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Semantic Representations in Working Memory: A Computational Model

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17 Open Science statement:

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

19 <https://osf.io/6j7tv/>

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Abstract

21 Verbal Working Memory (WM) is supported by semantic knowledge. One manifestation
22 of this is the rich pattern of semantic similarity effects found in immediate serial recall tasks.
23 These effects differ from the effects of similarity on other dimensions (e.g., phonological
24 similarity), which renders them difficult to explain. We propose a comprehensive mechanistic
25 explanation of semantic similarity effects by extending a standard connectionist architecture for
26 modeling immediate serial recall to incorporate semantic representations. Central to our proposal
27 is the selective encoding of categorical features shared among multiple list items. The selective
28 encoding of shared semantic features is made possible via a tagging mechanism that enables the
29 model to encode shared feature retrospectively. Through this mechanism, our model accounts for
30 the majority of semantic similarity effects. Our results imply that working memory represents
31 semantic information in a more restricted way than phonological information.

32

33 *Keywords:* Working Memory; Serial Recall; Semantics; Semantic similarity; Computational
34 modeling

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Introduction

37 Working memory (WM) is supported by semantic knowledge (Patterson et al., 1994;
38 Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995; Romani et al., 2008). This influence has been mostly observed in
39 immediate serial recall, requiring people to recall short lists of words in their presentation order.
40 One of the most robust and replicated phenomena showing the influence of semantic knowledge
41 is the *semantic similarity* effect (Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995): Performance is higher for lists
42 composed of semantically similar vs. dissimilar words. This semantic similarity effect has been
43 observed in a rich variety of experimental conditions, implying that WM uses semantic
44 knowledge in some way. Therefore, it is important to understand how WM interacts with
45 meaning.

46 The present study presents a connectionist architecture of WM to account for semantic
47 similarity effects observed across a diverse range of experimental paradigms. The core WM
48 architecture uses generic principles shared by many successful models of serial recall. We
49 assume that memory sets are encoded into WM through bindings between items and positional
50 contexts, a general principle shared by many WM models (Burgess & Hitch, 1999, 2006;
51 Henson, 1998; Lewandowsky & Farrell, 2008; Oberauer et al., 2012; Oberauer & Lewandowsky,
52 2011). The novelty of our approach is to integrate meaning in this architecture. We start this
53 study by a literature review introducing the way semantic similarity impacts WM performance in
54 different experimental conditions, focusing on well-replicated phenomena that will be used as
55 benchmarks for our simulation work. Next, we describe the core principles of the WM
56 architecture and the way it is implemented. We then present the results of the simulations.

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58 Dissociating Item and Order Recall

59 In typical WM experiments, participants are required to recall items as well as their
60 presentation order. Throughout this manuscript, we will continuously draw the distinction
61 between people's ability to remember items, and their ability to remember the order in which
62 they appeared, independently of each other. We will refer to these different ways of measuring
63 memory performance as *item recall* and *order recall*. We intend these terms to be descriptive,
64 without any commitment to a theoretical distinction of memory mechanisms underlying item and
65 order recall. Failures to recall the items and failures to recall their presentation order merely
66 reflect different kinds of errors. This distinction is important, as semantic similarity improves
67 item recall, and leaves order recall unaffected (cf. sections below). We therefore need to
68 understand how item and order errors can be measured separately. In immediate serial recall,
69 item recall is assessed using the proportion of list items recalled, regardless of where the items
70 have been recalled. For instance, given the input sequence *ABCDEF* and the output sequence
71 *A*DC*Z* (where the character “*” represents an omission), item recall is equal to 3/6. Order
72 recall is computed by dividing the number of items recalled in their correct position by the total
73 number of items recalled regardless of their output position (Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999b).
74 Using the previous example, order recall is equal to 1/3. Proportionalizing by the number of
75 items recalled is important, as it provides an estimate of the conditional probability of
76 committing an order error for an item, given that the item's identity is recalled. As people
77 remember more similar than dissimilar items, they are expected to recall more items in the
78 correct order *and* incorrect order in absolute terms, even if the probability to recall each item in
79 its correct position is equivalent. This way of computing order recall implies that items not
80 recalled at all are treated as missing data as they are not diagnostic for order recall.

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81 Another way to estimate order recall separately from item recall is by using an order
82 reconstruction task, in which the memoranda are made available at retrieval, and participants are
83 asked to reconstruct the original order of the sequence. As all items are available during both
84 encoding and retrieval, item errors are impossible in order reconstruction. As a further way to
85 estimate order recall, researchers often sample items of memory lists from a closed pool of
86 stimuli repeatedly, so that participants soon know all items in the pool perfectly (Neath &
87 Surprenant, 2019; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a).

88

89 **Category Membership as a Semantic Similarity Metric**

90 A simple way to manipulate semantic similarity involves the use of taxonomic categories
91 (e.g., fruits, animals, shapes, birds...). The similar lists are constructed by using words from the
92 same category. The dissimilar lists are constructed by using words from different categories. The
93 rationale behind this idea is that similarity between members of the same category is higher than
94 with members of different categories. For instance, “leopard”, “cheetah” and “puma” have in
95 common the features that they are dangerous animals, big wild cats, have a tail, a fur, are
96 carnivores, etc. This way of constructing the material is powerful because each word is used
97 equally often in the similar and dissimilar lists. This implies that all individual items’ linguistic
98 properties, which are known to impact WM performance, are controlled for, such as word length,
99 lexical frequency, or word concreteness (Cowan et al., 1992; Hulme et al., 1991; Walker &
100 Hulme, 1999), among others.

101 Several lines of evidence have shown that category membership is a valid measure of
102 semantic similarity. First, people generate more shared features for members of the same
103 category than for items from different categories (Binder et al., 2016; Devereux et al., 2014).

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104 Second, functional neuroimaging studies using representational similarity analyses have shown
105 that members of the same semantic category elicit more similar patterns of neural activation than
106 members of different categories (Xu et al., 2018). These observations have been made
107 specifically in core regions of semantic processing, such as the anterior temporal lobe (Lambon-
108 Ralph et al., 2017). A third line of evidence comes from studies on proactive interference (Craik
109 & Birtwistle, 1971; Wickens, 1970). When subjects are tested in a delayed recall paradigm, their
110 memory typically decreases over trials. This proactive interference effect can be released by
111 switching the category of the to-be-remembered items (e.g., from digits to letters), suggesting
112 that the shared features of memoranda from trials N-X interfered with those of trial N. A change
113 of semantic category is known to successfully release proactive interference. If items from the
114 same category weren't similar to each other in memory, release from proactive interference
115 wouldn't be observed upon a change of category. Taken together, these observations imply that
116 members of the same taxonomic category are indeed semantically more similar than members of
117 different taxonomic categories.

118

119 **Benchmark #1: Semantic Similarity Benefits Item Recall**

120 The main impact of semantic similarity occurs at the item level. As can be seen in **Figure 1**, left panel, item recall increases for similar vs. dissimilar items in immediate serial recall tasks
121 (Goh & Goh, 2006; Guérard & Saint-Aubin, 2012; Kowialiewski, Gorin, et al., 2021;
122 Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat, 2021; Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020; Nairne & Kelley,
123 2004; Neale & Tehan, 2007; Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995; Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Saint-Aubin
124 & Poirier, 1999a; Tse, 2009). This is also observed if semantic similarity is manipulated by using
125 thematic relationships (e.g., “dog”, “bones”), or values derived from latent semantic analysis
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127 (Landauer & Dumais, 1997), and results are indistinguishable from those observed using
128 taxonomic categories (Rosselet-Jordan et al., 2022; Tse, 2009). The recall advantage for lists
129 composed of semantically similar vs. dissimilar items has been observed in other procedures,
130 such as running span (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2018), backward recall (Guérard & Saint-
131 Aubin, 2012), Brown-Peterson paradigms (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020; Neale & Tehan,
132 2007), complex span tasks (Rosselet-Jordan et al., 2022), and under concurrent articulatory
133 suppression (Neale & Tehan, 2007; Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995; Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Saint-
134 Aubin & Poirier, 1999a). The beneficial effect of semantic similarity is also observed in children
135 (Monnier & Bonthoux, 2011).

136 The recall advantage for similar vs. dissimilar lists at the item level can be decomposed
137 into *omission errors* and *extra-list intrusions*. Omission errors refer to participants not recalling
138 any item at all for a given list position.¹ Extra-list intrusions refer to participants recalling an item
139 that was not part of the to-be-remembered list. As can be seen in **Figure 1**, middle panel,
140 semantic similarity mostly impacts performance by reducing the rate of omissions. Although
141 extra-list intrusions are rare, they also slightly decrease for similar vs. dissimilar lists (Poirier &
142 Saint-Aubin, 1995), as can be seen in **Figure 1**, right panel.

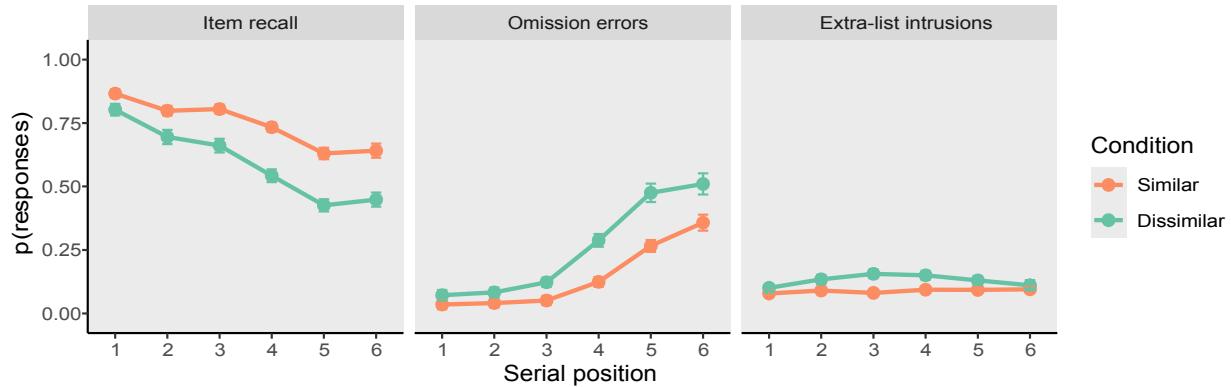
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144 **Figure 1**

145 *The Effect of Semantic Similarity on Item Recall*

¹ When not recalling an item at all, participants are usually instructed to say the word “blank”, or to leave an empty answer in case of written recall.

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146 *Note.* Item recall (left panel) can be decomposed into two broad categories of errors. The failure
147 to recall an item at all is characterized by both omission errors (middle panel) and extra-list
148 intrusions (right panel). Semantic similarity reduces the occurrence of both [types](#) of errors. The
149 figure has been adapted from Kowialiewski et al. (2023).

150

151 **Benchmark #2: Semantic Similarity Does Not Decrease Order Recall**

152 Semantic similarity does not impair order recall, when the scoring procedure used is corrected
153 for the number of items recalled. This null effect is in striking contrast with the phonological
154 similarity effect: Phonological similarity is known to decrease order recall (Baddeley, 1966;
155 Fallon et al., 2005; Gupta et al., 2005; Nimmo & Roodenrys, 2004). Saint-Aubin & Poirier
156 (1999a) were the first authors to consistently show an absence of detrimental effect of semantic
157 similarity on order recall in immediate serial recall. Saint-Aubin and Poirier replicated the null
158 effect on order recall under articulatory suppression with visually presented items. They further
159 replicated it using a small pool of stimuli and an order reconstruction task, thus minimizing the
160 involvement of item recall. Since then, the null effect of semantic similarity on order recall has
161 been replicated several times (Monnier & Bonthoux, 2011; Nairne & Kelley, 2004; Neale &
162 Tehan, 2007; Tehan, 2010), including in recent studies in which this was tested in different

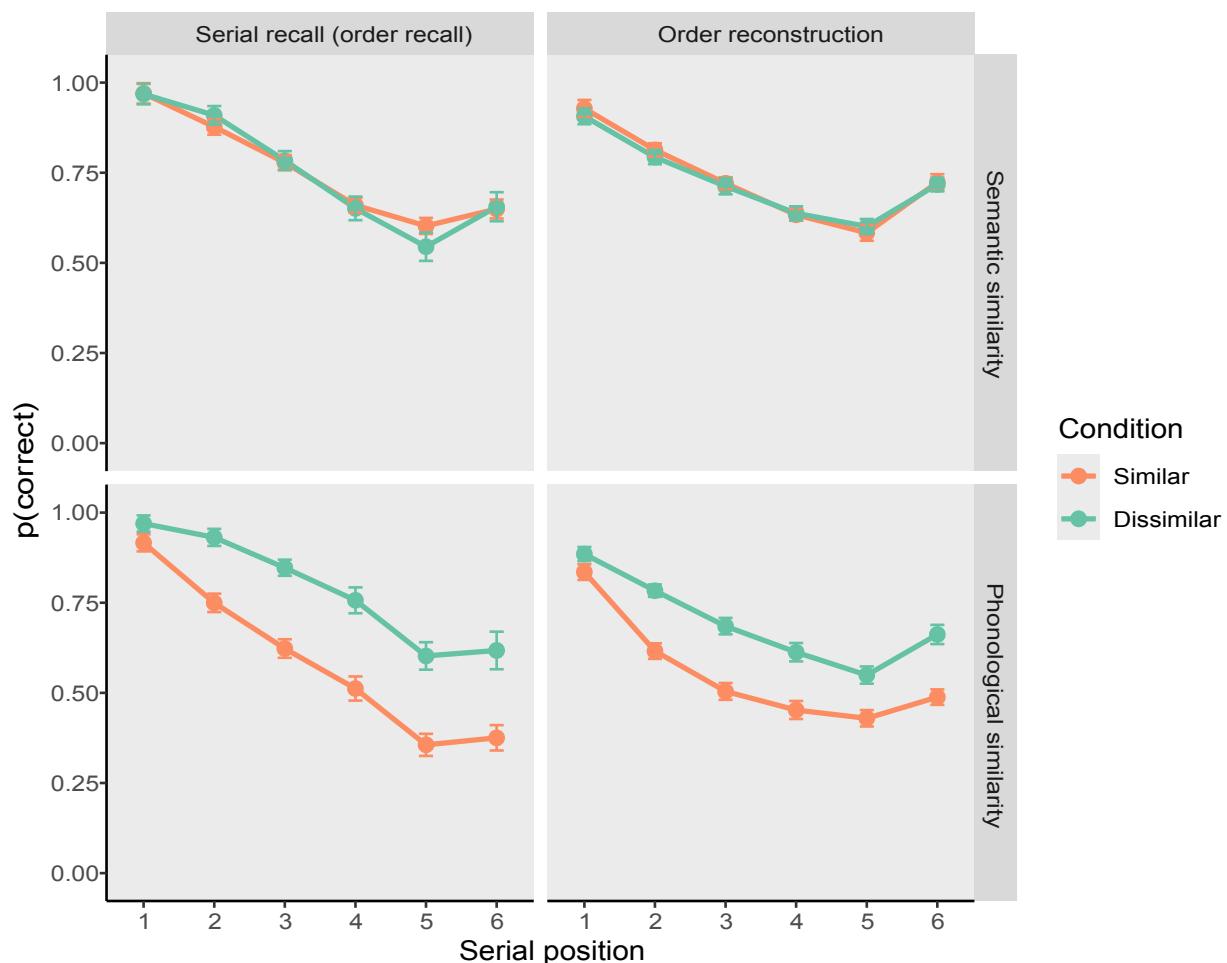
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163 manners and using different semantic similarity metrics (Ishiguro & Saito, 2024; Kowialiewski
164 et al., 2023; Neath et al., 2022), with one exception (Guitard et al., 2025) that we will discuss in
165 the General Discussion. The results of our study are displayed in **Figure 2**, upper panel. In our
166 study, we also manipulated phonological similarity for comparison purposes. As shown in
167 **Figure 2**, lower panel, phonological similarity decreased order recall, whereas semantic
168 similarity did not. As we will see, this has important implications regarding how semantic
169 knowledge affects working memory for words.

