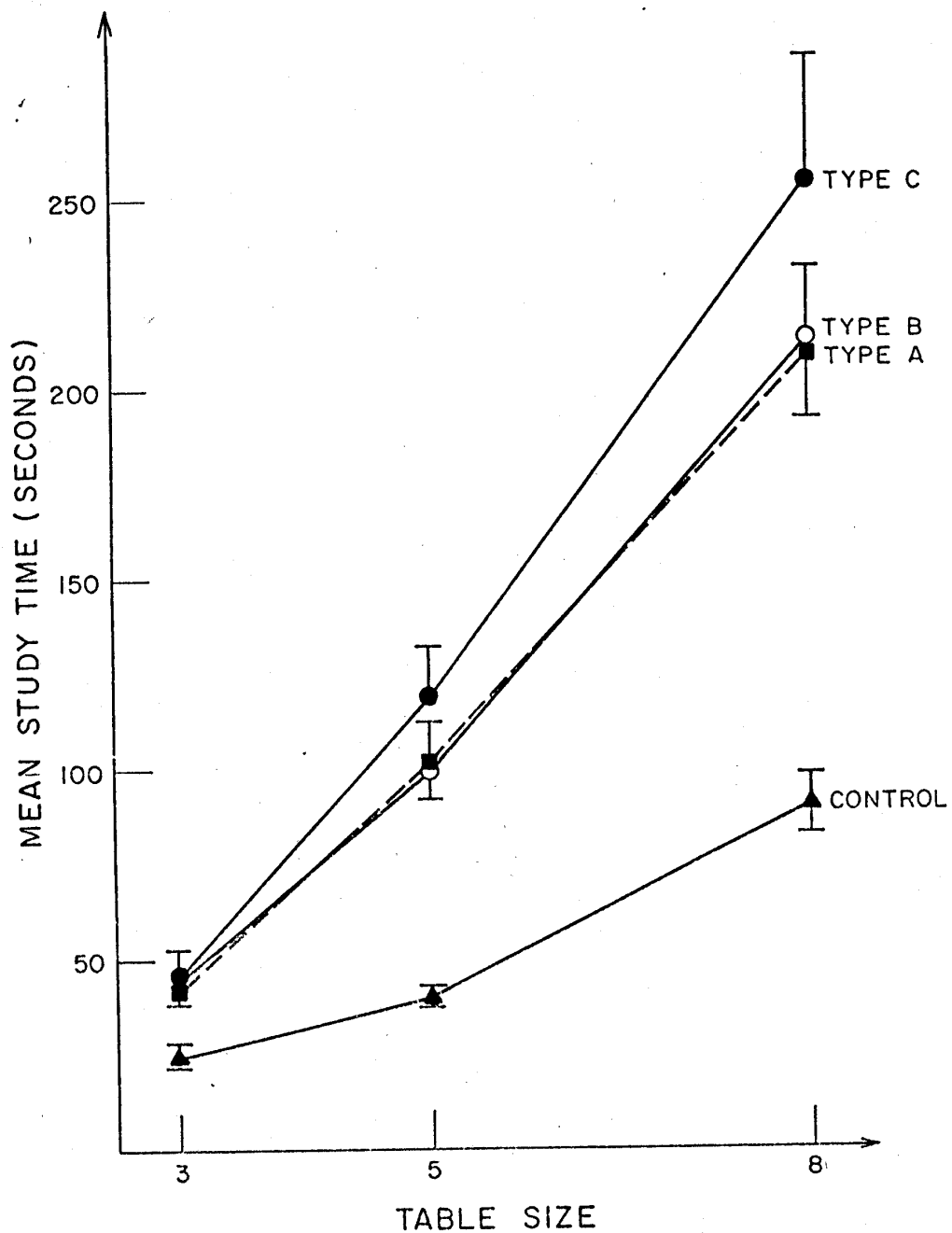


Figure 15

Mean total study-times as a function of "table-size" for the three types of lists in Generalizability of Skills Experiment.

