

Short-Term Memory: A Comprehensive Analysis

Short-term memory (STM) (often termed *primary memory*) is the cognitive system that temporarily holds a small amount of information in mind for brief periods (seconds to a minute) [1](#) [2](#). It acts as a “gateway” between transient sensory input and more permanent storage, enabling ongoing mental activities. For example, STM is essential for communicating or reasoning by allowing us to “remember auditory, visual, or conceptual inputs for short durations” when speaking, making decisions, or solving problems [1](#). STM typically holds only a few items (roughly 7 ± 2 chunks of information [3](#) [4](#)), though more recent analyses suggest an effective capacity closer to 4 chunks) and information rapidly decays or is displaced by new input [3](#) [2](#).

Historical Evolution of Short-Term Memory

Research on STM has a long history. **Miller (1956)** famously proposed the “magic number” of 7 ± 2 for immediate memory span [3](#) [4](#). Early studies by **Peterson & Peterson (1959)** showed that, without rehearsal, subjects forgot consonant trigrams within seconds (performance dropped sharply across 3–18 sec delays) [5](#). **Sperling (1960)** demonstrated a large-capacity *sensory register* (iconic memory) that decays quickly, feeding STM. In 1968 **Atkinson & Shiffrin** introduced the influential **multi-store (modal) model** of memory, positing separate sensory, short-term, and long-term stores. In this model information in STM lasts only ~18–30 seconds without rehearsal, after which it is forgotten unless actively maintained [2](#). Over time, evidence showed rehearsal processes (e.g. repeating items) can refresh STM and transfer items into long-term memory (LTM) [2](#) [6](#).

In the 1970s, **Baddeley & Hitch (1974)** reconceived STM as a **working memory (WM)** system with multiple components. Their model included a *central executive* and two “slave” storage systems: a *phonological loop* for verbal items and a *visuospatial sketchpad* for visual-spatial items [6](#). Later, Baddeley added an *episodic buffer* linking to LTM. In this view, STM storage is just one aspect of WM: WM involves both holding information and manipulating it during tasks like reasoning, learning, and comprehension [7](#) [8](#). Subsequent theories refined these ideas. **Cowan (1999, 2001)** proposed an *embedded-processes* model where STM consists of activated LTM elements within the focus of attention (capacity ≈ 4 chunks) [4](#) [9](#). **Oberauer (2002)** and others suggested a three-state model: a single item in the *focus of attention*, a handful (4 ± 1) in a *direct access* buffer, and other items as *activated LTM* [9](#) [10](#). These newer models highlight that STM is not a uniform store but involves graded states of activation and control.

Key theories and experiments:

- Miller (1956) – span of 7 ± 2 items in STM [3](#) [4](#).
- Peterson & Peterson (1959) – rapid decay of unrehearsed STM traces [5](#).
- Atkinson-Shiffrin (1968) – three-box (sensory, STM, LTM) model with rehearsal as transfer mechanism [2](#) [5](#).
- Baddeley & Hitch (1974) – multi-component working memory (phonological loop, visuo-spatial sketchpad, central executive) [6](#).
- Cowan (2001) – STM as activated LTM within a 4-item focus [4](#).
- Oberauer (2002, 2010) – 3-state model (focus, direct-access, activated LTM) [9](#) [10](#).

Each of these accounts drew on empirical data (span tasks, recall tasks, dual-task experiments, neuropsychology) and shaped our modern understanding of STM. More recent work also considers neural dynamics (e.g. transient vs. sustained activity) and synaptic mechanisms (see below).

