

1 Intrusive Memories and Voluntary Memory of a Trauma Film: Differential Effects of a
2 Cognitive Interference Task After Encoding

3

4 Alex Lau-Zhu^{a,b}, Richard N. Henson^a, Emily A. Holmes^{a,c}

5

6 ^aMedical Research Council Cognition and Brain Sciences Unit, School of Clinical Medicine,
7 University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK

8 ^bSocial, Genetic and Developmental Psychiatry Centre, Institute of Psychiatry, Psychology
9 and Neuroscience, King's College London, London, UK

10 ^cDepartment of Psychology, Uppsala University, Sweden

11

12 Word count: 17589

13

14 Author Note

15 Alex Lau-Zhu, Richard N. Henson and Emily A. Holmes, Medical Research Council
16 Cognition and Brain Sciences Unit, School of Clinical Medicine, University of Cambridge,
17 Cambridge, United Kingdom.

18 Alex Lau-Zhu is now at Social, Genetic and Developmental Psychiatry Centre, Institute
19 of Psychiatry, Psychology and Neuroscience, King's College London, London, United

20 Kingdom (UK). Emily A. Holmes is now at Department of Psychology, Uppsala University,
21 Sweden.

22 Alex Lau-Zhu was supported by a Cambridge International Scholarship awarded by
23 The Cambridge Commonwealth, European and International Trust. Richard N. Henson is
24 supported by the UK Medical Research Council (MRC) intramural programme (SUAG/010
25 RG91365). Emily A. Holmes was supported by the UK MRC intramural programme (MC-
26 A060-5PR50). Funding to pay the Open Access publication charges for this article are
27 provided by the MRC.

28 We are grateful to Brian Levine who shared the protocol of the Autobiographical
29 Interview for the recall task in Experiment 1; Elze Landkroon who provided inter-rater
30 ratings of the recall task; Colin McLeod and Ben Grafton who advised on the dot-probe task
31 in Experiment 2; Joni Holmes who advised on the vigilance-intrusion task design in
32 Experiment 3; David Hayes who built the tapping keyboard in Experiment 3; Peter Watson
33 who provided statistical advice in Experiment 3; Ella James who provided inter-rater ratings
34 of the intrusion diaries in Experiments 1-3; and Lalitha Iyadurai who provided assistance in
35 coding diary cues in Experiments 1-2. We are also grateful for the British Film Institute
36 National Archives, LyleBailie International, Kino International, and David Large at the Royal
37 College of Surgeons of Edinburgh for use of film clips as part of our materials.

38 Data appearing in the manuscript were part of Dr Alex Lau-Zhu's doctoral dissertation,
39 and have previously been presented in oral presentations at the following conferences: British
40 Association of Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapies (BABCP) Annual Conference
41 2017, UK; European Association of Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapies Annual
42 Conference 2016, Sweden; International Conference of Memory 2016, Hungary; Cambridge
43 Memory Meeting 2015, UK; and in poster presentations at the following conferences: MQ

44 Mental Health Science Meeting 2019, UK; Scientific Meeting at the Royal Society: Of Mice
45 and Mental Health: Facilitating Dialogue between Basic and Clinical Neuroscientists 2017,
46 UK; Travelling in Time Conference 2016, Denmark; BABCP Annual Conference 2015, UK.

47 Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. Alex Lau-Zhu, Social, Genetic and
48 Developmental Psychiatry Centre, Institute of Psychiatry, Psychology and Neuroscience,
49 King's College London, De Crespigny Park (P080), London SE5 8AF, UK, email:
50 alex.lauzhu@kcl.ac.uk.

51

52 Abstract

53 Methods to reduce intrusive memories (e.g., of traumatic events) should ideally spare
54 voluntary memory for the same event (e.g., to report on the event in court). Single-trace
55 memory accounts assume that interfering with a trace should impact both its involuntary and
56 voluntary expressions, whereas separate-trace accounts assume these two can dissociate,
57 allowing for *selective* interference. This possibility was investigated in three experiments.
58 Nonclinical participants viewed a trauma film followed by an interference task (Tetris game-
59 play after reminder cues). Next, memory for the film was assessed with various measures.
60 The interference task reduced the number of intrusive memories (diary-based, Experiments 1-
61 2), but spared performance on well-matched measures of voluntary retrieval – free recall
62 (Experiment 1) and recognition (Experiments 1-2) – challenging single-trace accounts. The
63 interference task did not affect other measures of involuntary retrieval – perceptual priming
64 (Experiment 1) or attentional bias (Experiment 2). However, the interference task did reduce
65 the number of intrusive memories in a laboratory-based vigilance-intrusion task (Experiments
66 2-3), irrespective of concurrent working-memory load during intrusion retrieval (Experiment
67 3). Collectively, results reveal a robust dissociation between intrusive and voluntary
68 memories, having ruled out key methodological differences between how these two memory
69 expressions are assessed, namely cue overlap (Experiment 1), attentional capture (Experiment
70 2) and retrieval load (Experiment 3). We argue that the inability of these retrieval factors to
71 explain the selective interference is more compatible with separate-trace than single-trace
72 accounts. Further theoretical developments are needed to account for this clinically-important
73 distinction between intrusive memories and their voluntary counterpart.

74 *Keywords:* intrusive memories, involuntary memory, mental imagery, post-traumatic
75 stress disorder, consolidation.

76 Intrusive Memories and Voluntary Memory of a Trauma Film: Differential Effects of a
77 Cognitive Interference Task after Encoding

78 Intrusive memories of a traumatic event, or more simply ‘intrusions’, comprise the core
79 clinical feature of acute stress disorder (ASD) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)
80 (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th ed., or DSM–5; American
81 Psychiatric Association, or APA, 2013). For example, after a road traffic accident, one may
82 experience intrusive visual images of a red car zooming towards oneself, accompanied by
83 disabling fear. The intrusive nature of these emotional memories entails them springing to
84 mind *involuntarily* (APA, 2013), that is, ‘popping’ to awareness unbidden. In contrast,
85 voluntary retrieval of a trauma involves deliberate attempts to remember the event (Berntsen,
86 2009; Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). Established evidence-based clinical interventions
87 for PTSD, such as trauma-focused cognitive-behavioural therapy (National Collaborating
88 Centre for Mental Health, 2005), help to reduce the occurrence of *intrusive* memories of
89 trauma; however, they do not seek to ‘erase’ all memories of the trauma (Holmes, Sandberg,
90 & Iyadurai, 2010). That is, psychological treatments should ideally preserve voluntary access
91 to recollections of the trauma so that the patient can discuss their trauma when required. For
92 example, a trauma victim may be asked to report on the event for legal reasons; a journalist
93 may need to conjure up details of traumatic events to pitch a news story; a firefighter may
94 wish to reflect on a trauma for future safety even if they may not wish the event to intrude.
95 Thus, the impacts of successful therapy are selective – they may alter some aspects of
96 memory but not others.

97 Experimental psychopathology findings suggest that the impact of a cognitive
98 intervention on different types of memory of an emotional episode can indeed be selective:
99 the occurrence of intrusive memories can be altered while leaving voluntary memory

100 seemingly intact. A series of experiments have shown that, *after* viewing a trauma film,
101 engaging in certain interference tasks (e.g., performing a cognitive task such as Tetris game-
102 play after a film reminder cue) reduces the number of intrusive memories of the film (diary-
103 based measure), but has no detectable effect on voluntary memory of the same film (as
104 indexed in all of the following studies by spared performance on recognition memory:
105 Deeprose, Zhang, Dejong, Dalgleish, & Holmes, 2012; Holmes, James, Coode-Bate, &
106 Deeprose, 2009; Holmes, James, Kilford, & Deeprose, 2010; James et al., 2015). This
107 *selective interference effect* on intrusive (involuntary) memory – but not voluntary memory –
108 has been shown across at least 11 experiments using trauma films (Bourne, Frasquilho, Roth,
109 & Holmes, 2010: Experiment 1; Brewin & Saunders, 2001; Deeprose et al., 2012:
110 Experiment 2; Holmes, Brewin, & Hennessy, 2004: Experiments 1-3; Holmes et al., 2009;
111 Holmes, James, et al., 2010: Experiments 1-2; James et al., 2015; Krans, Näring, Holmes, &
112 Becker, 2010). Interestingly, intrusive and voluntary memory of a trauma film can also be
113 differentially modulated other psychological (Hagenaars & Arntz, 2012; Jobson & Dalgleish,
114 2014; Krans, Näring, Holmes, & Becker, 2009; D. G. Pearson, Ross, & Webster, 2012) and
115 pharmacological procedures (Bisby, Brewin, Leitz, & Curran, 2009; Das et al., 2016;
116 Hawkins & Cogle, 2013).

117 Further experiments have sought to determine the boundary conditions of the
118 interference effects on intrusive memories. Cognitive interference tasks that are visuospatial
119 (e.g., complex finger tapping or the computer game ‘Tetris’) are claimed to be more effective
120 than verbal tasks (e.g., counting backwards or the computer game ‘Pub Quiz’) in reducing
121 intrusion rates (see Brewin, 2014, for a review), although there are some exceptions (cf.
122 Hagenaars, Holmes, Klaassen, & Elzinga, 2017; Krans, Langner, Reinecke, & Pearson,
123 2013). A modality-specific hypothesis has been proposed, which postulates that sufficiently
124 demanding visuospatial (but not verbal) tasks would preferentially disrupt the visual imagery

125 that underlines later visual-based intrusions (Brewin, 2014; Holmes et al., 2004; Holmes,
126 James, et al., 2010). Nevertheless, an alternative line of enquiry suggests that the important
127 factor is general working-memory (WM) load and not modality, which deserves further
128 exploration (Engelhard, Van Uijen, & Van den Hout, 2010; Gunter & Bodner, 2008; Van den
129 Hout & Engelhard, 2012). In this paper, however, we will restrict ourselves to a visuospatial
130 task – the computer game ‘Tetris’ (Lau-Zhu, Holmes, Butterfield, & Holmes, 2017) – which
131 has been used successfully in many of the aforementioned studies in generating the
132 interference effect.

133 The interference effect on subsequent intrusions of the film occurs when the cognitive
134 task is performed both *during* (Bourne et al., 2010; Holmes et al., 2004; Krans et al., 2010)
135 and *after* the trauma film, including minutes to hours after (Deeprise et a., 2012; Holmes et
136 al., 2009; Holmes, James et al., 2010), and even one to four days after (James et al., 2015;
137 Hagenaars et al., 2017). In the latter case at longer time intervals, the interference effect is
138 conditional on a the cognitive task being preceded by a reminder cue, which is presumably
139 needed to reactivate the memory trace such that it is labile and can be disrupted (Visser, Lau-
140 Zhu, Henson, & Holmes, 2018). The necessity of the reminder cue at shorter time intervals
141 (after the film) is unclear, though has typically been included in the aforementioned studies.
142 Beyond films with traumatic content, intrusive memories can also be induced by films with
143 overly-positive (Davies, Malik, Pictet, Blackwell, & Holmes, 2012) or depression-linked
144 material (Lang, Moulds, & Holmes, 2009). Such intrusions can be modulated by interference
145 procedures too (Davies et al., 2012), suggesting that the mechanisms apply to emotional
146 memories more broadly. Nonetheless, a pivotal issue remains unresolved from the last two
147 decades of trauma film research: how can such interference tasks selectively reduce the
148 number of intrusions while leaving voluntary memory intact?

149 The distinction between intrusive (involuntary) memories and their voluntary
150 counterparts is intriguing, because it is rarely considered by conventional memory theories. A
151 widely-agreed dichotomy is between declarative versus non-declarative memory *systems*
152 (Squire, 1992; Squire & Zola, 1996), with declarative memory often subdivided into episodic
153 versus semantic memory (Tulving, 1972, 2002). Consistent with this the declarative/non-
154 declarative dichotomy, existing research on emotional memory has shown that non-
155 declarative memory, for example, the startle response to fear-eliciting stimuli, can be
156 modulated by a pharmacological manipulation whilst leaving declarative memories intact, as
157 indexed for instance by self-reported fear or learnt contingencies for receiving a shock
158 (Kindt, Soeter, & Vervliet, 2009; Soeter & Kindt, 2010, 2012, 2015; for a recent review see
159 Visser et al. 2018). Yet because both intrusive and voluntary memories of traumatic material
160 entail retrieval of verbalisable information about the same episode, both would normally be
161 associated with a declarative/episodic memory system (Berntsen, 2009; Rubin, Boals, &
162 Berntsen, 2008; Tulving, 1972, 2002). We call such accounts ‘single-trace’ theories.

163 Note that another common dichotomy is between explicit versus implicit memory
164 (Schacter, 1987, 1992), which refers to differences in *awareness* – the phenomenological
165 experience of retrieving an memory (regardless of intention). Because intrusions and
166 voluntary retrievals are both experienced consciously, both would also normally be
167 considered examples of explicit memory. However, an alternative class of theories assumes
168 that intrusions and voluntary memories arise from different memory systems (Bisby &
169 Burgess, 2017; Brewin, 2014; Brewin, Dalgleish, & Joseph, 1996; Brewin, Gregory, Lipton,
170 & Burgess, 2010; Jacobs & Nadel, 1998), some of which were inspired by other theories
171 proposing independent systems for processing of imagery-based and non-imagery-based
172 information (e.g., Brown & Kulik, 1977; Johnson & Multhaup, 1992; Paivio, 1971). We call
173 these ‘separate-trace’ theories.

174 Below, we first expand on key single-trace and separate-trace accounts and their
175 predictions regarding selective interference effects. We then elaborate on key methodological
176 (retrieval-based) differences that might have confounded prior comparisons of intrusions
177 versus voluntary retrieval. Finally, we introduce how the present series of experiments
178 address these methodological issues, and therefore inform the theoretical debate about this
179 clinically-important interference effect.

180 **Discrepancy between Intrusive (Involuntary) and Voluntary Memory: Theoretical** 181 **Perspectives**

182 **Single-trace theories.** These theories are mostly drawn from the literature on episodic
183 and autobiographical memories, with the underlying assumption that both involuntary and
184 voluntary memories are derived from the same memory system, differing in how those
185 memories are retrieved based only on differences in retrieval *intention* (Richardson-Klavehn
186 & Bjork, 1988) or possibly retrieval *mode* (Tulving & Thomson, 1973). A prominent view,
187 based on the standard consolidation theory (Squire & Zola-Morgan, 1991), posits that
188 episodic/declarative memories are initially encoded in the hippocampus and then gradually
189 consolidate into the neocortex over hours or days (McGaugh, 2000, 2004). This broad
190 system-level view is largely silent on the distinction between intrusive and other forms of
191 episodic memory, and thus would assume that interfering with an episodic trace (through
192 post-encoding interference) should impact both intrusive and voluntary memories.

193 The same assumption is echoed by key theories on autobiographical memory, which
194 either propose a self-memory system (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000) with a specialized
195 storage for rich sensory-perceptual details (Conway, 2001), or portray involuntary memory as
196 a ‘basic mode of remembering’ (Berntsen, 1996, 1998, 2009, 2010; Berntsen & Rubin, 2013;
197 Rubin et al., 2008; Staugaard & Berntsen, 2014). Both theories agree that involuntary and

198 voluntary memories operate on the same memory system, sharing encoding and consolidation
199 processes, but differing only in retrieval mechanisms. Thus, these theories would also predict
200 that interfering with an episodic trace (through post-encoding interference) should impact
201 both intrusive and voluntary memories.

202 **Separate-trace theories.** Alternative perspectives raise the possibility that more than
203 one memory trace underlies intrusive and voluntary memory. Such multi-representational
204 approaches are prevalent in the clinical literature on information-processing in PTSD
205 (Dalgleish, 2004; for a review), and have a long tradition in cognitive psychology (e.g.,
206 Brown & Kulik, 1977; Johnson & Multhaup, 1992; Paivio, 1971).

207 One such influential account is dual representation theory (Brewin, 2014; Brewin et al.,
208 1996), which proposes that two traces are formed at the time of trauma: verbally-accessible
209 memory (VAM) consisting of representations of the trauma that are integrated with the wider
210 autobiographical memory system; and situationally-accessible memory (SAM) consisting
211 primarily of sensory and affective components that are not integrated in this system. More
212 recent developments of the dual representation theory propose that intrusive memories are
213 supported by a specialized, long-term perceptual memory system supporting autobiographical
214 experiences, which can be only accessed automatically and is separate from the episodic
215 memory system (Brewin, 2014). To support this, Brewin (2014) also draws on the notion that
216 (conscious) re-experiencing symptoms in PTSD result partly from enhanced perceptual
217 priming of trauma stimuli (Ehlers & Clark, 2000), which is a form of *implicit* (unconscious)
218 memory arising from a non-declarative memory system (Schacter, 1992). In terms of neural
219 circuitry, intrusive memory representations are believed to result from associations between
220 processing in the insula (internal representations of emotional states) and the dorsal visual
221 stream (sensory representations), via the potentiated amygdala functioning after stress

222 exposure alongside weakened hippocampal activity (Bisby & Burgess, 2017; Brewin et al.,
223 2010). In sum, separate-trace accounts – such as dual representation theory – permit a
224 dissociation between intrusive/involuntary (e.g., SAM; long-term perceptual representations
225 linked to priming) and voluntary memories of trauma (e.g., VAM; ordinary episodic
226 representations).

227 **Discrepancy between Intrusive (Involuntary) and Voluntary Memory: Methodological** 228 **Considerations**

229 To explain an interference effect that is selective to intrusions, single-trace theories
230 need to assume different *retrieval* processes underlying intrusions and voluntary memories.
231 To demonstrate this, it is important to control for other differences in the way intrusions and
232 voluntary memories are assessed, beyond the involuntary-voluntary dichotomy (the so-called
233 *retrieval intentionality criterion*, Schacter, Bowers, & Booker, 1989). The previous trauma-
234 film studies demonstrating selective interference have failed to consider the methodological
235 differences that are inherent to most commonly-used measures of intrusions (e.g., diaries)
236 versus voluntary memory (e.g., recognition tasks). Thus, the main aim of the present study
237 was to improve methodology by better matching the types of measures of memory, with the
238 possibility that interference effects (putatively on consolidation of the memory trace) would
239 then no longer dissociate involuntary from voluntary memory, supporting the hypothesis that
240 interference affects the same underlying trace as assumed by single-trace accounts. However,
241 if the selective interference on intrusions still occurs when controlling for differences in
242 retrieval factors across measures, then separate-trace theories would seem more likely than
243 single-trace theories.

244 Informed by foundational memory theories (Baddeley, Eysenck, & Anderson, 2009),
245 as well as prominent accounts on involuntary autobiographical memory (Berntsen, 2009), we

246 have identified differences between intrusion diaries and recognition tasks in three key
 247 aspects in the retrieval context or retrieval factors (see Figure 1), which could explain the
 248 *interference effect* (i.e., the apparent intrusion/recognition dissociation due to interference
 249 tasks found in trauma-film studies). Baddeley and colleagues (2009) presented seven
 250 ‘textbook’ retrieval principles, three of which we considered in our study, namely retrieval
 251 mode (i.e., retrieval intention), cue-target strength (i.e., cue overlap), attention to cues (i.e., a
 252 combination of attentional capture and retrieval load). These principles also broadly overlap
 253 with those considered important for involuntary memories as postulated by Berntsen (2009),
 254 namely retrieval intention, external cues, and attentional factors (cue saliency and diffuse
 255 attentional state). We expand on these below.

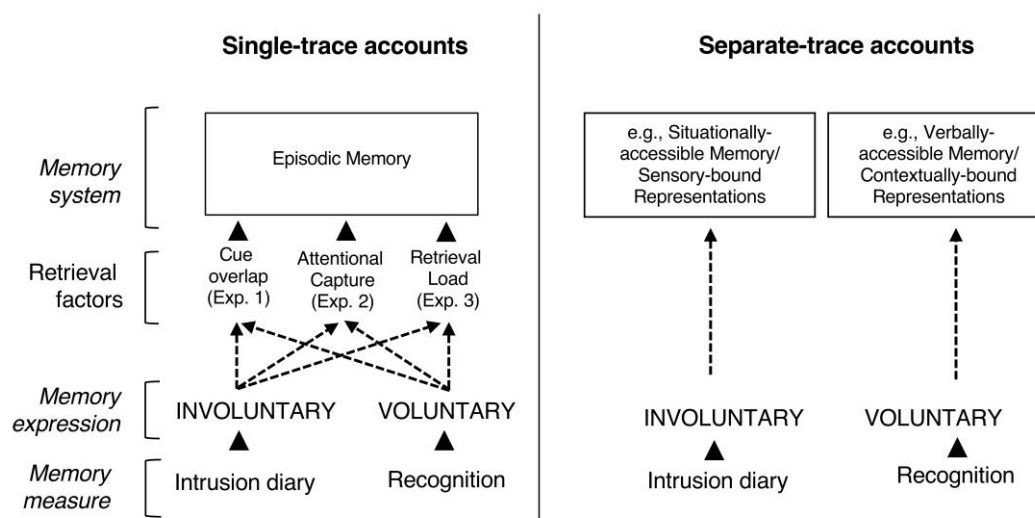


Figure 1. Schematic overview of single-trace versus separate-trace accounts of intrusive and voluntary memory. The relationships between memory measure, memory expression and memory systems are fleshed out in the text for each type of account. Our series of experiments aimed to rule out three key retrieval factors informed by single-trace accounts in three experiments. Examples of separate-trace accounts: *based on Brewin, Dalgleish & Joseph (1998); Brewin, Gregory, Lipton & Burgess (2010); Brewin (2014); Bisby & Burgess (2017).

