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4 **Forget Me Not: Encoding Processes in Value-Directed Remembering**

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6

7

Abstract

8

Valuable items are often remembered better than less valuable items,

9but research on the mechanisms supporting this value effect is limited. In the

10current study, we sought to determine how items might be differentially

11encoded based on their value. In Experiment 1, participants studied words

12associated with point-values which were followed by a cue to either

13“Remember” the word for a later test or “Forget” the word. While to-be-

14forgotten words were recognized at a lower rate than to-be-remembered

15words, there was a significant effect of value for to-be-forgotten words when

16the “Forget” cue was presented immediately after the word, suggesting a

17relatively automatic enhancement of encoding by value. In Experiment 2, we

18examined to what extent subjects engage in more effective encoding

19strategies for high-value items. Subjects studied a list of words with different

20point-values, and were instructed either to construct a mental image of the

21item, use rote rehearsal to learn the items, or were not given any study

22strategy. There were significant effects of value for items that were studied

23under rote rehearsal or when no strategy instruction was given. However,

24effects of value were nearly eliminated when subjects used a mental imagery

25strategy for all items as this strategy boosted memory for low-value items. In

26Experiment 3, we sought to replicate Experiment 2 with a different deep

27encoding manipulation. Subjects were instructed to generate and say aloud a

28sentence containing each item. Consistent with Experiment 2, this

29manipulation eliminated the effects of value on recognition memory. Thus, it
30appears that subjects engage in more effective encoding strategies for high-
31value words because the benefit of value was substantially reduced when
32subjects were instructed to use deep encoding strategies. Together, these
33results suggest that valuable items are encoded more effectively due to both
34automatic and strategic mechanisms.

35

36Keywords: recognition; memory; value; recollection; strategy; directed-
37forgetting

38Word Count: 6576

39 When more information is present than can be remembered, learners
40 typically selectively encode valuable items at the expense of less important
41 ones (Adcock, Thangavel, Whitfield-Gabrieli, Knutson, & Gabrieli, 2006; Ariel,
42 Price, and Hertzog, 2015). Selective encoding is used frequently in everyday
43 life, such as attempting to remember one’s grocery list or focusing on
44 important information in a textbook chapter. In free recall and recognition
45 testing, items are more likely to be remembered when paired with a high
46 monetary-value or point-value at study (i.e., where goal is to earn a high
47 score) (Adcock et al., 2006; Castel, Murayama, Friedman, McGillivray, & Link,
48 2013; Cohen, Rissman, Suthana, Castel, & Knowlton, 2016; Mason, Farrell,
49 Howard-Jones, & Ludwig, 2017; Shigemune, Tsukiura, Kambara, &
50 Kawashima, 2014; Spaniol, Schain, & Bowen, 2013; Stefanidi, Ellis, & Brewer,
51 2018; Wolosin, Zeithamova, & Preston, 2012). This phenomenon has been
52 labeled *value-directed remembering* (e.g., Castel, Benjamin, Craik, &
53 Watkins, 2002). On one hand, people may be strategic and engage in
54 deeper, more effective encoding of information they deem to be important to
55 remember. For example, after a delicious meal one may try to “make a
56 mental note” of the restaurant so it can be revisited. On the other hand,
57 valuable information may be automatically strengthened in memory through
58 effects of reward on memory representations. For example, a delicious meal
59 may be remembered well because of the rewarding and pleasurable aspects
60 of the experience even if no effort is made to encode the memory
61 effectively. This more automatic effect of value is supported by a wide

62literature showing that valuable items are better remembered even when
63encoding is incidental (Madan & Spetch, 2012; Mather & Schoeke, 2011;
64Murayama & Kitagami, 2014) or an implicit memory test is administered
65(Madan, Fujiwara, Gerson, & Caplan, 2012). These two mechanisms are not
66mutually exclusive, and it is possible that the two contribute differentially
67depending on the circumstances.

68 **Potential Mechanisms Supporting Value-Directed Remembering**

69 Research on explicit strategy use during the selective encoding of
70 valuable material is somewhat limited. In Ariel, Price, and Hertzog (2015)
71 both younger and older adults reported using more elaborative encoding
72 strategies when learning high-value word pairs (i.e., mental imagery, putting
73 items in a sentence), and using these strategies was associated with better
74 recall than simple rote rehearsal. These elaborative strategies use deeper
75 semantic and associative processing, which produces a stronger memory
76 trace (Craik & Lockhart, 1972; Richardson, 1998). In Cohen, Rissman,
77 Hovhannisyan, Castel, and Knowlton (2017), a large proportion of
78 participants also reported using different mnemonic strategies based on
79 item-value. Interestingly, many of these participants reported that they did
80 not even attempt to selectively learn valuable items, but despite this
81 supposed indifference to value, they still exhibited better memory for
82 valuable material. This suggests that although learners often differentially
83 employ mnemonic strategies based on item-value, some of the benefits of
84 value are likely independent of strategy use.

85 Although it is possible value enhances memory primarily due to
86 deeper, elaborative encoding, another possibility is that valuable items are
87 selectively-attended, resulting in increased mental rehearsal. Indeed, when
88 participants are given a limited time to study items differing in value, they
89 will allocate a substantially disproportionate amount of time to studying the
90 highest-value items (Ariel, Dunlosky, & Bailey, 2009; Ariel, Price, & Hertzog,

912015; Castel et al., 2013). This allocation of study-time coincides with
92enhanced retrieval of the valuable items (Castel et al., 2013), and suggests
93that this value-related selective-attention is often intentional. According to
94the agenda-based regulation framework of study-time allocation, time,
95resources and effort are allocated based on a goal-oriented agenda that aims
96to maximize performance (Ariel, Dunlosky, & Bailey, 2009; Dunlosky & Ariel,
972011). Thus, if one can only remember a subset of the items being studied,
98the agenda will favor allocation of these things towards the most valuable
99items. In line with this framework, a commonly reported strategy is to ignore
100low-value items resulting in higher scores (Ariel, Price, & Hertzog, 2015;
101Robison & Unsworth, 2017). Additionally, valuable items may benefit from
102enhanced semantic processing. High-value cues have been shown to result
103in increased activity in ventrolateral prefrontal cortex (VLPFC), pre-
104supplementary motor area, and posterior lateral temporal cortex (Cohen,
105Rissman, Suthana, Castel, & Knowlton, 2014; Cohen et al., 2016). These
106three regions have all been associated with deep semantic processing
107(Binder et al., 2009; Binder and Desai, 2011). In Cohen et al. (2016), younger
108adults who effectively increased activity in these regions for valuable items
109showed the strongest benefits of value, whereas older adults who decreased
110activity for low-value items performed best. It has not yet been determined
111whether such semantic processing differences are due to conscious strategy
112use.