Mechanisms and Function of Short-Term Memory

STM involves specific encoding, maintenance, and retrieval processes. **Encoding:** Stimuli typically enter STM via sensory channels. Verbal information is encoded phonologically (acoustic/phonetic code) and maintained in the *phonological loop* ⁶. Visual-spatial information is held in the *visuospatial sketchpad*. **Maintenance:** Information in STM must be actively refreshed. The classic mechanism is *rehearsal* – repeating or subvocally articulating items (e.g. mentally saying a phone number) to prevent decay. Rehearsal was a cornerstone of early models; for example, repeating a sequence of words or numbers can keep them “alive” in STM ¹¹ ⁶. Even without active rehearsal, attention and cognitive strategies (such as chunking bits of information into larger meaningful units) effectively extend STM’s functional capacity ⁴. **Retrieval:** Items in STM are immediately accessible (especially the one in the current focus of attention) ⁹. Retrieving other items may require slower search or cueing. In memory tasks, reaction times often increase when items must be retrieved from beyond the focus, supporting multi-state models ¹² ⁹.

Capacity and duration: STM is severely limited in capacity and duration. Without any active refreshing, unrehearsed items typically fade within a few seconds (often cited as ~15–20 s) ² ¹¹. Recent reviews confirm that pure temporal *decay* is quite rapid and tends to be overtaken by *interference* from new stimuli ¹³. In other words, STM items are most easily lost when new information arrives (so-called interference or displacement), rather than simply “running out the clock.” In terms of capacity, Miller’s 7 ± 2 estimate has been refined: many studies find the effective STM span is only about 3–5 items or “chunks,” especially when chunking and rehearsal are minimized ⁴. For example, Cowan (2001) argued that people hold about 4 chunks of information in active memory. Moreover, this capacity limit depends on the complexity and modality of the material (e.g. visual features, words, digits) and on individual differences (some people naturally hold more).

Neural maintenance: Biologically, STM maintenance is supported by cortical activity. Traditional models emphasized *persistent firing* in prefrontal neurons during delay periods (see below). Modern research shows that maintenance can involve dynamic, “activity-silent” processes (brief bursts of activity coupled with short-term synaptic changes) as well as sustained activity ¹⁴. Overall, STM mechanisms rely on rapid, short-lived processes (neuronal activation and transient synaptic strengthening) rather than the structural changes that underlie long-term storage.

Short-Term Memory in Behavior

Short-term memory underpins **everyday cognitive actions**. When speaking or listening, STM lets us hold words or sounds in sequence long enough to form sentences or understand a paragraph. When making decisions, we keep options and relevant facts “online” briefly to compare them. Spatial tasks like navigation require holding route directions or landmarks in mind until a turn can be made. Learning new skills or material often involves STM: for example, we may remember a new phone number or a short instruction just long enough to use it. In general, research shows that STM/WM capacity predicts performance on many higher-level tasks: people with larger STM spans tend to do better on reasoning, reading comprehension,

and problem-solving ¹⁵ ⁸. Indeed, psychological testing often uses STM or WM tasks (digit span, reading span, n-back tasks) as indicators of broader cognitive abilities.

- **Language and communication:** Effective conversation and comprehension require STM to buffer recent words and grammar until meaning is constructed. WM capacity correlates with language skills and vocabulary acquisition.
- **Reasoning and decision-making:** STM holds intermediate results in arithmetic or logic problems; deficits lead to difficulty in complex problem-solving. Baddeley noted that WM is essential for tasks such as language comprehension, reasoning, and learning ⁸.
- **Navigation and spatial tasks:** While traveling through a new environment, STM holds spatial cues (e.g. “turn left at the gas station”) before they are committed to LTM. Without STM, even following a short set of directions would be challenging.
- **Learning and studying:** STM is the “workspace” for new information: students often use rehearsal (e.g. note-taking, repetition) to transfer facts to long-term memory. STM also integrates past knowledge with incoming data.

In short, nearly all goal-directed behaviors depend on transient memory. As one review notes, STM is pivotal for “acquiring new knowledge, making decisions, communicating effectively, and facilitating higher-order thinking processes” ¹. When STM is strained or disrupted (e.g. by distraction or cognitive load), even simple tasks become difficult.

