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# Individuals with congenital aphantasia show no significant neuropsychological deficits on imagery-related memory tasks

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1 **Only minimal differences between individuals with congenital**  
2 **aphantasia and those with typical imagery on neuropsychological**  
3 **tasks that involve imagery**

4  
5 **Zoë Pounder <sup>a\*</sup>, Jane Jacob <sup>b</sup>, Samuel Evans <sup>a</sup>, Catherine Loveday <sup>a</sup>, Alison F. Eardley <sup>a</sup>, and**  
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10 **Abstract**

11 Aphantasia describes the experience of individuals who self-report a lack of voluntary visual  
12 imagery. It is not yet known whether individuals with aphantasia show deficits in cognitive  
13 and neuropsychological tasks thought to relate to aspects of visual imagery, including Spatial  
14 Span, One Touch Stocking of Cambridge, Pattern Recognition Memory, Verbal Recognition  
15 Memory and Mental Rotation. Twenty individuals with congenital aphantasia (VVIQ < 25)  
16 were identified and matched on measures of age and IQ to twenty individuals with typical  
17 imagery (VVIQ > 35). A group difference was found in the One Touch Stocking of Cambridge  
18 task for response time, but not accuracy, when the number of imagined moves that  
19 participants had to hold in their heads to complete the task increased. Similarly, a group  
20 difference in response time was apparent in the mental rotation task, but only in the  
21 subgroup of aphantasic participants who reported a severe deficit in visual imagery (VVIQ  
22 score of 16). These results suggest that the cognitive profile of people without imagery does  
23 not greatly differ from those with typical imagery when examined by group. In addition, the  
24 severity of aphantasia (and VVIQ criterion) may be an important factor to consider when  
25 investigating differences in imagery experience. Overall, this study raises questions about  
26 whether or not aphantasia represents a difference in cognitive function or in conscious  
27 experience.

28 **Keywords:** Aphantasia, visual imagery, spatial imagery, neuropsychology

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### 1. Introduction

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Most people self-report that they experience visual mental imagery, in other words, they have the ability to create an image in their mind's eye in the absence of direct perceptual information (Galton, 1880; McKelvie & Demers, 1979). However, a subset of the population, those with aphantasia, self-report an absence of visual imagery, despite having no obvious neurological impairment (Faw, 2009; Keogh & Pearson, 2018; Zeman, Dewar, & Della-Sala, 2015). Aphantasia can be acquired following neurological injury (e.g. Bartolomeo, 2002; Farah, 1984; Zeman et al., 2010) or present from birth (e.g. Keogh, Pearson & Zeman, 2021; Zeman et al., 2015).

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Up to now, much exploration of aphantasia has been based on subjective report, although there is some evidence to show that objective differences are apparent between people with aphantasia compared to people with typical imagery. For example, individuals with aphantasia reported less sensory sensitivity in self-reports and less sensitivity in a visual pattern glare task (Dance, Ward & Simner, 2021). Similarly, individuals with aphantasia were less susceptible to flicker induced pseudo-hallucinations (Konigsmark, Bergmann & Reeder, 2021). Preliminary evidence suggests that individuals with aphantasia may have reduced visual attention (Keogh & Pearson, 2021; Monzel, Keidel & Reuter, 2021) and are more likely to score higher for autism traits than typical imagers (Dance et al., 2021). Specifically in terms of imagery tasks, the lack of visual imagery reported by individuals with aphantasia affects their performance in tasks such as binocular rivalry (Keogh & Pearson, 2018), visual memory performance assessed through drawing (Bainbridge, Pounder, Eardley & Baker, 2020) and in reduced physiological response when reading frightening fictitious scenarios (Wicken, Keogh & Pearson, 2021). What is not yet clear is what underpins the apparent differences in imagery experience.

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A straight-forward question is whether aphantasia may reflect other underlying cognitive deficits that manifest as differences in performance within neuropsychological tasks. Reported in case studies, potential deficits in aphantasic individuals have already been noted in relation to working memory and/or executive function. Jacobs, Schwarzkopf & Silvanto (2017) noted in a case study of the congenital aphantasic participant *AI*, that she performed less accurately within a visuo-spatial working memory task at the highest level of difficulty relative to controls. However, no differences in accuracy were apparent in a

63 matched imagery version of the task compared to control participants. Although they were  
64 discussing acquired aphantasia, it is worth noting that Zeman et al. (2010) reported in their  
65 case study that Patient *MX* displayed longer reaction times but equivalent accuracy to  
66 neurotypical controls in a Mental Rotation Task (MRT), a classic visuo-spatial imagery task  
67 thought to involve working memory function (e.g. Shepard & Metzler, 1971). The authors  
68 explained this in terms of *MX* adopting a different strategy in the task (Zeman et al., 2010).  
69 *MX*'s performance was nevertheless normal on a range of executive function tasks (Zeman et  
70 al., 2010). Within larger samples, individuals with aphantasia perform as accurately to  
71 individuals with typical imagery in range of clinical and non-clinical visual working memory  
72 paradigms (Keogh, Wicken & Pearson, 2021). Similarly, individuals with aphantasia perform  
73 as accurately as typical imagers in a range of clinical memory tasks (e.g. task assessing  
74 anterograde memory, Milton et al., 2021) and do not show visual recognition memory deficits  
75 (Bainbridge et al., 2020; Milton et al., 2021). In the study by Milton et al. (2021), the authors  
76 also showed that participants with aphantasia were as accurate as typical imagers on a  
77 Manikins test involving the mental rotation of a human avatar (Milton et al., 2021), however,  
78 response time was not measured. Broadly, the studies which have adopted larger sample  
79 sizes to explore objective differences between participant groups have only assessed  
80 performance by comparing accuracy (e.g. Keogh et al., 2021; Milton et al., 2021) when  
81 measures such as response time may be more informative with regards to differences in  
82 strategies used within tasks (Zeman et al., 2010).

83 Potential deficits have also been noted in relation to episodic memory, such that  
84 individuals with aphantasia reported lower levels of episodic memory compared to typical  
85 imagers (Dawes, Keogh, Andrillion, & Pearson, 2020). Recent work has also reported  
86 subjective impairments in autobiographical memory in aphantasic individuals relative to  
87 typical imagery controls (Dawes et al., 2020; Milton et al., 2021). Although both working  
88 memory and episodic memory have been previously reported as being potential areas of  
89 weakness or impairment in aphantasia (Dawes et al., 2020; Milton et al., 2021; Jacobs et al.,  
90 2017), studies investigating this objectively using larger sample sizes are limited.

91 To address the gap in knowledge around core cognitive deficits, we selected four tests  
92 from the Cambridge Neuropsychological Test Automated Battery (CANTAB). The tasks were:  
93 Verbal Recognition Memory (VRM), Pattern Recognition Memory (PRM), Spatial Span (SSP)

94 and One Touch Stocking of Cambridge (OTS). The MRT, a classic visuo-spatial imagery task  
95 and measure of spatial ability involving object rotation (Shepard & Metzler, 1971; Xue et al.,  
96 2017), was also included in the battery. These tasks tap into two domains thought to be  
97 essential to the imagery process: declarative memory (VRM and PRM) and visuo-spatial  
98 working memory (SSP, OTS and MRT). These broadly map on to hippocampal and prefrontal  
99 brain regions respectively, although these regions are relevant to a range of other non-  
100 imagery tasks.

