
A simple model of recognition and recall memory

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Abstract

1 We show that several striking differences in memory performance between recogni-
2 tion and recall tasks are explained by an ecological bias endemic in classic memory
3 experiments - that such experiments universally involve more stimuli than retrieval
4 cues. We show that while it is sensible to think of recall as simply retrieving
5 items when probed with a cue - typically the item list itself - it is better to think
6 of recognition as retrieving cues when probed with items. To test this theory, by
7 manipulating the number of items and cues in a memory experiment, we show
8 a crossover effect in memory performance within subjects such that recognition
9 performance is superior to recall performance when the number of items is greater
10 than the number of cues and recall performance is better than recognition when
11 the converse holds. We build a simple computational model around this theory,
12 using sampling to approximate an ideal Bayesian observer encoding and retrieving
13 situational co-occurrence frequencies of stimuli and retrieval cues. This model
14 robustly reproduces a number of dissociations in recognition and recall previously
15 used to argue for dual-process accounts of declarative memory.

16 1 Introduction

17 Over nearly half a century, differences in memory performance in recognition and recall-based
18 experiments have been a prominent nexus of controversy and confusion in the behavioral and
19 neuroscientific literature. There is broad agreement among memory researchers, following Mandler's
20 influential lead, that there are at least two different types of memory *activities* - recollection, wherein
21 we simply remember something we want to remember, and familiarity, wherein we remember having
22 seen something before, but nothing more beyond it [8]. Recall-based experiments are obvious
23 representatives of recollection. Mandler suggested that recognition was a good example of familiarity
24 activity.

25 Dual-process accounts of memory question Mandler's premise that recognition is exclusively a
26 familiarity operation. They argue, phenomenologically, that recognition could also succeed successful
27 recollection, making the process a dual composition of recollection and familiarity [21]. Experimental
28 procedures and analysis methods have been designed to test for the relative presence of both processes
29 in recognition experiments, with variable success. These endeavors contrast with strength-based
30 single-process models of memory that treat recognition as the retrieval of a weak trace of item
31 memory, and recall as retrieval of a stronger trace of the same item [20].

32 The single/dual process dispute also spills over into the computational modeling of memory. Gillund
33 and Shiffrin's influential SAM model is a single-process account of both recognition and recall [4]. In
34 SAM and other strength-based models of declarative memory, recognition is modeled as item-relevant
35 associative activation of memory breaching a threshold, while recall is modeled as sampling items
36 from memory using the relative magnitudes of these associative activations. In contrast, McClelland's
37 equally influential CLS model is explicitly a dual-process model, where a fast learning hippocampal
38 component primarily responsible for recollection sits atop a slow learning neocortical component

39 responsible for familiarity [9]. Wixted’s signal detection model tries to bridge the gap between
 40 these accounts by allowing dual process contributions to combine additively into a unidimensional
 41 strength variable [20]. While such pragmatic syntheses are useful, the field is still looking for a more
 42 satisfactory theoretical unification.

43 The depth of the difference between the postulated dual processes of recollection and familiarity
 44 depends inevitably on the strength of the quantitative and qualitative dissociations that previous
 45 research has documented in memory tasks, prominent among which are recognition and recall.
 46 Mandler, for instance, postulated a one-to-one mapping between recognition and familiarity on one
 47 hand and recall and recollection on the other [8], although other authors hold more nuanced views [21].
 48 Notwithstanding such differences of opinion, the road to discovering useful single-process accounts
 49 of declarative memory has to go through explaining the multiple performance dissociations between
 50 recognition and recall memory tasks. To the extent that single process accounts of both tasks can
 51 explain such dissociations, differences between recollection and familiarity will not seem nearly as
 52 fundamental.

