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Running Head: EMOTIONAL CONGRUENCY AND FALSE MEMORIES

Discrete emotion-congruent false memories in the DRM paradigm

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Abstract

Research has shown that false memory production is enhanced for material that is emotionally congruent with the mood of the participant at the time of encoding. So far this research has only examined the influence of generic negative affective mood states and generic negative stimuli on false memory production. In addition, much of the research is limited as it focuses on valence and arousal dimensions, and fails to take into account the more comprehensive nature of emotions. The current study demonstrates that this effect goes beyond general negative or positive moods and acts at a more discrete emotional level. Participants underwent a standard emotion induction procedure before listening to negative emotional or neutral associative word lists. The emotions induced, negative word lists and associated non-presented critical lures, were related to either fear or anger, two negative valence emotions that are also both high in arousal. Results showed that when valence and arousal are controlled for, false memories are more likely to be produced for discrete emotionally congruent compared to incongruent materials. These results support spreading activation theories of false remembering and add to our understanding of the adaptive nature of false memory production.

Keywords: false memory; mood congruence; emotion; arousal; valence

23 Discrete emotion-congruent false memories in the DRM paradigm

24

25 Memory is not infallible. Often entire events or specific details of an event are
26 falsely remembered. These false memories can have very detrimental effects. For
27 example, Howe and Malone (2011) recently warned clinical practitioners not only to be
28 aware of the presence of false memories during discussions in therapy, but also of the
29 possibility of inducing new false memories. In their paper the authors demonstrate an
30 increased production in depression relevant false memories within the group of
31 participants with major depressive disorder compared to participants without the
32 disorder. This finding raises an interesting question of whether this congruency effect is
33 also present within typical everyday emotional experiences.

34 There is some literature on mood congruency and false memories. However,
35 this branch of research is still in its infancy. Ruci, Tomes, and Zelenski (2009)
36 investigated the effect of positive and negative valence on spontaneous false memory
37 production for positive, negative, and neutral stimuli. The authors predicted that
38 manipulating both the mood of participants and the emotion of the material would
39 induce a mood congruence effect in memory. The recognition results supported this
40 prediction. That is, false memory production was enhanced for emotional material that
41 matched the emotional state of the participant at encoding. This finding has been
42 replicated by Knott and Thorley (2013) and these authors also showed that mood
43 congruence effects persisted over a one week delay.

44 Although informative, the focus of these studies has been solely on differences in
45 valence, other research has shown that the level of arousal associated with emotions is
46 another important factor that affects memory. In fact, valence and arousal have been
47 shown to have very different effects on false memories. Brainerd, Holliday, Reyna, Yang,
48 and Toglia (2010) measured the effects of arousal and valence when varied orthogonally
49 across materials. False memory rates were found to be higher for low valence and high

50 arousal, however the effects of arousal were only present for negatively valenced
51 material (see also Howe, Candel, Otgaar, Malone, & Wimmer, 2010; Mickley Steinmetz,
52 Addis, & Kensinger, 2010). In contrast, Corson and Verrier (2007) examined the effects
53 of arousal and valence on false memory by inducing a range of discrete emotional states.
54 A temporary mood induction technique was used to induce happiness, serenity, anger,
55 and sadness; chosen to give distinctions between high and low arousal, and positive and
56 negative valence. False memories were measured for neutral stimuli and the results
57 revealed that high arousal led to more false memories, but there was no effect for
58 valence. The authors concluded that higher arousal increased confidence leading to an
59 increase in the number of false memories being reported. This research goes to
60 furthering our understanding of how arousal and valence affect false memory
61 production, however it fails to address any other dimensions of emotion that may also
62 have an effect on false memory production.

63 In a review of the emotion and memory research literature, Levine and Pizarro
64 (2004) argued that it made little sense to limit research to the effects of emotional
65 arousal on memory. That is, people may feel elated, terrified, despairing, or furious –
66 but they are never just “aroused”. Levine and Pizarro highlight the fact that specific
67 emotions are likely adaptive in nature, allowing us to respond appropriately to changes
68 in our environment. Emotions are led by appraisals and these appraisals serve an
69 adaptive purpose by helping people evaluate their environment based on their specific
70 goals and guide appropriate action (Frijda, 1988; Moors, Ellsworth, Scherer, & Frijda,
71 2013). This aspect of emotion cannot be explained in terms of arousal and valence and
72 therefore for a complete understanding of the effects of emotion on false memory we
73 need to look beyond the effects of arousal and valence.

74 In an attempt to highlight the limitation of focussing on valence effects Lerner
75 and Keltner (2000) looked at the effect of fear and anger, two emotions of similar
76 valence, on risk perception. Fear led to more pessimistic decision making while anger

77 led to more optimistic judgements. The results support appraisal theories of emotion
78 and highlight the need to look beyond emotion effects driven by valence. Fear and anger
79 have also been used to demonstrate the effect of discrete emotion on memory,
80 regardless of arousal and valence. In an investigation of emotional arousal and negative
81 affect on memory for peripheral and central details, Talarico, Berntsen, and Rubin
82 (2009) found that although negative affect impaired recall of peripheral details, there
83 were distinct differences in the results for fear and anger. Talarico et al. took a measure
84 of reliving at retrieval and found that this was negatively correlated with peripheral
85 recall for anger but not fear, regardless of the similarities in dimensions between these
86 two emotions.