101         Pattern recognition (PRM) was selected in order to compare visual memory  
102 performance, with verbal memory (VRM). If impaired on both, then a general declarative  
103 memory (i.e conscious hippocampal-dependent memory (Squire, 1992)) impairment may be  
104 assumed. If impaired only on visual memory, then the deficit would be specific to visual  
105 declarative memory. However, if performance is within the normal range for both of these  
106 tasks then this provides initial evidence that they are not clinically impaired on declarative  
107 memory.

108         Both SSP and OTS are considered an assessment of visual working memory. The SSP is  
109 a visual sequencing working memory task, often used as a classic measure of visuo-spatial  
110 working memory capacity (Levaux et al., 2007). The strength of visual imagery correlates with  
111 visual working memory capacity (Keogh & Pearson, 2014). This suggests the stronger one's  
112 visual imagery, the greater their visual working memory capacity. Patt et al. (2014) states  
113 that a key strategy for performance on the SSP is the generation of visual imagery by 'making  
114 shapes' from imaginary lines. In contrast, the OTS requires the maintenance and manipulation  
115 of increasing amounts of visuo-spatial information in working memory, a process suggested  
116 to engage visual imagery (Hodgson, Bajwa, Owen, & Kennard, 2000). If impairments are  
117 evident on the SSP then this suggests a fundamental impairment in holding a visual sequence  
118 in mind, which might also be expected to correspond to impairments in the OTS task given  
119 that both tasks require the maintenance of visuo-spatial information. However, if there is  
120 normal performance on the SSP but not on the OTS, then it follows that the impairment may  
121 be due to difficulties with manipulating the information rather than just maintaining the  
122 information in mind, which becomes more difficult with increasing number of items to  
123 manipulate. It is important to note that the OTS also has a planning and strategy element,

124 which more directly reflects executive function and does not necessarily implicate the visuo-  
125 spatial system.

126 The MRT was chosen to supplement these visuo-spatial tasks as, like the OTS, it  
127 requires manipulation and is traditionally assumed to rely on visual imagery, but unlike the  
128 OTS it does not require any additional planning or memory component. As such, if a difference  
129 was found in the MRT and the OTS, this would suggest an impairment in the manipulation  
130 element, but if impairment was only found in the OTS, then it might suggest an impairment  
131 in planning and strategy. Nevertheless, it is important to note that whilst the SSP, the MRT,  
132 and the OTS are defined as visual working memory tasks, they have strong spatial components  
133 (Foster, Bsales, Jaffe, & Awh, 2017; McCants, Katus, & Eimer, 2019). Evidence from  
134 congenitally totally blind individuals suggests that working memory tasks traditionally  
135 considered to rely on visual processes, including the MRT, can be carried out without visual  
136 experience (e.g. Carpenter & Eisenberg, 1978; Kerr, 1983; Marmor & Zaback, 1976; Zimler &  
137 Keenan, 1983).

138 In summary, this study uses clinical tests to investigate declarative memory and visuo-  
139 spatial working memory in a group of individuals with aphantasia and typical imagery. Firstly,  
140 it examines declarative memory performance in people who self-report a lack of visual  
141 imagery, specifically assessing whether deficits are specific to the visual domain. Secondly, it  
142 assess whether deficits specifically emerge when the demands for holding and manipulating  
143 visuo-spatial information increase.

144

## 145 2. Materials and Methods

146 The data reported here was part of a larger battery of tasks, that were carried out over two  
147 separate testing sessions of 2 hours each, one week apart. There were two testing sessions.  
148 There was a fixed set of tasks within each of the two sessions. The order of the two sessions  
149 was counterbalanced across participants. A Latin square was used to permute the order of  
150 the tasks within each session. Both groups undertook the same sequence of tasks. Hence,  
151 within and between session order effects were accounted for and balanced across groups. At  
152 the beginning of each task, all participants were informed not to use hand or head gestures

153 (or any part of their body) to aid calculation. This is because hand gestures have been shown  
154 to aid cognitive processing and improve performance within a range of complex visuospatial  
155 tasks (Alibali, Spencer, Knox, Kita, 2011; Eielts et al., 2020). The protocol for the study was in  
156 accordance with the British Psychological Society guidelines and the ethical approval provided  
157 by the Psychology Department Ethics Committee of the University of Westminster, UK  
158 (ETH1617-0039). All data can be accessed on OSF (<https://osf.io/erksc/>). We report how we  
159 determined our sample size, all data exclusions (if any), all inclusion/exclusion criteria,  
160 whether inclusion/exclusion criteria were established prior to data analysis, all manipulations,  
161 and all measures in the study. No part of the study procedures or analysis was pre-registered  
162 prior to being undertaken.

163

## 164 **2.1. Participants**

165 Twenty (7 males, 13 females) individuals with congenital aphantasia were recruited  
166 from aphantasia-specific online forums, including “Aphantasia (Non-Imager/Mental  
167 Blindness) Awareness Group”, “Aphantasia!” and Aphantasia discussion pages on Reddit. All  
168 aphantasic participants reported a life-long inability to generate visual imagery and no history  
169 of mental illness (confirmed via email correspondence and verbally during the first testing  
170 session). Control participants (those with typical visual imagery) were recruited from students  
171 and staff at the University of Westminster as well as recruited through social media (they also  
172 confirmed via email correspondence and verbally no history of mental illness). At present,  
173 there is no agreed cut-off score for defining groups based on typical and atypical self-reports  
174 of imagery (Zeman et al., 2015), congenital aphantasic participants ( $n = 20$ : 7 males, 13  
175 females) were identified through the Vividness of Visual Imagery Questionnaire (VVIQ),  
176 defined by scores  $\leq 25$  ( $M = 16.65$ ,  $SD = 1.95$ , range: 16 - 24). The maximum score provided  
177 on the VVIQ by aphantasic participants was 24, therefore no participants were excluded.  
178 Typical imagery control participants ( $n = 20$ : 8 males, 12 females) were identified by VVIQ  
179 scores  $\geq 35$  ( $M = 63.8$ ,  $SD = 12.34$ , range: 36 - 80). These mean VVIQ scores for typical imagers  
180 are in line with the normative VVIQ scores of ‘normal’ imagery experience as identified in a  
181 meta-analysis (McKelvie, 1995). Individuals with congenital aphantasia did not differ from  
182 controls on age (aphantasic age:  $M = 40y0m$ ,  $SD = 8.92$ ; control age:  $M = 39y6m$ ,  $SD = 11.61$ ;  
183  $t(38) = 0.28$ ,  $p = .78$ ,  $d = .04$ ). They also did not differ on Weschler Adult Reading Test (WTAR;

184 Wechsler, 2001), which can be used as a proxy measure for intelligence (Mathias, Bowden, &  
185 Barrett-Woodbridge, 2007) (aphantasic WTAR score:  $M = 43.35$ ,  $SD = 3.01$  or predicted Full-  
186 Scale IQ (FSIQ) equivalence:  $M = 108$ ,  $SD = 3.21$ ; control WTAR score:  $M = 42.30$ ,  $SD = 4.12$  or  
187 predicted FSIQ equivalence:  $M = 106.6$ ,  $SD = 4.42$ , WTAR:  $t(38) = 0.92$ ,  $p = .36$ ,  $d = .29$ ). All  
188 participants had normal or corrected-to-normal vision and no history of mental health illness.