256 **Cue overlap.** This retrieval factor refers to the overlap between information presented
257 at retrieval (e.g., retrieval cues) and information presented at encoding (Baddeley et al.,
258 2009). It is established that the greater the retrieval-encoding overlap, the greater the chance
259 of retrieving the full memory (Tulving & Thomson, 1973). A recognition task typically asks
260 participants to distinguish old items that they encountered previously from new items that
261 they did not. The *old* items can be ‘copy cues’, such as stills from the trauma film (James et
262 al., 2015; James, Lau-Zhu, Tickle, Horsch, & Holmes, 2016). In contrast, ‘copy cues’ are
263 absent in the diary measure.

264 Some may argue that intrusions can be triggered by incidental cues in everyday life
265 (Berntsen, 2009; Conway, 2001; Michael, Ehlers, Halligan, & Clark, 2005) – for example,
266 when passing a red car in the street that resembles the one that was seen to crash in a trauma
267 film – but these cues are unlikely to perfectly match visual elements of the original film like
268 ‘copy cues’. The high cue-overlap in an experimental recognition task is arguably more
269 effective at aiding access to visual memories than the low cue-overlap in everyday cues that
270 prompt intrusions. If so, recognition tasks could be more robust to weakening of a memory
271 trace, removing any effect of interference, and resulting in an interference effect that appears
272 selective to the intrusion diary.

273 **Attentional capture.** This retrieval factor refers to the extent that initial exogenous
274 attention is given to potential retrieval cues (Baddeley et al., 2009). Attention to
275 relevant/salient sensory cues is considered to be a prominent retrieval route (Cabeza,
276 Ciaramelli, Olson, & Moscovitch, 2008). The autobiographical memory literature also
277 supports the notion that salient cues (e.g., due to motivational factors such as worries and
278 everyday concerns) raise the probability of involuntary memories coming to mind (Berntsen,
279 2009).

280 In typical recognition tasks, attention is initially focused on the ‘external’ retrieval cues
281 as per instructions. In contrast, one could argue that in everyday life (e.g., diary measure), the
282 initial focus of attention is rarely on potential cues; one is instead focusing on another task at
283 hand. Such initially-unattended cues, however, may subsequently capture attention, and then
284 increase the likelihood of cue-elicited intrusions. The interference task may reduce intrusion
285 likelihood by disrupting the extent of such attentional capture. Thus, it is at least conceivable
286 that such a disruption of attentional capture is irrelevant to tasks in which attention is already
287 oriented to cues (e.g., ‘no’ attentional capture in recognition tasks, hence apparent spared
288 performance), but is more apparent when cues are initially unattended (e.g., as assumed for
289 the diary intrusions).

290 **Retrieval load.** This retrieval factor refers to the amount of cognitive resources
291 available during retrieval to support the activation of the memory trace (Baddeley et al.,
292 2009), including goal-directed retrieval (Cabeza et al., 2008; Conway & Pleydell-Pearce,
293 2000). The more resources available, the more these can be dedicated for memory activation.
294 For example, resources in working memory (WM) appear to be help form and maintain
295 mental imagery (Baddeley & Andrade, 2000). Further, diffuse attentional states (e.g., low
296 task demands leaving cognitive resources available) can promote involuntary recollections
297 (Ball, 2007; Barzykowski & Niedźwieńska, 2018; Berntsen, 2009; Schlagman &
298 Kvavilashvili, 2008; Vannucci, Pelagatti, Hanczakowski, Mazzoni, & Paccani, 2015).

299 One could argue that tasks assessing for recognition memory ‘consume’ cognitive
300 resources, especially if retrieval involves recollection (Yonelinas, 2002). In contrast, intrusive
301 imagery-based memories might be more likely to be reported in the diary when relatively
302 more WM resources are available (because task demands are low). Hence, variations in the
303 strength of a memory trace might be more apparent in retrieval contexts that encourage

304 (intrusive) memory activation in the first place (e.g., presumably in ‘low’ retrieval load in the
305 diary), which in turn could more sensitive to reveal interference effects. In contrast, such
306 variations might be less apparent in retrieval contexts that leave fewer resources for memory
307 activation (e.g., presumably ‘high’ retrieval load in recognition tasks).

308 **Overview of Experiments**

309 In the present series of experiments, we addressed the above three retrieval factors,
310 which may have confounded previous comparisons of involuntary versus voluntary memory
311 for traumatic film material. Figure 2 provides an overview of the procedure across
312 experiments. In all experiments, participants watched a film with traumatic content, and then
313 after a short delay, one group received film reminder cues followed by ‘interference’, that is,
314 Tetris game-play (*reminder-plus-Tetris* group). The second (control) group received the film
315 reminder cues but then sat quietly (*reminder-only* group). In line with previous studies
316 (Deepröse et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010), we chose a 30-min
317 delay between encoding and interference, as this is thought to fall within the time window of
318 memory consolidation (up to 6 h post-encoding; Nader, Schafe, & Le Doux, 2000), in which
319 the memory is hypothesized to remain labile after encoding. Relevant to clinical translation, a
320 30-min delay is also considered reasonable time after an event to allow someone to be
321 reached by post-accident and emergency interventions in the United Kingdom (National
322 Audit Office, 2017) and the United States (Carr et al., 2009).

323 Memory for the trauma film was then assessed by a battery of memory tasks, which
324 were administered at two timepoints (see Figure 2): soon after the interference task within the
325 same first session (Experiments 2-3) and/or a week later at follow-up (Experiments 1-2). The
326 combination of these memory tasks was designed to address key methodological differences
327 in retrieval factors (mainly cue overlap, attentional capture, and retrieval load) between the

328 intrusion diary (measure of involuntary memory) and typical recognition memory tasks
 329 (measure of voluntary memory), as we explain in more detail later for each experiment.

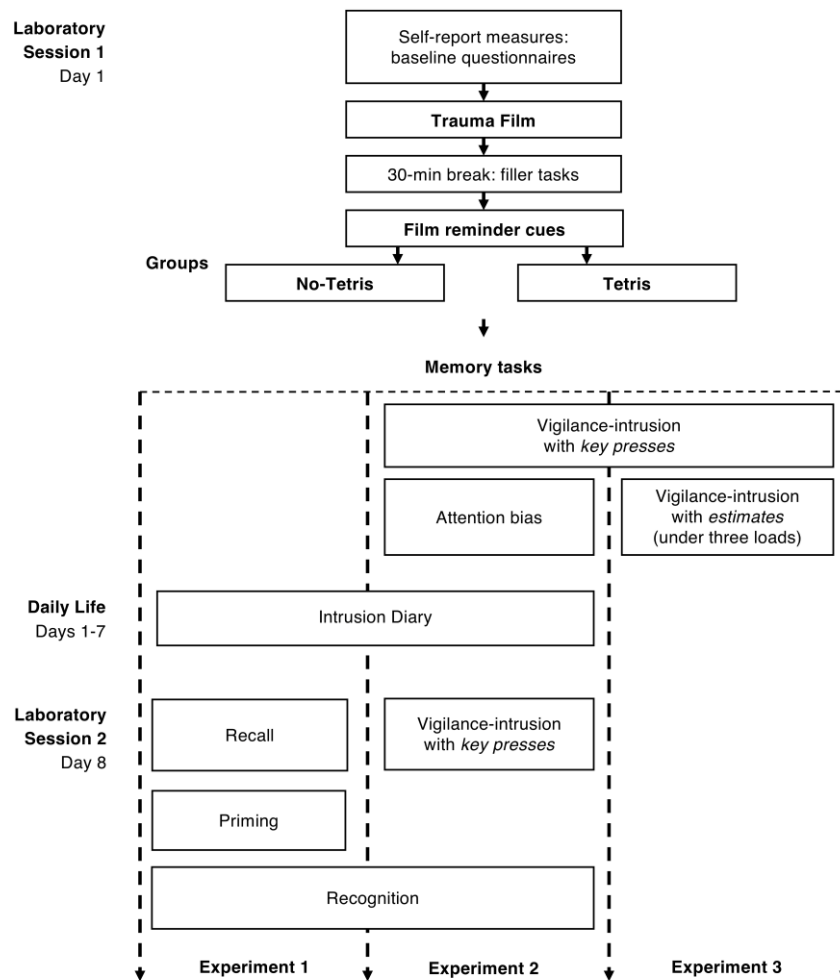


Figure 2. Schematic overview of the experimental procedures, highlighting the similarities and differences between memory measures across the current three experiments. Experiment 3 included an additional group that is not depicted (Tetris-only; without film reminder cues).

330 Overall, we predicted fewer intrusions in the reminder-plus-Tetris group than the
 331 reminder-only group, but no difference between groups on recognition memory (Experiments

332 1-2). If some of the other new memory measures revealed an interference effect (in addition
333 to the intrusion diary), then this would help isolate those retrieval factors that are important to
334 allow for an apparent selective interference on intrusions (Figure 1). For example, finding
335 that an interference task *does* affect voluntary memory when there is low cue-overlap (e.g.,
336 free-recall task in Experiment 1) would furthermore support single-trace accounts, which
337 assume that the selectivity of interference arises at the time of retrieval (i.e., a matter of
338 differential sensitivity to accessing the trace, which is removed once key retrieval factors are
339 controlled for). Moreover, establishing that the size of the interference effect on
340 intrusive/involuntary memory vary – depending on specific retrieval contexts – would also
341 point towards retrieval factors that can produce an apparent selective interference on
342 intrusions, assuming that measures of voluntary memory are unmatched to measures of
343 intrusive/involuntary memory in such factors. If, however, an obvious retrieval factor cannot
344 be identified that differentiates the memory measures (other than voluntary vs. involuntary),
345 then the results would be more consistent with separate-trace theories, in which post-
346 encoding interference is allowed to affect one memory system but not the other.

347

348 **Experiment 1: Cue Overlap**

349 The first aim of Experiment 1 was to replicate the pattern of selective interference on
350 intrusive memory while sparing recognition memory (Deeprise et al., 2012; Holmes et al.,
351 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010; James et al., 2015). The second aim was to test whether
352 differences found between intrusions versus recognition genuinely reflected a distinction
353 between involuntary versus voluntary retrieval (retrieval intention), rather than simply the
354 effect of having higher cue-overlap in the recognition task (Tulving & Thomson, 1973) than
355 in the diary. We tested this by factorially crossing retrieval intention with degree of cue

356 overlap. This two-by-two factorial design was completed by adding two new memory
357 measures of the film: free recall and perceptual priming (see Methods for details). While the
358 diary can be considered as an *involuntary* measure with *low* cue-overlap, recognition memory
359 can be considered as a *voluntary* measure with *high* cue-overlap; free recall can be considered
360 example of a *voluntary* measure (like recognition) but with *low* cue-overlap (like the diary),
361 while priming can be considered as example of an *involuntary* measure (like the diary) but
362 with *high* cue-overlap (like recognition). Each participant completed all four measures of
363 memory.

364 **Hypotheses**

365 We predicted that the reminder-plus-Tetris group would have significantly fewer diary
366 intrusions (summed across Days 1-7) compared to the reminder-only (control) group, but
367 there would be no significant group differences on recognition performance (Day 8). If this
368 were found, then two following alternative hypotheses were investigated. If the
369 intrusion/recognition dissociation reflects methodological differences in cue overlap, then the
370 reminder-plus-Tetris group (compared to the reminder-only group) would also show reduced
371 voluntary memory in the context of low cue-overlap (lack of ‘copy cues’), that is, reduced
372 performance on free recall. Alternatively, if the intrusion/recognition dissociation reflects a
373 genuine distinction between involuntary and voluntary memory, then we predicted that the
374 reminder-plus-Tetris group (compared to the reminder-only group) would also show reduced
375 involuntary memory even with high cue-overlap, that is, reduced degree of priming.

376 **Method**

377 **Participants.** Forty-six participants (28 females, mean age = 27.64, *SD* = 6.95, range =
378 19 to 49, 23 per group) were recruited from the Medical Research Council Cognition and

379 Brain Sciences Unit Volunteers Panel (see Supplemental Materials). Eligibility criteria were:
380 a) aged 18 to 65, b) reported no history of mental health, neurological or psychiatric illness,
381 c) not participated in related studies, d) able to attend two laboratory sessions one week apart,
382 and e) willing to complete a pen-and-paper diary. Participants provided their written and
383 informed consent prior to the study, after being informed of the potentially distressing nature
384 of the film. They were also reminded that they could withdraw from the study at any point.
385 Approval for all experiments was obtained from the University of Cambridge Psychology
386 Research Ethics Committee (2014/3214). Based on an effect size of $d = .91$ from Holmes et
387 al. (2009), 23 participants per group allowed for more than 80% probability of detecting a
388 significant group difference on diary intrusions ($\alpha = .05$, two-tailed).

389 **Materials.**

390 *Trauma film.* This was a 12-minute film using multiple (rather than single) clips. It
391 comprised 11 different discrete scenes depicting injuries, violence and death, and each with
392 unique topic content (same as that used in Holmes et al., 2009; James et al., 2015). The scene
393 clips were from sources such as government road traffic safety adverts, documentary footage
394 and news footage. The content included, for example, scenes of an elephant on a rampage, a
395 man injuring himself by cutting his throat, and an eye operation. These clips have been used
396 previously in both behavioural (Deepröse et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2009; James et al.,
397 2015) and neuroimaging studies (Bourne, Mackay, & Holmes, 2013; Clark, Holmes,
398 Woolrich, & Mackay, 2016; Reiser et al., 2014) to successfully generate intrusions (see
399 Supplemental Materials). The film was played via E-Prime version 2.0 (Schneider, Eschman,
400 & Zuccolotto, 2002) and viewed on a desktop screen (size: 32 cm × 40 cm; resolution: 1280 ×
401 1024 pixels; distance: 100 cm approximately from the screen). Audio was played from
402 headphones.

403 ***Cognitive interference task: film reminder cues plus Tetris.***

404 *Film reminder cues.* These comprised 11 stills – one from each of the discrete scenes
405 from the film – presented one at a time against a black background for 3 sec using E-Prime
406 version 2.0 (Schneider et al., 2002). These stills typically depicted the instance before the
407 ‘worst moments’, which have been clinically associated with intrusive memories (Ehlers,
408 Hackmann, & Michael, 2004). These included, for example, a picture of a circus (before the
409 elephant escapes and goes on a rampage) and a smiling teenager (just before he was hit by a
410 van while being distracted by texting). Participants were instructed to ‘sit still and pay close
411 attention to the pictures’. The stills were presented in the same fixed order as the
412 corresponding scenes within the film.

413 *Tetris.* A desktop-based version of Tetris (Blue Planet Software, 2007) was used. This
414 computer game used seven 2D geometric blocks of different shape and colour, which fall
415 from the top of the screen, one at a time. Each block can be rotated 90 degrees at a time using
416 the arrow keys on the computer keyboard. The game’s objective was to form full horizontal
417 lines using the blocks without leaving any gaps; points were awarded each time a full line
418 was completed. To encourage the use of mental rotation (Iyadurai, Blackwell, et al., 2018;
419 James et al., 2015; Lau-Zhu et al., 2017), participants were instructed to pay attention to the
420 three blocks appearing in the preview at the top right of the screen, which were due to fall
421 after the one being played. They were told to use their mind’s eye to work out the best way to
422 manipulate and place the blocks to achieve a line. The game was adaptive with individual’s
423 performance (i.e. becoming more difficult as participants’ scores increased). Tetris was
424 played in ‘marathon’ mode (with 15 levels) and with the sound off. We did not collect data
425 on performance – ways to measure performance are limited in the scoring constraints of this
426 commercial game (e.g., scoring is not linear and there are scoring rules, such as for certain

427 pieces, which are hard to interpret). However, note that higher Tetris scores in this game have
428 been associated with fewer intrusions (James et al., 2015) and higher visuospatial WM
429 capacity (Lau-Zhu et al., 2017).

430 ***Filler tasks.*** This 30-min structured break consisted of performing a knowledge search
431 task twice, separated by a music filler task (as used in Deeptose et al., 2012; Holmes et al.,
432 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010). See Supplemental Materials for further details.

433 ***Self-report measures.*** Baseline measures assessed for depressive symptoms (Beck,
434 Steer, & Brown, 1996), trait anxiety (Spielberger, Gorsuch, Lushene, Vagg, & Jacobs, 1983),
435 prior trauma history (Foa, Ehlers, Clark, Tolin, & Orsillo, 1999), and general use of mental
436 imagery (Nelis, Holmes, Griffith, & Raes, 2014). Additional manipulation checks with self-
437 reported ratings were performed in line with our previous work (e.g., James et al., 2015;
438 James, Lau-Zhu, Tickle, et al., 2016), to assess negative mood before and after watching the
439 film, the amount of attention paid to the film and personal reference of the film, compliance
440 with completing the diary and expectation on task manipulation. See Supplemental Materials
441 for further details on these measures.

442 **Measures of memory of the trauma film.** These varied in retrieval intention
443 (involuntary vs. voluntary retrieval) and degree of cue overlap (high vs. low). All (i.e., except
444 the diary) were presented using MATLAB R2009a (The MathWorks Inc., 2009) and
445 Psychtoolbox (Brainard, 1997).

446 ***Intrusion diary.*** In a pen-and-paper tabular diary (Deeptose et al., 2012; Holmes et al.,
447 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010; James et al., 2015), participants were asked to note down
448 their intrusions over a one-week period after film viewing. Both verbal and written
449 instructions were given on how to complete the diary. An intrusive memory was defined as

450 ‘visual images, sounds and bodily sensations related to the film’ and that ‘pop into mind
451 without one expecting it’; such images could range from ‘fuzzy and fragmented’ to ‘vivid and
452 as clear as normal vision’. They were told not to include memories of the film that were
453 retrieved deliberately. The diary was split by days, and within each day into three time
454 periods (morning, afternoon and evening). Participants were instructed to keep the diary with
455 them, and note down the intrusion (in a tick box) as soon as it occurred within the
456 corresponding period, and also any associated trigger cues they could have identified. For
457 each intrusion, they wrote down a brief description (e.g., an image of the eye operation) that
458 was later used to verify whether the intrusion was indeed from the film or not. Participants
459 were also asked to set aside regular times for each period to review the diary and encouraged
460 to note down ‘0’ if no intrusions occurred in that period. The main outcome was the total
461 count of intrusive image-based memories. As intrusion rates on individual days are typically
462 low, our main outcome was the total number of intrusive image-based memories summed
463 across a one-week period (Deepröse et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2004, 2009; James, Lau-Zhu,
464 Clark, et al., 2016). This measure was deemed to index involuntary retrieval with low cue-
465 overlap (i.e., relative to recognition and priming tasks).

466 ***Free-recall task.*** The instructions and the scoring system from the Autobiographical
467 Interview (AI; Levine et al., 2002) were adapted to free recall of the trauma film (see
468 Supplemental Materials for further details). The AI has been shown to have high inter-rater
469 reliability (0.88 to 0.96) for scoring autobiographical memories, real-life traumatic memories
470 in PTSD (McKinnon et al., 2014), and memories of non-trauma film footage (St-Laurent,
471 Moscovitch, Jadd, & McAndrews, 2014). Detailed written instructions were presented on the
472 screen to guide recall and participants were instructed to verbalize their responses using tape
473 recorder. There were two recall phases. First (free recall), participants were instructed to
474 retrieve as many details as possible from the film; they were told to recall the clips in any

475 order and were allowed a 10-min period. No additional retrieval cues were given at this stage.
476 Afterwards (specific probing), participants were given cue phrases for each of the 11 scenes
477 in a randomized fixed order, and were allowed a 2-min period for each scene to retrieve
478 additional details.

479 Verbalizations were subsequently transcribed and followed a process of text
480 segmentation into details – meaningful units of information (Levine et al., 2002). Non-
481 episodic content was not counted, such as general opinions and comments in relation to other
482 events (e.g., ‘these things shouldn’t happen to people’). Accurate episodic details were
483 identified, meaning details that pertained directly to what actually took place in the film (St-
484 Laurent et al., 2014), and further categorized into either *event* or *perceptual* details. The main
485 outcome was the total number of episodic details. This task was deemed to index voluntary
486 retrieval with low cue-overlap (relative to recognition and priming).

487 **Priming task.** The stimuli set consisted of two sets of 90 stills (different to the stills
488 used as film reminder cues). One set contained stills drawn from the trauma film; another set
489 contained foil stills selected based on similarity to the film stills in content and themes (i.e.,
490 death and injury). Each still was split along the midline, producing two ‘still-halves’ (for a
491 schematic see Figure 3; see Supplemental Materials for further details). In a given trial, two
492 still-halves were presented simultaneously. These still-halves, when put together, could either
493 recompose into the same original still (75% of trials – ‘match’ response), or be from
494 completely unrelated stills (25% of trials – ‘mismatch’ response). Participants were asked to
495 judge whether the two still-halves were a ‘match’ or a ‘mismatch’. There were 144 trials.
496 Pairings of still-halves for each trial were fixed, and the order of the trials was randomized.

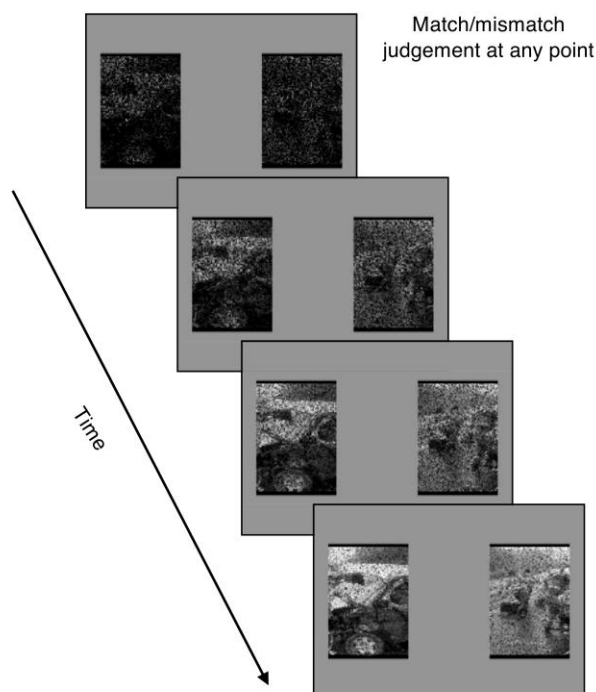


Figure 3. Schematic of a trial in the priming task in Experiment 1. Participants were presented with still-halves and were asked to judge whether or not both halves ‘matched’ – that is, whether both halves belonged to the same original still. The still-halves were initially covered by salt-and-pepper noise (black and white pixels superimposed on the still), and became progressively clearer over 6 sec, as 20% of the noise pixels were removed every 1250 msec. The fully revealed still-halves remained on screen for up to 2 sec further. Participants could make a response at any point in these 8 sec (either with some noise or fully clear), with the trial terminating upon a response. This figure is for illustration and thus not to scale. Stimuli in the actual experiment were in colour (not black-and-white).