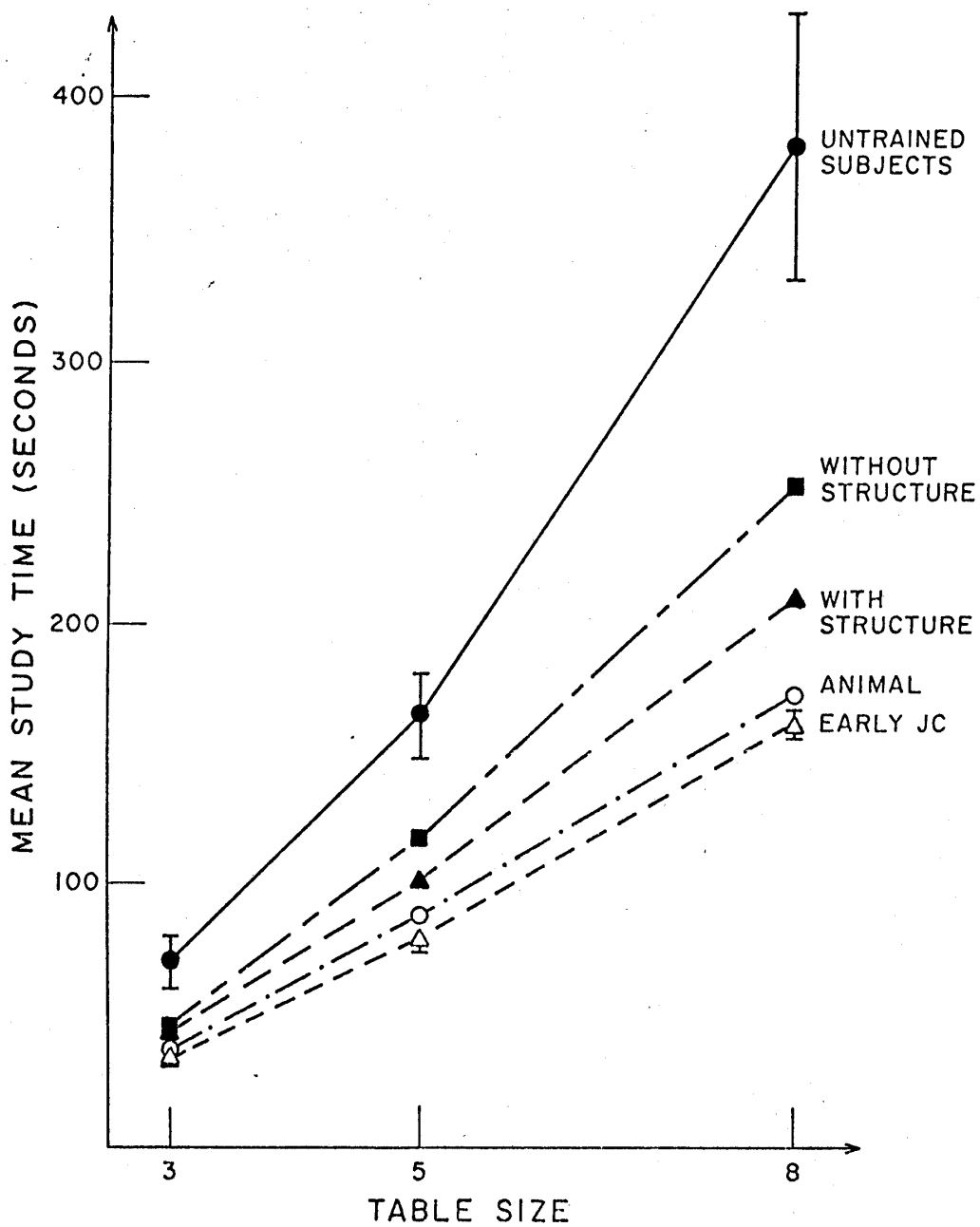


Figure 16

Mean total study-times as a function of "table-size" for memory expert (JC) for dinner orders in Category Presentation experiment (Early JC), for fixed category-lists in Category Materials Experiment (Animal), for category lists with and without structure from Generalizability of skill experiment and for untrained subjects.