189

## 190 **2.2. Behavioural tasks**

### 191 **2.2.1. Cambridge Neuropsychological Test Automated Battery (CANTAB)**

192 Four tasks were selected from the Cambridge Neuropsychological Test Automated  
193 Battery (CANTAB) (Cambridge Cognition, Cambridge UK version 5.0.0): '*Verbal Recognition*  
194 *Memory (VRM)*,' '*Pattern Recognition Memory (PRM)*,' '*Spatial Span (SSP)*,' '*One Touch*  
195 *Stocking of Cambridge (OTS)*.' All CANTAB tests were administered on a Windows operating  
196 system on a 15.6-inch touch-screen tablet computer. All participants first undertook a motor  
197 screen test to ensure participants were familiar with the concept of the touch-screen  
198 interface. Due to legal copyright restrictions, these clinical tests are owned by CANTAB and  
199 can only be accessed via the copyright holders. A brief outline of each task is provided below:

200 1. Verbal Recognition Memory (VRM) comprises of two phases. In the first phase,  
201 participants were shown a series of 12 neutral words which appeared on a screen one-  
202 by-one (some examples of similar words are: *prisoner*, *bud*, *golden*, *lake* and  
203 *infirmary*). These words were the same for each participant. Following the sequence,  
204 participants were asked to verbally recall as many words as possible from the list they  
205 had seen, with a maximum score (correctly recalled words) of 12. In the second phase  
206 of the task, participants were shown a sequence of 24 words (comprising of 12 original  
207 words that had appeared in the first phase, and 12 distractor words) and had to  
208 recognise the original words in a two-alternative forced-choice paradigm. Outcome  
209 measures in the first phase were the number of correctly recalled words and in the  
210 second phase, the number of correctly recognised original words.

211

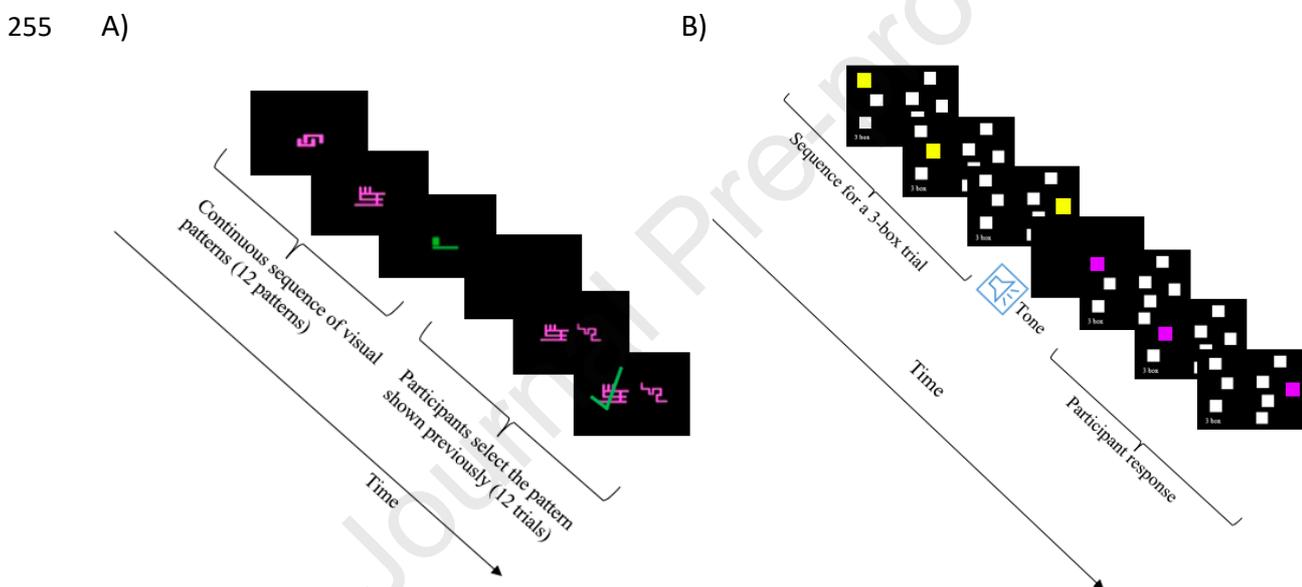
212 2. Pattern Recognition Memory (PRM, see Figure 1A) participants were shown two  
213 different series of 12 visual patterns which appeared in the centre of the screen in a

214 continuous sequence one after the other. All participants were shown the same set of  
215 patterns. These patterns were novel and unfamiliar, comprising of lines which are  
216 designed so that they cannot easily be given verbal labels, nor did they look similar to  
217 common objects. In the first phase, participants were shown one series of 12 visual  
218 patterns, following which participants were presented with two options: one novel  
219 pattern and one pattern that had been presented during the continuous sequence.  
220 Participants had to indicate the previously presented pattern. This was repeated in  
221 the second phase of the task with a new set of patterns. In total, there were 24 trials  
222 and outcome measures were the number of correct trials.

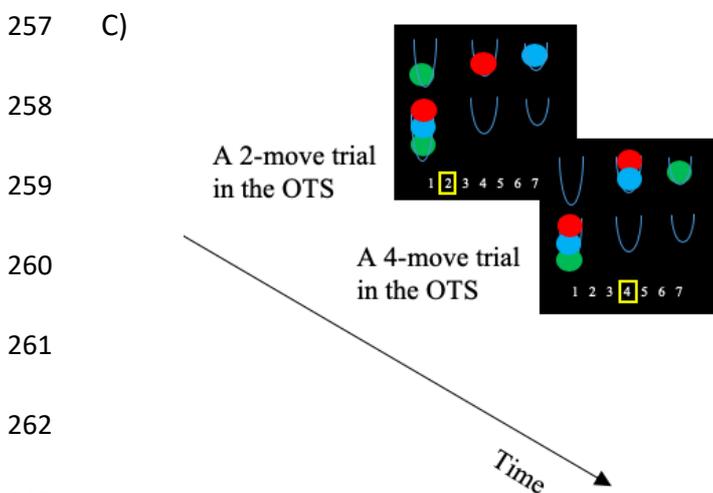
223  
224 3. Spatial Span (SSP, see Figure 1B) participants were shown a number of white squares  
225 on a black screen which changed colour one-by-one in a variable sequence. The aim  
226 of the task was to remember and select the order in which various boxes changed  
227 colour in a sequence. The task increased in difficulty, with an increasing number of  
228 boxes in the sequence, from two boxes at the start to a maximum of nine. Each  
229 difficulty level was repeated three times, with a total of 24 trials. However, the task  
230 terminated when a participant failed to answer three consecutive trials correctly. On  
231 average, both participant groups answered between 21-24 trials (control mean =  
232 20.85, SD = 1.81, and aphantasic mean 21.3, SD = 2.74, there were no significant  
233 differences in the number of trials completed between participant groups ( $t(38) =$   
234  $4.63$ ,  $p = .54$ ,  $d = .10$ ) Outcome measures were the span length (the longest sequence  
235 correctly recalled), number of errors and usage errors. The number of errors denotes  
236 the total number of times a participant pressed an incorrect box. The usage error is  
237 the number of times an incorrect box is pressed per sequence.