53 Improved strength-based models have competently modeled a large array of recognition-recall
 54 dissociations [12], but fail, or have to make intricate assumptions, in the face of others [21]. More
 55 importantly, the SAM model and its descendants are not purely single-process models. They model
 56 recognition as a threshold event and recall as a sampling event, with the unification coming from
 57 the fact that both events occur using the same information base of associative activation magnitude.
 58 We present a much simpler single process model that capably reproduces many critical qualitative
 59 recognition-recall dissociations. In the process, we rationalize the erstwhile abstract associative
 60 activation of strength-based memory models as statistically efficient monitoring of environmental
 61 co-occurrence frequencies. Finally, we show using simulations and a behavioral experiment, that the
 62 large differences between recognition and recall in the literature can be explained by the responses of
 63 an approximately Bayesian observer tracking these frequencies to two different questions.

64 2 Model

65 We use a very simple model, specified completely by heavily stylized encoding and retrieval processes.
 66 The encoding component of our model simply learns the relative frequencies with which specific
 67 conjunctions of objects are attended to in the world. We consider objects x of only two types: items
 68 x_i and lists x_l . We model each timestep as as a Bernoulli trial between the propensity to attend to
 69 any of the set of items or to the item-list itself, with a uniform prior probability of sampling any
 70 of the objects. Observers update the probability of co-occurrence, defined in our case rigidly as
 71 1-back occurrence, inductively as the items on the list are presented. We model this as the observer’s
 72 sequential Bayesian updates of the probability $p(x)$, stored at every time step as a discrete memory
 73 engram m .

74 Thus, in this encoding model, information about the displayed list of items is available in distributed
 75 form in memory as $p(x_i, x_l|m)$, with each engram m storing one instance of co-occurrence. The true
 76 joint distribution of observed items, to the extent that it is encoded within the set of all task-relevant
 77 memory engrams \mathcal{M} is then expressible as a simple probabilistic marginalization,

$$p(x_i, x_l) = \sum_m^{\mathcal{M}} p(x_i, x_l|m)p(m), \quad (1)$$

78 where we assume that $p(m)$ is flat over \mathcal{M} , i.e. we assume that within the set of memory engrams
 79 relevant for the retrieval cue, memory access is random.

80 Our retrieval model is approximately Bayesian. It assumes that people sample a small subset of all
 81 relevant engrams $\mathcal{M}' \subset \mathcal{M}$ when making memory judgments. Thus, the joint distribution accessible
 82 to the observer during retrieval becomes a function of the set of engrams actually retrieved,

$$p_{\mathcal{M}_k}(x_i, x_l) = \sum_m^{\mathcal{M}_k} p(x_i, x_l|m)p(m), \quad (2)$$

83 where \mathcal{M}_k denotes the set of first k engrams retrieved.

84 Following a common approach to sampling termination in strength-based sequential sampling memory
 85 models, we use a novelty threshold that allows the memory judgment process to self-terminate when

