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In for a pound, in for a penny: How the opportunity to gain reward influences the competition for memory resources

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Abstract

When people encounter items that they believe will help them gain reward, they later remember them better than those that do not. While it is adaptive to preferentially remember experiences that will be useful later, it is unknown how the competition for memory resources is implemented in time, through the processes of encoding, consolidation, and retrieval. In two experiments we promised participants £1 for remembering some pictures, but only 10 pence for remembering others. Their ability to describe the pictures was tested after one minute and after 24 hours. Memory at immediate test showed effects of list composition, suggesting local competition at encoding and/or retrieval. These results are consistent with our recently-proposed emotional Context Maintenance and Retrieval model, supporting it as a general account of motivated memory. In contrast, relative to this baseline, more valuable memories were not preferentially retained following delay, suggesting no detectable role of competition for consolidation.

Introduction

4 It is paramount to remember information that can help us attain our goals and
5 increase our subjective utility. Because memory resources are limited, it is adaptive
6 for the brain to prioritise experiences that can be leveraged to maximise utility over
7 less-important experiences (Gershman & Daw, 2017). This intuition was expressed
8 by Sherlock Holmes, Arthur Conan Doyle's timeless protagonist, when (justifying his
9 ignorance of astronomy) he remarked that "It is of the highest importance... not to
10 have useless facts elbowing out the useful ones". Holmes' intuition agrees with
11 rational considerations, which suggest that if memory resources are limited, it is best
12 to hold on to the most valuable information, compared globally against all other
13 information (Anderson & Schooler, 1991). But how such competition plays out in
14 practice is not so simple, for at least two reasons. First, experiences are encountered
15 sequentially rather than all at once, meaning that a rational agent must decide which
16 memories to retain without knowing the full set of competitors. Second, Holmes'
17 picture of the mind as a storeroom of fixed, limited capacity is grossly oversimplified:
18 memories can compete, interfere with each other and promote each other at many
19 stages of encoding, consolidation, and retrieval. For a rational analysis it's not clear
20 to what extent each of these stages represents a meaningful resource bottleneck.
21 Both of these considerations suggest that competition may occur locally, only among
22 items that are close to each other on some contextual dimension, such as time (the
23 preceding or following items) or space (various objects in the same scene). Our
24 research question, therefore, concerns the scope of the competition of reward-
25 predicting information for memory resources.

26 To answer this question it is useful to consider how the opportunity to maximise
27 utility influences the cognitive mechanisms that underlie successful recall. In an
28 experimental setting where remembering some items earn more money or ‘points’,
29 high-value items are better attended and remembered (e.g. Ariel & Castel, 2014;
30 Lee, Greening, & Mather, 2015; Wittmann et al., 2005), although some observe
31 memory facilitation only in delayed tests (e.g. Montagrin, Brosch, & Sander, 2013;
32 Spaniol, Schain, & Bowen, 2014). The mechanistic relationship between reward
33 anticipation, attention, and memory has not been worked out (Lisman, Grace, &
34 Duzel, 2011). Because a signal that reward may be available is goal-relevant and
35 goal-congruent is “emotional” by definition (Sander, Grandjean, & Scherer, 2005), it
36 may be useful to refer to the emotional memory literature to aid this investigation.
37 The emotional Context Maintenance and Retrieval model (eCMR), a variant of
38 retrieved-context models that describes the influence of emotional value on free
39 recall (Talmi, Lohnas, & Daw, in press), suggests that the extra attention participants
40 allocate to high-value items binds items more tightly to their encoding context. When
41 asked to freely recall these items later this tighter binding enhances the competitive
42 advantage of high-value items against low-value items, but makes it difficult to link
43 them to a new context later on (Madan, Fujiwara, Gerson, & Caplan, 2012). This
44 account assumes that the temporal context narrows the memory search during recall
45 to focus solely on the study set (Lohnas, Polyn, & Kahana, 2015), such that high-
46 reward items only compete with items that were studied in the same set as them.
47 The implication is that the competition for retrieval resources is local (intra-list) rather
48 than global (inter-list).