87 The role of specific emotions, irrespective of arousal and valence effect, on false
88 memories has yet to be studied. However, research has recently shown how important
89 specific emotional states may be in false memory. Although caution is appropriate when
90 generalising from psychopathology to everyday emotional experiences, in a study
91 mentioned earlier, Howe and Malone (2011) showed specific emotion congruent effects
92 for false memories in individuals diagnosed with a major depressive disorder (see also
93 Moritz, Gläscher, & Brassen, 2005). Based on these findings it is important to examine
94 whether specific emotions have a distinct effect on the way people attend to, encode,
95 and retrieve false information that may or may not be congruent to the experienced
96 emotion. To do this we aim to expand up on the work of Ruci et al. (2009) and Knott
97 and Thorley (2013), by manipulating fear and anger, to investigate whether there is a
98 discrete emotion-congruency effect with spontaneous false memories. Fear and anger
99 are dimensionally similar with regards to arousal and valence and therefore allow us to
100 investigate more thoroughly this effect (Russell, 1980).

101 As with many of the experiments mentioned so far, we measured false memories
102 using the Deese/Roediger-McDermott paradigm (DRM; Deese, 1959; Roediger &
103 McDermott, 1995). In the DRM paradigm, participants are presented lists of words (e.g.,

104 *steal, robber, crook...*) that are all semantically related to one non-presented word (e.g.,
105 *thief*), known as the critical lure. The first word in the list will be the highest associate of
106 the critical lure and subsequent words are ordered in decreasing associative strength.
107 When asked to remember the lists participants often falsely remember the critical lure
108 as being present in the original list. In order to further validate the false memories being
109 reported, participants are asked to give a remember-know-guess judgement where
110 'remember' measures the presence of a distinctive recollective experience, 'know'
111 measures a sense of familiarity, and 'guess' measures a level of uncertainty.

112 According to theories of spreading activation (Bower, 1981; Howe, Wimmer,
113 Gagnon, & Plumpton, 2009) we would expect to see an increase in the production of
114 false memories for material that is emotionally congruent to that of the participant. For
115 example, associative-activation theory (AAT) hypothesizes that knowledge is stored in a
116 semantic network and when a concept is activated, this activation spreads to other
117 neighboring concepts. Once activation reaches a certain threshold the source of this
118 activation can be misattributed to the original stimulus producing a false memory.
119 Emotional states contribute to a concept's activation and therefore increase the chances
120 of reaching this critical threshold, a mechanism that not only accounts for previous
121 results (e.g., Knott & Thorley, 2013; Ruci et al., 2009) but is also able to predict the same
122 pattern of congruency effects for discrete emotions. Fuzzy-trace theory (FTT; Brainerd
123 & Reyna, 2002) would also predict such results. FTT theorizes that, as verbatim traces
124 of memory deteriorate, gist traces are retrieved, ones that lead to false recognition of
125 associated material. Congruent mood states are said to increase false memory rates
126 because reliance on gist traces increases with emotion.

127 In the present research, we extend previous research on the emotional
128 congruency effect (Howe & Malone, 2011; Knott & Thorley, 2013; Ruci et al., 2009) by
129 using discrete emotions that are dimensionally similar with regard to arousal and
130 valence. In order to better understand the link between memory and emotion, we need

131 to go beyond a simple examination of the effects of emotional arousal and valence and
132 instead be able to classify to-be-remembered information as emotionally congruent or
133 incongruent with a specific emotional state (e.g., fear, anger).

134

135

Method

136 Participants

137 A total of 83 (25 male and 58 female) A-level students, all aged 18, took part in
138 the experiment, voluntarily. The experiment was conducted at the participants' school,
139 with the approval of the teachers. All participants gave written informed consent and
140 were fully debriefed at the end of the experiment.

141 Design

142 A 3(Emotion: anger vs. fear vs. control) x 3(List: anger, fear, neutral) mixed
143 design was used, with a standard DRM paradigm and recognition memory test. Emotion
144 was the between-participants variable and list type was the within-participant variable.
145 Recognition responses were taken for target words, filler items, and critical lures, along
146 with additional judgements of either remember, know, or guess (R/K/G). Instructions
147 were based on those from Rajaram (1993). Participants were randomly assigned to the
148 anger condition (N = 27), fear condition (N = 28), or control condition (N = 28).

