

## Temporal Associations and Prior-list Intrusions in Free Recall

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When asked to recall the words from a just-presented target list, subjects occasionally recall words that were not on the list. These intrusions are either words that appeared on earlier lists (prior-list intrusions, or PLIs) or words that had not appeared over the course of the experiment (extralist intrusions). We examined the factors that elicit PLIs in free recall. A reanalysis of earlier studies revealed that PLIs tend to come from semantic associates as well as from recently studied lists, with the rate of PLIs decreasing sharply with list recency. We report three new experiments in which some items in a given list also appeared on earlier lists. Although repetition enhanced recall of list items, subjects were significantly more likely to make PLIs following the recall of repeated items, suggesting that temporal associations formed in earlier lists can induce recall errors. We interpret this finding as evidence for the interacting roles of associative and contextual retrieval processes in recall. Although contextual information helps to focus recall on words in the target list, it does not form an impermeable boundary between current- and prior-list experiences.

It is not uncommon for a person to mistakenly remember an event or aspect thereof that did not actually happen. For instance, one might mistakenly remember having seen an acquaintance in one context (e.g., shopping mall) when in fact the individual was seen earlier in another, perhaps similar context (e.g., supermarket). This type of error has been referred to as a misattribution (e.g., Mitchell & Johnson, 2000; Schacter, 1999), episodic confusion error (Smith, Tindell, Pierce, Gilliland, & Gerkens, 2001), or cross-episode migration (Hannigan & Reinitz, 2003). In the laboratory, such a memory error can occur when subjects study and are asked to recall lists of words but then commit intrusions, recalling words that were either studied on earlier lists (prior-list intrusions, or PLIs) or not presented throughout the course of the experiment (extralist intrusions, or XLIs).

Whereas analyses of episodic-recall tasks usually focus on veridical recall, intrusion errors provide evidence that may shed light on processes that underlie memory formation and retrieval. It is known, for instance, that older adults tend to commit more intrusions in episodic recall than do young

adults (Balota et al., 1999; Kahana, Howard, Zaromb, & Wingfield, 2002; Zacks, Radvansky, & Hasher, 1996). Furthermore, both intrusion rates and types of intrusions committed may have diagnostic value for clinical dementias, and particularly Alzheimer's disease (Davis, Price, Kaplan, & Libon, 2002; Fuld, Katzman, Davies, & Terry, 1982; Manning, Greenhut-Wertz, & Mackell, 1996; Watson, Balota, & Sergeant-Marshall, 2001).

In studies of false memory, intrusions themselves have been the objects of inquiry. For decades, researchers have employed a variety of techniques to elicit and study intrusions, be they commissions of specific XLIs during recall of associated-word lists, or distortions that arise when remembering previously studied sentences, narratives, pictures, scenes, or events (Bartlett, 1932; Brewer, 1977; Carmichael, Hogan, & Walter, 1932; Deese, 1959; Koriati, Goldsmith, & Pansky, 2000; E. F. Loftus, 1997; Miller & Gazzaniga, 1998; Pansky & Koriati, 2003; Roediger & McDermott, 1995; Sommers & Lewis, 1999; Tversky & Marsh, 2000).

Among these techniques, perhaps the most widely used and salient demonstrations of false memory is the Deese, Roediger, and McDermott (DRM) procedure (Deese, 1959; Roediger & McDermott, 1995), in which individuals study lists of items (e.g., bed, rest, awake, etc.) that are associated with *critical* lures not presented in the list (e.g., sleep). The strength and utility of the DRM procedure lies in the fact that, for some lists of associated words, levels of both recall and recognition for the critical lure are comparable to those for studied list items, and they far surpass false recall and recognition of unrelated nonpresented items.

The surprisingly simple capability of associated-word lists

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to induce false recall of nonpresented critical items, in turn, highlights the complexity of the associative processes that must underlie the DRM memory illusion in particular and intrusions in general. As a result, recent years have seen a flurry of research into the conditions and factors that give rise to false recalls (Gallo & Roediger, 2002; McEvoy, Nelson, & Komatsu, 1999; Roediger, Balota, & Watson, 2001). Whereas some lists of associated words reliably induce high rates of false recall and recognition, others elicit surprisingly low levels (Deese, 1959; Gallo & Roediger, 2002; Roediger & McDermott, 1995; Stadler, Roediger, & McDermott, 1999). Conversely, even lists that do not appear to exhibit any obvious semantic, phonological, graphemic, or conceptual structure still harbor interitem or temporally based associations that influence subsequent recall (e.g., Howard & Kahana, 1999; Kahana, 1996; Kahana et al., 2002; Kahana & Howard, 2005; Klein, Addis, & Kahana, 2005), and such lists of random words yield intrusions as well.

Thus, while associative mechanisms may be implicated in the generation of intrusions, the variable likelihood of their occurrence raises the question of what specific associative factors give rise to intrusions, especially in lists of seemingly unrelated words. In this paper, we examine the associative processes that induce subjects to make intrusions, and particularly the commission of PLIs during free recall of random word lists. We start by re-examining data from previous studies, quantifying the number of PLIs as a function of list recency, and examining the semantic relatedness of PLIs to the just-recalled item. We next present three experiments designed to test whether temporal associations from earlier lists can induce PLIs in the current list when items are repeated across lists. Such an observation would serve to establish the role of temporal associations in the commission of PLIs.

### Recency of PLIs

Recency is one of the primary factors that contributes to performance in episodic recall tasks. Recent items are recalled first and best. Moreover, in free recall of word lists, this tendency persists even if one increases the presentation interval between items by interpolating distractors (Bjork & Whitten, 1974; Howard & Kahana, 1999). Less well known is the finding that when subjects are asked to free-recall words at the end of an entire session of studying and recalling lists, they recall many more words from recent lists than from earlier lists (Murdock, 1974).

In his discussion of some unpublished observations regarding free recall, Murdock (1974) noted that PLIs tend to come from the most recent list and exhibit a monotonic intrusion gradient, with fewer intrusions coming from earlier lists. We sought to confirm these observations by conducting a reanalysis of data from several free-recall studies, which, taken together, include data from immediate, delayed, and continuous-distractor conditions. Figure 1 shows the proportion of PLIs plotted as a function of list recency for data from four free-recall conditions reported by Howard and Kahana (1999) and Kahana et al. (2002).<sup>1</sup> Consistent with Murdock's (1974) observations, Figure 1 demonstrates that PLIs

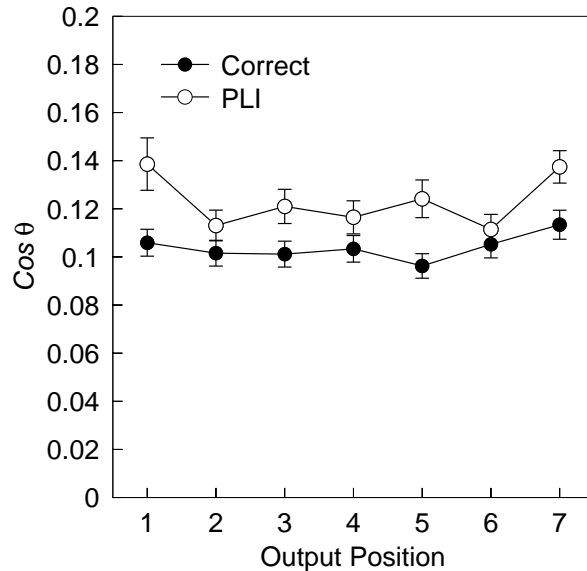


Figure 2. The Role of Semantic Association in the Commission of Prior-list Intrusions (PLIs). Shows mean  $\cos \theta$  values, derived from Latent Semantic Analysis, for transitions to correct items (filled circles) and PLIs (open circles) for output positions 1-7. Data are from Experiment 2 of Howard and Kahana (1999). Error bars are 95%-confidence intervals calculated according to the method of Loftus & Masson (1994).