49 There is evidence for local competition for recall from experiments with
50 emotionally-arousing words, sentences, and pictures: all items that are known to

51 capture attention preferentially, and which might heuristically be interpreted as
52 fitness-relevant. In these experiments memory for emotionally-arousing items is
53 typically increased compared to memory for neutral ones when emotional and
54 neutral items are presented and recalled together, in 'mixed' lists (Barnacle, Tsivilis,
55 Schaefer, & Talmi, 2017; Hadley & MacKay, 2006; MacKay et al., 2004; Talmi, Luk,
56 McGarry, & Moscovitch, 2007), or when the emotional item is the 'oddball' among
57 neutral ones (Hurlemann et al., 2005; Mather & Knight, 2009). The recall advantage
58 of emotional items is less pronounced and sometimes disappears altogether when
59 emotional and neutral items are presented and recalled separately, in 'pure' lists.
60 eCMR simulates these situations successfully (Talmi, Lohnas, & Daw, in press).
61 There is also evidence that recalling items that are not personally valued, but attract
62 attention because they are bizarre, is enhanced because of local completion during
63 retrieval (McDaniel, Dornburg, & Gynn, 2005; Schmidt, 1991). It is unknown, at
64 present, whether these accounts generalise to information that predicts reward
65 directly and explicitly. To the extent that competition for memory resources is global
66 in nature, high-value items should out-compete low-value items regardless of the
67 local context of their study set. Indeed, it would be irrational for a fully informed
68 observer to allocate limited resources to low-value items in detriment to high-value
69 items.

70 Here we test this prediction by examining memory for stimuli whose later recall
71 explicitly predicts high and low reward, encoded in pure and mixed lists. In two
72 experiments, our participants viewed lists of neutral pictures that were presented
73 framed or unframed. They knew that they could gain larger monetary reward by
74 recalling framed items on later test. The critical manipulation was the arrangement of
75 framed and unframed items in the list, such that some lists included both item types

76 (mixed) and some only one (pure). The frame provides a clear signal of which
77 individual stimulus should be prioritised (Mather, Clewett, Sakaki, & Harley, 2016;
78 Mather & Sutherland, 2011). Importantly, in the global context of the experiment –
79 and, indeed, the participant’s day outside the laboratory – remembering framed
80 pictures promised more reward than average, certainly more reward than unframed
81 pictures. If the competition for memory resources is a global, inter-list phenomenon,
82 rational participants should attend the framed pictures preferentially regardless of the
83 list in which they were presented and recall should mirror this order of priority. By
84 contrast, if the competition for recall is local, as predicted by eCMR (Simulation 2 in
85 Talmi et al., 2018), the recall advantage for high- over low-value items will be greater
86 in mixed lists, a pattern called a ‘list-composition effect’. Confirming this prediction
87 would support eCMR as a general model of motivated memory, across very different
88 operationalisations of value.

89 Theories of modulated consolidation ascribe enhanced delayed memory for
90 items that are highly emotional or that are associated with reward to competition for
91 resources during memory consolidation (for review, see Lisman et al., 2011; see also
92 Patil, Murty, Dunsmoor, Phelps, & Davachi, 2017). Crucially, modulated-
93 consolidation theories hold that high-value items will be forgotten more slowly holds
94 irrespective of the list in which they were presented. Despite decade-long interest in
95 list composition effects, to our knowledge this effect has never been tested with a
96 prolonged retention interval.

97 In summary, experiments 1-2 tested memory immediately to assess whether the
98 list-composition effect will be observed. Experiment 2 added a delayed test to test
99 the hypothesis that reward attenuates the forgetting rate regardless of the local
100 context.

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Experiment 1

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104 **Methods**

105 ***Participants***

106 The sample size was selected using Gpower to give us 95% power to detect a
107 large effect size, as observed in our previous work with the emotional list
108 composition task (e.g. Barnacle et al., 2017), in a two-tailed paired t-test. Participants
109 in Experiment 1 (N=29, 28 females, 1 male, age range 18-21) were all students, and
110 received course credits for participation. To be eligible participants were required to
111 have normal or corrected-to-normal vision. Participants could not take part if they
112 were between 18-35 years old, had past or current neurological or psychiatric
113 problem, taking centrally-acting medications, or any non-prescription recreational
114 drugs. The project gained ethical approval from the University of Manchester
115 Research Ethics Committee.