170

171 **Figure 2**

172 *The Effect of Semantic and Phonological Similarity on Order Recall*



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174 *Note.* Upper panels: Semantic similarity. Lower panels: Phonological similarity, manipulated
175 using rhyming vs. non-rhyming items. Left panels: Order recall, as quantified in an immediate
176 serial recall task. Right panels: Order recall, as quantified in an order reconstruction task. The
177 figure has been adapted from Kowialiewski et al. (2023).

178

179 **Benchmark #3: Semantically Similar Retrieval Cues do not Lead to Increased Interference**

180 Similarity effects are typically tested in tasks in which the items are the targets of
181 retrieval: The correct item needs to be retrieved for a given list position (see Benchmark #2). A
182 complementary way of testing the effect of inter-item similarity – which has received less
183 attention in the WM literature so far – is to use the items as retrieval cues and ask participants to
184 retrieve their list positions as targets. This reversed direction of retrieval is of interest because it
185 leverages the well-established cue-similarity principle of memory: The more similar two retrieval
186 cues are to each other, the more likely the targets associated to them are confused with each other
187 (Guérard et al., 2009; Mueller & Watkins, 1977; Schneegans & Bays, 2017; Watkins & Watkins,
188 1976). Hence, to the degree that two lists of words are similar to each other, participants should
189 confuse their list positions when the words are given as cues, and the positions need to be
190 recalled.

191 Kowialiewski et al. (2023) used this approach to investigate effects of phonological and of
192 semantic similarity. The phonological manipulation involved rhyming vs. non-rhyming lists of
193 items, which is known to have strong and robust detrimental effects on order recall (Roodenrys
194 et al., 2022), and a beneficial effect on item recall (Fallon et al., 2005; Gupta et al., 2005; Lian &
195 Karlsen, 2004; Nimmo & Roodenrys, 2004; Roodenrys et al., 2022). In the study of
196 Kowialiewski et al. (2023), participants studied lists of six words. On half the trials, they were

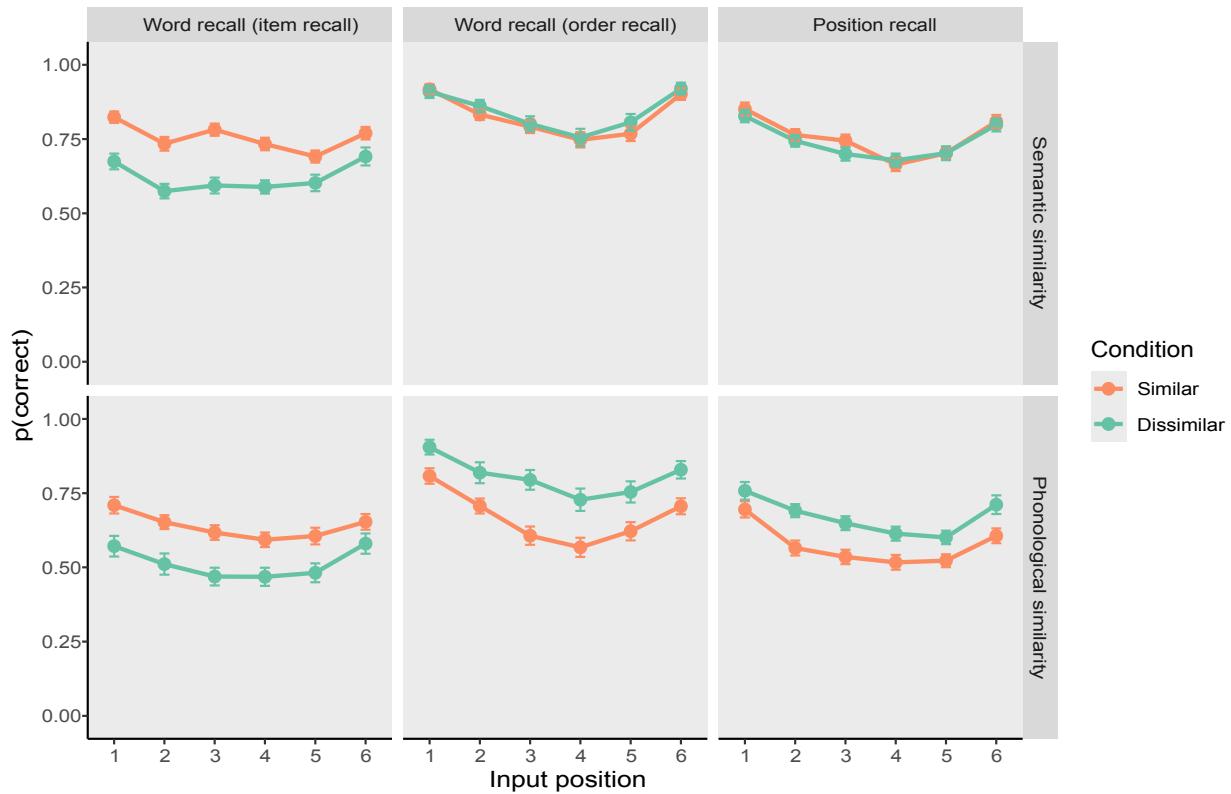
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197 cued with the positions in a random order (e.g., starting with “position 5”, and then “position 2”,
198 and so forth) and were required to retrieve the items associated to them. On the other half of the
199 trials, participants were given the items one by one in a random order, and retrieved the positions
200 associated to them. The results are displayed in **Figure 3**. When the positions were given, and the
201 items were the retrieval targets, semantic (upper panels) and phonological (lower panels)
202 similarity led to increased item recall (left panels), as classically observed. The critical result was
203 to show that only phonological similarity led to increased confusion errors, and this was true for
204 both retrieval directions (middle and right panels). The null effect of semantic similarity in the
205 condition in which the items served as retrieval cues for the positions constitutes a violation of
206 the cue-similarity principle. As the cue-similarity principle has been originally established
207 through variations of the semantic similarity of words in tests of episodic memory (Mueller &
208 Watkins, 1977; Watkins & Watkins, 1976), this cannot mean that the cue-similarity principle
209 does not hold for semantic similarity. Rather, it probably means that word meaning is not
210 represented, or not used, in WM in the same way as in episodic memory.

211

212 **Figure 3**

213 *Semantic and Phonological Similarity Effect on Item Recall, Order Recall, and Memory for*
214 *Positions*



215 *Note.* Upper panels: Semantic similarity. Lower panels: Phonological (i.e., rhyming) similarity.
 216 Left and middle panels: Participants were cued with a position and were asked to report the item
 217 associated to it. Right panels: Participants were cued with a word and were asked to report the
 218 position associated to it. The figure has been adapted from Kowialiewski et al. (2023).

219

220 **Benchmark #4: Semantically Similar Lists are More Resistant to Manipulations of Task
 221 Difficulty**

222 When the semantic similarity effect is manipulated under conditions in which WM
 223 maintenance gets harder, the difference between similar and dissimilar lists gets larger. This
 224 interaction was first observed by Poirier & Saint-Aubin (1995), showing a stronger semantic
 225 similarity effect with than without articulatory suppression, which has been subsequently
 226 replicated (Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a). Stronger semantic similarity

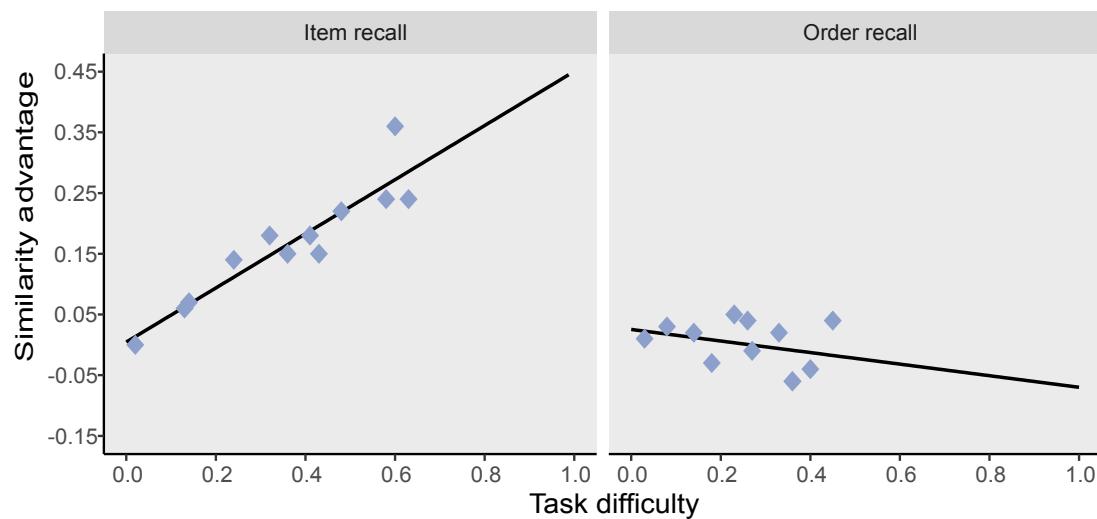
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227 effects have also been observed in a Brown-Peterson than in an immediate-recall paradigm. In
228 the Brown-Peterson task, participants performed a backward-counting task between encoding
229 and recall, which impairs memory (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020). Neale & Tehan (2007) offer
230 a comprehensive demonstration of this phenomenon. They parametrically modulated the
231 degradation of WM representations using different interfering tasks and list lengths. **Figure 4**
232 illustrates the magnitude of the semantic similarity effect as a function of task difficulty
233 (measured by the proportion of errors in the dissimilar condition) as observed in Neale and Tehan
234 (2007). The magnitude of the semantic similarity effect linearly increased with task difficulty
235 (**Figure 4**, left panel). The null effect on order recall, in contrast, remained unchanged (**Figure 4**,
236 right panel).

237

238 **Figure 4**

239 *Semantic Similarity as a Function of Task Difficulty*



241 *Note.* In this study, task difficulty was defined as $1.0 - p(\text{correct})$ in the dissimilar condition. For
242 instance, an item score of 0.8 was defined as less difficult (i.e., task difficulty equal to 0.2) than a

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243 condition leading to an item score of 0.6 (i.e., task difficulty equal to 0.4). The figure has been
244 reproduced using the values reported in Neale and Tehan (2007), Table A1.

245

246 **Benchmark #5: Semantic Similarity Modulates the Type of Intrusion Errors**

247 Tehan (2010) compared semantically dissimilar lists to lists of similar items constructed
248 from Deese-Roediger-McDermott lists (McEvoy et al., 1999), in which all words have strong
249 semantic associations to a critical lure that is itself not included. In the long-term memory
250 literature, this manipulation typically induces so-called “false memories” (Deese, 1959; Roediger
251 & McDermott, 1995), in which the critical lure is recalled more often in the similar than the
252 dissimilar list. The same phenomenon was observed in Tehan (2010): The critical lures were
253 recalled more often in semantically similar (6%) than in dissimilar (0%) lists. This effect shows
254 that the composition of a list affects the type of intrusion errors occurring in immediate serial
255 recall.

256 Another way to look at this phenomenon is via a detailed analysis of extra-list intrusions.
257 We reanalyzed data from six experiments (Kowialiewski et al., 2023; Neath et al., 2022)
258 involving 330 participants who recalled lists of semantically similar and dissimilar items across
259 various experimental conditions (i.e., serial and cued recall). For each trial, we calculated the
260 similarity between each extra-list intrusion and the target item (i.e., the item they were
261 substituted for) using Google news word2vec semantic vectors
262 (<https://github.com/mmhultz/word2vec-GoogleNews-vectors>). The extra-list intrusions were
263 then categorized into three bins based on their similarity with their target items: low, medium,
264 and high. The bins were defined by dividing the interval between the minimum and maximum

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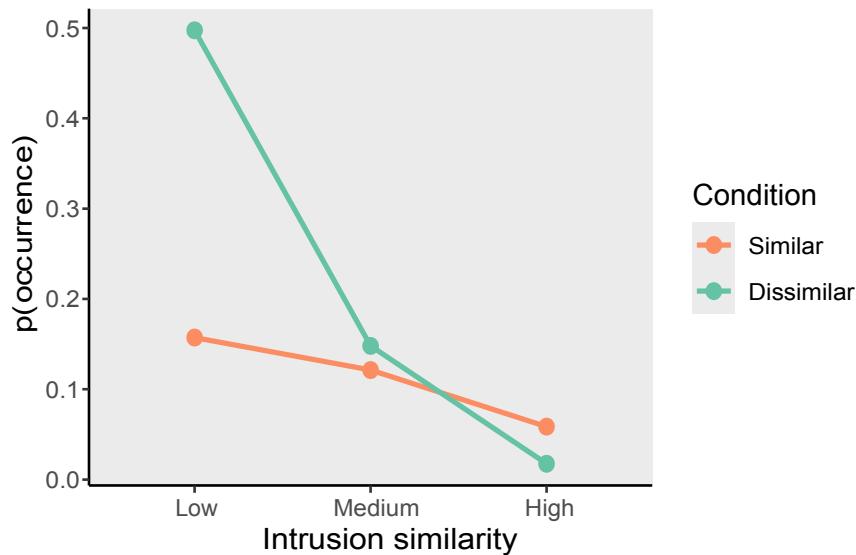
265 similarity value² into three equal ranges. **Figure 5** shows the proportion of intrusion errors for
266 each semantic similarity condition and bin, normalized by the total number of intrusion errors
267 across all conditions. The data reveal that low-similarity intrusions are by far the most common
268 type of error, accounting for approximately 70% of the sample. However, the distribution of
269 intrusion errors varies depending on list composition. In semantically dissimilar lists, low-
270 similarity intrusions dominate, with very few high-similarity intrusions. In contrast, in
271 semantically similar lists, the proportion of low-similarity intrusions decreases substantially, and
272 high-similarity intrusions occur more frequently than in semantically dissimilar lists.