tend to come from recent lists. The PLI-recency functions are similar in immediate free recall (Panel A), delayed free recall (Panel B), and continuous-distractor free recall (Panel C), as well as for young and older adults (Panel D). Panel E shows the average PLI-recency function across all these conditions.<sup>2</sup>

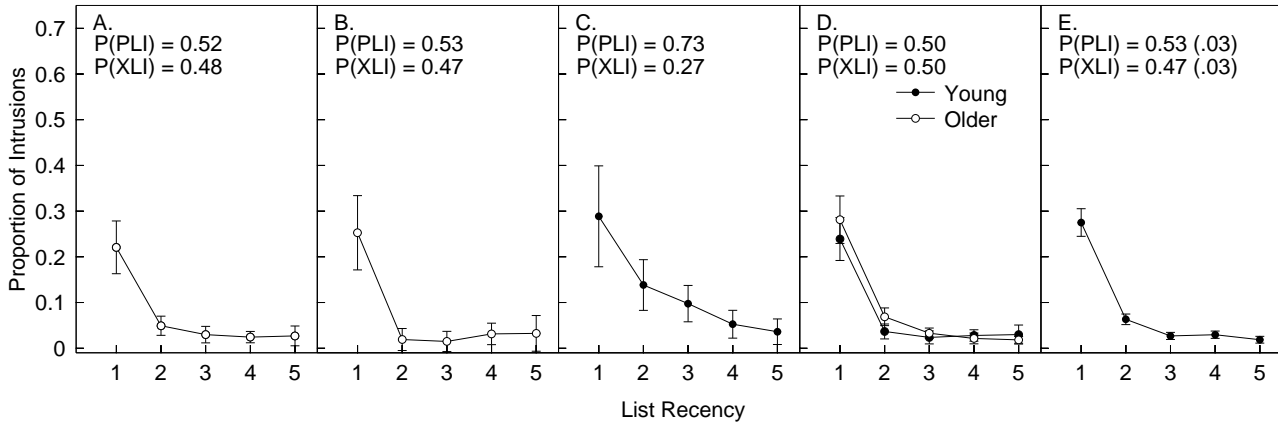
The PLI-recency effect in free recall illustrates the tendency for intrusions to come from recent lists, which in turn reflects the ubiquitous role of recency in episodic memory. Recent experiences are more memorable not only in immediate terms of subjects' tendency to recall the last few items in a list but also in a relative sense: that is, memory is improved for recent items across time scales.

### Semantic Associations and PLIs

Although recency clearly is a factor in accounting for PLIs observed in recall, the commission of PLIs is also likely a consequence of pre-experimental, semantic associations between list items and intrusions. To assess the effect of such interword associations on the commission of PLIs, one first

<sup>1</sup> In calculating PLI-list-recency functions for items originally presented 1 to 5 lists back, we excluded the first 5 trials from the analysis, because PLIs from 5 lists back could only occur on trials 6 and later.

<sup>2</sup> One might consider measuring PLI-recency as a function of the number of intervening items instead of the number of intervening lists. We have not done this because PLIs that were both studied and recalled on a given prior list will have two different item recency values.



*Figure 1.* The Recency of Prior-list Intrusions (PLIs). Shows the proportion of all intrusions that are PLIs introduced 1 to 5 lists back, as well as the proportion of intrusions that are PLIs and extralist intrusions (XLIs) in the following experiments: (A) Immediate Free Recall (IFR); see Howard & Kahana, 1999, Experiment 1 (darkened circles); Kahana et al., 2002, Experiment 1 (open circles). (B) Delayed Free Recall (DFR); see Howard & Kahana, 1999, Experiment 1 (darkened circles); Kahana et al., 2002, Experiment 2 (open circles). (C) Continuous-distractor Free Recall (CDFR); see Howard & Kahana, 1999, Experiment 2. (D) PLIs in Young and Older Adults, IFR and DFR (see Kahana et al., 2002, Experiments 1 and 2. (E) Data collapsed across all four experiments and conditions. Error bars are 95%-confidence intervals calculated according to the method of Loftus & Masson (1994).

needs to quantify these semantic associations. One way to develop such a measure is to collect behavioral data on the relations among all possible pairs of words used in a given experiment. Various mathematical techniques have been used to construct a model of semantic representation from such data. For instance, Romney, Brewer, and Batchelder (1993) used multidimensional scaling (MDS) to extract a representation of semantic space from direct similarity ratings. Similarly, Steyvers, Shiffrin, and Nelson (2004) used both MDS and singular-value decomposition (SVD) to construct a semantic space from data obtained in free-association experiments (e.g., Nelson, Schreiber, & McEvoy, 1992; Nelson, McKinney, Gee, & Janczura, 1998). Both sets of authors reported that distance in semantic space predicts order of recall in episodic-memory tasks.

Latent Semantic Analysis (LSA; see Landauer & Dumais, 1997) provides a useful alternative approach to the practice of inferring interitem associations from subjective responses. LSA is based on the assumption that words that are similar in meaning tend to co-occur in similar contexts. If this assumption is true, then the statistical properties of words in a large body of naturally occurring text will contain information about their associative relations. By evaluating the relations between words based on bodies of text, LSA can provide a measure of the semantic relatedness of any pair of words in the English language.

Howard and Kahana (2002) used LSA to measure the effect of semantic relatedness on response transitions during free recall. They showed that subjects tended to recall items that were semantically related to the item just recalled, where semantic relatedness was measured as the cosine of the angle,  $\theta$ , between the words' vector representations in LSA space. Howard, Addis, Jing, and Kahana (2006) found similar results for other methods of estimating semantic space, such as those derived from word-association norms (e.g., Steyvers et

al., 2004)

These findings raise the question of whether semantic relatedness, as measured in LSA space, can predict intrusions as well. Assuming that intrusions compete with current list items for recall, and that semantic information is an important cue used during episodic memory retrieval, we would expect PLIs to have a higher degree of semantic relatedness to just-recalled words than do correct recalls. That is, when committing PLIs, subjects would tend to recall items that are more closely related to the just-recalled item than to other items from the current list. Consistent with this prediction, a reanalysis of data from Howard and Kahana (1999)<sup>3</sup> reveals that subjects tend to commit PLIs whose recall-transition LSA  $\cos\theta$  values are reliably higher than those for correct recall transitions (means of 0.12 vs. 0.10, respectively),  $t(15) = 3.18$ ,  $SEM = 0.008$ . For this and all subsequent analyses, we set our Type I error rate at 0.05.

Because the influences of associative processes on recall dynamics may vary with output position—a matter of concern when studying intrusions because they tend to occur later during recall of a list—we also examined mean  $\cos\theta$  values for individual output positions. As shown in Figure 2, recall transitions to PLIs have greater  $\cos\theta$  values than recalls to list items, across output position. To the extent that  $\cos\theta$  reflects the semantic relatedness of words in the English language, these results suggest that semantic associations induce PLIs.

To summarize, recency and semantic relatedness are two major factors that influence correct recall of target items. As shown above, the recency and semantic relatedness of

<sup>3</sup> We restricted the analysis to Experiment 2, because it includes data from 10 sessions of free recall. Because subjects typically commit very few intrusions over the course of an experimental session, multiple sessions greatly increase the amount of PLI data per subject.

prior-list items to a just-recalled target item can lure subjects into unwittingly committing PLIs. Our focus in the subsequent sections is on whether temporal associations, which are known to exert a strong influence on correct recalls, can similarly induce subjects to commit PLIs.