113 Whereas the above literature suggests that value's effect on memory
114is supported by learners' intentional use of agenda-based encoding
115strategies and selective direction of attention, other researchers have
116focused on mechanisms that may support value's effect on memory in a
117relatively automatic fashion based on proximity to reward or value. Much of
118this work follows from studies of the mesolimbic reward system, suggesting
119that activity in these dopaminergic regions is increased for valuable items
120compared to less valuable items, which promotes the consolidation of
121memory for valuable items (Adcock et al., 2006; Carter, MacInnes, Huettel, &
122Adcock, 2009; Spaniol, Schain, & Bowen, 2013). More specifically, the
123nucleus accumbens and ventral tegmental area (VTA) are activated in
124response to high-value cues and this response is thought to underlie
125anticipation of large gains and losses (Carter et al., 2009). According to one
126popular hypothesis, dopaminergic signaling from the VTA in response to
127rewarding stimuli modulates hippocampal activity, and this signaling strongly
128influences whether new learning is persistently stored in long-term memory
129(Bethus, Tse, & Morris, 2010; Rossato, Bevilaqua, Izquierdo, Medina, &
130Cammara, 2009; see Sugrue, Corrado, & Newsome, 2005 for a review).

131**Overview of the Current Experiment**

132 In the current study, we sought to determine the contributions of
133strategic and automatic encoding mechanisms in value-directed recognition.
134One method of examining the relative contribution of different encoding
135mechanisms was devised by Gardiner, Gawlik, and Richardson-Klavehn

136(1994), who used a directed-forgetting procedure with a cue to remember or
137forget the word presented either immediately or a few seconds after the
138word was presented. In this way, the effects of directed-forgetting could be
139measured, as well as the effects of elaborative encoding, which occurred
140when participants received a cue to remember immediately after the item
141was presented. When the cue was delayed, participants appeared to engage
142in maintenance rehearsal until the cue was presented, with little time for
143further elaborative rehearsal before the next item appeared. In Experiment 1
144we used a similar directed-forgetting paradigm where each item was
145designated as to-be-remembered (TBR) or to-be-forgotten (TBF) after a
146variable delay during study, and then both TBR and TBF items were
147presented at test. The learn cue was either presented immediately after the
148word or after a 5 s delay, and value was manipulated by pairing each item
149with a point-value (3 or 12 pts.) that would be earned for later recognition.
150Delaying the cue leads participants to primarily keep an item in mind
151through maintenance rehearsal, as it is not in their interest to expend
152cognitive resources elaborately encoding the item when a forget cue may
153appear (Gardiner, Gawlik, & Richardson-Klavehn, 1994; Woodward, Bjork,
154Jongeward, 1973). Thus, trials with a delayed cue encourage increased
155maintenance encoding at the expense of elaborative encoding. In contrast,
156an immediate “Remember” cue encourages elaborative encoding, as
157evidenced by improved recollection (Gardiner, Gawlik, and Richardson-
158Klavehn, 1994). Thus, if value’s effect on recognition is primarily due to

159increased maintenance rehearsal, valuable items should be remembered
160relatively better when the directed-forgetting cue is delayed, whereas if
161participants engage in more elaborative encoding for high-value items, this
162effect should be greatest for items with an immediate Remember cue.
163Finally, if value's effect on recognition is largely automatic, this would be
164observable by value enhancing memory despite an immediate forget cue.
165Based on the findings of Ariel, Price, and Hertzog (2015) and Cohen et al.
166(2017), we hypothesized that value effects would be most pronounced on
167trials supporting elaborative encoding.

168

Experiment 1

169

Method

170Participants

171 Data from 34 undergraduate students from University of California, Los
172Angeles (UCLA) were collected. Two participants were excluded from all
173analyses for having recognition sensitivity (see Data Analysis section) more
174than 2.5 standard deviations below average, resulting in a total sample size
175of 32 (23 women and 9 men). Their age range was 18-38 ($M = 21.50$, $SD =$
1763.46). This sample size was selected as it would allow for an approximate
177power of .81 to detect a medium-sized effect, as computed using GPower
178(version 3.0; Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf;
179<http://www.gpower.hhu.de/en.html>). These participants completed the study
180for course credit. Informed consent was acquired and the study was
181completed in accordance with UCLA's Institutional Review Board.

182 **Materials**

183 Stimuli consisted of 96 six-letter English words, including nouns,
184 adjectives, and verbs. These words were selected to have a similar
185 frequency ($M = 4466.12$ occurrences per million, $SD = 237.11$) in the
186 Hyperspace Analogue to Language corpus (Lund & Burgess, 1996). During
187 encoding, 48 of these words were randomly presented and paired with a
188 point-value of 3 or 12 presented to the right of the word (e.g., “rivers 3”).
189 These values were chosen to maximize the difference between low (3 pts.)
190 and high (12 pts.) value items while only having two options for later source
191 retrieval. Each word was printed in either red (RGB value: 255, 0, 0) or blue
192 (RGB value: 0, 0, 255). Participants were not asked to memorize the point-
193 value or word color; these details were used to assess incidental memory.
194 Finally, each word was associated with either a learn (“LLLL”) or forget
195 (“FFFF”) cue. Of the 48 study items, each possible point-value x word color x
196 learn cue combination was assigned an equal number of trials, and all words
197 were randomly assigned to each of these variable combinations or to be a
198 new item at testing. During the recognition test all 96 words (half new) were
199 presented in random order without a point-value and printed in black ink. All
200 materials were designed and presented on a desktop computer using the
201 Collector program (Gikeymarcia/Collector, n.d.;
202 <https://github.com/gikeymarcia/Collector>). All words were printed in 29 pt.
203 Open Sans font with a white background.

204 **Procedure**

205 Participants completed the study individually in a private computer lab.
206 They were told they would view a large number of words, each paired with a
207 point-value they would earn if they could remember the item, and that their
208 goal was to maximize their score. They were told that items paired with a
209 learn cue (“LLLL”) were to be learned for a later memory test and items
210 paired with a forget cue (“FFFF”) could be forgotten. Each of the 48 study
211 items were split into two cue delay blocks. In the short cue delay block, all
212 items were presented individually for 2 s each, a learn/forget cue was
213 presented for 1 s, and then there was a fixation cross for 5 s (Figure 1). In
214 the long delay block, the order of the learn/forget cue and fixation cross were
215 reversed, though the total duration of encoding was equal. Whether the long
216 delay or short delay block was presented first was counterbalanced across
217 participants. After encoding, a brief distractor task was completed to reduce
218 additional rehearsal, which consisted of 10 simple multiplication and division
219 problems.