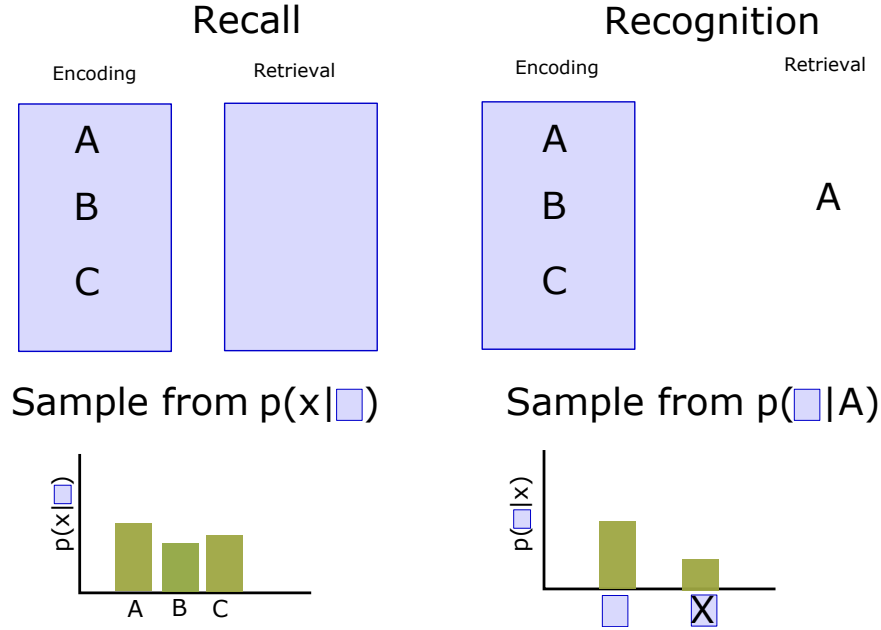


Figure 1: Illustrating the ecological difference in retrieval during recognition and recall memory experiments. We model recall retrieval as a probabilistic query about items conditioned on the item list and recognition retrieval as a probabilistic query about the item list conditioned on the item presented during retrieval. Since there are almost always more items than lists in classic memory experiments, the second conditional distribution tends to be formed on a smaller discrete support set than the former.

86 incoming engrams no longer convey significantly novel information [4, 12]. We treat the arrival of the
 87 k^{th} successive engram into working memory as a probabilistic draw from $p_{\mathcal{M}_k}$. The stopping rule for
 88 memory retrieval is for n consecutive identical samples being drawn in succession during this internal
 89 sampling, n remaining a free parameter in the model. The sample drawn at the instant the novelty
 90 threshold is breached is overtly retrieved. Since this sample is drawn from a distribution constructed by
 91 approximately reconstructing the true encoded distribution of situational co-occurrences, the retrieval
 92 model is approximately Bayesian. Finally, since our encoding model ensures that the observer knows
 93 the joint distribution of event co-occurrences, which contains all the information needed to compute
 94 marginals and conditionals also, we further assume that these derivative distributions can also be
 95 sampled, using the same retrieval model, when required.

96 We show in this paper that this simple memory model yields both recognition and recall behavior.
 97 The difference between recognition and recall is simply that these two retrieval modalities ask two
 98 different questions of the same base of encoded memory - the joint distribution $p(x_i, x_l)$. We illustrate
 99 this difference in Figure 1. During recall-based retrieval, experimenters ask participants to remember
 100 all the items that were on a previously studied list. In this case, the probabilistic question being asked
 101 is 'given x_l , find x_i ', which our model would answer by sampling $p(x_i|x_l)$. In item-recognition
 102 experiments, experimenters ask participants to determine whether each of several items was on a
 103 previously shown list or not. We assert that in this case the probabilistic question being asked is
 104 'given x_i , find x_l ', which our model would answer by sampling $p(x_l|x_i)$.

105 Our operationalization of recognition as a question about the list rather than the item runs contrary to
 106 previous formalizations, which have tended to model it as the associative activation engendered in
 107 the brain by observing a previously seen stimulus - models of recognition memory assume that the
 108 activation for previously seen stimuli is greater, for all sorts of reasons. In contrast, recall is modeled
 109 in classical memory accounts much the same way as in ours - as a conditional activation of items
 110 associated with retrieval cues, including both the item list and temporally contiguous items. Our
 111 approach assumes that the same mechanism of conditional activation occurs in recognition as well -
 112 the difference is that we condition on the item itself.

113 3 Basic prediction: fast recognition and slow recall

114 The sample-based threshold used to terminate memory retrieval in our model ϵ does not depend on
115 the size of the support of the probability distribution being sampled from. This immediately implies
116 that, for the same threshold sample value, the model will take longer to approach it when sampling
117 from a distribution with larger support than when sampling from distributions with smaller support.

118 In classical memory experiments, observers are typically asked to memorize multiple items associated
119 with one, or a few, lists. Thus, there is an ecological bias built into classic memory experiments such
120 that $|items| \gg |lists|$. Making this assumption immediately rationalizes the apparent difference in
121 speed and effort between recognition and recall in our model. Because the recognition task samples
122 $p(list|item)$, its sample complexity is lower than recall, which involves sampling $p(item|list)$ from
123 memory.