497 Each trial started with a fixation cross in the middle of a grey screen for 2 sec, followed
 498 by the still-halves. A continuous identification paradigm was applied (Berry, Shanks, &
 499 Henson, 2008): the still-halves were initially covered by salt-and-pepper noise (black and
 500 white pixels superimposed on the still), and then became progressively clearer over 6 sec, as
 501 20% of the noise pixels were removed every 1250 msec. The fully revealed still-halves
 502 remained on screen for up to 2 sec further. Participants could make a response at any point in
 503 these 8 sec (either with some noise or fully clear), with the trial terminating upon a response.

504 We reasoned that reaction time (RT) to still-halves would be faster (i.e., decisions made
505 at higher levels of noise) for trials with stills of the trauma film than trials with foil stills. This
506 would occur even though no reference was made to prior exposure to films (i.e., participants
507 would show perceptual priming), rendering this task an indirect measure that is unlikely to
508 involve voluntary retrieval (Richardson-Klavehn & Bjork, 1988). The main outcome was RT
509 for accurate trials. This task was deemed to index involuntary retrieval with high cue-overlap
510 (akin to recognition).

511 **Recognition task.** This task used the same two still sets as in the priming task. There
512 were 180 trials. In each, a still was presented for up to 5 sec and participants were asked to
513 judge whether or not (yes/no response) each still belonged to the trauma film, as fast and as
514 accurately as possible. After each still, participants were also asked to provide a confidence
515 rating for each response made using a scale from 1 (pure guess) to 4 (extremely confident)
516 within 5 sec, with the trial ending upon a response. Trial order was randomized across
517 participants. This measure was deemed to index voluntary retrieval with high cue-overlap.

518 **Procedure.**

519 **Session 1.** See Figure 2 for schematic overview. On Day 1, after providing written and
520 informed consent, participants completed baseline self-report measures and practiced playing
521 Tetris for 3 min. Afterwards, they completed mood ratings prior to watching the film. They
522 then watched the film alone; they were asked to imagine they were bystanders witnessing the
523 scenes. Following film viewing, they completed mood ratings again, and additional ratings on
524 attention to film and personal relevance of the film. All participants then had a 30-min break
525 completing filler tasks.

526 After the break, participants were randomly allocated to one of two groups. Participants
527 in the ‘reminder-plus-Tetris’ group performed the interference task with both components:
528 they were shown the film reminder cues, and then played Tetris for 10 min. Participants in
529 the ‘reminder-only’ group were given the film reminder cues and then asked to sit quietly for
530 10 min. Trauma film, film reminder cues and Tetris were all presented on the same desktop
531 screen. At the end of the session, participants were given detailed verbal and written
532 instructions on completing the diary.

533 **Session 2.** At the follow-up session a week later (Day 8), participants returned the
534 diaries and then completed computer-based memory tasks (on same screen as in session 1) in
535 the following fixed order: recall (free recall and specific probing), priming and recognition.
536 They then completed ratings on demand and diary compliance. Finally, they were debriefed
537 and reimbursed for their participation.

538 **Statistical analyses.** Data were examined for potential univariate outliers within each
539 condition ($>3 SD$ from the mean; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996) following previous studies
540 using similar paradigms (e.g., Deeprose et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2004), but none were
541 found. For the relevant memory tasks, performance above chance was assessed using one-
542 sample *t*-tests. Between-group comparisons were conducted using independent sample *t*-tests,
543 with homogeneity of variance assessed using Levene’s statistic. Analyses of variance
544 (ANOVA) with repeated measures were used when both within-group and between-group
545 variables were included (i.e., for group comparisons between memory tasks/timepoints), with
546 sphericity assumptions assessed using the Mauchly’s test statistic. If assumptions of
547 parametric tests were violated, corresponding non-parametric tests were applied. When
548 patterns of results converged across tests, only results from the parametric tests were
549 reported. A two-tailed alpha level of .05 was used unless stated otherwise. When indicated,

550 we also used a Bayesian approach to check whether there was sufficient evidence to support
551 the null – the absence of group differences (see Supplemental Materials). Analyses were
552 performed using SPSS version 25.0 (IBM Corp., 2013).

553 **Results**

554 Groups also did not significantly differ in any baseline measures, mood ratings or task
555 manipulation checks (see Supplemental Materials). Below we first present group effects
556 within each memory task and then across tasks.

557 **Effects of the cognitive interference task on each memory task.**

558 *Intrusion diary (Days 1 to 7)*. All diaries were checked and rated for the numbers of
559 intrusive memories by two researchers independently. Interclass correlations (two-way mixed
560 effects model, consistency, single measure; McGraw & Wong, 1996) was 1.00, suggesting
561 full agreement. Eighty-seven percent of reported intrusive memories were matched to scenes
562 of the film, suggesting the majority were of the experimental trauma (others were excluded
563 from further analysis). Overall, the mean number of intrusions was 4.15 ($SD = 3.31$; range =
564 0-14), similar to previous studies (Deepröse et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2009; James, Lau-
565 Zhu, Tickle, et al., 2016). Further, the majority of intrusions (80.1%) were reported to be
566 associated with cues in everyday life (see Supplemental Materials). Critically and as
567 predicted, the reminder-plus-Tetris group reported significantly fewer intrusive memories
568 over the week compared to the reminder-only group, $t(44) = 3.29$, $p = .002$, $d = .97$, 95% CI
569 of d [0.34, 1.56] (Table 1 & Figure 4).

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations by Group for Outcomes in Measures of Memory of the Trauma Film in Experiment 1

	Reminder-plus-Tetris		Reminder-only	
	<i>(n = 23)</i>		<i>(n = 23)</i>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>(SD)</i>
Intrusion diary				
Number of intrusions over one week*	2.70	(2.53)	5.61	(3.41)
Recognition task				
Hits	69.17	(9.79)	70.83	(7.66)
FA	24.17	(14.27)	25.43	(8.18)
Priming task				
Film trials RT (sec)	4.14	(0.74)	3.98	(0.77)
Foil trials RT (sec)	4.28	(0.77)	4.08	(0.77)
Recall task				
FR: event details	57.91	(29.24)	50.39	(24.98)
FR: perceptual details	7.91	(6.40)	8.96	(8.88)
SP: event details	96.78	(34.78)	94.30	(35.62)
SP: perceptual details	20.04	(14.96)	24.70	(17.07)

Note. FA = false alarm; RT = reaction times; FR = free recall; SP = specific probing. ^aThis is also reported in *Figure 4*, but repeated here to comparability across the four memory measures.

570 **Recognition task (Day 8).** Each trial was classified as a hit (correct identification of
571 film still), miss (incorrect identified of film still), false alarm (FA; incorrect identification of
572 foil still) or correct rejection (CR; correct identification of foil still) (Table 1). Recognition
573 accuracy score for each participant was calculated by subtracting the FA rate (FA/[FA+CR])
574 from the hit rate (hit/[hit+miss]). Positive accuracy scores indicated that memory

575 performance was above chance, which was the case for both groups, $t(22)$'s > 20.03 , p 's $<$
576 $.001$, d 's > 4.17 (Figure 4). However, there was no significant group difference in recognition
577 accuracy, $t(44) = 0.05$, $p = .959$, $d < .01$, 95% CI of d [-0.58, 0.58]. Also see Supplemental
578 Materials.

579 **Priming task (Day 8).** A priming index was calculated for each participant by
580 subtracting the mean RT for film trials from the mean RT for foil trials across 'match' and
581 'mismatch' trials (see Table 1). Positive priming scores would indicate that film stills were
582 more quickly and correctly identified than foil stills, which was the case in both groups,
583 $t(22)$'s > 2.83 , p 's $< .05$, d 's $> .59$, suggesting that perceptual priming occurred (Figure 4).
584 Critically, there was no significant group difference in the degree of priming, $t(44) = 0.81$, p
585 $= .420$, $d = .22$, 95% CI of d [-0.80, 0.36].

586 **Free-recall task (Day 8).** All individual scripts were scored based on the procedure
587 adapted from the original AI (Levine et al., 2002). A subsample of 22% of these scripts (10
588 out of 46) was selected at random and re-scored by another researcher. Interclass correlations
589 (two-way mixed effects model, consistency, single measures; McGraw & Wong, 1996) for
590 the free recall stage were 0.96 for event details, 0.69 for perceptual details and 0.97 for both
591 combined, and for the specific probing stage were 0.90 for event details, 0.90 for perceptual
592 details and 0.88 for both combined. Therefore, almost all coding showed excellent agreement,
593 while coding for perceptual details during free recall showed good agreement (Cicchetti,
594 1994). There was no significant group difference in the total number of episodic details
595 (event and perceptual) during *free* recall, $t(44) = 0.67$, $p = .510$, $d = .20$, 95% CI of d [-0.77,
596 0.39] (Figure 4). There were also no significant group differences if the analyses were
597 conducted separately on event and perceptual details, t 's < 1 , or by including additional
598 details prompted by specific probing, t 's < 1 (Table 1).

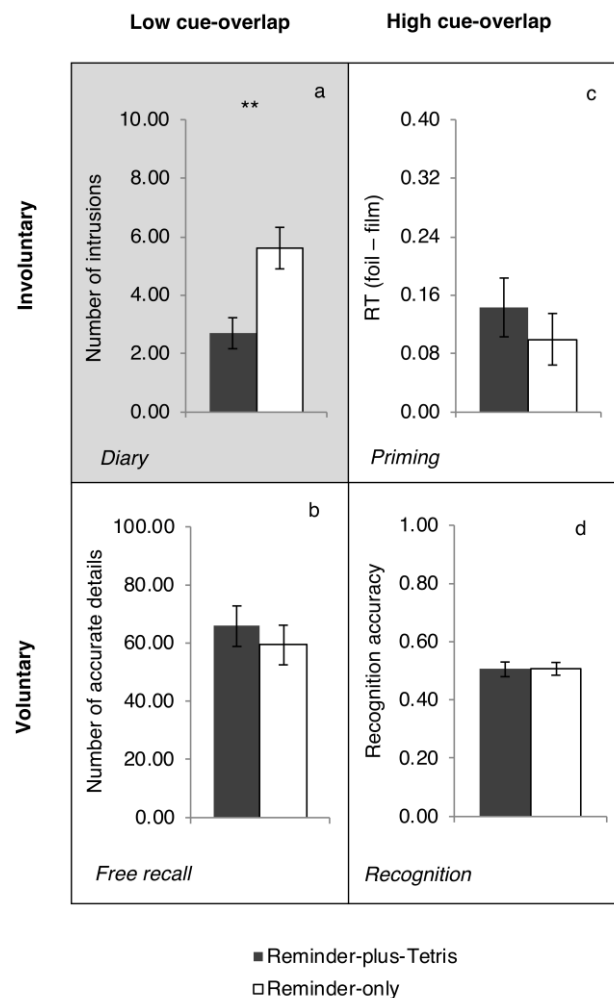


Figure 4. Main results from Experiment 1 by group for each memory task: a) intrusion diary (involuntary with low cue-overlap), b) free recall (voluntary with low cue-overlap), c) priming (involuntary with high cue-overlap) and d) recognition (voluntary with high cue-overlap). Error bars represent ± 1 SEM. ** Significant two-tailed group comparisons within each task ($p < .01$) – only for intrusion diary (cell highlighted with grey background for emphasis).

599 **Comparing retrieval intention and retrieval cues.** The lack of significant effects on the
600 three memory tasks (apart from the diary) could simply be type II errors. To explicitly test
601 whether there were significant effects of the retrieval intention and/or of cue overlap on the
602 degree of interference, we combined all four tasks into a single ANOVA. To enable
603 comparison across tasks, we standardized the main outcome from each memory task (z-
604 scored across all participants, i.e., in both groups). These four outcomes were: number of

605 diary intrusions, number of accurate details at free recall, priming RT index and recognition
606 accuracy. A 2 (between-group: reminder-plus-Tetris vs. reminder-only group) \times 2 (within-
607 group: involuntary vs. voluntary) \times 2 (within-group: high vs. low cue-overlap) mixed model
608 ANOVA on these z-scores revealed that none of the main effects, F 's < 1 , nor the two-way
609 interactions were significant: group \times intention, $F(1,44) = 2.17$, $p = .148$, group \times cue-
610 overlap, $F(1,44) = 3.15$, $p = .083$, and intention \times cue-overlap, $F < 1$. Critically, the three-way
611 interaction between group \times intention \times cue-overlap was significant, $F(1,44) = 6.89$, $p = .012$,
612 $\eta_p^2 = .135$.

613 The above three-way interaction was decomposed into subsequent 2 \times 2 ANOVAs on
614 each level of the third variable. The analysis using 2 (groups) \times 2 (cue overlap) ANOVA
615 showed that the group \times cue-overlap interaction was significant for tasks of involuntary
616 memory (diary vs. priming), $F(1,44) = 7.60$, $p = .008$, $\eta_p^2 = .147$, but not for tasks of
617 voluntary memory (recall vs. recognition), $F < 1$. Further, the analysis using 2 (groups) \times 2
618 (intention) ANOVA showed that the group \times intention interaction was significant for tasks
619 with low cue-overlap (diary vs. recall), $F(1,44) = 9.78$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .182$, but not for tasks
620 with high cue-overlap (priming vs. recognition), $F < 1$. Taken together, these analyses
621 confirmed that the interference effect on intrusions was significantly larger than on free recall
622 and priming. These results converge to suggest that interference was selective to diary
623 intrusions (Figure 4).

624 Discussion

625 Experiment 1 investigated, for participants who viewed a trauma film, the effect of
626 performing an interference task (following a film reminder cue) 30 min after watching the
627 trauma film on the subsequent memory of that film. Memory was assessed by a battery of
628 measures that differed in retrieval intention (involuntary vs. voluntary) and cue overlap (low

629 vs. high). Confirming our first prediction, and replicating previous studies (Holmes et al.,
630 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010), the reminder-plus-Tetris group reported fewer intrusive
631 memories in the diary (involuntary memory with low cue-overlap) than the reminder-only
632 group, whereas no significant group differences were found in accuracy on a recognition task
633 (voluntary memory with high cue-overlap).

634 Regarding the novel hypothesis about the role of cue overlap, there were no significant
635 differences between the reminder-plus-Tetris group and reminder-only group for the new
636 memory tasks, namely, free recall (voluntary with low cue-overlap) and priming (involuntary
637 with high cue-overlap). Indeed, a significant three-way interaction supported the inference
638 that there was interference only the number of intrusions (as well as analyses using a
639 Bayesian approach; see Supplemental Materials). These findings suggest that cue overlap (at
640 least as operationalized in this experiment) cannot explain the interference effect. Nor can
641 involuntary retrieval alone, as interference was not observed on all involuntary measures.
642 Thus, a combination of involuntary retrieval and low cue-overlap appears necessary to
643 explain the interference effect, and/or the intrusion diary differs from the other three memory
644 tasks along some other dimension (as explored in Experiments 2-3 later).

645 There were no interference effects on free recall, even though (as with the intrusion
646 diary) it lacked ‘copy cues’ from the trauma film (like those provided for the recognition
647 task). As noted in the General Introduction, this is not to deny that some types of cue were
648 present to trigger the diary intrusions outside the laboratory. Indeed, participants reported that
649 diary intrusions were triggered by everyday (external/environmental) cues (see Supplemental
650 Materials), consistent with the broad literature on involuntary autobiographical memories
651 (Berntsen, 1996, 1998, 2009, 2010; Berntsen, Staugaard, & Sørensen, 2013; Conway, 2001;
652 Staugaard & Berntsen, 2014) and clinical research on intrusive memories (Ehlers & Clark,

2000; Michael et al., 2005). It is also possible that the potential for cue-memory overlap is broad (Vannucci et al., 2015), so that everyday cues triggering diary intrusions do not necessarily have ‘lower’ cue-overlap. Nonetheless, if the key to an interference effect were only the combination of some type of retrieval cue (whether ‘copy’ or not, which is present even for diary intrusions) and involuntary recall, then we should have observed an interference effect in priming, which we did not. Thus, we reasoned another dimension in relation to cue processing (beyond cue overlap) ought to be considered, which can better account the selective interference. We addressed one possibility in Experiment 2, where we directly assessed the degree of attentional capture by retrieval cues (as well as providing those cues in a better-controlled laboratory assessment of intrusions, in the form of a novel vigilance-intrusion task).

Although the use of different memory tasks in the current experiment was mainly to manipulate cue overlap/retrieval intention, these tasks also provide additional theoretical information. Free recall, for example, provided some further methodological advantages in relation to recognition tasks. Recognition memory is thought to involve both *recollection* of episodic information and a non-episodic feeling of *familiarity* (Yonelinas, 2002), where the latter might arise from recent activation of parts of semantic memory. One could argue that the interference task disrupts recollection (episodic details) but not familiarity, such that recognition performance in the reminder-plus-Tetris group was preserved because of an intact familiarity process. The lack of interference on our free-recall task rules out this possibility. We ‘isolated’ episodic (event and perceptual) content in the freely-recalled transcripts by adapting a standardized method (Levine et al., 2002; McKinnon et al., 2014; St-Laurent et al., 2014), and were still unable to find an interference effect. The lack of interference on recollection processes is further supported by the absence of group differences in additional

677 exploratory analyses on recognition performance, either by confidence ratings in Experiment
678 1, or also by remember and know judgements in Experiment 2 (see Supplemental Materials).

679 Our lack of interference effect on priming may be at odds with some clinical accounts.
680 Enhanced perceptual priming of trauma stimuli has been theorized to underline later intrusion
681 development (Ehlers & Clark, 2000; Holz, Lass-Hennemann, Streb, Pfaltz, & Michael, 2014;
682 Sündermann, Hauschildt, & Ehlers, 2013), and also affect the long-term perceptual memory
683 system governing intrusive symptoms according to the dual representation theory (Brewin,
684 2014). Instead, we found a reduction in intrusion rates despite an apparent lack of
685 interference effects on priming. We return to such broader theoretical implications in the
686 General Discussion.

687 **Caveats.** An unaddressed confound is the different in delay interval between film
688 watching and completing the different memory tasks. The diary score was summed over Days
689 1 to 7 after the film (to obtain enough intrusions for statistical analyses), whereas the scores
690 on the other three measures were all acquired on Day 8. It is possible that the interference
691 effect is short-lived, affecting retrieval early on (e.g., for a few days after encoding) but not
692 later (e.g., a week after encoding), which would produce the current pattern of results. When
693 we attempted to match the delay across all memory measures in a post-hoc analysis – by
694 restricting the diary data to just Day 7 (see Supplemental Materials) – the critical three-way
695 interaction (i.e., bigger interference effects on diary intrusions than on other measures) was
696 no longer significant. However, we think this is likely to reflect unreliable estimates of
697 intrusion rates, given the low number of intrusions on a single (final) day in the diary (for
698 which the average number of intrusions in the reminder-only group was less than one; see
699 Supplemental Materials). Further, the selective interference effect has already been
700 demonstrated even when both assessments of recognition and intrusions were matched on

701 delay (i.e., both assessed on Day 8 in the laboratory; and using an intrusion provocation task),
702 albeit when a post-encoding interference was 24 h after the trauma film (James et al., 2015).
703 Nevertheless, we also attempted to assess intrusion and voluntary memory with better-
704 matched delays in Experiment 2.

705 Finally, in a fixed-order design as ours, it is possible that delivery of one memory
706 measure may have ‘contaminated’ later ones. For example, a group difference in an earlier
707 memory measure might ‘spill over’ to cause an artefactual group difference in subsequent
708 measures. This was not the case in our experiment, because the intrusion diary (the first
709 measure administered) showed a group difference, but the subsequent measures did not. It is
710 also possible that the reverse ‘contamination’ happens, such that a group difference in one
711 measure (e.g., intrusion diary) masks a real group difference in subsequent measures, for
712 example, by promoting rehearsal (Ball, 2007; Mace, 2014). To help address this possibility of
713 order effects, we included measures of intrusions both *before* and *after* other memory
714 measures in the next experiment.

715

716 **Experiment 2: Attentional Capture**

717 Selective interference on diary intrusions in Experiment 1 – but not on any of the other
718 measures of memory – suggests that neither the diary’s involuntary aspect, nor its ‘low’ cue-
719 overlap (at least in terms of lacking ‘copy cues’ relative to the recognition task using film
720 stills), can fully account for the interference effect. The main aim of Experiment 2 was to
721 investigate an alternative possibility, namely that interference disrupts the ability of external
722 cues to capture attention, thereby reducing access to the memory (Figure 1). To take an
723 example from an intrusion diary: having a red vehicle pass by – that is similar in some

724 respects to what was seen in the trauma film – may attract the person’s attention and trigger
725 an intrusion, even though that vehicle was not originally the focus of attention (e.g., because
726 that person was working at a cafe). When those cues are already the centre of attention (as in
727 the recognition or priming task in Experiment 1), there may not be scope for an interference
728 effect to be revealed. Our consideration of attentional capture also chimes with the wider
729 literature linking preferential processing of trauma/threat-related cues with the development
730 of stress-related psychopathologies (Mathews & MacLeod, 2005; Ohman, Flykt, & Esteves,
731 2001), including intrusive symptoms (Ehlers & Clark, 2000; Michael & Ehlers, 2007;
732 Sündermann et al., 2013; Verwoerd, Wessel, de Jong, & Nieuwenhuis, 2009). Attentional
733 capture is typically thought as automatic (involuntary) and nonconscious, so one may not
734 always be aware of potential cues (Ehlers & Clark, 2000). To investigate the role of
735 attentional capture in explaining the interference effects, we directly measured the degree of
736 attentional capture using a novel adaptation of the dot-probe task (MacLeod et al., 1986; see
737 Methods for further details).

