Carryover effects in free recall reveal how prior experiences influence memories of new experiences

Jeremy R. Manning^{1,*}, Andrew C. Heusser^{1,2}, Kirsten Ziman^{1,3},

Emily Whitaker¹, and Paxton C. Fitzpatrick¹

¹Dartmouth College

²Akili Interactive

³Princeton University

*Corresponding author: jeremy.r.manning@dartmouth.edu

4 Abstract

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

We perceive, interpet, and remember ongoing experiences through the lens of our prior experiences. Inferring that we are one type of situation versus another can lead us to interpret the same physical experience differently. In turn, this can affect how we focus our attention, form expectations of what will happen next, remember what is happening now, draw on our prior related experiences, and so on. To study these phenomena, we asked participants to perform simple word list learning tasks. Across different experimental conditions, we held the set of to-be-learned words constant, but we manipulated the orders in which the words were studied. We found that these order manipulations affected not only how the participants recalled the ordered lists, but also how they recalled later randomly ordered lists. Our work shows how structure in our ongoing experiences can exert influence on how we remember unrelated subsequent experiences.

⁷ Introduction

Experience is subjective: different people who encounter identical physical experiences 18 can take away very different meanings and memories. One reason is that our subjective ex-19 periences in the moment are shaped in part the idiosyncratic prior experiences, memories, 20 goals, thoughts, expectations, and emotions that we bring with us into the present moment. These factors collectively define a *context* for our experiences ¹². situation models: forming 22 expectations, predicting ambiguous future experiences The contexts we encounter help us to construct situation models 14,20 or schemas 2,15 that describe how experiences are likely to unfold based on our prior experiences with similar contextual cues. For example, when 25 we enter a sit-down restaurant, we might expect to be seated at a table, given a menu, and served food. Priming someone to expect a particular situation or context can also influence how they resolve potentail ambiguities in their ongoing experiences, including 28 ambiguous movies and narratives²⁶. 29

Our understanding of how we form situation models and schemas, and how they in-30 teract with our subjective experiences and memories, is constrained in part by substantial differences in how we study these processes. Situation models and schemas are most often 32 studied using "naturalistic" stimuli such as narratives and movies 16,27,28. In contrast, our 33 understanding of how we organize our memories has been most widely studied using more traditional paradigms like free recall of random word lists 10 . In free recall, partici-35 pants study lists of items and are instructed to recall the items in any order they choose. The orders in which words come to mind can provide insights into how participants have organized their memories of the studied words. Because random word lists are unstruc-38 tured by design, it is not clear if or how non-trivial situation models might apply to these stimuli. Nevertheless, there are some commonalities between memory for word lists and memory for real-world experiences.

Like remembering real-world experiences, remembering words on a studied list re-42 quires distinguishing the current list from the rest of one's experience. To model this 43 fundamental memory capability, cognitive scientists have posited the existence of a special representation, called *context*, that is associated with each list. According to early 45 theories e.g. 1,5 context representations are composed of many features which fluctuate 46 from moment to moment, slowly drifting through a multidimensional feature space. Dur-47 ing recall, this representation forms part of the retrieval cue, enabling us to distinguish list items from non-list items. Understanding the role of context in memory processes is particularly important in self-cued memory tasks, such as free recall, where the retrieval 50 cue is "context" itself.

Over the past half-century, context-based models have enjoyed impressive success at 52 explaining many stereotyped behaviors observed during free recall and other list-learning 53 tasks^{5-7,11,17-19,22? -24}. These phenomena include the well-known recency and primacy effects (superior recall of items from the end and, to a lesser extent, from the beginning of 55 the study list), as well as semantic and temporal clustering effects? The contiguity effect 56 is an example of temporal clustering, which is perhaps the dominant form of organization in free recall. This effect can be seen in the tendency for people to successively recall items that occupied neighboring positions in the study list. For example, if a list contained the 59 sub-sequence "ABSENCE HOLLOW PUPIL" and the participant recalls the word "HOLLOW", it is far more likely that the next response will be either "PUPIL" or "ABSENCE" than some other list item⁹. In addition, there is a strong forward bias in the contiguity effect: subjects make 62 forward transitions (i.e., "HOLLOW" followed by "PUPIL") about twice as often as they make 63 backward transitions, despite an overall tendency to begin recall at the end of the list. There are also striking effects of semantic clustering ^{3,4,8,13,21}, whereby the recall of a given 65 item is more likely to be followed by recall of a similar or related item than a dissimilar or

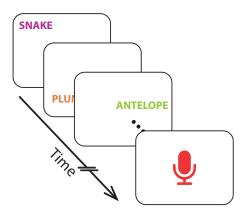


Figure 1: Feature-rich free recall. After studying lists comprised of words that vary along several feature dimensions, participants verbally recall words in any order (microphone icon).

unrelated one.

In general, people organize memories for words along a wide variety of stimulus dimensions. As captured by models like the *Context Maintenance and Retrieval Model* ¹⁸, the stimulus features associated with each word (e.g. the word's meaning, font size, font color, location on the screen, size of the object the word represents, etc.) are incorporated into the participant's mental context representation ^{12,14,25}. During a memory test, any of these features may serve as a memory cue, which in turn leads the participant to recall in succession words that share stimulus features.

These clustering behaviors in

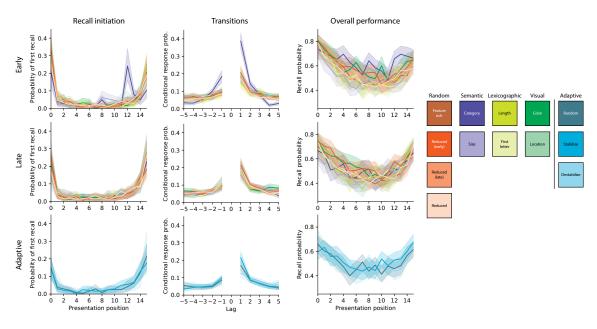


Figure 2: Recall dynamics in free recall.