149 Materials, and Procedure

150 Participants in the control group underwent no emotion induction procedure.
151 The two experimental groups, fear and anger, were presented with short film clips from
152 Rottenberg, Ray, and Gross (2007). Anger was induced by showing people a clip from
153 the film "My Bodyguard", in which one male was harassing and bullying another. Fear
154 was induced by showing participants a clip from the movie "The Shining", in which a
155 young boy is troubled and playing in a haunted building. To demonstrate that any
156 differences in memory were not the result of a temporary mood change at retrieval, all
157 participants watched a neutral video clip (from a wildlife documentary) lasting 5

158 minutes prior to retrieval. To monitor emotional states throughout the experiment
159 participants reported levels of valence and arousal through the self-assessment manikin
160 (SAM) questionnaire.

161 A total of six 10-item DRM word lists were presented, two of which were related
162 to fear, two to anger, and two were neutral (see Appendix). Lists were presented in
163 emotion consistent pairings and the list orders for the fear and anger groups were
164 different so that the lists congruent to the participants' emotion always came first. This
165 was done to prevent incongruent lists contaminating the emotional state of the
166 participants at the beginning of encoding. To ensure this choice of list order was not a
167 confounding variable, the different list orders were replicated and counterbalanced
168 within the control group to enable later comparison¹. Lists were created from those
169 used by Stadler, Roediger, and McDermott (1999) and using The University of South
170 Florida word association database (Nelson, McEvoy, & Schreiber, 2004). The six critical
171 lures were *anger, war, fear, danger, earth, and hair*. Backward associative strength
172 (BAS) was controlled across the lists and word frequency for the critical lures was
173 equated across the negative lists, but was slightly higher for the neutral lists. Valence
174 and arousal scores were taken from the Affective norms for English words database
175 (ANEW: Bradley & Lang, 1999) for all available words. For both negative lists, valence
176 was lower than the neutral lists and arousal was higher. Between the negative lists,
177 both valence and arousal were equal. The recognition test contained 42 words. These
178 were made up of the 6 critical lures, 18 "old" words, and 18 "new" words. Old words
179 were those from positions 1, 5, and 10 in each of the 6 presented lists, and new words
180 consisted of 3 emotionally congruent non-presented low associates for each of the
181 critical lures.

182 Participants received a standard set of instructions at the start of the
183 experiment, along with the first SAM questionnaire. Comprehensive instructions were
184 given with the first SAM to avoid confusion later in the task (subsequent SAM

185 questionnaires contained basic instructions). Experimental groups watched one of the
186 short video clips, and completed a SAM questionnaire afterwards. All groups were then
187 presented with the 6 DRM lists in auditory form, with words 2 seconds apart, and 3
188 seconds between lists. Following this the neutral video clip was presented, and again
189 participants' filled out a SAM questionnaire. They then began the recognition test.
190 Standard instructions to indicate old and new words were given, as well as instructions
191 to report if recognition of old words was based on a *remember*, *know*, or *guess*
192 judgement (*remember* meaning they experienced a memory of the word, *know* meaning
193 the word feels familiar but they do not have the explicit memory of it, and *guess* meaning
194 they are just guessing that it was presented). Finally, participants were asked to
195 complete one more SAM questionnaire to ensure there were no lasting effects of the
196 negative emotion induction.

197

198

Results

199 Emotion Manipulation

200 Of the 83 participants, 8 were removed from the analysis as their arousal scores
201 decreased following the emotion induction video and 3 were removed because their
202 valence scores increased following the video. Of the remaining participants 28 were in
203 the control group, 21 in the fear group, and 23 in the anger group. No significant
204 differences were found between the groups for arousal, $F(2, 69) = .51, p = .60$, or
205 valence, $F(2, 69) = 2.93, p = .06$, before the emotion manipulation. However, following
206 the emotion induction the difference between groups for arousal was significant, $F(2,$
207 $69) = 7.14, p < .01$, as was the difference in valence, $F(2, 69) = 16.47, p < .01$. Bonferroni
208 pairwise-comparisons (alpha set at .05) indicated that arousal scores for the fear group
209 ($M = 5.85, SD = 1.62, 95\% CI [5.12, 6.60]$) and anger group ($M = 5.30, SD = 1.64, 95\% CI$
210 $[4.60, 6.01]$) were significantly higher than the control group ($M = 4.21, SD = 1.26, 95\%$
211 $CI [3.73, 4.70]$) following the emotion induction. Valence scores were significantly lower

212 in the fear ($M = 4.80, SD = 1.36, 95\% CI [4.12, 5.43]$) and anger group ($M = 4.52, SD =$
213 $0.67, 95\% CI [4.23, 4.81]$) compared to the control group ($M = 6.39, SD = 1.52, 95\% CI$
214 $[5.80, 6.98]$) following the emotion induction. There were no differences in arousal or
215 valence scores between the two negative emotion groups ($p = .52$ for arousal, and $p = 1$
216 for valence). Finally arousal and valence scores were compared between the groups
217 following the neutral video, before the recognition test. No significant differences were
218 found between the groups in either arousal, $F(2, 69) = 2.30, p = .35$, or valence, $F(2, 69) =$
219 $1.33, p = .49$. Thus, participant's emotions differed only at encoding, and not at retrieval.