116

117 ***Materials***

118 Stimuli consisted of pictures retrieved from freely-available databases, adjusted
119 in size to 280x210 pixels. In addition, the experiments used 9 printed sheets with 36
120 easy arithmetic subtraction and addition problems for the distractor task, with one
121 sheet assigned randomly to each block. The experiment was implemented using
122 Cogent200 on a MATLAB platform. 48 pictures of clothing and 48 pictures of

123 stationary were used. Pictures were retrieved from the Bank of Standardized Stimuli
124 (Brodeur, Dionne-Dostie, Montreuil, & Lepage, 2010; Brodeur, Guérard, & Bouras,
125 2014) and from Food-Pics (Blechert, Meule, Busch, & Ohla, 2014; scores for pictures
126 drawn from the Food-pic database were converted from a 1-100 scale to the BOSS
127 1-5 scale). Pictures from the two categories were matched for familiarity (clothing:
128 $M=4.30$, $SD=.32$; stationary: $M=4.39$, $SD=.35$) and complexity (clothing: $M=2.29$,
129 $SD=.37$; stationary: $M=2.30$, $SD=.49$). Each list included 8 pictures from each
130 category. In the pure list condition they were all either framed with a grey square, or
131 unframed. In the mixed list condition, 4 pictures of each type were framed and 4
132 unframed. The assignment of pictures to conditions was randomised for every
133 participant.

134

135 ***Procedure***

136 Participants were tested individually, in a quiet room, in the presence of a single
137 experimenter. After providing informed consent, the experiment began with
138 instructions and practice and ended with reward delivery. It comprised of 6 blocks.
139 Each block included a picture task, a distractor task, and a free recall test. These are
140 described below. The allocation of picture lists to the picture task in each block, the
141 order of pictures in each list, and the order of blocks were randomised for each
142 participant. The experiment included 2 blocks of pure lists where all pictures were
143 framed (pure lists, high reward), 2 blocks where none of the pictures were framed
144 (pure lists, low reward), and 2 blocks where half the pictures were framed and the
145 other half unframed (mixed lists).

146 *Picture task.* In each block participants viewed 16 pictures which could all be
147 framed, all unframed, or half framed and half unframed. Each picture was individually

148 presented at the centre of the screen on a white background. It was presented for 2s
149 followed by a blank screen for 3.5, 4 or 4.5s (randomised ISI) before the next picture
150 was presented.

151 *Distractor task.* Participants were given 60s to complete as many arithmetic
152 questions as possible.

153 *Free recall test.* Participants were given a few minutes to describe in writing each
154 of the pictures they remembered (3 minutes in Experiment 1, 4 minutes in
155 Experiment 2). They were prompted to keep trying if they stopped before the time. A
156 beep signalled the start and end of the memory task.

157 *Instructions.* Before the experiment began participants were given instructions
158 about each of the tasks. For the picture task, they were asked to view the pictures
159 and try to commit them to memory. They were told that they will earn £1 for recalling
160 framed pictures, and 10 pence for recalling unframed pictures, but not given any
161 information about the proportion of framed pictures. For the Distractor task, they
162 were informed that to qualify for reward they must (1) complete at least eight
163 questions (2) those two that are randomly selected for checking must be completed
164 accurately. For the free recall test, participants were asked to describe each of the
165 pictures they could recall by writing three details about the picture, separated by a
166 comma; e.g. "A plant, spikey leaves, in round pot". Participants were explicitly told
167 that their goal was to maximise their monetary reward.

168 *Practice.* After the instructions were delivered, participants practiced each of the
169 tasks using a set of 16 additional pictures (3 framed). During the practice block a
170 lower reward rate was in effect (10 pence vs. 1 penny). At the end of the practice

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171 block participants were given feedback about their performance and paid any money
172 they earned.

173 *Reward delivery.* At the end of the session, one block was selected randomly,
174 and participants who qualified for reward, based on their performance on the
175 distractor task, were paid according to their free recall performance. They were
176 debriefed and thanked.

177

178 **Results**

179 Picture recall was scored as 'correct' if participants recalled at least 3 correct details
180 about a picture. The proportion of correct recalls was calculated for each condition
181 (out of 16 in the two pure list conditions, and out of 8 in the mixed list condition).

182 The statistical analysis of average recall follows exactly on the analytic approach
183 we have used in previous work. That work led to the prediction that we would find an
184 interaction between list type and reward. Therefore, the four comparisons that ensue
185 – within lists (high vs. low reward, in pure and mixed lists separately) and across lists
186 (high and low reward in mixed vs. pure lists) are all planned contrasts. To be
187 conservative we corrected these for familywise error by using a Bonferroni-corrected
188 p-value threshold of $p < .0125$.