124 To verify this numerically, starting from identical memory encodings in both cases, we ran 1000
125 simulations of recognition and recall respectively using our retrieval model, using a fixed n value.
126 The results, measured in terms of the number of retrieval samples drawn before termination, are
127 shown in the left panel of Figure 2. The sample complexity of recall is evidently higher than for
128 recognition¹. Thus, we suggest that the fundamental difference between recognition and recall - that
129 recognition is easier and recall is harder - is explicable simply by virtue of the ecological bias of
130 memory experiments that use fewer cues than stimuli.

131 The difference in speed between recollection and familiarity processes, as measured in recall and
132 recognition experiments, has been one of the fundamental motivations for proposing that two memory
133 processes are involved in declarative memory. Dual-process accounts have invoked priority arguments
134 instead, e.g. that information has to pass through semantic memory, which is responsible for
135 recognition, before accessing episodic memory which is responsible for recall [17]. Single process
136 accounts following in the lineage of SAM [4] have explained the difference by arguing that recognition
137 involves a single comparison of activation values to a threshold, whereas recall involves competition
138 between multiple activations for sampling. Our model rationalizes this distinction made in SAM-style
139 sequential sampling models by arguing that recognition memory retrieval is identical to recall memory
140 retrieval; only the support of the distribution from which the memory trace is to be probabilistically
141 retrieved changes. Thus, instead of using a race to threshold for recognition and a sampling process
142 in recall, this model uses self-terminating sampling in both cases, explaining the main difference
143 between the two tasks - easy recognition and hard recall - as a function of typical ecological parameter
144 choices. This observation also explains the relative indifference of recognition tasks to divided
145 attention conditions, in contrast with recall which is heavily affected [2]. Because of the lower sample
146 complexity of recognition, fewer useful samples are needed to arrive at the correct conclusion.

147 4 An empirical test

148 The explanation our model offers is simple, but untested. To directly test it, we constructed a simple
149 behavioral experiment, where we would manipulate the number of items and cues keeping the total
150 number of presentations constant, and see how this affected memory performance in both recognition
151 and recall retrieval modalities. Our model predicts that memory performance difficulty scales up with
152 the size of the support of the conditional probability distribution relevant to the retrieval modality.
153 Thus recall, which samples from $p(item|list)$, should become easier as the number of items to recall
154 per cue reduces. Similarly recognition, which samples from $p(list|item)$, should become harder as
155 the number of cues per item increases. Because classic memory experiments have tended to use more
156 items than cues (lists), our model predicts that such experiments would consistently find recognition
157 to be easier than recall. By inverting this pattern, having more cues than items, for instance, we would
158 expect to see the opposite pattern hold. We tested for this performance crossover using the following
159 experiment.

160 We used a 2×2 within subject factorial design for this experiment, testing for the effect of the retrieval
161 mode - recognition/recall and either a stimulus heavy, or cue heavy selection of task materials. In
162 addition, we ran two conditions between subjects, using different parameterization of the stimuli/cue

¹Recall trials that timed out by not returning a sample beyond the maximum time limit (100 samples) are not plotted. These corresponded to 55% of the trials, resulting in a recall hit rate of 45%. In contrast, the average recognition hit rate was 82% for this simulation.