220 Recognition Responses

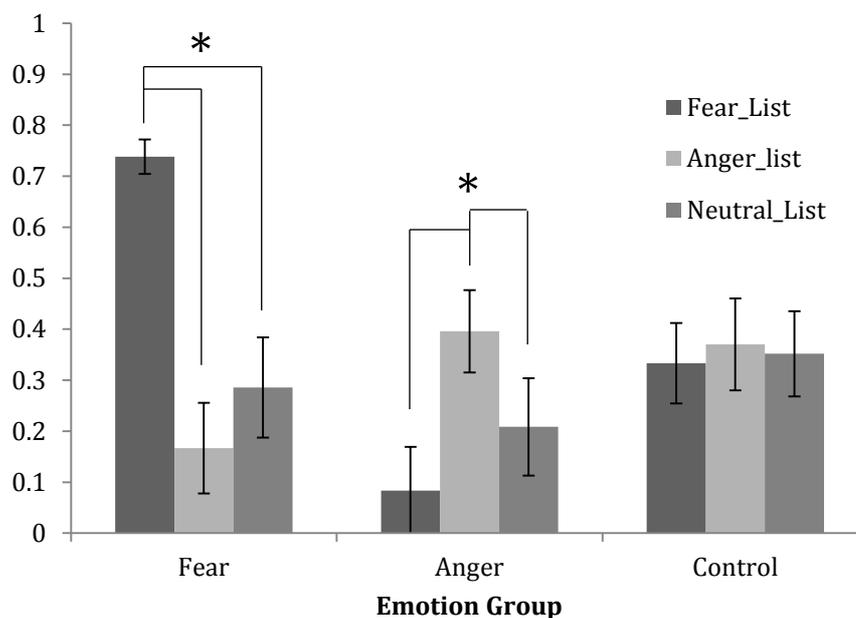
221 Proportion of recognition responses were coded for correct recognition of old
222 words, false recognition of critical lures, and false recognition of filler words. Separate 3
223 (Emotion: fear vs. anger vs. control) x 3 (List: fear vs. anger vs. neutral) ANOVAs were
224 conducted for overall recognition responses for each set of words, one each for
225 *remember* responses, for *know* responses, and for *guess* responses. Prior to analyzing
226 data for all conditions, the responses for the control group were analyzed based on the
227 order in which the lists were presented. No significant differences were found for
228 overall recognition, and *remember* judgements, for all correct recognition and false
229 recognition of critical lures ($p > .05$ in all cases). Thus, we concluded that the order of
230 list presentation is not likely to have had an effect on performance on the memory task.

231 **False recognition of critical lures.** Where critical lures were recognized as
232 being present in the original lists, responses were first analyzed for false recognition,
233 and then separately for whether the recognition was accompanied by remember, know,
234 or guess responses. For all false recognition of critical lures there was no significant
235 main effect for Emotion, $F(2, 69) = .40, p = .70, \eta_p^2 = .01$, but a significant main effect of
236 List $F(2, 138) = 10.00, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$, and a significant interaction effect between List
237 and Emotion $F(4, 138) = 3.83, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .10$. Pairwise comparisons (see Table 1 for
238 means and standard errors) using the Bonferroni correction showed that within the fear

239 group the proportion of recognition of critical lures was significantly higher for fear lists
240 compared to anger lists ($p < .01$) and neutral lists ($p < .01$) and there were no differences
241 between the anger and neutral list ($p = 1.00$). Within the anger group the proportion of
242 false recognition was significantly higher for anger lists compared to neutral lists ($p <$
243 $.05$) but no significant difference was found between the anger and fear lists ($p = .62$) or
244 fear and neutral lists ($p = .33$). Within the control group there were no significant
245 differences between the lists (all p 's $> .05$).

246 For 'remember' false recognition responses (see Figure 1) there was a significant
247 main effect of Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 3.61, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .10$, but no significant effect of List,
248 $F(2, 138) = 2.63, p = .08, \eta_p^2 = .04$. However, there was a significant Emotion x List
249 interaction, $F(4, 138) = 12.45, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .27$. For the fear emotion group, pairwise
250 comparisons revealed that the proportion of remember responses was significantly
251 higher for fear lists than anger lists ($p < .01$) and neutral lists ($p < .01$), but the difference
252 between the anger and neutral lists was not significant ($p = .93$). For participants in the
253 anger group, the proportion of false memories for anger lists was significantly greater
254 than fear lists ($p < .01$) and neutral lists ($p < .05$) but the difference between the fear and
255 neutral lists was not significant ($p = .78$). For the control group there were no
256 significant differences between the lists (all p 's $> .05$).²

257



258

259 **Figure 1. Proportion of false 'remember' responses as a function of emotion group**
 260 **and list emotion (Error bars represent SE) * $p < .05$**