238  
239 4. One Touch Stocking of Cambridge (OTS, see Figure 1C), based on the Tower of Hanoi,  
240 participants were shown two arrangements of three coloured balls, one set positioned  
241 at the top, the other at the lower half of the screen. Each stocking had the capacity to  
242 hold three balls. The aim of the task was to rearrange the balls at the bottom of the  
243 screen in order to match the arrangement and the top of the screen. However, there  
244 were certain rules with regard to the way the balls could be moved. Participants had

245 to calculate the minimum number of moves ‘*within their head*’ and indicate their  
 246 response. Participants were informed not to physically use any part of their bodies,  
 247 for instance, their hands, fingers or head to aid the calculation of the minimum  
 248 number of moves. In the most difficult trials, the maximum number of moves to solve  
 249 the task was always 6. The results for move 1 were discounted in any analysis owing  
 250 to the fact the test administrator was explaining instructions during this trial; thus, it  
 251 increased the time taken to complete the trial. There were 20 trials in total, 4 trials  
 252 per difficulty level, with five levels of difficulty. Outcome measures were the mean  
 253 number of ‘moves’ (or attempts) to select a correct response (accuracy) and latency  
 254 to correct (time taken to successfully complete the trial).



256



263

264 **Figure 1:** A) Diagram to show an example of the Pattern Recognition Memory (PRM). A  
265 continuous stream of visual patterns were presented, following which, participants selected  
266 the pattern they recognised. B) Diagram to show an example of a three-box trial in the Spatial  
267 Span (SSP). Participants were presented with a sequence of coloured boxes, and following the  
268 sound of a tone, selected the boxes as shown in the sequence. C) Diagram to show an example  
269 of a 2-move and 4-move trial in the One Touch Stocking of Cambridge (OTS). Participants  
270 needed to rearrange the bottom configuration of balls 'in their head' to match the top  
271 configuration and select the number referring to the minimum number of moves required.

272

273

### 274 **2.2.2. Mental Rotation Task (MRT)**

275 Adapted from the classic Shepard and Metzler mental rotation experiment, stimuli  
276 were acquired from the Mental Rotation Stimulus library (Peters & Battista, 2008). All stimuli  
277 comprised of 10 cubes glued together in different orientations to form 'arms.' 138 white-  
278 cubed stimuli were selected, rotating around the x-axis with a full view (parts not occluded  
279 by parts of arms) were chosen from the Mental Rotation Stimulus library. Each stimulus was  
280 super-imposed on a black background for the task.

281 Based on the remaining angles, 6 levels of difficulty were chosen relative to 0°: 40°,  
282 85°, 130°, 175°, 220°, 265°). Following an informal pilot of 12 participants, angle rotations of  
283 130°, 175° and 265° were excluded as these angles had a higher accuracy relative to the  
284 'easier' angles of rotation. As a result, three angles of rotation were selected; these were  
285 angles: 40°, 85°, and 220°. The task comprised of two blocks of 48 trials, forming 96 trials in  
286 total. One block (i.e. 48 trials) was included in each testing session of the study. The blocks  
287 were matched in terms of difficulty, with 16 trials per angle of rotation in each block and in  
288 terms of the number of same and different responses. In each block of 48 trials, 24 stimuli  
289 were the same (i.e. the stimuli were of the shape, but displayed at a different orientation)  
290 and 24 were different. Of the 'different' trials, 23 were mirror images, while 25 trials were  
291 comprised of different images. The task was programmed on E-prime version 2, and outcome  
292 measures of performance were reaction time and accuracy (proportion of trials that were  
293 correct). The task materials are available (<https://osf.io/q5t78/>).

294

### 295 **2.3. Statistical analysis**

296 Participant characteristics, imagery questionnaires and neuropsychological tasks, data  
297 were analysed with two-way mixed ANOVAs and independent t-tests or the non-parametric  
298 equivalent, the Mann Whitney test, when normality assumptions were violated. All data  
299 transformations were undertaken in MATLAB.

300 Bayes Factors, assessing evidence in favour of the null hypothesis ( $BF_{01}$ ), were  
301 conducted to follow up statistical tests that were not statistically significant. These were  
302 calculated using JASP (<https://jasp-stats.org/>). For these analyses we used the rules of thumb  
303 outlined in Jeffereys (1961):  $BF_1 = \text{“No evidence”}$ ,  $BFs\ 1-3 = \text{“Weak but positive evidence”}$ ,  $BFs$   
304  $3-10 = \text{“Moderate evidence”}$ ,  $BFs\ 10-30 = \text{“Strong evidence”}$ ,  $BFs\ 30-100 = \text{“Very strong$   
305  $\text{evidence”}$ , and  $BFs\ >100 = \text{“Extreme evidence”}$  to support the null hypothesis. Data  
306 visualisations represent the raw data not transformed data (see also Supplementary  
307 Materials). We have provided data visualisations for the key analyses in the manuscript.  
308 Visualisations of all other analyses can be found in the Supplementary Materials for the  
309 interested reader. All statistics analysed were performed with a significance level of  $p < .05$ ,  
310 and all p values are two-tailed.

311

## 3. Results

312

### 313 **3.1. Declarative Memory Tasks**

#### 314 **3.1.1. Pattern Recognition Memory**

315 In the PRM, a Mann-Whitney test was conducted as the data were not normally  
316 distributed, this showed that there was no evidence of a difference in performance ( $U = 179.5$ ,  
317  $p = .57$ ,  $r = .09$ ,  $BF_{01} = 2.85$ ) between aphantasic (median of 22, range: 19 – 24) and control  
318 (median = 22, range: 19 – 24) participants (see supplementary figure 1.1).

319

#### 320 **3.1.2. Verbal Recognition Memory**

321 There was a ceiling effect in the recognition phase of the VRM (98-99% correct). As a  
322 result, only the free recall phase was analysed. In the free recall phase, an independent t-test

323 showed that there was no difference in performance in free recall ( $t(38) = 0.11, p = .92, d =$   
324  $.02, BF_{01} = 3.20$ ) between aphantasic ( $M = 7.4, SD = 1.7$ ) and control ( $M = 7.5, SD = 1.82$ )  
325 participants (see supplementary figure 1.2).