738 The second aim of Experiment 2 was to address the potential confounds of both
739 retrieval delay and order of the measures, which may have affected the results of Experiment
740 1. To enable this, we assessed intrusions within the laboratory (Lau-Zhu, Holmes, &
741 Porcheret, 2018; Takarangi, Strange, & Lindsay, 2014), devising a method we call the
742 *vigilance-intrusion* task, based on a “go/no-go” paradigm (see Methods for further details).
743 Intrusions here occur in the context of a task (albeit low-demanding) – rather than during rest
744 (as in James et al., 2015) – so opportunities for contamination from voluntary retrieval might
745 be reduced (Lau-Zhu et al., 2018). Because this task furnished a sufficient number of
746 intrusions in a short timeframe (10 min), we were able to administer it twice: on Day 1,
747 immediately before the attentional-capture task, and on Day 8, immediately before the
748 recognition task (Figure 2). This design helped improve match in delay (both intrusion and

749 recognition assessed on Day 8) and account for order effects (intrusions assessed before *and*
750 after attentional capture). It also allowed us to explore whether interference on intrusions
751 varies depending on delays (e.g., immediately vs. a week later).

752 **Hypotheses**

753 Replicating Experiment 1, we predicted that the reminder-plus-Tetris group would have
754 fewer diary intrusions (Days 1-7) than the reminder-only group, but show comparable
755 performance on recognition (Day 8) (i.e., the selective interference effect). We also predicted
756 fewer intrusions in the reminder-plus-Tetris group for the new vigilance-intrusion task, at
757 least on Day 8, which would replicate that pattern of intrusion/recognition dissociation on
758 Day 8 found by James et al. (2015). Novel to this experiment, we predicted that, if the
759 interference task affects the ability of cues to attract attention, then the reminder-plus-Tetris
760 group would show reduced attentional capture to trauma-film cues (see Methods), in parallel
761 to a reduced intrusion rates. The importance of this retrieval factor in explaining access to the
762 memory trace would be more consistent with single-trace accounts, without the need to
763 invoke separate-trace accounts (Figure 1).

764 **Methods**

765 **Participants.** Thirty-six participants took part in the experiment (19 females, mean age
766 = 25.67, $SD = 7.06$, age range = 19 to 49, 18 per group). The same recruitment strategy as in
767 Experiment 1 was used (see Supplemental Materials). This sample size gave 81% power to
768 detect the interference effect of $d = .97$ on the number of diary intrusions in Experiment 1
769 ($\alpha = .05$; two-tailed).

770 **Materials.** All materials and stimuli were identical to Experiment 1, with the exception
771 of the following measures of memory. See Supplemental Materials for further details.

772 **Measures of memory of the trauma film.** The intrusion diary was identical to
 773 Experiment 1. So was the recognition task, except that participants provided remember/know
 774 judgements instead of confidence ratings (see Supplemental Materials). All memory tasks
 775 (except the intrusion diary) were presented using MATLAB R2009a (The MathWorks Inc.,
 776 2009) and Psychtoolbox (Brainard, 1997).

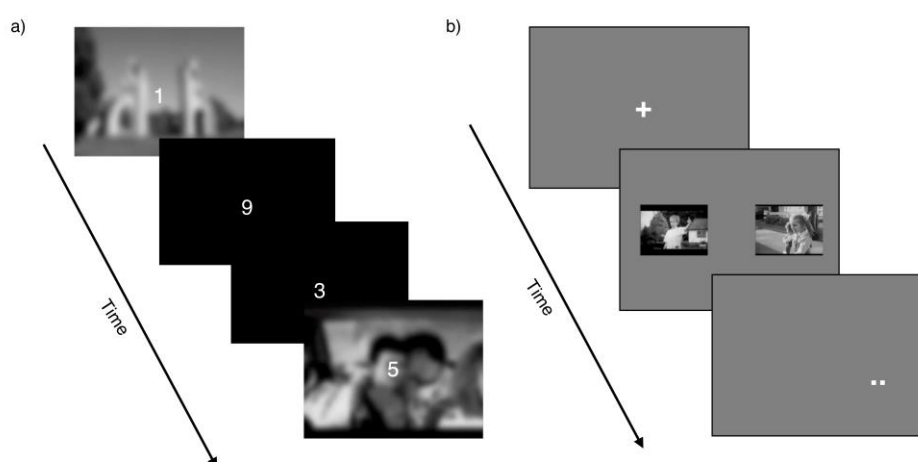


Figure 5. Schematic of memory tasks in Experiment 2. Sample trials of the vigilance-intrusion task are presented in **panel A**. In each trial, a digit was centrally presented. Participants were instructed to press the GO key every time they saw a digit that was not ‘3’, and to press the Intrusion key whenever they experienced an intrusive memory of the film. This task is also used in Experiment 3 albeit with slight modifications. A sample trial of the attention capture task is presented in **panel B**. Participants were presented with a film-foil still pair, which quickly disappeared and was followed by a dot probe behind the original location of either one still or the other. Participants were instructed to judge the identity of the dot probe (i.e., one or two dots) as accurately and as quickly as possible. Pictures are for illustration only and thus not to scale. Stimuli in the experiment were in colour (not black-and-white).

777 **Vigilance-intrusion task.** This was adapted from the Sustained Attention to Response
 778 Task (SART; Murphy, Macpherson, Jeyabalasingham, Manly, & Dunn, 2013; Robertson,
 779 Manly, Andrade, Baddeley, & Yiend, 1997). It comprised 11 film stills and 68 foil stills: film
 780 stills were drawn from the trauma film and were similar in content to the film reminder cues;
 781 foil stills depicted a variety of coloured indoor/outdoor scenes. All stills were altered using

782 Gaussian Blur 2.0 (thus were not exact replicas of the film). This blurring procedure was
783 intended to emulate cues glimpsed in daily life when they are outside of one's focus of
784 attention (Berntsen, 2009), and was used previously in another laboratory-based intrusion
785 paradigm (James et al., 2015; James, Lau-Zhu, Tickle, et al., 2016; Lang et al., 2009).

786 Participants were asked to perform a vigilance task with 270 trials. Each trial started
787 with a centrally presented digit (1 to 9) on a black background screen for 250 msec (see
788 Supplemental Materials). The digit then disappeared, and the black screen remained for a
789 further 1500 msec. Participants were instructed to press the 'Go' key using the desktop
790 keyboard for digits between '1' to '9', but withhold their response for '3' (occurring 11% of
791 the time). Every three trials starting from the first, a foil still appeared behind the digit
792 (instead of a black background). Participants were told they that, in addition to the digits, they
793 may also encounter background scenes, but no responses to the scenes were required. Both
794 digits and scene stills were presented in a fixed randomized order.

795 Participants were told that intrusive memories from the film (using the same definition
796 of intrusions as used with the intrusion diary) might pop up spontaneously at any time during
797 the vigilance task. In that case, they were instructed to press the Intrusion key using the
798 keyboard to pause the vigilance task to note down a brief description of the intrusion's
799 content (so it could be later verified as with the diary). They then resumed the vigilance task
800 by pressing a button on the keyboard to complete any remaining trials. Task duration was
801 around 9 min (but time was added when participant paused to record an intrusion). Viewing
802 distance was 60 cm approximately from the screen. The main outcome was the total number
803 of intrusive memories throughout the vigilance task. See Figure 5a for an illustration of the
804 task.

805 **Attentional-capture task.** This was adapted from the dot-probe task by MacLeod et al.
806 (1986). The stimuli consisted of two sets of 96 stills, one set for the trauma films and the
807 other for foils (as described for the priming task in Experiment 1). For each set, half of the
808 stills were categorized as ‘emotional’ stills and half as ‘neutral’ stills (based on a negative
809 emotionality index obtained from independent norming on participants who had not seen the
810 trauma film). The task had four runs with 96 trials using the entire stimulus set per run. A
811 trial consisted of a pairing between a film and foil still matched on emotionality ratings.

812 Each trial began with a central fixation cross for 1000 msec followed by the still pair
813 for either 500 msec or 1000 msec. Each still appeared to the left and right of the cross,
814 respectively. The still pair then disappeared, and a small visual target (a dot probe) was
815 presented in the location where one of the stills was shown. Participants were asked to judge
816 as quickly and as accurately as possible whether the target had one or two small dots. Each
817 dot subtended at a visual angle of 0.10×0.10 degrees approximately (see Supplemental
818 Materials). The trial terminated upon response. An error-triggered delay message appeared
819 for every mistake (for 5 sec) before participants moved on to the next trial. The location of
820 each still type was randomized across trials. Specific pairings between stills were randomized
821 across participants. The background colour remained dark grey throughout the task. Viewing
822 distance was approximately 60 cm from the screen. The main outcome was *attentional bias*
823 towards film stills over foil stills, as expressed by the degree to which the speed of correct
824 target discrimination was quicker when the target was presented in the location shared with
825 the film still rather than with the foil still. See Figure 5b for an illustration of the task.

826 **Procedure.**

827 **Session 1.** See Figure 2 for a schematic overview. On Day 1, all procedures remained
828 identical to Experiment 1 up to random allocation to either the reminder-plus-Tetris group or

829 the reminder-only group. Then, after a short practice (Supplemental Materials), participants
830 completed the vigilance-intrusion task. Afterwards, they performed the attentional-capture
831 task. Finally, instructions on completing the intrusion diary were given.

832 **Session 2.** At the follow-up session a week later (Day 8), participants gave back their
833 diaries. They then completed the vigilance-intrusion task (same as in Session 1), followed by
834 the recognition task. Finally, they were debriefed and reimbursed for their participation.

835 **Statistical analyses.** Data were examined for potential univariate outliers as in
836 Experiment 1. Three outliers were identified (one for the reminder-plus-Tetris group on
837 intrusion frequency in the vigilance-intrusion task on Day 1, one for the reminder-plus-Tetris
838 group on intrusion frequency in the diary, and one for the reminder-only group on recognition
839 accuracy), and these were changed to one unit larger (if the score was below the mean) or
840 smaller (if the score was above the mean) than the next most extreme score in the distribution
841 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Pearson product-moment correlation was used to assess the
842 linear relationship between two variables. Otherwise, the statistical methods were identical to
843 those in Experiment 1.

844 **Results**

845 Groups also did not significantly differ in any baseline measures, mood ratings or task
846 manipulation checks, except with diary compliance (see Supplemental Materials). Adding
847 diary compliance as a covariate into the relevant analyses did not change the pattern of
848 results. Below we first present group effects within each task/timepoint and then across
849 tasks/timepoints.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations by Group for Outcomes in Measures of Memory of the Trauma Film in Experiment 2

	Reminder-plus-Tetris		Reminder-only	
	(<i>n</i> = 18)		(<i>n</i> = 18)	
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)
Intrusion diary (Days 1 to 7)				
Number of intrusions over one week	2.50	(2.53)	8.28	(6.15)
Vigilance-intrusion tasks				
Number of 'early' intrusions (Day 1)	7.22	(4.56)	13.28	(7.70)
Number of 'later' intrusions (Day 8)	5.00	(6.36)	9.28	(3.95)
Recognition task (Day 8)				
Hits	56.39	(12.93)	54.67	(16.61)
FA	15.22	(11.23)	19.72	(14.15)
Attentional-capture task (Day 1)				
Accuracy	0.98	(0.02)	0.97	(0.07)
Emotional stills (sec)	0.011*	(0.019)	0.008*	(0.018)
Neutral stills (sec)	-0.002	(0.024)	0.002	(0.023)

Note. * Significant one-sample *t*-tests (one-tailed; $p < .10$), meaning that a bias score was above chance – mainly to trauma film stills with emotional content.

850

851 **Effects of the cognitive interference task on each memory task.**

852 ***Intrusion diary (Days 1 to 7).*** The total number of intrusive memories in all diaries
 853 were checked and counted by two researchers independently. Interclass correlation (two-way
 854 mixed effects model, consistency, single measure; McGraw & Wong, 1996) was 0.98,
 855 suggesting near perfect agreement. Ninety-eight percent of all intrusions were matched to
 856 scenes of the film, suggesting that the majority were of the laboratory experience (others
 857 were excluded from further analysis). Overall, the mean number of intrusion was 5.61 ($SD =$

858 1.29; range = 0-24), also similar to previous studies (Deepröse et al., 2012; Holmes et al.,
859 2009; James et al., 2015). Similar to Experiment 1, the majority of intrusions (70.3%) were
860 reported to be associated with a cue in everyday life (see Supplemental Materials). As
861 predicted, the reminder-plus-Tetris group reported significantly fewer diary intrusions
862 compared to the reminder-only group, $t(34) = 3.69$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.23$, 95% CI of d [0.49,
863 1.91] (Table 2), in line with Experiment 1.

864 ***Memory tasks on Day 8: intrusions and recognition.***

865 *Recognition task (Day 8).* Recognition accuracy was scored using the same procedure
866 as in Experiment 1 (Table 2). Recognition accuracy was above chance in both groups, $t(17)$'s
867 > 13.51 , p 's $< .001$, d 's > 3.18 . There was no significant group difference in recognition
868 accuracy between the reminder-plus-Tetris group ($M = 0.46$, $SD = 0.10$) and the reminder-
869 only group ($M = 0.42$, $SD = 0.13$), $t(34) = 1.07$, $p = .292$, $d = .34$, 95% CI of d [-1.00, 0.32]
870 (also see Supplemental Materials).

871 *Vigilance-intrusion task (Day 8).* The majority of laboratory intrusions (98%) were
872 matched to the trauma film (others were excluded from further analysis). Overall, the mean
873 number of intrusion was 7.14 ($SD = 5.65$; range = 0-24), which was higher than in James et
874 al. (2015; mean of 3-4 intrusions), where a different/shorter (2-min) laboratory assessment
875 was used (also see Supplemental Materials). Critically and as predicted, the reminder-plus-
876 Tetris group reported significantly fewer laboratory intrusions than the reminder-only group
877 on Day 8, $t(34) = 2.42$, $p = .021$, $d = .81$, 95% CI of d [0.11, 1.47] (Table 2).

878 *Comparing intrusions and recognition on Day 8.* We ran a 2 (between-group: reminder-
879 plus-Tetris and reminder-only) \times 2 (within-group: intrusion and recognition) mixed model
880 ANOVA on standardized scores (z-scores) to equate the vigilance-intrusion task and the

881 recognition task (both on Day 8) on the same metric. The critical group \times intention
882 interaction was significant, $F(1,34) = 7.06, p = .012, \eta_p^2 = .172$, confirming that there were
883 significant group differences in intrusions but not recognition, even when both measures were
884 better matched on delay (i.e., one week after the trauma film).

885 ***Memory measures on Day 1: intrusions and attentional bias.***

886 *Vigilance-intrusion task (Day 1).* The majority of all laboratory intrusions (99%) were
887 matched to scenes of the film, in line with the same task on Day 8 (others were excluded
888 from further analysis). Overall, the mean number of intrusion was 10.25 ($SD = 6.95$) and the
889 range was 0 to 28. The number of these ‘early’ intrusions were predictive of diary intrusions,
890 and of laboratory-intrusions on Day 8 (see Supplemental Materials). Critically, the reminder-
891 plus-Tetris group reported significantly fewer intrusions than the reminder-only group on the
892 vigilance-intrusion task also on Day 1, $t(34) = 2.87, p = .007, d = 0.96$, 95% CI of d [0.25,
893 1.62] (Table 2 & Figure 6), replicating the pattern on Day 8.

894 *Attentional-capture task (Day 1).* The proportion of correct trials was equivalent
895 between groups, $t < 1$ (see Table 2). RTs were obtained from all correct trials with $RT < 2000$
896 msec (Hoppitt et al., 2014; MacLeod, & Bridle, 2009). Attentional-bias scores were
897 calculated for each participant according to still emotionality type, by obtaining the RT
898 difference for responding to targets sharing location with foil stills versus targets sharing
899 location with trauma film stills. Positive scores indicated a faster response – thus a bias – for
900 trauma film stills. Such a trauma-film bias was significant within each group (one-tailed) for
901 emotional still-pairs only, $t(17)$'s $> 1.80, p$'s $< .090, d$'s $> .44$, but not neutral still-pairs,
902 $t(17)$'s $< 0.39, p$'s $> .701$ (Table 2), suggesting that attentional capture was pronounced for
903 film cues depicting emotional content. Nevertheless, there was no significant group

904 differences in attentional bias to trauma-film cues (of emotional scenes), $t(34) = 0.61$, $p =$
 905 $.545$, $d = .16$, 95% CI of d $[-0.85, 0.46]$ (Figure 6). Also see Supplemental Materials.

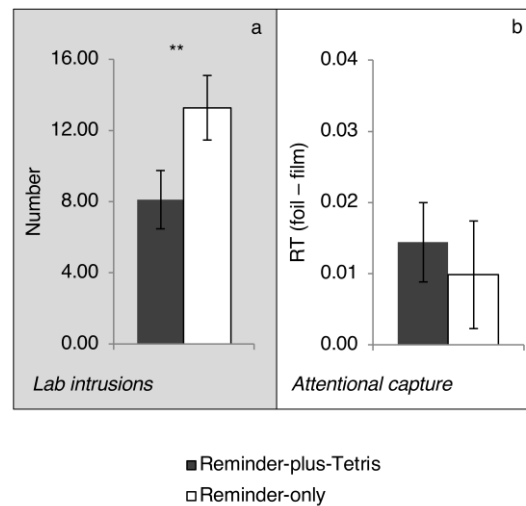


Figure 6. Experiment 2: Tasks assessing memory of the trauma film by group on Day 1: a) vigilance-intrusion task and b) attentional-capture task (results restricted to bias for ‘emotional’ film stills). Error bars represent ± 1 SEM. ** Significant two-tailed group comparisons within each task ($p < .01$) – only for a) vigilance-intrusion task (cell highlighted with grey background for emphasis).

906 *Comparing intrusions and attentional capture on Day 1.* The lack of a group difference
 907 on attentional biases was unexpected, given that we found a group difference on intrusions
 908 assessed during a similar time period (i.e., soon after interference on Day 1). Therefore, we
 909 directly compared the interference effect on intrusions versus attentional bias. As with
 910 Experiment 1, a single outcome was selected from each memory task and compared using
 911 standardized z-scores in the same analysis (z-scored across all participants, i.e., in both
 912 groups). We selected the number of early laboratory-intrusions on the vigilance-intrusion
 913 task, and the attentional-bias score to trauma film stills (across both emotional and neutral
 914 still pairs). A 2 (between-group: reminder-plus-Tetris and reminder-only) \times 2 (within-group:
 915 early intrusions and attentional capture) mixed model ANOVA revealed that there were no
 916 main effects of group, $F(1,34) = 3.45$, $p = .072$, or of memory task, $F < 1$. The group \times
 917 memory measure interaction also failed to reach significance, $F(1,34) = 3.93$, $p = .055$. When

918 we repeated this analysis by considering attentional-bias score to emotional trauma-film
919 scenes only (as the bias was mainly evident for trials with emotional still-pairs), the main
920 effects of group, $F(1,34) = 1.95$, $p = .172$, and of memory task, $F < 1$, continued to be non-
921 significant, but now the group \times memory measure interaction was significant, $F(1,34) = 6.34$,
922 $p = .017$, $\eta_p^2 = .157$. Figure 6 shows that group differences were more pronounced for
923 laboratory intrusions than for attentional capture (to emotional trauma film scenes).

924 **Discussion**

925 We tested whether the interference task reduces intrusive memories via a reduction in
926 attention capture – the ability of film-related cues in the environment to capture attention. If
927 so, then we expected that, alongside an interference effect on intrusions, an interference effect
928 would also be revealed on the degree of attentional capture to trauma-film cues (measured by
929 RTs in the adapted dot-probe task). This new task was sensitive enough to detect an
930 attentional bias to trauma-film cues relative to matched foil stills that had not been seen
931 before (provided those stills depicted emotional scenes of the trauma film). However, there
932 was no significant group differences in the size of this attentional capture, despite a
933 significant group difference in the number of laboratory intrusions assessed within the same
934 period (Day 1). Indeed, a combined (z-scored) analysis showed a significant interaction in the
935 direction of a greater interference effect on intrusions relative to the degree of attentional
936 capture (also see Supplemental Materials for analyses using a Bayesian approach).

937 Importantly, the interference effect on intrusions remained even though intrusions were
938 assessed before (in the vigilance-intrusion task on Day 1) *and* after (in the diary and the
939 vigilance-intrusion task on Day 8) the attentional-capture task within our overall procedure
940 (Figure 2), addressing the potential task-order confound of Experiment 1 where intrusions
941 were assessed only first. Hence, these findings suggest that the degree of attentional capture

942 by potential retrieval cues is unlikely to explain the discrepancy between intrusions and other
943 memory measures in neither Experiment 2 (recognition) nor Experiment 1 (recall, recognition
944 and priming), despite potential attentional differences between measures.