261

262 Participants additionally made know or guess responses to a selection of the
 263 falsely recognized critical lures, however the figures for these categories were very low,
 264 thus reducing the power for any subsequent analyses. For the know judgements the
 265 main effect for List, $F(2, 138) = 1.08, p = .34, \eta_p^2 = .02$, main effect for Emotion, $F(2, 69) =$
 266 $1.3, p = .28, \eta_p^2 = .04$, and the List x Emotion interaction, $F(2, 138) = 2.30, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .06$,
 267 were all non-significant. For guess judgements the main effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 1.37, p$
 268 $= .26, \eta_p^2 = .02$, main effect of Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 1.10, p = .34, \eta_p^2 = .03$, and the Emotion
 269 x List interaction, $F(2, 69) = 1.25, p = .29, \eta_p^2 = .04$, were also non-significant.

270 **True recognition of list items.** For true recognition responses there was a
 271 significant main effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 5.63, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = 0.07$, no significant main
 272 effect of Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 0.84, p = .44, \eta_p^2 = 0.02$, and a significant List x Emotion
 273 interaction, $F(4, 138) = 3.75, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = 0.1$. Pairwise comparisons (see Table 2 for

274 means and standard errors) within the fear group showed that recognition for fear lists
275 was significantly higher than neutral lists ($p < .05$) but not anger lists ($p = 1.00$) and the
276 difference between anger and neutral lists was non-significant ($p = .25$). For the anger
277 group the proportion of correct recognition responses was significantly higher for anger
278 lists compared to fear lists ($p < .01$), but the difference between the anger and neutral
279 lists was non-significant ($p = .48$) as was the difference between neutral and fear lists (p
280 $= .14$). In the control group there were no significant differences (all p 's $> .05$).

281 For *remember* responses to correctly recognized items there was a significant
282 main effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 3.56, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = 0.05$, but not Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 1.02, p$
283 $= .37, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$, and a significant List x Emotion interaction, $F(4, 138) = 6.53, p < .05, \eta_p^2$
284 $= 0.16$. Pairwise comparisons for the fear group and control group revealed no
285 significant differences between lists (all p 's $> .05$). Within the anger group however the
286 remember responses to anger lists were significantly greater than fear lists ($p < .01$),
287 and responses for the fear lists were significantly greater than neutral lists ($p < .05$).
288 The difference between the anger and neutral lists was not significant ($p = .18$).

289 For *know* responses to correctly recognised list items there was a significant
290 effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 4.30, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = 0.06$, but not of Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 1.46, p =$
291 $.24, \eta_p^2 = 0.04$, or the List x Emotion interaction, $F(4, 138) = 1.91, p = .11, \eta_p^2 = 0.05$.

292 Within the fear group pairwise comparisons show that know responses for the fear lists
293 were significantly higher than the neutral lists ($p < .05$). No significant differences were
294 found between the fear and anger lists ($p = .78$) and anger and neutral lists ($p = .21$).
295 Within the anger group and control group there were no significant differences (all p 's $>$
296 $.05$).

297 For *guess* responses there was no significant main effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 0.35,$
298 $p = .70, \eta_p^2 = 0.01$, no main effect of Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 0.13, p = .88, \eta_p^2 = 0.00$, or any List
299 x Emotion interaction, $F(4, 138) = 1.93, p = .11, \eta_p^2 = 0.05$. Within the fear group the

300 guess responses for anger lists were significantly higher than fear lists ($p < .05$) however
301 no other differences were significant (all p 's $> .05$).

302 **False recognition of fillers.** For recognition of filler items there was a
303 significant main effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 35.59, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = 0.34$, but not Emotion, $F(2,$
304 $69) = 0.08, p = .93, \eta_p^2 = 0.00$, or the List x Emotion interaction, $F(4, 138) = 1.32, p = .27,$
305 $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$. Pairwise comparisons (see Table 3 for means and standard errors) within the
306 fear group show that recognition for fear lists was significantly higher than anger lists (p
307 $< .01$) and neutral lists ($p < .01$) but the difference between anger and neutral lists was
308 not significant ($p = .56$). For the anger group the proportion of recognition responses
309 was significantly higher for fear lists compared to neutral lists ($p < .01$), but the
310 difference between the anger and neutral lists was not significant ($p = .06$) nor was the
311 difference between anger and fear lists ($p = .11$). In the control group recognition was
312 significantly higher for fear lists compared to anger lists ($p < .01$) and neutral lists ($p <$
313 $.01$). The difference between the anger and neutral lists was not significant ($p = 1.00$).

314 For *remember* responses there was a significant main effect of List, $F(2, 138) =$
315 $4.17, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = 0.06$, but not Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 1.59, p = .21, \eta^2 = 0.04$, or the List x
316 Emotion interaction, $F(4, 138) = 0.91, p = .46, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$. Pairwise comparisons revealed
317 no significant differences (all p 's $> .05$).