326

## 327 **3.2. Visuo-spatial Working Memory**

### 328 **3.2.1 Spatial Span**

329 In the SSP, a Mann-Whitney test was conducted as the data were not normally  
330 distributed, this showed no evidence of a difference in memory spatial span ( $U = 170.5, p =$   
331  $.39, r = .14, BF_{01} = 2.60$ ) between aphantasic (median = 7, range: 5 – 8) and control participants  
332 (median = 7, range: 6 – 8). Moreover, an independent t-test showed no significant difference  
333 in the total number of errors (the number of times an incorrect box was pressed across all  
334 trials) ( $t(38) = 0.47, p = .63, d = .16, BF_{01} = 2.95$ ) between aphantasic ( $M = 14.1, SD = 4.61$ ) and  
335 controls ( $M = 13.2, SD = 6.62$ ) participants. For total usage error, an independent t-test  
336 showed no significant difference in the number of times a box was selected that was not in  
337 the span sequence for the trial ( $t(38) = 0.46, p = .65, d = .15, BF_{01} = 2.98$ ) between aphantasic  
338 ( $M = 2.1, SD = 1.41$ ) and control ( $M = 1.9, SD = 1.2$ ) participants. These results show that the  
339 performance of individuals with aphantasia was comparable to individuals with typical  
340 imagery (see supplementary figure 2.1).

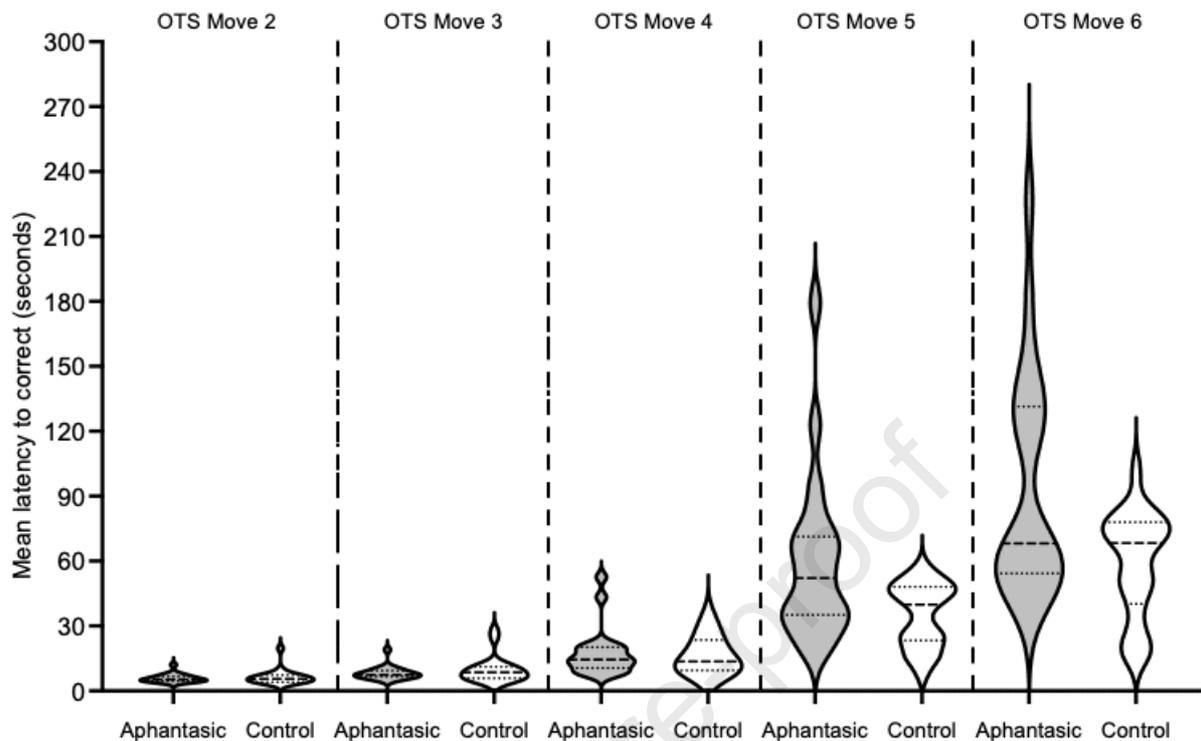
### 341 **3.2.2. One Touch Stocking of Cambridge**

342 In the OTS, data were transformed using the BoxCox transformation (Box & Cox, 1964)  
343 to address a violation of normality. Mean moves to correct is defined by the number of  
344 attempts a participant takes to opt for the correct response. Accuracy in the OTS was analysed  
345 for each number of moves from 2 moves to 6 moves using a two-way mixed measures ANOVA  
346 with factors participant group (aphantasic/control) and the number of moves (2-6). There was  
347 no significant main effect of participant group ( $F(1, 38) = 0.09, p = .76, \eta^2 = .002, BF_{01} =$   
348  $1.38e^{20}$ ), however, there was a significant main effect of number of moves ( $F(4, 152) = 36.63,$   
349  $p < .001, \eta^2 = .49$ ). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons  
350 revealed a significant pairwise difference in accuracy between all moves ( $p < .01$ ) except  
351 (moves 2-3, 3-4, and 4-5,  $p > .09$ ). There was no significant interaction between participant  
352 group and number of moves ( $F(4, 152) = 0.82, p = .52, \eta^2 = .02, BF_{01} = 9.24$ ). These results

353 suggest that the performance of individuals with aphantasia was comparable to individuals  
354 with typical imagery (see supplementary figure 2.3).

355 Mean latency of correct responses is defined as the amount of time taken for  
356 participants to respond correctly within each trial-type. This was analysed using a two-way  
357 mixed ANOVA with Greenhouse-Geisser correction. The results of the two-way mixed ANOVA  
358 with factors participant group (aphantasic /control) and number of moves (2-6), showed that  
359 there no significant main effect of participant group ( $F(1, 38) = 1.90, p = .18, \eta^2 = .05, BF_{01}$   
360  $= 6.90e^{71}$ ) but a significant main effect of number of moves ( $F(2.80, 106.43) = 287.17, p < .001,$   
361  $\eta^2 = .88$ ). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons revealed  
362 a significant pairwise difference in latency to correct for all moves 2-6 ( $p < .001$ ). There was a  
363 significant interaction between participant group and the time taken across moves 2-6  
364 ( $F(2.80, 106.43) = 3.40, p = .023, \eta^2 = .08$ ). Subsequent follow up independent t-tests showed  
365 a significant difference in latency at moves 5 ( $t(38) = 2.65, p = .012, d = .78$ ) and move 6 ( $t(38)$   
366  $= 2.62, p = .013, d = .76$ ). However, this effect was not significant after Bonferroni correction  
367 (both move 5 and move 6,  $p = .060$ ). All other moves (2-4) were not significant ( $p > .61$ ). These  
368 results indicate a significant between the groups in the time taken to complete the task across  
369 the levels of task difficulty, likely driven by slower responses in the aphantasic group at higher  
370 levels of task difficulty, in which executive function demands could be expected to be highest  
371 (see Figure 2). It should be noted, however, that within the sample of aphantasic participants  
372 there was great variation in terms of reaction time for moves 5 and moves 6 in the OTS, which  
373 suggests that some aphantasic participants were slower on the task than others participants.

