

• 研究前沿(Regular Articles) •

竞技运动中的工作记忆*

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摘 要 竞技运动中的工作记忆是竞技运动认知研究中较为成熟的一个领域, 对运动表现具有重要影响。现有研究主要涉及运动决策、运动表现失常和运动损伤三个方面。研究者以传统工作记忆容量测试对受试者进行容量大小区分后, 分配到决策任务中, 以了解工作记忆容量与决策表现间的关系。针对运动表现失常的研究表明, 刻板印象威胁造成的认知资源损耗降低了工作记忆容量, 为运动表现失常的解释与避免提供了新的思路。对暂时性脑震荡导致的工作记忆变化研究为进一步揭示工作记忆的脑机制提供了支持。虽然现有竞技运动中工作记忆的研究在数量上并不占优势, 但在研究成果上确实有可圈可点之处。

关键词 工作记忆; 竞技运动; 决策; 运动损伤; 运动表现失常

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1 引言

工作记忆(working memory)亦称操作记忆(operant memory)或临时记忆(provisional memory)(Fuster, 1997)。作为一种多信息存储及操作动态系统, “工作记忆”概念(Baddeley, 2003; Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960)与短时记忆的主要区别在于其兼具了言语存储和图形存储的功能, 且存储内容能够直接参与当前任务(Becker & Morris, 1999)。该概念一经提出即倍受关注(Janowsky, Chavez, & Orwoll, 2000; Conway et al., 2005), 后继研究迭出, 理论完善与研究范围的扩大亦未曾止步(Baddeley, Logie, Bressi, Sala, & Spinnler, 1986; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Cowan, 1995; 2005; Kintsch, Patel, & Ericsson, 1999)。运动领域亦展开了大量的研究工作, 取得了一定的成果。Furley和Memmert (2010)对工作记忆引入运动领域的意义进行了总结, 即在促进运动心理学研究深入发

展的同时, 有效检验心理学在其他领域所构建模型的准确性与有效性。如今, 运动领域工作记忆的研究重点从单纯的学习行为转向工作记忆与运动表现(Carvalho & Rodrigues, 2009; Murphy, Nordin, & Cumming, 2008), 分类性研究取向也逐渐为功能化研究取向所取代(Seidler, Bo, & Anguera, 2012; Masters, Maxwell, & Eves, 2009), 研究情景逐渐摆脱实验室实验的束缚转向竞技(Theriault, De Beaumont, Tremblay, Lassonde, & Jolicoeur, 2011)与锻炼(Chang, Labban, Gapin, & Etnier, 2012; McMorris, Sproule, Turner, & Hale, 2011)的实践。相关研究涉及的人群亦从青少年向全年龄段推广(Nettelbeck & Burns, 2010; Pontifex, Hillman, Fernhall, Thompson, & Valentini, 2009), 涵盖了普通人群和学习障碍者(Chiviacowsky, Wulf, & Ávila, 2013; Gucciardi & Gordon, 2011a, 2011b; Jongbloed-Pereboom, Janssen, Steenbergen, & Nijhuis-van der Sanden, 2012; Steenbergen, Van Der Kamp, Verneau, Jongbloed-Pereboom, & Masters, 2010)、运动损伤者(Theriault et al., 2011)及认知功能减退者(Zinke, Zeintl, Eschen, Herzog, & Kliegel, 2011)等。这些研究的开展虽然极大地提高了工作记忆研究在竞技领域的生态学效度和应用价值, 但相较教育、发展、医疗等研究方向

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而言,其进展仍显缓慢(Knudsen, 2007)。鉴于此,笔者尝试从近年工作记忆研究较为集中的篮球、足球、排球等竞技运动着手,对运动领域工作记忆研究的进展进行评述,内容包括运动决策、运动表现失常和脑震荡,期望通过对相关研究的综合分析加深对不同心理现象的发生机制和相互关系的理解,并对未来运动领域工作记忆的研究趋势做出展望。

2 研究进展

运动领域针对工作记忆展开的研究在数量增长迅速,其中竞技运动尤以大球类最具代表性。盖因此类竞技过程中,个体(运动员)在充分施展自身技能的同时还要密切关注对手及队友动向,不断更新和总结对手的战略战术信息,选择恰当的应对方式;兼顾与队友的整体配合,协作完成进攻、防守;实现既定战略战术与相时而动相结合。在整场比赛中,工作记忆作为调动固有知识、完成灵活任务的桥梁贯穿始终。在如此高加工负荷与高加工速度的加工背景下,工作记忆为高级认知加工提供了素材,保障了加工中心的指向,使运动员得意施展技能和制定决策。此外,赛场情况纷繁复杂、瞬息万变,现场情景(García, Aguilar, Vázquez Lazo, Marques, & Fernández Romero, 2013; Pollard & Ruano, 2013)、个体状态(Attali, 2013)、心理素质(Crust & Azadi, 2010; Gucciardi & Gordon, 2011a, 2011b)等均会引起运动表现波动。围绕这些影响因素展开的研究对提高研究生态学效度具有重要意义。此外,碰、撞、砸等脑震荡在大球运动中也十分常见,损伤所造成的暂时性损害为进一步了解工作记忆的生理学基础提供了便利。鉴于大球类运动的上述特点与优势,工作记忆即成为竞技运动研究的重点领域。