Short-Term vs. Working Memory vs. Long-Term Memory

Though often conflated, **short-term memory** and **working memory** have distinct meanings. STM traditionally refers to the brief passive storage of information (e.g. holding a phone number). Working memory (WM) refers to the active system that *maintains* and *manipulates* that information for cognitive tasks. In practice, many researchers use the terms interchangeably, but technically WM implies an executive component. For example, Frontiers researchers summarize that STM denotes simple temporary storage, whereas WM includes manipulation of that information ¹⁶.

Key differences:

- **Function:** STM is about holding; WM is about holding *and* processing. Baddeley’s WM model (1974) explicitly adds a central executive to control storage buffers ⁸. For instance, adding two numbers in your head requires WM, not just STM.
- **Duration:** STM involves very short delays (seconds), while WM operations typically unfold over those delays. LTM (long-term memory) deals with retention over hours to years.
- **Capacity:** STM/WM capacity is small (~4–7 items). LTM capacity is effectively unlimited.
- **Neurobiology:** WM engages frontal-parietal networks that actively maintain information. LTM relies more on medial temporal (hippocampal) and widespread cortical changes for storage. STM (especially WM) is tied to prefrontal and related networks, whereas LTM relies on hippocampus and cortical storage.

Recent models blur these boundaries. Cowan’s embedded-processes view treats STM as the currently activated portion of LTM. Oberauer’s model explicitly views STM as part of LTM accessed via attention. In such views, STM is simply *temporarily active* LTM, and WM processes determine what remains in this active state. Empirically, neural dissociations are subtle: for example, patients with hippocampal damage often have intact immediate recall (STM) but impaired long-term recall, supporting a functional STM/LTM distinction ¹⁷. However, some tasks (like binding multiple features) do show hippocampal involvement

even at short delays ¹⁸. In summary, STM and LTM are distinguished mostly by timescale and control demands, but they are **not** wholly separate systems.

Recent theoretical models: Researchers now propose more nuanced architectures. For instance:

- **Baddeley (2000, 2012)** – WM with episodic buffer linking LTM. ⁸
- **Cowan (2001)** – STM = 4 ± 1 activated LTM items in a focus of attention ⁴.
- **Oberauer (2002, 2012)** – 3-state model (focus of attention, direct-access buffer, activated LTM) ⁹ ¹⁰.
- **Synaptic models (Mongillo et al.)** – STM may be stored in temporary changes in synaptic weights, not just persistent firing.

Each model addresses how many items can be held, what form they take, and how they transition to LTM. No single model is complete; the field now explores hybrid explanations (e.g. some items actively firing, others "silent" but quickly reactivated).

Neural Substrates of Short-Term Memory

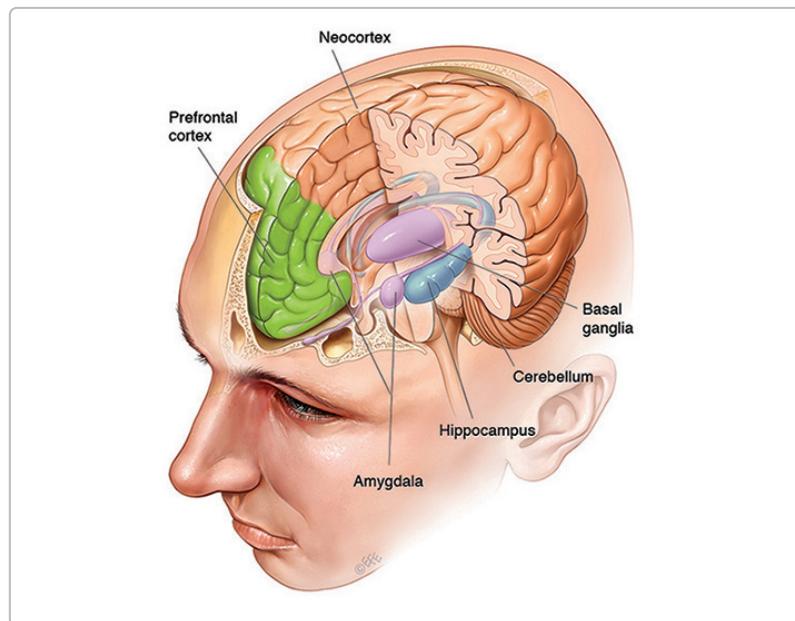


Figure: Brain regions involved in memory. Short-term/working memory relies heavily on frontal and parietal areas, with support from hippocampus and sensory cortices (prefrontal cortex shown in green, hippocampus in purple).