### Can Temporal Associations Induce PLIs?

It remains unclear whether temporal associations among list items can induce false recalls. Existing data are inadequate to address this question, because items from the current list do not generally have known temporal (episodic) associations with items in earlier lists. In the following sections, we describe three experiments designed to test the hypothesis that temporal associations forged during study and recall of prior lists may induce PLIs in recall of the current list.

A logical method for creating episodic associations between items in current and previous lists, and for possibly inducing false recalls, is to repeat the presentation of items across lists. Indeed, introducing items presented on previous lists into the current list of to-be-remembered items presents a challenge. The task requires subjects to discriminate between memories unique to the current list and those that come from earlier contexts.

In one of the few studies of interlist-repetition effects in free recall, Anderson and Bower (1972) asked subjects to study lists with many overlapping items. After studying each list, subjects attempted to recall the list items in any order. Subjects were then asked to rate each item they recalled in terms of how confident they were that it appeared on the most recent list. Anderson and Bower (1972) found that as subjects encountered more and more repetitions of items across lists, their judgments became less confident. To explain this result, the authors proposed that subjects encode a time-varying signal to differentiate a given word's occurrence on the target list from the same word's occurrence on other lists. Subjects use this temporal information to restrict their recall to only those items studied in a given context.

Bower's list-discrimination account of interlist-repetition effects (Anderson & Bower, 1972; Sternberg & Bower, 1974) is based on the idea that, following the retrieval of an item and prior to its production, subjects match contextual information retrieved by the item against the context specific to the current list. This account predicts that interlist repetition will impair recall of repeated items, because the retrieved contexts from earlier presentations will not match the context of the target list.

In contrast to these earlier studies that examined the gradual effects of interlist repetition on overall recall, we approach the problem directly by analyzing the transitions that subjects make during recall. Such analyses reveal that temporally defined, interitem associations exert a strong influence on the output order of correct recalls (Kahana, 1996). For instance, Kahana (1996) measured the probability of recalling an item presented at serial position  $i + \text{lag}$  (where "lag" is the number of list items separating the two items at study) immediately after recalling an item from serial po-

sition  $i$ . Plotting this conditional response probability as a function of lag (or, lag-CRP) revealed several patterns. First, after the recall of a given word, the next recall tended to come from a nearby serial position. This recall tendency was asymmetric in that subjects were more likely to make forward recalls than backward recalls. Howard and Kahana (1999) further reported that, analogous to the long-term recency effect, the tendency to successively recall items from nearby list positions was unaltered by interpolating demanding distractors between item presentations. Because the recency effect illustrates how items that are near in time to the end of the list are better remembered, Howard and Kahana (1999) referred to associative effects in free recall as illustrating a *lag-recency effect*, because they reveal a preference for recalling items presented close in time to the just-recalled item.

The influence of interitem temporal associations on correct recalls raises the question of whether associative tendencies forged in earlier lists can influence recall of the target list as well. When items are repeated across lists, recalling an item repeated from an earlier list should recover some associative information from its earlier occurrence. Consequently, this retrieved associative information should contribute to an increase in PLIs following repeated items. Because subjects are very good at inhibiting such inappropriate recalls, we would not expect a great number of PLIs but rather a tendency for PLIs to occur more frequently after recall of repeated than after recall of once-presented (i.e., new) items.

That intrusions in free recall are rare underscores the additional role of source-monitoring in episodic retrieval. A large body of research has shown that recall errors can occur due to difficulties in source-monitoring (for a review see Mitchell & Johnson, 2000). In free recall, subjects may remember non-presented words that are semantically, phonologically, or perceptually similar to current list items. Whether such words are intruded depends on subjects' ability to determine their correct source. Was the word actually studied, or did it only come to mind during study or retrieval? Did the word appear in the current list, or did it appear in an earlier list? Thus, the retrieval alone of information does not necessarily imply subsequent recall. And while recalling an item repeated from a prior list should recover earlier associative information, an increased tendency to falsely recall that information would only occur if this retrieval process resulted in interference with source-monitoring.

One could, however, argue that recall of items repeated from earlier lists would not lead to an increased tendency to commit PLIs. This alternative prediction is based on two assumptions. First, PLIs may stem from a failure or weakness in binding items to list context at encoding. Indeed, prior work has shown that impaired recall performance and increased errors in episodic memory tasks may be due to difficulties with contextual binding (Chalfonte & Johnson, 1996; Naveh-Benjamin, 2000). Second, retrieved associative information from an earlier list should facilitate, rather than interfere with, source monitoring and prevent the commission of PLIs. That is, if a prior-list item's contextual information is retrieved, it should counteract the potential influence of

recency and semantic relatedness to the current list to induce false recall.

To examine PLIs and the effects of interlist repetition on episodic recall, we conducted three experiments, all involving delayed free recall of word lists that included mixtures of new items and repeats from earlier lists. Furthermore, by placing each repeated item both in the current list and in only one earlier list, we were able to determine whether interlist-repetition effects depend on the number of lists separating repeated presentations. In all three experiments, we examined how repetition influenced recall transitions, and particularly subjects' tendency to make PLIs. Such an analysis is inherently subtle, in that subjects make very few PLIs during recall of random-word lists, and they are unlikely to make many PLIs even when items are repeated across lists. This challenge is mitigated in Experiment 3, in which we utilized an externalized free-recall procedure (Bousfield & Rosner, 1970; Kahana, Dolan, Sauder, & Wingfield, 2005; Roediger & Payne, 1985) that lowered the response criterion threshold to substantially increase the number of PLIs committed.

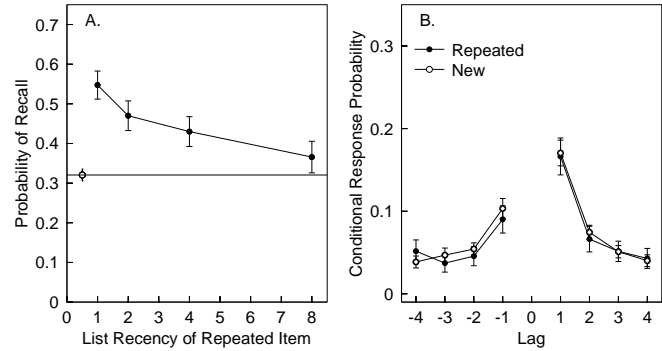
## Experiment 1

### Methods

**Subjects.** One hundred Brandeis University undergraduates participated for either payment or course credit.

**Procedure.** Subjects studied 16 lists each of which contained 20 common nouns, and presentation of each list was followed by a delayed free-recall test. Nouns were randomly chosen without replacement from the Toronto Word Pool (Friendly, Franklin, Hoffman, & Rubin, 1982). The lists were designed as follows: The first 2 lists were each composed of 20 unique words. All subsequent lists included some words that had appeared on earlier lists. Each of these lists included up to 4 repeated items, and each repeated item was sampled from a different previous list (1, 2, 4, or 8 lists back), randomly selected from within that list. No item was repeated more than once across all of the lists. We restricted our analyses to lists 6 through 16, each of which contained at least 3 repeated items. Confining our analyses to these data served to attenuate practice effects, which are likely to appear early within a session, and to allow proactive interference to stabilize (Goodwin, 1976; Huang, 1986). List items were randomized both across trials within a testing session and across subjects.