273

274 **Figure 5**

275 *Distribution of extra-list intrusions*

16 ² The minimum and maximum similarity values were taken from the all the similarity values
17 between every word2vec vector and every target that has been replaced by an intrusion.



276 *Note.* Proportion of intrusion errors as a function of semantic similarity (similar vs. dissimilar).

277 Each extra-list intrusion was categorized into one of three bins based on its similarity to the

278 target item (i.e., the item it replaced): low, medium, and high.

279

280 **Benchmark #6: The Separation Effect**

281 Saint-Aubin et al. (2014) explored how the positional distance separating two similar
 282 items affects serial recall. Their results showed weaker semantic similarity effects as the
 283 positional distance between similar items increased. This *separation effect* has recently been
 284 replicated by Kowialiewski, Gorin, et al. (2021) using a procedure in which participants were
 285 presented with lists composed of three items from each of two categories. In one condition, the
 286 similar items were presented at adjacent serial positions, in a grouped manner (i.e., AAABBB,
 287 where each letter refers to a semantic category). In another condition, the items were interleaved
 288 (i.e., ABABAB). Compared to a dissimilar condition, the grouped condition led to the largest
 289 benefit for item recall (i.e., strongest semantic similarity effect). The effect was only half as large
 290 in the interleaved condition. Results from a recent replication (Kowialiewski, Majerus, et al.,

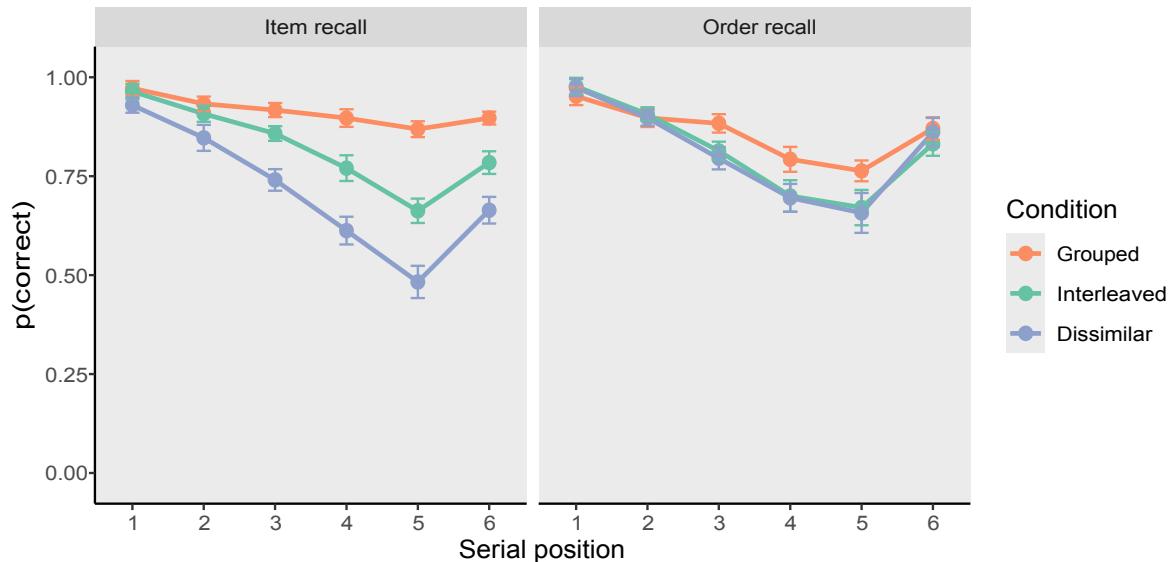
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291 2023, Experiment 1) are illustrated in **Figure 6**. As can be seen, the separation effect has a
292 beneficial effect on item recall (left panel). There is also a small beneficial effect on order recall
293 (right panel), which is only observed when items are grouped. We recently showed that the
294 separation effect is specifically due to the separation between the similar items at presentation
295 and is not modulated by the order in which they are recalled (Kowialiewski, Krasnoff, et al.,
296 2022), suggesting that the effect originates at encoding. In the same study, we showed that when
297 more than one item separates every two similar items, the semantic similarity effect almost
298 disappears.

299

300 **Figure 6**

301 *The Separation Effect*



302 *Note.* In the grouped condition, two categories composed each of three similar words were
303 presented in sub-groups at encoding (i.e., AAABBB). In the interleaved condition, the similar
304 words were presented in an interleaved fashion (i.e., ABABAB). In the dissimilar condition, all
305 words were drawn from distinct semantic categories (i.e., ABCDEF).

306

307 **Benchmark #7: Semantic Similarity Constrains Order Errors**

308 Although semantic similarity does not impair order recall, it can constrain the *pattern* of
309 order errors. Poirier et al. (2015) presented participants with lists in which the three first items
310 were semantically similar. In a control condition, the three last items remained dissimilar (e.g.,
311 “officer, badge, siren, music, tourist, yellow”). In an experimental condition, the fifth item was
312 semantically similar to the triplet in the first half of the list (e.g., “officer, badge, siren, fence,
313 police, tractor”). They observed an increase of order errors of the fifth item in the experimental
314 conditions, compared to the fifth item in the control condition. Specifically, participants more
315 often recalled “police” erroneously in the list positions of “officer”, “badge” or “siren”. For
316 simplicity, we will refer to this phenomenon as an increase of *within-category transpositions*.

317 Similar results have been found in Kowialiewski, Gorin, et al. (2021), who presented two
318 categories of semantically similar items in a grouped (AAABBB) or interleaved (ABABAB)
319 manner (i.e., see also previous section on the separation effect). Dissimilar lists (ABCDEF)
320 served as a control condition. Semantic similarity changed the pattern of transposition errors: In
321 semantically similar lists, there were more within-category transpositions compared to matched
322 positions in dissimilar lists, and fewer between-category transpositions (i.e., a transposition
323 involving the migration of an item toward the position of a semantically dissimilar *item*)
324 compared to dissimilar lists. The full pattern of transposition errors is illustrated in **Figure 7**. The
325 figure plots the number of transposition errors out of the total number of items recalled as a
326 function of semantic condition (left panel: grouped vs. dissimilar, right panel: interleaved vs.
327 dissimilar) and transposition type (i.e., within-category, between-category). What this graph
328 shows is that, in a list such as “**leopard – puma – tiger – Denmark – Belgium – Switzerland**”,

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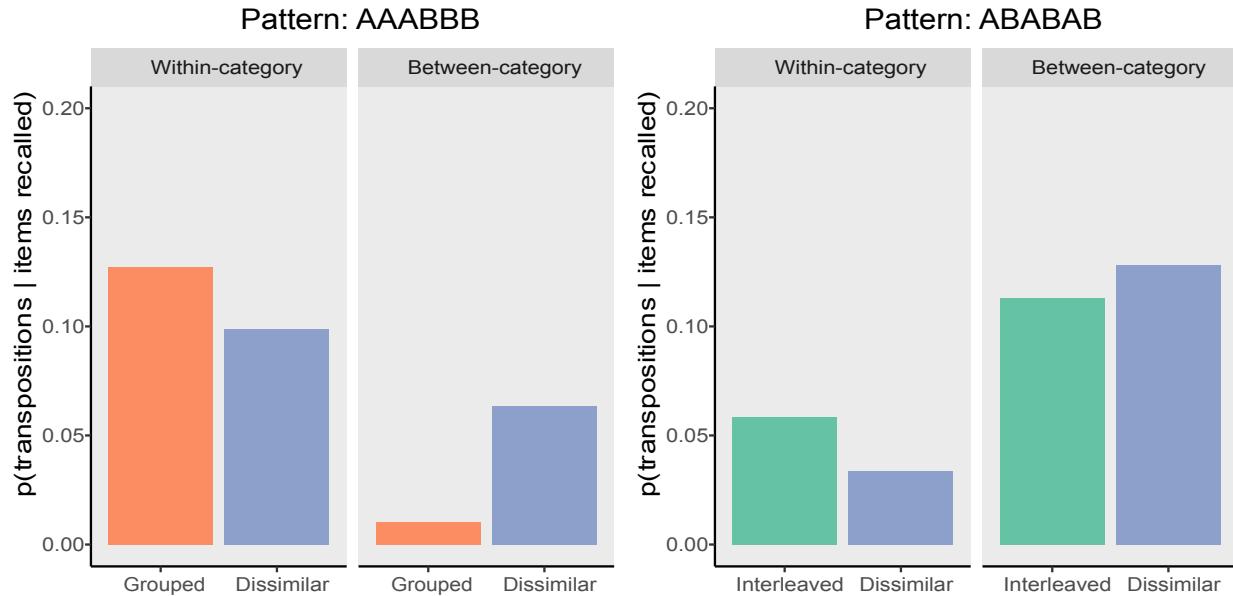
329 people rarely produce confusion errors such as “**leopard** – **puma** – Denmark – **tiger** – Belgium –
330 Switzerland”. Instead, when any confusion error occurred, it involved mostly items from the
331 same semantic category. In contrast, items in the dissimilar condition moved throughout the list
332 more freely.

333 Because the effect was larger in the study of Kowialiewski and colleagues (Cohen’s $d =$
334 1.244) than the one of Poirier et al. (2015), we decided to focus on results from the two-category
335 design of Kowialiewski et al. as benchmark. A recent work of our own (Kowialiewski, Majerus,
336 et al., 2024) showed that the effect replicates regardless of presentation modality (i.e., auditory,
337 written), and test method (i.e., serial recall, order reconstruction). Furthermore, the **increase** of
338 within-category transpositions is not due to participants developing long-term memory
339 knowledge or expectations about the semantic list structure during the experimental setup, as the
340 effect persists when participants cannot predict the lists’ semantic structures, suggesting a non-
341 strategic origin.

342

343 **Figure 7**

344 *Transpositions as a Function of Semantic Similarity Structure and Transposition Type*



345 *Note.* In the study reported by Kowialiewski et al. (2023), participants were presented with lists
 346 composed of two semantic categories represented in groups (i.e., pattern AAABBB) or
 347 interleaved (i.e., ABABAB). As compared to items presented at identical positions in a dissimilar
 348 condition, items in the semantically similar lists, when migrating, tended to be transposed more
 349 often toward semantically similar, and less toward other dissimilar items of the list. The y-axis
 350 represents the number of transposition errors of a certain type (i.e., within-category or between-
 351 category) out of the total number of items recalled in a particular condition. The dissimilar
 352 condition represents a control to see what would normally happen in conditions where no
 353 semantic structure was given.

354

355 **Benchmark #8: Semantic Similarity Proactively Impacts Working Memory Performance**

356 The last benchmark focuses on a phenomenon first reported by Brooks and Watkins
 357 (1990) and recently replicated by Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al. (2021). Kowialiewski and
 358 colleagues tested serial recall of six-word lists in which three successive words were

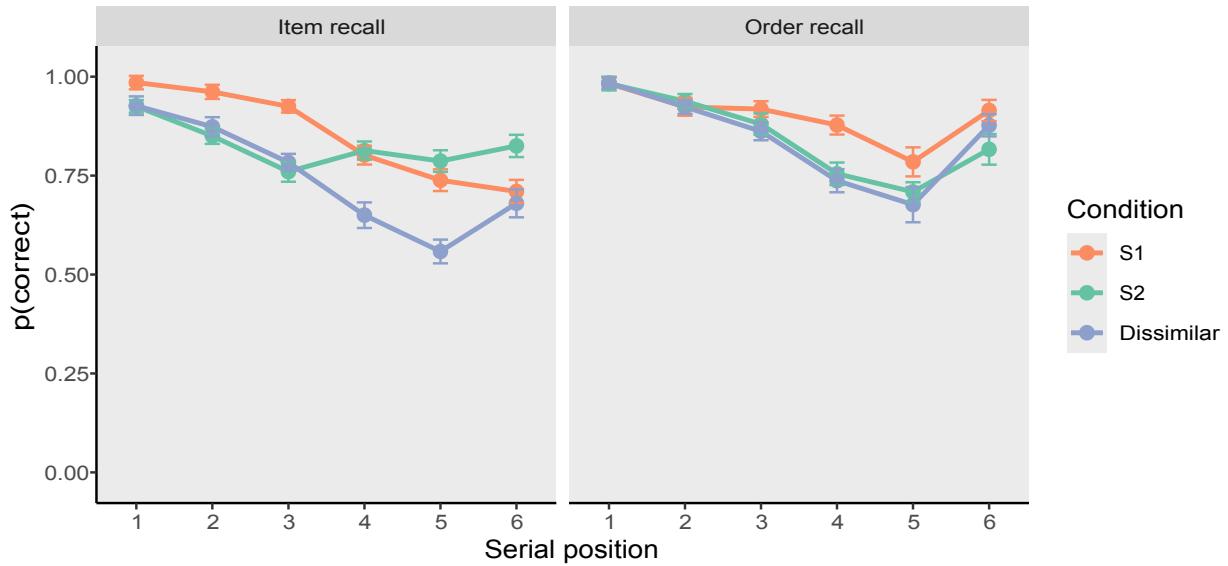
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359 semantically similar. In one condition (S1), the similar items were presented at the beginning of
360 the list (e.g., flute, guitar, piano, wall, sky, tomato). In another condition (S2), the similar items
361 were presented at the end of the list (e.g., leopard, bike, table, Mars, Jupiter, Venus). As
362 compared to a dissimilar condition, the similar items themselves were better recalled at the item
363 level, thus replicating the general beneficial effect of semantic similarity. The novel finding is
364 that when the similar items were presented at the beginning of the list, the subsequent items were
365 better recalled compared to the same items in the dissimilar condition. Hence, semantic
366 similarity among the early list items had a beneficial *proactive effect* on subsequent, dissimilar
367 items. However, when the similar items were presented at the end of the list, recall performance
368 for the preceding items was not affected. There was therefore no *retroactive effect*. An analogous
369 phenomenon has been reported by Miller & Roodenrys (2012) using high and low frequency
370 items. The results are illustrated in **Figure 8**, showing a proactive benefit for both item and order
371 recall.

372

373 **Figure 8**

374 *Proactive Beneficial Effect of Semantic Similarity*



375 *Note.* In the S1 condition, items were semantically similar only in the first half of the list (i.e.,
 376 positions 1, 2 and 3). In the S2 condition, items were semantically similar in the second half of
 377 the list (i.e., positions 4, 5 and 6). The remaining items were all semantically dissimilar. As can
 378 be seen, the presence of similar items in the S1 condition proactive enhanced memory
 379 performance for the subsequent dissimilar items, despite these dissimilar items having the same
 380 linguistic status as the items in the dissimilar condition. In contrast, no retroactive impact
 381 occurred.

