

1

2

Between-item Similarity Frees Up Working Memory Resources Through Compression:

3

A Domain-General Property

4

5

Benjamin Kowialiewski¹, Benoît Lemaire², Sophie Portrat²

6

¹ Department of Psychology, University of Zürich, Switzerland

7

² Univ. Grenoble Alpes, CNRS, LPNC, 38000 Grenoble, France

8

9

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Benjamin Kowialiewski,

10

Department of Psychology, Cognitive Psychology Unit, University of Zürich,

11

Binzmühlestrasse 14/22, 8050 Zurich, Switzerland. E-mails : benjamin.kowialiewski@uzh.ch;

12

bkowialiewski@uliege.be

13

14

Open Science statement:

15

All the data and codes have been made available on the Open Science Framework:

16

<https://osf.io/y9xz2/>. This study was not preregistered.

17

18

Acknowledgements

19

This study was funded by the French National Research Agency (ANR) under the

20

CHUNKED project #ANR-17-CE28-0013-03. We thank all the participants for their time

21

devoted to this study.

22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32

Author Note

Some of the ideas and data presented in this article have been presented elsewhere. The general idea of a domain-general compression mechanism to deal with item similarity was suggested at the Virtual Working Memory Symposium (VWMS, 2021) with a particular focus on the visual domain. The results of Experiment 1 replicate those published in the Journal of Memory & Language (2021) which were orally presented at the conferences EWOMS 2020, PIF 2020 and CogSci 2021. Results of Experiment 2, 3 and 4 were not presented anywhere else.

33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

Abstract

Compression, the ability to recode information in a denser format, is a core property of working memory (WM). Previous studies have shown that the ability to compress information largely benefits WM performance. Importantly, recent evidence also suggests compression as freeing up WM resources, thus enhancing recall performance for other, less compressible information. Contrary to the traditional view positing that between-item similarity decreases WM performance, this study shows that between-item similarity can be used to free up WM resources through compression. Across a series of four experiments, we show that between-item similarity not only enhances recall performance for similar items themselves, but also for other, less compressible items within the same list, and this in the semantic (Experiment 1), phonological (Experiment 2), visuospatial (Experiment 3), and visual (Experiment 4) domains. Across these different domains, a consistent pattern of results emerged: between-item similarity proactively – but did not retroactively – enhanced WM performance for other items, and this as compared to a condition in which between-item similarity at the whole-list level was minimized. We propose that between-item similarity in any domain may impact WM using the same underlying machinery: via a compression mechanism, which allows an efficient reallocation of WM resources.

Keywords: Working Memory, Similarity, Compression, Attentional Resources

51 **Introduction**

52 The retention of information over the short-term is severely limited. Since the seminal
53 work by Miller (1956) estimating working memory (WM) capacity equaling about 7 items,
54 several studies suggest this capacity as being even more limited. When measured in procedures
55 preventing strategies such as list segmentation and inter-item grouping strategies (Bunting et al.,
56 2006; Cowan et al., 2005; Pollack et al., 1959), WM capacity appears instead to be limited to 3-4
57 elementary units. If the number of units we can maintain is so limited, how come that we
58 nonetheless process information with relatively good efficiency in our daily lives? One response
59 to this question is lying at the heart of the concept of compression. In daily life situations,
60 elements are usually not processed in isolation, but as a whole. As such, pre-existing long-term
61 memory associations are likely to play a critical role. Think about an everyday conversation. If
62 each phoneme that composes the words we hear were processed as an individual unit, WM
63 capacity would be overloaded extremely quickly, and humans would not be able to communicate
64 through language at all. Instead, the human cognitive system can deal with complex information.
65 Compression is of critical importance, because it frees up resources, which in turn allows the
66 maintenance and processing of a larger quantity of information (Z. Chen & Cowan, 2005; Mathy
67 & Feldman, 2012; Norris et al., 2020; Portrat et al., 2016; Thalmann et al., 2019). Among
68 various forms of compression, this study investigates compression triggered by between-item
69 similarity. Importantly, we tested the domain-generalty of this principle using a convergent set
70 of behavioral experiments tapping different domains.

71 A large body of evidence from laboratory experiments showed that information
72 compression benefits WM capacity. In the verbal domain, words are better recalled as compared
73 to nonwords (Brener, 1940; Guérard & Saint-Aubin, 2012; Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2018).

WM AND SIMILARITY

74 Likewise, acronyms (e.g., “FBI”, “PDF”, “CIA”, etc.) and familiar sequences of digits (“2345”)
75 are better recalled than unfamiliar sequences, and this effect has been observed across a wide
76 variety of WM tasks (Z. Chen & Cowan, 2005; Cowan et al., 2004; Mathy & Feldman, 2012;
77 Norris et al., 2020; Portrat et al., 2016; Thalmann et al., 2019). Chunking effects have also been
78 observed in the visual domain, for instance via the induction of cross-trial statistical regularities
79 or by comparing populations with different expertise (Brady et al., 2009; Chase & Simon, 1973;
80 Gobet et al., 2001; Huang & Awh, 2018; Oberauer et al., 2017).

81 Recently, an important characteristic of compression has been highlighted through a
82 converging set of studies (Norris et al., 2020; Portrat et al., 2016; Thalmann et al., 2019). In these
83 studies, participants were invited to encode and serially recall verbal sequences in which
84 chunkable and unchunkable items were mixed-up (e.g., PDFVDHT). These were compared to
85 control sequences composed of random letters (e.g., LKMVDHT). These studies converged
86 toward the outcome that when chunks are included in to-be-remembered sequences, these chunks
87 proactively enhance recall performance for the subsequent, non-chunked items of the list, and
88 this compared to equivalent items not preceded by a chunk. When the chunks are presented at the
89 end of the to-be-remembered sequences however, no retroactive impact on WM recall
90 performance is observed. This suggests that the presence of chunks frees up WM resources,
91 which in turn benefits subsequent non-chunked information.

92 The studies we described so far assessed the impact of compression by manipulating
93 chunks that pre-exist in long-term memory (e.g., the acronym “PDF”), or by inducing chunking
94 beforehand through a learning phase (e.g., learning the arbitrary association “fork – wall”).
95 Recently, it has been claimed that between-item similarity may also be used to compress WM
96 information online. In one study, Chekaf et al. (2016) manipulated the presence of between-item

WM AND SIMILARITY

97 similarity in visual WM across different dimensions (i.e., size, color, shape), and showed that
98 this manipulation enhanced WM performance. The authors interpreted these results as supporting
99 a compression mechanism, through which participants can detect the redundancies within the
100 flow of information. This compression, in turn, is supposed to increase the amount of
101 information that can be stored and/or maintained in WM. Importantly, this compression yielded
102 by between-item similarity might be a domain-general property of WM, as we will see.

103 **Between-item similarity supports the temporary maintenance of item information**

104 The fact that between-item similarity enhances recall performance in WM thanks to
105 compression, as postulated by Chekaf et al. (2016), may appear surprising. This is because the
106 temporary maintenance of information is typically considered to be negatively affected by
107 similarity. This largely spread idea has been fed by the well-known decrease of recall
108 performance for similar sounding against dissimilar sounding items (Baddeley, 1966; Farrell &
109 Lewandowsky, 2003). This so-called phonological similarity effect has been a hallmark for the
110 development of Baddeley's phonological loop model, as well as subsequent models including
111 this phonological loop component (Baddeley & Logie, 1999; Camos & Barrouillet, 2014; Morra,
112 2015; Schweickert, 1993).

113 At the same time, an accumulating set of evidence shows that between-item similarity
114 may nonetheless support the temporary maintenance of information in WM. *In the verbal*
115 *domain*, it is true that phonological similarity decreases the ability to recall serial order
116 information (i.e., the sequential order in which the items are presented). At the same time,
117 phonologically similar words, such as rhyming words, enhance recall performance at the item
118 level (i.e., the orthographic, phonological and lexico-semantic characteristics of the memoranda),
119 when compared to phonologically dissimilar words (Fallon et al., 2005; Gupta et al., 2005; Neale

WM AND SIMILARITY

120 & Tehan, 2007). In other words, phonological similarity decreases the ability to discriminate
121 items at the serial order level, but nonetheless increases the number of to-be-remembered items
122 that one can recall. A similar phenomenon is observed at the semantic level. Between-item
123 similarity, as characterized by semantic relatedness, leads to increased recall performance. This
124 is usually shown by a recall advantage for words related at the semantic level (e.g., Mars – Pluto
125 – Mercury) as compared to semantically unrelated words (e.g., dog – table – sky) (Poirier &
126 Saint-Aubin, 1995; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999; Tse, 2009; Tse et al., 2011). The impact of
127 semantic similarity on memory for order appears however to be rather inconsistent (Baddeley,
128 1966; Neale & Tehan, 2007; Saint-Aubin & Ouellette, 2005; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999; Tse et
129 al., 2011).

130 *In the visual domain*, studies conducted so far converge toward a facilitative effect of
131 between-item similarity on WM performance. Increased performance has been observed
132 following the manipulation of color similarity, both in simultaneous and sequential presentations
133 (Lin & Luck, 2009; Quinlan & Cohen, 2012; Sanocki & Sulman, 2011). This advantage for
134 similar colors is all the more present that the similar colors are spatially close to each other
135 during encoding (Peterson & Berryhill, 2013). Similar items appear furthermore to be
136 represented with higher quality and precision than dissimilar items (Brady & Alvarez, 2015; Son
137 et al., 2020). Critically, this effect has been extended toward other visual features and/or
138 dimensions, such as shape, size (Chekaf et al., 2016), orientation (Son et al., 2020) and even
139 faces (Jiang et al., 2016). This result is furthermore robust to changes in the experimental setup,
140 as it expands to complex-span tasks involving the processing of distractors during the between-
141 item retention interval (Mathy et al., 2018).

WM AND SIMILARITY

142 Between-item similarity also impacts the recall of *visuospatial information*. Studies
143 assessing visuospatial WM used paradigms involving the encoding and order reconstruction of
144 stimuli presented sequentially at different spatial locations. Similarity in the visuospatial
145 dimension can be operationalized by the Euclidean distance between two successive
146 presentations of memoranda. Studies conducted so far suggest that path length, the sum of the
147 distance between memoranda, affects WM performance, with stimuli presented at similar (i.e.,
148 close) spatial locations leading to higher WM performance (De Lillo, 2004; Parmentier et al.,
149 2005). Path length appears to be a critical characteristic in visuospatial WM, as spatial grouping
150 manipulations are ineffective when controlling for it (Parmentier et al., 2006). This means that
151 path length is at least partially independent from grouping manipulations which are known to
152 affect WM, both in the verbal and visuospatial domains (Henson, 1999; Hurlstone, 2019;
153 Hurlstone & Hitch, 2015).

154 **Similarity frees up WM resources through compression**

155 According to the account developed by Chekaf et al. (2016), this between-item similarity
156 support may at least partially be accounted for by a compression mechanism. Between-item
157 similarity may allow participants to rapidly identify the presence of redundant features and then
158 recode the information in a more compact format. For instance, given the sequence “ghost –
159 coast – most”, participants could extract the redundant phonological information /oust/ and use
160 that information to maintain more efficiently the whole sequence. Likewise, when presented with
161 the sequence “apple – pear – plum”, one efficient strategy could be to maintain the concept
162 “fruit”. The same logic applies to the visual and visuospatial domains. When presented with
163 three different shades of green, or three adjacent squares aligned, participants could use the
164 Gestalt principles of the visual system to extract the relevant information and compress it

WM AND SIMILARITY

165 (Magen & Berger-Mandelbaum, 2018; Magen & Emmanouil, 2018; Peterson & Berryhill, 2013).
166 If between-item similarity can be used to compress information, then increasing between-item
167 similarity would logically result in a free up of WM resources¹. What is the evidence supporting
168 this account so far?

169 In the visual domain, between-item similarity has shown to enhance WM performance for
170 non-similar items, compared to sequences composed of completely dissimilar items. Morey et al.
171 (2015) showed that when items share the same colors in a to-be-remembered array, there is a
172 general boost on WM performance for the similar items themselves. Critically, WM performance
173 also benefits the dissimilar items. Although the boost was relatively subtle on dissimilar items,
174 the effect is genuine and robust as it was subsequently replicated (C. C. Morey, 2018).
175 Convergent results have been observed more recently. Ramzaoui and Mathy (2021) modulated
176 the presence of between-item redundancies in to-be-remembered visual arrays across different
177 set sizes. They showed that WM performance was well-predicted by an algorithmic complexity
178 metric measuring sequence compressibility. Importantly, a high amount of compressibility not
179 only improved recall performance for the similar items themselves, but also for the non-similar
180 items. In the verbal domain, similar results have been observed when manipulating semantic
181 relatedness (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021). Specifically, semantic relatedness was
182 manipulated by including semantic triplets (e.g., leaf – tree – branch) among semantically
183 unrelated items (e.g., wall – sky – dog) in lists to be remembered. The results of this experiment
184 overall replicated those observed in chunking experiments: the semantic triplets proactively, but

¹ Note that compression may also lead to a loss of information. This aspect will be discussed further on.

WM AND SIMILARITY

185 did not retroactively, enhanced recall performance for the unrelated items, and this when
186 compared to a condition in which all the items were semantically unrelated.

187 These pieces of evidence appear to support the idea that between-item similarity, both in
188 the semantic and visual domains, may be used to recode the information into a compressed
189 format, thereby allowing WM resources to be freed up. Evidence supporting this latter account
190 remains however scarce. Critically, the domain-generalty of this property of between-item
191 similarity remains to be formally established. If between-item similarity allows participants to
192 compress information, we expect to observe an overall boost on WM performance. If this
193 compressed information leads to a free up of WM resources, we furthermore expect that
194 between-item similarity would critically enhance recall performance for other, dissimilar items
195 embedded in the same to-be-remembered lists. We expect to observe these effects regardless of
196 the domain through which between-item similarity is being manipulated, in agreement with
197 models postulating the existence of a central attentional resource for WM maintenance
198 (Barrouillet et al., 2004, 2011; Cowan, 1999; Nee & Jonides, 2013; Oberauer, 2002).

199 In addition to the beneficial free up of WM resources, we also explored a potential
200 deleterious impact of compression. Previous studies in the visual domain have shown that
201 compression, although enhancing WM precision, can also lead to drawbacks (Haladjian &
202 Mathy, 2015; Nassar et al., 2018). For instance, it has been shown that compression may lead to
203 an oversimplification of information, thereby increasing the proportion of false recognition for
204 more compressible sequences (Lazartigues et al., 2021). Similarly, participant's responses in
205 visual array tasks appear to be biased toward the mean of the ensemble representation (Brady &
206 Alvarez, 2011; Son et al., 2020), suggesting that some of the original representation is potentially
207 lost during the compression process. The same phenomenon may explain why phonologically

WM AND SIMILARITY

208 similar items are more poorly recalled at the serial order level than phonologically dissimilar
209 items. In this study, we took advantage of our manipulations to assess the possibility that
210 compression may lead to a loss of information at the serial order level. If compression is
211 necessarily associated with a cost at the serial order level, we predict that similar sequences
212 should be more poorly recalled at the serial order level than dissimilar sequences.

213 Across four experiments, we manipulated the presence of between-item similarity in to-
214 be-remembered lists, such that similar and dissimilar items were mixed up. These sequences
215 were then compared to sequences composed of dissimilar items. Immediately after the
216 presentation of the memoranda, participants were invited to recall the list serially. Experiment 1
217 is an exact replication of the study conducted by Kowialiewski et al. (2021) involving the
218 manipulation of semantic relatedness (e.g., leaf – tree – branch). Experiment 2 manipulated
219 phonological similarity (e.g., ghost – most – coast). Experiments 3 and 4 involved the
220 manipulation of visuospatial and visual similarity, respectively.

Experiment 1

222 In this first experiment, we manipulated between-item similarity through semantic
223 relatedness. The critical experimental manipulation involved the presence of semantically related
224 triplets (e.g., leaf – tree – branch), among semantically unrelated triplets (e.g., wall – sky – dog).
225 In one condition, the triplet was presented at the beginning of the to-be-remembered list (e.g.,
226 leaf – tree – branch – wall – sky – dog). In another condition, the triplet was presented at the end
227 of the to-be-remembered list (e.g., wall – sky – dog – leaf – tree – branch). These conditions
228 were compared against a condition in which all the items were semantically unrelated (e.g., wall
229 – sky – dog – arm – house – jacket). In a previous study of our own (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et
230 al., 2021), we observed that the semantically related triplets proactively enhanced recall

231 performance for the other semantically unrelated items, without any retroactive impact. In this
232 experiment, we assessed the robustness of this result and performed an exact replication.

233 **Method**

234 All the data and codes have been made available on the Open Science Framework:
235 <https://osf.io/y9xz2/>. This study was not preregistered.

236 **Participants.** Thirty undergraduate students aged between 18 and 30 were recruited from
237 the university community of the Université Grenoble Alpes. All participants were French native
238 speakers, reported no history of neurological disorder or learning difficulty, and gave their
239 written informed consent before starting the experiment. The experiment had been approved by
240 the ethic committee of CER Grenoble Alpes: Avis-2019-04-09-2.

241 **Material.** We used a pool of stimuli composed of 120 French words. The words have a
242 log-frequency value of $M = 2.899$ ($SD = 1.689$) counts per million and words were 1 to 3
243 syllables long ($M = 1.483$, $SD = 0.594$), composed of 2 to 7 phonemes ($M = 4.058$, $SD = 1.11$).
244 The stimuli were created by selecting 40 different semantic categories composed of triplets a
245 priori considered to be semantically related. The nature of the semantic relationships that
246 composed the triplets was categorical (e.g., dog – wolf – fox) and/or thematic (e.g., sky – cloud –
247 rain).