189 The average free recall data are depicted in Figure 1. They were analysed with a
190 2 (list: pure, mixed) x 2 (reward: high, low) repeated-measures ANOVA. The effect of
191 list type was not significant, but the interaction with reward was significant and large,
192 $F(1,28)=20.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .42$, qualifying the significant main effect of reward,
193 $F(1,28)=10.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .28$. These results reveal a reward-dependent list-

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194 composition effect. Planned paired t-tests showed that the effect of reward was only
195 significant in the mixed list condition, $t(28)=4.38$, $p<.001$, Cohen's $d = .81$. There was
196 no significant difference between recall of pure lists, $t<1$ or between memory for
197 high-rewarded items in mixed and pure lists, $t(28)=1.69$, $p>.1$. Low-rewarded items
198 were recalled less well in mixed lists, $t(28)=4.72$, $p<.001$. The average recall of
199 mixed lists, collapsing across reward ($M=41.27$, $SD=12.48$) was numerically lower
200 than the average recall of unrewarded pure lists ($M=43.86$, $SD=13.79$).

201 Plotting the recall as a function of output position suggests that participants
202 recalled high-rewarded items earlier than low-rewarded items (Figure 1), but the
203 interaction between reward and output position did not reach significance,
204 $F(15,855)=1.49$, $p=.10$). Analysis of contiguity effects in mixed lists (see Polyn,
205 Norman, & Kahana, 2009 for the calculation of these scores) for participants who
206 recalled at least 2 items in each of these lists suggested that recall clustered based
207 on temporal contiguity, $t(28)=3.62$, $p=0.001$, but not based on reward, $t=1$, or
208 semantic distance, $t<1$.

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Experiment 2

212 Experiment 2 was conducted as a conceptual replication of Experiment 1. It used
213 a very similar methodology in the test of immediate memory, but added a delayed
214 memory test after 24 hours.

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Methods

217 ***Participants***

218 Participants in Experiment 2 were recruited from the local community through
219 advertising. They took part in two experimental sessions, and received £14 for their
220 time and effort. We told participants explicitly that they can only qualify for reward if
221 they do not make mistakes in the distractor task, and have excluded 2 participants
222 who made more than 2 errors on average across all lists (they were statistical
223 outliers, with error numbers that exceeded the inter-quartile range by more than 3
224 SDs). Of the remaining sample, 9 participants indicated they expected a memory test
225 in session 2, and three of these 9 stated they have rehearsed the pictures in
226 preparation for this (see “Session 2”, below). These 3 participants were excluded
227 from the analysis to avoid contaminating the forgetting rate data, but their exclusion
228 did not alter any of the statistical results. The final sample included 22 females and 8
229 males who were 19-35 years old.

230

231 ***Materials***

232 Stimuli consisted of 16*9 pictures from 9 different categories: clothing, animals,
233 cityscapes, food, household objects (non-kitchen), kitchen objects, landscapes,
234 office items, and people. They were drawn from the same sources as in Experiment
235 1, as well as the Nencki Affective Picture System (Marchewka, Zurawski, Jednoróg,
236 & Grabowska, 2014), ImageNet (image-net.org), and internet sources. None had an
237 overt emotional tone. While categories and pictures differed on multiple attributes,
238 they were randomly assigned to conditions for each participant, eliminating the
239 danger of systematic error. Each list included 16 pictures, which all belonged to a
240 single semantic category. The Clothing list was always used in the practice block;

241 otherwise, allocation of list to condition was randomised for each participant. In the
242 pure list condition all pictures were either framed or unframed; in the mixed list
243 condition 8 pictures were framed and 8 unframed.

244

245 ***Procedure***

246 Participants in Experiment 2 took part in two Sessions, 24 hours apart. The
247 procedure of Session 1 was almost identical to the procedure of Experiment 1 other
248 than the differences noted below. Session 2 included a delayed free recall test of
249 each of the blocks encoded in Session 1.

250 *Session 1* included a total of 8 blocks (instead of 6 in Experiment 1). As in
251 Experiment 1, four included pure lists (half high-reward and half low-reward), but
252 here there were four blocks with mixed lists. Each block began by describing the
253 semantic category of the pictures in that block, e.g. “landscapes”. While in
254 Experiment 1 all blocks ended with a free recall test, here this was true only for half
255 of the blocks in each of the three conditions. The free recall test was omitted in the
256 other half. Participants received the same instructions as participants in Experiment
257 1, but additional instructions were appended at the end. The purpose of the
258 additional instructions was to equate the nature of encoding across blocks allocated
259 to the immediate and delayed recall condition, and to decrease the likelihood of
260 rehearsal between Session 1 and Session 2. Participants were told that in some
261 blocks, the immediate free recall test will be omitted. Furthermore, they were told
262 that one of these blocks would be selected for a delayed free recall test at the end of
263 Session 1. We hoped that the inclusion of a delayed memory test in Session 1 would
264 discourage participants from expecting another one in Session 2. Finally, participants