945 The lack of association between intrusions and attentional capture may be at odds with
946 research linking attentional biases and stress-related psychopathology (Ehlers & Clark, 2000;
947 Mathews & MacLeod, 2005; Michael & Ehlers, 2007; Ohman et al., 2001; Sündermann et al.,
948 2013; Verwoerd et al., 2009). Note, however, that our attention-capture task used ‘copy cues’
949 of the event, unlike other types of cues in past studies (e.g., words or non-copy pictures).
950 Thus, intrusions and attentional bias may still be related through other measures/domains, and
951 other manipulations may be able to reduce intrusion rates via changes in attentional capture
952 (Verwoerd, Wessel, & de Jong, 2012; Verwoerd et al., 2009), but these do not seem to apply
953 to the current selective interference effect.

954 Experiment 2 provided further confirmation of the selective interference on intrusions
955 while sparing voluntary memory. We found that the reminder-plus-Tetris group reported
956 fewer intrusions than the reminder-only group according to i) a one-week diary, replicating
957 Experiment 1 as well as previous studies (e.g., Holmes et al., 2009; Holmes et al., 2010;
958 James et al., 2015), ii) a vigilance-intrusion task performed on Day 8 (replicating James et al.,
959 2015) and iii) a vigilance-intrusion task on Day 1 (novel to this experiment). Yet the groups
960 showed equivalent recognition performance. The greater number of intrusions provided by
961 the vigilance-intrusion task (relative to diary) also meant that we could directly compare
962 measures within similar period (Day 8) – as in James et al. (2015) – addressing the potential
963 confound in Experiment 1 where intrusions and recognition were assessed at different delays
964 after the trauma film. Moreover, both measures were further matched by both being assessed
965 within the laboratory context, whereas in most studies to date they have been assessed in

966 different contexts (i.e., the diary being conducted in daily life) (Lau-Zhu et al., 2018). A
967 combined analysis on Day 8 also showed a significantly greater interference effect on
968 laboratory intrusions than recognition performance. Together, this pattern of findings
969 reinforces the claim that the intrusion/recognition dissociation is indeed genuine, despite not
970 being predicted by single-trace memory theories. Therefore, what remains critical – beside
971 continuing to demonstrate this involuntary/voluntary dissociation – is to identify what
972 retrieval factors modulate the size of the interference effect on intrusions per se (as we
973 attempt in Experiment 3).

974 An intriguing finding – established for the first time here – is that the impact of the
975 interference task on intrusions could be observed early on, just *minutes* after the intervention
976 was carried out (within the same laboratory session as film viewing and interference). These
977 findings suggest that the interference effect is both immediate and long-term, despite
978 alternative claims that emotional memory effects only emerge at longer delay intervals, for
979 example, after consolidation has taken place (e.g., Dudai, 2004; McGaugh, 2004; Nader et
980 al., 2000). We return to this issue in the General Discussion. Furthermore, variations in early
981 intrusions also predicted the number of intrusions in the subsequent week-long diary across
982 groups (see Supplemental Materials). Hence for now we have established that the vigilance-
983 intrusion task administered within the first laboratory session can serve as an analogue for a
984 subsequent one-week diary. This allows for single-session experiments without the need for
985 participants to return at a later date (Lau-Zhu et al., 2018; Takarangi et al., 2014), and obviate
986 the potential burden of keeping a one-week diary. We therefore exploited and extended the
987 vigilance-intrusion task in Experiment 3.

988 **Caveats.** A potential concern is that participants who experienced more intrusions (i.e.,
989 the reminder-only group) necessarily paused the vigilance-intrusion task more often to

990 provide intrusions' descriptions. One might wonder whether more pausing also allowed more
991 time to be spent on, for example, ruminating about the films, which in turn could have
992 inflated the intrusion rates in the reminder-only group. We addressed this concern in
993 Experiment 3 by removing the need to verbally describe intrusions, given that we already
994 confirmed here that participants can indeed correctly identify intrusive memories of the film.

995 One may also wonder why attentional capture was not assessed within the vigilance-
996 intrusion task, and/or why intrusions were not assessed within the attentional capture (dot-
997 probe) task, to maximize comparability. The vigilance-intrusion task involved a low-demand
998 task which results in performance levels close to ceiling, presumably providing little room to
999 simultaneously measure any attentional capture (since its purpose was to occupy participants
1000 just enough to minimize opportunities for voluntary retrieval). The dot-probe task, by
1001 contrast, needed to be sufficiently challenging to measure attentional capture, which might be
1002 compromised if participants were additionally required to report intrusions concurrently.
1003 Nevertheless, future experimental adaptations may enable simultaneous measurement of
1004 intrusions and other forms of attentional capture (e.g., Barzykowski & Niedźwieńska, 2018;
1005 Vannucci, Batoool, Pelagatti, & Mazzoni, 2014). Instead however we tested the remaining
1006 retrieval factor identified in the General Introduction (Figure 1) in the next experiment,
1007 namely whether the level of retrieval load modulated the interference effect.

1008

1009

Experiment 3: Retrieval Load

1010 Given that Experiments 1-2 suggest that neither cue overlap nor attentional capture are
1011 able to explain the interference effect on intrusions, the main aim of Experiment 3 was to
1012 investigate the role of retrieval load (Figure 1) – specifically the possibility that the

1013 interference effect is unique to retrieval contexts with low cognitive-demands (henceforth
1014 low *retrieval-load*) and absent (or smaller) in contexts with higher cognitive-demands. Note
1015 that load here refers to load during *retrieval* (i.e., while memory is being assessed) and not at
1016 other timepoints (e.g., the load imposed by Tetris game-play to presumably disrupt
1017 consolidation). As alluded before, the main difference between the vigilance-intrusion task
1018 and the attentional-capture task was that the first involved a monotonous task (i.e., low
1019 retrieval-load), whereas the second emphasised speed and accuracy with performance
1020 feedback (i.e., high retrieval-load), which may have left fewer resources for a memory trace
1021 to be activated (e.g., for intrusions to emerge). This chimes with evidence that involuntary
1022 autobiographical memories are more likely to be elicited during low-demanding tasks
1023 inducing a diffused state of attention (Berntsen, 2009; Schlagman & Kvavilashvili, 2008)
1024 than during high-demanding tasks (Ball, 2007; Barzykowski & Niedźwieńska, 2018;
1025 Vannucci et al., 2015). One could also argue that the priming task in Experiment 1 and the
1026 voluntary-memory tasks in Experiments 1-2 entailed higher retrieval-load than the everyday
1027 tasks during which intrusions occurred according to the diary (see Figure 1).

1028 To test the ‘retrieval load’ hypothesis in Experiment 3, we manipulated load levels
1029 during the vigilance-intrusion task (that was validated in Experiment 2) by using concurrent
1030 WM tasks. Participants performed three times a novel version of the vigilance-intrusion task,
1031 each time with a different (within-group) load condition: no load, visuospatial load
1032 (additional visuospatial WM task), and verbal load (additional verbal WM task). The contrast
1033 between verbal and visuospatial WM tasks allowed us to test whether a potential lack of (or
1034 smaller) interference effect in retrieval conditions with high load depends on the load’s
1035 modality. We expected that an additional visuospatial WM load would leave less room for
1036 intrusive memories, given claims that visuospatial WM shares modality-specific resources
1037 (Andrade, Kavanagh, & Baddeley, 1997; Baddeley & Andrade, 2000) and neurocircuitry

1038 (Albers, Kok, Toni, Dijkerman, & de Lange, 2013; Pearson, Naselaris, Holmes, & Kosslyn,
1039 2015) with visual imagery, which appears to underlie many intrusive memories in clinical
1040 populations (Ehlers et al., 2004; Hackmann, Ehlers, Speckens, & Clark, 2004; Holmes, Grey,
1041 & Young, 2005). However, it is also possible that any (even verbal) WM load (e.g., by taxing
1042 general-domain central executive functions) reduces the opportunity for intrusions
1043 (Engelhard et al., 2010; Gunter & Bodner, 2008; Van den Hout & Engelhard, 2012), thereby
1044 reducing the sensitivity to an interference effect.

1045 Note that unlike in Experiments 1-2 where the nature of intrusive memories was
1046 inferred indirectly (i.e., by comparing intrusion tasks with other memory tasks that did not
1047 involve intrusion monitoring), here we tested the effect of concurrent load levels (and their
1048 interaction with the interference effect) *directly* on intrusions rates.

1049 In addition to addressing potential contributions of retrieval factors to the selectivity of
1050 the interference effect, it is also important to establish which aspects of the interference
1051 procedure are required to produce the interference effect itself. This is an important
1052 methodological issue for future research wishing to investigate/replicate this selective
1053 interference effect, and for translational applications (e.g., whether it is necessary to remind a
1054 victim of their recent trauma before intervening with an interference task). Thus, we also
1055 sought to establish whether *both* components of our interference procedure (film reminder
1056 cues and Tetris game-play) are needed to produce the interference effect. As already alluded
1057 in the General Introduction, our previous studies (including current Experiments 1-2) have all
1058 used reminder cues when an interference task was performed 30 min after the film (Deepröse
1059 et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010) – with the rationale that the
1060 cues help orient attention to the target event (Visser et al., 2018) – but the necessity of such
1061 reminder cues in this timeframe remain untested (unlike evidence that such cues are indeed

1062 needed 24 h after the film; Experiment 2 in James et al., 2015). We tested the requirement for
1063 a reminder cue by adding a third group of participants who played Tetris without such cue
1064 (*Tetris-only* group).

1065 **Hypotheses**

1066 First, we predicted a replication of the key finding from Experiment 2 showing that the
1067 reminder-plus-Tetris group experience fewer laboratory intrusions relative to the reminder-
1068 only group, using the same vigilance-intrusion task with *key presses*. A novel hypothesis
1069 concerned the effects of retrieval load on intrusions in the vigilance-intrusion task, using a
1070 modified version where participants retrospectively reported the number of intrusions they
1071 experienced – henceforth the vigilance-intrusion task with *estimates* (see Methods for
1072 rationale). We hypothesized that the interference effect would be modulated by (interact
1073 with) retrieval load, such that the reminder-plus-Tetris group would have fewer intrusive
1074 memories than the reminder-only group when there is low retrieval-load during intrusion
1075 retrieval, but this interference would be absent (or at least smaller) when there is high
1076 retrieval-load instead (especially if that load involves visuospatial WM). Finally, if the
1077 interference effect on intrusions is conditional upon a reminder cue prior to the interference
1078 task, then the reminder-plus-Tetris group would show fewer intrusions memories than both
1079 the reminder-only group and the new Tetris-only group.

1080 **Methods**

1081 **Participants.** Fifty-seven participants took part in this experiment (34 females, mean
1082 age = 26.88, SD = 6.75, age range = 18 to 45, 19 per each of the three group) (see
1083 Supplemental Materials). The same recruitment strategy was used as in Experiments 1-2.
1084 This sample size provided a power of 82% to replicate an interference effect of $d = 0.96$ on

1085 the number of laboratory intrusion on the vigilance-intrusion task on Day 1 in Experiment 2
1086 ($\alpha = .05$; two-tailed).

1087 **Materials.** All materials were identical to Experiment 1-2, except for the additional
1088 modifications to the vigilance-intrusion tasks.

1089 **Vigilance-intrusion tasks.** There were two versions (with either key presses or
1090 estimates), both presented using MATLAB R2009a (The MathWorks Inc., 2009) and
1091 Psychtoolbox (Brainard, 1997); see Figure 5.

1092 ***Vigilance-intrusion with key presses.*** This version was identical to the one in
1093 Experiment 2, except there was no longer the requirement to pause the task to provide a
1094 written description for each intrusion. Pressing the Intrusion key did not pause the vigilance
1095 task; thus, the duration of this task was the same for all participants (i.e., 9 min). This version
1096 with online reporting was included to maximise our ability to replicate the interference effect
1097 on early intrusions in Experiment 2 (Stage 1; see Procedure), in case such an effect was
1098 moderated by reporting method (e.g., due to possible underestimation of intrusion rates using
1099 retrospective recall, as below).

1100 ***Vigilance-intrusion with estimates.*** Additional vigilance-intrusion tasks were
1101 administered with further modifications to test the ‘retrieval load’ hypothesis (Stage 2; see
1102 Procedure). Critically, there was no longer the need to press the Intrusion key when
1103 participants experienced an intrusion. Instead, intrusions were assessed using retrospective
1104 estimates (Schaich, Watkins, & Ehring, 2013; Zetsche, Ehring, & Ehlers, 2009). The original
1105 design (270 trials) was divided into three consecutive runs (three 3-min runs with 90 trials
1106 each). As background scenes, each run presented each of the 11 film stills once, alongside 19
1107 foil stills (different from those presented in the vigilance-intrusion task with key presses).

1108 After each run, the task paused so that participants could estimate how many intrusions they
1109 had for that run (*how often did memories of the event in the form of mental images pop into*
1110 *your mind in the last three minutes?*) by typing in the corresponding count using the number
1111 keypad on the keyboard (see Supplemental Materials for further details). We reasoned that
1112 retrospective recall bias would be minimized compared to giving a single rating for a full 9-
1113 min period. The total number of intrusions per condition was summed across the three
1114 consecutive 3-min runs.

1115 The use of estimates after 3-min runs, and removing the need for key presses to report
1116 intrusions ‘on the fly’, meant that participants could more readily perform the vigilance-
1117 intrusion task and a WM task simultaneously, allowing for our intended manipulation of
1118 retrieval load. Otherwise, they would have had to perform three tasks simultaneously
1119 (vigilance, WM task and intrusion reporting with key presses). Importantly, participants
1120 performed the digit-vigilance task using their non-dominant hand (and the Mouse rather than
1121 the keyboard), freeing up their dominant hands required for one of the WM tasks described
1122 below.

1123 *WM tasks.* These tasks served as additional (within-group) loads to this version of the
1124 vigilance-intrusion task. A finger-tapping task was used as the additional visuospatial WM
1125 load (Baddeley, 2003; Baddeley & Andrade, 2000). This involved tapping a pattern using a
1126 square box with a 5×5 array of buttons (Bourne et al., 2010; Deeprose et al., 2012; Holmes et
1127 al., 2004). Each button was labelled with an individual letter from A to Y, running from left
1128 to right. Participants had to tap an irregular pattern of five keys (*JYPVA*). They were
1129 encouraged to visualize the pattern in their mind’s eye while tapping steadily. A counting-
1130 backwards task was used as the additional verbal WM load (Baddeley, 2003; Baddeley &
1131 Andrade, 2000). This involved counting backwards aloud in 1’s, beginning from a number

1132 seed (e.g., starting from '969' and continuing to '968', '967', etc.). Participants were
1133 encouraged to count steadily. The no load condition involved neither of these tasks.

1134 **Procedure.** See Figure 2 for a schematic overview. There was a single laboratory
1135 session. All procedures remained identical to Experiments 1-2 up to random allocation to one
1136 of the three groups: reminder-plus-Tetris, reminder-only or Tetris-only. Participants in the
1137 latter group played Tetris for 10 min without prior exposure to film reminder cues.

1138 All participants performed all vigilance-intrusions tasks. In Stage 1, the vigilance-
1139 intrusion task (with *key presses*) was completed to replicate key findings on Experiment 2 on
1140 early laboratory-intrusions using online reporting.

1141 In Stage 2, additional vigilance-intrusion tasks were completed to test the 'retrieval
1142 load' hypothesis. This stage was further divided into two phases (training and experimental).
1143 In the training phase, participants were familiarised with the modified version of the
1144 vigilance-intrusion task to use retrospective to estimate intrusion rates, and also practised the
1145 WM memory tasks. For finger tapping, participants over-practised this task by tapping the
1146 sequence for 5 min without interruption, with the tapping box out of sight and without visual
1147 feedback (similar to Holmes et al., 2004). For counting, participants were asked to count
1148 backwards for 5 min without feedback.

1149 In the experimental phase, participants completed the vigilance-intrusion task (with
1150 *estimates*) under all three conditions of WM loads in a counterbalanced order (controlling for
1151 both effects of load order and time). For each load condition, three consecutive 3-min runs
1152 were completed. For no load, the vigilance-intrusion task was performed as it is. For
1153 visuospatial load, participants began each run of the vigilance-intrusion task with a reminder
1154 to tap the visuospatial pattern, and were asked to stop tapping at the end of a run. Tapping

1155 responses were recorded by the computer program. For the verbal load, participants began
1156 each run of the vigilance-intrusion task with pre-designated number seeds ('958', '845' and
1157 '969' respectively, as in Deepröse et al., 2012) alongside a reminder to start counting out
1158 loud, and were asked to stop counting at the end of a run. Their verbal responses were tape-
1159 recorded. Finally, participants were debriefed and reimbursed.

1160 **Statistical analyses.** Data were examined for potential univariate outliers as in
1161 Experiments 1-2. One outlier (for the reminder-plus-Tetris group on intrusion frequency in
1162 the vigilance-intrusion task with estimates, no load condition) was identified and changed to
1163 one unit smaller than the next most extreme score in the distribution (Tabachnick & Fidell,
1164 1996). Otherwise, the statistical methods were identical to those in Experiments 1-2. For
1165 comparability with Experiments 1-2, below we present results in a similar fashion: 1) group
1166 effects within each vigilance-intrusion task followed by group effects across task versions; 2)
1167 all analyses were restricted to the two main groups (reminder-plus-Tetris and reminder-only)
1168 unless otherwise indicated; analyses with all three groups (i.e., including the additional group
1169 Tetris-only) did not change the pattern of results.

1170 **Results**

1171 Groups also did not significantly differ in any baseline measures, mood ratings or task
1172 manipulation checks (see Supplemental Materials).

1173 **Effects of the cognitive interference task on laboratory intrusions.**

1174 *Vigilance-intrusion with key presses.* This initial version of the task provided a direct
1175 replication of the key findings from Experiment 2 (except that participants did not pause the
1176 task to describe intrusions). Overall, the mean number of intrusion was 15.54 ($SD = 11.56$;
1177 range = 0-56), which was higher than in Experiment 2. Replicating the pattern from

1178 Experiment 2, the reminder-plus-Tetris group ($M = 9.37$, $SD = 8.48$) reported significantly
 1179 fewer early laboratory-intrusions, as indicated simply by intrusion key-presses, compared to
 1180 the reminder-only group ($M = 21.11$, $SD = 10.98$), $t(36) = 3.69$, $p = .001$, $d = 1.20$, 95% CI of
 1181 d [0.48, 1.86].

1182 ***Vigilance-intrusion with estimates.*** All groups showed equivalent performance for the
 1183 finger-tapping task and the counting-backwards task (see Supplemental Materials). In the *no-*
 1184 *load* condition, the mean number of intrusion was 12.40 ($SD = 9.92$; range = 0-50), slightly
 1185 lower than the task version using key presses. Below we first present group effects per
 1186 retrieval-load condition and then across conditions.

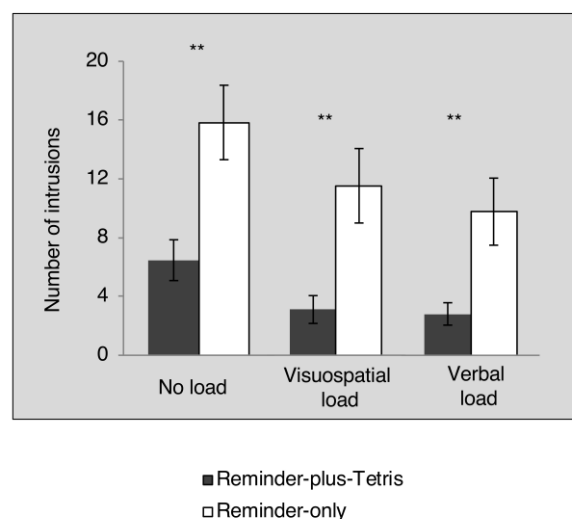


Figure 7. Experiment 3: Number of laboratory intrusions by group and type of retrieval load within the vigilance-intrusion task with estimates. Error bars represent ± 1 SEM. The Tetris-only group was not included for comparability with Experiments 1-2. ** Significant two-tailed pairwise group comparisons within each retrieval load (**: $p < .01$) – all retrieval-load conditions (cells were all highlighted with grey background for emphasis, for comparability with previous figures on key results).

1187 The reminder-plus-Tetris group reported significantly fewer intrusions compared to the
 1188 reminder-only group, in the *no-load* condition, $t(36) = 3.24$, $p = .003$, $d = 0.77$, 95% CI of d
 1189 [0.35, 1.71], in the *visuospatial-load* condition, $t(36) = 2.66$, $p = .014$, $d = 0.86$, 95% CI of d

1190 [0.17, 1.50], as well as in the *verbal-load* condition, $t(36) = 2.89$, $p = .008$, $d = 0.84$, 95% CI
1191 of d [0.25, 1.59] (Figure 7).

1192 To directly compare the *sizes* of the interference effect in the three load conditions, we
1193 ran a 2 (between-group: reminder-plus-Tetris and reminder-only) \times 3 (within-group: no,
1194 visuospatial and verbal retrieval load) mixed model ANOVA. As expected, this analysis
1195 yielded a main effect group, $F(1,36) = 12.46$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .257$, confirming that the
1196 reminder-plus-Tetris group ($M = 4.25$, $SE = 1.60$) estimated significantly fewer intrusions
1197 overall relative to the reminder-only group ($M = 12.32$, $SE = 1.60$, $p = .001$) across all
1198 conditions. There was also a significant main effect of retrieval load, $F(2, 72) = 7.22$, $p =$
1199 $.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .167$. To unpack this load effect, post-hoc comparisons showed that relative to no
1200 load ($M = 11.16$, $SE = 1.44$), there were significantly fewer intrusions during visuospatial (M
1201 $= 7.45$, $SE = 1.50$; $p < .006$) and verbal retrieval-load ($M = 6.24$, $SE = 1.19$; $p < .002$), but no
1202 significant differences between the latter two ($p = .358$). The critical group \times retrieval-load
1203 interaction, however, was not significant, $F < 1$. This suggests that, contrary to expectations,
1204 the interference effect on intrusions did not vary according to the level of retrieval load
1205 during the vigilance-intrusion task, nor according to the modality of retrieval load
1206 (visuospatial or verbal; see Figure 7).