2.1 工作记忆与运动决策

工作记忆容量与决策密切相关(Carpenter, Peters, Västfjäll, & Isen, 2013; Corbin, McElroy, & Black, 2010; Curtis & Lee, 2010),相关研究(working memory capacity, WMC) (Bilalić, McLeod, & Gobet, 2009; Charness, 1981; Chase & Simon, 1973; Gobet, 1998; Guida, Gobet, Tardieu, & Nicolas, 2012; Simon & Gilmarin, 1973)也是运动领域工作记忆研究的起点。但随着功能研究逐

渐崭露头角(Moxley & Charness, 2013),研究者开始着力研究工作记忆排除干扰、保持注意的指向与集中,而“工作记忆信息加工量与存储量的限制着决策”的传统观念也逐渐被“工作记忆是决策核心信息加工的保障”(Kane et al., 2007)所取代。这种从各认知过程间相互作用的研究切入,使工作记忆容量成为评价个体注意控制能力(Conway et al., 2005; Engle, 2002; Kane, Bleckley, Conway, & Engle, 2001)和注意任务执行表现的有效预测指标(Engle, 2002),其良好的生态学效度亦得到了学界的肯定(Kane et al., 2007)。目前竞技运动领域对两者间关系的常用范式,仍沿用认知心理学的方法,即以工作记忆容量测量评分筛选高分组(高工作记忆容量组)和低分组(低工作记忆容量组),两组实验参与者同时完成某一项决策任务,然后比较两组间的性能差异(Unsworth, Schrock, & Engle, 2004)。研究者在研究材料的编制上费尽心思,以切合竞技运动过程中信息判断的即时性和材料性质的非言语性。例如:压力情景下警官射击决策研究就是以双任务范式(binary prediction, BP) (Gaissmaier, Schooler, & Rieskamp, 2006; Humphreys, 1939; Kareey, Lieberman, & Lev, 1997; Tversky & Edwards, 1966)为蓝本,以Automatic OSPAN任务为分组方法(Kleider, Parrott, & King, 2010),变更实验材料为具体的情景和人物所得(Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2002)。该项研究提示,工作记忆容量低下的运动员在压力情境下更易发生决策错误。

在竞技研究中,Furley等(2012)通过设置干扰情境,观察复杂决策任务中运动员工作记忆容量与其抗干扰能力间的关系(实验1),同时了解冰球运动员应对竞赛情景的能力(实验2)。69名篮球运动员经计数范围测试(counting span task)区分,形成高分(高工作记忆容量组,14名)和低分(低工作记忆容量组,14名)两极端组(extreme group)。实验材料取自电视直播篮球赛,截取知觉决策的场景呈现予实验参与者,每一种实验材料均呈现1000ms,以单音节听觉刺激中混杂实验参与者名字的方式作为干扰刺激,呈现贯穿整个决策过程,而实验参与者需对投球、抢断、传球做出迫选。全套实验包含30个测试trail和116个实验trail。通过注意分散量表(CFQ, Cognitive Failure Questionnaire) (Anderson, 1982; Broadbent, Cooper,

FitzGerald, & Parkes, 1982; Lumb, 1995)评价赛场上持球运动员的分心倾向, 并与专家选定的最佳决策进行对比, 评价标准包含速度与准确性。同时, 实验参与者须报告干扰刺激的变化情况以及自己名字的出现情况。结果显示, 低分组比高分组做出正确决策的概率更低, 但对自己名字的觉察率更高, 由此说明了工作记忆容量是控制注意的关键性因素, 对决策起至关重要的作用。实验2以操作范围任务(operation span task)成绩作为分组依据, 分组方法、实验材料与实验1相似, 但知觉决策场景变更为冰球运动中的进攻情景, 且对决策内容进行了个体决策和团体决策的区分, 共90个trail、10个测试trail(6个体决策、4个团体决策)。在个体决策情景下, 实验参与者基于既定信息对射门、传球、个人突破进行决策, 而团体决策中加入了教练员的言语信息, 或传球或射门。结果显示, 低分组错误发生率高于高分组, 且耗时更长, 但两组之间未达到统计学差异性; 但在团体决策过程中, 低分组错误出现率显著高于高分组, 且差异具有统计学意义。该结果表明充足的工作记忆容量是在复杂运动决策场景中及时更新竞赛信息、做出正确回应的根本保证。该项实验结果进一步支持了工作记忆容量的注意控制理论(controlled attention theory)。