265 were told that Session 2 will include different tasks in Session 2. To avoid deception
266 and maintain credibility, Session 1 always began with a bogus, additional practice
267 block, which appeared to participants to be part of the experiment proper, and ended
268 with a delayed free recall test of pictures from that block. The practice block always
269 used the same Clothing list, and included only the picture and the distractor task. In
270 the delayed test, participants were reminded they saw a list of “clothing” and asked
271 to recall them. Data from this test were not analysed. The session ended with reward
272 delivery as in Experiment 1.

273 *Session 2.* The session began with a delayed free recall test of each of the 8
274 blocks presented in Session 1. Participants were shown the title of the category of a
275 list from one block, and given 4 minutes to recall the pictures from that block, before
276 the next title was presented. Note that this was the first test of half of the blocks, but
277 the second test of the other half, those that were tested immediately. Participants
278 were informed that they would be rewarded for their recall according to the same
279 schedule and rate. Session 2 also included additional picture rating tasks that are not
280 reported here. At the end of the session participants were asked whether they
281 expected a memory test, and if they answered in the affirmative, whether they made
282 any notes or rehearsed pictures in their head. Then they were payed, debriefed and
283 thanked.

284

285 **Results**

286 The average free recall data were analysed with a 2 (delay: immediate, delayed)
287 x 2 (list: pure, mixed) x 2 (reward: high, low) repeated-measures ANOVA. This
288 analysis only includes lists that were tested once – either immediately (session 1) or

289 only after a delay (only tested in session 2). The three-way interaction was significant
290 and large, $F(1,29)=13.83$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.32$. We unpacked this interaction with two
291 separate repeated-measures ANOVAs. The first was a list-by-reward analysis which
292 focused on average recall in the immediate condition; these data are depicted in
293 Figure 1. Its aim was to examine whether this experiment replicated Experiment 1.
294 The effect of list type was not significant, $F<1$, but the interaction with reward was
295 significant and large, $F(1,29)=30.05$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.51$, qualifying the significant main
296 effect of reward, $F(1,29)=20.06$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.41$, which was also observed in
297 Experiment 1. Planned paired t-tests showed that as in Experiment 1, the effect of
298 reward was only significant in the mixed list condition, $t(29)=6.60$, $p<.001$, Cohen's
299 $d= 1.20$, where participants again recalled high-rewarded items earlier than low-
300 rewarded items (Figure 1). By contrast, there was no difference between the recall of
301 the two pure lists, $t<1$. As in Experiment 1, low-rewarded items were recalled less
302 well in mixed compared to pure lists, $t(29)=4.44$, $p<.001$. However, while in
303 Experiment 1 high reward did not increase memory, here recall of high-rewarded
304 items was better than their recall in pure lists $t(29) = 4.32$, $p<.001$. The average
305 recall of mixed lists, collapsing across reward ($M=26.45$, $SD=10.10$) was equivalent
306 to the average recall of unrewarded pure lists ($M=26.25$, $SD=9.34$), $t<1$.

307 Further analysis of the mixed list condition showed that in this experiment, the
308 interaction between reward and output position was significant, $F(15,1035)=13.90$,
309 $p<.001$ $\eta^2 =.17$. Recall did not cluster based on temporal contiguity ($t<1$), but did
310 cluster based on reward, $t(28)=2.08$, $p=.047$, such that participants had a greater-
311 than-chance propensity to recall high-rewarded (and low-rewarded) items together.
312 Clustering based on reward predicted the recall advantage of high-reward over low-
313 reward items, $r=.74$, $p<.001$.

314 The list composition effect was less pronounced in the delayed test. Indeed, after
315 a delay the interaction between list type and reward was small in size and not
316 statistically significant, $F(1,29)=2.27$, $p=.14$, $\eta^2=.07$, while the effect of reward was
317 significant and large, $F(1,29)=18.95$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.39$. Nevertheless, planned paired
318 t-tests showed that the effect of reward was only significant in the mixed list
319 condition, $t(29)=3.44$, $p<.001$, but the same trend was not significant in the pure list
320 condition, $t(29)=1.61$, $p=0.12$.