382

383 **Empirical Section: Summary**

384 To sum up, semantic similarity is characterized by a rich pattern of effects. It mostly
 385 impacts WM performance by increasing item recall, with semantically similar items leading to
 386 reduced omission errors and extra-list intrusions. Current evidence indicates a lack of semantic
 387 similarity effect on order recall when manipulated with pure lists. The [absence of a](#) semantic
 388 similarity effect on confusion errors occurs regardless of the retrieval direction tested and stands
 389 in contrast to the robust effect of phonological similarity on confusion errors. The semantic

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390 similarity effect is stronger under difficult maintenance conditions. It is sensitive to the positional
391 distance that separates similar items at encoding. Semantic similarity can constrain serial order
392 errors in mixed lists, and it proactively improves WM performance for dissimilar items. In the
393 next section, we describe a connectionist architecture modeling the interactions occurring
394 between WM and the semantic long-term memory system, which explains most of these
395 phenomena.

396

397 **Model Description: General Principles**

398 In this section, we first describe the general cognitive principles of the architecture we
399 used to simulate semantic similarity effects. We start by describing the WM architecture itself,
400 followed by the principles specific to the representation of semantic information in WM. We will
401 test the ability of this mechanism to qualitatively capture the benchmarks presented above.

402

403 **The Working Memory Architecture**

404 In this section, we present a verbal description of the model we used to integrate meaning.
405 The various approaches we will introduce to represent meaning in WM exhibit consistent
406 behavior regardless of the specificity of the architecture. Nonetheless, choosing an architecture
407 involves committing to assumptions. We chose to use a WM architecture using general principles
408 shared by various models (Burgess & Hitch, 1999; Henson, 1998; Lewandowsky & Farrell,
409 2008; Oberauer et al., 2012; Oberauer & Lewandowsky, 2011).

410 Encoding into WM is done by associating items to contexts. For instance, when presented
411 with the sequence “flower – pancake – leopard”, the model associates “flower” to position 1,
412 “pancake” to position 2, and so on. The core WM representation is stored in these associations

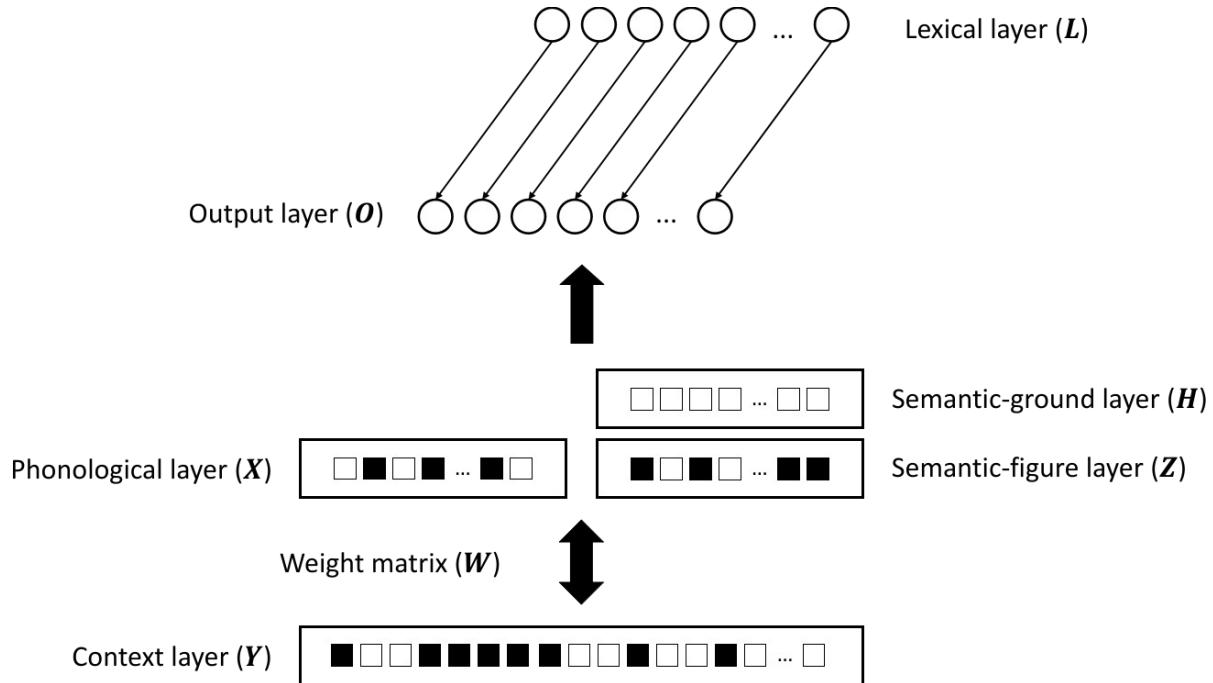
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413 between items (i.e., the words) and contexts (i.e., the positions). In addition to item-context
414 bindings, encoding an item into WM automatically activates its representation in long-term
415 memory, and this activation persists for some time. This is a general idea taken from embedded
416 processes models of WM (Cowan, 1999; Nee & Jonides, 2008; Oberauer, 2002, 2009). Basically,
417 each word has a pre-existing lexical representation (i.e., equivalent to vocabulary) in long-term
418 memory, coded by a localist unit. Every time a word is recognized as such, its lexical unit gets
419 activated. This activation lies outside of the core item-context binding system. The architecture
420 also includes an output layer, which contains a localist unit for each item in the lexicon. Features
421 in the item layer are connected to each localist unit in the output layer through connection
422 weights that represent the person's long-term learning about words. Specifically, the vector of
423 connection weights between the item layer and the localist unit of a word in the output layer is
424 identical to the vector of features by which that word is represented in the item layer. Thus, the
425 more the pattern of activation in the item layer approximates the original feature vector of a
426 word, the more the localist unit representing that word in the output layer is activated. In
427 addition, each node in the output layer has one connection with its corresponding lexical
428 representation. The structure of the architecture is reported in **Figure 9**.

429

430 **Figure 9**

431 *Illustration of the Working Memory Model*



432 *Note.* The architecture consists of a context layer (Y), an item layer, split into phonological and
 433 semantic parts (X , Z , and H), an output layer (O), and a lexical layer (L). Both the items and the
 434 contexts are represented in a distributed fashion. Both layers are fully inter-connected through
 435 the weight matrix W . In addition to the core temporary representations stored in W , items have
 436 an activation value using localist representations stored in the lexical layer L in long-term
 437 memory. The output layer O is used to select items based on their activation levels, and contains
 438 items' localist representations. The way the model retrieves items is illustrated in **Figure 10**.

439

440 Following Oberauer and Lin (2024), the strength of encoding through item-context
 441 binding is modulated in two ways. First, encoding into WM follows a primacy gradient of
 442 activation (Page & Norris, 1998), such that encoding strength is maximal for the first presented
 443 item, and progressively decreases for each newly encoded item. Second, each newly encoded
 444 item decreases the strength of previously encoded representations, a mechanism called *automatic*
 445 *updating*. The rationale behind this idea is that each new event encoded into WM is prioritized,

446 which has the consequence of de-prioritizing previous representations through weakening their
447 item-context associations by a constant proportion (Oberauer & Lin, 2024). This mechanism
448 produces a recency gradient. Jointly, the primacy gradient and automatic updating generate the
449 U-shaped serial position curve that is typically observed in immediate memory for lists
450 (Oberauer et al., 2018).

451 In most WM tests, participants recall each item in a given list position. **Figure 10**
452 illustrates this retrieval process in the model. Recall starts by cueing the to-be-remembered item
453 with its context (e.g., cueing the first item with “position 1”), which leads to the reproduction of
454 a distorted version of the original item in the item layer. This distortion occurs because the
455 context Y_i serving as a cue shares a proportion of features with other contexts. The items
456 associated to those other contexts are therefore also partially retrieved. As a consequence, it is
457 not the original item that is retrieved, but a blend of all items bound to any context Y_k through
458 the weight matrix W , weighted by how much context Y_k overlaps with Y_i .

459 The distorted representation of the to-be-recalled item cannot be produced as response
460 directly. Instead, an item must be produced by selecting among a set of retrieval candidates
461 (Schweickert, 1993). In immediate serial recall of words, the retrieval candidates are the words
462 stored in long-term memory, that is, people’s vocabulary. In order reconstruction tasks where the
463 list items are provided at retrieval, the retrieval candidates are just the given list items. Selection
464 of a candidate in the model is based on the activation of items’ localist units in the output layer.
465 Basically, when a distorted vector is retrieved following the cueing process, its activation is
466 forwarded from the item layer to the localist representations of retrieval candidates in the output
467 layer. In the output layer, the candidates matching the retrieved representation more strongly
468 have a higher activation level, and therefore a higher probability of being selected. For instance,

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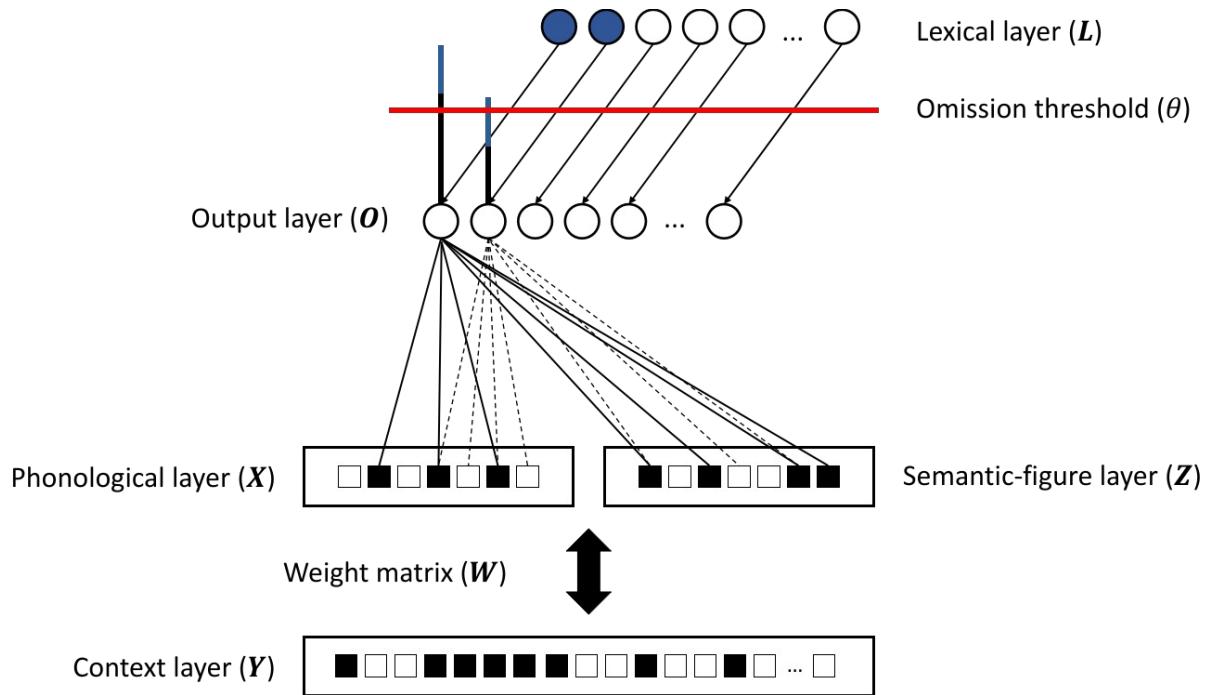
469 given the retrieved representation “C_T” and the recall candidates “CAT, COT, GEAR, MINE”,
470 it is much more likely to select “CAT” or “COT” as the response than the other items, because
471 they receive stronger activation from the retrieved features corresponding to “C_T”.

472 At this point, the persistent lexical activation plays a role: The candidate’s persistent
473 activation in the lexical units is added to the degree of match of each candidate to the retrieved
474 representation in the output layer through their one-to-one connections, resulting in the
475 candidate’s activation level with which it enters the competition for being selected as the
476 response. In this way, items with higher persistent activation are more likely to be recalled than
477 weakly activated items. If “CAT” was part of the current memory list in the example above
478 whereas “COT” was not, then “CAT” would be the most activated lexical unit because it
479 combines activation from the comparison to the retrieved representation “C_T” with persistent
480 activation in the lexical layer. Omissions in the model are implemented by a threshold on the
481 activation level of candidates in the output layer. Modeled this way, items receiving stronger
482 persistent activation in the lexical units – as well as items that are bound more strongly to their
483 contexts – are less likely to be omitted, because they will have a higher chance of surpassing the
484 omission threshold.

485

486 **Figure 10**

487 *Working Memory Architecture – Retrieval Phase*



488 *Note.* Retrieval is performed by cueing the item with its context through the weight matrix W ,
 489 which leads to the retrieval of a distorted version of the original item. This representation is then
 490 compared to all N items stored in long-term memory, leading to a degree of activation of each
 491 item in the output layer. The persistent activation in the lexical layer is added on top of the
 492 activation in the output layer.

493

494 After recalling an item, two processes occur simultaneously. First, automatic updating
 495 reduces the strength of the whole WM representation stored in the weight matrix by a constant
 496 proportion. Supporting this assumption, studies have found clear evidence that retrieving and/or
 497 recalling an item leads to forgetting (Cowan et al., 2002; Oberauer, 2003), a phenomenon called
 498 *output interference*. Second, the activation of the just-encoded item is downgraded in the lexical
 499 layer, which prevents the model from repeating items it already recalled. Note that if no item has
 500 been recalled (i.e., omission error), the items' activation is not downgraded. After each recall

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501 attempt, activation in the output layer is reset to zero and a new retrieval attempt occurs. The
502 recall phase finishes after the last recall attempt.

503

504 Semantic Encoding Mechanism

505 Each time an item is encoded, it triggers the activation of the items' associated semantic
506 features in different modality-specific regions across the neo-cortex (Binder et al., 2009; Binder
507 & Desai, 2011; Lambon-Ralph et al., 2017). One important aspect of our implementation is the
508 way semantic features are encoded (i.e., bound to their positional context). We assume that only
509 semantic features shared among several items are encoded in this way. In a list in which items
510 are drawn from the same taxonomic category, only the items' features characteristic for that
511 category will be encoded, which boils down to encoding the category itself. For instance, when
512 encountering a list such as "knife – sword – dagger", people maintain features common to all
513 items, such as "hurts people", "is dangerous", "is a weapon", etc. This mechanism implies that in
514 a list containing semantically dissimilar items, only a negligible number of shared semantic
515 features are retained due to the limited overlap between these items.

516

517 Figure 11

518 *Difference Between Phonological and Semantic Representations*

		Phonology										Semantic										
Dissimilar	v_1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	v_2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Similar	v_1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0
	v_2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0

519 *Note.* This figure illustrates the way phonological and semantic information are represented in
 520 the model. White (1) and black (0) values represent active and inactive features, respectively.
 521 Left panel: In our model, we assume that all features of a phonological representation are always
 522 encoded. When that is the case, it is more difficult to discriminate between two vectors sharing a
 523 large proportion of features (lower part) than two vectors sharing little of their features (upper
 524 part). Right panel: Different from phonological representations, we assume that the semantic
 525 features of an item are encoded only when shared with other memoranda. When that is the case,
 526 two vectors will be impossible to discriminate based on their semantic components, regardless
 527 whether they are similar (lower part) or dissimilar (upper part).