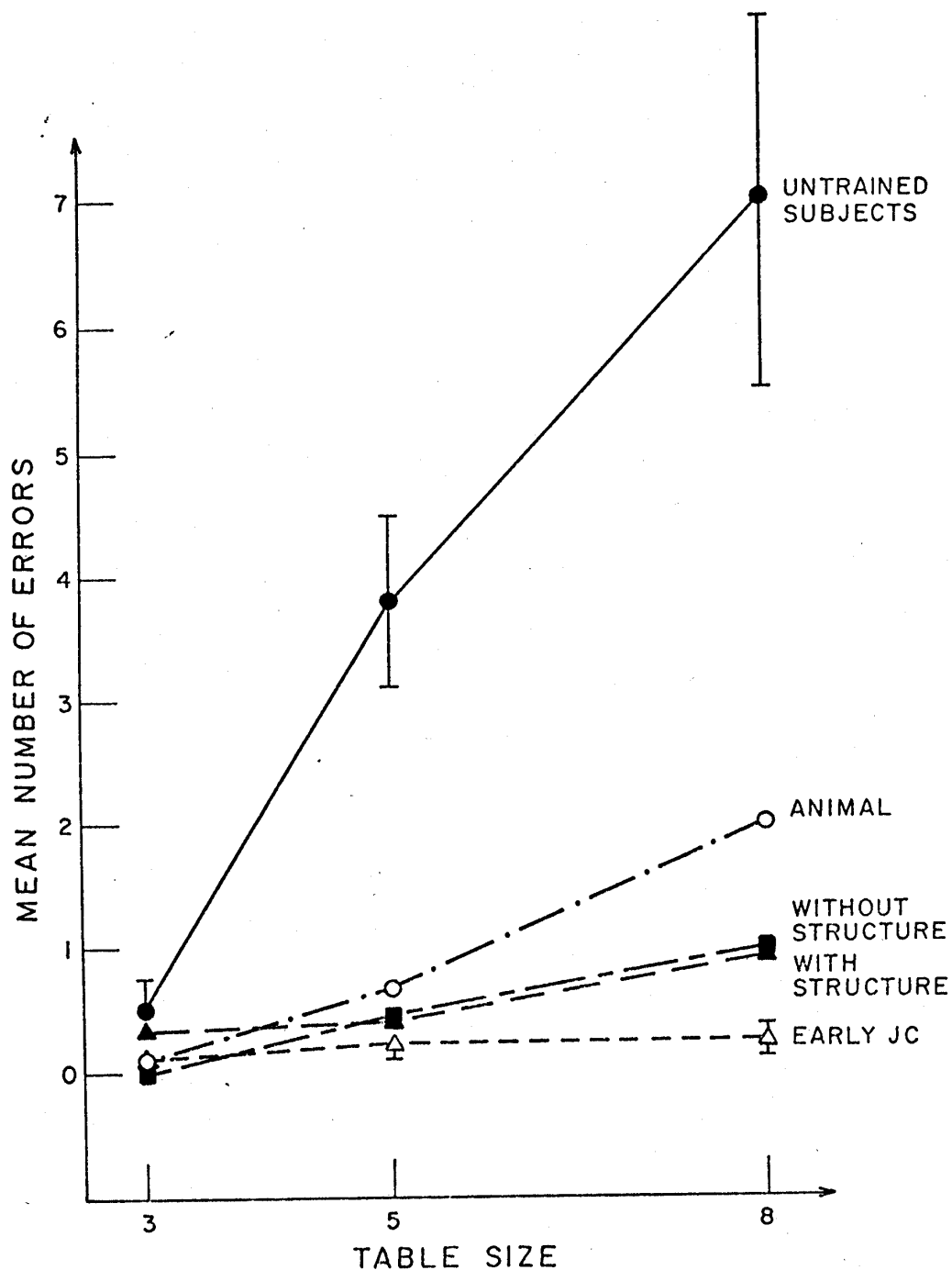


Figure 17

Mean number of errors as a function of "table-size" for memory expert (JC) for dinner orders in Category Presentation experiment (Early JC), for fixed category-lists in Category-list experiment (Animal), for category lists with and without structure from Generalizability of skill experiment and for untrained subjects.