248 The stimuli that compose of the pool were used to create the three different experimental
249 conditions:

- 250 - In the T1 condition (Triplet in first half), the first half of the items were semantically
251 related, and the second half were semantically unrelated.
- 252 - In the T2 condition (Triplet in second half), the first half of the items were semantically
253 unrelated, and the second half were semantically related.

WM AND SIMILARITY

254 - In the NT condition (No Triplet), all the items were semantically unrelated.

255 Each experimental condition comprised 20 trials. To create the sequences and triplets
256 composed of semantically unrelated items, we mixed-up the items from different semantic
257 categories. This way of manipulating semantic relatedness ensures that all the stimuli were
258 perfectly matched on psycholinguistic variables known to impact WM recall performance, such
259 as phonotactic frequency, lexical frequency, neighborhood density, imageability, number of
260 phonemes and syllabic length (Guitard et al., 2018; Neath & Surprenant, 2019). Note that this
261 way of manipulating the semantic relatedness effect implies that each word appeared three times
262 throughout the entire experiment: once in a similar triplet, and twice in a dissimilar triplet. We
263 further avoided that a given item is presented in the same serial position twice. This could not be
264 completely avoided but was nevertheless minimized by considering all possible within-list
265 permutations. Finally, a given experimental condition could not be repeated on more than three
266 consecutive trials.

267 Thirty-six different versions of the lists to be remembered were generated, by first
268 creating three different versions of the 20 lists that compose each experimental condition. These
269 different versions were then combined using a pairwise procedure to create 9 different versions
270 of the lists. These 9 different versions were then used again, but this time by exchanging the
271 positions of the triplets within each list (i.e., the T1 condition became the T2 condition; [1:3, 4:6]
272 => [4:6, 1:3]), resulting in 18 different versions. This latter manipulation ensured that any
273 potential difference between the T1 and T2 conditions could not be imputed to the specific
274 characteristics of the stimuli themselves, but rather by the serial position at which the triplets
275 themselves were presented. In a final manipulation, these versions were duplicated, and the items

WM AND SIMILARITY

276 within each triplet were randomly re-ordered. In the NT condition, the items were re-ordered
277 randomly across the whole sequence.

278 The a priori defined between-item semantic relatedness was initially quantified in
279 Kowialiewski et al. (2021), by collecting data on an independent group of 80 participants,
280 through an online survey. To sum up the overall procedure, the participants were presented with
281 pairs of words drawn from the experimental lists. They were invited to judge to what extent the
282 two words that compose a pair are semantically related, on a scale ranging from 0 (completely
283 unrelated) to 5 (completely related). A Bayesian independent samples T-Test (see statistical
284 analysis below) confirmed that the a priori defined related and unrelated pairs did differ in term
285 of semantic relatedness judgment, this difference being associated with decisive evidence ($M =$
286 4.463 , $SD = 0.5$, and $M = 0.427$, $SD = 0.601$, for related and unrelated pairs, respectively, $BF_{10} =$
287 $9.809e+387$).

288 Next, between-item similarity at the phonological level was quantified using the
289 Levenshtein distance. This was applied separately on the semantically related triplets on the one
290 side, and the semantically unrelated triplets and sequences on the other side. Final analysis
291 showed that both types of sequences had similar phonological similarity values ($M = 4.25$ and M
292 $= 4.881$ for the semantically related and unrelated sequences, respectively), and an absence of
293 difference was supported by strong evidence, as indicated by a Bayesian independent samples T-
294 Test ($BF_{01} = 7.133$).

295 **Procedure.** Each trial began with a countdown starting from 3, written in white and
296 presented on a black background. The countdown was followed by a black screen and the
297 presentation of a 6-item list, aurally presented at a pace of 1 item every 2 seconds. After the
298 presentation of the to-be-remembered list, the participants were presented with a question mark

WM AND SIMILARITY

299 at the center of the screen, prompting them to recall the sequence out loud in the order in which
300 the items were presented. The participants were invited to substitute any item they could not
301 remember with the word “blanc” (i.e., “blank” in French). After recalling the sequence, the
302 participants were invited to press the spacebar of the keyboard to initiate the next trial.

303 Before the beginning of the experiment, the experimenter performed one practice trial to
304 demonstrate the exact procedure to follow. The participants were then invited to perform 3
305 practice trials to familiarize with the task. The stimuli presented in the practice trials were not
306 used in the main experiment. The experimenter was present throughout the experiment and
307 ensured that the participant complied with the task requirements. Task presentation and timing
308 were controlled using OpenSesame (Mathôt et al., 2012) run on a desktop computer. The
309 auditory stimuli were presented via headphones connected to the computer, in a soundproof
310 booth at comfortable listening level. Participants’ responses were transcribed online by a
311 research assistant blind to the main theoretical hypothesis, onto an electronic spreadsheet, and
312 were also recorded using a digital recorder.

313 **Scoring procedure.** To determine the impact of the different semantic conditions (T1,
314 T2, NT) on WM processing, recall performance was first assessed using a *strict serial recall*
315 *criterion*. By this criterion, an item was considered to be correctly recalled only if it was recalled
316 at the correct serial position. For instance, given the target sequence “Item1 – Item2 – Item3 –
317 Item4 – Item5 – Item6” and the recall output “Item1 – Item2 – blank – Item3 – blank – Item5”,
318 only “Item1” and “Item2” would be considered as correct.

319 The strict serial recall criterion provides only a gross picture of recall performance, as it
320 confounds the ability to recall item and serial order information. In addition to this first criterion,
321 we used an *item recall criterion*, in which an item was considered as correct, even if recalled at a

WM AND SIMILARITY

322 wrong serial position. For the previous example, “Item1”, “Item2”, “Item3” and “Item5” would
323 be considered as correct. This criterion is generally considered to measure the ability to recall
324 item information in the most straightforward way possible, without any contamination from
325 serial order.

326 We also computed an *order recall* score. This is computed as the number of items
327 recalled at a correct position out of the number of items recalled regardless of their position. This
328 proportion was computed by first coding all items not recalled at all as missing values, and then
329 averaging for each participant the number of items correctly recalled in correct order at each
330 serial position. Keeping our initial example, the sequence would be scored as follows: [1, 1, 0,
331 N/A, 0, N/A]. This criterion allowed us to explore the impact of between-item similarity on order
332 memory across serial position.

333 **Statistical analysis.** We performed a Bayesian analysis, as this reduces Type-1 error
334 probabilities relative to frequentist statistics (Schönbrodt et al., 2017). The Bayesian approach
335 has the further advantage of computing continuous values against or in favor of a given model,
336 rather than deciding for the presence of an effect based on an arbitrary statistical threshold.
337 Evidence in favor of a model is given by the Bayesian Factor (BF). This reflects the likelihood
338 ratio of a given model relative to other models, including the null model. The null model and the
339 effect of interest can be tested simultaneously, by directly comparing the alternative hypothesis
340 against the null hypothesis, and vice versa. The BF_{10} is used to determine the likelihood ratio for
341 the alternative model (H_1) relative to the null model (H_0), and the BF_{01} to determine the
342 likelihood ratio for H_0 relative to H_1 . We use the classification of strength of evidence proposed
343 in previous studies (Jeffreys, 1998): a BF of 1 provides no evidence, $1 < BF < 3$ provides
344 anecdotal evidence, $3 < BF < 10$ provides moderate evidence, $10 < BF < 30$ provides strong

WM AND SIMILARITY

345 evidence, $30 < \text{BF} < 100$ provides very strong evidence and $100 < \text{BF}$ provides extreme/decisive
346 evidence. In Bayesian ANOVAs, we performed Bayesian model comparisons using a top-down
347 testing procedure, which first computes the BF value for the most complex model possible (i.e.,
348 the model including all main effects and all possible interactions). The BF value for each term is
349 then assessed by directly comparing the full model against the same model, but by dropping the
350 term under investigation. To minimize error of model estimation, the number of Monte Carlo
351 simulations generated was set to $N_{\text{iterations}} = 100,000$. For some critical contrasts of interest, we
352 also report the 95% Bayesian Credible Intervals using the highest density intervals of the
353 sampled posterior distribution of the model under investigation ($N_{\text{iterations}} = 100,000$). All
354 analyses were performed using the BayesFactor package implemented in R using the default
355 medium Cauchy prior distribution with $r = \frac{\sqrt{2}}{2}$.

356 On each graph we report the 95% Confidence Intervals for each mean. We follow the
357 recommendations made by Baguley (2012). After correcting the data for between-subject
358 variability (R. D. Morey, 2008), the confidence intervals of each mean j were computed using
359 the following formula:

$$360 \quad (1) \mu^{\wedge}_j \pm t_{n-1, 1-\frac{\alpha}{2}} \sqrt{\frac{2J}{4(J-1)}} \sigma^{\wedge'}_{\mu^{\wedge}_j}$$

361 where μ^{\wedge}_j is the j^{th} mean, $t_{n-1, 1-\frac{\alpha}{2}}$ is the two-tailed critical t value with $n - 1$ degrees of
362 freedom, J is the number of means included in the graph, and $\sigma^{\wedge'}_{\mu^{\wedge}_j}$ is the standard error of the
363 j^{th} mean.

364 **Results**

365 First, recall performance was assessed as a function of semantic condition (T1, T2 and
366 NT) and serial position (1 through 6) using a Bayesian Repeated Measures ANOVA. Using the

WM AND SIMILARITY

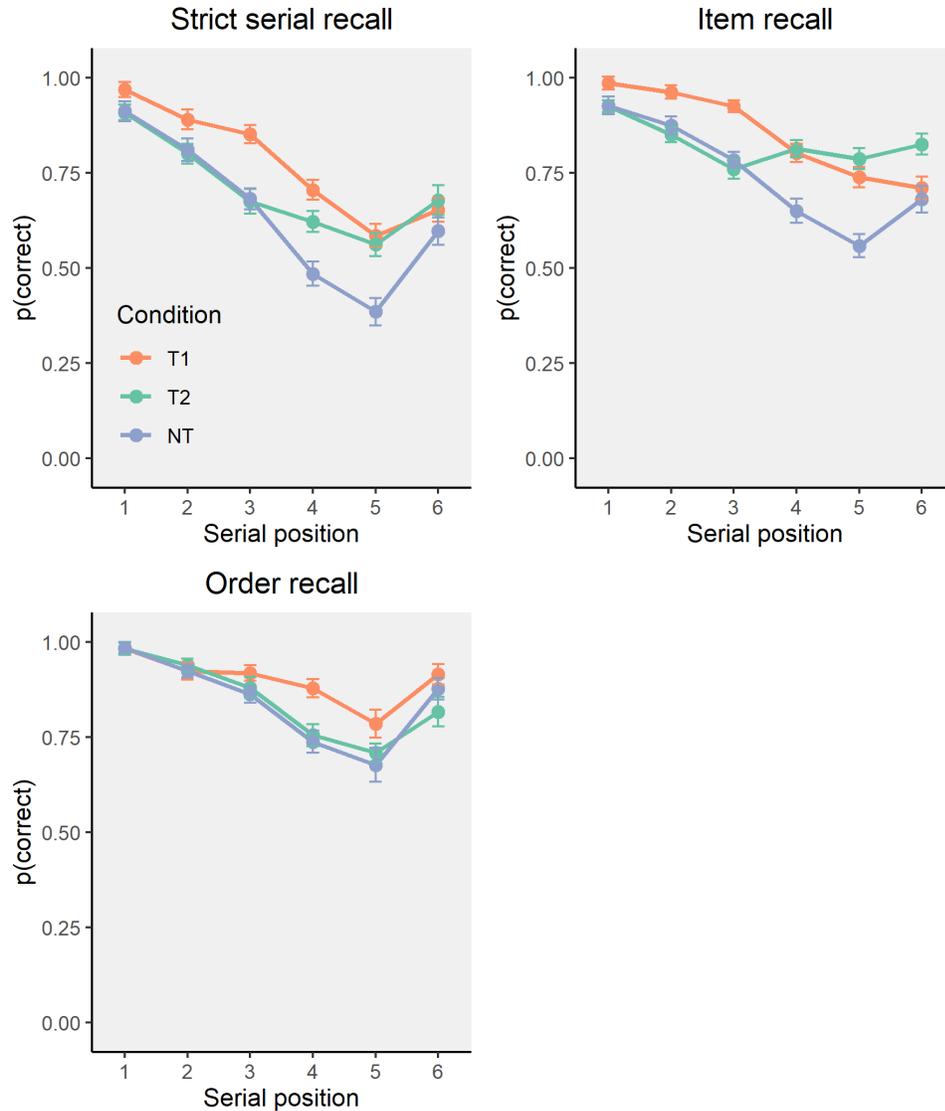
367 strict serial recall criterion, we found decisive evidence supporting the main effect of semantic
368 condition ($BF_{10} = 3.698e+21$), serial position ($BF_{10} = 3.027e+103$), and the interaction term
369 ($BF_{10} = 2.205e+7$). The same results were observed using the item recall criterion, with both
370 main effects of semantic condition ($BF_{10} = 2.753e+22$) and serial position ($BF_{10} = 1.015e+67$)
371 being supported by decisive evidence. The interaction term was also supported by decisive
372 evidence ($BF_{10} = 2.176e+20$). Under the order recall criterion, we found decisive evidence
373 supporting both main effects of semantic condition ($BF_{10} = 4.919e+5$) and serial position ($BF_{10} =$
374 $1.509e+58$), and the interaction term ($BF_{10} = 188.872$).

375 As can be seen in **Figure 1**, semantic relatedness had a robust impact on recall
376 performance. The presence of the interaction suggests that the semantic condition did not impact
377 serial position in an equivalent manner across serial position. This interaction was explored using
378 specific Bayesian T-Tests. To reduce the number of statistical contrasts and increase the
379 statistical power of our analyses, we averaged recall performance across the first (i.e., positions 1
380 through 3) and second (i.e., positions 4 through 6) halves of the lists.

381 **Figure 1**

382 *Results of Experiment 1 – Semantic Relatedness Manipulation*

WM AND SIMILARITY



383

384 *Note.* Recall performance as a function of serial position for each semantic condition
385 (Experiment 1). T1 = Triplet in the first half of the list. T2 = Triplet in the second half of the list.
386 NT = No triplet. Error bars represent confidence intervals corrected for between-subject
387 variability (see statistical procedure).

388 *Semantic relatedness effect.* We first assessed the specific impact of the semantic
389 relatedness dimension on recall performance. Recall performance over the first half of the list
390 was higher in the T1 condition as compared to the NT condition, and this difference was

WM AND SIMILARITY

391 supported by decisive evidence, both using the strict serial recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 1378.12$, $CI_{95\%}$
392 $= [0.585; 1.506]$, $d = 1.109$, $M_{diff} = 0.102$) and the item recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 4.765e+4$, $CI_{95\%} =$
393 $[0.663; 1.609]$, $d = 1.199$, $M_{diff} = 0.096$). In contrast, semantic relatedness did not credibly
394 impact memory for order information for the related items themselves ($BF_{10} = 0.849$, $CI_{95\%} = [-$
395 $0.054; 0.657]$, $d = 0.334$, $M_{diff} = 0.018$). Likewise, recall performance over the second half of the
396 list was also higher in the T2 as compared to the NT condition. This difference was supported by
397 decisive evidence across the strict serial recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 2.648e+4$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.632;$
398 $1.557]$, $d = 1.156$, $M_{diff} = 0.132$), the item recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 2.522e+7$, $CI_{95\%} = [1.05;$
399 $2.174]$, $d = 1.678$, $M_{diff} = 0.179$). The order recall criterion was associated with moderate
400 evidence supporting an absence of difference ($BF_{01} = 4.997$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.388; 0.292]$, $d = -0.046$,
401 $M_{diff} = -0.004$). The results of this analysis are straightforward: semantic relatedness enhances
402 recall performance for the items within the semantic triplet, and this across the strict serial recall
403 and the item recall criteria. However, semantic relatedness did not credibly impact memory for
404 order.

405 *Proactive benefit of the semantic triplets.* When the items over the first halves of the lists
406 were semantically related, recall performance over the items in the second halves of the lists
407 enhanced, and this as compared to the same items that were not preceded by semantically related
408 items (see **Figure 1**, positions 4 through 6, T1 vs. NT). This recall advantage was supported by
409 decisive evidence, both using the strict serial recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 4.87e+6$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.946;$
410 $2.022]$, $d = 1.547$, $M_{diff} = 0.158$), the item recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 1.053e+6$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.846;$
411 $1.875]$, $d = 1.429$, $M_{diff} = 0.121$), as well as the order recall criterion ($BF_{10} = 150.826$, $CI_{95\%} =$
412 $[0.314; 1.132]$, $d = 0.783$, $M_{diff} = 0.095$). Therefore, the presence of semantic relatedness
413 proactively enhanced recall performance.

414 *Retroactive effect of the semantic triplets.* When the items over the second halves of the
415 lists were semantically related, recall performance over the items in the first halves of the lists
416 did not enhance, and this as compared to the same items that were not followed by semantically
417 related items (see **Figure 1**, positions 1 through 3, T2 vs. NT). This absence of retroactive impact
418 was supported by moderate evidence, both using the strict serial recall criterion ($BF_{01} = 4.809$,
419 $CI_{95\%} = [-0.4; 0.28]$, $d = -0.07$, $M_{diff} = -0.007$), the item recall criterion ($BF_{01} = 3.259$, $CI_{95\%} = [-$
420 $0.502; 0.185]$, $d = -0.183$, $M_{diff} = -0.016$) and the order recall criterion ($BF_{01} = 3.621$, $CI_{95\%} = [-$
421 $0.194; 0.486]$, $d = 0.16$, $M_{diff} = 0.011$). Contrary to the previous analysis investigating a proactive
422 effect, the presence of semantic relatedness *did not* retroactively impact recall performance.