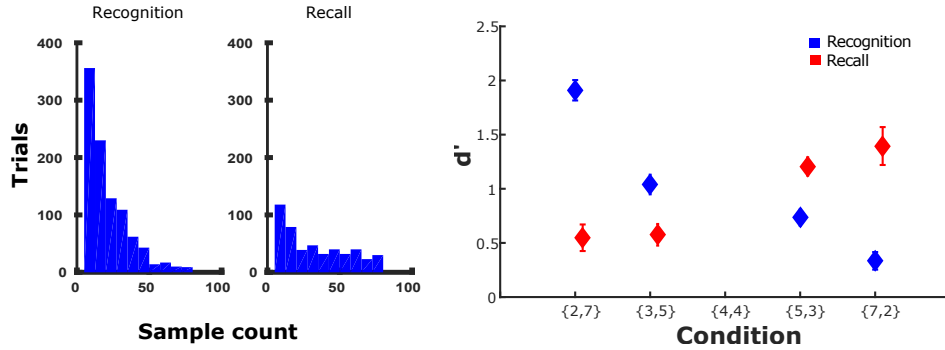


Figure 2: (Left) Simulation results show easier recognition and harder recall given typical ecological choices for stimuli and cue set sizes. (Right) Results from experiment manipulating the stimuli and cue set size ratio. By manipulating the number of stimuli and cues, we predicted that we would be able to make recall harder than recognition for experiment participants. The results support our prediction unambiguously. Error bars show s.e.m.

163 ratios. In the stimulus heavy condition, for instance, participants were exposed to 5 stimuli associated
 164 with 3 cues, while for the cue heavy condition, they saw 3 stimuli associated with 5 cues. The semantic
 165 identity of the stimuli and cue sets were varied across all four conditions randomly, and the order of
 166 presentation of conditions to participants was counterbalanced. All participants worked on all four
 167 of the memory tasks, with interference avoided with the use of semantically distinct category pairs
 168 across the four conditions. Specifically, we used number-letter, vegetable-occupation, fruit-adjective
 169 and animal-place category pairs for the four conditions. Within each category, stimuli/cues for a
 170 particular presentation were sampled from a 16 item master list, such that a stimulus could not occur
 171 twice in conjunction with the same cue, but could occur in conjunction with multiple cues.

172 120 undergraduates participated in the experiment for course credit. Voluntary consent was obtained
 173 from all participants, and the experimental protocol was approved by an institutional IRB. We told
 174 experiment participants that they would be participating in a memory experiment, and their goal was
 175 to remember as many of the items we showed them as possible. We also told them that the experiment
 176 would have four parts, and that once they started working on a part, there would be no opportunity to
 177 take a break until it ended. 80 participants performed the experiment with 3/5 and 5/3 stimulus-to-cue
 178 mappings, 40 did it with 2/7 and 7/2 stimulus-to-cue mappings. Note that in all cases, participants
 179 saw approximately the same number of total stimulus-cue bindings ($3 \times 5 = 15$ or $2 \times 7 = 14$), thus
 180 undergoing equivalent cognitive load during encoding.

181 Stimuli and cues were presented onscreen, with each pair appearing on the screen for 3 seconds,
 182 followed by an ITI of equal duration. To prevent mnemonic strategy use at the time of encoding, the
 183 horizontal orientation of the stimulus-cue pair was randomly selected on each trial, and participants
 184 were not told beforehand which item category would be the cue; they could only discover this at
 185 the time of retrieval². Participants were permitted to begin retrieval at their own discretion once
 186 the encoding segment of the trial had concluded within each condition. All participants chose to
 187 commence retrieval without delay. Participants were also permitted to take breaks of between 2-5
 188 minutes between working on the different conditions, with several choosing to do so.

189 Once participants had seen all item-pairs for one of the conditions, the experiment prompted them to,
 190 when ready, click on a button to proceed to the testing phase. In the recall condition, they saw a text
 191 box and a sentence asking them to recall all the items that occurred alongside item X, where X was
 192 randomly chosen from the set of possible cues for that condition; they responded by typing in the
 193 words they remembered. For recognition, participants saw a sentence asking them to identify if X had
 194 occurred alongside Y, where Y was randomly chosen from the set of possible cues for that condition.
 195 After each forced yes/no response, a new X was shown. Half the X's shown in the recognition test
 196 were 'lures', they had not been originally displayed alongside Y.

²An active weblink to the actual experiment is available online at [anonymized weblink].