528

529 This category-encoding assumption gives unique characteristics to the model's behavior.
 530 Suppose two vectors, v_1 and v_2 , representing the phonological and the semantic features of two
 531 items that are bound to their respective positional contexts, as illustrated in **Figure 11**. In a
 532 condition in which these two vectors are semantically dissimilar (upper panel), all semantic
 533 features of the two vectors will have zero values, because none of their features are shared. In
 534 this condition, it is impossible to discriminate the two vectors solely based on their semantics.

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535 Only the phonological part of the vector is relevant to discriminate the items from one another.

536 Now let's consider two semantically similar items (lower panel). Both items are represented by

537 their shared features. In this situation, the semantic part of the vectors is also useless to

538 discriminate between the two items. Hence, as in the dissimilar condition, both items can be

539 discriminated only via the phonological part of the vector. Thanks to this property, items in

540 semantically similar lists will not be confused more often with each other than in lists of

541 dissimilar items, although semantic information – including information about the respective

542 positions of semantic categories within the list – is maintained in working memory. Although the

543 supplementary semantic features encoded with semantically similar items have no effect on order

544 recall, they do improve item recall, because they provide an additional source of activation that

545 helps retrieved representations surpass the omission threshold.

546 There is one major problem when considering a model which encodes only items' shared

547 features. When first encountering the item "knife", it cannot be known in advance which, if any,

548 semantic features it will share with subsequently presented items. It is only when encountering

549 the words "spoon" and "fork" that it is possible to identify the semantic features they share. At

550 that point in time, these features should be encoded into WM by binding them to the positions in

551 which the three items have been presented. By contrast, when people encode "knife", "squirrel",

552 and "wall", there are few, if any, semantic features shared among them, and hence, the model

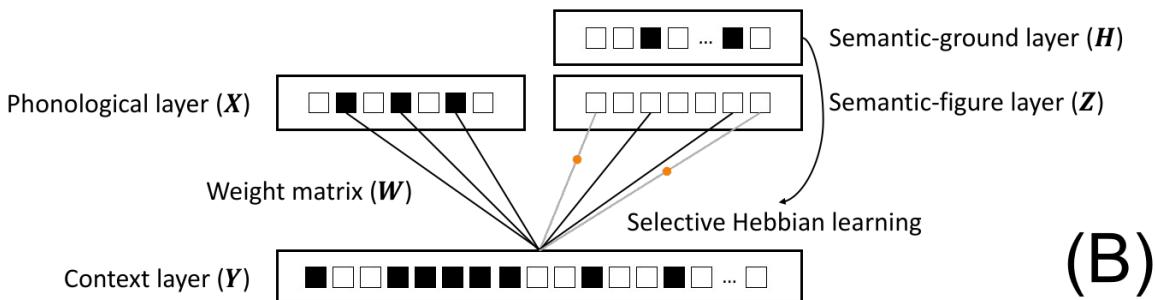
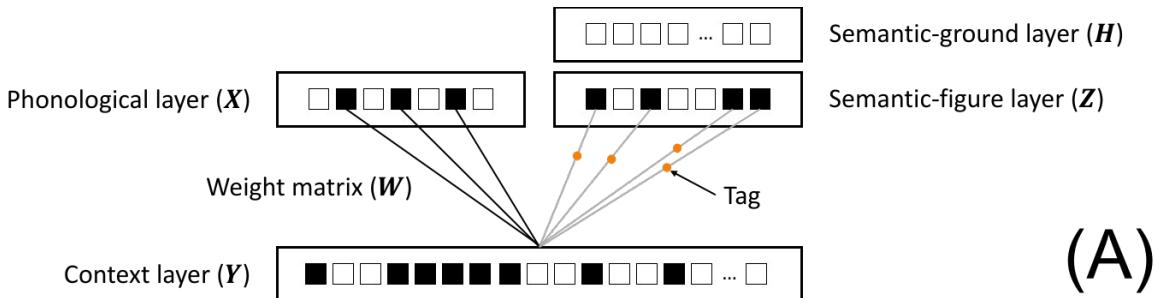
553 should not encode any semantic features in WM. We made this possible via the combination of

554 two processes.

555

556 **Figure 12**

557 *Illustration of the Tagging Mechanism*



558 *Note.* (A) At encoding, new associations are formed between phonological and contextual
 559 features. Associations between semantic features and contextual features are not yet formed, but
 560 tagged. (B) Based on the tagged associations, selective Hebbian learning may occur later,
 561 depending on the relevance of a semantic features in the current trial, based on the features'
 562 activation. Note that to keep the figure readable, connections from the item layer are shown only
 563 for one unit in the context layer. In the model, item and context layers are fully interconnected
 564 such that each unit in the item layer has a connection to each unit in the contextual layer.

565

566 First, we implement a learning mechanism based on the creation of synaptic tags
 567 (Rombouts et al., 2015). In this mechanism, illustrated in **Figure 12**, associations between
 568 semantic features and positional contexts are not immediately encoded, but tagged. These tags
 569 are formed through Hebbian learning: Connections between currently active units in the context

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570 layer and currently active semantic features in the item layer are tagged. This tagging process
571 works with all semantic features of a word. These features' activation is short-lived; it lasts only
572 for as long as an item remains in the focus of attention.³ A tag marks a connection between item
573 and context units as one that can be strengthened at a later point in time. A tagged connection is
574 strengthened when the semantic feature that it connects to some context unit is activated in a
575 more persistent manner than the fleeting activation that forms the tags. For that reason, the model
576 represents each semantic feature in the item layer twice; once for the short-lived activation of
577 these features through encoding, which drives tagging, and once for the longer-lived activation of
578 these same features, which represents their longer-lasting relevance in the context of the current
579 processing episode. A processing episode could involve reading a sentence, or encoding a list of
580 items for immediate recall. This distinction between transient and long-lasting activation relates
581 to the figure-ground distinction found in the text comprehension literature (Smith, 2012). The
582 figure is what captures the immediate focus of attention and is directly available to one's mind.
583 The ground is the broader context which supports and enriches the current representation (i.e.,
584 the figure) that people process. Hence, we distinguish between a *semantic-figure layer* and a
585 *semantic-ground layer*.

586 Depending on the relevance of a semantic feature over the course of the trial, a new
587 association may be formed using the tags. This is where the second mechanism comes into play.
588 Shared semantic information is kept active thanks to a threshold mechanism which controls the
589 persistent activation of items' semantic features in the semantic-ground layer. Longer-lasting
590 activation of a semantic feature is initiated only if that feature is encoded multiple times in close

³This short-lived semantic activation must not be confused with decay in WM: We assume that rapid decay occurs in the linguistic system, which is suggested by studies showing that semantic priming effects are short-lived (McNamara, 1992). This short-lived activation is unrelated to how WM representations are maintained.

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591 succession, as when several words from the same category are encoded closely together in a list.
592 Once a semantic feature achieves longer-lasting activation, all tagged connections of that feature
593 with context units are strengthened. This way of encoding semantics allows the model to
594 selectively bind only those semantic features to their positional contexts that are shared among
595 several items, without knowing ahead of time which features an item will share with
596 subsequently presented items. Details of these mechanisms are presented in the computational
597 implementation section.

598

599 Computational Implementation

600 In this section, we describe the mathematical details of the principles explained above.

601

602 The Working Memory Model

603 Encoding

604 When a list item i is presented, its content is activated as a distributed representation of
605 features in the item layer. This includes phonological features as well as semantic features in the
606 semantic-figure layer and the semantic-ground layer. At the same time, the item's serial position
607 in the list is activated in the context layer as a distributed representation. Mathematically, these
608 distributed representations are vectors of activation values.

609 The phonological part of the item feature vector is immediately bound to the context
610 vector through rapid Hebbian learning:

$$\Delta W_{xy} = \eta_k X_x Y_y \quad Eq. I$$

611

612 In Eq. 1, X and Y are the activation vectors of the current item (i.e., its phonological part)
 613 and the current context, respectively; ΔW_{xy} represents the change to the connection weight
 614 between unit x in the item layer and unit y in the context layer. The η_k term is the binding
 615 strength for the binding of an item to its context k , which depends on a primacy gradient of
 616 binding strength, and the automatic updating process:

$$\eta_k = (1.0 + \beta \pi^{k-1}) \delta^{n-k} \quad Eq. 2$$

617

618 Where β and π are free parameters controlling the initial value of the binding strength of the first
 619 item, and the progressive decrease in binding strength across serial position k , respectively. The
 620 n term corresponds to the number of memoranda. Hence, we assume WM representations as
 621 being encoded across serial positions with decreasing strength, generating a primacy gradient
 622 (Page & Norris, 1998). This primacy gradient does not directly scale the binding strength but is
 623 added as a boost on top of a constant baseline strength (i.e., 1.0). Next, the δ^{n-k} term refers to an
 624 automatic WM updating process which weakens already encoded items after a new item enters
 625 WM. Every item has its binding strength proportionally reduced $n-k$ times during encoding of
 626 the subsequently presented items. By this mechanism, the binding strengths of earlier encoded
 627 items progressively decrease as more items are encoded, thereby producing a recency gradient.
 628 This recency gradient can help to explain the recency effect observed in many WM paradigms,
 629 such as running span procedures involving rapid presentation of long lists of items (Bunting et
 630 al., 2006; Hockey, 1973; Hockey & Hamilton, 1977; Pollack et al., 1959).

631 In addition to binding an item with its context, the presentation of an item automatically
 632 activates that item's lexical localist unit, and that activation is sustained over time (Cowan, 1999;
 633 Oberauer, 2009):

$$L_i = a$$

$$Eq. 3$$

634

635 where L is a vector of activation values of localist representations of all items, and the subscript i
 636 indexes the currently encoded item. The parameter a controls the strength of the persistent
 637 activation, and is a free parameter.

638 A core property of our model is the representation of item similarity. The basic WM model
 639 represents phonological similarity. The representation of semantic similarity will be explained in
 640 a detailed manner in the next section. Phonological similarity is defined in a similarity matrix
 641 M_{phon} which stores the similarities between all pairs of items. The similarity value between two
 642 items can take any value between 0.0 and 1.0. which encompass the whole lexicon, which for
 643 computational reasons is limited to $N=64$ items. Extending item similarity beyond the
 644 memoranda allows modeling of extra-list intrusions, because non-list items sharing a proportion
 645 of phonological or semantic features with the list items will be partially cued during the retrieval
 646 process described below. Phonological similarity between memoranda is determined by the
 647 parameter S_1 . In simulations in which phonological similarity is not of main concern, the value
 648 of this parameter was fixed to 0.1. The phonological similarity between memoranda and all other
 649 items is controlled by a free parameter, S_2 . As items are maximally similar to themselves, they
 650 have a value of 1.0 in the similarity matrix.

651 Likewise, contexts also have similarity values, stored in the similarity matrix C . Similarity
 652 values for contexts are determined by a free parameter P . The similarity between any two
 653 contexts j and k decreases exponentially with their positional distance. Thus:

$$C_{jk} = P^{|j-k|}$$

$$Eq. 4$$

654

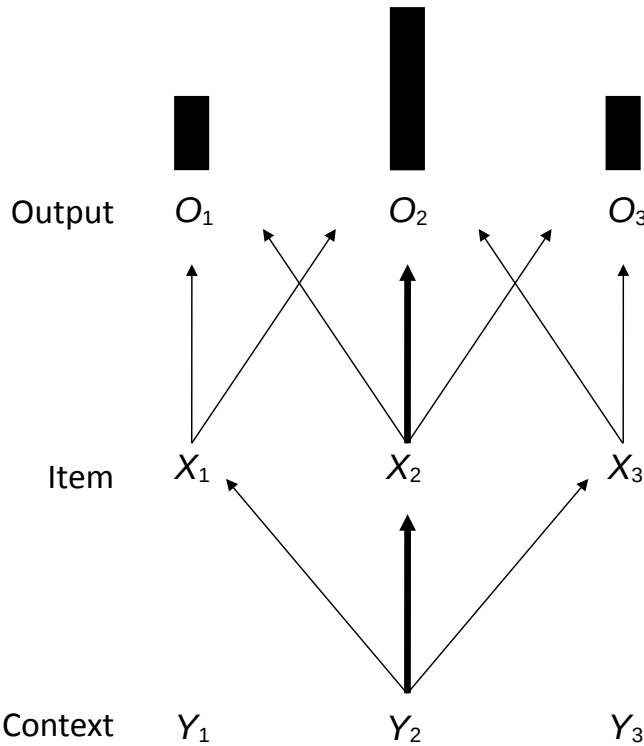
655 *Retrieval*

656 **Figure 13** illustrates the flow of activation from one layer to the next in the network
 657 during retrieval. At retrieval, the serial position k of the to-be-retrieved target item is activated in
 658 the context layer. This activation is fed through the connection weight matrix W to the item
 659 layer. This generates a pattern of activation in the item layer that is the weighted sum of the
 660 activation patterns of all items previously bound to any context j , each weighted by the similarity
 661 of their positional context to the currently activated context, C_{jk} , and the binding strength of the
 662 item to its position, η_j . The distributed item representations are added together in the item layer,
 663 but in **Figure 13** we keep them separate for clarity.

664 The item layer is linked to the output layer through a matrix of fixed connection weights,
 665 which associates each distributed representation of an item in the item layer to a corresponding
 666 localist representation in the output layer. Hence, each localist unit O_i in the output layer receives
 667 activation proportional to the weight with which the feature vector of item i is reactivated in the
 668 item layer, which is $\eta_j C_{jk}$ for all items bound to any context j , and 0 for all others. In addition,
 669 the feature vector of each item i in the item layer also activates units in the output layer that
 670 represents other items to the extent that they are similar to item i .

671

672 **Figure 13**673 *Flow of Activation During Positional Cueing*



674 *Note.* This figure summarizes the way activation flows from one layer to another, starting from
 675 the context layer from which an item is cued with the position it was initially bound to, finishing
 676 in the output layer that determines the response.