220 Finally, a self-paced recognition test was completed. Participants were
221 informed that they should disregard that some items were previously paired
222 with a forget cue, as they would still earn their associated points.
223 Additionally, to discourage them labeling all items as old, they were told they
224 would lose 2 points for incorrect responses and to answer as accurately as
225 possible. Participants first rated how confident they were that each item was
226 or was not presented before on a 6-point scale: 1 “Definitely NEW”, 2
227 “Probably NEW”, 3 “Maybe NEW”, 4 “Maybe OLD”, 5 “Probably OLD”, or 6

228“Definitely OLD”. For items rated as old (4-6), they then reported whether
229each item was worth 3 or 12 points and whether it was printed in red or blue
230ink. For items rated as new (1-3), they completed a filler question where they
231rated the pleasantness of the word.

232**Data Analysis**

233 Data were analyzed using SPSS (ver. 22) and ANOVAs were
234Greenhouse-Geisser corrected. Recognition performance was examined
235using the signal detection sensitivity measure A_z . Recognition sensitivity, A_z ,
236measures one’s ability to distinguish old items from new ones and ranges
237from 0 to 1 with chance performance at 0.5. Unlike most measures of
238recognition performance, this measure is largely unaffected by response bias
239and is computed as the area under the hit rate by false alarm rate curve
240where each confidence response from highest to lowest confidence is treated
241as an “old” response (Stanislaw & Todorov, 1999). Memory performance for
242incidental details (i.e., color and point-value) was near chance, thus these
243data were excluded from analysis.

244

Results

245**Recognition Performance and Directed-Forgetting**

246 Participants achieved a relatively high overall recognition sensitivity,
247measured with A_z ($M = .81$, $SD = .07$), due to having a fair hit rate ($M = .72$,
248 $SD = .13$) and a low false alarm rate ($M = .21$, $SD = .11$). A robust main
249effect of cue was observed, $F(1,31) = 83.51$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .73$, such that
250TBR items ($M = .82$, $SD = .07$) were recognized with higher sensitivity than

251TBF items ($M = .73$, $SD = .07$). Thus, the cue was effective in modifying
252encoding. Item-value was also effective in modifying encoding, as high-value
253TBR items ($M = .83$, $SD = .08$) were recognized with higher sensitivity than
254low-value TBR items ($M = .81$, $SD = .07$), $F(1,31) = 4.78$, $p = .037$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$.

255 **Effects of Elaborative Encoding**

256 To determine the extent that elaborative encoding contributed to
257value-directed remembering, we next examined the effects of Cue and Delay
258for high-value and low-value items (Figure 2). A significant Value x Cue x
259Delay interaction was observed, $F(1,31) = 5.19$, $p = .030$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. For high-
260value items, most importantly, the Cue x Delay interaction was not
261significant, $F(1,31) = 0.06$, $p = .802$, $\eta_p^2 < .01$, though a substantial main
262effect of Cue was observed, $F(1,31) = 50.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .62$, such that
263TBR items were better remembered than TBF items. Sensitivity did not
264significantly differ between valuable TBR items paired with an immediate or
265delayed learn cue, $t(31) = 0.91$, $p = .371$, $d = 0.17$. These results indicate
266that participants better remembered valuable items associated with a learn
267cue, but that having that cue immediately after learning, thus allowing for
268the maximum amount of elaborative encoding, did not significantly affect
269later retrieval.

270 When examining low-value items, a significant main effect of Cue was
271again observed, $F(1,31) = 46.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .60$, such that TBR items
272were better remembered than TBF items. Although a significant Cue x Delay
273interaction was observed, $F(1,31) = 8.14$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$, this was

274largely due to performance differences for TBF items as no significant
275difference was observed between low-value items given an immediate or
276delayed learn cue, $t(31) = 1.04$, $p = .306$, $d = 0.21$.

277**Automatic Effects of Value on Memory**

278 Relatively automatic contributions to value-directed remembering were
279examined by looking at performance for items paired with an immediate
280“Forget” cue (Figure 3). Greater recognition sensitivity was observed for
281high-value items than low-value items followed by an immediate forget cue,
282 $t(31) = 2.87$, $p = .007$, $d = 0.51$. Note that both high-value items, $t(31) =$
283 14.38 , $p < .001$, $d = 2.54$ and low-value items, $t(31) = 7.78$, $p < .001$, $d =$
284 1.38 were recognized with better than chance performance.

285

Discussion

286 Participants showed strong directed-forgetting, suggesting that this
287manipulation was effective in altering encoding. Perhaps most importantly,
288we observed a strong value-directed remembering effect for items paired
289with an immediate forget cue. As deliberate encoding is substantially
290reduced with an immediate forget cue (Bjork, 1989; Wylie, Fox, & Taylor,
2912008), this suggests that a relatively automatic process is contributing to
292value’s effect on memory. One candidate mechanism is that valuable items
293are producing increased activity in reward-related dopaminergic systems,
294and this activity enhances encoding of these items. Prior work in healthy
295subjects has shown enhanced memory for items presented in temporal
296proximity to rewards (Murayama & Kitagami, 2014), consistent with the idea

297that the presentation of unexpected reward increases dopamine release in
298hippocampus, enhancing encoding of proximal material. In a neuroimaging
299study of value-directed remembering, younger adults were shown to have
300increased activity in midbrain dopaminergic regions in response to the value
301cue (Cohen et al., 2016) consistent with the hypothesized role of this system
302in value effects on memory.

303 Contrary to our predictions, we did not observe a significant increase in
304recognition sensitivity when participants were given an immediate cue to
305remember the word, thus prolonging the period for elaborative encoding.
306Although TBR items were much more likely to be remembered than TBF
307items, performance did not significantly differ whether the cue came
308immediately after the word or after a 5 s delay. When the cue was presented
309after the delay, there was only 1 s until the next word appeared. It seems
310unlikely that 1 s of encoding was enough to fully use more complex
311elaborative strategies such as mental imagery or putting items into a
312sentence. Although studies involving multiple study-test lists with feedback
313find that participants selectively apply elaborative strategies based on item-
314value (Ariel, Price, & Hertzog, 2015; Cohen et al., 2017) it may be that such
315differences in elaboration are less pronounced when learning a single list
316without intermittent feedback. This feedback may help them develop more
317selective encoding strategies (Cohen et al., 2017). Thus, participants may
318have engaged primarily in maintenance rehearsal in all conditions except the
319immediate forget condition. We also only observed a significant benefit of

320increased maintenance rehearsal for low-value items (see Supplemental
321Data); this manipulation may have counteracted the common strategy of
322deliberately ignoring items of low value during the study phase (Ariel, Price,
323& Hertzog, 2015; Robison & Unsworth, 2017).