197 Memory performance was measured using d' , which is simply the difference between the z-normed
198 hit rate and false alarm rate, as is conventional in recognition experiments. d' is generally not used
199 to measure recall performance, since the number of true negatives is undefined in classic recall
200 experiments, which leaves the false alarm rate undefined as well. In our setup, the number of true
201 negatives is obviously the number of stimuli the participant saw that were not on the specific list
202 being probed, which is what we used to calculate d' for recall as well.

203 The right panel in Figure 2 illustrates the results of our experiment. The predicted crossover is
204 unambiguously observed. Further, changes in memory performance across the stimulus-cue set size
205 manipulation is symmetric across recognition and recall. This is precisely what we'd expect if set
206 size dependence was symmetrically affecting memory performance across both tasks as occurs in
207 our model. While not wishing to read too much into the symmetry of the quantitative result, we note
208 that such symmetry under a simple manipulation of the retrieval conditions appears to suggest that
209 the manipulation does in fact affect memory performance very strongly. Overall, the data strongly
210 supports our thesis - that quantitative differences in memory performance in recognition and recall
211 tasks are driven by differences in the set size of the underlying memory distribution being sampled.
212 The set size of the distribution being sampled, in turn, is determined by task constraints - and ends up
213 being symmetric when comparing single-item recognition with cued recall.

214 5 Predicting more recognition-recall dissociations

215 The fact that recognition is usually easier than recall - more accurate and quicker for the same stimuli
216 sets - is simply the most prominent difference between the two paradigms. Experimentalists have
217 uncovered a number of interesting manipulations in memory experiments that affect performance
218 on these tasks differentially. These are called recognition-recall dissociations, and are prominent
219 challenges to single-process accounts of the two tasks. Why should a manipulation affect only one
220 task and not the other if they are both outcomes of the same underlying process? [21] Previous
221 single-process accounts have had success in explaining some such dissociations. We focus here
222 on some that have proved relatively hard to explain without making inelegant dissociation-specific
223 assumptions in earlier accounts [12].

224 5.1 List strength effects and part set cuing

225 Unidimensional strength-based models of memory like SAM and REM fail to predict the list strength
226 effect [11] where participants' memory performance in free recall is lower than a controlled baseline
227 for weaker items on mixed lists (lists containing both strongly and weakly encoded items). Such
228 behavior is predicted easily by strength-based models. What they find difficult to explain is that
229 performance does not deviate from baseline in recognition tasks. The classical explanation for this
230 discrepancy is the use of a *differentiation* assumption. It is assumed that stronger items are associated
231 more strongly to the encoding context, however differences between the item itself as shown, and
232 its encoded image are also stronger. In free recall, this second interaction does not have an effect,
233 since the item itself is not presented, so a positive list strength effect is seen. In recognition, it is
234 conjectured that the two influences cancel each other out, resulting in a null list strength effect [12].

235 A lot of intricate assumptions have to hold for the differentiation account to hold. Our model has
236 a much simpler explanation for the null list-strength effect in recognition. Recognition involves
237 sampling based on the strength of the associative activation of the list given a *specific* item and so
238 is independent of the encoding strength of other items. On the other hand, recall involves sampling
239 from $p(item|list)$ across all items, in which case, having a distribution favoring other items will
240 reduce the probability that the unstrengthened items will be sampled. Thus, the difference in which
241 variable the retrieval operation conditions on explains the respective presence and absence of a list
242 strength effect in recall and recognition. The left panel in Figure 3 presents simulation results from
243 our model reproducing this effect, where we implement mixed lists by presenting certain stimuli
244 more frequently during encoding and retrieve in the usual manner. Hit rates are calculated for less
245 frequently presented stimuli. The simulation shows a positive list strength effect for recall (weaker
246 hit rates for less studied items) and a null list strength effect for recognition, congruent with data.

247 Our model also reconciles the results of [1] who demonstrated that the list strength effect does not
248 occur if we examine only items that are the first in their category to be retrieved. For category-
249 insensitive strength-based accounts, this is a serious problem. For our account, which is explicitly

250 concerned with how observers co-encode stimuli and retrieval cues, this result is no great mystery.
 251 For multi-category memory tests, the presence of each semantic category instantiates a novel list
 252 during encoding, such that the strength-dependent updates during retrieval apply to each individual
 253 $p(item|list)$ and do not apply across the other category lists.