318 For *know* responses there was a significant effect of List, $F(2, 138) = 23.02, p <$
319 $.01, \eta_p^2 = 0.25$, but not Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 0.98, p = .38, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$, or the List x Emotion
320 interaction, $F(4, 138) = 2.43, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = 0.06$. Within the anger group the pairwise
321 comparisons show no significant differences between lists (all p 's $> .05$). Within the fear
322 group the know responses are significantly higher for fear lists compared to neutral ($p <$
323 $.01$) and anger lists ($p < .01$). The difference between the anger and neutral lists was not
324 significant ($p = 1.00$). Within the control group the responses to fear lists were
325 significantly greater than responses to neutral lists ($p < .05$) but no other differences
326 were significant (all p 's $> .05$).

327 For *guess* responses to filler items there was a significant effect of List, $F(2, 138)$
328 = 7.91, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.10$, but not Emotion, $F(2, 69) = 2.98$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.08$, and the List
329 x Emotion interaction was significant, $F(4, 138) = 2.68$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.07$. Within the fear
330 and control group the pairwise comparisons show no significant differences between
331 lists (all p 's $> .05$). For the anger group the guess responses to anger lists were
332 significantly greater than neutral lists ($p < .05$) and the responses to fear lists were
333 significantly greater than neutral lists ($p < .05$). The difference between the anger and
334 fear lists was not significant ($p = 1.00$).

335

336

Discussion

337 The results presented here are the first to demonstrate the specificity of the
338 emotion congruency effect with spontaneous false memories. Participants believed to be
339 experiencing fear or anger falsely 'remembered' significantly more critical lures from
340 the lists for which the content was congruent to their emotional state. Not only does this
341 replicate previous findings of an emotion congruency effect driven by valence (Knott &
342 Thorley, 2013; Ruci et al., 2009), but it extends these findings to reveal that the emotion
343 congruency effect is present for discrete emotions, even when arousal and valence are
344 similar across experimental conditions.

345 This pattern of discrete emotion congruency is consistent with spreading
346 activation theories, such as AAT (Howe et al., 2009) and Bower's (1981) Network
347 Theory of Affect, as well as other theories such as FTT (Brainerd & Reyna, 2002), and
348 appraisal theories of emotion (see Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 2014). According to AAT, we
349 would be more likely to produce false memories related to the emotion we are
350 experiencing due to the heightened activation of the related emotion node in the
351 associative network, which contains both semantic and affective memory structures.
352 Where past research has demonstrated this through activation of general negative
353 emotion nodes, our results show that this associative network activation is much more

354 selective, activating discrete emotion nodes. Our results similarly support FTT, which
355 would posit that the emotional state of the participant at encoding would increase the
356 likelihood of extracting emotion-congruent gist from congruent stimuli, and therefore
357 increase the chances of false retrieval. In addition to theories pertaining to false
358 memory production, theories regarding emotion processing can also provide some
359 explanation for the results found.

360 Specific emotions, such as fear and anger, appear to have a distinctive effect on
361 the way people attend to, encode, and retrieve information. Emotions are believed to be
362 adaptive mechanisms for survival. They can increase the efficiency of reactions to
363 events and optimise the response by biasing cognitive resources toward relevant stimuli
364 in the environment (Clore & Huntsinger, 2007; Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 2014). This
365 biasing effect can subsequently increase activation of concepts, or gist strength.

366 Although previous research has shown this to be the case in the memory accuracy
367 literature, we have shown that this may be the case for false memory production too.

368 As well as emotions being adaptive, Howe (2011) highlights the adaptive nature
369 of false memories, and their role in survival and goal attainment. Research has shown
370 that memory is biased towards survival relevant conditions (Nairne, Thompson, &
371 Pandeirada, 2007; Nairne, 2010). It adapts to encode information that will be most
372 beneficial to the present goals and future survival of the person. The different
373 appraisals and actions associated with different emotions therefore benefits from a
374 memory system that is biased towards information most associated with that specific
375 emotion and subsequently the desired goal. With regards to fear and anger, although
376 both emotions are often associated with similar situations, their adaptive purposes are
377 very different. Fear is considered to provoke avoidance behaviours, where an organism
378 retreats from the stimulus, whereas anger would provoke an approach response, where
379 the organism may attack the stimulus (Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009; Elliot, 2006;
380 Rutherford & Lindell, 2011). Although there may be other dimensions on which fear

381 and anger differ, the approach/avoidance mechanism has clear adaptive value and could
382 account for the findings of this experiment. Although it is important to understand the
383 role of arousal and valence when investigating the effects of emotion, our findings
384 demonstrate the need to go beyond these dimensions to fully understand differences
385 that discrete emotions may have on many cognitive mechanisms.