1207 **Necessity of reminder cues prior to interference task.** Our final aim was to
1208 investigate whether the reminder cue is needed prior to Tetris game-play to interfere with
1209 intrusions. These analyses included all three groups and sought convergence across two
1210 forms of intrusion reporting. We ran a 3 (between-group: reminder-plus-Tetris, reminder-only
1211 and Tetris-only) \times 2 (within-group: key presses or estimates during the no load condition)
1212 mixed ANOVA on the number of intrusions. This revealed a significant main effect group,
1213 $F(2,54) = 7.29$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .212$, for which post-hoc tests indicated: i) the expected

1214 finding that the reminder-plus-Tetris group ($M = 7.92$, $SE = 2.02$) reported significantly fewer
1215 intrusions than the reminder-only ($M = 18.47$, $SE = 2.02$, $p = .001$); ii) critically that the
1216 reminder-plus-Tetris group *also* reported fewer intrusions than the Tetris-only group ($M =$
1217 15.53 , $SE = 2.02$, $p = .010$); iii) there were no significant group differences between the
1218 reminder-only and Tetris-only ($p = .306$). The pattern of findings remained even after
1219 applying Bonferroni corrections ($\alpha = .017$). Overall, it appears that only the combination of
1220 reminder cues and Tetris leads to reduction in intrusions.

1221 There was also a significant main effect of intrusion reporting-method, $F(1,54) = 6.56$,
1222 $p = .013$, $\eta_p^2 = .108$, suggesting that key presses ($M = 15.54$, $SE = 1.42$) were associated with
1223 more intrusions than retrospective estimation ($M = 12.40$, $SE = 1.21$), but the group \times
1224 reporting method was not significant, $F < 1$. Thus, retrospection may underestimate intrusion
1225 rates but still be sensitive enough to reveal the interference effect (as in the analyses above).

1226 **Discussion**

1227 Experiment 3 again replicated the interference effect on intrusions in a vigilance-
1228 intrusion task, even when intrusions were reported at fixed task-duration (a previous
1229 confound in Experiment 2). Critically, the degree of interference did not vary significantly
1230 according to whether participants were engaged in a concurrent verbal or visuospatial WM
1231 load during a new version of the vigilance-intrusion task (with estimates). These results
1232 therefore fail to support the hypothesis that interference on intrusions is absent (or smaller)
1233 when participants are taxed by high retrieval-load. We hypothesized that (visuospatial/verbal)
1234 retrieval load during the vigilance-intrusion task would compete with the resources needed
1235 for intrusions to occur, leaving ‘less room’ for an interference effect. While manipulations of
1236 both visuospatial and verbal load (compared to no load) at intrusion retrieval did reduce
1237 intrusion rates overall, neither of these retrieval load effects interacted with group, and

1238 interference was detected in all three load-conditions. In other words, retrieval load appears
1239 detrimental to intrusions, consistent with research on involuntary memories (Ball, 2007;
1240 Barzykowski & Niedźwieńska, 2018; Berntsen, 2009; Schlagman & Kvavilashvili, 2008;
1241 Vannucci et al., 2015), but such effects appear to be additional and independent from the
1242 effects exerted at the time of intervention by the interference task (Tetris after reminder cues).
1243 This finding that yet another obvious retrieval factor – here retrieval load – does not appear to
1244 explain the interference effects on (intrusive) memory is difficult to reconcile with single-
1245 trace accounts (Figure 1). We return to the broader theoretical implications in the General
1246 Discussion.

1247 The equivalent reduction in intrusive memories by a concurrent visuospatial versus
1248 verbal load is consistent with a general-load effect (Engelhard et al., 2010; Gunter & Bodner,
1249 2008; Van den Hout & Engelhard, 2012) rather than modality-specific effects (Andrade et al.,
1250 1997; Baddeley & Andrade, 2000; Bourne et al., 2010; Brewin, 2014; Holmes et al., 2004;
1251 Holmes, James, et al., 2010; Lau-Zhu et al., 2017). However, the ‘load effects’ in Experiment
1252 3 concern (intrusive) memory as experienced *during* a WM-load manipulation (Engelhard et
1253 al., 2010; Leer et al., 2017; van den Hout, Eidhof, Verboom, Littel, & Engelhard, 2014),
1254 whereas previous research supporting a modality-specific account mostly concern (intrusive)
1255 memory as experienced *after* a WM-load manipulations (for a review, see James, Lau-Zhu,
1256 Clark, et al., 2016). Future research could systematically manipulate modality and load
1257 levels, while also assessing intrusions both during and following WM loads, to delineate the
1258 impact and time course of modality-specific versus general-load effects (also see
1259 Supplemental Materials).

1260 Intrusion rates were reduced only when Tetris was preceded by a reminder cue (i.e., not
1261 by Tetris alone), here 30 min after the film. As we have reasoned previously, many other

1262 types of information can enter WM during a 30-min period after an experience; an orientation
1263 cue might be important in allowing the target memory to be brought into attention sufficiently
1264 for interference to be exerted (Visser et al., 2018). For this reason, we have also used a cue
1265 before gameplay in the first hours after real trauma while patients are waiting in hospital in a
1266 different context to the one in which the trauma occurred, namely accidents on the road
1267 (Iyadurai, Blackwell, et al., 2018). Hence, the reminder cue appears to be a procedural
1268 requirement to bring about the selective interference effect in future studies.

1269 Critically, the third group in Experiment 3 provided additional theoretical leverage. One
1270 could have argued that reminder cues in the initial control group (reminder-only group in
1271 Experiments 1-3) led to retrieval practice during the 10-min silence period, which then
1272 *increased* intrusions above the reminder-plus-Tetris group, rather than the latter group
1273 showing *reduced* intrusions per se. The inclusion of the Tetris-only group here served as an
1274 additional active control-group, ruling out a potential ‘reminder-boosting’ effect. Specifically,
1275 the Tetris-only group showed comparable number of intrusions to the reminder-only group,
1276 suggesting that the reminder cues in themselves in the reminder-only group were unlikely to
1277 have increased intrusion. Hence, the additional Tetris-only group is not only relevant for
1278 replications/translations, but also strengths our interpretation from Experiments 1-2 that the
1279 interference task *reduces* intrusive memories.

1280 **Caveat.** Experiment 3 did not directly compare intrusive versus voluntary memory. The
1281 finding that load during memory assessments fail to moderate the interference effect suggests
1282 that retrieval load is unlikely to have been a critical confound in previous demonstrations of
1283 the intrusive/voluntary memory dissociation (including those in Experiments 1-2). However,
1284 ‘high’ load in recognition tasks is only assumed. Future replications could compare both

1285 intrusive and voluntary memories while directly manipulating (and measuring) retrieval load
1286 within both memory conditions.

1287

1288

General Discussion

1289 Three experiments assessed the impact of an interference task (film reminder cues
1290 followed by Tetris game-play) – delivered after encoding of a film with traumatic content –
1291 on intrusive (involuntary) versus voluntary memory of the film. While trauma film research
1292 over the last decade has revealed that interference tasks can affect intrusive but not voluntary
1293 memory, this has never been shown while systematically controlling for key methodological
1294 differences between the two types of memory retrieval, as we did here using a battery of
1295 novel memory measures (Figure 2). We first summarize our key findings, and then discuss
1296 their theoretical implications for the controversial debate concerning the relationship between
1297 involuntary (intrusive) and voluntary memory (also see General Introduction). We argue that
1298 our findings challenge single-trace memory theories, and further constrain separate-trace
1299 memory theories (Figure 1). We conclude with general methodological limitations and
1300 possible future directions.

Summary of Findings

1302 Key findings are presented in Figures 4, 6 & 7. The interference task reduced the
1303 number of intrusive memories in a one-week diary (Experiments 1-2; Figure 1), but did not
1304 impact performance on well-matched measures of voluntary retrieval, namely free recall
1305 (Experiment 1; Figure 4) and recognition (Experiments 1-2; Figure 4) at one week.
1306 Moreover, neither did the interference task impact other measures of involuntary retrieval,

1307 namely perceptual priming by film cues (Experiment 1; Figure 4), nor attentional capture by
1308 film cues (Experiment 2; Figure 6).

1309 However, we were able to extend the interference effect on intrusions recorded in a
1310 diary to intrusions reported in a laboratory assessment (the vigilance-intrusion task). Different
1311 intrusion assessments furnished different rates of intrusions. From highest to lowest intrusion
1312 rates, intrusions were assessed by vigilance-task on Day 1 using key presses (Experiment 3);
1313 with retrospective estimations (Experiment 3); additional validating reports (Experiment 2);
1314 vigilance-task on Day 8 (Experiment 2); and finally diary intrusions (Experiments 1-2).
1315 Vigilance-intrusions tasks not only produced higher intrusion rates, but also within a shorter
1316 timeframe and within the same laboratory context and timepoint as the other measures of
1317 memory, providing further match to those measures. Yet, all intrusion reporting-methods
1318 were sufficiently sensitive to reveal interference. Interference effects on laboratory intrusions
1319 were observed on Day 8 (Experiment 2), soon after interference on Day 1 (Experiments 2-3;
1320 Figure 6) and irrespective of the degree and type of WM load at retrieval (Experiment 3;
1321 Figure 7).

1322 We can also more confidently interpret our overall findings as the interference task
1323 (reminder-plus-Tetris) *reducing* intrusions, as opposed to the reminder cues in the control
1324 group (reminder-only) *increasing* intrusions; otherwise the latter would have boosted
1325 intrusions against an additional ‘active’ control group without such cues (Tetris-only), but
1326 that was not the case (Experiment 3).

1327 Taken together, our new battery of memory measures suggest that the apparent
1328 dissociation between intrusive and voluntary memory is not accounted for by the most
1329 obvious retrieval factors, as informed by foundational ‘textbook’ theories of memory
1330 (Baddeley et al., 2009) and key accounts of involuntary memory (Berntsen, 2009), namely

1331 cue overlap (Experiment 1; Figure 4), attentional capture (Experiment 2; Figure 6), and
1332 retrieval load (Experiment 3; Figure 7). Importantly, neither were our findings explained by
1333 group differences in baseline measures, measures for film viewing, task compliance nor
1334 expectations (see Supplemental Materials). This would seem difficult to reconcile with
1335 single-trace theories, and more compatible with separate-trace theories in which intrusions
1336 arise from a memory system separate to that underlying (voluntary) episodic memory (Figure
1337 1). Our data therefore extend a considerable number of previous claims that interference tasks
1338 impact intrusions while sparing voluntary expressions of the memory (Bourne et al., 2010;
1339 Brewin, 2014; Brewin & Saunders, 2001; Deeprose et al., 2012; Holmes et al., 2004, 2009;
1340 Holmes, James, et al., 2010; James et al., 2015; Krans et al., 2010).

1341 **Theoretical Implications**

1342 Single-trace theories broadly propose a single system underlying episodic memory
1343 (Squire & Zola-Morgan, 1991; Tulving, 1972, 2002) and autobiographical memory
1344 (Berntsen, 2009; Conway, 2001; Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000; Rubin et al., 2008). These
1345 theories generally assume that the same memory trace is accessed for involuntary and
1346 voluntary conscious retrieval of episodes. Therefore, any differential effects of the
1347 interference task on intrusions versus voluntary memory are likely to arise at the time of
1348 retrieval – owing to methodological differences between the various memory tasks – rather
1349 than genuine differences in the underlying memory trace. If so, by matching or controlling for
1350 such retrieval factors, we should cease to observe the selective interference effect, that is, no
1351 longer see a differential impact on involuntary versus voluntary retrieval (Experiments 1-2),
1352 or at least be able to modulate the size of the interference effect on intrusions (Experiment 3).
1353 However, when we manipulated the three obvious retrieval factors (Figure 1), as informed by
1354 core ‘textbook’ memory principles (Baddeley et al., 2009; Berntsen, 2009), we found that

1355 interference remained selective to intrusive memories, and regardless of retrieval context. It is
1356 possible that there is yet another retrieval factor that is critical and that we did not explore,
1357 but until then, the present data seem difficult to reconcile with single-trace accounts in which
1358 interference disrupts the same trace involved in intrusions and voluntary retrieval.

1359 Our data are more consistent with separate-trace accounts of memory that permit
1360 distinct traces for intrusive and voluntary memory (Figure 1), and in which interference is
1361 allowed to affect only the trace involved in intrusions. There are various accounts of this type
1362 in the clinical literature (for a review see Dalgleish, 2004), but the most prominent one is dual
1363 representation accounts (Bisby & Burgess, 2017; Brewin, 2014; Brewin et al., 1996, 2010).
1364 Such accounts suggest that intrusive re-experiencing and voluntary retrieval of trauma are
1365 governed by distinct memory systems, with intrusions supported by a specialized long-term
1366 perceptual memory system that is functionally dissociable from the episodic memory system
1367 supporting voluntary recall of the same event (Brewin, 2014). The former system is thought
1368 to be preferentially susceptible to our sensory-perceptual/visuospatial (Tetris) interference
1369 task (Brewin, 2014; Brewin et al., 1996; Holmes et al., 2004), consistent with our findings.

1370 Our result that the interference effect on intrusions did not appear to arise from
1371 changes in perceptual priming appears at odds with clinical accounts of intrusive symptom
1372 development in PTSD (Brewin, 2014; Ehlers & Clark, 2000; Holz et al., 2014; Michael &
1373 Ehlers, 2007; Sündermann et al., 2013), although intrusions and priming could still be linked
1374 through other means. Our intrusion/priming dissociation is more compatible with the widely-
1375 accepted distinction between non-declarative (supporting priming) and declarative memory
1376 systems (supporting intrusions) (Berntsen, 2009). In other words, what seems to distinguish
1377 intrusive memories is the *conscious* involuntary retrieval, unlike implicit priming which is
1378 thought to involve *unconscious* involuntary retrieval) (Berntsen, 1996).

1379 Consolidation is assumed to be a slow and time-dependent memory process, hence
1380 influences on it may become apparent only after a delay (e.g., after hours/days or after sleep)
1381 but not necessarily sooner (Dudai, 2004; McGaugh, 2000, 2015; Nader, 2003). Our
1382 interference effects on intrusions were almost immediate, casting doubt on whether such
1383 effects arise from changes in consolidation as previously assumed (Deepröse et al., 2012;
1384 Holmes et al., 2009; Holmes, James, et al., 2010). It is also possible that effects on early
1385 intrusions (e.g., due to temporary interference) differ from those on later intrusions (e.g., due
1386 to consolidation). Nevertheless, such assumptions on the time course of (emotional) memory
1387 consolidation currently rely on rodent studies and using paradigms that tap into non-
1388 declarative memory, including fear conditioning and instrumental learning (McGaugh, 2015;
1389 Miserendino, Sananes, Melia, & Davis, 1990; Nader, 2003; Schafe & LeDoux, 2000; Visser
1390 et al., 2018). In contrast, the same assumptions are not fully endorsed in human studies using
1391 paradigms that tap into declarative memory (Dewar, Cowan, & Sala, 2007; Wixted, 2004),
1392 which we assume support conscious aspects of intrusions. It therefore currently remains
1393 unclear when consolidation begins or ends for human declarative memories, leaving open the
1394 possibility that our effects are still related to consolidation.

1395 **Methodological Considerations**

1396 One consideration is whether procedures used with the trauma film paradigm (James,
1397 Lau-Zhu, Clark, et al., 2016; Lau-Zhu et al., 2018) extend to real-life trauma and clinical
1398 populations. Indeed, our interference procedure (initially developed in the laboratory) has
1399 recently shown to reduce intrusive memories after real-life trauma (Horsch et al., 2017;
1400 Iyadurai, Blackwell, et al., 2018; Kessler et al., 2018) albeit in early and proof-of-concept
1401 stage findings warranting further enquiry. Diagnostic criteria for PTSD now allow indirect
1402 exposure to trauma via film footage to fulfil criteria for trauma exposure (so long as it is

1403 work-related), for instance, journalists who perform news editing (APA, 2013). There is also
1404 increased recognition that exposure to traumatic events via electronic mediums (e.g., film
1405 footage) can also result in stress-related symptoms that warrant further scrutiny (Holman,
1406 Garfin, & Silver, 2014; Silver et al., 2013).

1407 Another potential criticism relates to the use of a diary to record intrusive memories in
1408 daily life, where the conditions that elicit intrusions (e.g., retrieval cues) are difficult to
1409 control for. However, our findings on intrusions converged across assessments, both in the
1410 diary and in the laboratory (with presumably higher level of experimental control). One may
1411 also argue that self-report such as for reporting intrusions is subjected to demand
1412 characteristics, yet our findings suggest that groups were matched on expectations about the
1413 direction of the interference effects (see Supplemental Materials), and demand ratings are
1414 typically ruled out as a confound in trauma film studies (James, Lau-Zhu, Clark, et al., 2016;
1415 Lau-Zhu et al., 2018). Future research should continue to leverage laboratory assessments of
1416 intrusions informed by a modelling of factors that govern everyday intrusions (Lau-Zhu et al.,
1417 2018; Takarangi et al., 2014), as well as assess other concomitant affective outcomes such as
1418 physiological correlates (Kunze, Arntz, & Kindt, 2015; Visser et al., 2018; Wegerer,
1419 Blechert, Kerschbaum, & Wilhelm, 2013).

1420 The absence of interference on some of the memory tasks (i.e., those not assessing
1421 intrusions) could reflect lack of statistical power (Anderson, Kelley, & Maxwell, 2017), as
1422 we mainly powered our study on the basis of effect sizes for intrusion effects. Nevertheless,
1423 the interference effects in free recall and priming (Experiment 1) and in attentional bias
1424 (Experiment 2) were numerically in the opposite direction to that in intrusions, and thus it
1425 does not appear to be the case that a trend just failed to reach significance because of low
1426 power. This interpretation was further corroborated by additional ANOVA's on standardized

1427 scores – which demonstrated the effect sizes for intrusions were significantly bigger than in
1428 the other measures (this interaction would be unlikely to be significant if the other measures
1429 were just extremely noisy) – as well as additional analyses using a Bayesian approach
1430 supporting the relevant lack of group differences (see Supplemental Materials).

1431 Further converging evidence with our current memory ‘dissociation’ findings could be
1432 sought in at least three ways. First, more stringent between-group designs could be used –
1433 where each participant is given only a single retrieval task – to fully rule out ‘contamination’
1434 effects across memory tasks that could potentially arise from the fixed-order designs used in
1435 our three experiments. Second, additional task comparisons could account for other
1436 differences between measures of intrusive/involuntary and voluntary memories not directly
1437 addressed here, such as the use of frequency versus accuracy as main outcomes. While there
1438 was a strong correspondence between frequency count and accuracy within the diary
1439 (proportions of reported intrusions matched with film scenes were 87-98%), additional
1440 evidence they are assessing a similar construct should be explored. Other retrieval factors to
1441 account for include the requirement for monitoring (Vannucci et al., 2014), the ease of
1442 retrieval (Barzykowski & Staugaard, 2016; Uzer, Lee, & Brown, 2012), and types of triggers
1443 (Berntsen, 2009; Berntsen et al., 2013; Mace, 2004; Staugaard & Berntsen, 2014). Third,
1444 there remains the possibility that each measure may not be ‘pure’, mixing involuntary and
1445 voluntary contributions (Hellawell & Brewin, 2002; Mace, 2014; Richardson-Klavehn &
1446 Bjork, 1988; Whalley et al., 2013). Alternative approaches can be considered to dissociate
1447 controlled from automatic contributions within a given task (Yonelinas & Jacoby, 2012).

1448 Our selective interference effects remain to be demonstrated with other memory
1449 paradigms. While the impact of post-encoding interference on subsequent memory has been
1450 demonstrated using a variety of episodic materials (other than trauma films), such studies

1451 tend to use non-emotional stimuli (e.g., objects; Hupbach, Gomez, Hardt, & Nadel, 2007;
1452 Hupbach, Gomez, & Nadel, 2009), focus on voluntary retrieval (Chan & LaPaglia, 2013;
1453 Schwabe & Wolf, 2009; Wichert, Wolf, & Schwabe, 2013), or consider other forms of
1454 clinically-relevant outcomes, such as ratings of vividness/emotionality (Engelhard et al.,
1455 2010; Leer et al., 2017; Tadmor, McNally, & Engelhard, 2016; van den Hout et al., 2014).
1456 Some of these have also found that reductions in vividness/emotionality (of non-aversive
1457 stimuli) were accompanied by worsening of recognition performance (Leer et al., 2017; van
1458 den Hout, Bartelski, & Engelhard, 2013), suggesting that not all interference effects are
1459 selective, unlike our experiments. Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw direct comparisons, as
1460 *involuntary* retrieval (a key feature of intrusive memory) is not directly addressed in such
1461 studies. It would be of great interest for future research to combine these various lines of
1462 investigation of the effects of post-encoding interference on different stimuli/measures.