321 To understand whether reward modulated forgetting we computed proportional
322 forgetting scores [(average immediate recall – average delayed recall)/ (average
323 immediate recall)], depicted in Figure 2. While a variety of forgetting scores have
324 been proposed in the literature (Wixted, 1990), it was imperative here to take
325 immediate performance into account in the calculation of forgetting because it
326 differed between conditions. Proportional forgetting scores were computed for each
327 list-by-reward condition, and therefore necessitated excluding 6 participants who did
328 not recall any items immediately in one of these four conditions. This calculation was
329 carried out twice. First, we examined lists that were only tested once - immediately or
330 after a delay, i.e. in session 1 or 2, but not both; and second, we examined
331 proportional forgetting of the same lists. Forgetting of items that were already
332 recalled once in Session 1 (ranging from 15% to 31%) was lower than forgetting of
333 items that were not tested in Session 1 (ranging from 62% to 74%). Forgetting
334 scores were analysed with two list-by-reward repeated-measures ANOVA. None of
335 the factors were significant (across lists: list type: $F<1$, Reward: $F(1,29)=1.61$, $p=.22$;
336 interaction: $F<1$; within list: all $F<1$).

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General discussion

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341 In two experiments, participants only recalled high-value items more than low-value
342 items when they were studied and recalled together, in a mixed list, but not when
343 they were studied and recalled separately, in pure lists. This result supports our
344 hypothesis that the competition for memory resources is local, constrained by the
345 context specified by the task set - here, the temporal context of the previous list. It
346 aligns with a core prediction of eCMR, supporting it as a general model of motivated
347 memory.

348 Our immediate mixed-list results, where the effect of reward was large,
349 corroborate previous reports (e.g. Ariel & Castel, 2014) and reward robustly
350 enhances immediate free recall. Reward failed to increase immediate free recall and
351 source memory in some previous work (Ngaosuvan & Mantila, 2005; Nilsson, 1987).
352 Our findings suggest that these failures are due to the fact that they manipulated
353 reward anticipation between-groups, a manipulation akin to our pure-list condition.
354 The list-composition paradigm, which was here used with a reward manipulation for
355 the first time, allowed us to document a large, replicable influence of reward
356 anticipation on immediate memory (in mixed lists) that nevertheless failed to
357 enhance memory when competition was abolished (in pure lists). The null effect of
358 value in pure lists does not mean that there is no effect of value on memory in that
359 condition, but the significant interaction demonstrates that it is smaller in pure than
360 mixed lists. This pattern extends the results of Ngaosuvan and Mantila and of

361 Nilsson, where the evidence for the success of the manipulation of reward was only
362 documented in subjective ratings of motivation.

363 The remarkable similarity between the list-composition effects obtained with
364 emotional pictures in our previous work (summarised in Table 1 in Talmi et al., 2018)
365 and high-reward pictures here suggests that they result from the same mechanism.
366 eCMR explains enhanced recall for emotional information as resulting from the
367 interplay of encoding, storage, and retrieval processes (Talmi et al., 2018). In eCMR,
368 items that are encoded in the same way – through similar encoding operations -
369 share a ‘source’ context. Emotional items trigger unique cognitive, affective and
370 physiological changes, which distinguish their source context from that of neutral
371 items. During encoding, preferential attention to emotional items binds them more
372 strongly to their source context. During retrieval, when the context is used to probe
373 memory, increased connection strength gives emotional items an advantage over
374 neutral ones, allowing them to win the competition for recall.

375 The opportunity to gain is thought to be associated with dopamine release, and
376 many believe that this underlies enhanced memory for high-value items after a delay
377 (Adcock, Thangavel, Whitfield-Gabrieli, Knutson, & Gabrieli, 2006; Bunzeck, Dayan,
378 Dolan, & Duzel, 2010; Lisman et al., 2011; Mason, Farrell, Howard-Jones, & Ludwig,
379 2017; Mason, Ludwig, & Farrell, 2017; Patil et al., 2017; Spaniol et al., 2014;
380 Wittmann et al., 2005). Here the forgetting rate was equivalent regardless of whether
381 items predicted high or low reward. The non-significant effect of reward on forgetting
382 aligns with the general finding in cognitive psychology that manipulations that
383 increase immediate memory do not attenuate proportional forgetting rates (Loftus,
384 1985; Slamecka, 1985). Of note, we powered the study to detect large effects, based
385 on our previous results with the list composition task. Experiment 2 should be

386 repeated with a larger sample size to determine whether there is evidence for
387 smaller-size effects of reward-modulated forgetting.