677

678 For instance, consider a memory set of two items h and i that have been encoded, so that
 679 the phonological features of items h and i are bound to contexts j and k , respectively. Now
 680 memory is cued by position context k . This generates a pattern of activation in the item layer
 681 consisting of the feature vector of item i with weight $\eta_k * 1.0$, and the feature vector of item h
 682 with weight $\eta_j C_{jk}$. Although the feature vectors of the two items are added in the item layer, we
 683 can consider their downstream effects separately. The feature vector of each item activates the
 684 output unit O_i with a strength corresponding to the similarity between the item's feature vector
 685 and the connection weights from the item layer to the output unit. For output unit O_i , the feature
 686 vector of item i activates it with strength = 1.0 because that feature vector perfectly matches the

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687 connection weights leading to O_i . This activation is weighted by the weight of the feature vector
 688 in the item layer, which is $\eta_k * 1.0$. The feature vector of item h activates O_i with strength =
 689 $Mphon_{hi}$. This is weighted by the weight of feature vector h in the item layer, which is C_{jk} .
 690 Conversely, output unit O_h is activated by the feature vector of item i with strength $Mphon_{hi} * \eta_k$,
 691 and by the feature vector of item h with strength $\eta_k * C_{jk}$. Generally, Eq. 5 gives the activation
 692 accumulated in the output layer for any item i , given a context cue k :

$$O_i = L_i + \sum_{j=1}^n \eta_j Mphon_{ij} C_{jk} \quad Eq. 5$$

693

694 In this equation, the sum operator runs over the n memoranda of the current trial, so that j
 695 indexes both the serial positions and the items bound to them. The sum collects the contributions
 696 of all feature vectors in the item layer to the activation of O_i , each weighted by their similarity to
 697 item i , and their strength of cueing by context k , which is determined by the similarity of k to the
 698 context j , and the strength η_j with which the item is bound to that context. Through this process,
 699 retrieval candidates sharing a proportion of features with the retrieved vector will also receive
 700 activations in the output layer \mathbf{O} . This includes candidates not in the list, and therefore leads to
 701 the occurrence of extra-list intrusions. In addition to this activation of output units through cue-
 702 based retrieval, the persistent activation of all presented items in the lexical layer, \mathbf{L} , is added to
 703 the activation of the corresponding units in the output layer.

704 To implement the omission threshold, we add a further element to the output vector \mathbf{O}
 705 representing the strength of activation for an omission:

$$O_{N+1} = \theta \quad Eq. 6$$

706

707 Here, θ is a free parameter, and the subscript $N+1$ indexes the element of the vector \mathbf{O} following
 708 the N localist representations. The probability p_i to recall an item is then defined using the
 709 exponential version of Luce's choice rule:

$$p_i = \frac{\exp\left(\frac{O_i}{\sigma}\right)}{\sum_{j=1}^{N+1} \exp\left(\frac{O_j}{\sigma}\right)} \quad Eq. 7$$

710

711 The σ term represents the standard deviation of noise added to each element in \mathbf{O} .

712 After each recall attempt, the connection weights between item and context layers in the
 713 weight matrix \mathbf{W} are reduced by a proportional factor, which is mathematically equivalent to
 714 reducing all binding strengths in the strength vector $\boldsymbol{\eta}$ by the same factor, following this
 715 equation:

$$\Delta \boldsymbol{\eta} = -\rho \delta \boldsymbol{\eta} \quad Eq. 8$$

716

717 Eq. 8 models output interference (Cowan et al., 1992, 2002; Oberauer, 2003), which occurs via
 718 the same automatic updating mechanism as described in Eq. 2. However, the extent to which this
 719 updating process occurs is assumed to differ from the encoding stage and is therefore estimated
 720 using a free parameter ρ . Finally, items which have already been recalled are discarded from the
 721 competition during subsequent retrieval attempts. This is implemented by downgrading this
 722 item's activation in the lexical layer:

$$\Delta L_i = -L_i \epsilon \quad Eq. 9$$

723

724 The strength of this downgrading mechanisms is controlled by the free parameter ϵ .

725

726 Semantic Encoding Mechanisms

727 To define the similarity between semantically similar items, we extracted items' semantic
 728 similarity values using Google news word2vec semantic vectors
 729 (<https://github.com/mnihaltz/word2vec-GoogleNews-vectors>).⁴ We did this for each participant
 730 and each trial across all experiments. Specifically, we constructed similarity matrices storing the
 731 cosine similarity between the vectors of all pair-wise combination of items in each list to be
 732 remembered. Hence, for each trial, we have a separate similarity matrix M_{sem} which stores the
 733 similarity between item i and all other items j .

734 Each time an item is encoded, it triggers the activation of its lexical localist unit using Eq.
 735 3. This lexical unit then spreads activation toward the item's semantic features to which it is
 736 connected in the semantic portion of the item layer (i.e., the figure and the ground layers).
 737 Different from the phonological features, at first, these semantic features are not bound to their
 738 context through Hebbian learning. Rather, the connections between active semantic feature units
 739 and active context units are tagged. These tags are then subsequently used to guide changes to
 740 the connection weights. We describe this tagging mechanism in the next paragraphs.

741

742 *Learning via Synaptic Tagging*

743 In our implementation, semantic features are not directly encoded via item-context
 744 binding when first encountered. Instead, the item-context connections in the weight matrix W are
 745 first *tagged* based on the activations in the semantic-figure layer, Z , and in the context layer, Y .

⁴There is no transparent mapping between dimensions of word2vec vectors and the features we refer to in everyday language. For our model to work, it is not important that the vector dimensions – represented as units in the semantic layers of the neural network – correspond to everyday-language features.

746 Tagging follows the same Hebbian learning rules as described in Eq. 1, except that instead of
 747 changing a connection weight directly, it attaches a tag to it with strength λ_{zy} :

$$\lambda_{zy} = \eta_k Z_z Y_y \quad Eq. 10$$

748

749 Hence, the strength of a tag depends on the binding strength η_k for the item in list position
 750 k , but also on the activation in the semantic-figure layer Z , determined by the strength of the
 751 persistent activation a in the lexical layer L . The purpose of this tagging mechanism is to
 752 indicate to the system the set of potential associations that *could* be formed based on what has
 753 just been seen. It is only when sufficient evidence has been accumulated that the tagged
 754 associations are transformed into actual item-context associations. This is where the activations
 755 in the semantic-ground layer come into play. Whereas the activation pattern in the semantic-
 756 figure layer is erased instantly after an item has been encoded, to be replaced by the activation
 757 pattern of the next presented item, activation in the semantic-ground layer follows a slower
 758 dynamic, gradually accumulating activation across all list items. We describe this dynamic next.

759

760 *Time-Course of the Activation in the Semantic-Ground Layer*

761 In the semantic-ground layer H , a semantic feature z for item i at serial position k receives
 762 activation following this equation:

$$\Delta H_{z,ik} = (1.0 - H_{z,ik})(1.0 - T_z) I_z \quad Eq. 11$$

763

764 This equation ensures that the total activation of the semantic features does not exceed 1.0. The
 765 input I_z is filtered by a threshold value T_z such that the input adds to the feature activation to the
 766 degree that the threshold falls below 1.0. The input I_z to a semantic feature corresponds to the

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767 activation received by the word's phonological representation. Input I_z for item i is identical to
 768 the input received by the lexical unit L_i , since they get their activation via the same source:

$$I_z = a \quad Eq. 12$$

769

770 Each semantic-feature unit z in the ground layer has its own threshold T_z . At the beginning
 771 of a trial, all threshold values are set to a maximum (i.e., 1.0). From Eq. 11, this means that an
 772 item's semantic features in the semantic-ground layer are never activated the first time they
 773 receive input. After receiving some input, the values of the thresholds are reduced:

$$\Delta T_z = -T_z I_z \quad Eq. 13$$

774

775 This equation reduces the values of the thresholds proportionally to the input received. Due to
 776 this, units receiving stronger input are more likely to become activated by input from other
 777 semantically similar items during subsequent encoding steps.

778 During the presentation of a new item, the thresholds recover half of their value:

$$\Delta T_z = 0.5(1.0 - T_z) \quad Eq. 14$$

779

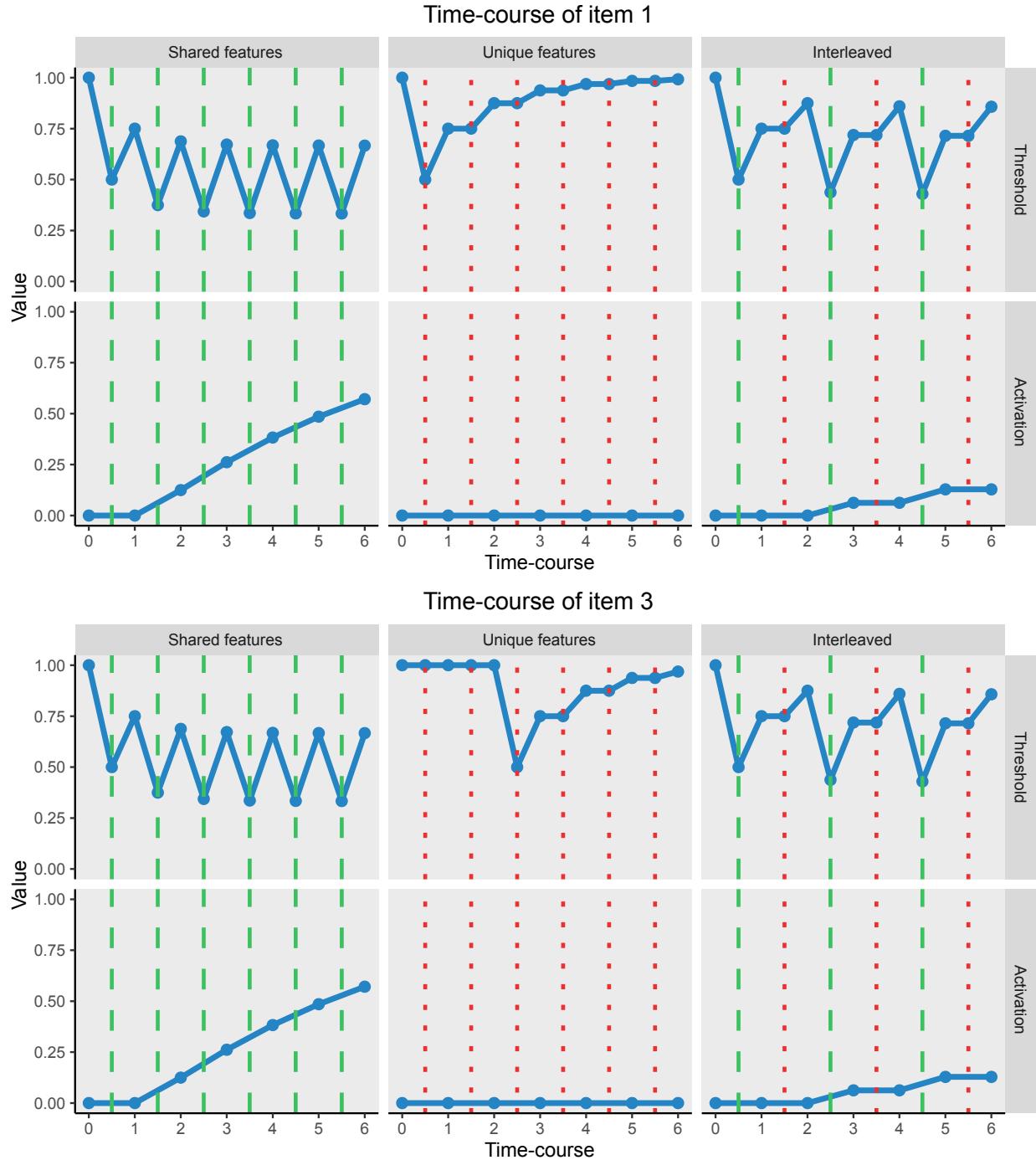
780 This recovery mechanism prevents the items' semantic features from being activated in a context
 781 in which they are no longer relevant.

782

783 **Figure 14**

784 *Time-Course of the Dynamic Threshold Mechanism and its Consequences on Items' Activation in*
 785 *the Semantic-Ground layer*

786



787 *Note.* The left and middle panels illustrate a list in which all items are semantically similar. We
 788 divide the shared (left panels) and unique (middle panels) features, because the dynamics of their
 789 activations differ. The right panel illustrates a list in which similar items are interleaved with
 790 dissimilar items. In each figure, the top rows indicate values of the thresholds which scale the

791 activation in the semantic-ground layer. The bottom rows indicate activations received by the
792 features in the semantic-ground layer. Green dashed lines indicate moments where shared
793 features between items in the same list receive activation. The red dotted lines indicate moments
794 where (unique) features which are not shared by any other items in the list receive activation. As
795 can be seen, features which are shared by several items in the list receive an increasing amount
796 of activation throughout the trial. This activation does not increase as much in the interleaved
797 condition. In contrast, features which uniquely characterize each item are never activated.

798

799 In the mechanism we just described, items' shared semantic features will behave
800 differently from the features uniquely characterizing each item. To visualize this, **Figure 14**
801 illustrates the time-course of the semantic features' thresholds and activations in the semantic-
802 ground layer for the shared (left panels) and unique (middle panels) features of all items in a
803 semantically similar list. The top figure illustrates the time-course for the item encoded first. The
804 bottom figure illustrates the time-course for the item encoded third. In each figure, each panel is
805 divided into two parts: The upper part illustrates the value of the thresholds, and the lower part
806 shows the values of the features' activation. The green dashed lines indicate moments where the
807 shared features receive input. The red dotted lines indicate moments where unique features
808 receive input. Consider what happens to shared and unique features of the third item in a list of
809 semantically similar items, depicted in the left and middle panels, respectively, of the lower
810 figure. In the case of shared features, the presentation of the first item has lowered the third
811 item's threshold values. This occurs because the shared features of items 1 and 3 are, by
812 definition, the same. Therefore, the third item's features already gain activation from other
813 similar items even before its actual presentation. These features continue to receive input

814 throughout the trial from other semantically similar items. Conversely, the unique features never
 815 receive any activation (middle panel). Despite the reduction in their threshold values following
 816 the item's encoding, subsequent items not sharing these features fail to activate them.

817 Now, consider the scenario where semantically similar items are interleaved with
 818 dissimilar ones, as illustrated in the right panels. For simplicity, we illustrate only the activation
 819 values for the shared features (i.e., features shared among the similar items that are presented in
 820 every second position), as the unique features are never activated. The presentation of the first
 821 item causes the drop of the shared feature's threshold values. When encoding the second item,
 822 these features no longer receive input because the second item, belonging to a different category,
 823 does not share features with the first. This results in a partial recovery of the threshold values.
 824 Consequently, when the third item is encoded, the semantic features that it shares with the first
 825 receive reduced activation compared to a situation where the similar items follow each other at
 826 successive positions, because of the larger threshold recovery in the interleaved presentation
 827 scheme. **Figure 14** also illustrates the time-course of activation of shared and unique features in
 828 the semantic-ground layer of item 1 (top figure). As can be seen, in situations where items are
 829 semantically similar (left and right panels), the first item still receives some activation through its
 830 features shared with other items, although this activation only starts to rise when the subsequent
 831 items are encoded.