目前, 对工作记忆与决策间关系的研究相对较多, 群体决策(Lorains, Ball, & MacMahon, 2013)的研究也正在兴起, 但在情景设置上难免与现实情境有所差异。如实验情境中, 任务指向过分明确、信息静态、影响因素单一、时间宽松、无情景压力, 这与现实决策中问题模糊、信息实时更新、影响因素复杂多样、时间紧迫、环境压力大等特点大相径庭。因此, 研究的内部效度良好, 但生态学效度较差, 不能涵盖并推广到所有情况。鉴于此, 开发更为贴近实际决策情景的研究范式和研究任务、择取适宜的研究材料是当前研究不可回避之要务。此外, 决策时间短是运动领域, 特别是竞技运动领域的特点。瞬息间运动员综合自己与对手的情景信息, 进行高速、高效加工并迅速做出判断的方式与机制至今不得其解; 在此过程中运动员对问题的感知、对敌我双方的分析是出于直觉、定势还是高效的信息分析加工, 仍有待进一步揭示。在复杂的压力情景下, 若个体决策仅为感性判断而非完全依赖工作记忆, 则有可

能说明在压力情景下“生搬硬套”或许是比较常见的决策机制; 若个体决策仍以信息加工为基础, 则情景对工作记忆效率等信息加工过程效率的影响不可小觑, 而信息加工效率的弹性或可成为今后研究的新方向。

2.2 工作记忆与运动表现失常

工作记忆可以通过左右个体的决策质量影响竞技结果, 而工作记忆本身也可能受到情境压力的影响出现波动。既往研究关注压力情景对运动员直觉决策的双向影响, 近来研究者将工作记忆在其中的作用纳入了考虑范畴, 认为当心理资源的调动和控制能力呈正向动力时, 工作记忆效率提高, 为超常发挥创造了可能(Botvinick, Braver, Barch, Carter, & Cohen, 2001); 反之, 削弱工作记忆效率, 导致运动表现失常(Baumeister, 1984)。因此, 了解运动表现失常的原因和作用机制对提高运动员工作记忆效率具有重要意义。与工作记忆相关的竞技情景表现失常有Choke(Choking)现象(Baumeister, 1984; Hardy, Mullen, & Jones, 1996)和刻板印象威胁(Aronson, Jannone, McGlone, & Johnson-Campbell, 2009; Steele, 1997)。目前, 单纯针对Choke现象的研究(Beilock & Carr, 2001)已经获得了较为一致的结论: 认知资源的占用减少了工作记忆容量(Hill, Hanton, Matthews, & Fleming, 2010), 削减了任务完成效率。但有关工作记忆的研究主要以学业竞赛为背景(Mattarella-Micke, Mateo, Kozak, Foster, & Beilock, 2011), 大多采取学业任务与压力情景相结合的研究范式(Beilock, 2007; Hill & Shaw, 2012; Schücker, Hagemann, & Strauss, 2013), 而重点探讨Choke现象与工作记忆关系的研究则十分少见。相比之下, 针对表现失常的刻板印象威胁(Stereotype Threat)的研究则更为成熟, 且与工作记忆的结合更为紧密。

刻板印象威胁的研究(Aronson & McGlone, 2009; Carr & Steele, 2010; Steele, 1997)多从自我意识入手, 通过诱发个体觉知所处社会群体的消极刻板印象导致个体任务表现下滑。其表现与情境压力下的Choke现象十分相似, 但发生机制在于消极社会定型引起个体焦虑, 从而削减工作记忆容量(Schmader & Johns, 2003), 或诱导个体重新注意已熟练掌握的感知运动技能, 干扰技能的自动执行(Beilock, Jellison, Rydell, McConnell, &

Carr, 2006)。虽然在研究范式上与 Choke 现象有诸多相似之处,但就发生机制而言(Schmader, Johns, & Forbes, 2008),对负性观念和情感的压抑(Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel, 2004)为刻板印象威胁独有,它与生理响应(Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001)和表现监控(Seibt & Forster, 2004)联合作用,占用了大量认知资源,造成工作记忆容量降低(Schmader & Johns, 2003),干扰了技能的自动执行(Beilock et al., 2006)。这一特点源于刻板印象威胁在压力设置上的特殊性——以灌输消极刻板印象代替客观的情景设置,如“女性数学能力逊于男性”(McGlone & Aronson, 2006; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999)或“女性言语能力优于男性”(Keller, 2007)等主观概念,使个体对自己的任务表现产生错误预期。这种压力设置更关注个体自身对压力的解读与体验,因此可解释相同压力下个体间发挥水平差异巨大。