254 More generally, the dynamic nature of the sampled distribution in our Bayesian theory accommodates
 255 the theoretical views of both champions of strength-dependent activation and retrieval-dependent
 256 suppression [1]. Strength-dependent activation is present in our model in the form of the Bayesian
 257 posterior over cue-relevant targets at the time when cued recall commences; retrieval-dependent
 258 suppression of competitors is present in the form of normalization of the distribution during further
 259 sequential Bayesian updates as the retrieval process continues. Assigning credit differentially to
 260 individual categories predicts an attenuation (though not removal) of the list strength effect, due
 261 to the absence of learning-induced changes for the first-tested items, as well diminishing memory
 262 performance with testing position seen in [1].

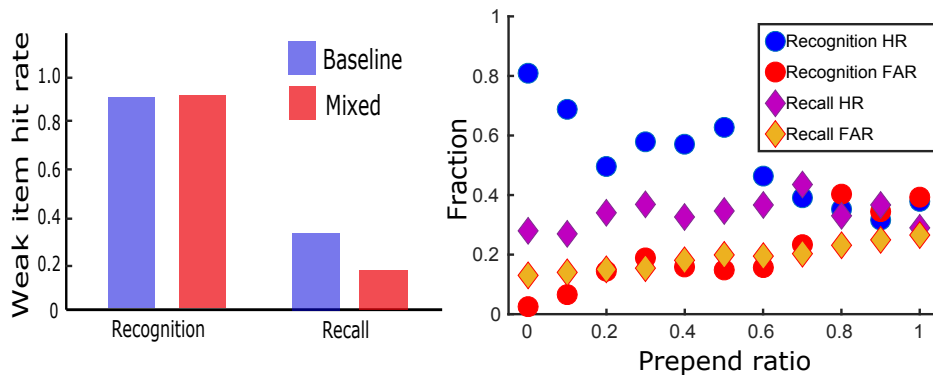


Figure 3: Reproducing (left) list strength effects and (right) the word frequency mirror effect using our model.

263 The part set cueing effect is the observation that showing participants a subset of the items to be
 264 recalled during retrieval reduces their recall performance for non-shown items [10]. This effect does
 265 not appear in recognition experiments, which is again problematic for unidimensional strength-based
 266 memory models. Our model has a simple explanation. The presented items during retrieval are simply
 267 treated as further encoding opportunities for the seen items, resulting in a list strength imbalance as
 268 above. This affects recall, but not recognition for the same reasons the list strength effect does.

269 5.2 Mirror effect

270 Another interesting effect that strength-based memory models have found hard to explain is the
 271 word-frequency mirror effect [5]. This is seen when participants see two different classes of items
 272 in recognition experiments. It is found, for instance, that unique items are both recognized more
 273 accurately as previously seen and unseen in such experiments than common items. Such a pattern of
 274 memory performance is contrary to the predictions of nearly all accounts of memory that depend
 275 on unidimensional measures of memory strength, who can only model adaptive changes in memory
 276 performance via shifts in the response criterion [20] that do not permit both the hit rate and the false
 277 alarm rate to improve simultaneously.

278 The essential insight of the mirror effect is that some types of stimuli are intrinsically more memorable
 279 than others, a common-sense observation that has proved surprisingly difficult for strength-based
 280 memory models to assimilate. This difficulty extends to our own model also, but our inductive frame-
 281 work allows us to express the assumptions about information that the stimuli base frequency adds
 282 to the picture in a clean way. Specifically, in our model observers use $p(list|item)$ for recogni-
 283 tion, which is high for unique items and low for common items by Bayesian inversion because
 284 $p(item|list)/p(item) \approx 1$ for unique items, because they are unlikely to have been encountered
 285 outside the experimental context, and $\ll 1$ for common items. In contrast, observers sample from
 286 $p(item|list)$ during recall, removing the effect of the frequency base rate $p(item)$, so that the pattern

287 of results is inverted: performance is equivalent or better than baseline for common stimuli than for
288 rare ones [6], since they are more likely to be retrieved in general.