324 **Experiment 2**

325 In Experiment 1, we found evidence of relatively automatic
326enhancement of encoding of high-value words, in that these words were
327recognized better than low-value words after an immediate “Forget” cue.
328Effects of value were relatively small for conditions in which participants
329were instructed to remember items, suggesting that value did not affect
330encoding strategies. However, a limitation of Experiment 1 was that the
331directed-forgetting manipulation may have discouraged participants from
332differentially engaging in effortful encoding strategies. Participants may have
333focused attention on whether or not the items were TBR or TBF and they
334may have found it too demanding to also vary encoding strategy by value. In
335order to assess whether participants are able to engage in elaborative
336encoding of high-value items, in Experiment 2 we removed the directed-
337forgetting manipulation and instead simply instructed participants to learn
338using different encoding strategies. In three between-subjects groups,
339participants were either given no instruction regarding what strategy to use
340or they were instructed to use a mental rehearsal strategy or a mental
341imagery strategy for all learned items. After recognition testing, participants
342reported whether they adhered to their assigned strategy. We hypothesized

343that if differences in recognition accuracy between high- and low-value items
344were due in part to differences in the depth of encoding, instructing
345participants to encode all learned items with an elaborative mental imagery
346strategy would mitigate these differences. Our previous work has shown that
347high-value items are more likely to be recollected at test (Hennessee, Castel,
348& Knowlton, 2017; Hennessee, Knowlton, & Castel, 2018). Thus, if
349participants were achieving superior recollection of high-value items because
350of differential use of elaborative encoding strategies, we predicted that
351instructing participants to use a mental imagery strategy for all learned
352items would reduce this difference in recollection. Alternatively, if the effects
353of value are restricted to automatic strengthening of memory
354representations, there may continue to be a difference between high-value
355and low-value items, even though overall recognition may be better when
356this elaborative encoding task is used. To assess recollection, we used a
357Remember-Know-Guess design where participants introspected whether
358each item they classified as “old” was accompanied by recollection of the
359study episode including associated details (Remember response), a strong
360sense of familiarity (Know response), or whether their recognition response
361was a guess (Gardiner & Ramponi, 1998; Tulving, 1985). We also assessed
362memory for the highest confidence responses (‘Definitely Old’) as there are
363appreciable differences between confidence and recollection (Gardiner &
364Java, 1990) that may also lead these responses to be differentially affected
365by encoding strategy. In this way, we were able to assess whether value

366affected the quality of recognition and how this compared with the effect of
367encoding instruction.

368

Method

369Participants

370 Data from 108 UCLA undergraduate students were collected for this
371experiment.

372Participants in the rehearsal and imagery conditions who reported using the
373pertinent strategy less than 50% of the time were excluded from all
374analyses, leaving 36 participants in the No Instruction condition, 20
375participants in the Mental Rehearsal condition, and 24 participants in the
376Mental Imagery condition. Our key findings for Experiment 2 were largely
377replicated when using a stricter exclusion criteria of 80% strategy use
378(Supplemental Data). This final sample of 80 students (59 females and 21
379males) had an age range of 18-27 years ($M = 20.20$, $SD = 1.64$). This sample
380size was selected as it would allow for an approximate power of .85 to detect
381a medium-sized instruction condition by value interaction, as computed
382using GPower. These participants completed the study for course credit.
383Informed consent was acquired and the study was completed in accordance
384with UCLA's Institutional Review Board.

385Materials

386 Stimuli included 96 English nouns, and the first letter of each word was
387capitalized. All words were drawn from clusters 7 and 8 of the Toglia and
388Battig (1978) word norms, as these clusters were high in imagability. Words

389 were selected to have similar imagability ($M = 5.66$, $SD = 0.40$, range: 4.75-
390 6.61), concreteness ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 0.37$, range: 4.50-6.48), and number of
391 letters ($M = 5.78$, $SD = 0.73$, range: 5-7). During encoding, 48 of these words
392 were randomly presented and paired with a point-value of 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, or
393 12 to the right of the word. These values were chosen to maintain a large
394 difference between low-value (1-3 pts.) and high-value (10-12 pts.) items and
395 yet to provide a larger range of values than Experiment 1. This wider
396 selection of point-values was also used to make the work more comparable
397 to recent examinations of value and memory (Cohen et al., 2016;
398 Hennessee, Knowlton, & Castel, 2018). Whether an item was assigned to be
399 low-value, high-value, or a new item at test was counterbalanced across
400 participants. During the recognition test all 96 words (half new) were
401 presented in random order in black on a white background screen without a
402 point-value. All materials were presented on a desktop computer with the E-
403 prime 2.0 software (Psychology Software Tools Inc., Pittsburgh, PA;
404 <https://www.psnet.com>). All words were presented in 32 pt. Arial font.

405 **Procedure**

406 Participants completed the study individually in a private computer lab.
407 They were told they would view a large selection of words, each paired with
408 a point-value they would earn if they could remember the item, and that
409 their goal was to earn a high score. Instructions regarding how they should
410 learn items were varied between-subjects. The No Instruction condition was
411 not provided instruction as to which strategy to use, the Mental Rehearsal

412condition was instructed to think of the word repeatedly (e.g., “Knight,
413Knight, Knight, . . .”), and the Mental Imagery condition was asked to picture
414in mind what the item looks like. During the encoding phase, participants
415were presented with 48 words that were each on screen for 2 s and with a 1
416s fixation cross between words. After encoding, participants completed seven
417multiplication and division problems as a distractor task. Afterwards, they
418were instructed regarding the meaning of Remembering, Knowing, and
419Guessing with instructions adapted from Gardiner and Java (1990; see
420Appendix A). Participants were asked to explain what Remembering meant in
421the context of this study, and corrected if their response was deemed
422unsatisfactory.