423 **Discussion**

424 In this experiment, we showed that semantic relatedness enhanced recall performance for
425 the semantically related items themselves, as classically observed (Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995).
426 Furthermore, semantic relatedness did not credibly impact memory for order information.
427 Critically, the presence of semantic relatedness also proactively enhanced recall performance for
428 the other semantically unrelated items within the same lists, and this as compared to the same
429 items not preceded by a semantic triplet. In contrast, the semantic triplets did not have any
430 retroactive impact. These results replicate those we already observed in a previous study on an
431 independent group of participants (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021), showing that this ability
432 of semantic relatedness to free up WM resources is robust.

433 This result is consistent with the idea that between-item similarity allows compression of
434 information in WM (Chekaf et al., 2016; Mathy et al., 2018). Accordingly, if the redundant
435 information that composes the semantically related items allows participants to recode
436 information in a denser format (e.g., maintaining for example “planet” when presented with

437 “Saturn – Mercury – Pluto”), this naturally frees up WM resources that can then be reallocated to
438 encode and maintain a higher amount of information, as observed with chunks as memoranda
439 (Norris et al., 2020; Portrat et al., 2016; Thalmann et al., 2019).

440 The results of Experiment 1 were observed using verbal items as memoranda. However,
441 verbal items are not solely characterized by their semantic representations. Instead, the content of
442 verbal WM is known to be affected by phonological factors (Baddeley et al., 1975), suggesting
443 that WM is strongly represented at the phonological level. Therefore, it remains to be shown
444 whether the results we observed so far extend towards the manipulation of between-item
445 similarity in the phonological domain. This is what we investigated in the next experiment.

Experiment 2

447 In this second experiment, we manipulated phonological similarity using an open pool
448 composed of 120 words. As in Experiment 1, the presence of phonological similarity was
449 manipulated using triplets composed of phonologically similar items (e.g., ghost – most – coast).
450 These triplets were presented either in the first (e.g., ghost – most – coast – wall – sky – dog) or
451 the second halves of the to-be-remembered lists (e.g., wall – sky – dog – ghost – most – coast).
452 Recall performance for these sequences was compared to sequences in which all the items were
453 phonologically dissimilar (e.g., wall – sky – dog – arm – road – jacket).

454 The use of an open set of stimuli is an important feature of the experiment. It allows us to
455 track and quantify the specific impact of the phonological similarity dimension, and this
456 separately on the ability to recall item and serial order information. Closed sets, such as letters,
457 minimize the production of omission errors while stressing serial order maintenance. More
458 generally, an open pool of stimuli strongly reduces the likelihood that idiosyncratic aspects of the
459 stimuli would lead to spurious conclusions upon the experimental manipulation. Hence, the

WM AND SIMILARITY

460 methodological aspects we took in the present experiment increase the generalizability of our
461 results.

462 Overall, we expect phonological similarity to increase recall of item information, while
463 also decreasing recall of serial order information for items enclosed within the phonologically
464 similar triplets, as previously observed (Fallon et al., 2005; Gupta et al., 2005; Neale & Tehan,
465 2007). If the between-item similarity that characterizes the phonologically similar items allows
466 participants to free up WM resources, then recall performance for the other phonologically
467 dissimilar items of the list should be enhanced, i.e., a proactive benefit should be observed.

468 **Method**

469 **Participants.** Thirty undergraduate students aged between 18 and 30 were recruited from
470 the university community of the Université Grenoble Alpes. All participants were French-native
471 speakers, reported no history of neurological disorder or learning difficulty, and gave their
472 written informed consent before starting the experiment. None of the subjects participated in
473 Experiments 1, 2 & 3. The experiment was approved by the ethic committee of CER Grenoble
474 Alpes: Avis-2019-04-09-2.

475 **Material.** The pool of stimuli we used is a set composed of 120 words, selected from the
476 French Lexique 3.83 (<http://www.lexique.org/>) database. The words have a log-frequency value
477 of $M = 2.09$ ($SD = 1.94$) counts per million. The final pool comprised 40 sets composed of
478 phonologically similar triplets, selected using the following constraints. We first selected the
479 stimuli based on their number of phonemes, such that only items with a phonological length
480 between 4 and 6 were included. In the final pool, 84, 27 and 9 items were 4, 5 and 6 phonemes
481 long, respectively. These lengths were used to ensure that enough between-item phonological
482 overlap could be induced, while ensuring that recall performance would be sufficiently high (i.e.,

WM AND SIMILARITY

483 avoiding floor effects). Among these stimuli, we kept only those that had at least two
484 phonological neighbors. To be included, the stimuli and their phonological neighbors had to (1)
485 have the same phonological length, (2) have the same consonant-vowel (CV) structure and (3) all
486 differ by only one phoneme at their onset. These constraints ensured that between-item
487 phonological overlap was maximized, while keeping other phonological properties equivalent.
488 Only phonological neighbors differing by one phoneme at their onset were kept, as between-item
489 phonological similarity effects have shown to be maximal with rhyming stimuli (Gupta et al.,
490 2005).

491 From this pool of stimuli, three different experimental conditions were created:

- 492 - In the T1 condition (Triplet in first half), the first half of the items were phonologically
493 similar, and the second half were phonologically dissimilar.
- 494 - In the T2 condition (Triplet in second half), the first half of the items were phonologically
495 dissimilar, and the second half were phonologically similar.
- 496 - In the NT condition (No Triplet), all the items were phonologically dissimilar.

497 Each experimental condition comprised 20 trials. The items that compose the
498 phonologically dissimilar sequences or triplets were created by mixing-up the items from
499 different phonologically similar triplets. This procedure ensured that the sequences were
500 perfectly matched across all possible psycholinguistic variables, except between-item similarity.
501 Accordingly, the words appeared three times across the whole experiment: once in a
502 phonologically similar triplet, and twice in a phonologically dissimilar triplet and/or sequence.

503 The sequences that compose each condition were automatically created, by guaranteeing
504 that the Levenshtein distance between any dissimilar items within the sequence is above or equal
505 to 3. Specifically, we computed the Levenshtein distance between the items that compose each

WM AND SIMILARITY

506 possible pair of items within each sequence, based on the items' phonological form². Sequences
507 including any pair of items with a Levenshtein distance less or equal to two were automatically
508 discarded, and a new attempt to create the sequence was made. We also avoided the possibility
509 that a given item could be presented at the same serial position twice. This could not be
510 completely avoided but was nonetheless minimized by assessing all possible within-list
511 permutations. Finally, we also ensured that a given experimental condition (i.e., T1, T2 and NT)
512 could not be presented on more than three consecutive trials.

513 Using these aforementioned constraints, we created 15 different versions of the lists to be
514 remembered. We then created from these lists 15 new versions by reversing the within-list order
515 (i.e., Items [1:6] became Items [6:1] across all trials). This last constraint ensured that the T1 and
516 T2 conditions were strictly equivalent for the first and second half of the participants.

517 A pairwise comparison showed that the items that compose the phonologically dissimilar
518 sequences and triplets had a greater Levenshtein distance between each other ($M = 4.178$, $SD =$
519 0.515) than the items enclosed in the phonologically similar triplets ($M = 1$, which is always the
520 case due to the way we constructed the phonologically similar items, see above), and this
521 difference was supported by decisive evidence, as shown by a Bayesian One-sample T-Test
522 ($BF_{10} = 9.065e+143$). Similarly, the Levenshtein distance between the phonologically dissimilar
523 items and the phonologically similar items embedded in the same lists in the T1 and T2
524 conditions was also important ($M = 4.173$, $SD = 0.542$), and this difference was credibly
525 different from 1, as supported by a Bayesian One-sample T-Test ($BF_{10} = 4.783e+925$).

² This notation is the one provided in the Lexique 3.0 database.

WM AND SIMILARITY

526 Next, we assessed to what extent the phonologically similar and dissimilar lists are
527 equivalent in terms of semantic relatedness values. One way this can be achieved is by collecting
528 subjective semantic relatedness judgements between the adjacent pairs that compose the
529 experimental lists from an independent group of participants, as we did in Experiment 1.
530 However, we were concerned that the strong similarity that characterizes the phonologically
531 similar pairs would prime the participants towards responding “related”. To avoid this potentially
532 confounding factor, we chose to use instead an objective measure of semantic relatedness, i.e.,
533 LSA-cosine (Landauer & Dumais, 1997), which estimates the extent to which two words are
534 semantically related based on the similarity of the context in which they occur in a huge corpus.
535 Basically, LSA computes the word-paragraph occurrence matrix and reduces it to about 300
536 dimensions in order to remove noisy information. All words are then represented as 300-
537 dimensional vectors that can then be compared by a simple cosine measure. Our analysis was
538 performed using a 24-million-word French corpus representing all articles published in the Le
539 Monde newspaper in 1999. As expected, we found that both the phonologically similar and
540 dissimilar pairs were associated with equivalent LSA-cosine values ($M = 0.059$, $SD = 0.075$ and
541 $M = 0.062$, $SD = 0.077$ for the similar and dissimilar pairs, respectively), and moderate evidence
542 supported an absence of difference ($BF_{01} = 8.859$).

543 All other aspects of the experiment, including the general procedure, scoring procedure
544 and statistical analyses were identical to Experiment 1.

545 **Results**

546 Recall performance as a function of phonological condition (T1, T2, NT) and serial
547 position (1 through 6) was assessed using a Bayesian Repeated Measures ANOVA. Using the
548 strict serial recall criterion, we found decisive evidence supporting both main effects of

WM AND SIMILARITY

549 phonological condition ($BF_{10} = 5.293e+9$) and serial position ($BF_{10} = 1.529e+101$). The
550 interaction term was associated with strong evidence ($BF_{10} = 25.199$). Similarly, when the same
551 analysis was performed using an item recall criterion, we found decisive evidence supporting the
552 effect of phonological condition ($BF_{10} = 2.934e+16$), serial position ($BF_{10} = 2.465e+69$) and the
553 interaction term ($BF_{10} = 3.855e+9$). Using the order recall criterion, we found decisive evidence
554 supporting the effect of phonological condition ($BF_{10} = 1.541e+5$), serial position ($BF_{10} =$
555 $1.674e+43$) and the interaction term ($BF_{10} = 6.694e+14$).

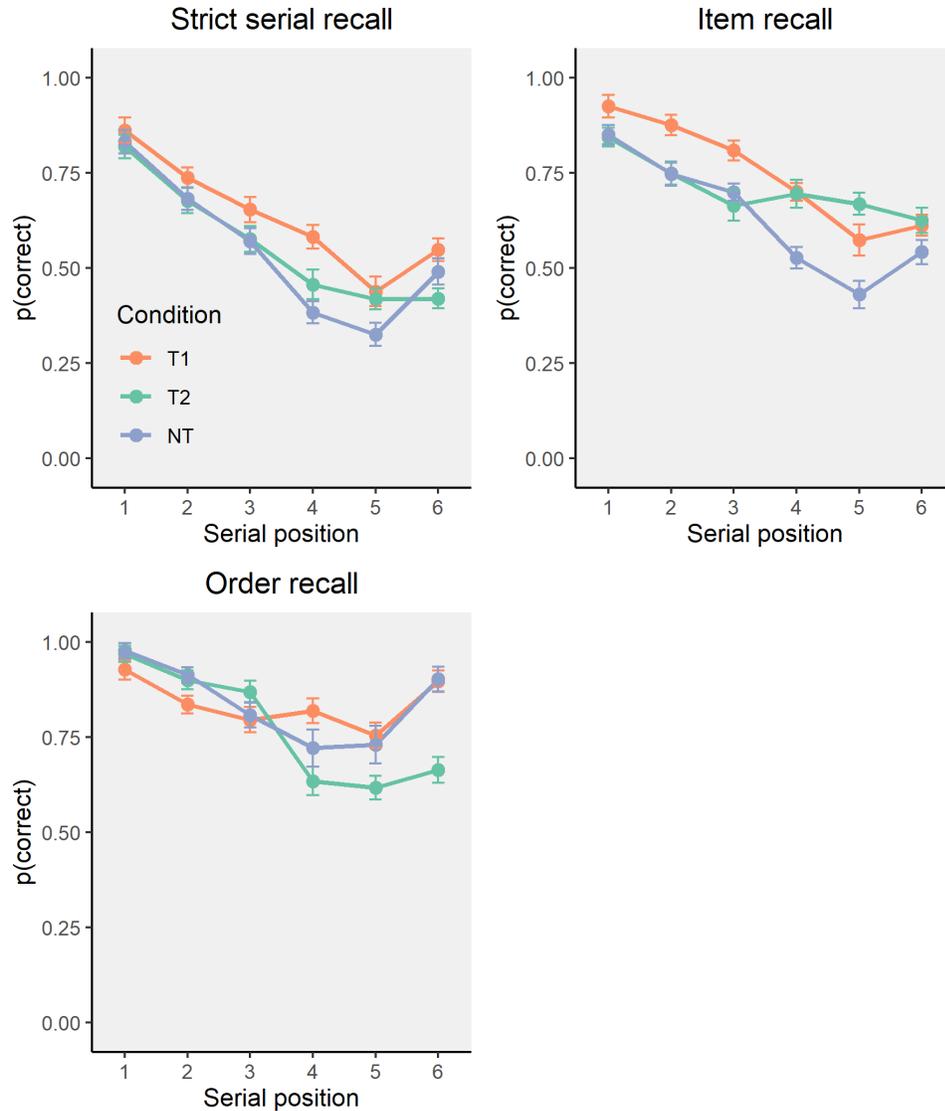
556 Phonological similarity enhanced recall performance in a general manner, as can be seen
557 in **Figure 2**. The only exception being the impact of phonological similarity on memory for
558 order, for which WM performance decreased. The presence of the interaction furthermore
559 suggests that phonological similarity differently impacted recall performance across serial
560 positions. We explored this interaction using specific Bayesian Paired-Samples T-Tests.

561

562 **Figure 2**

563 *Overall Results of Experiment 2 – Phonological Manipulation*

WM AND SIMILARITY



564

565 *Note.* Recall performance as a function of serial position for each phonological condition

566 (Experiment 4). T1 = Triplet in the first half of the list. T2 = Triplet in the second half of the list.

567 NT = No triplet. Error bars represent confidence intervals corrected for between-subject

568 variability (see statistical procedure).

569

570 *Phonological similarity effect.* First, we assessed the impact of phonological similarity on

571 recall performance. Following previous studies, we expect that the impact of phonological

572 similarity should not be equivalent across the item and strict serial recall criteria. This is because

WM AND SIMILARITY

573 phonological similarity negatively impacts the ability to recall serial order information, which
574 the strict serial recall criterion is sensitive to. Using the strict serial recall criterion, the
575 phonological similarity was supported by anecdotal evidence in the T1 condition (i.e., positions 1
576 through 3: $BF_{10} = 2.375$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.055; 0.782]$, $d = 0.444$, $M_{diff} = 0.056$). In the T2 condition,
577 phonological similarity did not credibly impact recall performance (i.e., positions 4 through 6:
578 $BF_{10} = 0.723$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.054; 0.652]$, $d = 0.315$, $M_{diff} = 0.032$). Using the item recall criterion,
579 we observed this time a rather different pattern of results: phonological similarity credibly
580 enhanced recall performance in the T1 ($BF_{10} = 1.157e+4$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.585; 1.491]$, $d = 1.096$, M_{diff}
581 $= 0.104$) and T2 ($BF_{10} = 2.573e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.765; 1.757]$, $d = 1.323$, $M_{diff} = 0.163$) conditions.
582 This apparent contradiction between the strict serial and item recall criteria is explained by the
583 fact that phonological similarity decreased memory for order. In the T1 condition, a negative
584 impact of phonological similarity was supported by anecdotal evidence ($BF_{10} = 2.381$, $CI_{95\%} = [-$
585 $0.775; -0.044]$, $d = -0.444$, $M_{diff} = -0.047$). This weak impact of phonological similarity on
586 memory for order is likely due to a ceiling effect, since in the T2 condition this was supported by
587 decisive evidence ($BF_{10} = 1.917e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [-1.735; -0.752]$, $d = -1.301$, $M_{diff} = -0.146$).

588 Hence, the results of the analyses conducted so far show that phonological similarity
589 strongly enhanced recall performance at the item level, while negatively impacting recall
590 performance at the serial order level. In the next analysis, we directly assessed to what extent
591 phonological similarity freed up WM resources, by enhancing recall performance for the other,
592 phonologically dissimilar items within the same list.

593 *Proactive benefit of the phonological triplet.* The results of this analysis are
594 straightforward: when the items over the first half of the lists were phonologically similar (i.e.,
595 the T1 condition), recall performance for the items in the second half of the list increased (see

596 **Figure 2**, positions 4 through 6). This is as compared to the same items not preceded by
597 phonologically similar items (i.e., the NT condition). This proactive benefit was consistently
598 observed across the strict serial recall ($BF_{10} = 6.097e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.806; 1.827]$, $d = 1.387$, M_{diff}
599 $= 0.123$) and the item recall ($BF_{10} = 4.218e+7$, $CI_{95\%} = [1.08; 2.217]$, $d = 1.72$, $M_{diff} = 0.129$)
600 criteria. When assessed using the order recall criterion, no credible evidence was found ($BF_{10} =$
601 0.684 , $CI_{95\%} = [-0.065; 0.637]$, $d = 0.308$, $M_{diff} = 0.039$). Hence, phonological similarity
602 *proactively enhanced* recall performance, and this was specifically observed at the item level.

603 *Retroactive effect of the phonological triplet.* In a final analysis, we assessed whether the
604 presence of phonological similarity retroactively impacted recall performance. Recall
605 performance over positions 1 through 3 did not differ between the T2 and NT conditions, and
606 this absence of difference was supported by moderate evidence using a strict serial recall
607 criterion ($BF_{01} = 5.082$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.375; 0.307]$, $d = -0.03$, $M_{diff} = -0.004$). Moderate evidence
608 was found using the item recall ($BF_{01} = 4.191$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.461, 0.225]$, $d = -0.122$, $M_{diff} = -0.013$)
609 and order recall ($BF_{01} = 3.438$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.185; 0.5]$, $d = 0.171$, $M_{diff} = 0.013$) criteria. Therefore,
610 there was no credible retroactive impact of phonological similarity on recall performance.