Subjects were tested individually in a soundproof room. A computer controlled stimulus presentation and recorded subjects' responses. At the start of each trial, the computer displayed each list item in capital letters for 1.4 s, followed by a 100-ms blank interstimulus interval (ISI). During list presentation, subjects were required to say each word aloud. Immediately following list presentation, subjects were given a 16-s distractor task, during which they were shown a series of arithmetic problems of the form "A + B + C = ?," where A, B, and C were positive, single-digit integers. Subjects were required to say the answer aloud and type it on a computer keyboard. For each arithmetic problem, subjects could take



**Figure 3.** Probabilities of Correct Recall and Lag-Conditional Response Probability (lag-CRP) Functions in Experiment 1. (A) Probabilities of recalling items in the current list that appeared 1, 2, 4, and 8 lists back in Experiment 1. The probability of recalling once-presented items is designated by a horizontal line corresponding to an open circle. (B) Lag-CRP functions with respect to once-presented and repeated items in Experiment 1. Lag-CRPs with respect to new and repeated items are designated by darkened and open circles, respectively. Data are collapsed across all output positions. Error bars are 95%-confidence intervals calculated according to the method of Loftus & Masson (1994).

as much time as they needed, and errors were rare. After the distractor task, a row of asterisks appeared on the screen accompanied by a tone that signaled subjects to begin recalling list items. We instructed subjects to vocally recall as many items as possible from the list, in any order. Subjects were given 90 s to recall the list items. During this period, the computer digitally recorded subjects' vocal responses for later scoring. Following the recall period, subjects performed the distractor task again for 16 s, thus providing a fixed interval of activity to separate the end of recall from the start of the next list. Each session lasted approximately 1.25 hr.

### Results

As shown in Figure 3, repetition of an item from an earlier list facilitates recall for that item. When an item is repeated from the previous list, recall performance improves from .32 to .55. Although this interlist-repetition effect declines monotonically with the number of lists that have elapsed since the item was previously presented, it remains higher than the recall probability of new items, even for items presented 8 lists back (.37).<sup>4</sup>

Going beyond recall accuracy, we examined interlist-repetition effects on recall transitions. In particular, we studied the associative tendencies for two types of transitions:

<sup>4</sup> Our finding that performance declines as repetitions are spaced farther apart is not inconsistent with the literature on spacing effects. Although spaced repetition usually helps recall, the reverse pattern is observed when recall is immediate (Glenberg, 1977; Melton, 1963; Peterson, Hillner, & Saltzman, 1962; Peterson, 1966). For example, Melton (1963) examined serial recall of 9-digit lists, where some lists were repeated up to 4 times throughout the experiment. He found that subjects were better able to recall a repeated list when the list's previous occurrence was recent.

those between correctly recalled items and those between correct recalls and PLIs. To study transitions between correct recalls, we examined the probability that successively recalled items come from nearby list positions, as seen in the lag-CRP functions shown in Figure 3.<sup>5</sup>

As in previous work (e.g., Kahana, 1996; Howard & Kahana, 1999; Kahana et al., 2002) we found a strong tendency for nearby items to be recalled successively, with a bias toward recalling them in forward order. Because the lag-CRP is conditioned on subjects making transitions between items on the target list, the vast majority of which are presented only once, it follows that the subject has already retrieved a context for that list, which then serves as an effective cue for recalling nearby list items. Therefore, one might not expect to see a difference in the lag-CRP between transitions following new and repeated items. However, because repeated items were originally studied in a context prior to that of the current list, one might alternatively expect to see a smaller effect of lag on transitions following recall of repeated items. As can be seen in Figure 3, the lag-CRP functions with respect to new and repeated-item recalls are quite similar, suggesting that the recall of a repeated item does not significantly affect subjects' tendency to recall nearby list items in succession.

We next examined the conditional probabilities of recall transitions between correct recalls and PLIs. It should be noted that in standard free-recall tasks, subjects rarely make PLIs; in this experiment, subjects made an average of 0.61 PLIs per list. Table 1 reports the conditional probabilities of recall transitions between correct recalls and PLIs in addition to conditional probabilities for the other recall transitions in all three experiments. To control for the possible effects of output position, we conducted an analysis of variance (ANOVA) with transition type as one factor (New vs. Repeated) and output position as a second factor (1-3, 4-6, and 7+). Consistent with the retrieved-context hypothesis, Repeated-to-PLI transitions (8.2%) were significantly more frequent than New-to-PLI transitions (6.0%),  $F(1, 99) = 6.62$ ,  $MSe = 0.010$ . Furthermore, the results show an effect of output position,  $F(2, 198) = 16.41$ ,  $MSe = 0.009$ , but no significant interaction between transition type and output position variables,  $F(2, 198) = 2.34$ ,  $MSe = 0.009$ , ns.

## Discussion

Interlist repetitions enhanced recall even for items repeated from as many as 8 lists back. The beneficial effect of interlist repetition was greatest for items presented in recent lists, and it declined for items first presented in less recent lists. The striking increase in recall performance for repeated items is seemingly inconsistent with the retrieved-context hypothesis, which predicts that when subjects recall repeated items, they retrieve competing current- and prior-list contextual information. Based on that prediction, one would expect subjects to inhibit recall of items whose retrieved context only partially matches the current list (Sternberg & Bower, 1974). Such an inhibitory process might be expected to act most strongly to reduce recall of items repeated in the just-

presented list, because the level of competing contextual retrieval would be quite high.

The interlist-repetition effect shown in Figure 3 becomes less mysterious when one considers that subjects typically report recognizing many of the repeated items as repetitions. Therefore, the beneficial effect of repetition might be explained by proposing that subjects pay more attention to items recognized as repeated. Such an account leaves open the possibility that contextual retrieval is operating in free recall, and that repeated items have simply been strengthened in the current-list context.

If contextual retrieval is involved in directing recall transitions, we would expect the recall of a repeated item to retrieve context that overlaps with earlier lists, occasionally leading subjects to make PLIs. Our finding that subjects made significantly more Repeated-to-PLI transitions than New-to-PLI transitions confirms this prediction.

Our exclusive use of mixed lists in this experiment raises a difficulty in interpreting the beneficial effects of interlist repetition on overall recall. We could not say whether recall of repeated items was enhanced at the expense of nonrepeated items. Because evidence of within-list repetition effects (Malmberg & Shiffrin, 2005; Ratcliff, Clark, & Shiffrin, 1990; Tulving & Hastie, 1972) suggests that such competition does occur in free recall, we conducted a follow-up experiment that included some lists without repeats. Comparing recall of new items on mixed and pure lists was expected to reveal whether the beneficial effects of interlist repetition occur at the expense of new items.

## Experiment 2

We designed Experiment 2 to optimize our analysis of PLIs by repeating only items from recent lists. Although subjects make very few PLIs in free recall, most PLIs come from recent lists. Therefore, this experiment limited the source of repeated items to the 3 most recent lists. In addition, more repetitions were included than in Experiment 1; we repeated 2 words from each of 3 previous lists (1, 2, and 3 lists back) for a total of up to 6 repeated items per list.

Our sample in Experiment 2 included both young and older subjects. Given older adults' well documented difficulty in self-initiated recall (Kahana & Wingfield, 2000; Verhaeghen, Marcoen, & Goossens, 1993) and their increased tendency to make PLIs (Kahana et al., 2002), we wondered whether interlist repetitions would yield the same costs and benefits for older adults as they do for young adults.

<sup>5</sup> To calculate the lag-CRP function, one tallies the number of times a transition of a certain lag,  $x$ , was made, and then counts the number of times that a transition of lag  $x$  could have been made within a given trial. Summing over all trials for a given subject, the lag-CRP function plots the number of times a transition of lag  $x$  was made divided by the number of times that a transition of lag  $x$  could have been made. Confidence intervals represent the variability in the lag-CRP functions across subjects.