388 In summary, we found that memory for reward-predicting information was not
389 any better than memory for any other information - unless the two competed during
390 recall. Reward also did not make items more resistant to forgetting. While it is
391 certainly important not to have “useless facts” elbow out the useful ones, our results
392 suggest that Sherlock Holmes may have been wrong to attribute enhanced memory
393 for useful facts to what “the skilful workman...takes into his brain-attic” – namely, to
394 biased encoding. eCMR (Talmi et al., 2018) predicted the pattern that we obtained
395 here, suggesting that it could be a result of competitive advantage of well-attended,
396 high-reward items during recall, rather than encoding. The main caveat of the work
397 reported here is that it did not measure attention allocation during encoding. This
398 limits our ability to illuminate the mechanism that underlies the novel behaviours we
399 observed. Further research should examine attention to high- and low-reward items
400 during encoding, and test the prediction that removing the competition at recall could
401 salvage “useless facts” even when they are encoded in mixed lists.

402 Our experiments show that in some situations, people recall just as much for a
403 penny as they do for a pound. These findings could have implications for the design
404 of reward schemes in educational settings, because it suggests that motivating
405 learners to commit a subset of material to memory by promising a prize is unlikely to
406 enhance memory for that material – unless an assessments include material that
407 learners did not prioritise, in which case the memory advantage for former will be at
408 the cost of the latter. If further research supports eCMR as a model of motivated
409 memory the model can be used to predict how reward schemes might be best
410 employed to support learning.

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417

418

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525

526

Figure captions

Figure 1. Average immediate free recall as a function of reward and list composition. High and low reward are presented in dark and light grey, respectively.

Top: immediate memory test in Experiments 1.

Middle: immediate memory test in Experiment 2.

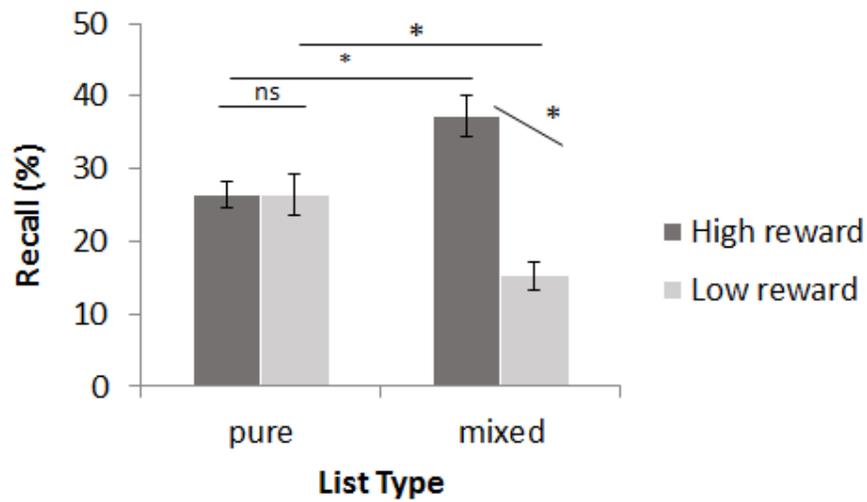
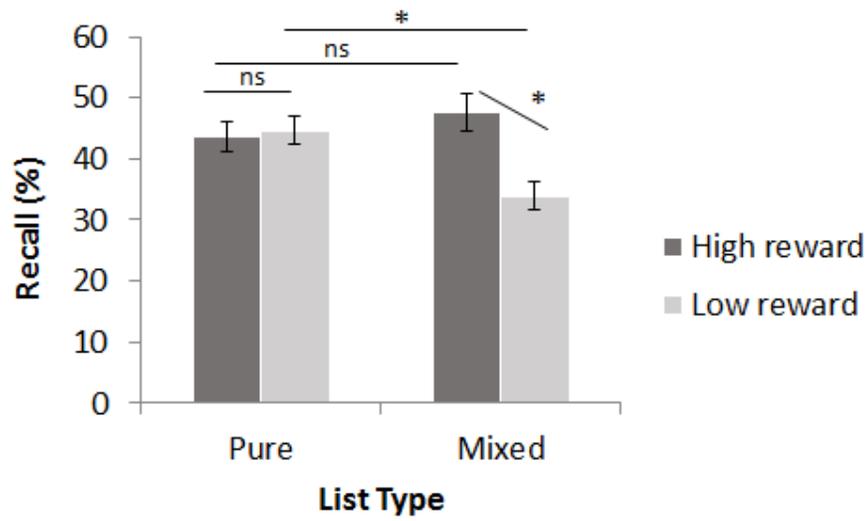
Bottom: Recall probability as a function of output order in Experiment 1(left) and 2 (right). * $p < .001$. ns $p > 0.05$.