611 **Discussion**

612 The results of this second experiment show that phonological similarity enhanced recall
613 performance at the item level for the phonologically similar items themselves. At the same time,
614 phonological similarity also decreased the ability to recall serial order information. These results
615 replicate those observed in previous studies using an open pool of stimuli (Fallon et al., 2005;
616 Gupta et al., 2005; Neale & Tehan, 2007). This furthermore demonstrates and confirms the
617 complexity underlying the phonological similarity effect.

WM AND SIMILARITY

641 which the maintenance of item information is also required. In the present experiment, we used a
642 WM paradigm in which both item identity and the serial order of memoranda had to be
643 maintained. Participants were presented with a 6-by-6 grid composed of gray squares on a white
644 background. Six of the gray squares briefly turned black sequentially at different spatial
645 locations. At the end of the sequence, the participants were invited to reproduce the original
646 sequence by clicking on the correct squares corresponding to each serial position. Because the
647 memoranda were not presented again at recall, maintenance of item information was also
648 required. This paradigm should be a strong equivalent of the immediate serial recall paradigm we
649 used in Experiments 1 & 2, which should facilitate between-experiment comparisons.

650 Between-item similarity was here characterized by the spatial proximity between items
651 presented at consecutive serial positions. As in Experiments 1 and 2, we presented triplets of
652 squares whose spatial locations were close to one another, followed (T1) or preceded (T2) by
653 triplets of squares that were distant from each other. Recall performance for these sequences was
654 then compared against sequences in which all the squares were presented at very different spatial
655 locations to each other (NT). If between-item similarity in the visuospatial domain allows
656 participants to free up WM resources in the same way as in the verbal domain (i.e., through
657 compression), we expect to observe the same pattern of results as previously found, i.e., a
658 proactive benefit following similar items, and an absence of retroactive benefit in addition to the
659 more classical benefit on the similar items themselves.

660 **Method**

661 **Participants.** Thirty undergraduate students aged between 18 and 30 were recruited from
662 the university community of the Université Grenoble Alpes. All participants were French native
663 speakers, reported no history of neurological disorder or learning difficulty, and gave their

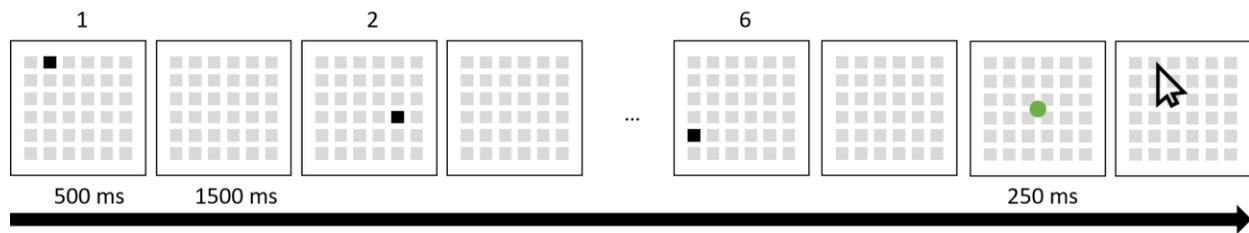
WM AND SIMILARITY

664 written informed consent before starting the experiment. None of the subjects participated in
665 Experiments 1 and 2. The experiment had been approved by the ethic committee of CER
666 Grenoble Alpes: Avis-2019-04-09-2.

667 **Material.** A grid composed of 36 (6-by-6) grey squares on a white background was used
668 to present the stimuli. In each experimental condition, 6 items to be remembered were included.
669 The squares to be remembered were indicated by briefly switching them from grey to black, as
670 can be seen in **Figure 3**.

671 **Figure 3**

672 *Time Course of The Experiment (6-item List)*



673
674 *Note.* Each square appeared sequentially on a different spatial location for 500 ms, followed by a
675 1,500 ms empty interval. The end of the to-be-remembered list was signaled with a brief (250
676 ms) green dot at the center of the screen. Participants were then invited to reproduce the
677 sequence using the mouse. After each click, the selected response briefly (100 ms) turned black.

678 The first item within a sequence was always chosen randomly. The transition between
679 one square to another was also chosen randomly, nonetheless constrained by an a priori defined
680 Euclidean distance, such that the distance between any squares in the whole list should be higher
681 than 2 (the distance between two adjacent squares along the horizontal or vertical axes being
682 defined as 1). This latter constraint does not apply to the spatially similar items. Instead, these
683 items were selected such that the Euclidean distance between consecutive items was always

WM AND SIMILARITY

684 equal to 1. We ensured that a given square never appeared twice within the same sequence. A
685 square never appeared in a corner. We reasoned that corners should be particularly salient and
686 easy to remember. Finally, we ensured that participants were never presented with the same
687 sequence twice throughout the experiment.

688 As in Experiment 1, three different experimental conditions were created:

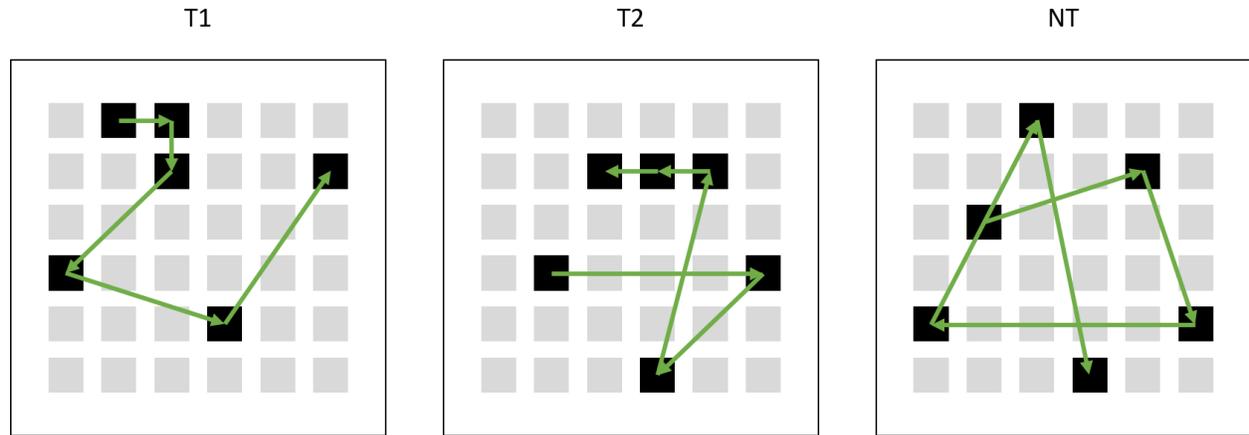
- 689 - In the T1 condition (Triplet in first half), items of the first half were spatially similar, and
690 items of the second half were spatially dissimilar.
- 691 - In the T2 condition (Triplet in second half), the first half of the items were spatially
692 dissimilar, and the second half were spatially similar.
- 693 - In the NT condition (No Triplet), all the items were spatially dissimilar.

694 Each experimental condition comprised 20 trials. The T1 and NT conditions were created
695 using the constraints mentioned above. The T2 condition was created by reversing the
696 presentation order of the T1 sequence. This ensured that the T1 and the T2 conditions were
697 strictly equivalent, except in terms of order arrangement. The three different experimental
698 conditions were randomly presented, with the further constraint that the same experimental
699 condition could not be presented on more than three consecutive trials. Examples of transitional
700 patterns characterizing each experimental condition are presented in **Figure 4**.

701 **Figure 4**

702 *Path Pattern for Each Spatial Condition*

WM AND SIMILARITY



703

704

705

706

Note. In T1, the three first squares were presented close to each other, followed by squares presented at more distant spatial locations. In T2, this pattern was reversed. In NT, the squares were presented at distant spatial locations to each other.

707

708

709

710

711

712

713

714

715

716

717

718

719

Procedure. Each trial began with a countdown starting from 3, written in black and presented on a white background. The countdown was followed by the main grid presented during 1,000 ms, followed by the 6-item sequence to be remembered at a pace of 1 item every 2 seconds. As can be seen in **Figure 3**, each square to be remembered was indicated by switching its color to black during 500 ms, after which the square's color switched back to grey (i.e., its original color) during 1,500 ms, followed by the next item. After the presentation of the to-be-remembered list, a green round was briefly (250 ms) presented at the center of the screen, prompting the participants to reproduce the sequence in the order in which the items were presented. Participants were invited to do so by selecting the squares using the mouse. They were also invited to substitute any item they could not remember by clicking outside the grid. These items were considered as being omitted. After 6 clicks, the main grid was automatically replaced by a blank screen, inviting the participants to click anywhere to initiate the next trial. Note that during the presentation of the stimuli, the mouse cursor disappeared, and re-appeared only during

WM AND SIMILARITY

720 the recall phase. This procedure ensured that participants did not put the mouse cursor on the
721 location of a square to reduce the WM load.

722 Before the beginning of the experiment, the experimenter performed one practice trial to
723 demonstrate the exact procedure to follow. Participants were then invited to perform 4 practice
724 trials to familiarize with the task. The stimuli presented in the practice trials were not used in the
725 main experiment. The experimenter was present throughout the experiment and ensured that the
726 participant complied with the task requirements. Task presentation and timing were controlled
727 using OpenSesame run on a desktop computer.

728 **Scoring procedure.** In addition to the standard item recall, strict serial recall, and order
729 recall criteria used in Experiments 1 & 2, we also included a measure of deviation between the
730 target and the participant's response, computed as the average Euclidean distance between each
731 target square and the response square at the same position. This was made to assess the impact of
732 spatial similarity on WM performance in a more fine-grained manner. Indeed, the measure of
733 deviation has the further advantage to consider the possibility that participants may more or less
734 strongly deviate from the original target.

735 **Statistical analysis.** The statistical analyses were identical to Experiments 1 & 2.

736 **Results**

737 Recall performance as a function of spatial condition (T1, T2, NT) and serial position (1
738 through 6) was assessed using a Bayesian Repeated Measures ANOVA. Using a strict serial
739 recall criterion, we found decisive evidence supporting both main effects of spatial condition
740 ($BF_{10} = 1.976e+59$) and serial position ($BF_{10} = 3.102e+41$). The interaction term was also
741 supported by decisive evidence ($BF_{10} = 1.433e+15$). Similar results were observed using the item
742 recall criterion, with decisive evidence supporting both main effects of spatial condition ($BF_{10} =$

WM AND SIMILARITY

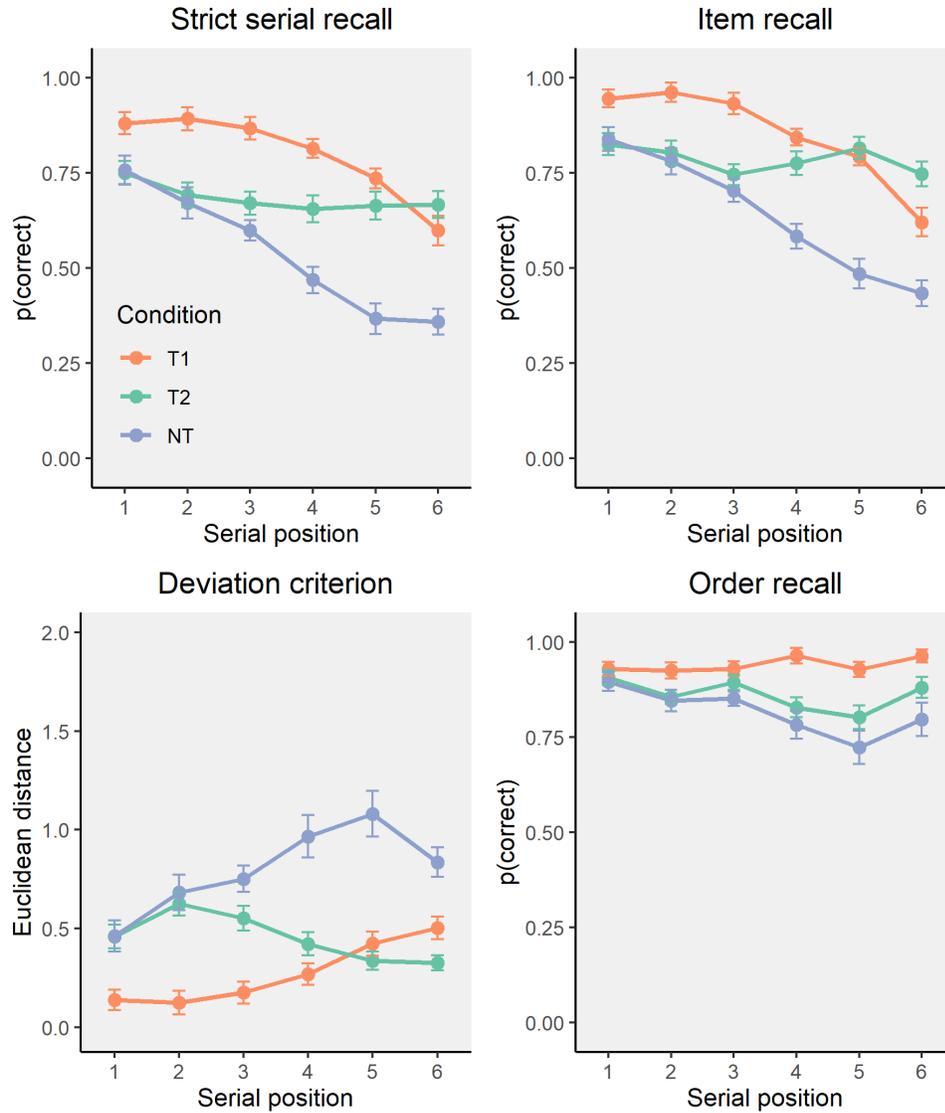
743 1.863) and serial position ($BF_{10} = 7.941e+51$). The interaction term was also associated with
744 decisive evidence ($BF_{10} = 9.359e+21$). The results using the deviation score converged with
745 these observations, with decisive evidence supporting the main effects of spatial condition (BF_{10}
746 $= 2.167e+57$) and serial position ($BF_{10} = 6.693e+5$), but also the interaction term ($BF_{10} =$
747 $1.654e+18$). Results using the order recall criterion showed decisive evidence supporting both
748 main effects of spatial condition ($BF_{10} = 2.648e+24$) and serial position ($BF_{10} = 3.468e+5$), and
749 the interaction term ($BF_{10} = 415.233$).

750 **Figure 5**

751 *Results of Experiment 3 – Visuospatial Manipulation*

752

WM AND SIMILARITY



753

754 *Note.* Recall performance as a function of serial position for each spatial condition (Experiment

755 2). T1 = Triplet in the first half of the list. T2 = Triplet in the second half of the list. NT = No

756 triplet. Error bars represent confidence intervals corrected for between-subject variability (see

757 statistical procedure).

758 Hence, recall performance was largely impacted by the presence of spatially similar

759 information (see **Figure 5**), and this impact did differ across serial position, as demonstrated by

760 the interaction. In the next analyses, this interaction was further explored.

WM AND SIMILARITY

761 *Spatial similarity – overall performance.* We first assessed the overall impact of spatial
762 similarity on recall performance. Using a strict serial recall criterion, we observed that the
763 spatially similar items in the T1 condition were better recalled than the spatially dissimilar items
764 in the NT condition across positions 1 through 3. This difference was supported by decisive
765 evidence ($BF_{10} = 3.09e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.777; 1.771]$, $d = 1.336$, $M_{diff} = 0.204$). This recall
766 advantage for spatially similar items was also observed in the T2 as compared to the NT
767 condition across positions 4 through 6 and was also associated with decisive evidence ($BF_{10} =$
768 $2.63e+7$, $CI_{95\%} = [1.048; 2.174]$, $d = 1.682$, $M_{diff} = 0.264$). This pattern of results was
769 consistently observed using an item recall criterion, both in the T1 ($BF_{10} = 3.92e+6$, $CI_{95\%} =$
770 $[0.921; 1.992]$, $d = 1.53$, $M_{diff} = 0.172$) and the T2 ($BF_{10} = 4.762e+9$, $CI_{95\%} = [1.4; 2.719]$, $d =$
771 2.134 , $M_{diff} = 0.278$) conditions, when compared to the NT conditions. We found converging
772 evidence using the deviation score. Compared to the NT condition, less deviation from the
773 targets was observed in the T1 ($BF_{10} = 2.448e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.757; 1.748]$, $d = 1.319$, $M_{diff} =$
774 0.486) and the T2 ($BF_{10} = 9.227e+6$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.994; 2.083]$, $d = 1.598$, $M_{diff} = 0.599$) conditions.
775 Finally, the order recall criterion produced convergent results, with spatially similar items being
776 better recalled as compared to spatially dissimilar items (T1 vs. NT: $BF_{10} = 13.354$, $CI_{95\%} =$
777 $[0.177; 0.939]$, $d = 0.596$, $M_{diff} = 0.064$, T2 vs. NT: $BF_{10} = 3.885$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.078; 0.815]$, $d =$
778 0.49 , $M_{diff} = 0.069$).

779 *Proactive benefit of the spatial triplet.* The results of this analysis are overall consistent:
780 recall performance in positions 4, 5 and 6 in the T1 condition increased as compared to the same
781 items in the NT condition, as can be seen in **Figure 5**. This increase of recall performance was
782 supported by decisive evidence, and this across the strict serial recall ($BF_{10} = 2.803e+10$, $CI_{95\%} =$
783 $[1.531; 2.915]$, $d = 2.303$, $M_{diff} = 0.318$), the item recall ($BF_{10} = 2.226e+10$, $CI_{95\%} = [1.515,$

WM AND SIMILARITY

784 2.89], $d = 2.28$, $M_{diff} = 0.251$), the deviation ($BF_{10} = 6.171e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.809; 1.82]$, $d = 1.388$,
785 $M_{diff} = 0.563$) and the order recall ($BF_{10} = 1.064e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [0.718; 1.684]$, $d = 1.258$, $M_{diff} =$
786 0.184), criteria. Therefore, the presence of spatial similarity proactively enhanced recall
787 performance.