运动领域中对刻板印象威胁的研究以种族差异性多见。例如,“非裔美国人在智力任务上表现欠佳”(Steele & Aronson, 1995),“白种人在运动天赋任务(如田径)上表现较差”等(Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, & Darley, 1999)。白人篮球运动员在接受了“白人起跳欠佳”的刻板印象威胁后,可能会出现起跳表现欠佳的情况;反之,黑人篮球运动员被灌输了运动灵活性不如白人运动员的观念后,其在战术决策任务方面的表现确实差强人意(Beilock, Bertenthal, McCoy, & Carr, 2004; Beilock & McConnell, 2004)。Jordet(2009)就曾将英格兰足球运动员重要点球大战表现欠佳归因于刻板印象威胁。Carr 和 Steele (Carr & Steele, 2010)也认为刻板印象威胁可影响运动员的决策水平。但刻板印象威胁并非不可克服。Alter 等(Alter, Aronson, Darley, Rodriguez, & Ruble, 2010)共设计了两项实验,其中之 1 是要求北卡罗来纳州的黑人学生完成由 10 项题目构成的标准化数学测试(End of Grade Exam, EOG),在测试之前,有半数学生获知这是一次学习机会(challenge),而另一半则认为是一次能力测试(threat)。根据测试前所给予的指导语不同进行分组,分为实验组(刻板印象威胁组)与控制组(对照组),观察学生对测试的态度,即是否将此次测验视作一次竞争或有可能影响其学业成绩。结果显示,视测试视为学习机会的个体,总体测试成绩优于以为是能力测试者,其中

测试前即抱着竞争态度参与测试的个体成绩显著低于只是将此次测试作为一次学习机会者。另一项实验是在某名牌大学本科生中进行的,结果显示在测试前获知此次测试成绩将与其在校期间的综合成绩“挂钩”者,成绩明显低于仅作为一次学习机会者。上述实验结果表明,通过对压力情景的妥善描述可在一定程度上帮助个体克服刻板印象威胁,突破学习与训练瓶颈。

Choke 现象(或为“choking 现象”)和刻板印象威胁研究均以压力情景导致个体心境、状态发生变化而致行为失准为观察宗旨,但 Choke 现象的诱因更偏重于客观存在的压力情景,而刻板印象威胁则更多为个体主观设限所致。由此可见,个体行为失准的原因存在多种可能,既有客观的事实压力,也有主观的自我压力损耗。针对二者的研究已各成体系,相对成熟,但是对于事实压力与自我压力共同作用及二者之间相互作用的研究尚有待探讨。相对刻板印象威胁消除方法的探索性研究,Choke 现象尚无此类进展,这可能是由于客观压力的影响无法被隐瞒或暗示轻易消除,且实验研究的开展也存在操作困难。

2.3 工作记忆与脑震荡

除了情景的影响,工作记忆容量的大小还与遗传因素有关(Sherry & Schacter, 1987),而加工过程则与前额叶皮质(Curtis & D'Esposito, 2003)、后顶叶皮质、丘脑、苍白球(globus pallidus)(Ashby, Ell, Valentin, & Casale, 2005)、前额叶背外侧皮质等脑区有关,其中空间工作记忆与右侧顶内沟的兴奋程度有关(Camos, 2008; McLean & Hitch, 1999; Rosselli, Matute, Pinto, & Ardila, 2006)。通过将脑震荡与工作记忆所发生的变化、变化程度和变化方式相联系,有利于进一步揭示工作记忆的生理机制。此类研究中的脑震荡限定为“外力对大脑造成的复杂的具有病理性影响的生物力学损伤”(Aubry et al., 2002),短期内可造成失忆、困惑、头痛、头昏和疲劳等症状,但无严重的神经功能异常,如感知功能障碍等。

脑震荡是较为常见的轻微脑撞击伤,经队医或相关医疗机构出具的证明或通过认知功能测试即可明确诊断(Guskiewicz et al., 2004)。脑震荡后即刻评价及认知测试(Immediate Post-Concussion Assessment and Cognitive Testing, ImPACT)(Covassin, Elbin III, Stiller-Ostrowski, & Kontos,