Neuroimaging and lesion studies show that **prefrontal cortex (PFC)** is the linchpin of STM/WM. The dorsal and ventrolateral PFC maintain information and direct rehearsal or attention ¹⁹ ²⁰. For example, primate lesion experiments found that impairing PFC disrupts delayed-response tasks, proving PFC's necessity ¹⁹. In humans, fMRI consistently shows PFC activation when subjects hold information across a delay or manipulate remembered items. The QBI brain diagram emphasizes PFC's role ("short-term working memory relies most heavily on the PFC" ²⁰).

The **hippocampus** and medial temporal lobe (MTL), though classically tied to LTM, also contribute to STM in important ways. They are thought to support the binding of features into coherent representations, even over short delays ¹⁸ ¹⁰. For instance, STM tasks that require remembering which features go together (object-color pairings) strongly engage the hippocampus. In Alzheimer's disease (early MTL damage), patients show pronounced short-term *binding* deficits ¹⁸. In fMRI, Nee & Jonides (2010) found that retrieving items beyond the focus of attention (in the ~4-item range) recruited hippocampal activity ¹⁰. Thus, the hippocampus may help "chunk" or interrelate information in STM, laying groundwork for later consolidation ¹⁰ ¹⁸.

Posterior **parietal cortex** (especially intraparietal sulcus) also plays a key role in STM. It tracks the number of items and allocates attention within STM. For example, neural activity in parietal regions scales with memory load and shows a "focus of attention" signature when one item is prioritized ¹². In Nee & Jonides (2010), accessing the current focus of attention was associated with interactions between posterior parietal and temporal cortex ¹². Thus, parietal areas form a storage buffer linked to PFC control.

Sensory cortex supports STM storage in a modality-specific fashion. Visual STM maintains information in visual cortex (V1-V4) and extrastriate areas; auditory STM engages auditory cortex and the phonological loop network. In other words, the very regions that encode the sensory details initially can keep them active. For example, fMRI and EEG studies show that remembered visual orientations or colors evoke sustained activity in visual areas during the retention interval. This "sensory recruitment" works in concert with PFC/parietal top-down signals that maintain the memory trace.

In summary, STM emerges from a network of brain regions (see figure above [50t]): the **prefrontal cortex** as the executive hub, the **parietal cortex** as an attention/storage buffer, **sensory cortices** holding the content, and the **hippocampus/MTL** binding elements together. Lesion and stimulation studies confirm these roles. For instance, damage to lateral PFC selectively impairs memory maintenance, while MTL damage impairs associative STM tasks ¹⁹ ¹⁸.

Influences on Short-Term Memory

STM performance is sensitive to many factors. Age, stress, emotions, and brain disorders can all profoundly affect STM capacity and durability.

- **Aging:** Healthy aging is accompanied by gradual STM decline. Studies find that older adults (60+) typically have lower STM span and slower recall than young adults ²¹. In one recent cross-sectional study, both short- and long-term memory performance "declined from early to late adulthood" in a spatial-context memory task ²¹ (see figure below). Age-related atrophy in PFC and MTL structures likely underlies this decline. For example, frontal white matter loss and reduced hippocampal volume are correlated with smaller STM capacity in the elderly.