## Methods

**Subjects.** Subjects included 63 Brandeis University students aged 18 to 29 ( $M=22$ ,  $SD=2.4$ ) and 42 older, community-dwelling adults aged 61 to 92 ( $M=74$ ,  $SD=7.2$ ). Subjects in each group reported themselves to be in good health with average to excellent vision. Both groups were tested to ensure that they had no difficulty reading the words as they were presented on the computer screen. All subjects received an honorarium for taking part in the study.

The young adult group had a mean WAIS-R vocabulary score of 55 ( $SD=5.6$ ), and mean digit spans of 7.5 in the forward direction ( $SD=1.3$ ) and 6.0 in the backward direction ( $SD=1.4$ ). The older adult group had a mean WAIS-R vocabulary score of 53 ( $SD=8.1$ ), and mean digit spans of 6.6 in the forward direction ( $SD=1.3$ ) and 5.5 in the backward direction ( $SD=1.2$ ). The young group averaged 14.7 years of formal education ( $SD=1.7$ ) and the older group averaged 16.4 years of formal education ( $SD=2.0$ ). There was no significant difference between older and young adults' vocabulary scores. Young adults, however, achieved significantly greater digit spans than did older adults, in both the forward,  $t(101) = 3.4$ , and backward,  $t(101) = 2.0$ , directions.

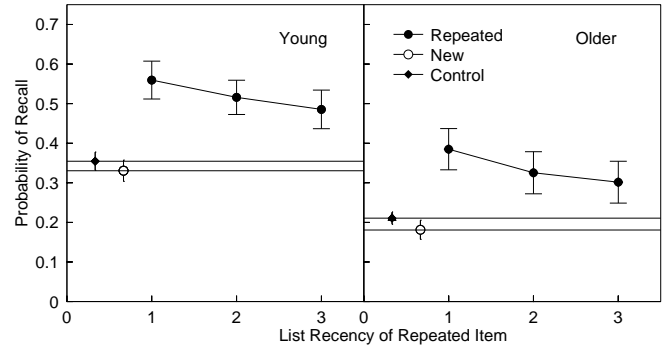
**Procedure.** As in Experiment 1, subjects studied lists of 20 nouns and then were given a delayed free-recall test. The nouns were selected randomly and without replacement from the Toronto Word Pool (Friendly et al., 1982), but we edited this pool to remove words with strong adverse connotations.<sup>6</sup> Subjects studied 14 lists that were designed as follows: The first 4 lists were each composed of 20 unique words. Of the subsequent 10 lists, 7 lists included 6 repeated items (2 each sampled from 1, 2, and 3 lists back), and 3 lists included all new items. The positions of these pure lists in the experimental sequence were counterbalanced across subjects in such a way that two pure lists never appeared consecutively.

We restricted our analyses to lists 6 through 14 to ensure that all mixed lists contained an equal number of repeated items sampled from previous lists (1, 2, and 3 lists back). No items were sampled from list 1, which was considered practice. List items were randomized across trials within a testing session and across subjects.

## Results

Figure 4 shows the probability of recall of control lists, new items from mixed lists, and repeated items for the young (left panel) and older (right panel) adults. Not surprisingly, older adults recalled fewer list items than did young adults in each of these conditions. Older adults also made more PLIs (1.05 per list for the older adults vs. 0.55 per list for the young adults,  $t(103) = 3.29$ ,  $SEM = 0.154$ ) and XLIs (1.05 per list for the older adults vs. 0.32 per list for the young adults,  $t(103) = 3.20$ ,  $SEM = 0.228$ ).

As in Experiment 1, repetition of an item from an earlier list enhanced recall of that item in both young and older adults. For the young adults, repeating an item from the previous list enhanced its recall from .33 (experimental lists) or .35 (control lists) to .56. The same pattern held for older



**Figure 4.** Probabilities of Recalling Once-presented (New) and Repeated Items for Young and Older Adults in Experiment 2. Repeated items were presented from 1, 2, and 3 lists back. The probabilities of recalling new items in experimental and control trials are designated by the horizontal lines corresponding to open and darkened circles, respectively. Error bars are 95%-confidence intervals calculated according to the method of Loftus & Masson (1994).

adults: when an item was repeated from the previous list, recall performance improved from .18 (experimental lists) or .21 (control lists) to .38. Although this interlist repetition was greatest for recent lists, it remained consistently higher than the recall rate of new items in both experimental and control lists. We conducted an ANOVA to compare recall of young and older adults as a function of list recency. This analysis revealed significant main effects of subject age,  $F(1, 103) = 58.00$ ,  $MSe = 0.044$ , and list recency,  $F(2, 206) = 7.52$ ,  $MSe = 0.020$ , but no significant interaction between these factors,  $F(2, 198) < 1$ , ns.

Figure 4 compares the recall probabilities between mixed lists of new and repeated items and pure lists of new items. Although the difference in recall probabilities for new items in control and experimental lists was quite small, owing to the large amount of data collected, this small difference was statistically reliable both for young,  $t(62) = -2.03$ ,  $SEM = 0.012$ , and for older adults,  $t(41) = -3.05$ ,  $SEM = 0.010$ .

As in Experiment 1, we studied two types of transitions: those between correctly recalled items and those between correct recalls and PLIs. To study transitions between correctly recalled items, we examined the probability that successively recalled items come from nearby list positions, as seen in the lag-CRP function plotted in Figure 5.

Figure 5 demonstrates a strong tendency for nearby items to be recalled successively, with a bias toward recalling them in forward order for both young and older adults. Furthermore, the lag-CRP functions with respect to new and repeated item recalls are quite similar.<sup>7</sup> These results are con-

<sup>6</sup> We excluded the following words from the Toronto Noun Pool because we feared that they would be distracting and unpleasant, especially to older adults: ACID, ARMOR, ATTACK, BATTLE, BULLET, BUTCHER, CAPTIVE, DANGER, DESPAIR, DEVIL, DISEASE, ELDER, FAILURE, FEVER, FUNERAL, HEAVEN, HORROR, ILLNESS, OFFENSE, PISTOL, PRISON, RIFLE, SICKNESS, SOLDIER, TROUBLE, VICTIM, WEAPON, WIDOW, and ERROR.

<sup>7</sup> Because of the smaller sample size and the lower overall recall

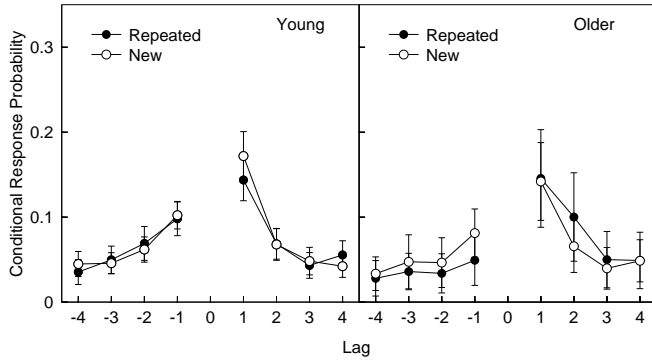


Figure 5. Lag-conditional-response Probability (CRP) Functions with Respect to Once-presented (New) and Repeated Items for Young and Older Adults in Experiment 2. Lag-CRPs with respect to new and repeated items are designated with darkened and open circles, respectively. Data are collapsed across all output positions. Error bars are 95%-confidence intervals calculated according to the method of Loftus & Masson (1994).