423 Finally, participants completed a self-paced recognition test including
42496 words (half new). Participants were told they would lose 2 points for
425incorrect responses to discourage labeling all items as old. Participants first
426rated how confident they were that each item was presented before on the
4276-point scale described in Experiment 1 (1 “Definitely New” to 6 “Definitely
428Old”). For items rated as old (4-6), they reported whether they recognized
429the item due to Remembering, Knowing, or Guessing. For items rated as new
430(1-3), they completed a filler question where they rated the pleasantness of
431the word. This filler question was added to prevent participants from rating
432items as new to reduce the duration of the experiment. At the end,
433participants were asked to rate the proportion of time (0-100% in 10-percent
434increments) they used the following strategies: (a) mental imagery, (b)

435mental rehearsal, (c), putting items into a sentence. These three ratings
436were made independently, so the proportion of time spent using these
437strategies was not required to sum to 100%. These strategies were targeted
438because Ariel, Price, and Hertzog (2015) found that they were commonly
439used.

440

Results

441Strategy Use

442 First, the reported proportion of time participants used each strategy
443was examined to determine how well they followed instructions (Figure 4).
444The relationship between the encoding condition and use of the three
445strategies was examined using a 3 x 3 repeated measures ANOVA. A
446significant Condition x Strategy interaction was observed, $F(4, 145) = 6.86, p$
447 $< .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$. In the Rehearsal condition, using rehearsal was
448significantly more common than the other two strategies (all p 's $\leq .002$).
449Likewise, in the Mental Imagery condition, using imagery was significantly
450more common than the other two strategies (all p 's $\leq .005$). Finally, the No
451Instruction condition was examined to better understand normal strategy use
452on this value-directed remembering task. In this condition, rehearsal was the
453most common strategy (all
454 p 's $\leq .034$), though mental imagery was also quite common and was used
455more frequently than putting items into a sentence, $t(34) = 3.03, p = .005, d$
456 $= 0.51$.

457Memory Performance

458 The influences of encoding condition and item-value on recognition
459sensitivity (A_z) were examined using a 3 x 2 repeated measures ANOVA
460(Figure 5; Table 1). The Condition x Value interaction only showed a trend,
461 $F(2, 77) = 2.54, p = .085, \eta_p^2 = .06$. However, a follow-up ANOVA comparing
462sensitivity between the No Instruction and Mental Imagery condition did
463show a significant Condition x Value interaction, $F(1, 58) = 4.41, p = .040,$
464 $\eta_p^2 = .07$. In the No Instruction condition, sensitivity was considerably higher
465for high-value items than low-value items, $t(35) = 4.38, p < .001, d = 0.74$.
466In the Rehearsal condition, sensitivity was also significantly higher for high-
467value items than low-value items, $t(19) = 3.61, p = .002, d = 0.82$. In the
468Mental Imagery condition, the value effect on sensitivity was smaller though
469still significant, $t(23) = 2.11, p = .046, d = 0.47$. Differences in sensitivity by
470value were considerably reduced in the Mental Imagery condition largely
471because although the sensitivity to low-value items significantly improved
472compared with the No Instruction condition, $t(58) = 3.43, p = .001, d = 0.91,$
473high-value items only showed a trend for improvement, $t(58) = 1.93, p = .$
474058, $d = 0.51$.

475 We then examined influences of encoding condition and item-value on
476the proportion of items given the highest confidence response ('Definitely
477Old'). The 3 x 2 repeated measures ANOVA showed a significant interaction
478of value and condition, $F(2, 77) = 4.31, p = .017, \eta_p^2 = .10$. In the No
479Instruction condition, 'Definitely Old' responses were given to a significantly
480higher proportion of high-value items ($M = .54, SD = .21$) than low-value

481 items ($M = .34$, $SD = .20$), $t(35) = 5.17$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.86$. Likewise, in the
 482 Rehearsal condition, 'Definitely Old' responses were more common for high-
 483 value items ($M = .55$, $SD = .23$) than low-value items ($M = .34$, $SD = .17$),
 484 $t(19) = 3.72$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.84$. However, in the Mental Imagery condition,
 485 the proportion of items given a 'Definitely Old' response did not significantly
 486 differ between high-value ($M = .67$, $SD = .20$) and low-value items ($M = .62$,
 487 $SD = .19$), $t(23) = 1.47$, $p = .156$, $d = 0.30$. Unlike recognition sensitivity, the
 488 highest confidence responses increased in frequency in the imagery
 489 condition both for low-value items $t(58) = 5.53$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.46$, and
 490 valuable items, $t(58) = 2.43$, $p = .018$, $d = 0.65$.

491 **Experiences of Remembering, Knowing, and Guessing**

492 To examine whether the proportion of correctly recognized old items
 493 given a Remember, Know, or Guess response differed as a function of item-
 494 value and encoding condition (Figure 6; Table 1), a 3 x 2 x 3 repeated
 495 measures ANOVA was computed. The Memory type (R-K-G) x Condition x
 496 Value interaction was not found to be significant, $F(2, 77) = 1.54$, $p = .221$,
 497 $\eta_p^2 = .04$. A significant Memory type x Condition interaction was observed,
 498 $F(2, 77) = 11.01$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. Additionally, a significant Memory Type
 499 x Value interaction was observed, $F(1, 77) = 7.32$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$.
 500 Posthoc analyses revealed that valuable items were more likely than low-
 501 value items to receive a Remember response at test, $t(79) = 3.85$, $p < .001$,
 502 $d = 0.43$, and less likely to receive a Guess response, $t(79) = -3.92$, $p < .001$,

503 $d = -0.46$. The proportion of recognized items that received a Know response
504 did not significantly differ by value, $t(79) = 1.31$, $p = .193$, $d = 0.15$.

505 Next, we examined how the proportion of items given a Remember
506 response in the Mental Imagery condition compared with the No Instruction
507 condition. We observed a significant Value x Condition interaction, $F(1, 58) =$
508 4.15 , $p = .046$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. More specifically, in the No Instruction condition,
509 recognized high-value items were more likely to receive a Remember
510 response than low-value items, $t(35) = 3.71$, $p = .001$, $d = 0.62$. But, the
511 frequency of Remember responses did not significantly differ by value in the
512 Mental Imagery condition, $t(23) = 0.74$, $p = .467$, $d = 0.15$. Interestingly, the
513 Mental Imagery condition showed higher rates of remembering than the No
514 Instruction condition both for high-value items, $t(58) = 3.52$, $p = .001$, $d =$
515 0.96 and low-value items, $t(58) = 5.53$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.47$.