386 Our results support the assumption that our emotion induction procedure was
387 successful, however there are limitations in the method used. Ethically, we could not
388 induce the same emotional state experienced when being attacked, however, our chosen
389 induction technique has been normed extensively for producing the desired discrete
390 emotions (see Bartolini, 2011; Gross & Levenson, 1995; Rottenberg et al., 2007). Our
391 control condition was that of a no-induction condition, however past research differs in
392 its use of a no-induction condition versus a neutral emotion induction. Although there
393 are advantages to controlling the emotional state of the control participants, our aim
394 here was to compare the results of our negative emotion groups to a true control group.
395 With regards to our emotion groups, when inducing anger it must also be noted that
396 there is often a subsequent induction of disgust. While this may be the case with our
397 chosen film clip it would only be a mild induction and we do not feel it confounds our
398 results. In addition, due to the nature of the stimuli being used we were unable to
399 employ a more comprehensive subjective measure of emotion. The emotion words
400 necessary for any such measure would have confounded the results of the memory test.
401 Nevertheless, analysis of the SAM scales confirmed the appropriate changes in mood
402 following the induction procedures, and the clips used are not known to induce the
403 contrasting emotion.

404 With regards to the DRM lists used we were careful to ensure that none of the
405 words presented had high BAS for the critical lures on the incongruent emotion lists.
406 However, given the nature of fear and anger there may be weak, indirect, associations
407 across lists, whereby words on the anger lists may be associated with words on the fear

408 lists and vice versa. With most typical DRM studies we would expect to see relatively
409 low false recognition rates for filler items. However, our filler items were congruent to
410 each of the lists and therefore not strictly unrelated. We therefore expect to see the
411 same congruency effects, if much weaker, as we do with the critical lures. According to
412 AAT, very weak associates would not normally create a spreading of activation
413 significant enough to produce false memories. However, the congruent emotional
414 experiences would have enhanced these activations, subsequently bringing many to the
415 necessary threshold for false memory production.

416 An alternative explanation for our pattern of results can be found in the
417 response bias literature (REF: Dougal & Rotello, 2007; Windmann & Kutas, 2001).
418 Dougal and Rotello (2007) demonstrated that when semantic density was matched
419 between negative, neutral, and positive stimuli there is no difference in sensitivity or
420 memory accuracy between the three conditions. They did however find a difference in
421 response bias, whereby participants were more liberal in their recognition responses to
422 negative stimuli compared to neutral and positive, regardless of whether the stimuli was
423 old or new. This finding suggests that negative stimuli generally elicits higher
424 proportions of responding, and may therefore cause one to question whether an
425 increased response to negative emotional stimuli is in fact due to a congruent emotion
426 induction or simply an increased bias. However, this prediction can only account for a
427 general increase for negative stimuli. In our experimental manipulation we have two
428 different negative emotions, each with similar levels of valence and arousal, and any
429 increase in recognition rates for negative stimuli within each of our groups is specific to
430 the congruent emotion.

431 The results of this research have implications for clinical settings in which
432 therapists may discuss emotional memories with patients, or therapies aimed at
433 encouraging new positive memories. Research has shown how important specific
434 emotional states may be in false memory. For example, Howe and Malone (2011)

435 showed that the presence of major depressive disorder significantly increased false
436 memory production for depression relevant information. Although caution is
437 appropriate when generalizing from psychopathology to everyday emotional
438 experiences, the current study expands on this finding to show that this highly specific
439 emotion congruency effect is also present outside of the clinical disorder. Those not
440 diagnosed with major depressive disorder are still at risk of producing false memories
441 congruent to the specific negative mood that they experience at encoding.

442 Although further research is required to gain a more complete understanding of
443 the effect of emotion on memory, our results demonstrate that even with a mild
444 laboratory induced emotion false memories for specific emotion-congruent events will
445 lead to an increase in susceptibility and a high production of false memories (see also,
446 Howe et al., 2010; Knott & Thorley, 2013). Although research has shown that arousal
447 and valence have distinct effects on memory production, this study is the first to show
448 that when emotions are similar on both of these dimensions a discrete emotion
449 congruency effect can occur. Future research should endeavor to establish the
450 underlying mechanisms responsible for this effect.

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Appendix

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543 **Stimuli: DRM word lists**

Critical Lure	Neutral		Anger		Fear	
	Earth	Hair	War	Anger	Fear	Danger
	planet	strand	battle	mad	terror	risk
	world	scalp	bomb	frustrate	fright	caution
	globe	lice	fight	hate	anxiety	warning
	ground	conditioner	revolution	rage	afraid	safe
	gravity	comb	nuclear	temper	panic	daring
	environment	headband	missile	fury	scared	trouble
	worm	dandruff	soldier	ire	horror	zone
	heaven	mousse	gun	wrath	monster	fire
	sphere	bald	destruction	fight	scream	accident
	geology	clippers	defeat	hatred	darkness	harmful

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545 BAS for presented words has been checked across list categories. All values are

546 negligible with the exception of "scream" (found in the fear list), which has a BAS of .02

547 with anger. In addition, fear and anger have BAS of .01 and .02.