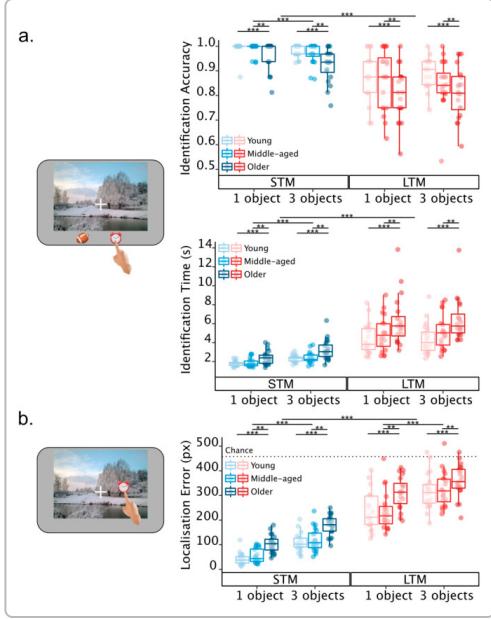


Figure: Short-term versus long-term memory performance by age. In a spatial memory task (Cepukaitytė et al. 2023 21), **younger adults** (blue) had higher identification accuracy and lower localisation error than **older adults** (red). Both STM (left panels) and LTM (right panels) showed declines with age 21 . This illustrates that normal aging impairs the ability to hold and manipulate information even over short intervals.

- **Stress:** Acute stress (e.g. social evaluation, time pressure) typically **impairs STM/WM**. Experimental stress elevates cortisol and adrenaline, which disrupt PFC function. For instance, a human study found a pronounced **working memory deficit** following a stress induction 22 . Chronic stress also harms STM: elevated cortisol over time can lead to loss of synapses in PFC 23 , gradually reducing memory capacity. (Indeed, one study linked high cortisol in seniors to PFC synapse loss and STM decline 23 .) Thus, both acute and chronic stress undermine STM, making it harder to concentrate and update information.
- **Emotions and Attention:** Emotionally salient events can **capture attention** and bias memory. The amygdala enhances processing of emotional stimuli, which often leads to *better* memory for those items, but at the expense of other information. In one study, when emotional and neutral items were encoded together, participants' attention was involuntarily drawn to the emotional items 24 . This "prioritization" means emotional content gets more encoding resources, supporting stronger memory for it 24 25 . Conversely, emotional arousal can *distract* from cognitive tasks; for example, an unexpected emotional stimulus can momentarily disrupt STM of neutral items. In short, emotions modulate STM indirectly through attention: emotional stimuli get prioritized processing (via amygdala and visual regions) 24 , while concurrent task performance may suffer if attention is diverted.
- **Neurological and Psychiatric Conditions:** Various brain disorders produce STM impairments. **Alzheimer's disease (AD)**, which damages the hippocampus and MTL, often causes severe STM deficits, especially in binding features of an object. In AD patients, STM tasks show many

"misbinding" errors (e.g. remembering features of objects in wrong locations) ²⁶. This suggests that hippocampal dysfunction disrupts the short-term linking of elements. By contrast, **Parkinson's disease** (affecting basal ganglia and frontal loops) tends to cause STM problems characterized by lapses of attention and increased random guesses ²⁶. Other conditions known to harm STM include **stroke** or **traumatic brain injury** (if PFC or relevant pathways are damaged), as well as **schizophrenia** and **ADHD** (which involve frontal/executive deficits). For example, schizophrenia patients often show reduced WM capacity and stability. In contrast, isolated hippocampal amnesia (e.g. patient H.M.) typically preserves basic STM span but abolishes new LTM formation, underscoring that STM can operate without intact hippocampus, *except* for complex binding tasks ¹⁸.

In sum, normal aging, high stress, emotional distraction, and neurological damage all tend to **reduce STM performance**. Stated positively, a healthy, unstressed brain in prime adulthood generally maximizes STM span and fidelity. Maintaining good sleep, managing stress, and engaging in cognitive activities can help preserve STM function over the lifespan.