sistent with those of Experiment 1, suggesting that the recall of a repeated item does not substantially affect subjects' tendency to recall nearby list items in succession. In comparing free-recall performance of young and older adults, Kahana et al. (2002) found that young adults exhibited a greater tendency to make transitions to nearby items, as shown by a more sharply peaked lag-CRP function. The present data exhibit a similar qualitative trend, although the age difference in the steepness of the lag-CRP functions (as determined by fitting a power function to each subject's lag-CRP) was not statistically reliable ( $t(97) = 1.82$ ,  $SEM = 0.218$ ,  $p = 0.07$ ).<sup>8</sup>

We next examined the conditional probabilities of recall transitions between correct recalls and PLIs. For reference, Table 1 reports the conditional probabilities of recall transitions between correct recalls and PLIs in addition to conditional probabilities for the other recall transition types in all three experiments. We conducted a mixed-design ANOVA with transition type (New vs. Repeated) and output position (1-3 and 4-6) as repeated measures, and age as a between-subject factor. Consistent with the retrieved-context hypothesis and the results of Experiment 1, Repeated-to-PLI transitions (11.0%) were significantly more frequent than New-to-PLI transitions (8.0%), as evidenced by a significant main effect of transition type,  $F(1, 103) = 6.17$ ,  $MSe = 0.012$ .<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, older adults generally made many more transitions to PLIs than did young adults, as evidenced by a significant main effect of age,  $F(1, 103) = 27.50$ ,  $MSe = 0.029$ . Older adults also exhibited a trend toward making more transitions to PLIs late in recall, as shown by a marginally nonsignificant two-way interaction between age and output position,  $F(1, 103) = 3.58$ ,  $MSe = 0.068$ ,  $p = 0.06$ . Importantly, however, age did not interact with transition type ( $F < 1$ ), and none of the other interaction terms approached significance ( $F < 1$ ).

## Discussion

As in Experiment 1, interlist repetition enhanced recall, with the greatest enhancement occurring for items first presented in recent lists. The small difference in recall observed for new items in mixed and pure lists is consistent with prior findings (Malmberg & Shiffrin, 2005; Ratcliff et al., 1990). That a positive list strength effect was observed for mixed lists of interlist repetitions and new items further suggests that retrieved contextual information may determine the presence and magnitude of list strength effects (Malmberg & Shiffrin, 2005). More importantly, the small recall difference suggests that the interlist-repetition effect cannot simply be due to diminished recall of new items in mixed lists, but rather, to enhanced recall of repeated items. Experiment 2 also replicated the finding of an increase in PLIs following recall of a repeated item, as predicted by associative-retrieval accounts of free recall (e.g., Howard & Kahana, 2002; Sirotin, Kimball, & Kahana, 2005). Although our older subjects recalled fewer items overall, and made more PLIs, both groups exhibited the same costs and benefits associated with interlist repetition—that is, they both recalled more repeated items, especially those presented on recent lists, and they both committed more PLIs following their recall of these repeated items.

## Experiment 3

An associative-retrieval account of free recall predicts that individuals will make more PLIs following recall of a repeated item, but it makes a much more specific prediction as well. That is, it predicts that a PLI committed immediately after recall of either a repeated item or another PLI will come from the same list in which the repeated item or PLI was previously studied. Furthermore, these two recalled items are predicted to come from nearby serial positions on that list.

Accordingly, we conducted a third experiment designed to elicit a significantly greater number of intrusions. Specifically, we used an externalized-free-recall (EFR) procedure developed by Kahana et al. (2005) and based on earlier work by Bousfield and Rosner (1970); see also Roediger and Payne (1985). Whereas subjects in a standard free-recall experiment are instructed to recall items from the target list in any order, Bousfield and Rosner (1970) instructed subjects to say aloud any words that came to mind, even if they were not on the target list. In Kahana's variant of this technique,

performance of the older adults, their lag-CRP functions appear to be noisier than those of the young adults.

<sup>8</sup> In previous work, Kahana et al. (2002) found that older adults exhibited weaker lag-recency than young adults. In the present study, we replicated this effect with all trials included in the analysis. When we restricted the analysis to mixed lists, however, the effect was not significant.

<sup>9</sup> These results were only based on recall transitions 1-6, because much less data exist for later recalls. Although it would appear desirable to limit the conditional probabilities in Table 1 to only those output positions where there is little missing data, in order to estimate every type of recall, including the probability of stopping, Table 1 reports probabilities for all recall transitions.

subjects were further instructed to press the spacebar immediately following any response that they knew to be incorrect. Thus, the EFR task attempts to open to experimental scrutiny the dual processes of generating and editing potential recall responses. Half of the subjects in Experiment 3 were given the original Bousfield EFR procedure and the other half were given Kahana's variant.

## Methods

**Subjects.** Twenty-eight Brandeis University undergraduates participated for either payment or course credit.

**Procedure.** The procedure closely followed that of Experiment 2 with one critical exception. For the 90-s vocal recall period, we instructed subjects to recall as many items as possible from the list and also to say any other words that came to mind. We further instructed one half of the subjects ( $N=14$ ) to press the spacebar key after saying a word that they knew did not appear in the current list.

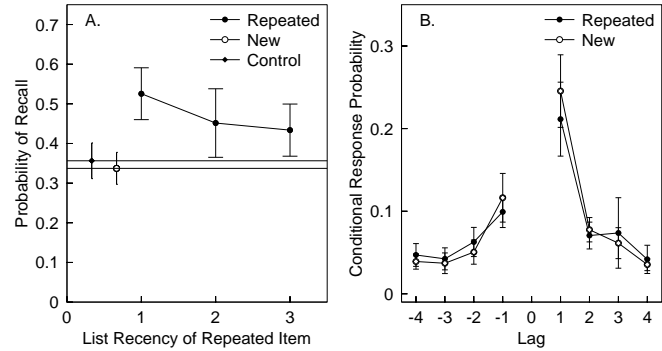
Subjects completed four sessions spaced at least one day apart. In all four sessions, subjects studied 14 lists of 20 nouns sampled from the same pool as in Experiment 2. In Session 1, all 14 lists included 20 unique words. In Sessions 2-4, the lists were identical to those used in Experiment 2. List 1 served as practice and was not included in subsequent analyses, and items from list 1 did not appear in subsequent lists as repetitions. List items were randomized across trials within a testing session and across subjects.

## Results

Figure 6A shows the probability of recall of control lists, new items from mixed lists, and repeated items. As in both previous experiments, subjects recalled a higher percentage of repeated items, with the greatest benefit accruing to those items repeated in recent lists. The similarity of the lag-CRP functions, shown in Figure 6B, suggests that recall of a repeated item does not substantially affect subjects' tendency to recall nearby list items in succession. That the recall levels and lag-CRP functions are consistent with those for young subjects in Experiment 2 (who received lists of identical composition to those used in the current experiment) suggests that the externalized-recall instructions had no appreciable effect on subjects' overall recall performance.

The EFR instructions did matter, however, in the commission and monitoring of intrusions. Subjects in Experiment 3 made 2.87 PLIs per trial in the *no-spacebar* condition and 3.35 PLIs per trial in the *spacebar* condition. These PLI rates, which include responses that subjects rejected in the spacebar condition, are approximately 5 times higher than the PLI rates obtained in the two previous experiments.