516

Discussion

517 A key finding was that instructing participants to learn all items using
518 mental imagery mitigated value's enhancement of recognition. In contrast,
519 valuable items were recognized and recollected at significantly higher levels
520 than less valuable words when participants primarily used a less effective
521 mental rehearsal strategy. Value-based differences in recognition sensitivity
522 were substantially reduced in the Mental Imagery condition, and the
523 frequency of highest confidence responses and recollection did not differ
524 significantly by item-value because performance was sharply enhanced for
525 low-value items. These results support the idea that participants are

526engaging in more elaborative encoding of high-value words, as the value
527effect was nearly eliminated when participants were instructed to engage in
528elaborative encoding of low-value words as well. The small effect of value
529that remained may have resulted from automatic effects of value as
530described in Experiment 1. In the other conditions, subjects reported
531primarily using a less effective rehearsal strategy, and recognition was
532significantly better for high-value words, and this effect of value was much
533greater than for the mental imagery condition. It is possible that in these
534conditions, an automatic enhancement of encoding occurred for high-value
535words. It is also possible that participants did engage in some elaborative
536encoding for high-value words, as they reported using deeper encoding
537strategies for some of the time. This interpretation is consistent with our
538prior neuroimaging work showing that participants with high value-related
539selectivity in memory show increased activity in left hemisphere semantic
540processing regions when encoding valuable items (Cohen et al., 2014).

541

Experiment 3

542 To further examine the role of differential encoding in value-directed
543remembering, we replicated Experiment 2 using a new encoding
544manipulation. Our primary goal was to determine whether using another
545type of deep encoding, such as putting all items into sentences, would also
546mitigate value's effect on recognition. Additionally, one limitation of
547Experiment 2 was that there was some ambiguity as to how well participants
548followed their encoding instructions, so we incorporated a more easily

549monitored encoding strategy manipulation. To examine value effects when
550all items are shallowly encoding, we replaced the Mental Rehearsal condition
551with a Consonant Counting condition where participants had to report out
552loud whether each word at encoding had an even or odd number of
553consonants. To examine value effects during deep encoding, the Mental
554Imagery condition was replaced with a Sentence Generation condition where
555participants had to generate and say aloud a sentence incorporating the
556current word. Consonant counting and sentence generation were selected as
557manipulations as they have previously been shown to encourage shallow and
558deep encoding, respectively, as evident by recognition performance (Smith,
559MacLeod, Bain, & Hoppe, 1989). Importantly, experimenters can easily
560monitor participant engagement in these two encoding methods.

561

Method

562Participants

563 Data from 108 UCLA undergraduate students were collected for this
564experiment. Seven participants were excluded for failing to count consonants
565or generate sentences out loud for at least 80% of encoding trials, resulting
566in a final sample size of 101. There were 36 participants in the No Instruction
567condition, 31 in the Consonant Counting condition, and 34 in the Sentence
568Generation Condition. This sample included 78 females and 23 males with an
569age range of 18-36 ($M = 20.85$, $SD = 2.36$). Participants gave informed
570consent and completed the study for course credit.

571Materials and Procedure

572 Experiment 3 was designed using the same materials and procedure
573as Experiment 2 but with new encoding instructions. As in Experiment 2,
574participants viewed 48 words at encoding and 96 words at test (half old). At
575encoding, items were paired with either a low-value (1-3 pts.) or high-value
576(10-12 pts.). Item-value and whether each word was presented at encoding
577or as a new item during testing was counterbalanced across participants.
578Participants were told that they would view a large series of words and to
579remember words with the goal of earning a high score. Stimulus presentation
580time was increased from 2 s per word to 3 s per word in order to provide
581sufficient time to complete the assigned encoding task. As before, we
582collected confidence judgments and Remember, Know, and Guess responses
583at test.

584 Prior to encoding, participants were given one of three sets of encoding
585instructions that were manipulated between-subjects. In the No Instruction
586group, participants received no further instruction after being told their goal
587was to earn a high score. In the Counting Consonants group, participants
588were told to mentally tally how many consonants were in a word and say out
589loud whether that number was odd or even (e.g., rivers, “four”). In the
590Sentence Generation group, participants were asked to use the word in a
591short sentence. For these last two conditions, participants were given a
592single practice trial to ensure they understood the instructions. The
593experimenter reminded participants to follow this encoding procedure when

594 necessary and recorded instances of participants not saying their answers
 595 aloud for at least 80% of encoding trials.

596

Results

597 Memory Performance

598 A 3 x 2 ANOVA indicated that there was a Condition x Value interaction
 599 in predicting recognition sensitivity (Az; Figure 7; Table 2), $F(2, 98) = 5.55$, p
 600 = .005, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. In the No Instruction condition, sensitivity was significantly
 601 higher for high-value items relative to low-value items, $t(35) = 3.45$, $p = .$
 602 001, $d = 0.58$. However, sensitivity did not significantly differ between high-
 603 value and low-value items for the Consonant Counting condition, $t(30) =$
 604 0.08, $p = .937$, $d = 0.01$, nor for the Sentence Generation condition, $t(33) =$
 605 0.73, $p = .471$, $d = 0.13$. Compared with the No Instruction condition,
 606 Consonant Counting produced worse memory for high-value items, $t(65) =$
 607 -4.06, $p < .001$, $d = -0.99$, but not low-value items, $t(65) = -1.37$, $p = .176$, d
 608 = -0.33. Compared with the No Instruction condition, Sentence Generation
 609 produced both better sensitivity for high-value items, $t(68) = 3.54$, $p = .001$,
 610 $d = 0.87$, and low-value items, $t(68) = 5.03$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.23$.

611 Next, we examined influences of encoding condition and value on the
 612 proportion of items recognized with highest confidence ('Definitely Old'). A 3
 613 x 2 repeated measures ANOVA indicated that there was a significant
 614 Condition x Value interaction, $F(2, 98) = 11.39$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. In the No
 615 Instruction condition, 'Definitely Old' responses were given to a significantly
 616 greater proportion of high-value items ($M = .56$, $SD = .24$) than low-value

617 items ($M = .38, SD = .24$), $t(35) = 4.09, p < .001, d = 0.68$. In the Consonant
 618 Counting condition, the proportion of 'Definitely Old' responses did not differ
 619 between high-value ($M = .29, SD = .21$) and low-value items ($M = .29, SD = .$
 620 $.23$), $t(30) = -0.29, p = .772, d = -0.03$. Lastly, in the Sentence Generation
 621 condition, the proportion of 'Definitely Old' responses also did not differ
 622 between high-value ($M = .89, SD = .16$) and low-value items ($M = .88, SD = .$
 623 $.16$), $t(33) = 0.58, p = .567, d = 0.10$. As with recognition sensitivity, the
 624 highest confidence responses became much more frequent in the Sentence
 625 Generation condition, both for low-value items, $t(68) = 10.06, p < .001, d =$
 626 2.47 , and valuable items, $t(68) = 6.66, p < .001, d = 1.63$.