76 Results

77 Discussion

78 Materials and methods

- 79 Participants
- **80** Experimental design
- 81 Analysis

82 References

83 [1] Anderson, J. R. and Bower, G. H. (1972). Recognition and retrieval processes in free 84 recall. *Psychological Review*, 79(2):97–123.

- [2] Baldassano, C., Hasson, U., and Norman, K. A. (2018). Representation of real-world
 event schemas during narrative perception. *The Journal of Neuroscience*, 38(45):9689–9699.
- [3] Bousfield, W. A. (1953). The occurrence of clustering in the recall of randomly arranged
 associates. *Journal of General Psychology*, 49:229–240.
- [4] Bousfield, W. A., Sedgewick, C. H., and Cohen, B. H. (1954). Certain temporal characteristics of the recall of verbal associates. *American Journal of Psychology*, 67:111–118.
- [5] Estes, W. K. (1955). Statistical theory of spontaneous recovery and regression. *Psychological Review*, 62:145–154.
- [6] Glenberg, A. M., Bradley, M. M., Kraus, T. A., and Renzaglia, G. J. (1983). Studies of
 the long-term recency effect: support for a contextually guided retrieval theory. *Journal* of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 12:413–418.
- ⁹⁷ [7] Howard, M. W. and Kahana, M. J. (2002). A distributed representation of temporal context. *Journal of Mathematical Psychology*, 46:269–299.
- [8] Jenkins, J. J. and Russell, W. A. (1952). Associative clustering during recall. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 47:818–821.
- [9] Kahana, M. J. (1996). Associative retrieval processes in free recall. *Memory and Cognition*, 24:103–109.
- [10] Kahana, M. J. (2012). Foundations of human memory. Oxford University Press, New York, NY.
- [11] Kimball, D. R., Smith, T. A., and Kahana, M. J. (2007). The fSAM model of false recall.
 Psychological Review, 114(4):954–993.

- [12] Manning, J. R. (2020). Context reinstatement. In Kahana, M. J. and Wagner, A. D., 107 editors, Handbook of Human Memory. Oxford University Press. 108
- [13] Manning, J. R. and Kahana, M. J. (2012). Interpreting semantic clustering effects in 109 free recall. *Memory*, 20(5):511–517. 110
- [14] Manning, J. R., Norman, K. A., and Kahana, M. J. (2015). The role of context in 111 episodic memory. In Gazzaniga, M., editor, The Cognitive Neurosciences, pages 557–566. 112 MIT Press.

113

- [15] Masís-Obando, R., Norman, K. A., and Baldassano, C. (2022). Scheme representations in distinct brain networks support narrative memory during encoding and retrieval. 115 *eLife*, 11:e70445. 116
- [16] Nastase, S. A., Goldstein, A., and Hasson, U. (2020). Keep it real: rethinking the primacy of experimental control in cognitive neuroscience. Neurolmage, 15(222):117254– 118 117261. 119
- [17] Polyn, S. M. and Kahana, M. J. (2008). Memory search and the neural representation 120 of context. Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 12:24–30. 121
- [18] Polyn, S. M., Norman, K. A., and Kahana, M. J. (2009). Task context and organization 122 in free recall. Neuropsychologia, 47:2158–2163. 123
- [19] Raaijmakers, J. G. W. and Shiffrin, R. M. (1980). SAM: A theory of probabilistic search 124 of associative memory. In Bower, G. H., editor, *The Psychology of Learning and Motivation:* 125 Advances in Research and Theory, volume 14, pages 207–262. Academic Press, New York, 126 NY. 127
- [20] Ranganath, C. and Ritchey, M. (2012). Two cortical systems for memory-guided 128 behavior. Nature Reviews Neuroscience, 13:713–726. 129

- [21] Romney, A. K., Brewer, D. D., and Batchelder, W. H. (1993). Predicting clustering from semantic structure. *Psychological Science*, 4:28–34.
- ¹³² [22] Sederberg, P. B., Howard, M. W., and Kahana, M. J. (2008). A context-based theory of recency and contiguity in free recall. *Psychological Review*, 115(4):893–912.
- ¹³⁴ [23] Shankar, K. H. and Howard, M. W. (2012). A scale-invariant internal representation of time. *Neural Computation*, 24:134–193.
- [24] Sirotin, Y. B., Kimball, D. R., and Kahana, M. J. (2005). Going beyond a single list:
 modeling the effects of prior experience on episodic free recall. *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review*, 12(5):787–805.
- [25] Smith, S. M. and Vela, E. (2001). Environmental context-dependent memory: a review and meta-analysis. *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review*, 8(2):203–220.
- 141 [26] Yeshurun, Y., Swanson, S., Simony, E., Chen, J., Lazaridi, C., Honey, C. J., and
 142 Hasson, U. (2017). Same story, different story: the neural representation of interpretive
 143 frameworks. *Psychological Science*, 28(3):307–319.
- [27] Zwaan, R. A., Langston, M. C., and Graesser, A. C. (1995). The construction of
 situation models in narrative comprehension: an event-indexing model. *Psychological Science*, 6(5):292–297.
- ¹⁴⁷ [28] Zwaan, R. A. and Radvansky, G. A. (1998). Situation models in language compre-¹⁴⁸ hension and memory. *Psychological Bulletin*, 123(2):162–185.