2009; Lovell, Collins, Podell, Powell, & Maroon, 2000; Schatz, Pardini, Lovell, Collins, & Podell, 2006; Schatz & Ferris, 2013)是脑震荡诊断中常用的认知功能测试之一。该量表(version 2.0)由6种认知功能检测项目组成,通过评价受试者注意力、记忆力、加工速度和反应时进行伤后鉴别诊断,其中的4项测试分别为言语记忆、视觉记忆、视觉控制速度和反应时。而脑震荡后症状量表(Post-Concussion Symptom Scale, PCSS) (Lovell & Collins, 1998)为自陈式评价量表,针对21项临床症状进行7点评价,评分越高者脑震荡症状越严重。伤者依照运动撞击类型可分为头部易受撞击型(head-contactprone sports, HC cohort),如橄榄球、足球,以及头部不易撞击型(NHC cohort),如垒球、排球、游泳等,同时须以普通大学生为正常对照组(Mayers, Redick, Chiffrieller, Simone, & Terraforste, 2011)。ImPACT对伤者认知损伤程度的测量可以预测个体未来短期内的恢复情况,若伤者在恢复期第一周表现出顺行性遗忘、逆行性遗忘和持续5分钟以上的方向迷失则该伤者无法在一周内完全恢复(Lovell et al., 2003)。

功能磁共振成像(fMRI)与n-back任务(Owen, McMillan, Laird, & Bullmore, 2005)联合使用可用于比对正常对照与患者之间的信息加工,并对相应脑功能区的活动模式进行预判(Ernst, Chang, Jovicich, Ames, & Arnold, 2002; Xu et al., 2006)。fMRI研究的开展驳斥了脑震荡并不影响运动员工作记忆(Lovell et al., 2003)的传统观点,证据在于脑震荡运动员在完成再认抽测任务时(probe-recognition task)前额叶皮质任务相关区域的兴奋性明显降低(Chen et al., 2004; Chen, Johnston, Collie, McCrory, & Ptito, 2007)。Mayers等(2011)将传统观点的偏颇归咎于测试任务敏感性欠佳。于是他采用ImPACT量表对13~25岁有脑震荡史的青年运动员进行筛查,筛查项目涵盖棍球、棒球、橄榄球、足球和排球等易发生颅脑撞击伤项目。选取评分异常者或有脑震荡后遗症者再行自动化跨度任务操作测验(Automated Operation Span, AOSPAN) (Unsworth, Heitz, & Engle, 2005)、n-back任务及fMRI检查。结果显示易发生脑震荡项目的运动员的工作记忆容量并不因脑震荡而变化,其AOSPAN评分仍于正常值范围;但从事高工作记忆负荷运动项目的运动员

(如橄榄球)AOSPAN评分原本就显著高于其他类型运动员。这些差异究竟是基于训练方法还是运动员选材,尚有待进一步证实。但Mayers等(2011)的研究仍有存疑之处:(1)测量时间与损伤之间的时间间隔较长,不能完全确定损伤后即时工作记忆的变化,亦无法分离伤后恢复痊愈对测量结果的影响。(2)实验参与者招募以自愿为原则,不能排除可能存在研究对象的选择偏倚,存在工作记忆受损者回避测试的潜在可能。此外各运动专项实验参与者在数量上的偏倚使得运动专项的类型可能干扰实验结果(3)研究结果的推广性,即外部效度较低。

在对损伤进程进行研究的同时,研究者还关注脑震荡的恢复进程(Lovell et al., 2003)、运动损伤个体与普通个体大脑兴奋程度的差异。McAllister等(McAllister et al., 1999)对12例脑震荡患者伤后1个月的工作记忆相关脑区(auditory n-back)与正常成人之间的差异进行fMRI观察,发现两组实验参与者的大脑对工作记忆任务的反应程度存在明显差异,但两组的任务执行结果却无明显差异。这种现象既提示工作记忆相关脑区的损伤可影响运动员工作记忆的激活程度和调整,同时也表明大脑对脑震荡具有代偿能力(Johansson, 2000, 2012)。

了解脑震荡后即刻、伤后一段时期内,以及康复期运动员工作记忆的变化与规律,有利于指导并评估预后,对进一步了解脑功能区及脑功能整体作用模式有重要作用。目前有关脑震荡研究的不足在于未对具体损伤部位进行区分,对撞击方式(器械碰撞、肢体碰撞、摔倒等)、撞击位置(颅顶、两侧、颅后等)、运动员即时反应(是否晕厥、有无呕吐等)等项指标的采集不全,导致无法制定有关损伤程度的统一标准,致使研究内容略显粗糙,这也是各项研究结果相互矛盾的可能原因。

3 现状反思与展望

竞技领域对工作记忆的研究可以了解情景信息的加工、存储、提取、更新的过程,将工作记忆的研究由抽象引向具体,提高应用价值与实践价值,进一步揭示不同认知环节在实际情景中的联系与配合方式。