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Footnotes

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¹ Independent samples t-tests were conducted for all true and false recognition responses, as well as for 'remember' responses, within the control group, to look at the different list orders used. No significant differences in recognition responses to list words were found between participants who received the anger lists first and those who received the fear lists first, all p 's > .1.

² Signal detection analyses (d' and C) did not reveal any patterns that differed from those of the main analysis. These analyses were calculated two different ways: First using fillers unrelated to the lists but matching in emotional content and second using only the neutral unrelated fillers.

562 **Table 1: False recognition responses to critical lures as a function of emotion and list**

	Fear Group				Anger Group				Control Group			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
Overall Recognition												
Fear lists	.93	.04	.85	1.01	.63	.07	.48	.78	.77	.06	.64	.89
Anger lists	.57	.08	.42	.77	.78	.07	.62	.90	.61	.07	.46	.75
Neutral lists	.53	.09	.34	.71	.48	.08	.31	.64	.61	.06	.47	.74
Remember												
Fear lists	.74	.07	.58	.89	.09	.05	-.02	.19	.36	.07	.21	.51
Anger lists	.17	.07	.02	.32	.39	.05	.28	.50	.39	.08	.23	.55
Neutral lists	.29	.08	.12	.46	.20	.07	.05	.34	.36	.06	.23	.48
Know												
Fear lists	.12	.05	.02	.22	.30	.06	.18	.43	.25	.05	.14	.36
Anger lists	.21	.07	.08	.35	.24	.07	.10	.38	.09	.04	.01	.16
Neutral lists	.12	.05	.02	.22	.15	.07	.01	.29	.21	.05	.12	.31
Guess												
Fear lists	.07	.04	-.01	.15	.24	.08	.08	.40	.16	.05	.05	.27
Anger lists	.19	.08	.02	.36	.15	.06	.03	.27	.13	.04	.04	.21
Neutral lists	.12	.06	.00	.24	.13	.05	.03	.23	.04	.02	-.02	.09

563 **Table 2: Recognition responses to target items as a function of emotion and list**

	Fear Group				Anger Group				Control Group			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
Overall Recognition												
Fear lists	.60	.05	.50	.70	.38	.04	.30	.45	.56	.05	.46	.65
Anger lists	.57	.05	.45	.68	.66	.06	.51	.76	.61	.05	.51	.70
Neutral lists	.42	.06	.30	.54	.50	.05	.40	.61	.52	.04	.44	.60
Remember												
Fear lists	.44	.05	.33	.56	.14	.03	.08	.20	.36	.05	.25	.47
Anger lists	.37	.06	.24	.49	.49	.04	.39	.58	.38	.05	.28	.47
Neutral lists	.33	.06	.21	.46	.33	.05	.24	.43	.35	.03	.28	.42
Know												
Fear lists	.13	.03	.06	.19	.15	.04	.08	.23	.12	.03	.06	.18
Anger lists	.09	.02	.04	.14	.10	.03	.04	.17	.18	.04	.11	.26
Neutral lists	.03	.01	.00	.06	.10	.02	.06	.14	.09	.03	.03	.15
Guess												
Fear lists	.03	.01	.00	.06	.09	.03	.03	.14	.08	.02	.03	.13
Anger lists	.11	.04	.03	.19	.07	.02	.03	.11	.05	.02	.01	.09
Neutral lists	.06	.02	.01	.11	.07	.02	.03	.11	.08	.02	.04	.11

564 **Table 3: Recognition responses to filler items as a function of emotion and list**

	Fear Group				Anger Group				Control Group			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>		<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	
			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>			<i>LL</i>	<i>UL</i>
Overall Recognition												
Fear lists	.34	.06	.22	.46	.28	.05	.21	.40	.36	.06	.25	.48
Anger lists	.15	.04	.05	.23	.20	.05	.10	.29	.11	.03	.06	.17
Neutral lists	.07	.03	.01	.14	.05	.03	.01	.12	.12	.03	.05	.20
Remember												
Fear lists	.08	.02	.03	.13	.07	.02	.02	.11	.11	.03	.04	.18
Anger lists	.09	.04	.01	.16	.01	.01	-.01	.04	.04	.01	.01	.07
Neutral lists	.04	.03	-.01	.09	.02	.02	-.02	.07	.04	.02	.01	.08
Know												
Fear lists	.18	.04	.10	.27	.08	.03	.02	.14	.14	.04	.06	.21
Anger lists	.02	.01	-.01	.04	.04	.02	.01	.08	.04	.02	.01	.08
Neutral lists	.01	.01	-.01	.02	.01	.01	-.01	.04	.04	.02	.01	.08
Guess												
Fear lists	.08	.02	.03	.13	.13	.03	.07	.19	.11	.03	.05	.17
Anger lists	.04	.02	.01	.07	.15	.05	.06	.25	.03	.01	.00	.06
Neutral lists	.02	.02	-.01	.06	.02	.01	.00	.05	.04	.02	.00	.08

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