832 In sum, unique semantic features are never activated in the semantic-ground layer. The
 833 activation of semantic features shared among at least two items is computed using Eq. 11
 834 through 14 after encoding of each new item. Activation in the semantic-ground layer causes
 835 changes to the connection weights that have been tagged: Each connection weight W_{zy} is

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836 modified according to the strength of its tag, λ_{zy} , multiplied with the activation of the semantic
 837 feature unit z in the semantic-ground layer \mathbf{H} :

$$\Delta W_{zy} = H_z \lambda_{zy} \quad Eq. 15$$

838

839 With this equation, features having zero activation values in the semantic-ground layer
 840 will result in no item-context binding and will therefore not contribute to memory strength. Due
 841 to this property, coupled with the threshold mechanism, an item's semantic features which are
 842 not shared by any other items in the list will not be encoded into WM via item-context binding,
 843 because these features fail to be activated in the semantic-ground layer. In a list in which items
 844 are all drawn from the same semantic category, this results in encoding the same semantic
 845 features across all items, resulting in the encoding of the category itself. This mechanism predicts
 846 better memory performance for semantically similar as compared to dissimilar items, because the
 847 additional semantic features encoded in semantically similar lists provide higher activation at
 848 retrieval.

849 Now that we computed the activation value for a particular item given a positional cue for
 850 both phonological and semantic information, we can compute the resulting activation of each
 851 item in the output layer:

$$O_i = L_i + \sum_{j=1}^n \eta_j (M_{phon,ij} + \mu_{Hj} M_{sem,ij}) C_{jk} \quad Eq. 16$$

852

853 with μ_{Hj} for the mean activation level of features of item j in the semantic-ground layer \mathbf{H} . This
 854 mean activation depends on the proportion of semantic features that item j shares with other
 855 items h , which is given by $\sum M_{sem,ij}$ and determines which proportion of semantic features of j
 856 have been activated in \mathbf{H} during encoding. It also depends on the number of other items sharing

857 these features, and the positional distance between them, which determines how strongly the
 858 shared features of j have been activated during encoding, and hence, the strength with which
 859 these features have been bound to the positional context j .

860

861 **Parameter Estimation**

862 The WM architecture we used has free parameters, which need to be estimated to fit our
 863 experimental data. The list of fixed and free parameters is reported in **Table 1**. Model fitting was
 864 done for each participant using individual trials, which means that each participant had a
 865 different set of parameters. For each recall attempt, we computed the probability p to recall each
 866 of the recall candidates using Eq. 7. The log-likelihood was then computed using the recall
 867 probability of the observed response o in recall attempt r :

$$\log L_r = \log (p_{o,r}) \quad Eq. 17$$

868

869 We used the deviance as loss function:

$$D = -2.0 \sum \log L_r \quad Eq. 18$$

870

871 where the sum operator applies to all trials and retrieval attempts for a given participant.

872 For instance, suppose the model tries to retrieve the first item in a three-item list. The
 873 model might generate a pattern of activation in the output layer O which looks like this: [1.0 0.3
 874 0.09].⁵ Applying Eq. 7 using a noise parameter $\sigma=0.5$, the probability to retrieve each retrieval
 875 candidate is: [0.7099 0.1751 0.115]. If the participant recalled the second item for that particular
 876 retrieval attempt, we computed the log-likelihood as $\log(0.1751)=-1.7424$. We then repeated

⁵For this example, we ignore the extra-list retrieval candidates and the omission threshold, which are included as response options in the output layer and therefore also receive a likelihood through Eq. 7.

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877 the process over all retrieval attempts of all trials. To compute the deviance, we summed the log-
878 likelihood over all trials and retrieval attempts for that participant and multiplied this sum by -2.

879 Parameter estimation was done using the Nelder-Mead algorithm implemented in the
880 Optim package (<https://juliansolvers.github.io/Optim.jl/stable/>) of the Julia programming
881 language (<https://julialang.org/benchmarks/>). The starting points of the gradient descent methods
882 were defined by drawing random values from a uniform distribution, bounded by the minimum
883 and maximum parameter values.

884 The purpose of the present modeling project is to capture qualitative patterns of results
885 which have been consistently observed in the literature, not to provide a quantitative fit. The
886 fitting procedure used here was applied to get a set of plausible parameter values which enables
887 the model to reproduce important main effects, such as serial position curves, omission errors,
888 extra-list intrusions and order recall performance.

889 When fitting the data, we use the similarity matrix M_{sem} defined for each trial. Each
890 similarity matrix was built by extracting the cosine similarity between vectors representing each
891 item studied for a particular trial using the word2vec GoogleNews corpus. Predictions from the
892 model were obtained by using each matrix for each list participants studied, and then averaging
893 these predictions across trials. Some experiments have been conducted with French-speaking
894 individuals. In these cases, the stimuli were translated from French to English, and similarity
895 values were extracted from this translation.

896 Our model has a substantial number of free parameters. Most of these parameters are
897 necessary to accommodate the variation of participants' memory performance across the
898 different experimental designs presented in the empirical section.

899

900

Table 1. List of Fixed and Free Parameters of the Model.

Symbol	Role	Value
S_1	Phonological similarity between list-items (fixed to 0.1 in lists of phonologically dissimilar items)	0.1
S_2	Phonological similarity between the list-items and all other items	[0.0 – 1.0]
β	Initial value of the encoding strength	[0.0 – 10.0]
π	Progressive decrease in encoding strength	[0.0 – 1.0]
δ	Automatic updating process	[0.0 – 1.0]
a	Base activation of lexical units	[0.0 – 3.0]
P	Positional overlap	[0.0 – 1.0]
θ	Strength of activation for an omission	[0.0 – 10.0]
σ	Standard deviation of noise added at retrieval	[0.0 – 1.0]
ρ	Strength of output interference	[0.0 – 1.0]
ϵ	Strength of downgrading after each retrieval attempt	[0.0 – 10.0]

Note. Fixed parameters are indicated by a single value. Free parameters are indicated by a range.

901

902

903

Model Results

904 **Simulation #1 – The General Impact of Semantic Similarity**

905 We first tested the model's ability to simulate the standard semantic similarity effect in
 906 immediate serial recall. The model was fitted to the dataset reported in Kowialiewski, Krasnoff,
 907 et al. (2023), Experiment 1a. As can be seen in **Figure 15**, the model reproduces the classical
 908 pattern of performance characteristic to immediate recall tasks, including serial position curves

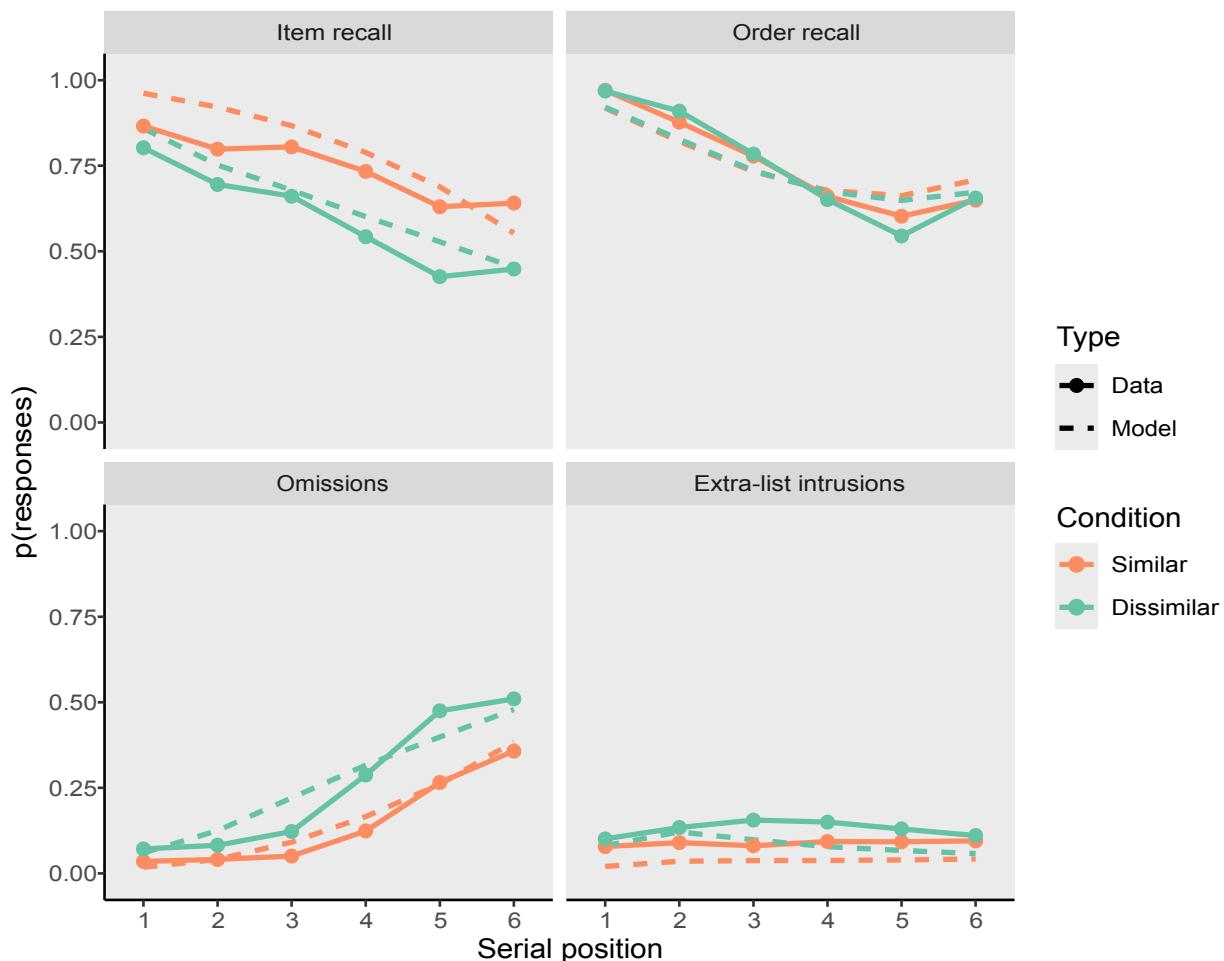
53 WM SEMANTIC MODEL

909 (primacy and recency) for order errors, omissions, and extra-list intrusions. Importantly, the
 910 model predicts the recall advantage for similar vs. dissimilar items (upper left panel). This
 911 contribution comes from a reduction of omission errors in the similar condition (lower left
 912 panel), but also a reduction of extra-list intrusions (lower right panel). Finally, the model predicts
 913 the absence of a semantic similarity effect on order recall (upper right panel).

914

915 **Figure 15**

916 *Semantic Similarity in Immediate Serial Recall – Model Including a Tagging Mechanism*



917 *Note.* The model reproduces the general semantic similarity effect, with (1) a reduction of
 918 omission for lists composed of semantically similar than dissimilar items, (2) a reduction of

919 extra-list intrusions for lists composed similar than dissimilar items, and (3) an absence of impact
 920 on order recall. Dashed lines indicate model predictions. The model was fitted to the data
 921 reported in Kowialiewski, Krasnoff, et al. (2023), Experiment 1a.

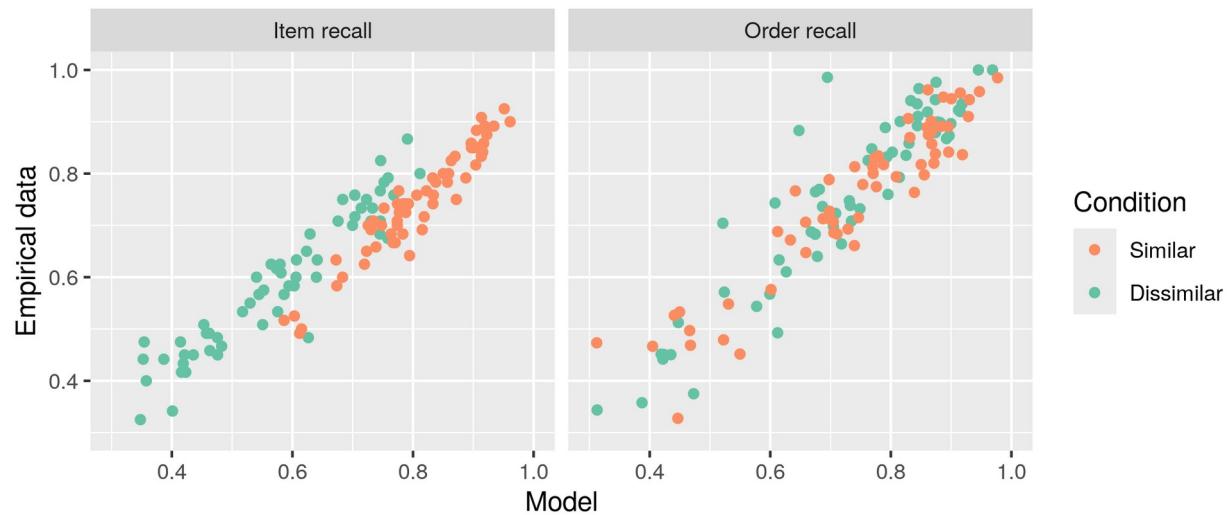
922

923 **Figure 16** shows the correlation between the model's predictions (x-axis) and the
 924 empirical data (y-axis) at the individual level. There is a close match between the model's
 925 performance and participants'. This is made possible by fitting the model at the individual level:
 926 For participants with low recall performance, the minimization algorithm used for fitting
 927 converges toward smaller encoding-strength parameter values, and conversely for participants
 928 with high recall performance.

929

930 **Figure 16**

931 *Individual Fits from Simulation #1*



932 *Note.* Correlation between the model's performance (x-axis) and the empirical data (y-axis). Left
 933 panel: Item recall criterion. Right panel: Order recall criterion.

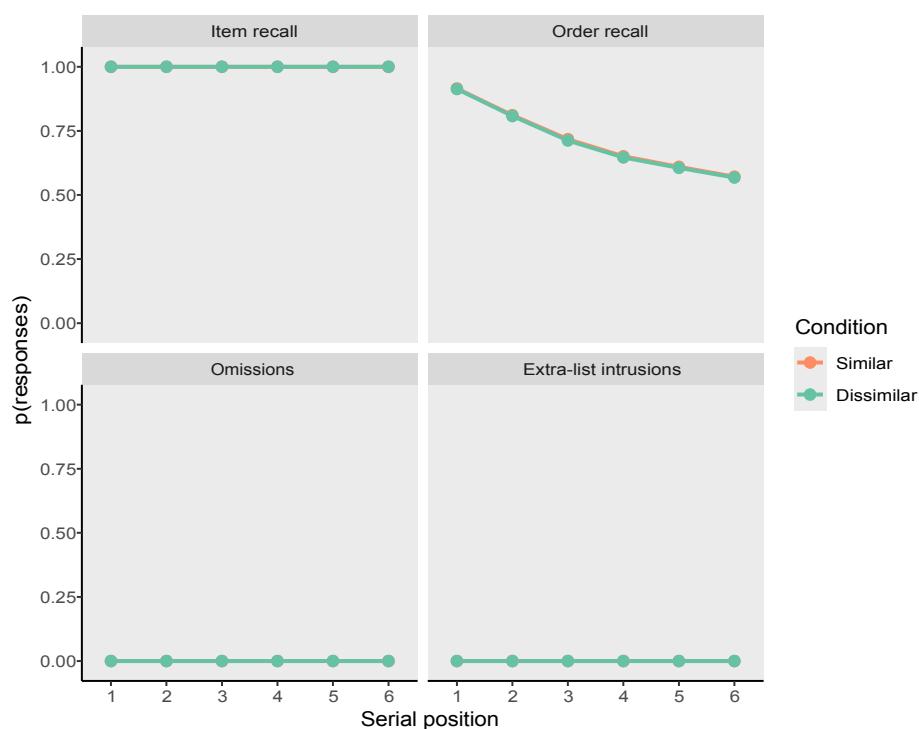
934

935 We extended these simulations by running the model on a reconstruction of order task. In
 936 order reconstruction, items are given at retrieval, and participants must reproduce the original
 937 sequence's order. To simulate order reconstruction, we (1) restricted the set of recall candidates
 938 to the list items and (2) prevented the model from producing omissions (i.e., excluding θ from
 939 the set of recall candidates). The same set of parameters as the previous simulation was used. As
 940 can be seen in **Figure 17**, the model predicts the absence of a semantic similarity effect on order
 941 recall. Because all memoranda are available at retrieval and the model cannot produce omissions,
 942 the omission rate is zero. Likewise, as the only available candidates are the list items, the model
 943 doesn't produce extra-list intrusions.