374



375

376 **Figure 2** – Raw data violin graph (overall distribution, median and interquartile range)  
 377 showing latency to correct (response time in seconds) for each move in the OTS between  
 378 control and aphantasic participants.

379

### 380 3.2.3. Mental Rotation (MRT)

381 The proportion correct MRT data was transformed using an arcsin transformation  
 382 (Studebaker, 1985). The accuracy of mental rotation performance was first examined by angle  
 383 of rotation between aphantasic and control participants using a two-way mixed measures  
 384 ANOVA with Greenhouse-Geisser correction with a between-subject factor of group  
 385 (aphantasic/ control) and within-subject factor of the angle of rotation (40°, 85°, and 220°).  
 386 There was a significant main effect of angle of rotation ( $F(1.70, 64.7) = 29.92, p < .001, \eta p^2 =$   
 387  $.44$ ). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons revealed a  
 388 significant pairwise difference in accuracy between all angles ( $p < .04$ ). There was no main  
 389 effect of group ( $F(1, 38) = 0.76, p = .39, \eta p^2 = .02, BF_{01} = 1.13e^8$ ) and no significant interaction  
 390 between the angle of rotation and group ( $F(1.70, 64.7) = 0.29, p = .72, \eta p^2 = .008, BF_{01} = 6.07$ ).

391 These results show that despite self-reporting a lack of visual imagery, participants with  
392 aphantasia do not significantly differ from participants with typical imagery on this task.

393 Reaction time data for the MRT was transformed using the Box-Cox transformation to  
394 meet normality assumptions (Box & Cox, 1964). Reaction time data was analysed by angles  
395 of rotation (40°, 85°, and 220°) and compared between groups. The data was analysed using  
396 a two-way mixed ANOVA with Greenhouse-Geisser corrections. The results of the two-way  
397 mixed measures ANOVA with between-subject factor group (aphantasic/control) and within-  
398 subject factor angle of rotation (40°, 85°, and 220°), showed a significant main effect of angle  
399 of rotation on reaction time ( $F(1.65, 62.86) = 66.22, p < .001, \eta^2 = .64$ ). Post hoc tests using  
400 the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons revealed a significant pairwise difference  
401 in reaction time between all angles ( $p < .01$ ). There was no significant main effect of group  
402 ( $F(1, 38) = 3.62, p = .07, \eta^2 = .087, BF_{01} = 2.29e^{14}$ ) and no significant interaction between  
403 angle of rotation and group ( $F(1.65, 62.86) = 0.45, p = .60, \eta^2 = .012, BF_{01} = 4.80$ ). This result  
404 show that participants with aphantasia take the same amount of time to respond in the MRT  
405 similar to participants with typical imagery (see supplementary figure 2.2).

406

#### 407 **4. Severity of aphantasia as measured by the VVIQ**

408 To assess whether the findings in this study were affected by our VVIQ cut-off criteria, all  
409 task performance was reanalysed only including aphantasic participants with a VVIQ score  
410 of 16 ( $n = 17$ ), compared to control participants ( $n = 20$ , see supplementary materials for full  
411 analysis per task). In summary, there were no differences to the performance as outlined  
412 above, except in the response time for the mental rotation task. In this task, there was a  
413 main effect of group, that was significant when considering this more severe subgroup (i.e.  
414 aphantasic participants who scored 16 on the VVIQ), which had not been significant when  
415 considering the full group ( $F(1, 35) = 5.13, p = .03, \eta^2 = .13$ ) (see supplementary materials  
416 for the remaining analysis). This finding suggests that the severity of aphantasia (and VVIQ  
417 criterion) is important to consider within studies which explore behavioural performance  
418 between individuals with different imagery experiences.

419

420

#### 4. Discussion

421 This study examined the performance of a modest sample of individuals with  
422 congenital aphantasia within a battery of neuropsychological declarative memory and visual  
423 working memory tasks. On the declarative memory tasks (the VRM and PRM), there were no  
424 differences between aphantasic individuals and those with typical imagery. In other words,  
425 aphantasic individuals did not appear to have either a general declarative memory  
426 impairment nor one that is specific to visual declarative memory. In the visuo-spatial working  
427 memory tasks, there were differences between the groups on the OTS but not the SSP task.  
428 Given the similar performance on the SSP, this suggests that the capacity for and ability to  
429 maintain visuo-spatial information in memory in aphantasic participants does not differ  
430 overtly to that of typical imagers. Differences were evident however in the OTS and the MRT,  
431 tasks that included additional manipulation, planning and executive function components. In  
432 the case of the MRT, this difference was only evident in the most severely impaired  
433 participants (those who scored the minimum of 16 on the VVIQ) and not in the full sample.  
434 These small group differences found only in the more cognitive demanding tasks were evident  
435 in response time and not task accuracy. Hence, considered together, our results suggest that  
436 despite differences in the subjective experience of visual imagery, aphantasic individuals do  
437 not show significant impairments in visual working memory or declarative memory that are  
438 likely to hamper everyday life.

439

440 In terms of standard lab-based recall and recognition tasks, our results are in line with  
441 Milton et al. (2021) in showing no differences in performance between aphantasic and typical  
442 imager participants. This is in contrast to the self-reported deficits in both episodic memory  
443 (Dawes et al., 2020) and autobiographical memory (Milton et al, 2021). However, while both  
444 the declarative memory tasks (used here) and the self-reports (e.g. Dawes et al., 2020)  
445 concern memory for an episode, the self-reports more specifically probe the retrieval of  
446 experience or specific aspects of previous events or scenes from one's life. In comparison,  
447 lab-based recall and recognition tasks probe the retrieval of learned experimental material.  
448 While both are generally considered episodic memory, they are shown to engage different  
449 brain regions (Chen, Gilmore, Nelson, & McDermott, 2017; Roediger & McDermott, 2013).  
450 Autobiographical retrieval of life events is shown to activate the default mode network,

451 whereas the retrieval of recently encountered experimental material within lab-based  
452 episodic memory tasks is shown to activate frontal parietal regions (Chen et al., 2017;  
453 McDermott, Szpunar, & Christ, 2009). This suggests that there are differing forms of episodic  
454 memory (i.e. memory of retrieval of life events and memory of recently learned material),  
455 which are underpinned by differing neural networks and processes (Chen et al., 2017;  
456 Roediger & McDermott, 2013). This distinction within episodic memory may be further  
457 explored within aphantasia, whereby preliminary evidence through self-reports suggest  
458 impairment in episodic autobiographical memory retrieval, but not episodic retrieval of  
459 experimental materials. At the same time, it should be noted that not all aphantasic  
460 individuals report difficulties with autobiographical memory (Zeman et al., 2020). Further  
461 research is required to examine differences in episodic memory experience in aphantasia.