多年来,工作记忆在研究范式和测量工具方面取得了丰硕研究成果,但运动心理学相关研究

的发展却相对缓慢。这与运动领域认知主题的研究内容零散、进程缓慢(Knudsen, 2007)有关,同时也受限于工作记忆基础研究的独特性及运动领域研究自身存在的问题。

竞技领域传统研究倾向更偏重运动员动作自动化的水平、压力情景下的情绪状态(Laukka & Quick, 2013)及心理韧性(Madrigal, Hamill, & Gill, 2013),对认知的关注仍处于起步阶段。似近年来对Choke (Choking)现象的研究,已在一些单项研究领域业已形成固定的研究模式和研究体系(Maloney & Beilock, 2012),测量指标也从单纯的行为学指标(Beilock, 2007)向生理唤醒等多指标(实验参与者的唾液分泌量)(Mattarella-Micke et al., 2011)方向发展,研究项目也从个人项目拓展至集体项目(Hill & Shaw, 2012),可谓成绩斐然。但遗憾的是所有这些研究成果中均未涉及工作记忆。无独有偶,决策领域对工作记忆的研究也大类如此(Tenenbaum, Basevitch, Gershgoren, & Filho, 2013)。相对而言,对刻板印象威胁发生机制的工作记忆探索略显成熟。“威胁”对运动员的影响必须通过其认知发生作用,进而影响其动作表现。可见当不良事件发生时,引起情绪波动的关键影响因素是运动员对事件的认识,而非事件本身产生的影响,这也是同一事件背景下不同运动员体验不同的主要原因。随着“竞技需要认知能力”的思想日益受到广大教练员和运动员的认可和支 持,如何挑选具有一定心理能力或潜能的运动员、如何训练和提高他们的能力,成为运动科研工作者、教练员和运动员共同关注的课题。但在具体研究中,科研工作者亟待解决实验范式迁移、仿真模拟技术、研究参与者选择等客观问题。

竞技运动相关工作记忆研究中面临着许多困难,其中首推研究范式的迁移。如何将基础研究灵活有效的应用于竞技运动研究,最大限度地接近现实情境,还原个体心理过程是研究范式迁移的首要问题。以决策为例,目前发展相对成熟且与工作记忆相关的研究范式当属警察射击决策研究(Correll et al., 2002; Kleider et al., 2010),形成了相对稳定的实验材料体系和一定的研究程序。其中实验材料以持枪或其他日用品的男子照片代替了基础研究中的抽象材料,评价指标以正确率和反应时作为基本衡量指标,间或辅以生理指标和口头报告[Positive and Negative Affect Schedule

(PANAS), (Tellegen, Watson, & Clark, 1988; Thompson, 2007)](Kleider et al., 2010)。但相关尝试也仅止步于此,究其原因,可能与射击决策的实践应用价值大、变量简单(仅判断是否持枪)有关。在实验室中,此类研究中的实验参与者仅需完成对单一判断点的判断即可完成任 务,但在现实情景中判断点往往更多,更为复杂、隐蔽。以运动决策领域中常见的马克点范式(McRobert, Ward, Eccles, & Williams, 2011)为例,手部、肘部、肩部、腿、脚均可能成为运动决策的判断点,因此无论是选择实验材料或制定实验方案,都面临着自变量过多或自变量水平过多导致的因素分离不清、样本需求量扩大、实验时间延长等严重影响实验结果的问题。此外,这类实验皆以区分个体工作记忆差异为前测,并以此比照决策结果得出结论。但其所取区分测试多为传统测试,区分的是字符或数字工作记忆广度,而非情景工作记忆广度,以数字工作记忆广度结果作为基线比较情景决策是否妥当,有待商榷。

其次,仿真技术模拟困难。如何利用场景仿真技术尽可能地还原竞技场景,以便了解运动员在竞技场景中的真实心理业已成为运动研究开展中的现实问题。在研究中若不能兼顾实际情景,则一切研究都是纸上谈兵,与训练、竞技实践之间始终存在距离。虽然已有研究者尝试发展仿真技术(Cardin, Bossard, Buche, & Kermarrec, 2013)以深入了解动态情景中的决策,提高生态学效度,但如何将工作记忆研究融入其中,仍有待进一步探索。在实际的研究中,生态学效度的提高往往需要引入更多的额外变量或协变量,如此即对实验设计的完善提出了新的要求。如何在实验内外部效度之间取得平衡,亦是目前需要慎重思量的问题。

最后,研究对象选择困难也是相关研究开展的限制之一。虽然从事运动项目的专业者众多,但收集典型大样本仍存在一定问题。例如:研究参与者分布零散,技能水平或运动年限参差不齐;业余选手难以集中,专业运动员由于日常训练紧张,无法配合完成测试;难以在同一时间安排一批水平相近的运动员完成同一项实验或测试;此外运动员数量随着运动等级的提高而逐渐减少,导致样本减少,甚至最终变成个案。上述这些因素极大地影响了研究成果的推广性,尤以运动脑