Figure 2. Proportional forgetting scores of high and low-reward items over 24 hours.

Proportional forgetting scores for items only tested once, after 24 hours, or twice, both immediately and after a delay.

Figure S1. Recall probability in Experiment 2, as a function of serial position during encoding.

Figure 1.



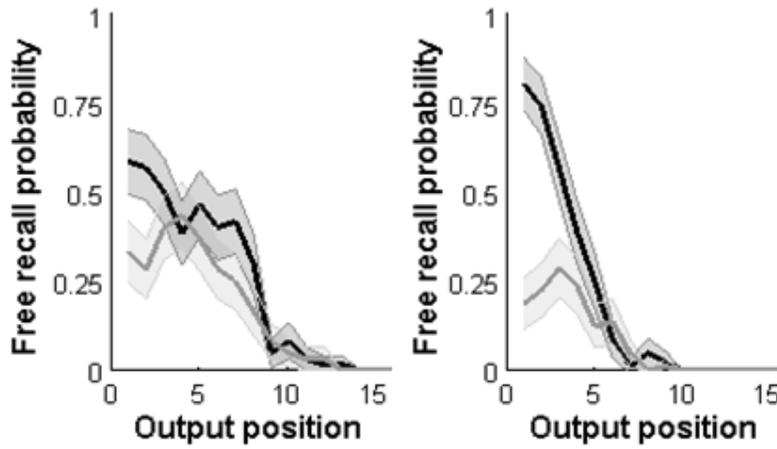


Figure 2.

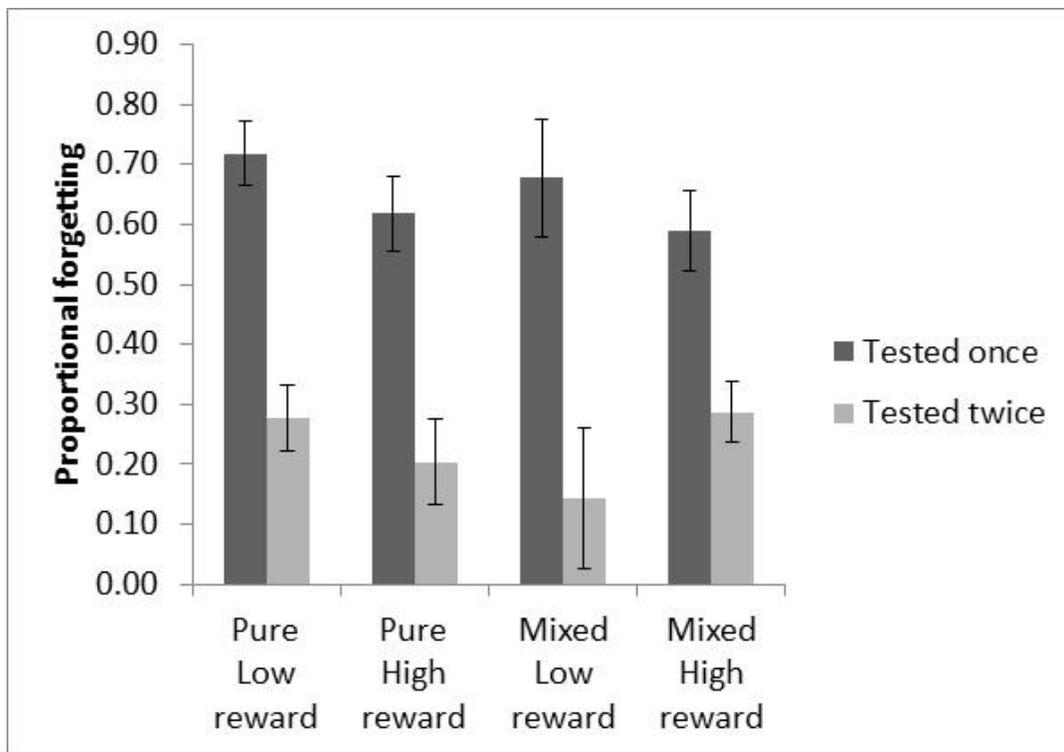


Figure S1