788 *Retroactive impact of the spatial triplet.* Finally, recall performance in positions 1, 2 and
789 3 in the T2 condition did not increase as compared to the same items in the NT condition. Using
790 the strict serial recall criterion, an absence of difference between the two spatial conditions was
791 only associated with anecdotal evidence ($BF_{01} = 1.615$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.083; 0.617]$, $d = 0.295$, M_{diff}
792 $= 0.029$). Using the item recall criterion, moderate evidence supported the absence of difference
793 between the two spatial conditions ($BF_{01} = 3.177$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.168; 0.519]$, $d = 0.188$, $M_{diff} =$
794 0.017). This absence of difference was associated with anecdotal evidence using the deviation
795 criterion ($BF_{01} = 1.035$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.033; 0.679]$, $d = 0.349$, $M_{diff} = 0.086$), but also the order
796 recall criterion ($BF_{01} = 1.455$, $CI_{95\%} = [-0.076; 0.628]$, $d = 0.308$, $M_{diff} = 0.021$). Overall, a
797 retroactive impact of spatial similarity was not credibly supported.

798 Discussion

799 The results of Experiment 3 show that similar items were associated with higher WM
800 performance levels than dissimilar items. In addition, similarity did not consistently impact
801 memory for serial order information. The presence of spatial similarity proactively enhanced
802 recall performance for the subsequent items of the to-be-remembered lists. In contrast, no
803 retroactive impact was observed. This pattern of results is akin to those observed in Experiments
804 1 & 2 manipulating semantic and phonological similarity. In the next experiment, we tested the
805 impact of between-item similarity in the visual domain.

806

Experiment 4

807 In Experiment 4, we tested the impact of between-item similarity using colors. Previous
808 studies showed that similarity between colors enhances WM performance for other, dissimilar
809 colors (C. C. Morey et al., 2015; Ramzaoui & Mathy, 2021). However, these studies used
810 paradigms in which all the memoranda were simultaneously presented. This prevents the
811 possibility to draw conclusions regarding the way between-item similarity frees up WM capacity
812 over the time-course of WM processing. Furthermore, in these studies between-item similarity
813 was manipulated by including colors that were repeated over spatial locations. Hence, between-
814 item similarity was manipulated in a binary manner because items could only be repeated or not
815 within a trial.

816 In the present experiment, items were always presented sequentially. Moreover, between-
817 item similarity was manipulated in a more fine-grained manner, analogous to Experiments 1, 2 &
818 3, by using non-repeated items whose colors were sampled from a continuous scale. Similar
819 colors were presented among dissimilar colors. The similar colors were presented either at the
820 beginning (S1) or at the end (S2) of the to-be-remembered lists. Performance for these lists was
821 compared to lists for which all the colors were maximally dissimilar (DIS). If between-item
822 similarity frees up WM capacity in a domain-general manner, we expected to replicate the
823 overall results observed so far, that is, a general beneficial effect of similarity, as well as a
824 proactive benefit and an absence of retroactive impact for other, dissimilar colors embedded in
825 the same list.

826 Method

827 **Participants.** Thirty-two undergraduate students aged between 18 and 30 were recruited
828 from the university community of the Université Grenoble Alpes. All participants were French-

WM AND SIMILARITY

829 native speakers, with a normal or correct vision, reported no history of neurological disorder or
830 learning difficulty, and gave their written informed consent before starting the experiment. None
831 of the subjects participated in the previous experiments. The experiment was approved by the
832 ethic committee of CER Grenoble Alpes: Avis-2019-04-09-2.

833 **Material.** All the stimuli involved four colored squares presented on a gray background
834 (see **Figure 6**). We chose to use four stimuli instead of six in order to reach reasonable
835 performance levels, as informed by a pilot study. Colors were always sampled along the hue
836 dimension in the HSL (hue, saturation, lightness) model. The hue dimension takes values
837 between 0 and 360 (for instance, 0 is red, 120 is green, 240 is blue). The saturation and lightness
838 dimensions were always set to 100% and 50%, respectively. The dissimilar colors were created
839 by randomly sampling values in the hue dimension, by ensuring that any two dissimilar colors
840 were separated by at least 60° of angular distance, with a maximal distance of 90°. The similar
841 colors were randomly sampled, with the further constraint that the angular distance between any
842 two similar colors should be between 15° and 30°.

843 As in the previous experiments, three different experimental conditions were created:

- 844 - In the S1 condition (Similar in first half), items of the first half were similar, and items of
845 the second half were dissimilar.
- 846 - In the S2 condition (Similar in second half), the first half of the items were dissimilar,
847 and the second half were dissimilar.
- 848 - In the DIS condition (Dissimilar), all the items were dissimilar.

849 Each experimental condition comprised 20 trials. The S1 and DIS conditions were
850 created using the constraints mentioned above. The S2 condition was created by reversing the
851 presentation order of the S1 sequence. As in the previous experiments, the three different

WM AND SIMILARITY

852 experimental conditions were randomly presented. An example of each condition is illustrated in
853 **Figure 7.**

854

855 **Figure 6**

856 *Time Course of The Experiment (4-item List)*



857

858 *Note.* Each square appeared sequentially in the middle of the screen along the vertical dimension.

859 Along the horizontal dimension, the squares were presented from left to right. Each item

860 appeared for 1,000 ms, followed by a 1,000 ms empty interval. The end of the to-be-remembered

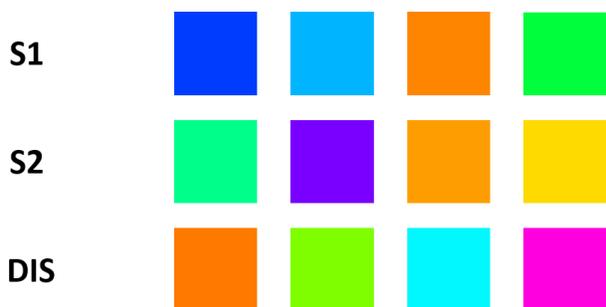
861 list was directly followed by the retrieval phase. Participants were invited to reproduce the color

862 of each square using the color wheel. After each click, the wheel turned a random angle.

863

864 **Figure 7**

865 *Example of Colors Used in Each Condition*



866

867 *Note.* In S1, the colors of the two first squares differed by an angular distance ranging from 15°

868 to 30°. The subsequent items differed between 60° and 90° in angular distance with all the other

WM AND SIMILARITY

869 items. The S2 condition was identical to the S1 condition, except that the sequences were
870 reversed. In the DIS condition, all the items differed by an angular distance ranging from 60° to
871 90°.

872 **Procedure.** Due to the SARS-CoV-19 pandemic, all participants were tested remotely
873 through the Skype® software. Participants were invited to follow a web link through which they
874 arrived on an online platform where the experiment was hosted. To ensure that they complied
875 with task requirements, participants were invited to share their screen with the experimenter,
876 which remained present throughout the whole experiment. Participants initiated each trial by
877 clicking on a red button displayed on the center of the screen, which automatically triggered the
878 presentation of the 4 items to be remembered. Items were presented at a pace of 1 item every 2
879 seconds (1,000 ms ON, 1,000 ms OFF). The items were presented at different spatial locations
880 from left to right in the middle of the screen, as also illustrated in **Figure 6**. After the
881 presentation of the to-be-remembered list, four empty squares were presented at the bottom of
882 the screen, along with a color wheel centered in the middle of the screen. The four empty boxes
883 were presented to help participants keep track of each to-be-remembered position over
884 successive responses. Participants were asked, using their computer mouse, to click on the wheel
885 to report the color of each square in the original order in which they were presented. After each
886 click, the square associated with the current to-be-remembered color briefly (i.e., 333 ms)
887 displayed visual feedback of participant’s response and directly disappeared afterward. In
888 addition, the color wheel briefly (i.e., 100 ms) turned black and was randomly rotated after each
889 successive retrieval attempt. This last manipulation was done to prevent participants from
890 associating the colors along a spatial dimension. Likewise, participants were invited to perform
891 complex articulatory suppression (i.e., saying “ba-be-bi-bo-bu” out loud) throughout all WM

WM AND SIMILARITY

892 phases (encoding + retrieval) to prevent the involvement of verbal maintenance processes. A
893 complex articulatory suppression was chosen, as phonological recoding has shown to be possible
894 even in simple articulatory suppression forms (Norris et al., 2018). Reporting all items' colors
895 resulted in the reappearance of the red button, inviting participants to initiate the next trial.
896 During the presentation of the stimuli, the mouse cursor disappeared, and re-appeared only
897 during the retrieval phase.

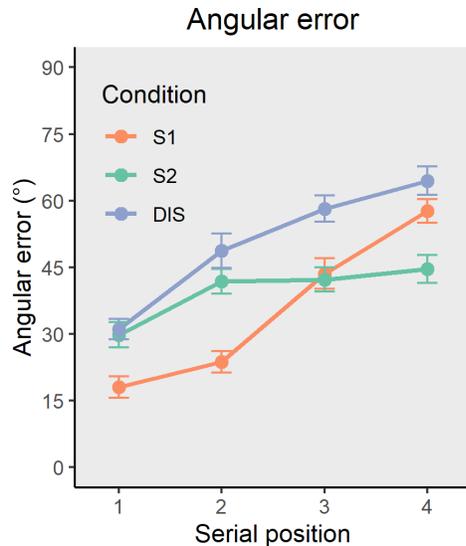
898 Participants performed three practice trials before the beginning of the main experiment.
899 The experimenter was present throughout the experiment and ensured that the participant
900 complied with the task requirements. The experiment was coded in JavaScript. Task presentation
901 and timing were controlled using the jQuery library, which ensures an efficient communication
902 between JavaScript, HTML and CSS.

903 **Scoring procedure.** Contrary to Experiments 1 & 2, participants reported here their
904 response on a continuous scale (i.e., the color wheel). With continuous response, there is no
905 straightforward way to compute the strict serial, item and order recall criteria as reported in the
906 previous experiments. Instead, in this experiment we used the mean absolute angular error (in
907 degree) between the target and participant's response.

908 **Statistical analysis.** The statistical analyses were identical to previous experiments.

909 **Results**

910 Angular error as a function of visual condition (S1, S2, DIS) and serial position (1
911 through 4) was assessed using a Bayesian Repeated Measures ANOVA. This analysis showed
912 decisive evidence supporting both main effects of visual condition ($BF_{10} = 1.325e+19$) and serial
913 position ($BF_{10} = 3.405e+48$). The interaction term was supported by decisive evidence ($BF_{10} =$
914 $2.114e+10$).

915 **Figure 8**916 *Results of Experiment 4 – Visual Manipulation*

917

918 *Note.* Angular error as a function of serial position for each condition (Experiment 4). S1 =
 919 Similar items in the first half of the list. S2 = Similar items in the second half of the list. DIS =
 920 Dissimilar items. Error bars represent confidence intervals corrected for between-subject
 921 variability (see statistical procedure).

922 There was therefore a robust impact of between-item similarity on WM performance (see
 923 also **Figure 8**). The presence of the interaction suggests that the impact of similarity was not
 924 similarly observed across all serial positions. This was explored using Bayesian paired samples
 925 T-Tests.

926 *Visual similarity.* We contrasted the angular error between the DIS and S1 conditions
 927 across positions 1 and 2, and between the DIS and S2 conditions across positions 3 and 4. Both
 928 analyses showed that visual similarity reduced angular errors, and this was observed both in the
 929 S1 ($BF_{10} = 6.066e+5$, $CI_{95\%} = [-1.737; -0.778]$, $d = 1.314$, $M_{diff} = 19.008$) and S2 ($BF_{10} =$
 930 $3.92e+6$, $CI_{95\%} = [-1.886; -0.886]$, $d = 1.446$, $M_{diff} = 17.928$) conditions.

931 *Proactive benefit of visual similarity.* When assessing the proactive impact of visual
932 similarity, the results were consistent with those previously observed. Angular error decreased
933 for items that followed similar items in the S1 as compared to the DIS condition, as can be seen
934 in **Figure 8**. This difference was supported by decisive evidence ($BF_{10} = 129.58$, $CI_{95\%} = [1.081;$
935 $-0.303]$, $d = 0.741$, $M_{diff} = 10.725$).

936 *Retroactive impact of visual similarity.* In contrast, results did not show a consistent
937 change of angular errors for items preceding the similar items. A difference between the S2 and
938 DIS conditions over positions 1 and 2 was only supported by anecdotal evidence ($BF_{10} = 1.584$,
939 $CI_{95\%} = [-0.712; -0.013]$, $d = 0.392$, $M_{diff} = 4.103$).

940 **Discussion**

941 The results observed in Experiment 4 confirmed those already found in previous studies
942 (C. C. Morey et al., 2015; Ramzaoui & Mathy, 2021). Similarity between colors not only
943 increased WM performance for the similar items themselves, but also for other, dissimilar colors
944 within the same list. We extend these results by showing that the benefit of similarity occurs
945 proactively, with little evidence showing a retroactive benefit on WM performance.

946 Across the four experiments we conducted, a convergent pattern emerged: the presence
947 of between-item similarity enhanced recall performance for the similar items themselves.
948 Critically, between-item similarity proactively, but not retroactively, impacted WM performance.
949 These effects are summarized in **Table 1**, where the BF_{10} values for Experiments 1, 2, 3 and 4
950 are reported across all recall criteria. As can be seen, these effects are strong, robust, and
951 consistent when assessed at the item level. Results on memory for order information were more
952 inconsistent. In the next section, we discuss the theoretical implications of our results.

953

Table 1
Summary of the Patterns of Results Across the Experiments

		Similarity (T1)	Similarity (T2)	Proactive	Retroactive
Exp. 1 Semantic	Strict	> 100	> 100	> 100	0.208
	Item	> 100	> 100	> 100	0.307
	Order	0.849	0.2	150.826	0.276
Exp. 2 Phonological	Strict	2.375	0.723	> 100	0.197
	Item	> 100	> 100	> 100	0.239
	Order	2.381	1.917e+5	0.684	0.291
Exp. 3 Visuospatial	Strict	> 100	> 100	> 100	0.619
	Item	> 100	> 100	> 100	0.315
	Deviation	> 100	> 100	> 100	0.966
	Order	13.354	3.885	> 100	0.687
Exp. 4 Visual	Angular error	> 100	> 100	> 100	1.584

Note. The values represent the Bayes Factor in favor of H1 (BF_{10}) specific to each effect (similarity, proactive and retroactive effects). These values are reported for each recall criteria: strict serial recall, item recall, order recall, deviation (visuospatial domain only) and angular error (visual domain only). Values in bold indicate effects going in the opposite direction (i.e., deleterious impact).

955

956

General discussion

957

In this study, we demonstrated that between-item similarity can free up WM resources

958

across the semantic, phonological, visuospatial, and visual domains. Specifically, when similar

959

items were included in a list to be remembered, this enhanced recall performance at the item

960

level through a subtle pattern of results. First, the similar items themselves were more often

WM AND SIMILARITY

961 recalled compared to dissimilar items. Second, the subsequent items within the same list also
962 benefited from the similar items, compared to completely dissimilar lists. Third, when the similar
963 items appeared at the end of the list, no retroactive impact was found. Critically, this was
964 observed when between-item similarity was manipulated in the semantic (Exp. 1), phonological
965 (Exp. 2) visuospatial (Exp. 3) and visual (Exp. 4) domains. These outcomes are consistent with
966 those previously observed in the visual domain (C. C. Morey et al., 2015; Ramzaoui & Mathy,
967 2021). They are furthermore consistent with the idea that between-item similarity can be used to
968 compress information in a more compact format (Chekaf et al., 2016). This in turn frees up WM
969 resources that can be used to maintain more items. In the following paragraphs, we first discuss
970 the underlying mechanisms of similarity effects in WM. Second, we discuss the general impact
971 of similarity on memory for order, which produced an inconsistent pattern of results in our
972 experiments. Third, we tackle the implications of the present findings regarding the domain-
973 generality of resource freeing up. Finally, we narrow the plausible range of WM mechanisms
974 that could explain the origin of resource freeing up in WM.

975 **What makes similar items better remembered?**

976 Our results show that similar items are better recalled at the item level, when compared to
977 dissimilar items. In other words, participants recalled more items in the similar vs. dissimilar
978 condition. This recall advantage associated with similar items can be explained either by
979 supposing that the individual representations that compose the similar items are co-activated, or
980 by postulating a compression mechanism as we initially assumed. In this section, we discuss
981 these two accounts in a more detailed manner.

982 *A co-activation process.* Some models consider that WM relies on direct activation
983 within the long-term memory system, and that this activation provides the representational basis

WM AND SIMILARITY

984 for WM maintenance (Cowan, 2001; Majerus, 2019; Martin & Saffran, 1997; Nee & Jonides,
985 2013; Oberauer, 2002). As long as items are kept sufficiently active in long-term memory, they
986 can be accessed and therefore recalled. One possibility is that similar items reactivate each other
987 in long-term memory via spreading activation, which in turn makes them more resistant to
988 forgetting. Due to this high activation level, fewer WM resources are required to keep them
989 active. These resources can then be devoted towards the other, dissimilar items.

990 Regarding semantic relatedness, related items may reactivate each other within a
991 semantic network via spreading of activation toward neighboring concepts. This is assumed to
992 occur either due to shared semantic features that characterize semantically related items (Dell et
993 al., 1997), or through lateral excitatory connections (Hofmann & Jacobs, 2014). A similar
994 phenomenon could explain the impact of phonological similarity in our experiment. The
995 phonologically similar words we used are also phonological neighbors³. Models from network
996 science have been applied to the psycholinguistic domain and assume that phonological
997 neighbors are strongly connected in the phonological lexicon (Levy et al., 2021). The structure of
998 the phonological lexicon in turn affects human performance in linguistic and memory tasks (Q.
999 Chen & Mirman, 2012; Guitard et al., 2018; Roodenrys et al., 2002; Siew & Vitevitch, 2016;
1000 Vitevitch, 2002, 2008). These ideas could be extended toward the visual and visuospatial
1001 domains: when activating a color or a spatial location, neighboring representations may also

³ In the psycholinguistic domain, phonological neighbors are usually identified as items differing by one phoneme from the target. Differences include additions, deletions and substitutions (Yarkoni et al., 2008).