627 **Experiences of Remembering, Knowing, and Guessing**

628 A 3 x 2 x 3 repeated measures ANOVA was computed to determine
 629 how the proportion of correctly recognized old items given a Remember,
 630 Know, or Guess response was affected by item-value and encoding condition
 631 (Figure 8; Table 2). The Memory Type (R-K-G) x Condition x Value interaction
 632 was significant, $F(2, 98) = 4.86, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$. Significant two-way
 633 interactions were observed for Memory Type x Condition, $F(2, 98) = 31.12, p$
 634 $< .001, \eta_p^2 = .39$, and Memory Type x Value, $F(2, 98) = 7.68, p = .001, \eta_p^2$
 635 $= .07$. As was observed in Experiment 2, high-value items were more likely
 636 to receive a Remember response than low-value items, $t(100) = 3.26, p = .$
 637 $.002, d = 0.33$, and less likely to receive a Guess response, $t(100) = -3.08, p$
 638 $= .003, d = -0.31$. The frequency of Know responses did not significantly
 639 differ by item-value, $t(100) = 0.55, p = .587, d = 0.05$.

640 The proportion of items given a Remember response was then
641 compared between the Sentence Generation and No Instruction conditions. A
642 significant Value x Condition interaction was observed, $F(1, 68) = 8.47, p = .$
643 $005, \eta_p^2 = .11$. In the No Instruction condition, recognized high-value items
644 were more likely to receive a Remember response than low-value items,
645 $t(35) = 3.50, p = .001, d = 0.59$. In contrast, in the Sentence Generation
646 condition rates of Remember responses did not significantly differ between
647 the two item values, $t(33) = 0.79, p = .434, d = 0.14$. The Sentence
648 Generation condition showed higher rates of Remember responses than the
649 No Instruction condition both for high-value items, $t(68) = 5.87, p < .001, d$
650 $= 1.42$ and low-value items, $t(68) = 7.78, p < .001, d = 1.89$.

651

Discussion

652 The primary goal of Experiment 3 was to determine whether a different
653 deep encoding strategy (sentence generation) would also mitigate value's
654 effect on recognition, as mental imagery was found to do in Experiment 2.
655 Recognition sensitivity, frequency of highest confidence responses, and
656 frequency of recollection did not differ significantly by item-value when
657 participants were instructed to generate sentences for both low- and high-
658 value items, supporting the idea that differences in recognition accuracy
659 based on value are likely due to differences in depth of encoding. The results
660 from the Counting Consonants condition support this idea as well. In this
661 condition, participants had limited ability to employ deep encoding strategies
662 for high-value items, and their recognition memory for high-value items was

663not significantly better than their recognition memory for low-value items.
664Recognition memory for both high- and low-value items in the Consonant
665Counting condition was similar to recognition memory for low-value items in
666the No Instruction condition, suggesting this level of performance is
667supported by simply reading the words without engaging with them on a
668deeper semantic level. In contrast, the level of performance for both high-
669and low-value items in the sentence generation condition was markedly
670higher than the level of performance for the high-value items in the No
671Instruction condition. This suggests that sentence generation is a more
672effective encoding strategy than participants typically use for learning high-
673value items, consistent with the relatively low levels of self-reported use of
674this strategy in the No Instruction condition in Experiment 2.

675

General Discussion

676Relatively Automatic Contributions to Value-Directed Remembering

677 Across three experiments, the contributions of relatively automatic and
678elaborative encoding processes to value-directed remembering were
679examined. A key result of this study was that value can enhance recognition
680in a relatively automatic fashion, even when subjects are immediately told
681that the item is irrelevant. In Experiment 1, when items were paired with an
682immediate forget cue, participants showed stronger recognition sensitivity
683for valuable items than low-value items. The large directed-forgetting effect
684observed in this study suggests that an immediate forget cue effectively
685reduced intentional encoding of items; thus, the most plausible explanation

686for these results is that a less deliberate and relatively automatic process is
687enhancing the learning of valuable items.

688 One plausible mechanism by which valuable items may be
689automatically strengthened in memory is that these items activate midbrain
690dopaminergic circuitry that can enhance hippocampal activity (Bethus, Tse,
691& Morris, 2010; Rossato et al., 2009). High-value cues elicit activity in
692dopaminergic regions and this dopamine release appears to signal the
693anticipation of rewards (Adcock et al., 2006; Carter et al., 2009).
694Furthermore, this dopaminergic signaling has been shown to act directly on
695the hippocampus to upregulate the storage of information in long-term
696memory (Lisman & Grace, 2005; Otmakhova, Duzel, Deutsch, & Lisman,
6972013; Rossato et al., 2009). Neuroimaging of value-directed remembering
698has revealed that activation of bilateral nucleus accumbens, a component of
699the midbrain dopaminergic reward system, does coincide with high point-
700value cues (Cohen et al., 2014). In a previous study, the presentation of
701rewards strengthened subsequent memory for information that was proximal
702to these rewards, consistent with the idea that value can automatically
703enhance memory independent of motivation to remember (Murayama &
704Kitagami, 2014). In a similar vein, Cohen et al. (2017) showed that effects of
705value were present on a free recall task, even when subjects reported that
706they did not attend to value and attempted to encode all items in a similar
707fashion.

708 One difference between the current study and much of previous work
709 showing activation of the midbrain dopamine system is that these previous
710 effects were mainly apparent after a delay of at least 12 hours, suggesting
711 that the effect of dopamine is to enhance memory consolidation (Bethus,
712 Tse, & Morris, 2010; Rossato et al., 2009; Spaniol, Schain, & Bowen, 2013). In
713 the present study, small effects of value were seen on a recognition test that
714 occurred shortly after study, and these immediate effects of value have been
715 observed in previous research (Hennessee, Castel, & Knowlton, 2017;
716 Hennessee, Knowlton, & Castel, 2018). In the current study, we used a fairly
717 sensitive measure of recognition, and thus it is possible that we were able to
718 detect relatively subtle value effects on memory strength. It may be that
719 there would be larger value effects with a long delay due to enhanced
720 consolidation of these items. Thus, relatively small differences in memory
721 strength due to value may become magnified if there is differential
722 consolidation of higher-strength items.