震荡研究最为突出。而且,运动性意外损伤的程度、位置,以及伤者从业年限、年龄等存在的差异性,亦影响了对损伤的评定、损伤对认知的影响,进而干扰最终结果的解释、结论及实验的推广性。此外,既往开展的有关工作记忆相关脑震荡研究主要观察损伤对认知的影响,只停留在对一般现象讨论的层面,未从竞技运动的视角对脑震荡进行评估,关注其对未来比赛的影响,因此缺乏针对性。文献报道的研究多以球类运动为主,而体操、体育舞蹈、武术、跆拳道等项目亦存在发生脑震荡的可能,其工作记忆相关运动表现是否存在变化,鲜有文献报道。

正是上述问题的存在,导致运动领域工作记忆研究相对较少。然而,机遇与困难并存,未来竞技运动工作记忆研究领域的发展空间十分可观,未来的研究应注意以下几个方面。

竞技运动工作记忆研究应注意研究重心的转变。近年来,心理学对于工作记忆的研究已不再拘泥于内隐与外显的分类,转而侧重工作记忆的整体性和功能性。所谓整体性,即将各种记忆类型作为记忆的整体从功能上对其作用进行解释。这种研究趋势在竞技运动领域已初见端倪,研究者开始将工作记忆作为一种功能,讨论其在动作完成和竞技方面的作用(Curtis & Lee, 2010)。随着类型研究的弱化各认知环节间影响融合的研究趋势凸显。既往研究在探讨工作记忆的同时,虽然也注意到工作记忆与注意(Downing, 2000)、决策(Ho, Ester, Abuyo, Modir, & Serences, 2012)等相关认知环节之间的关联性,但在具体研究中仍以相对孤立的研究专题对工作记忆进行观察,如技能获得、行为失准、锻炼等。既往研究显示,若搜索项目与工作记忆项目相关可增加该搜索项目被激活的可能,提示运动情境下的工作记忆对注意向当前任务及其相关内容的集中具有重要作用。该现象的相关解释或许从新近对非注意盲研究中可窥一斑:当要求运动员既要命名战术决策(performance task)又要确认对手位置(monitored task)时,对战术决策的关注程度可能下降,而监控工作记忆中已激活的任务则会将注意指向对手而忽略与队友的协作。高工作记忆容量者在朝向眼跳任务中的表现显著优于低者(Kane et al., 2001),运动员执行 Stroop 任务(Kane & Engle, 2003)亦呈现相似结果。这些趋于一致的研究结果

提示,注意任务成绩与工作记忆容量有关的变化并非是习惯性反应的结果,而是因为工作记忆使得注意中心与当前任务目标保持一致(Conway, Jarrold, Kane, Miyake, & Towse, 2007)。总之,工作记忆容量对运动员行为的影响是一种认知而非反射,其核心作用体现在对情景干扰的应对效能。目前,尚未开展有关战术决策领域中的工作记忆研究。

宜重视工作记忆与情绪调节(Hayes, Hirsch, & Mathews, 2008)、压力情景(Schoofs, Preuß, & Wolf, 2008)之间的关系研究。有研究认为,“工作记忆的个体差异可影响个体情绪调节的成功率”(Unsworth et al., 2005)。ACT 模型(Eysenck, Derakshan, Santos, & Calvo, 2007)显示,焦虑是导致注意中心偏离的重要影响因素。例如:在足球罚球点球过程中,易出现焦虑情绪的守门员对任务无关干扰因素的注意次数更频繁,且注意次数明显高于情绪较稳定的守门员(Wilson, Wood, & Vine, 2009)。情绪与注意之间的联系为未来将工作记忆、情景、注意与情绪进行整合性研究提供了一种可能。在未来的运动相关工作记忆研究中,需建基于已有工作记忆研究成果,秉承研究传统,从作用、功能等方面审视各认知环节在同一项任务中的不同分工和相互作用(Maxwell et al., 2003),将加工环节置于整个认知加工过程中进行考察,相信可以对理解整个加工过程中的工作记忆功能大有裨益。