WM AND SIMILARITY

1002 become active to some extent⁴. This in turn should ease the processing of subsequent information
1003 if this information is similar to what has previously been encountered. We already demonstrated
1004 the plausibility of this reactivation process to account for the proactive effect caused by semantic
1005 relatedness in a previous study of our own involving simulations in the TBRS* architecture
1006 (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021), a computational implementation of the TBRS (Time-
1007 Based Resource Sharing) model (Barrouillet et al., 2004).

1008 *A compression mechanism.* Compression is another way to explain similarity effects.
1009 When some pieces of information are somehow related to each other, they can be compressed
1010 within a more general structure. This can then be stored using a smaller quantity of information.
1011 Usually, these elements are characterized as being associated with each other more strongly than
1012 with the others (Gobet et al., 2001). Even if memoranda in WM experiments are presented one
1013 after the other, people can still group these distinct percepts into chunks. This is the case even
1014 when they are interleaved with sequences of distractors (Portrat et al., 2016).

1015 One way to compress information is via summary statistics. The visual system can extract
1016 a summary statistic from objects' properties, a phenomenon also called *ensemble representation*
1017 (Alvarez, 2011; Ariely, 2001). This summary statistic can be used to represent items in a
1018 hierarchical structure, which in turn boosts the quality of WM representations (Brady & Alvarez,
1019 2015). The more compact the representation, the better its quality and precision (Son et al.,
1020 2020). Evidence supporting this mechanism comes from visual working memory tasks involving
1021 participants to reproduce grouped object's features such as size, color, or orientation on a

⁴ Contrary to the phonological and semantic domains, these neighbors in the visual and visuospatial domains are not categorical but continuous. This could be formally implemented by using for instance a Gaussian distribution around the activated values each time a stimulus is presented.

WM AND SIMILARITY

1022 continuous scale. It has been shown that participant's responses for individual items are biased
1023 toward the mean of the ensemble representation (Brady & Alvarez, 2011; Son et al., 2020),
1024 suggesting that summary statistics are indeed extracted and then encoded into WM. Hence, when
1025 the individual representations of items are imprecise, ensemble representations can be used to get
1026 an accurate representation of the ensemble itself. It must be noted that the extraction of a
1027 summary statistics does not mean that the original representations are completely lost. The
1028 summary statistics could act as a retrieval cue or boost the original representations via feedback
1029 activations right at encoding.

1030 As regards WM, it is worth making a distinction between lossless and lossy compression
1031 (Norris & Kalm, 2021). The former refers to the fact that memoranda are chunked without losing
1032 any information. This is for instance the case when P, D and F are grouped into "PDF", or
1033 Lennon, McCartney, Harrison and Ringo Starr grouped into "Beatles". The chunk contains all
1034 the original information and can be stored without any need to maintain the individual elements
1035 because they would be easily retrieved at recall. However, compression can be lossy when there
1036 is not an existing long-term memory item that fully represents the set of memoranda. For
1037 instance, even if pear, plum and apple can be chunked under the concept "fruit", this chunk does
1038 not contain all the information needed to retrieve the initial elements. Maintaining "fruit" alone is
1039 therefore not enough to guarantee a fruitful retrieval of all elements. In our experiments, triplet
1040 elements are only associated with each other, without any higher-level concept able to retrieve
1041 them for sure. Compression is therefore lossy.

1042 **How does similarity impact memory for order?**

1043 The deleterious impact of similarity on memory for order is a robust phenomenon. An
1044 increase of order errors for similar vs. dissimilar items has been reported in the phonological

WM AND SIMILARITY

1045 (Baddeley, 1966), auditory (Visscher et al., 2007), and visual (Jalbert et al., 2008) domains.
1046 Likewise, in standard immediate serial recall tasks, order errors occur more often for items
1047 associated with adjacent vs. distant serial positions. According to many contemporary models of
1048 WM, adjacent positions are assumed to be represented by similar positional and/or contextual
1049 markers (Burgess & Hitch, 1999; Farrell, 2012; Farrell & Lewandowsky, 2002; Henson, 1998;
1050 Oberauer et al., 2012; Oberauer & Lewandowsky, 2011). The general deleterious effect of
1051 similarity on memory for order can be explained by a simple discriminability problem: similar
1052 WM representations are more difficult to discriminate than dissimilar ones, which increases the
1053 probability to select a wrong competitor at retrieval. In the present study, this negative impact of
1054 similarity has been observed only in the phonological domain. This contradicts the hypothesis
1055 according to which compression would necessarily come with a cost at the serial order level.

1056 Why did we not find this deleterious impact of similarity when manipulated in the
1057 semantic domain? While some studies found no impact of semantic similarity on memory for
1058 order (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021; Neale & Tehan, 2007; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999),
1059 some did find small, but observable effects (Baddeley, 1966; Ishiguro & Saito, 2020; Saint-
1060 Aubin & Ouellette, 2005; Tse et al., 2011), and some found mixed results (Poirier & Saint-
1061 Aubin, 1995). From those who found an effect, sometimes the stimulus properties were not
1062 carefully controlled (Baddeley, 1966), and some of them were never replicated (Saint-Aubin &
1063 Ouellette, 2005; Tse et al., 2011). Sometimes, studies did not use a proper measure of memory
1064 for order (Ishiguro & Saito, 2020)⁵. Hence, evidence supporting a deleterious impact of semantic

⁵ The Ishiguro and Saito study is a meta-analysis. The authors were able to find an increase of order errors for related versus unrelated items when combining several studies from the literature. However, Ishiguro and Saito used the absolute number of order errors as a dependent variable, without correcting for the total number of items

WM AND SIMILARITY

1065 similarity on memory for order is at best inconclusive. The reason why semantic similarity does
1066 not appear to consistently impact memory for order remains to be understood. One possibility is
1067 that semantic knowledge might not be directly represented in WM, or at least not the same way
1068 as (for instance) phonology.

1069 In the visuospatial domain, we found that similarity *increased* memory for order. In our
1070 manipulation, similarity created patterns that helped memorizing the relative order of items (see
1071 **Figure 4**). In line with the lossy/lossless distinction discussed above, the 3 similar items could be
1072 compressed quite easily by storing the initial location and two directions (e.g., right-right or
1073 down-left), even as a gestalt. This form naturally contains the order, as opposed to a 3-item
1074 semantic sequence like "cherry-pear-apple" for which the order is harder to represent. This is a
1075 specific case for which between-item similarity may increase, rather than decrease, memory for
1076 order. The existence of an order relation between the to-be-remembered items reduces the
1077 complexity of the sequence and therefore makes it more compressible. In some simple cases, that
1078 complexity can be even estimated using algorithmic complexity measures (Mathy & Feldman,
1079 2012). This idea could be applied to any domain. In the semantic domain, recalling the sequence
1080 "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday" would be easier than
1081 recalling the same items in a random order. Similarly, in the visual domain, if three colors are
1082 presented in this order: "red, orange, yellow", it can be expected that the order of these items
1083 would be easier to remember as compared to the same colors in a random order.

1084 Recently, Kowialiewski, Gorin, et al., 2021 showed that semantic relatedness constrains
1085 the pattern of transposition errors occurring in typical serial recall tasks. They used lists

recalled in each condition. As semantically related words are overall recalled more often, this provides more opportunity for order errors to occur, even if the proportion of order errors is the same in both conditions.

1086 composed of items related in sub-groups (e.g., piano, guitar, violin, arm, leg, hand). As
1087 compared to unrelated lists, they observed that the semantic grouping structure influenced the
1088 way items migrate. When a transposition error occurred, it did so more often toward the position
1089 of another related item, and this as compared to the same positions in the unrelated lists. The
1090 authors interpreted this result as reflecting the activation of a superordinate category, through
1091 which participants can compress information and maintain the items more easily. If such a
1092 superordinate category is used to recall the similar items, it is predicted that these items will be
1093 recalled more often together and hence transposed more often between each other, rather than
1094 with items from a different category. This idea fits well with our initial hypothesis, according to
1095 which proactive benefits of similarity are explained by a compression mechanism. If this is the
1096 case, we should therefore replicate the results observed by Kowialiewski and colleagues in the
1097 present study. Actually, we report in **Appendix A** an exploratory analysis showing that this
1098 phenomenon also happened across Experiments 1 through 3⁶.

1099 **A domain-general free up of WM resources**

1100 In the present study, we observed consistent patterns of similarity effects across four
1101 different domains, often studied separately in the WM literature. Given the strikingly similar
1102 patterns of results observed across these different domains, we propose that information
1103 compression may impact WM maintenance processes in a domain-general manner. Such a
1104 proposal is consistent with a widespread view according to which the different domains share
1105 common resources or systems supporting WM maintenance (Barrouillet & Camos, 2015;
1106 Cowan, 2005; Engle et al., 1999; Lovett et al., 1999; Oberauer, 2002). Recent empirical findings
1107 have shown a systematic dual-task cost between the storage of verbal and visuospatial

⁶ We are thankful to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this analysis.

WM AND SIMILARITY

1108 information, suggesting that WM storage is at least in part domain-general (Uittenhove et al.,
1109 2019). The verbal and visuospatial WM activities furthermore compete for a common domain-
1110 general pool of resources, as shown by robust and consistent trade-offs between storage and
1111 processing across domains in complex span tasks (Vergauwe et al., 2010, 2012). A domain-
1112 general impact of compression in WM is congruent with models assuming controlled attention at
1113 the heart of WM functioning. This is the case for the TBRS model (Barrouillet & Camos, 2015)
1114 or the embedded-processes model (Cowan, 2005) in which the domain-general focus of attention
1115 could be the fuel of the impact of compression in WM.

1116 Although we claim the domain-general reallocation effects we observed could originate
1117 from a common attentional process, we cannot rule out the possibility that our results could be
1118 explained by modular models considering that distinct mechanisms are responsible for the
1119 maintenance of verbal and visuospatial materials (Baddeley & Logie, 1999; Logie, 2011). In
1120 these models, when a given buffer is overloaded, the others interact to support the WM
1121 representation. Verbal and visuospatial would have their own and distinct resources. However,
1122 given the striking resemblances we observed across the four domains we tested, postulating the
1123 existence of distinct modules for WM maintenance appears to be not parsimonious. In light of
1124 this old debate within the WM literature, we propose that whatever the specificity of each
1125 domain (e.g., memory for order), and the way information is compressed within them,
1126 repercussions of this compression on WM performance manifest equally at the general level of
1127 functioning. Critically, its temporal dynamic appears to be a key factor.

1128 One possibility regarding this temporal dynamic observed in the present study, but also in
1129 previous studies assessing the impact of chunking (Norris et al., 2020; Portrat et al., 2016;
1130 Thalmann et al., 2019), is that proactive benefits emerge from a reallocation of attentional

WM AND SIMILARITY

1131 resources. According to the TBRS theory (Barrouillet et al., 2004), items encoded in WM
1132 constantly decay when out of attention. However, the deleterious impact of decay can be
1133 counteracted using the focus of attention, a central bottleneck limited to one item at a time. The
1134 role of the focus of attention is to refresh the decaying WM representations, provided there is
1135 enough free time to do so. Importantly, the focus of attention is supposed to be a domain-general
1136 attentional mechanism acting on any domain. In TBRS, WM capacity is therefore constrained by
1137 the constant balance between refreshing and decay. When framed through the TBRS model, the
1138 beneficial effect of compression is straightforward. Since WM load is reduced following
1139 compression, this frees up some time that can be devoted to refreshing more items. These items
1140 can in turn be saved from forgetting. Accordingly, this free time should benefit the other items,
1141 which should be better recalled. One way participants could reallocate their refreshing episodes
1142 is by favoring the less activated WM representations (Lemaire et al., 2018). This way of
1143 reallocating attention is consistent with experiments suggesting that participants can redirect
1144 their attentional resources in a strategic manner as a function of the statistical constraints
1145 imposed by the experimental setup (Bruning & Lewis-Peacock, 2020). Finally, contrary to what
1146 has been previously claimed (Thalmann et al., 2019), the TBRS theory also predicts an absence
1147 of retroactive impact of chunked items. This is because when items at the end of a list to be
1148 remembered are compressed, items that have already been forgotten during the inter-item
1149 maintenance interval cannot be saved anymore (see Kowialiewski et al., 2021 for a detailed
1150 interpretation). Hence, the general principles of the TBRS theory represent a likely candidate
1151 explaining the patterns of results found in this study.

1152 **Alternative accounts**

1153 Although the decay and refreshing framework presented above seems to be a plausible
1154 candidate to account for our observations, there exists several other possibilities. In this section,
1155 we present alternative theories that may account for free up effects in WM.

1156 *The encoding-resource hypothesis.* Recently, Popov & Reder (2020) proposed a limited-
1157 resource mechanism, according to which items deplete resources from a limited pool during
1158 encoding. In this encoding-resource account, encoding strength is proportional to the amount of
1159 available resources: a larger amount of resources provides stronger encoding. This way of
1160 encoding items naturally creates a primacy gradient whose existence is empirically supported
1161 (Oberauer, 2003). The plausibility of the encoding-resource account has recently received
1162 support from fine-grained investigations of the beneficial effect of free time in immediate serial
1163 recall tasks (Mizrak & Oberauer, 2021). Critically, this model can explain the presence of
1164 proactive effects in WM. Items that are easier to process, such as high frequency items, are
1165 assumed to deplete fewer resources. Their simulations have shown that this leaves a larger
1166 quantity of resources that can be devoted to encoding subsequent items. This mechanism also
1167 predicts an absence of retroactive effects because the depletion of resources is critical for the to-
1168 be-encoded items, not for those already encoded. When combined with the co-activation
1169 principles we discussed earlier, a resource-limited mechanism could explain the similarity effects
1170 we observed in this study. If similar items deplete fewer resources because they benefit from
1171 stronger co-activations, this mechanism predicts the proactive effects we observed.

1172 *Interference-based forgetting.* An important theoretical framework postulates WM as
1173 being limited by interference (Oberauer et al., 2012, 2016). The computational equivalent of this
1174 account, SOB-CS, postulates that items are encoded in WM using position-item associations

WM AND SIMILARITY

1175 through Hebbian learning in a superimposed matrix. Due to this superimposition of
1176 representations, items retrieved from WM constitute a blurry version of the original ones.
1177 Limitations in WM occur because each newly encoded item interferes with the existing WM
1178 representations. One way SOB-CS could explain the beneficial impact of similarity is via a
1179 compression mechanism, as proposed by Thalmann et al. (2019). When similar items occur at
1180 the beginning of the list, they can be compressed and the no-more-relevant items can be easily
1181 and rapidly removed from WM (Lewis-Peacock et al., 2018), a phenomenon also called “wipe-
1182 out” (Ecker et al., 2014). This creates a proactive benefit due to a reduction of WM load.
1183 However, when the related items appear at the end of the list, specific item-position removal is
1184 difficult to perform (Oberauer, 2018) and the irrelevant items still interfere with the WM
1185 representations⁷. This creates an absence of retroactive benefit. Note that the plausibility of this
1186 explanation remains to be formally tested.

1187 *Retrieval-based account.* In the context of immediate serial recall tasks, psycholinguistic
1188 effects such as the lexicality effect (i.e., recall advantage for words vs. nonwords) have been
1189 explained through the redintegration framework. Simply put, this account postulates the
1190 influence of long-term memory knowledge as occurring exclusively at the recall stage
1191 (Schweickert, 1993) through a comparison process between the degraded WM traces and stored
1192 long-term memory knowledge. This framework has shown to account for important effects, such
1193 as lexicality, word frequency (Hulme et al., 1997), and to some extent semantic relatedness

⁷ These two phenomena (i.e., wipe-out and selective removal) can be compared to what happens in modern programming languages such as Matlab and Python: resetting values across a whole matrix is technically easier to do compared to selectively resetting values for specific indices. We thank Klaus Oberauer for suggesting this comparison.

WM AND SIMILARITY

1194 (Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999). Similarly, it could be argued that the similarity effects we
1195 observed here could be explained by assuming that similar items re-activate each other via a
1196 cueing mechanism. Recalling “Item A” would automatically provide a cue for “Item B” when A
1197 and B are similar. However, a model that would consider that gains operate only at retrieval
1198 would not be able to explain proactive effects. To observe a proactive effect, there must be some
1199 gains at the time of processing similar items and a redistribution throughout the trial for the
1200 processing of other, non-similar items. Overall, the problem with a retrieval-based account is that
1201 it acts on the items locally, not globally.