723 **Contributions of Elaborative Encoding**

724 Other work has suggested that high-value cues promoted increased
725 elaborative semantic processing of items which leads to better subsequent
726 memory. Research by Cohen et al. (2016) suggests that value-directed
727 remembering promotes increased activity in left VLPFC, pre-supplementary
728 motor area, and posterior lateral temporal cortex, and these regions have
729 been implicated in deep semantic processing (Binder et al., 2009; Binder and
730 Desai, 2011). In Experiment 1, we did not observe a significant effect of

731prolonged elaborative encoding on recognition for high- or low-value words.
732More specifically, when the learn cue was presented immediately,
733participants had the maximal amount of time (6 s) to use any encoding
734strategy they preferred, but this was not shown to improve performance
735relative to seeing the cue only 1 s before the next item. At first glance, this
736seems at odds with prior research showing that people selectively use
737effective strategies for valuable word-pairs (Ariel, Price, & Hertzog, 2015)
738and they alter their strategy use based on item-value (Cohen et al., 2017).
739Likewise, this seems to go against the agenda-based regulation model (Ariel,
740Dunlosky, & Bailey, 2009), as the longer study time should allow for larger
741differences in allocating time, resources, and effort based on item-value.
742However, as shown in Cohen et al. (2017), participants often require multiple
743study-test lists with feedback on their performance to fully develop this
744value-related selectivity in encoding. Ariel, Price, and Hertzog (2015) and
745Cohen et al. (2017) used multiple lists with feedback, whereas the present
746study did not. Thus it is possible that our participants did not have sufficient
747feedback on performance to develop selective encoding strategies observed
748in studies with multiple study-test lists. The contribution of elaborative
749encoding strategies on value-directed remembering may be relatively small
750when studying a single recognition list without intermittent feedback.

751 Nevertheless, in Experiment 2, there was evidence of differential
752encoding strategies for valuable items. Unlike in Experiment 1, participants
753in Experiment 2 did not have to engage in directed-forgetting, and thus it

754 may have been easier to adopt different encoding strategies depending on
755 value. A strong value effect on recognition was observed in the maintenance
756 rehearsal condition, and this value effect was not significantly different than
757 when no instruction was present. In these conditions, valuable items may
758 have been automatically encoded more effectively, or participants may have
759 strategically engaged in more effective encoding of these items. Even when
760 participants were instructed to engage in rehearsal, it is possible that they
761 were able to also engage in more semantic encoding of some items, as
762 participants generally reported using more than one strategy during the
763 encoding session. In support of the idea that participants engage in more
764 semantic encoding strategies for high-value items, instructing participants to
765 encode all learned items using a mental imagery strategy improved memory
766 for low-value items to the point that value-based differences in sensitivity
767 were reduced and differences in the rates of highest confidence response
768 and Remember responses were eliminated. In a recent study, item-value was
769 associated with increased experiences of recollection but the frequency of
770 high confidence responses was not significantly affected by value
771 (Hennessee, Castel, & Knowlton, 2017). The current findings suggest that
772 value can alter the frequency of these high confidence responses and that
773 mental imagery during encoding may increase both confidence and
774 recollection similarly at test.

775 The results of Experiment 3 support and extend the results of
776 Experiment 2. A limitation of Experiment 2 was that use of the instructed

777 encoding strategy was reported by participants at the end of the experiment
778 rather than monitored directly. Therefore, in Experiment 3, we required
779 participants in the Sentence Generation and Counting Consonants conditions
780 to respond aloud, which allowed us to monitor whether they were following
781 the encoding instructions they had been assigned. Under these
782 circumstances, we did not observe any effects of value on recognition,
783 supporting the idea that differential encoding makes a strong contribution to
784 value effects. It is possible that we were not able to detect automatic effects
785 of value in the Sentence Generation condition because recognition sensitivity
786 was near ceiling; however, we observed a similar pattern of results when
787 looking at the proportion of items rated as Remembered, which was quite
788 high but not at ceiling. It is also possible that the numerical task of counting
789 consonants interfered with processing of word values. Replication of this
790 result with a non-numerical task that similarly limits differential strategy use
791 would provide additional support for our findings.

792 In Cohen et al. (2014), neuroimaging data indicated differences in
793 activation in semantic processing regions between high-value and low-value
794 items, and we observed that differences in performance were mitigated
795 when participants increase their semantic processing of low-value items
796 through mental imagery and sentence generation. Taken together, these two
797 studies suggest that differences in semantic processing based on item-value
798 contribute to value-directed remembering, though this contribution is likely
799 greater when participants receive feedback through multiple lists.

800Conclusions

801 Across three experiments we demonstrated that value can improve
802recognition in both a relatively automatic fashion as well as by inducing
803participants to engage in more effective encoding. The current findings,
804together with prior research, suggest that valuable items receive increased
805semantic processing. Further research may determine how learners adjust
806and apply encoding strategies to maximize memory efficiency.

807

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Appendix A

Remember-Know-Guess Instructions (Adapted from Gardiner & Java, 1990)

847 Soon you will be shown a series of individual words and asked if you
848 recognize the word from the studying phase or if it is a new word. For words
849 you recognize, you will also be asked whether you recognized it due to
850 remembering, knowing, or guessing. Now, I will describe what we mean by
851 remembering and knowing:

852 Often, when *remembering* a previous event or occurrence, we
853 consciously recollect and become aware of aspects of the previous
854 *experience*. At other times, we simply *know* that something has occurred
855 before, but without being able consciously to recollect anything about its
856 occurrence or what we *experienced* at the time. For example, if seeing a
857 hammer reminds you that you nailed up a picture frame a few days ago, and
858 you can remember what it was like nailing up that picture, you would label
859 that *remembering*. In contrast, if someone asks you what a hammer is, and
860 you are certain you know what hammers are, but you can't remember any
861 specific experiences with a hammer, you would call that *knowing*. The key

862distinction, again, is that in remembering you can recall a specific
863experience, whereas in knowing you cannot.

864 Before we go on, can you tell me what it means to remember given my
865earlier definition?

866 Today, remembering means that you consciously recall having seen
867the word previously in this study, and this can include any details related
868with that experience. This could be visual, such as being able to remember
869vividly what the word looks like. Also, if seeing the word earlier made you
870*think* of anything, and you can remember that on the recognition task, we
871will label that remembering. Now, please *only* give a remember response if
872you *are sure* that you have this conscious experience. In contrast, *knowing*
873means that you are certain you saw the word before, but you are unable to
874consciously remember the experience. A third response, *guessing*, will
875indicate that you are uncertain that you saw the word before.