462         The lack of differences in performance in the SSP between participants with  
463 aphantasia and typical imagery is perhaps surprising, given the previously reported  
464 relationship between imagery strength and visual working memory capacity (Keogh &  
465 Pearson, 2014). There could be two explanations for this. Firstly, it could be that aphantasic  
466 participants are using the same unimpaired processes that typical imagers use. Alternatively,  
467 it could be that aphantasic participants use a different non-visual process or specific strategy,  
468 that results in similar performance levels. Hence, as with all tasks in this study it remains  
469 unclear whether aphantasic participants are achieving similar levels of accuracy in tasks  
470 involving imagery via the same or different routes to those with typical imagery. We did not  
471 explicitly ask participants how they performed each task. Indeed, it is difficult for participants  
472 to accurately introspect on the cognitive processes that they have used to perform a task,  
473 particularly when those processes may operate at an unconscious level. In the future it may  
474 be possible to design studies to block hypothesised alternative routes e.g. reliance on verbal  
475 or spatial codes (cf Jacobs et al., 2018), as a means to better understand the mechanisms that  
476 aphantasic individuals use in imagery tasks.

477         Similarly, for the MRT, the lack of significant difference in accuracy mirrored  
478 performance by patient *MX* (Zeman et al., 2010). Considering the full sample (comprising  
479 VVIQ scores between 16-24), a lack of group difference for reaction time were apparent.  
480 However, in the sample of aphantasic participants who only scored 16 on the VVIQ, there was

481 a significant group difference in reaction time in the MRT, which similar to patient MX (who  
482 also scored 16 on the VVIQ) and showed longer reaction times in the MRT (Zeman et al.,  
483 2010). This might suggest that the severity of aphantasia and the cut-offs adopted within  
484 studies are important and objective deficits are dependent on the severity of aphantasia.  
485 However, this finding needs to be interpreted with caution given the number of additional  
486 tests that were conducted to analyse this subgroup. Zeman et al. (2010) reported that the  
487 slower response times exhibited by MX were due to the use of a different strategy in the task,  
488 and aphantasic participants report using non-visual strategies, which are functionally  
489 equivalent to visual imagery, within visual working memory paradigms (Keogh, Wicken &  
490 Pearson, 2021). Tasks such as the SSP and MRT are suggested to load more heavily on spatial  
491 imagery, with studies documenting that aphantasic participants self-report intact spatial  
492 imagery abilities (Bainbridge et al., 2020; Dawes et al., 2020; Keogh & Pearson, 2018). The  
493 behavioural mental rotation data suggests that both participants with aphantasia and typical  
494 imagery showed an increase in response time with increase in angle of rotation within the  
495 mental rotation task, suggesting the use of analogical strategies. Further, tasks such as mental  
496 rotation are reported to not rely on visual, but spatial representations (Liesefeld & Zimmer,  
497 2013). Evidence from the congenitally blind literature suggests that some imagery tasks, such  
498 as mental rotation, can be undertaken as accurately in the absence of a 'visual' component  
499 (e.g. Carpenter & Eisenberg, 1978; Marmor & Zaback, 1976; Eardley & Pring, 2007), however,  
500 congenitally blind individuals take longer to respond in mental rotation tasks compared to  
501 sighted individuals (Kerr, 1983). This is similar to the performance exhibited by the sub-group  
502 of aphantasic participants who self-reported a severe visual imagery deficit on the VVIQ. This  
503 suggests that aphantasic participants may be using non-visual processes such as spatial  
504 imagery in these tasks, similar to congenitally blind individuals. Further research exploring  
505 task performance should also include measures of response time (not only accuracy) to  
506 further explore differences between groups.

507 Alternatively, MRT Tasks have been shown to activate motor areas (such as the  
508 premotor cortex and supplementary motor area) and this is thought to reflect the use of  
509 motor simulation within tasks (e.g. Logie, Pernet, Buonocore & Della Sala, 2011; Zacks, 2008).  
510 Activation of the premotor cortex is suggested to be related to object rotations while the  
511 supplementary motor area (SMA) is related to rotation of the self. In a study exploring the

512 brain activation of high and low vivid imagers, individuals who were classified as low imagers  
513 were less accurate in a mental rotation task (with no differences in response time) (Logie et  
514 al., 2011). The authors suggested that this may be because low imagers were using a self-  
515 referential strategy, as supported by the greater activation in SMA areas compared to high  
516 imagers, who showed greater activation the premotor cortex (Logie et al., 2011). The authors  
517 suggested that the low imagers' use of the self-referential strategy was due to their difficulties  
518 in representing images of external objects, which resulted in less accurate performance in the  
519 task. While in contrast in the current study, no differences in accuracy were evident in the  
520 MRT between participants who self-report an absence of imagery compared to and those  
521 with typical imagery. Given this similarity in performance, but contrast in self-reported visual  
522 imagery experience, further research should explore differences in brain activation within  
523 tasks such as the MRT to confirm whether the processes adopted by individuals with  
524 aphantasia are comparable to typical imagers.

525         While few differences in performance were evident within tasks within the current  
526 study, differences have been documented on objective tasks such as in imagery priming in  
527 binocular rivalry and by fewer object details drawn in a visual memory paradigm (Bainbridge  
528 et al., 2020; Keogh & Pearson, 2018). This suggests these tasks load more on the requirement  
529 and experience of visual representations, however, it should be noted that no drawing  
530 differences in spatial details were apparent between individuals with aphantasia and typical  
531 imagery (Bainbridge et al., 2020). Neuroimaging, neuropsychological case studies and  
532 individual differences research have demonstrated the dissociation between visual-object  
533 and visual-spatial imagery, and these imagery subtypes are underpinned by functionally and  
534 anatomically separate processing pathways - the ventral and dorsal pathways, respectively  
535 (e.g. Blajenkova, Kozhevnikov & Motes, 2006; Carlesimo, Perri, Turriziani, Tomaiuolo, &  
536 Caltagirone, 2001; Farah, 1984; Farah, Levine, & Calvanio, 1988; Kozhevnikov, Hegarty, &  
537 Mayer, 2002; Kozhevnikov, Kosslyn, & Shephard, 2005).

538         Although these results did not show a blanket deficit with the planning components  
539 of the OTS task, significantly slower performance suggests that the self-reported lack of visual  
540 imagery may be impacting performance. Further, descriptively the results suggest that the  
541 trials where aphantasic performance was slower than typical imagers were trials associated  
542 with instances of high working memory load and manipulation of visuo-spatial information

543 (i.e. at move 5 and move 6). Although participants were told not to use body gestures within  
544 the task, participants were not told to refrain from making covert eye movements. Whether  
545 participants used covert eye movements remains unclear, however, it has been suggested  
546 that there are differences in eye gaze between individuals who make errors compared to  
547 those that are efficient in the task (Hodgson, et al., 2000). While eye movement control and  
548 imagery are suggested to be closely linked (e.g Bone et al., 2019; Brandt & Stark, 1997;  
549 Fortassi, Rode & Pisella, 2017), specifically the use of strategic eye movements in relation to  
550 imagery in the OTS are mixed. On one hand it is suggested that the maintenance of external  
551 representations through eye movements interferes with the imagery processes during the  
552 OTS (Hodgson, et al., 2000). However, eye movements are also thought to allow imagery  
553 representations to be 'scaffolded' upon sensory representations during cognitive planning,  
554 thus reducing the load on imagery requirements (Clark 1997). Further research should  
555 examine the strategic use of eye movements in more detail with eye-tracking.