The EFR procedure also demonstrated subjects' ability to monitor intrusions. Subjects in the spacebar condition correctly rejected 77% of their PLIs and 72% of their XLIs. Conversely, they incorrectly rejected 4% of their correct responses. These results are consistent with the hypothesis that, during recall of a target list, subjects think of items not presented at study and reject them, suppressing them from



**Figure 6.** Probabilities of Correct Recall and Lag-conditional-response Probability (CRP) Functions in Experiment 3. (A) Probabilities of recalling items in the current list that appeared 1, 2, and 3 lists back in Experiment 3. The probability of recalling once-presented items is designated by a horizontal line corresponding to an open circle. (B) Lag-CRP functions with respect to once-presented and repeated items in Experiment 3. Lag-CRPs with respect to new and repeated items are designated by darkened and open circles, respectively. Data are collapsed across all output positions. Error bars are 95%-confidence intervals calculated according to the method of Loftus & Masson (1994).

verbal report. This interpretation is further corroborated by the fact that the number of PLIs not rejected is comparable to the number of PLIs committed under standard free-recall instructions in the previous experiments.

We next examined the conditional probabilities of recall transitions between correct recalls and PLIs. For reference, Table 1 reports the conditional probabilities of recall transitions between correct recalls and PLIs in addition to conditional probabilities for the other recall transition types in all three experiments. To control for the possible effects of output position and condition (whether or not the subjects pressed the spacebar key after recalling an intrusion), we conducted an ANOVA with transition type as one factor (New vs. Repeated), output position as a second factor (1-3, 4-6, and 7+), and instruction type (spacebar vs. no spacebar) as a third factor.

Consistent with the retrieved-context hypothesis, Repeated-to-PLI transitions (21%) were significantly more frequent than New-to-PLI transitions (17%) overall and within each instruction condition (22% vs. 18% in the no-spacebar condition and 20% vs. 15% in the spacebar condition). There was a main effect of transition type,  $F(1,26) = 10.30$ ,  $MSe = 0.008$ . Furthermore, the results demonstrated an effect of output position,  $F(2,52) = 13.05$ ,  $MSe = 0.012$ , but there was neither a significant interaction between transition type and output position ( $F(2,52) = 0.33$ ,  $MSe = 0.015$ , n.s.) nor an effect of condition ( $F(1,26) = 0.29$ ,  $MSe = 0.081$ , n.s.).

A further prediction of the retrieved-context hypothesis is that a PLI that follows the recall of either a repeated item or another PLI will tend to come from the same list in which the repeated item or PLI was previously studied. Furthermore, these two recalled items are predicted to come from nearby serial positions on that list. To examine these predictions, we

Table 2  
*Temporal Associations and Prior-list Intrusions (PLIs). This table reports the number of Repeated-to-PLI and PLI-to-PLI transitions with lags  $\pm 1$ ,  $\pm 2$ , and  $\pm 3$  in the original lists.*

Transition Type	lag (Exp. 3)			lag (Exp. 1 & 2)		
	$\pm 1$	$\pm 2$	$\pm 3$	$\pm 1$	$\pm 2$	$\pm 3$
Repeated to PLI	31	14	4	10	8	5
PLI to PLI	49	20	6	17	8	5

aggregated data across subjects and experimental trials of recall transitions made (from repeated items to PLIs, and from PLIs to PLIs) in which both items were originally presented in the same list.

Across all subjects in Experiments 1 and 2, there were 70 Repeated-to-PLI transitions and 75 PLI-to-PLI transitions, with each pair coming from the same previously studied list. By contrast, subjects in Experiment 3 generated a total of 96 Repeated-to-PLI transitions and 171 PLI-to-PLI transitions, with each pair coming from the same previously studied list. Table 2 shows the number of Repeated-to-PLI and PLI-to-PLI transitions involving same-list pairs, with respect to lags of  $\pm 1$ ,  $\pm 2$ , and  $\pm 3$ .

As shown in Table 2, the results exhibit a pattern analogous to the lag-CRP for correct-item recalls, with the greatest number of PLIs coming from adjacent serial positions (lag =  $\pm 1$ ), followed by a sharp decline in PLI transitions as lag increases. A chi-square test on the observed frequency of Repeated-to-PLI and PLI-to-PLI transitions for same-list pairs indicated a significant effect of lag on both transition types in Experiment 3 (for Repeated-to-PLI transitions,  $\chi^2(2) = 23.31$ ; for PLI-to-PLI transitions,  $\chi^2(2) = 38.48$ ). Although the data from Experiments 1 and 2 were qualitatively consistent with these results, the statistics were less robust. In the case of Repeated-to-PLI transitions from same-list pairs, the effect of lag was not statistically reliable ( $\chi^2(2) = 1.63$ , ns), whereas for PLI-to-PLI transitions from same-list pairs, the effect of lag was reliable ( $\chi^2(2) = 7.80$ ).

## Discussion

Consistent with an associative-retrieval account of free recall (e.g., Howard & Kahana, 2002; Sirotin et al., 2005), subjects made significantly more Repeated-to-PLI transitions than New-to-PLI transitions (a finding replicated in all three experiments). By encouraging subjects to produce any item that came to mind during the recall period, the EFR procedure elicited a far greater number of PLIs, thus enabling us to test a more subtle prediction of the associative-retrieval account. As predicted, we found that when PLIs came from the same prior list as a repeated item, the lag between their serial positions in that prior list was likely to be small. This same effect of lag was also observed for same-list PLI-to-PLI transitions (see Table 2). These results suggest that the same associative processes underlying episodic retrieval (as demonstrated in the lag-CRP effect) guide the commission of PLIs as well. That these associative tendencies only come

to light with the use of an externalized recall procedure underscores subjects' ability to effectively monitor and edit intrusions prior to verbal report under typical free-recall conditions.

## General Discussion

In three experiments we found that temporal associations formed in prior lists can induce subjects to commit PLIs during recall. This finding augments evidence drawn from novel analyses of prior datasets: that PLIs tend to come from recent lists and tend to be words that are semantically related to the just-recalled item. Thus, three factors that play an important role in veridical recall—temporal association, recency, and semantic relatedness—also play an important role in false recall.

Our finding that PLIs can be evoked by episodic associations formed while studying and recalling earlier lists can be seen as an illustration of the continuous nature of episodic memory (e.g., Estes, 1991; Murdock & Kahana, 1993). To the extent that a recalled word activates words studied in different list contexts, other words that are temporally or semantically associated with the cue word tend to be recalled. When a target item has also been studied on an earlier list, as in the present experiments, this continuous-memory account would predict an increased tendency to commit PLIs following recall of repeated items. Furthermore, these PLIs are predicted to be words studied near the first occurrence of the repeated item, an effect that was also observed in our data. On the other hand, our data demonstrate that PLIs are quite rare in standard free recall, and that more than 50% of PLIs are immediately followed by recall of an item from the target list. Thus, subjects' ability to focus their retrieval on target items is good but not perfect. Taken together, these findings can be interpreted in terms of associative models of recall that embody both the continuous-memory assumption and a temporal coding mechanism to permit list differentiation (e.g., Anderson & Bower, 1972).