1202 *The role of output interference.* Finally, and in the same vein as the retrieval-based
1203 account, we cannot discard the possibility that the proactive benefits and absence of proactive
1204 effect observed in the present study could be at least partially explained by a reduction of output
1205 interference. In typical serial recall tasks, a significant part of memory traces is lost as people
1206 recall the items (Cowan et al., 2002; Oberauer, 2003). This could occur because recalling an item
1207 takes time (Cowan et al., 1992) or induce noise (Oberauer et al., 2012). Similarly, it could be
1208 argued that items that are easier to remember (i.e., the similar triplets in our experiments) could
1209 induce less time-based forgetting and/or noise. This in turn could proactively benefit the
1210 subsequent items when compared to a condition in which participants produce more errors. This
1211 is what we observed in a previous study (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021), where omission
1212 errors took more than twice the time to be recalled as compared to correct responses. There is
1213 evidence arguing against output interference as the sole contributor of the phenomena we
1214 observed. First, proactive effects in the semantic domain remain robustly observed when
1215 response time is taken as a regressor (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021). Second, we report in
1216 supplementary material an additional experiment and analyses suggesting that proactive effects

WM AND SIMILARITY

1217 in the visuospatial domain are not completely explained by the time it takes to recall the items.
1218 Third, the fact that proactive effects emerge during encoding is supported through the study
1219 conducted by Thalmann et al. (2019). They were able to deconfound the influence of chunking at
1220 encoding and recall, by testing WM performance independently of encoding position. They
1221 observed a robust proactive impact of chunking, regardless of the encoding position at which
1222 WM was assessed first. Fourth, the study by C. C. Morey et al. (2015) observed the usual benefit
1223 for dissimilar items, even though only one item was tested in each trial. The relative influence of
1224 output interference on proactive benefits remains to be quantified. This could be easily done in
1225 future studies, for instance by instructing participants to recall items in random order, or at
1226 specific serial positions.

1227 **Conclusion**

1228 It has long been known that the relationships between memoranda affect WM
1229 performance. Through a set of behavioral experiments, we proposed a specification of the
1230 underlying mechanisms that could explain similarity effects. The human cognitive system seems
1231 able to free up resources on the fly by taking advantage of similarities between memoranda to
1232 compress information. The important contribution of this work was to show that this
1233 phenomenon is observed regardless of the domain observed: semantic, phonological, visuospatial
1234 and visual. This study brings consistent support for WM representations as strongly interacting
1235 with maintenance mechanisms in any domain, and supports a domain-general functioning
1236 characterizing maintenance processes in WM.

1237

Context

1238
1239 The complexity of the mechanisms responsible for working memory (WM) limitation has
1240 been the object of intensive investigations. Similarly, long-term memory knowledge is known to
1241 support the maintenance of information over the short-term in a very robust and consistent
1242 manner. However, the way WM maintenance mechanisms and long-term memory knowledge
1243 interact is poorly understood. This study is the emerging product of a collaborative project
1244 between SP and BL who are experts in the computational modeling of WM maintenance, and
1245 BK who is specialized on the impact of linguistic knowledge on WM. BK was hired as a postdoc
1246 on the “CHUNKED” project, whose aim is to understand the compression mechanisms occurring
1247 in working memory, with a strong focus on computational modeling. The common research
1248 interests between SP, BL and BK naturally led to assessing the impact of linguistic knowledge
1249 on WM maintenance in a previous study (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2021). This was done by
1250 combining several main ideas already developed by all three authors (Kowialiewski & Majerus,
1251 2020; Lemaire et al., 2018). The present study is the logical extension of this previous combined
1252 work, in an aim to generalize the core properties of WM functioning toward a larger range of
1253 domains.
1254

1255 **Appendix A**

1256 In this analysis, we computed the proportion of *within-group transpositions*, following
1257 the same procedure used by Kowialiewski, Gorin & Majerus (2021). We first computed the total
1258 number of transposition errors occurring for items 1, 2 and 3 in the C1 condition, and items 4, 5
1259 and 6 in the C2 condition. We then identified each error as being a within-group or between-
1260 group transposition. Within-group transpositions correspond to transpositions occurring between
1261 similar items (e.g., transposing “Item 1” at position 3 in the C1 condition). Between-group
1262 transpositions correspond to transpositions occurring outside of the similar triplet (e.g.,
1263 transposing “Item 4” at position 3 in the C2 condition). We then divided the number of within-
1264 group transpositions by the total number of transpositions occurring for the similar items. This
1265 score gives an indication of the *pattern* of transposition errors occurring for the similar items. A
1266 score of 1.0 means that when a transposition occurred, it always did between two similar items.
1267 Both the C1 and C2 conditions were compared to the NC condition. To do this, two within-group
1268 transpositions analyses were performed in the NC condition: one analysis involved positions 1, 2
1269 and 3 (for comparison with the C1 condition) and another one involved positions 4, 5 and 6 (for
1270 comparison with the C2 condition). If the triplets of similar items across Experiments 1, 2 and 3
1271 modified the pattern of transposition errors, we should observe an increase of within-group
1272 transpositions in the C1 and C2 conditions, as compared to the same positions in the NC
1273 condition. Experiment 4 was not included in the analyses, as there is no straightforward way to
1274 track transposition errors in this study.

1275 Across all analyses, we discarded 11, 2 and 11 data points from Experiments 1, 2 and 3,
1276 respectively. This is due to participants producing zero errors in one condition, leading to a score
1277 of 0/0. When a participant does not produce an order error, within-group transposition cannot be

WM AND SIMILARITY

1278 produced and hence was considered as missing data. To compensate for this lack of missing data,
1279 we used a Bayesian Repeated Measures ANOVA, which in the BayesFactor package, allows the
1280 inclusion of missing information without discarding an entire subject. The similarity condition
1281 (C1 vs. NC or C2 vs. NC) was treated as a within-subject factor.

1282 *Semantic relatedness.* We found an increase of within-group transpositions when the
1283 items were semantically related, and this was supported by strong evidence when comparing the
1284 C1 and NC conditions ($BF_{10} = 49.78$, $d = 0.776$, $M_{diff} = 0.327$), and decisive evidence between
1285 the C2 and NC conditions ($BF_{10} = 1.429e+8$, $d = 1.254$, $M_{diff} = 0.23$).

1286 *Phonological similarity.* Decisive evidence supported a difference of within-group
1287 transpositions when items were similar, and this was observed in the C1 vs. NC conditions (BF_{10}
1288 $= 1.583e+6$, $d = 1.193$, $M_{diff} = 0.362$), and the C2 vs. NC conditions ($BF_{10} = 1.441e+5$, $d =$
1289 0.983 , $M_{diff} = 0.286$).

1290 *Visuospatial proximity.* Similar results were found in the visuospatial domain, with
1291 similar items being associated with higher within-group transpositions than dissimilar items. This
1292 was supported by strong evidence when comparing the C1 and NC conditions ($BF_{10} = 10.883$, d
1293 $= 0.504$, $M_{diff} = 0.146$), and decisive evidence when comparing the C2 and NC conditions (BF_{10}
1294 $= 128.02$, $d = 0.652$, $M_{diff} = 0.164$).

1295 These results, as illustrated in **Figure A1**, demonstrate a credible impact of similarity on
1296 the pattern of within-group transposition errors. When an item migrated, it did so more often at
1297 the position of another related item, rather than toward the position of another dissimilar item,
1298 and this as compared to the same positions of a dissimilar condition.

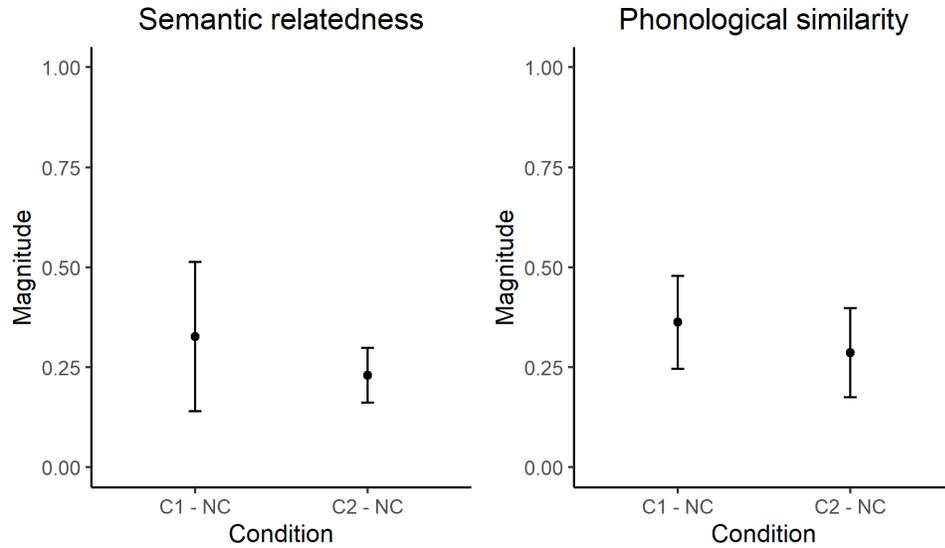
1299

1300 **Figure A1**

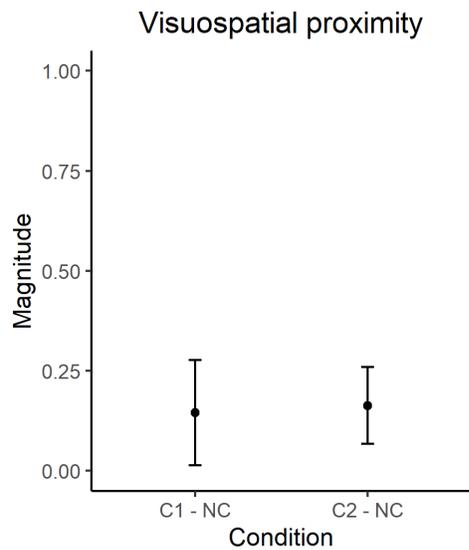
WM AND SIMILARITY

1301 *Magnitude of the difference between the C1 vs. NC and C2 vs. NC conditions across*

1302 *Experiments 1 (semantic relatedness), 2 (phonological similarity) and 3 (visuospatial proximity).*



1303



1304

1305 *Note.* Error bars not including zero indicate a credible difference between the two conditions.

1306

References

- 1307
1308 All the data and codes have been made available on the Open Science Framework:
1309 <https://osf.io/y9xz2/>.
- 1310 Alvarez, G. A. (2011). Representing multiple objects as an ensemble enhances visual cognition.
1311 *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 15(3), 122-131. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2011.01.003>
- 1312 Ariely, D. (2001). Seeing Sets : Representation by Statistical Properties. *Psychological Science*,
1313 12(2), 157-162. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.00327>
- 1314 Baddeley, A. D. (1966). Short-term Memory for Word Sequences as a Function of Acoustic,
1315 Semantic and Formal Similarity. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 18(4),
1316 362-365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14640746608400055>
- 1317 Baddeley, A. D., & Logie, R. H. (1999). Working Memory : The Multiple-Component Model. In
1318 A. Miyake & P. Shah (Éds.), *Models of Working Memory* (1^{re} éd., p. 28-61). Cambridge
1319 University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139174909.005>
- 1320 Baddeley, A. D., Thomson, Neil, & Buchanan, Mary. (1975). Word Length and the Structure of
1321 Short-Term Memory. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 14, 575-589.
- 1322 Baguley, T. (2012). Calculating and graphing within-subject confidence intervals for ANOVA.
1323 *Behavior Research Methods*, 44(1), 158-175. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-011-0123-7>
- 1324 Barrouillet, P., Bernardin, S., & Camos, V. (2004). Time Constraints and Resource Sharing in
1325 Adults' Working Memory Spans. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 133(1),
1326 83-100. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.133.1.83>
- 1327 Barrouillet, P., & Camos, V. (2015). *Working memory : Loss and reconstruction* (Psychology
1328 Press).

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1329 Barrouillet, P., Portrat, S., Vergauwe, E., Diependaele, K., & Camos, V. (2011). Further
1330 evidence for temporal decay in working memory : Reply to Lewandowsky and Oberauer
1331 (2009). *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 37(5),
1332 1302-1317. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022933>
- 1333 Brady, T. F., & Alvarez, G. A. (2011). Hierarchical Encoding in Visual Working Memory.
1334 *Psychological Science*, 22(3), 384-392.
- 1335 Brady, T. F., & Alvarez, G. A. (2015). Contextual effects in visual working memory reveal
1336 hierarchically structured memory representations. *Journal of Vision*, 24.
- 1337 Brady, T. F., Konkle, T., & Alvarez, G. A. (2009). Compression in visual working memory :
1338 Using statistical regularities to form more efficient memory representations. *Journal of*
1339 *Experimental Psychology: General*, 138(4), 487-502. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016797>
- 1340 Brener, R. (1940). An experimental investigation of memory span. *Journal of Experimental*
1341 *Psychology*, 467-482.
- 1342 Bruning, A. L., & Lewis-Peacock, J. A. (2020). Long-term memory guides resource allocation in
1343 working memory. *Scientific Reports*, 10(1), 22161. [https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-79108-1)
1344 [79108-1](https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-020-79108-1)
- 1345 Bunting, M., Cowan, N., & Scott Saults, J. (2006). How does running memory span work?
1346 *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 59(10), 1691-1700.
1347 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470210600848402>
- 1348 Burgess, N., & Hitch, G. J. (1999). Memory for Serial Order : A Network Model of the
1349 Phonological Loop and Its Timing. *Psychological Review*, 106(3), 551-581.

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1350 Camos, V., & Barrouillet, P. (2014). Attentional and non-attentional systems in the maintenance
1351 of verbal information in working memory : The executive and phonological loops.
1352 *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 8. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2014.00900>
- 1353 Chase, W. G., & Simon, H. A. (1973). Perception in chess. *Cognitive Psychology*, 4(1), 55-81.
1354 [https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0285\(73\)90004-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0285(73)90004-2)
- 1355 Chekaf, M., Cowan, N., & Mathy, F. (2016). Chunk formation in immediate memory and how it
1356 relates to data compression. *Cognition*, 155, 96-107.
1357 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2016.05.024>
- 1358 Chen, Q., & Mirman, D. (2012). Competition and cooperation among similar representations :
1359 Toward a unified account of facilitative and inhibitory effects of lexical neighbors.
1360 *Psychological Review*, 119(2), 417-430. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027175>
- 1361 Chen, Z., & Cowan, N. (2005). Chunk Limits and Length Limits in Immediate Recall : A
1362 Reconciliation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*,
1363 31(6), 1235-1249. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.31.6.1235>
- 1364 Cowan, N. (1999). An Embedded-Processes Model of working memory. In *Models of working*
1365 *memory : Mechanisms of active maintenance and executive control* (Cambridge
1366 University Press, p. 62-101).
- 1367 Cowan, N. (2001). The magical number 4 in short-term memory : A reconsideration of mental
1368 storage capacity. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 24(1), 87-114.
1369 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X01003922>
- 1370 Cowan, N. (2005). *Working Memory Capacity* (1st éd.). Psychology Press.

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1371 Cowan, N., Chen, Z., & Rouders, J. N. (2004). Constant Capacity in an Immediate Serial-Recall
1372 Task : A Logical Sequel to Miller (1956). *Psychological Science*, *15*(9), 634-640.
1373 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0956-7976.2004.00732.x>
- 1374 Cowan, N., Day, L., Saults, J. S., Keller, J., Johnson, T., & Flores, L. (1992). The role of verbal
1375 output time in the effects of word length on immediate memory. *Journal of Memory and*
1376 *Language*, *31*(1), 1-17. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-596X\(92\)90002-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-596X(92)90002-F)
- 1377 Cowan, N., Elliott, E. M., Scott Saults, J., Morey, C. C., Mattox, S., Hismjatullina, A., &
1378 Conway, A. R. A. (2005). On the capacity of attention : Its estimation and its role in
1379 working memory and cognitive aptitudes. *Cognitive Psychology*, *51*(1), 42-100.
1380 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cogpsych.2004.12.001>
- 1381 Cowan, N., Saults, J. S., Elliott, E. M., & Moreno, M. V. (2002). Deconfounding Serial Recall.
1382 *Journal of Memory and Language*, *46*(1), 153-177.
1383 <https://doi.org/10.1006/jmla.2001.2805>
- 1384 De Lillo, C. (2004). Imposing structure on a Corsi-type task : Evidence for hierarchical
1385 organisation based on spatial proximity in serial-spatial memory. *Brain and Cognition*,
1386 *55*(3), 415-426. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bandc.2004.02.071>
- 1387 Dell, G. S., Schwartz, M. F., Martin, N., Saffran, E. M., & Gagnon, D. A. (1997). Lexical access
1388 in aphasic and nonaphasic speakers. *Psychological Review*, *104*(4), 801-838.
1389 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.104.4.801>
- 1390 Ecker, U. K. H., Oberauer, K., & Lewandowsky, S. (2014). Working memory updating involves
1391 item-specific removal. *Journal of Memory and Language*, *74*, 1-15.
1392 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2014.03.006>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1393 Engle, R. W., Kane, M. J., & Tuholski, S. W. (1999). Individual differences in working memory
1394 capacity and what they tell us about controlled attention, general fluid intelligence, and
1395 functions of the prefrontal cortex. In *Models of working memory : Mechanisms of active*
1396 *maintenance and executive control* (Cambridge University Press, p. 102-134).
- 1397 Fallon, A. B., Mak, E., Tehan, G., & Daly, Charmaine. (2005). Lexicality and phonological
1398 similarity : A challenge for the retrieval-based account of serial recall? *Memory, 13*(3-4),
1399 349-356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210344000215>
- 1400 Farrell, S. (2012). Temporal clustering and sequencing in short-term memory and episodic
1401 memory. *Psychological Review, 119*(2), 223-271. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027371>
- 1402 Farrell, S., & Lewandowsky, S. (2002). An endogenous distributed model of ordering in serial
1403 recall. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 9*(1), 59-79. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03196257>
- 1404 Farrell, S., & Lewandowsky, S. (2003). Dissimilar items benefit from phonological similarity in
1405 serial recall. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition,*
1406 *29*(5), 838-849. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.29.5.838>
- 1407 Gobet, F., Lane, P., Croker, S., Cheng, P., Jones, G., Oliver, I., & Pine, J. (2001). Chunking
1408 mechanisms in human learning. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 5*(6), 236-243.
1409 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1364-6613\(00\)01662-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1364-6613(00)01662-4)
- 1410 Guérard, K., & Saint-Aubin, J. (2012). Assessing the effect of lexical variables in backward
1411 recall. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 38*(2),
1412 312-324. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025481>
- 1413 Guitard, D., Gabel, A. J., Saint-Aubin, J., Surprenant, A. M., & Neath, I. (2018). Word length,
1414 set size, and lexical factors : Re-examining what causes the word length effect. *Journal of*

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1415 *Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 44(11), 1824-1844.
- 1416 <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000551>
- 1417 Gupta, P., Lipinski, J., & Aktunc, E. (2005). Reexamining the phonological similarity effect in
1418 immediate serial recall : The roles of type of similarity, category cuing, and item recall.
1419 *Memory & Cognition*, 33(6), 1001-1016. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03193208>
- 1420 Haladjian, H. H., & Mathy, F. (2015). A snapshot is all it takes to encode object locations into
1421 spatial memory. *Vision Research*, 107, 133-145.
1422 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.visres.2014.12.014>
- 1423 Henson, R. N. A. (1998). Short-term memory for serial order : The start-end model. *Cognitive*
1424 *Psychology*, 36(2), 73-137.
- 1425 Henson, R. N. A. (1999). Positional information in short-term memory : Relative or absolute?
1426 *Memory & Cognition*, 27(5), 915-927. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03198544>
- 1427 Hofmann, M. J., & Jacobs, A. M. (2014). Interactive activation and competition models and
1428 semantic context : From behavioral to brain data. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral*
1429 *Reviews*, 46, 85-104. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neubiorev.2014.06.011>
- 1430 Huang, L., & Awh, E. (2018). Chunking in working memory via content-free labels. *Scientific*
1431 *Reports*, 8(1), 23. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-017-18157-5>
- 1432 Hulme, C., Roodenrys, S., Schweickert, R., Brown, G. D. A., Martin, S., & Stuart, G. (1997).
1433 Word-Frequency Effects on Short-Term Memory Tasks : Evidence for a Redintegration
1434 Process in Immediate Serial Recall. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning,*
1435 *Memory, and Cognition*, 23(5), 1217-1232.