1463 **Conclusions and Future Directions**

1464 Our results of a selective interference effect on intrusive memories highlight the need
1465 for theories of episodic memory to accommodate findings on intrusive/involuntary forms of
1466 memories, and to extend clinical theories such as dual representation accounts. They may
1467 also inform clinical interventions seeking to selectively target intrusive memories without
1468 ‘erasing’ voluntary memories of emotional events. Future research should further dissect
1469 mechanisms underlying the effects discussed. These include the timing of the intervention in
1470 relation to film viewing (James, Lau-Zhu, Tickle, et al., 2016), the specificity as well as
1471 timing of delivery of the reminder cue (Horsch et al., 2017; Iyadurai, Blackwell, et al., 2018;
1472 James et al., 2015), the nature of the event (Arnaudova & Hagensars, 2017; Davies et al.,
1473 2012; Lang et al., 2009), and aspects related to the interference task, in order to resolve
1474 controversies around issues of task modality (Hagensars et al., 2017; Holmes, James, et al.,

1475 2010; Lau-Zhu et al., 2017) and individual task performance (James et al., 2015; Lau-Zhu et
1476 al., 2017). Another important issue that merits further investigation is how intrusive
1477 memories are experienced once they emerge (Lau-Zhu et al., 2018; Marks, Franklin, &
1478 Zoellner, 2018) and how they may impact an individual's daily functioning (Iyadurai, Visser,
1479 et al., 2018). We hope such fine-grained investigations will further constrain theories on
1480 intrusive memories and their relationship to voluntary memory of emotional events, and help
1481 optimize translational parameters.

1482 **Context Paragraph**

1483 This series of experiments tackled one of the most heated debates in the literature on
1484 intrusive memories (single vs. separate-trace accounts). We began a research program
1485 involving clinical and basic memory researchers to help resolve this long-standing
1486 controversy in the trauma-film literature spanning the last two decades. This collaboration
1487 showcases the benefits of taking an experimental approach to study psychopathology, in
1488 terms of advancing cognitive theories, and in doing so, promoting clinical innovations. The
1489 interference procedure used has already shown initial early-stage promise to prevent intrusive
1490 memories of real-life traumas (Horsch et al., 2017; Iyadurai, Blackwell, et al., 2018).
1491 Experimental studies can further illuminate the theoretical basis of such therapeutic gains in
1492 order to refine translational parameters. An exciting opportunity is to extend novel
1493 applications for clinical areas beyond trauma where intrusive imagery is increasingly
1494 recognized as a promising intervention target. These areas include hypomania (Davies et al.,
1495 2012), affect lability (Di Simplicio et al., 2016), visceral syndromes (Kamboj et al., 2015),
1496 cravings (Skorka-Brown, Andrade, Whalley, & May, 2015), as well as ubiquitous yet
1497 unaddressed anxiety across typical and atypical development (Burnett Heyes, Lau, &
1498 Holmes, 2013; Ozsivadjian, Hollocks, Southcott, Absoud, & Holmes, 2017).

1499 **References**

- 1500 Albers, A. M., Kok, P., Toni, I., Dijkerman, H. C., & de Lange, F. P. (2013). Shared
1501 representations for working memory and mental imagery in early visual cortex. *Current*
1502 *Biology*, 23(15), 1427–1431. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cub.2013.05.065>
- 1503 American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Health*
1504 *Disorders* (5th ed.). Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing.
- 1505 Anderson, S. F., Kelley, K., & Maxwell, S. E. (2017). Sample-size planning for more
1506 accurate statistical power: a method adjusting sample effect sizes for publication bias
1507 and uncertainty. *Psychological Science*, 28(11), 1547–1562.
1508 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797617723724>
- 1509 Andrade, J., Kavanagh, D., & Baddeley, A. (1997). Eye-movements and visual imagery: a
1510 working memory approach to the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder. *The British*
1511 *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 36, 209–223.
- 1512 Arnaudova, I., & Hagenars, M. A. (2017). Lights ... action: comparison of trauma films for
1513 use in the trauma film paradigm. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 93, 67–77.
1514 <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.BRAT.2017.02.007>
- 1515 Baddeley, A. (2003). Working memory: looking back and looking forward. *Nature Reviews*
1516 *Neuroscience*, 4(10), 829–839. <https://doi.org/10.1038/nrn1201>
- 1517 Baddeley, A., & Andrade, J. (2000). Working memory and the vividness of imagery. *Journal*
1518 *of Experimental Psychology: General*, 129(1), 126–145.
- 1519 Baddeley, A., Eysenck, M. W., & Anderson, M. C. (2009). *Memory*. (1st ed.). Psychology
1520 Press.

- 1521 Ball, C. T. (2007). Can we elicit involuntary autobiographical memories in the laboratory? In
1522 J. Mace (Ed.), *New perspectives in cognitive psychology. Involuntary memory.*
1523 *Involuntary Memory* (pp. 127–152). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
1524 <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470774069.ch7>
- 1525 Barzykowski, K., & Niedźwieńska, A. (2018). Involuntary autobiographical memories are
1526 relatively more often reported during high cognitive load tasks. *Acta Psychologica, 182*,
1527 119–128. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actpsy.2017.11.014>
- 1528 Barzykowski, K., & Staugaard, S. R. (2016). Does retrieval intentionality really matter?
1529 Similarities and differences between involuntary memories and directly and generatively
1530 retrieved voluntary memories. *British Journal of Psychology, 107*(3), 519–536.
1531 <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjop.12160>
- 1532 Beck, A. T., Steer, R. A., & Brown, G. K. (1996). *Manual for the Beck Depression Inventory-*
1533 *II*. San Antonio, TX: Psychological Corporation.
- 1534 Beck, A. T., Steer, R. A., & Garbin, M. G. (1988). Psychometric properties of the Beck
1535 Depression Inventory: twenty-five years of evaluation. *Clinical Psychology Review,*
1536 *8*(1), 77–10.
- 1537 Berntsen, D. (1996). Involuntary autobiographical memory. *Applied Cognitive Psychology,*
1538 *10*, 435–454.
- 1539 Berntsen, D. (1998). Voluntary and involuntary access to autobiographical memory. *Memory*
1540 *(Hove, England), 6*(2), 113–141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/741942071>
- 1541 Berntsen, D. (2009). *Involuntary autobiographical memories: An introduction to the*
1542 *unbidden past*. Cambridge University Press.

- 1543 Berntsen, D. (2010). The unbidden past: involuntary autobiographical memories as a basic
1544 mode of remembering. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *19*(3), 138–142.
1545 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721410370301>
- 1546 Berntsen, D., & Rubin, D. C. (2013). Involuntary memories and dissociative amnesia:
1547 assessing key assumptions in posttraumatic stress disorder research. *Clinical*
1548 *Psychological Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167702613496241>
- 1549 Berntsen, D., Staugaard, S. R., & Sørensen, L. M. T. (2013). Why am I remembering this
1550 now? Predicting the occurrence of involuntary (spontaneous) episodic memories.
1551 *Journal of Experimental Psychology. General*, *142*(2), 426–444.
1552 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029128>
- 1553 Berry, C. J., Shanks, D. R., & Henson, R. N. (2008). A single-system account of the
1554 relationship between priming, recognition, and fluency. *Journal of Experimental*
1555 *Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition*, *34*(1), 97–111.
1556 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.34.1.97>
- 1557 Bisby, J. A., Brewin, C. R., Leitz, J. R., & Curran, V. H. (2009). Acute effects of alcohol on
1558 the development of intrusive memories. *Psychopharmacology*, *204*(4), 655–666.
1559 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00213-009-1496-5>
- 1560 Bisby, J. A., & Burgess, N. (2017). Differential effects of negative emotion on memory for
1561 items and associations, and their relationship to intrusive imagery. *Current Opinion in*
1562 *Behavioral Sciences*, *17*, 124–132. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.COBEHA.2017.07.012>
- 1563 Blue Planet Software. (2007). Tetris Zone (Version 1.2.1). Honolulu.
- 1564 Bourne, C., Frasquilho, F., Roth, A. D., & Holmes, E. A. (2010). Is it mere distraction? Peri-

- 1565 traumatic verbal tasks can increase analogue flashbacks but reduce voluntary memory
1566 performance. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, 41(3), 316–
1567 324. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2010.03.001>
- 1568 Bourne, C., Mackay, C. E., & Holmes, E. A. (2013). The neural basis of flashback formation:
1569 the impact of viewing trauma. *Psychological Medicine*, 43(7), 1521–1532.
1570 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291712002358>
- 1571 Brainard, D. H. (1997). The Psychophysics Toolbox. *Spatial Vision*, 10(4), 433–436.
1572 <https://doi.org/10.1163/156856897X00357>
- 1573 Bremner, M. (1988). *Enquire within upon everything: the complete home reference book*. (1st
1574 ed.). Guild Publishing.
- 1575 Brewin, C. R. (2014). Episodic memory, perceptual memory, and their interaction:
1576 Foundations for a theory of posttraumatic stress disorder. *Psychological Bulletin*,
1577 140(1), 69–97. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033722>
- 1578 Brewin, C. R., Dalgleish, T., & Joseph, S. (1996). A dual representation theory of
1579 posttraumatic stress disorder. *Psychological Review*, 103(4), 670–686.
- 1580 Brewin, C. R., Gregory, J. D., Lipton, M., & Burgess, N. (2010). Intrusive images in
1581 psychological disorders: characteristics, neural mechanisms, and treatment implications.
1582 *Psychological Review*, 117(1), 210–232. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018113>
- 1583 Brewin, C. R., & Saunders, J. (2001). The effect of dissociation at encoding on intrusive
1584 memories for a stressful film. *The British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 74(4), 467–
1585 472.
- 1586 Brown, R., & Kulik, J. (1977). Flashbulb memories. *Cognition*, 5(1), 73–99.

- 1587 [https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0277\(77\)90018-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0277(77)90018-X)
- 1588 Burnett Heyes, S., Lau, J. Y. F., & Holmes, E. a. (2013). Mental imagery, emotion and
1589 psychopathology across child and adolescent development. *Developmental Cognitive*
1590 *Neuroscience*, 5, 119–133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcn.2013.02.004>
- 1591 Cabeza, R., Ciaramelli, E., Olson, I. R., & Moscovitch, M. (2008). The parietal cortex and
1592 episodic memory: an attentional account. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 9(8), 613–625.
1593 <https://doi.org/10.1038/nrn2459>
- 1594 Carr, B. G., Branas, C. C., Metlay, J. P., Sullivan, A. F., Camargo, C. A., & Jr. (2009).
1595 Access to emergency care in the United States. *Annals of Emergency Medicine*, 54(2),
1596 261–269. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annemergmed.2008.11.016>
- 1597 Chan, J. C. K., & LaPaglia, J. A. (2013). Impairing existing declarative memory in humans
1598 by disrupting reconsolidation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the*
1599 *United States of America*, 110(23), 9309–9313.
1600 <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1218472110>
- 1601 Cicchetti, D. V. (1994). Guidelines, criteria, and rules of thumb for evaluating normed and
1602 standardized assessment instruments in psychology. *Psychological Assessment*, 6(4),
1603 284–290. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.6.4.284>
- 1604 Clark, I. A., Holmes, E. A., Woolrich, M. W., & Mackay, C. E. (2016). Intrusive memories to
1605 traumatic footage: the neural basis of their encoding and involuntary recall.
1606 *Psychological Medicine*, 46(3), 505–518. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291715002007>
- 1607 Conway, M. A. (2001). Sensory-perceptual episodic memory and its context:
1608 Autobiographical memory. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*.

- 1609 *Series B, Biological Sciences*, 356(1413), 1375–1384.
- 1610 <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2001.0940>
- 1611 Conway, M. A., & Pleydell-Pearce, C. W. (2000). The construction of autobiographical
1612 memories in the self-memory system. *Psychological Review*, 107(2), 261–288.
1613 <https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295X.107.2.261>
- 1614 Dalglish, T. (2004). Cognitive approaches to posttraumatic stress disorder: the evolution of
1615 multirepresentational theorizing. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130(2), 228–260.
1616 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.130.2.228>
- 1617 Das, R. K., Tamman, A., Nikolova, V., Freeman, T. P., Bisby, J. A., Lazzarino, A. I., &
1618 Kamboj, S. K. (2016). Nitrous oxide speeds the reduction of distressing intrusive
1619 memories in an experimental model of psychological trauma. *Psychological Medicine*,
1620 46(08), 1749–1759. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S003329171600026X>
- 1621 Davies, C., Malik, A., Pictet, A., Blackwell, S. E., & Holmes, E. A. (2012). Involuntary
1622 memories after a positive film are dampened by a visuospatial task: unhelpful in
1623 depression but helpful in mania? *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 19(4), 341–
1624 351. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cpp.1800>
- 1625 Deeproose, C., Zhang, S., Dejong, H., Dalglish, T., & Holmes, E. A. (2012). Imagery in the
1626 aftermath of viewing a traumatic film: using cognitive tasks to modulate the
1627 development of involuntary memory. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental*
1628 *Psychiatry*, 43(2), 758–764. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2011.10.008>
- 1629 Dewar, M. T., Cowan, N., & Sala, S. Della. (2007). Forgetting due to retroactive interference:
1630 a fusion of Müller and Pilzecker's (1900) early insights into everyday forgetting and
1631 recent research on anterograde amnesia. *Cortex*, 43(5), 616–634. Retrieved from

- 1632 <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17715797>
- 1633 Di Simplicio, M., Renner, F., Blackwell, S. E., Mitchell, H., Stratford, H. J., Watson, P., ...
- 1634 Holmes, E. A. (2016). An investigation of mental imagery in bipolar disorder: Exploring
- 1635 “the mind’s eye.” *Bipolar Disorders*, *18*(8), 669–683. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bdi.12453>
- 1636 Dudai, Y. (2004). The neurobiology of consolidations, or, how stable is the engram? *Annual*
- 1637 *Review of Psychology*, *55*(1), 51–86.
- 1638 <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.55.090902.142050>
- 1639 Ehlers, A., & Clark, D. M. (2000). A cognitive model of posttraumatic stress disorder.
- 1640 *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *38*(4), 319–345.
- 1641 Ehlers, A., Hackmann, A., & Michael, T. (2004). Intrusive re-experiencing in post-traumatic
- 1642 stress disorder: phenomenology, theory, and therapy. *Memory*, *12*(4), 403–415.
- 1643 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210444000025>
- 1644 Engelhard, I. M., Van Uijen, S. L., & Van den Hout, M. A. (2010). The impact of taxing
- 1645 working memory on negative and positive memories. *European Journal of*
- 1646 *Psychotraumatology*, *1*, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.3402/ejpt.v1i0.5623>
- 1647 Field, A. P. (2005). *Discovering statistics using SPSS (and sex, drugs and rock “n” roll)*.
- 1648 Sage Publications.
- 1649 Foa, E. B. (1995). *The Posttraumatic Diagnostic Scale manual*. Minneapolis, MN: National
- 1650 Computer Systems.
- 1651 Foa, E. B., Ehlers, A., Clark, D. M., Tolin, D. F., & Orsillo, S. M. (1999). The Posttraumatic
- 1652 Cognitions Inventory (PTCI): development and validation. *Psychological Assessment*,
- 1653 *11*(3), 303–314. <https://doi.org/10.1037//1040-3590.11.3.303>

- 1654 Gönen, M., Johnson, W. O., Lu, Y., & Westfall, P. H. (2005). The bayesian two-sample t-
1655 test. *The American Statistician*, *59*(3), 252–257.
1656 <https://doi.org/10.1198/000313005X55233>
- 1657 Grey, N., & Holmes, E. A. (2008). “Hotspots” in trauma memories in the treatment of post-
1658 traumatic stress disorder: a replication. *Memory*, *16*(7), 788–796.
1659 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210802266446>
- 1660 Gunter, R. W., & Bodner, G. E. (2008). How eye movements affect unpleasant memories:
1661 support for a working-memory account. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *46*(8), 913–
1662 931. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2008.04.006>
- 1663 Hackmann, A., Ehlers, A., Speckens, A., & Clark, D. M. (2004). Characteristics and content
1664 of intrusive memories in PTSD and their changes with treatment. *Journal of Traumatic*
1665 *Stress*, *17*(3), 231–240. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JOTS.0000029266.88369.fd>
- 1666 Hageraars, M. A., & Arntz, A. (2012). Reduced intrusion development after post-trauma
1667 imagery rescripting; an experimental study. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and*
1668 *Experimental Psychiatry*, *43*(2), 808–814. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2011.09.005>
- 1669 Hageraars, M. A., Holmes, E. A., Klaassen, F., & Elzinga, B. (2017). Tetris and Word games
1670 lead to fewer intrusive memories when applied several days after analogue trauma.
1671 *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, *8*(sup1: 1386959.).
- 1672 Hawkins, K. A., & Coughle, J. R. (2013). The effects of nicotine on intrusive memories in
1673 nonsmokers. *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology*, *21*(6), 434–442.
1674 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033966>
- 1675 Hellawell, S. J., & Brewin, C. R. (2002). A comparison of flashbacks and ordinary

- 1676 autobiographical memories of trauma: cognitive resources and behavioural observations.
1677 *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 40(10), 1143–1156.
- 1678 Holman, E. A., Garfin, D. R., & Silver, R. C. (2014). Media’s role in broadcasting acute
1679 stress following the Boston Marathon bombings. *Proceedings of the National Academy*
1680 *of Sciences of the United States of America*, 111(1), 93–98.
1681 <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1316265110>
- 1682 Holmes, E. A., Brewin, C. R., & Hennessy, R. G. (2004). Trauma films, information
1683 processing, and intrusive memory development. *Journal of Experimental Psychology.*
1684 *General*, 133(1), 3–22. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.133.1.3>
- 1685 Holmes, E. A., Grey, N., & Young, K. (2005). Intrusive images and “hotspots” of trauma
1686 memories in posttraumatic stress disorder: an exploratory investigation of emotions and
1687 cognitive themes. *Journal of Behavioral Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, 36(1),
1688 3–17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2004.11.002>
- 1689 Holmes, E. A., James, E. L., Coode-Bate, T., & Deeprose, C. (2009). Can playing the
1690 computer game “Tetris” reduce the build-up of flashbacks for trauma? A proposal from
1691 cognitive science. *PloS One*, 4(1), e4153. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0004153>
- 1692 Holmes, E. A., James, E. L., Kilford, E. J., & Deeprose, C. (2010). Key steps in developing a
1693 cognitive vaccine against traumatic flashbacks: visuospatial Tetris versus verbal Pub
1694 Quiz. *PloS One*, 5(11), e13706. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0013706>
- 1695 Holmes, E. A., Sandberg, A., & Iyadurai, L. (2010). Erasing trauma memories. *The British*
1696 *Journal of Psychiatry*, 197(5), 414–415. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.197.5.414b>
- 1697 Holz, E., Lass-Hennemann, J., Streb, M., Pfaltz, M., & Michael, T. (2014). Effects of acute

- 1698 cortisol administration on perceptual priming of trauma-related material. *PloS One*, 9(9),
1699 e104864. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0104864>
- 1700 Hoppitt, L., Illingworth, J. L., MacLeod, C., Hampshire, A., Dunn, B. D., & Mackintosh, B.
1701 (2014). Modifying social anxiety related to a real-life stressor using online cognitive
1702 bias modification for interpretation. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 52, 45–52.
1703 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2013.10.008>
- 1704 Horsch, A., Vial, Y., Favrod, C., Harari, M. M., Blackwell, S. E., Watson, P., ... Holmes, E.
1705 A. (2017). Reducing intrusive traumatic memories after emergency caesarean section: a
1706 proof-of-principle randomized controlled study. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, 94,
1707 36–47. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2017.03.018>
- 1708 Hupbach, A., Gomez, R., Hardt, O., & Nadel, L. (2007). Reconsolidation of episodic
1709 memories: a subtle reminder triggers integration of new information. *Learning and*
1710 *Memory*, 14(1–2), 47–53. <https://doi.org/10.1101/lm.365707>
- 1711 Hupbach, A., Gomez, R., & Nadel, L. (2009). Episodic memory reconsolidation: updating or
1712 source confusion? *Memory*, 17(5), 502–510.
1713 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210902882399>
- 1714 IBM Corp. (2013). IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows. *Version 22.0*. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp.
- 1715 Iyadurai, L., Blackwell, S. E., Meiser-Stedman, R., Watson, P. C., Bonsall, M. B., Geddes, J.
1716 R., ... Holmes, E. A. (2018). Preventing intrusive memories after trauma via a brief
1717 intervention involving Tetris computer game play in the emergency department: a proof-
1718 of-concept randomized controlled trial. *Molecular Psychiatry*, 23(3), 674–682.
1719 <https://doi.org/10.1038/mp.2017.23>

- 1720 Iyadurai, L., Visser, R. M., Lau-Zhu, A., Porcheret, K., Horsch, A., Holmes, E. A., & James,
1721 E. L. (2018). Intrusive memories of trauma: advances in cognitive science and emerging
1722 clinical directions to target them. *Clinical Psychology Review, In Press*.
1723 <https://doi.org/doi: 10.1016/j.cpr.2018.08.005>
- 1724 Jacobs, W. J., & Nadel, L. (1998). Neurobiology of reconstructed memory. *Psychology,*
1725 *Public Policy, and Law, 4(4)*, 1110–1134. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8971.4.4.1110>
- 1726 James, E. L., Bonsall, M. B., Hoppitt, L., Tunbridge, E. M., Geddes, J. R., Milton, A. L., &
1727 Holmes, E. A. (2015). Computer game play reduces intrusive memories of experimental
1728 trauma via reconsolidation-update mechanisms. *Psychological Science, 26(8)*, 1201–
1729 1215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797615583071>
- 1730 James, E. L., Lau-Zhu, A., Clark, I. A., Visser, R. M., Hagensars, M. A., & Holmes, E. A.
1731 (2016). The trauma film paradigm as an experimental psychopathology model of
1732 psychological trauma: intrusive memories and beyond. *Clinical Psychology Review, 47*,
1733 106–142. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2016.04.010>
- 1734 James, E. L., Lau-Zhu, A., Tickle, H., Horsch, A., & Holmes, E. A. (2016). Playing the
1735 computer game Tetris prior to viewing traumatic film material and subsequent intrusive
1736 memories: examining proactive interference. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and*
1737 *Experimental Psychiatry, 53*, 25–33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2015.11.004>
- 1738 Jobson, L., & Dalgleish, T. (2014). Cultural differences in the relationship between intrusions
1739 and trauma narratives using the trauma film paradigm. *PloS One, 9(9)*, e106759.
1740 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0106759>
- 1741 Johnson, M. K., & Multhaup, K. S. (1992). Emotion and MEM. In S. A. Christianson (Ed.),
1742 *The handbook of emotion and memory: Research and theory*. (pp. 33–66). Hillsdale, NJ,