Although recalling a repeated word tended to evoke PLIs, the repeated items themselves were much better recalled than once-presented items. One could argue that this result, which demonstrates a benefit of interlist repetition, is simply a manifestation of recency operating across lists. If subjects somehow failed to encode a repeated item on the target list, they would still be able to recall that item's occurrence in a prior list (as if it were a PLI). And because we know that recent items are more likely to be recalled as PLIs (nearly half of all PLIs came from the immediately preceding list), we would expect the greatest increase in recall for items repeated in recent lists. We can evaluate this account by estimating the increase in recall for repeated items that would be predicted on the basis of the PLI data. In the case of young adults in Experiment 2, subjects made an average of .25 PLIs from 1 list back, .07 PLIs from 2 lists back, and .06 PLIs from 3 lists back, and 2 of the items from each of the three lists were repeated in the target list. If the rate of committing PLIs also served as an estimate for recalling items repeated from previous lists, then the probability that a repeated item from

Table 1

*Recall transition probabilities between new items, repeated items, prior-list intrusions (PLIs), extralist intrusions (XLI), repetitions, and stopping in experimental trials. (Data from Experiments 1-3.) In Experiment 1, each list included up to 4 repeated items; in Experiments 2 and 3, the repetition lists included 6 repeated items.*

Experiment	Item	Correct	PLI	XLI	Repetition	Stop
1	New	0.72	0.060	0.042	0.030	0.15
	Repeated	0.73	0.082	0.044	0.032	0.11
	PLI	0.59	0.10	0.052	0.041	0.21
	XLI	0.60	0.083	0.095	0.019	0.20
2	New	0.66	0.088	0.083	0.062	0.11
	Repeated	0.64	0.10	0.049	0.061	0.15
	PLI	0.57	0.11	0.064	0.081	0.17
	XLI	0.50	0.13	0.11	0.062	0.20
3	New	0.66	0.17	0.11	0.019	0.046
	Repeated	0.62	0.21	0.098	0.020	0.046
	PLI	0.48	0.25	0.14	0.021	0.11
	XLI	0.49	0.25	0.15	0.024	0.083

a prior list will be recalled like an intrusion is 3% for 1 list back and less than 2% for 2 and 3 lists back. Thus, PLIs can only account for less than 5% of the increase in performance for repeated items. These calculations are consistent with the view that subjects allocate additional attention or encoding resources to items recognized as repetitions.

Alternatively, improved recall of repeated items could be a consequence of the coupling of two processes: a generation process that readily retrieves items from earlier lists, and an editing process that inhibits those retrievals that are not matched to the current-list context (e.g., Sirotin et al., 2005; Kahana et al., 2005). This generate-and-edit interpretation requires that the editing process knows how to distinguish earlier-list retrievals that were repeated on the current list from those that were not. Indeed, the similar recall level and dramatic increase in the number of PLIs in Experiment 3 relative to Experiment 2 lend support to the generate-and-edit interpretation. One might argue that the additional intrusions that occurred in Experiment 3 with externalized-recall instructions reflect modifications in subjects' editing process that permitted the verbalization of responses that are suppressed under typical free-recall constraints. Furthermore, the present results underscore the need for models of free recall to incorporate explicit list-discrimination mechanisms. Recently published models of free recall, including the temporal-context model (Howard & Kahana, 2002; Howard, Fotedar, Datey, & Hasselmo, 2005) and the context-activation model (Davelaar, Goshen-Gottstein, Ashkenazi, Haarmann, & Usher, 2005) have neglected to include such a mechanism.

Theories of episodic memory that have been highly successful in explaining subjects' pattern of correct recalls, cannot generally account for subjects' increased tendency to make intrusions to items from recent lists, and to items that are semantically or temporally associated to the just-recalled item. As an example, the Search of Associative Memory (SAM) model (e.g., Raaijmakers & Shiffrin, 1980, 1981) makes the simplifying assumption that recalls are restricted

to items from the target list. In extending SAM to account for the present intrusion data, Sirotin et al. (2005) needed to introduce four new assumptions to the model. First, the episodic associative strength matrix was expanded to include items from all prior lists. Second, a semantic matrix was added to represent the degree of relatedness among all items in memory. Semantic strength was then combined multiplicatively with episodic strength to probabilistically cue recall. Third, a mechanism was required to boost the strength of items recognized as having been seen in previous lists. Fourth, a postretrieval recognition mechanism was added to determine whether or not to actually recall a retrieved item. Omitting any one of these assumptions prevented the model from fitting crucial aspects of the experimental data. That such elaborations to a model as well-developed and successful as SAM are required indicates that the current results place strong constraints on models of memory.

In their eSAM model, Sirotin et al. (2005) used the same mechanisms that give rise to correct recalls to produce intrusions. This turned out to be critical in accounting for the present finding that subjects commit more PLIs following recall of items studied in multiple list contexts. However, one might reasonably hypothesize that retrieval of an item would be suppressed when it is accompanied by accurate contextual, associative, or source information, that is not matched to the target list. In this case, items that are only weakly associated with their list context (or with neighboring items) would be more likely to be intruded than items that are strongly linked to their list context. Our data appear to rule out this alternative hypothesis, because subjects committed more PLIs following the recall of repeated items. That is, just as recall of a list item serves as a retrieval cue for subsequent responses, repeated items must act as stronger retrieval cues than new items to elicit PLIs. It is difficult to imagine how this could occur unless sufficiently strong episodic associations between the repeated items and PLIs had previously been forged. Moreover, subjects tended to intrude items from nearby serial positions in earlier lists. Yet, even if

a just-recalled repeated item and the subsequent PLI were not originally presented in the same earlier list, the strength of their episodic association might still derive from the temporal proximity of item presentation, item recall, or list context. Thus, even items whose associations to list context are sufficiently strong to be activated when recalling a later list can be intruded on the basis of those earlier episodic associations.

But why should items that have sufficient prior-list associative information to be retrieved also be intruded? Further comparisons among the experiments can help to address this question. As previously mentioned, subjects' ability to correctly reject most PLIs (Experiment 3) underscores their ability to focus recall on the current list. In addition, the great difference in number of PLIs committed per trial between externalized free recall (Experiment 3) and standard free recall (Experiments 1-2) demonstrates subjects' ability to suppress PLIs. Taken together, these results suggest a direct parallel between PLIs and other false memories described in the experimental literature, and particularly, intrusions in the DRM paradigm. Indeed, what distinguishes false memories, both qualitatively and quantitatively, is their tendency to be remembered with a degree of certainty that is comparable to veridical memories (Gallo & Roediger, 2002; Roediger & McDermott, 1995; Roediger et al., 2001). Although we did not ask subjects to make confidence judgments, our results imply a high level of certainty that leads subjects to falsely consider PLIs to be correct. As such, our results demonstrate how temporal associations may induce false memories.

To the extent that subjects consider PLIs to be correct, one may ask what specific processes underlie this mistaken judgment. One possibility raised by our findings is that the decision to recall items depends on the outcome of response competition among implicitly generated items of varying strengths and types of association with the current list. Another possibility is that items retrieved from an earlier list are mistaken for repeated items in the current list. That is, subjects might knowingly commit PLIs believing they were presented in both the prior and current lists. Alternatively, when recalling a repeated item, retrieval of associative information from both current and prior lists might lead to a substitution in list tags or source information for prior-list items. This might occur, for instance, if when studying a repeated item, prior-list items come to mind and form new episodic associations with the current list.

## Conclusions

We have shown that introducing items from previous lists into the current list enhances recall of repeated items while at the same time inducing subjects to make PLIs. The increase in PLIs following repeated items can be readily interpreted in terms of associative models of recall that embody the continuous-memory assumption (Estes, 1991; Murdock & Kahana, 1993), a temporal coding mechanism to permit list differentiation (Anderson & Bower, 1972), and a post-retrieval recognition or editing process (Sirotnin et al., 2005).

In their discussion of the negative part-to-whole transfer phenomenon, Sternberg and Bower (1974) wrote, "If inter-

item associations do play any important role in such [interlist] transfer, it remains to be determined what this role is..." Our finding of increased PLIs following recall of repeated items suggests that, whereas interlist repetition can increase overall recall (as in the early trials of whole-list learning), it can also interfere with recall through the retrieval of competing associations from earlier lists. And just as semantic relatedness plays an important role both in veridical recall and in creating false memories, the present data show the same to be true of temporal association.

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