Empirical Evidence and Data

Key empirical studies have shaped our understanding of STM:

- **Capacity experiments:** Miller's span tests and Cowan's chunk-counting tasks confirmed limited capacity ³ ⁴. Luck and Vogel's visual STM tasks found about 3-4 colored items could be held in mind, using change-detection paradigms.
- **Decay vs. interference:** Peterson & Peterson (1959) showed forgetting without rehearsal ⁵; later work (Brown et al. 2009) argued that interference from new information plays the dominant role in forgetting ¹³.
- **Working memory tasks:** Baddeley's dual-task studies (combining memory span with a secondary task) demonstrated separable STM components. Neuropsychological cases (e.g. patients with frontal lobe lesions) have provided dissociations between STM and executive control ¹⁹.
- **Brain imaging:** fMRI meta-analyses consistently find fronto-parietal activation during STM tasks. Nee & Jonides (2010) used fMRI to map a three-state memory model, finding the hippocampus active for items beyond 3-4 in STM and lateral PFC active for items requiring retrieval from outside the focus ¹⁰. EEG/MEG studies identify characteristic delay-period waveforms (e.g. the contralateral delay activity) that scale with memory load.
- **Neurophysiology:** Single-neuron recordings in monkeys (e.g. by Fuster, Goldman-Rakic) revealed sustained firing in PFC neurons during memory delays, confirming a neural substrate for STM. Recent recordings also show bursts of gamma oscillations linked to memory updating, in line with dynamic coding models ¹⁴.
- **Behavioral correlations:** Many studies report that individual differences in STM capacity correlate with measures of intelligence, language ability, and learning outcomes ¹⁵. Training and strategy research (e.g. Ericsson's memory experts) show that STM limits can be expanded by extensive practice and mnemonic techniques, indicating flexibility in how STM is utilized.

Notably, modern imaging with fNIRS and fMRI (e.g. a 2023 study) has mapped STM processes in real time ²⁷ ²⁸. These studies highlight the roles of inferior frontal gyrus, visual association cortex, and motor areas in STM tasks ²⁷, and show that strong STM performance is associated with increased functional connectivity and even physiological states (e.g. heart rate) that support brain oxygenation ²⁷. Such work underscores that STM is a brain-wide process, integrating perception, attention, and maintenance.

Diagrams and Models

In addition to the brain diagram above [50†], several conceptual models help visualize STM processing:

- **Multistore (modal) model:** Sensory → STM → LTM (with rehearsal loops) – originally depicted as three boxes in series (Atkinson-Shiffrin model). This illustrates the flow from brief sensory buffers into a short-term store, and how rehearsal gates entry to LTM.
- **Baddeley's WM model:** Central executive at top, phonological loop and visuo-spatial sketchpad beneath, with an episodic buffer linking to LTM. (Typically shown as a flowchart with arrows.)
- **Focus-of-Attention model:** A narrow “spotlight” within STM holds one item (focus), a small set (~4) is in a broader active buffer, and the rest of memory remains latent (activated LTM). Diagrams often show concentric circles or stacked buffers to represent these states.

These models capture aspects of the processes described above. For example, diagrams of the focus-of-attention model illustrate why only one item has privileged access (immediate retrieval), while others require slower retrieval processes 9. While we have not included those figures here, readers can envision STM models as layered boxes or connected modules, emphasizing limited capacity and the distinction between passive storage and active manipulation.

Conclusion

Short-term memory is a fundamental yet limited cognitive resource. Historically defined by span and duration limits 3 2, STM has evolved in theory into modern concepts of working memory and attentional buffers 8 9. Physiologically, STM emerges from coordinated activity across frontal, parietal, and temporal brain networks 19 18. It enables everyday tasks like language, problem-solving, and navigation by keeping relevant information “in mind” for the moment. However, STM capacity is fragile: it declines with age 21, and is easily disrupted by stress or emotional distraction 22 24. Understanding STM therefore involves multiple levels — psychological experiments, cognitive architectures, and neural mechanisms — all of which point to the same central idea: STM holds a small window of our experience in an active state, bridging the external world and our long-term knowledge.

Sources: Authoritative cognitive science and neuroscience sources were used throughout (journal articles and reviews) to provide this integrated perspective 16 8 10 19 22 24 18 21 13 1 2.

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