重视不同项目间的横向比较和不同竞技水间的纵向比较。不同运动员之间工作记忆存在差异(Barrett, Tugade, & Engle, 2004; Cokely, Kelley, & Gilchrist, 2006; Conway et al., 2003; Kane et al., 2004; Kyllonen & Christal, 1990; Süß, Oberauer, Wittmann, Wilhelm, & Schulze, 2002),而且这种差异既可能得自遗传亦可能源于训练(Buschkuhl, Jaeggi, & Jonides, 2012; Turley-Ames & Whitfield, 2003)。既往研究结果显示,不同运动专项运动员工作记忆水平亦有差异,这种差异是否源自专项选材或专项训练,尚不得而知。工作记忆容量的大小对任务表现优劣的影响因任务差异不同,而非容量越大、任务表现越佳(DeCaro, Thomas, & Beilock, 2008)。在运动领域,未来的研究应注意不同运动项目之间工作记忆容量差异,在注重普遍原理的同时,兼顾个性和特异性差异。恰当的

训练方法可促进运动员工作记忆效率的提高和容量的增加(Mezzacappa & Buckner, 2010),但目前体育锻炼对认知促进作用的研究尚停留在描述现象、确定关联性的浅表水平(Davranche, Burle, Audiffren, & Hasbroucq, 2005, 2006; Rattray & Smee, 2013),若能在不同运动项目开展纵向追踪研究,了解不同专项训练对工作记忆的塑造作用,或可为工作记忆研究的深入提供更多的证据。此外,就临床医疗与康复而言,工作记忆的机制性研究成果也可以为特殊人群运动处方的开据提供理论与实践支持,如设定恰当的锻炼项目帮助儿童工作记忆不良和老年认知加工衰退等特殊需要人群,达到提高效率、减缓衰退进程的作用。

注重研究方法的创新。从研究方法上看,运动领域对工作记忆的研究虽然范围广,分支多,但其研究范式大多沿用心理学经典范式。但是简单的照搬难免出现实验内部效度降低,从而降低了运动心理学研究结果的准确性。这种情况的出现盖因运动情景较基础研究增加了更多的额外变量,增加了实验控制难度,且这一弊端无法单纯以技术革新弥补。因此,在借鉴基础研究经典范式的同时,运动心理学应结合应用科学的学科特征,针对运动场景的特殊性和运动员之间、运动员与普通人之间的差异进行具有针对性的变化和改造,形成独有的研究范式变式。在吸取、改造已有研究范式的同时,立足竞技实际,灵活应用经典范式的设置精髓,创造具有运动领域适用性的工作记忆新研究范式,亦可为其他特殊情境研究提供借鉴。

注重新技术的引入,充分发挥各种技术手段的科研作用。脑功能成像技术(Mayers et al., 2011; Seidler et al., 2012; Zhu, Poolton, Wilson, Maxwell, & Masters, 2011)与传统的行为学指标(如正确率,反应时等)相结合,共同刻画工作记忆在任务执行过程中的作用及存在的个体差异,可为进一步了解工作记忆加工原理和进程方式提供便利。更重要的是,新指标的引入开启了对脑震荡运动员执行功能研究的新方式,对了解不同脑区功能、活动方式、损伤自愈过程等具有重要意义。鉴于既往研究纳入与排除标准的不严谨,今后宜对损伤类型、损伤位置、损伤程度等进行精细分类,以提高研究的可重复性和研究结果的可靠性,尽可能减少矛盾结果。脑功能成像研究的弊端是设备

过于庞大、操作程序繁琐,虽然在颅脑创伤领域应用较多,但观察伤后12小时内脑功能区变化的文献鲜见报道,这种损伤后延迟测量不利于取得损伤后的即时数据,可能遗失直接体现损伤位置、损伤程度,以及脑区应激变化的宝贵资料。未来研究若仍以生理学指标作为工作记忆测量的辅助指标,则应注意提高测量的即时性、精细性和完整性。

综上,工作记忆在运动领域具有重要意义,是动作、任务、策略顺利完成的保障。但相关研究在数量、涉及范围、研究深度多有不足,应引起心理学及体育科学的重视,使得研究逐渐丰富、完善、系统化。

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Working Memory in Competitive Sports

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Abstract: Working Memory is widely discussed in competitive sports, especially in basketball, soccer and volleyball. The relationship between working memory and decision making, working memory and performance-inhibiting under pressure, and the affect of sport injury on working memory are discussed in this paper. The effect working memory work on decision making is investigated by decision making paradigm after grouping the participants by working memory capacity measurement, such as Automatic OSPAN and counting span task. Performance-inhibiting consequences of stereotype threat emerges for anxiety risen by negative social stereotype, which depletes limited cognitive resources and reduce the capacity of working memory. Immediate Post-Concussion Assessment and Cognitive Testing (ImPACT) is used to evaluate the cognitive changes while functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) observe the vividness of different brain regions during n-back test after sport-related concussions. Future researchers should focus on the function of working memory in cognitive process and transfer and explore special paradigm and measurement for sport.

Key words: working memory; competitive sports; decision making; performance-inhibiting; sport related concussions