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1436 Hurlstone, M. J. (2019). Functional similarities and differences between the coding of positional
1437 information in verbal and spatial short-term order memory. *Memory*, 27(2), 147-162.
1438 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2018.1495235>
- 1439 Hurlstone, M. J., & Hitch, G. J. (2015). How is the serial order of a spatial sequence represented?
1440 Insights from transposition latencies. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning,*
1441 *Memory, and Cognition*, 41(2), 295-324. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038223>
- 1442 Ishiguro, S., & Saito, S. (2020). The detrimental effect of semantic similarity in short-term
1443 memory tasks : A meta-regression approach. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*.
1444 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-020-01815-7>
- 1445 Jalbert, A., Saint-Aubin, J., & Tremblay, S. (2008). Short Article : Visual Similarity in Short-
1446 Term Recall for Where and When. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 61(3),
1447 353-360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470210701634537>
- 1448 Jeffreys, H. (1998). *The theory of probability*. Oxford University Press.
- 1449 Jiang, Y. V., Lee, H. J., Asaad, A., & Remington, R. (2016). Similarity effects in visual working
1450 memory. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 23(2), 476-482.
1451 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-015-0905-5>
- 1452 Kowialiewski, B., Gorin, S., & Majerus, S. (2021). Semantic knowledge constrains the
1453 processing of serial order information in working memory. *Journal of Experimental*
1454 *Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0001031>
- 1455 Kowialiewski, B., Lemaire, B., & Portrat, S. (2021). How does semantic knowledge impact
1456 working memory maintenance? Computational and behavioral investigations. *Journal of*
1457 *Memory and Language*, 117(104208). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2020.104208>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1458 Kowialiewski, B., & Majerus, S. (2018). The non-strategic nature of linguistic long-term
1459 memory effects in verbal short-term memory. *Journal of Memory and Language, 101*,
1460 64-83. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2018.03.005>
- 1461 Kowialiewski, B., & Majerus, S. (2020). The varying nature of semantic effects in working
1462 memory. *Cognition, 202*, 104278. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2020.104278>
- 1463 Landauer, T. K., & Dumais, S. T. (1997). A Solution to Plato's Problem : The Latent Semantic
1464 Analysis Theory of Acquisition, Induction, and Representation of Knowledge.
1465 *Psychological Review, 104*(2), 211.
- 1466 Lazartigues, L., Lavigne, F., Aguilar, C., Cowan, N., & Mathy, F. (2021). Benefits and pitfalls of
1467 data compression in visual working memory. *Attention, Perception, & Psychophysics*.
1468 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13414-021-02333-x>
- 1469 Lemaire, B., Pageot, A., Plancher, G., & Portrat, S. (2018). What is the time course of working
1470 memory attentional refreshing? *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 25*(1), 370-385.
1471 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-017-1282-z>
- 1472 Levy, O., Kenett, Y. N., Oxenberg, O., Castro, N., Deyne, S. D., Vitevitch, M. S., & Havlin, S.
1473 (2021). Unveiling the nature of interaction between semantics and phonology in lexical
1474 access based on multilayer networks. *Scientific Reports, 15*.
- 1475 Lewis-Peacock, J. A., Kessler, Y., & Oberauer, K. (2018). The removal of information from
1476 working memory : The removal of information from working memory. *Annals of the New
1477 York Academy of Sciences, 1424*(1), 33-44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nyas.13714>
- 1478 Lin, P.-H., & Luck, S. J. (2009). The Influence of Similarity on Visual Working Memory
1479 Representations. *Visual Cognition, 17*(3), 356-372.

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1480 Logie, R. H. (2011). The Functional Organization and Capacity Limits of Working Memory.
1481 *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 20(4), 240-245.
1482 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721411415340>
- 1483 Lovett, M. C., Reder, L. M., & Lebiere, C. (1999). Modeling working memory in a unified
1484 architecture : An ACT-R perspective. In *Models of working memory : Mechanisms of*
1485 *active maintenance and executive control* (Cambridge University Press, p. 135-182).
- 1486 Magen, H., & Berger-Mandelbaum, A. (2018). Encoding strategies in self-initiated visual
1487 working memory. *Memory & Cognition*, 46(7), 1093-1108.
1488 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-018-0823-7>
- 1489 Magen, H., & Emmanouil, T. A. (2018). Working memory for self-initiated and provided spatial
1490 configurations. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 71(10), 2186-2206.
1491 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1747021817739808>
- 1492 Majerus, S. (2019). Verbal working memory and the phonological buffer : The question of serial
1493 order. *Cortex*, 112, 122-133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cortex.2018.04.016>
- 1494 Martin, N., & Saffran, E. M. (1997). Language and Auditory-verbal Short-term Memory
1495 Impairments : Evidence for Common Underlying Processes. *Cognitive Neuropsychology*,
1496 14(5), 641-682. <https://doi.org/10.1080/026432997381402>
- 1497 Mathôt, S., Schreij, D., & Theeuwes, J. (2012). OpenSesame : An open-source, graphical
1498 experiment builder for the social sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 44(2), 314-324.
1499 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-011-0168-7>
- 1500 Mathy, F., Chekaf, M., & Cowan, N. (2018). Simple and Complex Working Memory Tasks
1501 Allow Similar Benefits of Information Compression. *Journal of Cognition*, 1(1), 31.
1502 <https://doi.org/10.5334/joc.31>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1503 Mathy, F., & Feldman, J. (2012). What's magic about magic numbers? Chunking and data
1504 compression in short-term memory. *Cognition*, *122*(3), 346-362.
1505 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2011.11.003>
- 1506 Miller, G. A. (1956). The magical number seven, plus or minus two : Some limits on our
1507 capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review*, *63*(2), 81-97.
- 1508 Mizrak, E., & Oberauer, K. (2021). *What is time good for in working memory?* [Preprint].
1509 PsyArXiv. <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/ahqwj>
- 1510 Morey, C. C. (2018). Perceptual grouping boosts visual working memory capacity and reduces
1511 effort during retention. *British Journal of Psychology*, *110*(2), 306-327.
- 1512 Morey, C. C., Cong, Y., Zheng, Y., Price, M., & Morey, R. D. (2015). The color-sharing bonus :
1513 Roles of perceptual organization and attentive processes in visual working memory.
1514 *Archives of Scientific Psychology*, *3*(1), 18-29. <https://doi.org/10.1037/arc0000014>
- 1515 Morey, R. D. (2008). Confidence Intervals from Normalized Data : A correction to Cousineau
1516 (2005). *Tutorials in Quantitative Methods for Psychology*, *4*(2), 61-64.
1517 <https://doi.org/10.20982/tqmp.04.2.p061>
- 1518 Morra, S. (2015). How do subvocal rehearsal and general attentional resources contribute to
1519 verbal short-term memory span? *Frontiers in Psychology*, *6*.
1520 <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00145>
- 1521 Nassar, M. R., Helmers, J. C., & Frank, M. J. (2018). Chunking as a rational strategy for lossy
1522 data compression in visual working memory. *Psychological Review*, *125*(4), 486-511.
1523 <https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000101>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1524 Neale, K., & Tehan, G. (2007). Age and redintegration in immediate memory and their
1525 relationship to task difficulty. *Memory & Cognition*, 35(8), 1940-1953.
1526 <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03192927>
- 1527 Neath, I., & Surprenant, A. M. (2019). Set size and long-term memory/lexical effects in
1528 immediate serial recall : Testing the impurity principle. *Memory & Cognition*, 47(3),
1529 455-472. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-018-0883-8>
- 1530 Nee, D. E., & Jonides, J. (2013). Neural evidence for a 3-state model of visual short-term
1531 memory. *NeuroImage*, 74, 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neuroimage.2013.02.019>
- 1532 Norris, D., Butterfield, S., Hall, J., & Page, M. P. A. (2018). Phonological recoding under
1533 articulatory suppression. *Memory & Cognition*, 46(2), 173-180.
1534 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-017-0754-8>
- 1535 Norris, D., & Kalm, K. (2021). Chunking and data compression in verbal short-term memory.
1536 *Cognition*, 208, 104534. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2020.104534>
- 1537 Norris, D., Kalm, K., & Hall, J. (2020). Chunking and redintegration in verbal short-term
1538 memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 46(5),
1539 872-893. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000762>
- 1540 Oberauer, K. (2002). Access to information in working memory : Exploring the focus of
1541 attention. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 28(3),
1542 411-421. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.28.3.411>
- 1543 Oberauer, K. (2003). Understanding serial position curves in short-term recognition and recall.
1544 *Journal of Memory and Language*, 49(4), 469-483. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-596X(03)00080-9)
1545 [596X\(03\)00080-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-596X(03)00080-9)

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1546 Oberauer, K. (2018). Removal of irrelevant information from working memory : Sometimes fast,
1547 sometimes slow, and sometimes not at all: Removal of irrelevant information from
1548 working memory. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1424(1), 239-255.
1549 <https://doi.org/10.1111/nyas.13603>
- 1550 Oberauer, K., Awh, E., & Sutterer, D. W. (2017). The role of long-term memory in a test of
1551 visual working memory : Proactive facilitation but no proactive interference. *Journal of*
1552 *Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 43(1), 1-22.
1553 <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000302>
- 1554 Oberauer, K., Farrell, S., Jarrold, C., & Lewandowsky, S. (2016). What limits working memory
1555 capacity? *Psychological Bulletin*, 142(7), 758-799. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000046>
- 1556 Oberauer, K., & Lewandowsky, S. (2011). Modeling working memory : A computational
1557 implementation of the Time-Based Resource-Sharing theory. *Psychonomic Bulletin &*
1558 *Review*, 18(1), 10-45. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-010-0020-6>
- 1559 Oberauer, K., Lewandowsky, S., Farrell, S., Jarrold, C., & Greaves, M. (2012). Modeling
1560 working memory : An interference model of complex span. *Psychonomic Bulletin &*
1561 *Review*, 19(5), 779-819. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-012-0272-4>
- 1562 Parmentier, F. B. R., & Andrés, P. (2006). The Impact of Path Crossing on Visuo-Spatial Serial
1563 Memory : Encoding or Rehearsal Effect? *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*,
1564 59(11), 1867-1874. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470210600872154>
- 1565 Parmentier, F. B. R., Andrés, P., Elford, G., & Jones, D. M. (2006). Organization of visuo-spatial
1566 serial memory : Interaction of temporal order with spatial and temporal grouping.
1567 *Psychological Research Psychologische Forschung*, 70(3), 200-217.
1568 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00426-004-0212-7>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1569 Parmentier, F. B. R., Elford, G., & Maybery, M. (2005). Transitional Information in Spatial
1570 Serial Memory : Path Characteristics Affect Recall Performance. *Journal of Experimental*
1571 *Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 31(3), 412-427.
1572 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.31.3.412>
- 1573 Peterson, D. J., & Berryhill, M. E. (2013). The Gestalt principle of similarity benefits visual
1574 working memory. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 20(6), 1282-1289.
1575 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13423-013-0460-x>
- 1576 Poirier, M., & Saint-Aubin, J. (1995). Memory for Related and Unrelated Words : Further
1577 Evidence on the Influence of Semantic Factors in Immediate Serial Recall. *The Quarterly*
1578 *Journal of Experimental Psychology Section A*, 48(2), 384-404.
1579 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14640749508401396>
- 1580 Pollack, I., Johnson, L. B., & Knaff, P. R. (1959). Running memory span. *Journal of*
1581 *Experimental Psychology*, 57(3), 137-146. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0046137>
- 1582 Popov, V., & Reder, L. M. (2020). Frequency effects on memory : A resource-limited theory.
1583 *Psychological Review*, 127(1), 1-46. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000161>
- 1584 Portrat, S., Guida, A., Phénix, T., & Lemaire, B. (2016). Promoting the experimental dialogue
1585 between working memory and chunking : Behavioral data and simulation. *Memory &*
1586 *Cognition*, 44(3), 420-434. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-015-0572-9>
- 1587 Quinlan, P. T., & Cohen, D. J. (2012). Grouping and binding in visual short-term memory.
1588 *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 38(5),
1589 1432-1438. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027866>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1590 Ramzaoui, H., & Mathy, F. (2021). A compressibility account of the color-sharing bonus in
1591 working memory. *Attention, Perception, & Psychophysics*.
1592 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13414-020-02231-8>
- 1593 Roodenrys, S., Hulme, C., Lethbridge, A., Hinton, M., & Nimmo, L. M. (2002). Word-frequency
1594 and phonological-neighborhood effects on verbal short-term memory. *Journal of*
1595 *Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 28(6), 1019-1034.
1596 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.28.6.1019>
- 1597 Saint-Aubin, J., & Ouellette, D. (2005). Semantic similarity and immediate serial recall : Is there
1598 an effect on all trials. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 12, 171-177.
- 1599 Saint-Aubin, J., & Poirier, M. (1999). Semantic Similarity and Immediate Serial Recall : Is There
1600 a Detrimental Effect on Order Information? *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental*
1601 *Psychology Section A*, 52(2), 367-394. <https://doi.org/10.1080/713755814>
- 1602 Sanocki, T., & Sulman, N. (2011). Color Relations Increase the Capacity of Visual Short-Term
1603 Memory. *Perception*, 40(6), 635-648. <https://doi.org/10.1068/p6655>
- 1604 Schönbrodt, F. D., Wagenmakers, E.-J., Zehetleitner, M., & Perugini, M. (2017). Sequential
1605 hypothesis testing with Bayes factors : Efficiently testing mean differences.
1606 *Psychological Methods*, 22(2), 322-339. <https://doi.org/10.1037/met0000061>
- 1607 Schweickert, R. (1993). A multinomial processing tree model for degradation and redintegration
1608 in immediate recall. *Memory & Cognition*, 21(2), 168-175.
1609 <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03202729>
- 1610 Siew, C. S. Q., & Vitevitch, M. S. (2016). Spoken word recognition and serial recall of words
1611 from components in the phonological network. *Journal of Experimental Psychology:*
1612 *Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 42(3), 394-410. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000139>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1613 Son, G., Oh, B.-I., Kang, M.-S., & Chong, S. C. (2020). Similarity-based clusters are
1614 representational units of visual working memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology:
1615 Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 46(1), 46-59. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000722>
- 1616 Thalmann, M., Souza, A. S., & Oberauer, K. (2019). How does chunking help working memory?
1617 *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 45(1), 37-55.
1618 <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000578>
- 1619 Tse, C.-S. (2009). The role of associative strength in the semantic relatedness effect on
1620 immediate serial recall. *Memory*, 17(8), 874-891.
1621 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210903376250>
- 1622 Tse, C.-S., Li, Y., & Altarriba, J. (2011). The effect of semantic relatedness on immediate serial
1623 recall and serial recognition. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 64(12),
1624 2425-2437. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470218.2011.604787>
- 1625 Uittenhove, K., Chaabi, L., Camos, V., & Barrouillet, P. (2019). Is working memory storage
1626 intrinsically domain-specific? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 148(11),
1627 2027-2057. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000566>
- 1628 Vergauwe, E., Barrouillet, P., & Camos, V. (2010). Do Mental Processes Share a Domain-
1629 General Resource? *Psychological Science*, 21(3), 384-390.
1630 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610361340>
- 1631 Vergauwe, E., Dewaele, N., Langerock, N., & Barrouillet, P. (2012). Evidence for a central pool
1632 of general resources in working memory. *Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, 24(3),
1633 359-366. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20445911.2011.640625>

WM AND SIMILARITY

- 1634 Visscher, K. M., Kaplan, E., Kahana, M. J., & Sekuler, R. (2007). Auditory Short-Term Memory
1635 Behaves Like Visual Short-Term Memory. *PLoS Biology*, 5(3), e56.
1636 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pbio.0050056>
- 1637 Vitevitch, M. S. (2002). The influence of phonological similarity neighborhoods on speech
1638 production. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*,
1639 28(4), 735-747. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.28.4.735>
- 1640 Vitevitch, M. S. (2008). What Can Graph Theory Tell Us About Word Learning and Lexical
1641 Retrieval? *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, 51(2), 408-422.
1642 [https://doi.org/10.1044/1092-4388\(2008/030\)](https://doi.org/10.1044/1092-4388(2008/030))
1643