- 1743 US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- 1744 Kamboj, S. K., Langhoff, C., Pajak, R., Lau-Zhu, A., Chevalier, A., & Watson, S. (2015).
1745 Bowel and bladder-control anxiety: a preliminary description of a viscerally-centred
1746 phobic syndrome. *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy*, *43*(02), 142–157.
1747 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1352465813000726>
- 1748 Kessler, H., Holmes, E. A., Blackwell, S. E., Schmidt, A. C., Schweer, J. M., Bücker, A., ...
1749 Kehyayan, A. (2018). Reducing intrusive memories of trauma using a visuospatial
1750 interference intervention with inpatients with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).
1751 *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *86*, 1076–1090.
1752 <https://doi.org/dx.doi.org/10.1037/ccp0000340>
- 1753 Kindt, M., Soeter, M., & Vervliet, B. (2009). Beyond extinction: erasing human fear
1754 responses and preventing the return of fear. *Nature Neuroscience*, *12*(3), 256–258.
1755 <https://doi.org/10.1038/nn.2271>
- 1756 Krans, J., Langner, O., Reinecke, A., & Pearson, D. G. (2013). Intrusive images and
1757 voluntary memory for affective pictures: contextualization and dual-task interference.
1758 *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, *44*(4), 418–425.
1759 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2013.05.001>
- 1760 Krans, J., Naring, G., & Becker, E. S. (2009). Count out your intrusions: effects of verbal
1761 encoding on intrusive memories. *Memory*, *17*(8), 809–815.
1762 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210903130780>
- 1763 Krans, J., Näring, G., Holmes, E. A., & Becker, E. S. (2009). Tell me more: can a memory
1764 test reduce analogue traumatic intrusions? *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *47*(5),
1765 426–430. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2009.01.009>

- 1766 Krans, J., Näring, G., Holmes, E. A., & Becker, E. S. (2010). Motion effects on intrusion
1767 development. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation*, *11*(1), 73–82.
1768 <https://doi.org/10.1080/15299730903318483>
- 1769 Kunze, A. E., Arntz, A., & Kindt, M. (2015). Fear conditioning with film clips: a complex
1770 associative learning paradigm. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental*
1771 *Psychiatry*, *47*, 42–50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2014.11.007>
- 1772 Lang, T. J., Moulds, M. L., & Holmes, E. A. (2009). Reducing depressive intrusions via a
1773 computerized cognitive bias modification of appraisals task: developing a cognitive
1774 vaccine. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *47*(2), 139–145.
1775 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2008.11.002>
- 1776 Lau-Zhu, A., Holmes, E. A., Butterfield, S., & Holmes, J. (2017). Selective association
1777 between Tetris game play and visuospatial working memory: a preliminary
1778 investigation. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *31*(4), 438–445.
1779 <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3339>
- 1780 Lau-Zhu, A., Holmes, E. A., & Porcheret, K. (2018). Intrusive memories of trauma in the
1781 laboratory: methodological developments and future directions. *Current Behavioral*
1782 *Neuroscience Reports*, *5*(1), 61–71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40473-018-0141-1>
- 1783 Leer, A., Engelhard, I. M., Lenaert, B., Struyf, D., Vervliet, B., & Hermans, D. (2017). Eye
1784 movement during recall reduces objective memory performance: an extended
1785 replication. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *92*, 94–105.
1786 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2017.03.002>
- 1787 Levine, B., Svoboda, E., Hay, J. F., Winocur, G., & Moscovitch, M. (2002). Aging and
1788 autobiographical memory: dissociating episodic from semantic retrieval. *Psychology*

- 1789 *and Aging*, 17(4), 677–689. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0882-7974.17.4.677>
- 1790 Mace, J. (2004). Involuntary autobiographical memories are highly dependent on abstract
1791 cuing: the Proustian view is incorrect. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 18(7), 893–899.
1792 <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.1020>
- 1793 Mace, J. (2014). Involuntary autobiographical memory chains: implications for
1794 autobiographical memory organization. *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 5, 183.
1795 <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyt.2014.00183>
- 1796 MacLeod, C., Mathews, A., & Tata, P. (1986). Attentional bias in emotional disorders.
1797 *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 95(1), 15–20.
- 1798 Marks, E. H., Franklin, A. R., & Zoellner, L. A. (2018). Can't get it out of my mind: a
1799 systematic review of predictors of intrusive memories of distressing events.
1800 *Psychological Bulletin*, 144(6), 584–640. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000132>
- 1801 Mathews, A., & MacLeod, C. (2005). Cognitive vulnerability to emotional disorders. *Annual*
1802 *Review of Clinical Psychology*, 1, 167–195.
1803 <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.clinpsy.1.102803.143916>
- 1804 McGaugh, J. L. (2000). Memory-a century of consolidation. *Science*, 287(5451), 248–251.
1805 <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.287.5451.248>
- 1806 McGaugh, J. L. (2004). The amygdala modulates the consolidation of memories of
1807 emotionally arousing experiences. *Annual Review of Neuroscience*, 27, 1–28.
1808 <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.neuro.27.070203.144157>
- 1809 McGaugh, J. L. (2015). Consolidating memories. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 66(1), 1–24.
1810 <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010814-014954>

- 1811 McKinnon, M. C., Palombo, D. J., Nazarov, A., Kumar, N., Khoo, W., & Levine, B. (2014).
1812 Threat of death and autobiographical memory: a study of passengers from flight AT236.
1813 *Clinical Psychological Science*, 3(4), 487–502.
1814 <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167702614542280>
- 1815 Michael, T., & Ehlers, A. (2007). Enhanced perceptual priming for neutral stimuli occurring
1816 in a traumatic context: two experimental investigations. *Behaviour Research and*
1817 *Therapy*, 45(2), 341–358. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2006.03.012>
- 1818 Michael, T., Ehlers, A., Halligan, S. L., & Clark, D. M. (2005). Unwanted memories of
1819 assault: what intrusion characteristics are associated with PTSD? *Behaviour Research*
1820 *and Therapy*, 43(5), 613–628. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2004.04.006>
- 1821 Miserendino, M. J. D., Sananes, C. B., Melia, K. R., & Davis, M. (1990). Blocking of
1822 acquisition but not expression of conditioned fear-potentiated startle by NMDA
1823 antagonists in the amygdala. *Nature*, 345(6277), 716–718.
1824 <https://doi.org/10.1038/345716a0>
- 1825 Murphy, F. C., Macpherson, K., Jeyabalasingham, T., Manly, T., & Dunn, B. (2013).
1826 Modulating mind-wandering in dysphoria. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4, 888.
1827 <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2013.00888>
- 1828 Nader, K. (2003). Memory traces unbound. *Trends in Neurosciences*, 26(2), 65–72.
1829 [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0166-2236\(02\)00042-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0166-2236(02)00042-5)
- 1830 Nader, K., Schafe, G. E., & Le Doux, J. E. (2000). Fear memories require protein synthesis in
1831 the amygdala for reconsolidation after retrieval. *Nature*, 406(6797), 722–726.
1832 <https://doi.org/10.1038/35021052>

- 1833 National Audit Office. (2017). *NHS Ambulance Services*. London: NAO External Relations.
- 1834 National Collaborating Centre for Mental Health. (2005). *Clinical guideline 26. Post-*
1835 *traumatic dtress Disorder: the management of PTSD in adults and children in primary*
1836 *and secondary care*. Leicester, UK: Gaskell.
- 1837 Nelis, S., Holmes, E. A., Griffith, J. W., & Raes, F. (2014). Mental imagery during daily life :
1838 Psychometric evaluation of the Spontaneous Use of Imagery Scale (SUIS).
1839 *Psychologica Belgica, 54*, 19–32.
- 1840 Ohman, A., Flykt, A., & Esteves, F. (2001). Emotion drives attention: detecting the snake in
1841 the grass. *Journal of Experimental Psychology. General, 130*(3), 466–478.
- 1842 Ozsivadjian, A., Hollocks, M. J., Southcott, J., Absoud, M., & Holmes, E. A. (2017).
1843 Anxious imagery in children with and without autism spectrum disorder: an
1844 investigation into occurrence, content, features and implications for therapy. *Journal of*
1845 *Autism and Developmental Disorders, 47*(12), 3822–3832.
1846 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10803-016-2840-3>
- 1847 Paivio, A. (1971). *Imagery and verbal processes*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- 1848 Pearson, D. G., Ross, F. D. C., & Webster, V. L. (2012). The importance of context:
1849 Evidence that contextual representations increase intrusive memories. *Journal of*
1850 *Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry, 43*(1), 573–580.
1851 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2011.07.009>
- 1852 Pearson, J., Naselaris, T., Holmes, E. A., & Kosslyn, S. M. (2015). Mental imagery:
1853 functional mechanisms and clinical applications. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 19*(10),
1854 590–602. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2015.08.003>

- 1855 Rajaram, S. (1993). Remembering and knowing: two means of access to the personal past.
1856 *Memory and Cognition*, 21(1), 89–102.
- 1857 Reisberg, D., Pearson, D. G., & Kosslyn, S. M. (2003). Intuitions and introspections about
1858 imagery: the role of imagery experience in shaping an investigator's theoretical views.
1859 *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 17(2), 147–160. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.858>
- 1860 Reiser, E. M., Weiss, E. M., Schuler, G. G., Holmes, E. A., Fink, A., & Papousek, I. (2014).
1861 Prefrontal-posterior coupling while observing the suffering of other people, and the
1862 development of intrusive memories. *Psychophysiology*, 51(6), 546–555.
1863 <https://doi.org/10.1111/psyp.12197>
- 1864 Richardson-Klavehn, A., & Bjork, R. A. (1988). Measures of memory. *Annual Review of*
1865 *Psychology*, 39(1), 475–543. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.39.020188.002355>
- 1866 Robertson, I. H., Manly, T., Andrade, J., Baddeley, B. T., & Yiend, J. (1997). 'Oops!':
1867 Performance correlates of everyday attentional failures in traumatic brain injured and
1868 normal subjects. *Neuropsychologia*, 35(6), 747–758. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0028-](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0028-3932(97)00015-8)
1869 [3932\(97\)00015-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0028-3932(97)00015-8)
- 1870 Rubin, D. C., Boals, A., & Berntsen, D. (2008). Memory in posttraumatic stress disorder:
1871 properties of voluntary and involuntary, traumatic and nontraumatic autobiographical
1872 memories in people with and without posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms. *Journal of*
1873 *Experimental Psychology. General*, 137(4), 591–614. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013165>
- 1874 Schacter, D. L. (1987). Implicit memory: history and current status. *Journal of Experimental*
1875 *Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 13(3), 501–518.
1876 <https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.13.3.501>

- 1877 Schacter, D. L. (1992). Priming and multiple memory systems: perceptual mechanisms of
1878 implicit memory. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 4(3), 244–256.
1879 <https://doi.org/10.1162/jocn.1992.4.3.244>
- 1880 Schacter, D. L., Bowers, J., & Booker, J. (1989). Intention, awareness and implicit memory:
1881 the retrieval intentionality criterion. In S. Lewandowsky, J. C. Dunn, & K. Kirsner
1882 (Eds.), *Implicit memory: Theoretical issues* (pp. 47–65). Hillsdale, NJ, US: Lawrence
1883 Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- 1884 Schafe, G. E., & LeDoux, J. E. (2000). Memory consolidation of auditory pavlovian fear
1885 conditioning requires protein synthesis and protein kinase A in the amygdala. *Journal of*
1886 *Neuroscience*, 20(18), RC96. Retrieved from
1887 <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/10974093>
- 1888 Schaich, A., Watkins, E. R., & Ehring, T. (2013). Can concreteness training buffer against the
1889 negative effects of rumination on PTSD? An experimental analogue study. *Journal of*
1890 *Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, 44(4), 396–403.
1891 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2013.03.006>
- 1892 Schlagman, S., & Kvavilashvili, L. (2008). Involuntary autobiographical memories in and
1893 outside the laboratory: how different are they from voluntary autobiographical
1894 memories? *Memory and Cognition*, 36(5), 920–932.
- 1895 Schneider, W., Eschman, A., & Zuccolotto, A. (2002). *E-Prime User's Guide*. Pittsburgh:
1896 Psychology Software Tools Inc.
- 1897 Schwabe, L., & Wolf, O. T. (2009). New episodic learning interferes with the reconsolidation
1898 of autobiographical memories. *PLoS ONE*, 4(10), e7519.
1899 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0007519>

- 1900 See, J., MacLeod, C., & Bridle, R. (2009). The reduction of anxiety vulnerability through the
1901 modification of attentional bias: a real-world study using a home-based cognitive bias
1902 modification procedure. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 118*(1), 65–75.
1903 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014377>
- 1904 Silver, R. C., Holman, E. A., Andersen, J. P., Poulin, M., McIntosh, D. N., & Gil-Rivas, V.
1905 (2013). Mental- and physical-health effects of acute exposure to media images of the
1906 September 11, 2001 Attacks and the Iraq War. *Psychological Science, 24*(9), 1623–
1907 1634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612460406>
- 1908 Skorka-Brown, J., Andrade, J., Whalley, B., & May, J. (2015). Playing Tetris decreases drug
1909 and other cravings in real world settings. *Addictive Behaviors, 51*, 165–170.
1910 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2015.07.020>
- 1911 Soeter, M., & Kindt, M. (2010). Dissociating response systems: erasing fear from memory.
1912 *Neurobiology of Learning and Memory, 94*(1), 30–41.
1913 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nlm.2010.03.004>
- 1914 Soeter, M., & Kindt, M. (2012). Erasing fear for an imagined threat event.
1915 *Psychoneuroendocrinology, 37*(11), 1769–1779.
1916 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.psyneuen.2012.03.011>
- 1917 Soeter, M., & Kindt, M. (2015). An abrupt transformation of phobic behavior after a post-
1918 retrieval amnesic agent. *Biological Psychiatry, 78*(12), 880–886.
1919 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2015.04.006>
- 1920 Spielberger, C. D., Gorsuch, R. L., Lushene, R., Vagg, P. R., & Jacobs, G. A. (1983). *Manual*
1921 *for the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologist Press.

- 1922 Spielberger, C. D., Reheiser, E. C., Owen, A. E., & Sydeman, S. J. (2004). Measuring the
1923 psychological vital signs of anxiety, anger, depression, and curiosity in treatment
1924 planning and outcomes assessment. In *The Use of Psychological Testing for Treatment*
1925 *Planning and Outcomes Assessment: Volume 3: Instruments for Adults (3rd ed)* (pp.
1926 421–447).
- 1927 Squire, L. R. (1992). Declarative and nondeclarative memory: multiple brain systems
1928 supporting learning and memory. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 4(3), 232–43.
1929 <https://doi.org/10.1162/jocn.1992.4.3.232>
- 1930 Squire, L. R., & Zola-Morgan, S. (1991). The medial temporal lobe memory system. *Science*,
1931 253(5026), 1380–1386.
- 1932 Squire, L. R., & Zola, S. M. (1996). Structure and function of declarative and nondeclarative
1933 memory systems. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 93(24), 13515–
1934 13522. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.93.24.13515>
- 1935 St-Laurent, M., Moscovitch, M., Jadd, R., & McAndrews, M. P. (2014). The perceptual
1936 richness of complex memory episodes is compromised by medial temporal lobe damage.
1937 *Hippocampus*, 24(5), 560–576. <https://doi.org/10.1002/hipo.22249>
- 1938 Staugaard, S. R., & Berntsen, D. (2014). Involuntary memories of emotional scenes: the
1939 effects of cue discriminability and emotion over time. *Journal of Experimental*
1940 *Psychology: General*, 143(5), 1939–1957.
- 1941 Sündermann, O., Hauschildt, M., & Ehlers, A. (2013). Perceptual processing during trauma,
1942 priming and the development of intrusive memories. *Journal of Behavior Therapy and*
1943 *Experimental Psychiatry*, 44(2), 213–220.

- 1944 Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (1996). *Using multivariate statistics* (6th ed.). New York,
1945 NY: HarperCollins College Publishers.
- 1946 Tadmor, A., McNally, R. J., & Engelhard, I. M. (2016). Reducing the negative valence of
1947 stressful memories through emotionally valenced, modality-specific tasks. *Journal of*
1948 *Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, *53*, 92–98.
1949 <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.JBTEP.2014.11.001>
- 1950 Takarangi, M. K. T., Strange, D., & Lindsay, D. S. (2014). Self-report may underestimate
1951 trauma intrusions. *Consciousness and Cognition*, *27*, 297–305.
1952 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2014.06.002>
- 1953 The MathWorks Inc. (2009). MATLAB version 7.7.0 (R2009a).
- 1954 Tulving, E. (1972). Episodic and semantic memory. In E. Tulving & W. Donaldson (Eds.),
1955 *Organization of memory* (Vol. 1, pp. 381–403). Oxford, England: Academic Press.
1956 <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X00047257>
- 1957 Tulving, E. (2002). Episodic memory: from mind to brain. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *53*,
1958 1–25.
- 1959 Tulving, E., & Thomson, D. M. (1973). Encoding specificity and retrieval processes in
1960 episodic memory. *Psychological Review*, *80*(5), 352–373.
1961 <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0020071>
- 1962 Uzer, T., Lee, P. J., & Brown, N. R. (2012). On the prevalence of directly retrieved
1963 autobiographical memories. *Journal of Experimental Psychology. Learning, Memory,*
1964 *and Cognition*, *38*(5), 1296–1308. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028142>
- 1965 van den Hout, M. A., Bartelski, N., & Engelhard, I. M. (2013). On EMDR: eye movements

- 1966 during retrieval reduce subjective vividness and objective memory accessibility during
1967 future recall. *Cognition & Emotion*, 27(1), 177–183.
1968 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2012.691087>
- 1969 van den Hout, M. A., Eidhof, M. B., Verboom, J., Littel, M., & Engelhard, I. M. (2014).
1970 Blurring of emotional and non-emotional memories by taxing working memory during
1971 recall. *Cognition & Emotion*, 28(4), 717–727.
1972 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2013.848785>
- 1973 Van den Hout, M. A., & Engelhard, I. (2012). How does EMDR work? *Journal of*
1974 *Experimental Psychopathology*, 3(5), 724–738. <https://doi.org/10.5127/jep.028212>
- 1975 Vannucci, M., Batool, I., Pelagatti, C., & Mazzoni, G. (2014). Modifying the frequency and
1976 characteristics of involuntary autobiographical memories. *PloS One*, 9(4), e89582.
1977 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0089582>
- 1978 Vannucci, M., Pelagatti, C., Hanczakowski, M., Mazzoni, G., & Paccani, C. R. (2015). Why
1979 are we not flooded by involuntary autobiographical memories? Few cues are more
1980 effective than many. *Psychological Research*, 79(6), 1077–1085.
1981 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00426-014-0632-y>
- 1982 Verwoerd, J., Wessel, I., & de Jong, P. J. (2012). Fewer intrusions after an attentional bias
1983 modification training for perceptual reminders of analogue trauma. *Cognition and*
1984 *Emotion*, 26(1), 153–165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2011.563521>
- 1985 Verwoerd, J., Wessel, I., de Jong, P. J., & Nieuwenhuis, M. M. W. (2009). Preferential
1986 processing of visual trauma-film reminders predicts subsequent intrusive memories.
1987 *Cognition and Emotion*, 23(8), 1537–1551. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699930802457952>

- 1988 Visser, R. M., Lau-Zhu, A., Henson, R. N., & Holmes, E. A. (2018). Multiple memory
1989 systems, multiple time points: how neuroscience can inform interventions to control the
1990 expression of unwanted emotional memories. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal*
1991 *Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences*, 373(1742).
1992 <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2017.0209>
- 1993 Wegerer, M., Blechert, J., Kerschbaum, H., & Wilhelm, F. H. (2013). Relationship between
1994 fear conditionability and aversive memories: evidence from a novel conditioned-
1995 intrusion paradigm. *PloS One*, 8(11), e79025.
1996 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0079025>
- 1997 Whalley, M. G., Kroes, M. C. W., Huntley, Z., Rugg, M. D., Davis, S. W., & Brewin, C. R.
1998 (2013). An fMRI investigation of posttraumatic flashbacks. *Brain and Cognition*, 81(1),
1999 151–159. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bandc.2012.10.002>
- 2000 Wichert, S., Wolf, O. T., & Schwabe, L. (2013). Changing memories after reactivation: A
2001 one-time opportunity? *Neurobiology of Learning and Memory*, 99, 38–49.
2002 <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.NLM.2012.11.001>
- 2003 Wixted, J. T. (2004). The psychology and neuroscience of forgetting. *Annual Review of*
2004 *Psychology*, 55, 235–269. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.55.090902.141555>
- 2005 Yonelinas, A. P. (2002). The nature of recollection and familiarity: a review of 30 years of
2006 research. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 46(3), 441–517.
2007 <https://doi.org/10.1006/JMLA.2002.2864>
- 2008 Yonelinas, A. P., & Jacoby, L. L. (2012). The process-dissociation approach two decades
2009 later: convergence, boundary conditions, and new directions. *Memory & Cognition*,
2010 40(5), 663–680. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-012-0205-5>

- 2011 Zetsche, U., Ehring, T., & Ehlers, A. (2009). The effects of rumination on mood and intrusive
2012 memories after exposure to traumatic material: an experimental study. *Journal of*
2013 *Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, 40(4), 499–514.
2014 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbtep.2009.07.001>
2015