556 In terms of the multicomponent working memory, it has been suggested that in  
557 scenarios where highly detailed visual details are required to be maintained, it may involve  
558 the repeat generation of the image within the visual buffer, rather than maintenance of visual  
559 information in the visual cache (Darling, Della Sala & Logie, 2009; Kosslyn & Thompson, 2003).  
560 In contrast, during low load working memory trials, which are suggested to comprise of the  
561 maintenance and manipulation of no more than four balls (Fukuda, Awh, & Vogel, 2010),  
562 there were no differences in performance between aphantasic and control participants with  
563 typical imagery. This suggests that the processes that the aphantasic participants adopted in  
564 the task were conducive only up to a certain level, with increasing manipulation and working  
565 memory load resulting in significant group differences in reaction time (with no differences  
566 in accuracy). This pattern of performance is similar to that exhibited by congenitally blind  
567 individuals who show longer reaction times in imagery tasks (e.g. Carpenter & Eisenberg,  
568 1978; Kerr, 1983; Zimler & Keenan, 1983) as they are suggested to have a lower visuo-spatial  
569 processing capacity compared to sighted individuals (Vecchi, 1998; Vecchi, Monticellai, &  
570 Cornoldi, 1995).

571 While the data presented here is purely behavioural, it is nevertheless worthwhile to  
572 consider its implications to the understanding of the neural basis of imagery, in particularly in  
573 relation to working memory and visual perception. The dominant view is that imagery and

574 visual working memory engage the same areas and neurons which are activated by visual  
575 stimulation; this is known as the sensory recruitment hypothesis (Postle, 2006; D'Esposito,  
576 2007). This view is supported by numerous imaging studies showing that imagery and working  
577 memory content can be decoded from same areas of visual cortex which underlie visual  
578 perception (e.g. Albers et al 2013). However, a limitation in decoding studies is whether what  
579 is being decoded reflects memory for the stimulus rather than actual imagery content. A study  
580 which controlled for this found no V1 involvement in imagery (Muckli et al, 2005). There is  
581 also much evidence inconsistent with this view (see Bartolomeo et al, 2020). For example,  
582 Slotnick et al. (2005) found that a high-resolution visual imagery task can induces  
583 topographically organized activity in striate cortex, but this was found only in half of the  
584 participants. Furthermore, some patients with a lesion to primary visual cortex continue to  
585 have visual imagery (Chatterjee & Southwood, 1995). Very recently, a large-scale meta-  
586 analysis of 46 fMRI studies found no evidence for imagery-related activity in early visual  
587 cortices (Spagna et al, 2021). Furthermore, behaviourally it has been shown that performance  
588 in visual working memory can be predicted by the strength of mental imagery (Keogh and  
589 Pearson; 2011, see also Berger and Gaunitz, 1979) however, this was only found for  
590 individuals who rated themselves being good imagers, indicating the existence of different  
591 strategies in those with poor imagery. The present results appear to be in contradiction with  
592 this view, as the absence of visual imagery had very little impact on visual memory tasks. Thus,  
593 there appears to be more to visual imagery than the engagement of overlapping visual areas  
594 (as proposed by the sensory recruitment hypothesis) given that working memory functions  
595 can survive the absence of visual imagery. Another possibility is that while imagery engages  
596 visual cortex, additional brain regions are also required. This issue requires further  
597 neuroimaging studies to be resolved.

598         It is also worth noting that our sample size was relatively modest, although larger than  
599 many other in-person behavioural studies with aphantasic participants (Keogh & Pearson,  
600 2017). Consequently, it is possible that neuropsychological task differences may have been  
601 found if a larger sample had been used. Recruiting aphantasic participants can be difficult. In  
602 the future, studies using online behavioural tasks may help to boost recruitment. It is also  
603 important to acknowledge the limitations resulting from the fact that aphantasia is a  
604 condition defined using subjective measures (i.e. the VVIQ questionnaire). For example,



635 Despite their difference in self-reported conscious experience of visual imagery,  
636 individuals with aphantasia performed as accurately as individuals with typical imagery on a  
637 number of neuropsychological tasks exploring declarative and visuo-spatial working memory.  
638 The only exceptions were differences in response time for aphantasic individuals relative to  
639 typical imagers in the OTS task, likely at higher levels of task difficulty. Secondly, a significant  
640 group difference in response time in the MRT, however, this difference was only evident  
641 within the sub-group of aphantasic participants who reported a severe visual imagery deficit.  
642 Based on the evidence of slower performance, it is the possible that aphantasic individuals  
643 are completing these tasks without access to visual imagery, but rather by using spatial  
644 imagery (similar to congenitally blind individuals). Alternatively, this could be explained by  
645 the fact that aphantasic individuals lack conscious awareness of their visual imagery  
646 experience. These findings suggest the importance of collecting response time data to  
647 indicate the use of alternative processes in tasks. The sample size did not permit exploration  
648 of individual differences. Ultimately, the results suggest that despite the differences in the  
649 subjective experience of visual imagery, aphantasic individuals do not show significant  
650 impairments in visual working memory or declarative memory that would hamper everyday  
651 life.

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## 658 **CRedit authorship contribution statement**

659 **Z. Pounder:** Study Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Project administration,  
660 Software, Data curation, Formal analysis, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing,  
661 Visualization; **J. Jacob:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Software, Writing - review &  
662 editing; **S. Evans:** Resources, Software, Writing - review & editing; **C. Loveday:**  
663 Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing - review & editing; **A. Eardley:** Writing - review &

664 editing; **J. Silvanto:** – Conceptualization, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Writing - review  
665 & editing

666

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**Variable glossary for the paper:**

*'Only minimal differences between individuals with congenital aphantasia and those with typical imagery on neuropsychological tasks that involve imagery'*

<b>Variable name</b>	<b>Meaning/definition</b>
SubID	Subject Identification/number
Con	Control
Aph	Aphantasic
VVIQ	Vividness of Visual Imagery Questionnaire
WTAR	Wechsler Test of Adult Reading
VRM	Verbal Recognition Memory
Free_Rec	Free Recall
PRM	Pattern Recognition Memory
Total_Sc	Total Score
Total_Err	Total Error
Total_Us_Err	Total Usage Error
SSP	Spatial Span
Spatial_Sp	Spatial Span
OTS	One Touch Stocking of Cambridge
MRT	Mental Rotation Task
Acc	Accuracy
RT	Reaction Time
Msec	Milliseconds
Deg (°)	Degrees e.g. 85_deg = 85 °

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