289 The right panel in Figure 3 shows simulation results using our model wherein we used two possible
290 cues during encoding, one to test performance during retrieval and one to modify the non-retrieval
291 frequency of stimuli encounters. We prepended the event stream used to encode the test-specific
292 stimuli-cue presentations with a set of stimuli and lure presentations alongside a non-tested cue, and
293 manipulated the size of this prepended set to manipulate the generic frequency of stimuli occurrence
294 for this simulation. The simulation results show that, in recognition, hit rates drop and false alarm rates
295 rise with more exposure to items outside the experimental list context (high frequency items). Since
296 our model assumes unambiguous cue conditioning, it predicts unchanged performance from baseline
297 for recall. More intricate models that permit cue-cue associations may reproduce the advantage for
298 common items documented empirically.

299 **5.3 Perceptual modifications and differential generalization**

300 We conclude our demonstrations by qualitatively explaining two sets of results that have previously
301 been very hard to explain, but follow very easily from our proposal.

302 The first set show that perceptual modifications of the stimulus between encoding and retrieval affect
303 recognition accuracy substantially [13]. Recognition performance in speeded conditions is affected
304 more under speeded conditions than unspeeded conditions by perceptual modifications, suggesting at
305 least by dual-process interpretations, that recall is less affected by such changes [16]. Whereas other
306 single-process models find this result hard to explain [21], our model explains it simply. Because
307 recognition performance is conditioned on the stimulus, using a different perceptual variant of the
308 stimulus affects the retrieval process. Recall involves conditioning on the retrieval cue, resulting in
309 no impact of perceptual modifications to the stimuli during retrieval.

310 The second set of results largely draw upon experiments on amnesic patients, showing large deficits in
311 associative recognition tests compared to simple item recognition. This is interpreted to argue that the
312 processes underpinning recognition do not support novel learning and generalization [21], whereas
313 recall clearly does [19]. This is entirely compatible with our account, because we are retrieving cues
314 during retrieval, not the items themselves, which makes reconsolidation of item-associated engrams
315 impossible in recognition.

316 **6 Discussion**

317 We have made a very simple proposal in this paper. We join multiple previous authors in arguing that
318 memory retrieval in cued recall tasks can be interpreted as a question about the likelihood of retrieving an
319 item given the retrieval cue, typically the list of items given at the time of encoding [17, 8, 4].
320 We depart from previous authors in arguing that memory retrieval in item recognition tasks asks the
321 precisely opposite question: what is the likelihood of a given item having been associated with the
322 list? We integrated this insight into a simple inference-based model of memory encoding, which
323 shares its formal motivations with recent inference-based models of conditioning [3, 14], and an
324 approximately Bayesian model of memory retrieval, which samples memory frugally along lines
325 motivated on information-theoretic [18] and ecological grounds [15] by recent work.

326 Our model is meant to be expository and ignores several large issues that other richer models typically
327 engage with. For instance, it is silent about the time decay of memory particles, the partitioning of
328 the world into items and cues, and how it would go about explaining other more intricate memory
329 tasks like plurality discrimination and remember-know judgments. These omissions are deliberate, in
330 the sense that we wanted to present a minimal model to deliver the core intuition behind our approach
331 - that differences in memory performance in recognition and recall are attributable to no deeper
332 issue than an ecological preference to test memory using more items than lists. This observation
333 can now subsequently guide and constrain the construction of more realistic models of declarative
334 memory [3]. To the extent that differences traditionally used to posit dual-process accounts of memory
335 can be accounted for using simpler models like ours, the need to proliferate neuroanatomical and
336 process-level distinctions for various memory operations can be concomitantly reduced [7].

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