944

945 **Figure 17**

946 *Semantic Similarity in Reconstruction of Order – Model Including a Tagging Mechanism*



948 *Note.* When tested on reconstruction of order, the model successfully reproduces the absence of
949 semantic similarity on order recall. There is no omission and no extra-list intrusion possible in
950 reconstruction of order, because the only items available at retrieval are the memoranda. The
951 [model](#) was run using the same parameter values which served to produce results illustrated in
952 **Figure 15**, except that omission errors, repetitions, and extra-list intrusions were not allowed.

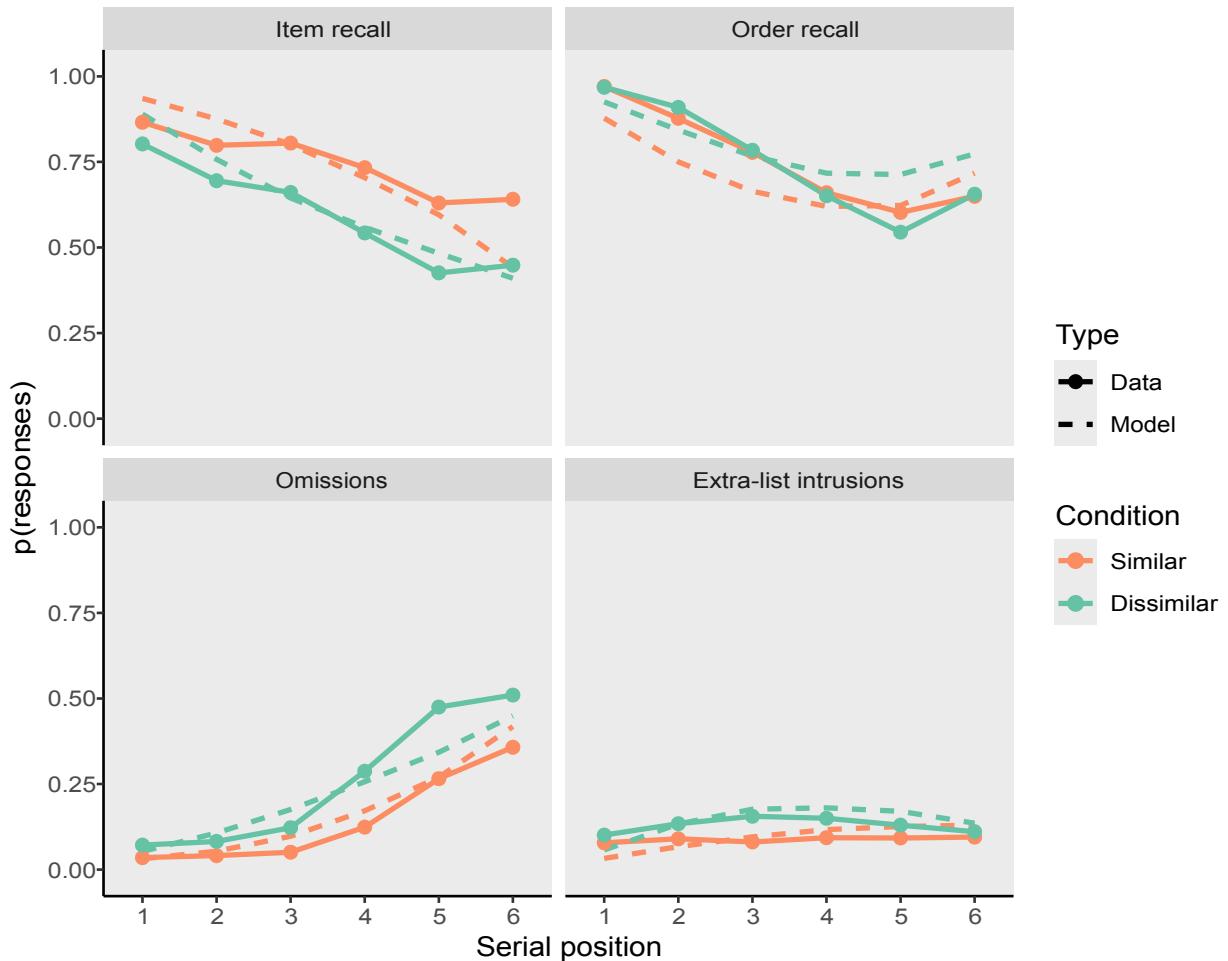
953

954 We explored whether the model could explain the semantic-similarity effects without the
955 tagging mechanism by deactivating it and then re-fitting the model using the same procedure
956 which served to produce the results in **Figure 15**. As can be seen in **Figure 18**, upper left panel,
957 the model produced a substantial detrimental effect of semantic similarity on order recall.
958 Therefore, it seems that the only way for the model to prevent an increase of order errors
959 following semantic similarity is to include a mechanism which encodes only the semantic
960 features shared by several items, which is precisely what the tagging mechanism does. In the
961 next section, we explain in a more detailed manner the core reasons why such a property is
962 required.

963

964 **Figure 18**

965 *Semantic Similarity in Immediate Serial Recall – Model Without a Tagging Mechanism*



966 Note. Without the inclusion of the tagging mechanism which encodes only features shared
 967 between items, the architecture reproduces (1) a reduction of omission for similar lists relative to
 968 dissimilar lists, (2) a reduction of extra-list intrusions for similar lists. However, the model fails
 969 to account for the absence of a semantic similarity effect on order recall. Dashed lines indicate
 970 model predictions. The model was fitted using the dataset reported in Kowialiewski, Krasnoff, et
 971 al. (2023), Experiment 1a.

972

973 **Simulation #2 – Understanding Similarity Effects: Comparison with Rhyming Similarity**

974 The previous simulations show a null effect of semantic similarity on order recall, which
 975 means that semantic similarity did not increase confusions errors. To understand why, we need to

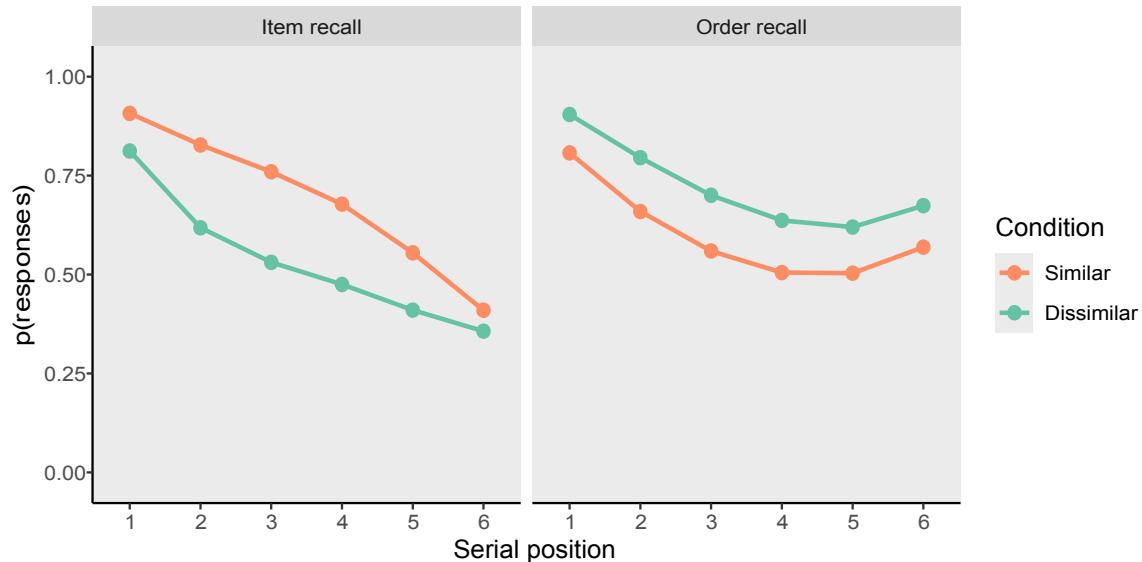
976 understand how confusion errors are produced in the model. We illustrate this by manipulating
977 rhyming similarity for comparison. We took the phonological dimension as an example, because
978 this is the best-known phenomenon in the literature. Other dimensions of similarity (for instance,
979 visual similarity; Saito et al., 2008) show qualitatively the same effects on serial recall as
980 phonological similarity.

981 In this simulation, we varied phonological instead of semantic similarity. To that end we
982 set the value between phonologically similar items to 0.30, while keeping all other parameters
983 from the previous simulations constant. This value is arbitrary and has been set manually. Our
984 purpose was to increase similarity to simulate phonological-similarity effects qualitatively, not to
985 quantitatively reproduce the empirical data. To keep the model's behavior easy to track, we also
986 deactivated the contribution from the semantic part of the items. As can be seen in **Figure 19**, left
987 panel, the model correctly predicts the recall advantage for rhyming vs. non-rhyming items on
988 item recall, a standard observation (Fallon et al., 2005; Gupta et al., 2005; Neale & Tehan, 2007;
989 Nimmo & Roodenrys, 2004). At the same time, phonological similarity also impairs order recall
990 (right panel).

991

992 **Figure 19**

993 *Rhyming Similarity in Immediate Serial Recall – Model Predictions*



994 *Note.* When manipulating rhyming similarity, the model correctly captures the pattern found in
 995 humans: an item recall advantage for lists composed of rhyming vs. non-rhyming items, and a
 996 detrimental effect on order recall. These results were simulated by increasing the phonological
 997 similarity value between items to 0.3 in the similar condition, while keeping all the other
 998 parameters from **Simulation #1** constant, and deactivating the contribution from the semantic
 999 part of the items.

1000

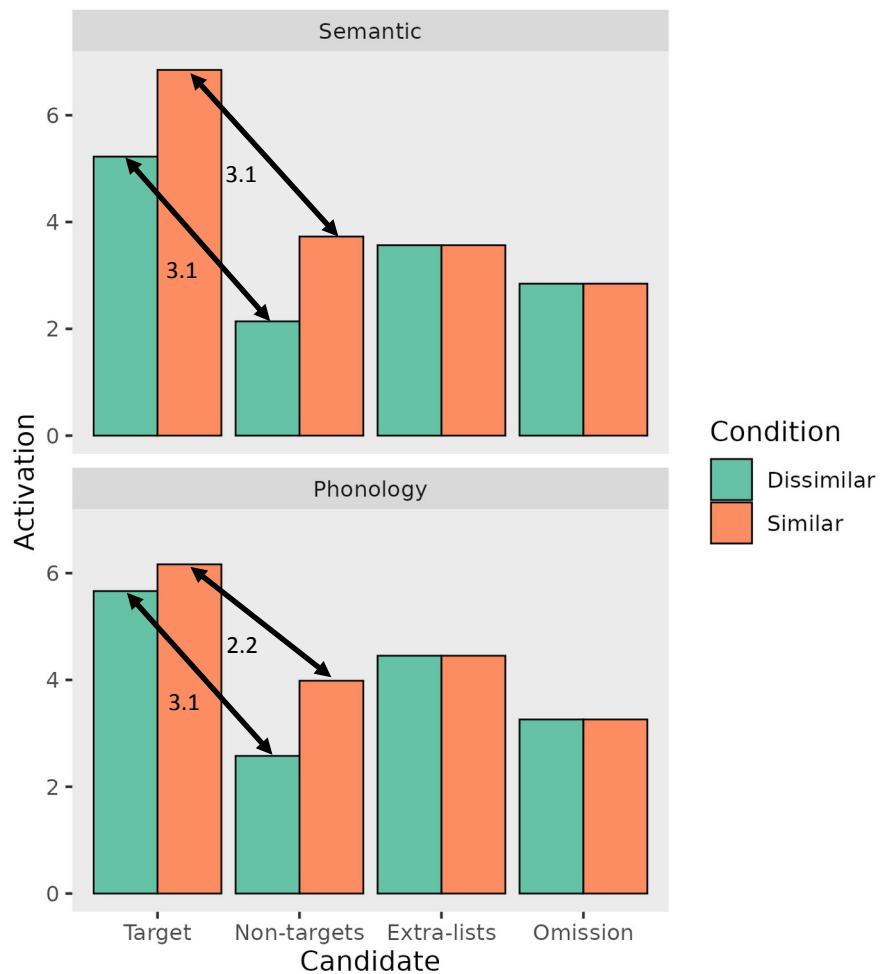
1001 To understand this discrepancy between semantic and phonological similarity, we
 1002 computed the items' activation at retrieval. Each time the model attempts to retrieve an item, the
 1003 activation associated with the target item, non-target items, extra-list items, and the omission
 1004 threshold were extracted. In the mathematical description presented above, this corresponds to
 1005 Eq. 16. As can be seen in **Figure 20**, similar items have a higher activation level than dissimilar
 1006 items. Thanks to this high activation level, similar items are more often selected than non-list
 1007 items, and more often pass the omission threshold, compared to dissimilar items, thus producing

1008 an item recall advantage. This happens both in the semantic and phonological domains, though
 1009 for different reasons. Let's start with the semantic domain.

1010

1011 **Figure 20**

1012 *Activation Values Produced by the Model at Retrieval*



1013 *Note.* Activation values for the target item, non-target items, extra-list items, and omission
 1014 threshold. Values are averaged across all retrieval attempts. Upper panel: semantic similarity
 1015 variation. Lower panel: phonological similarity variation. Due to their higher activation value,
 1016 similar items can overcome the activation values of extra-list items and the omission threshold

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1017 more often than dissimilar items, thus producing a net benefit on item recall. Confusion errors
1018 between target and non-target items increase as the difference between their activation values
1019 decreases. This difference remains identical between semantically similar and dissimilar items,
1020 thus preventing an increase in confusion errors between semantically similar (relative to
1021 dissimilar) items. When phonological similarity is varied, this difference between target and non-
1022 target items is smaller in the similar compared to the dissimilar condition, which increases
1023 confusion errors.

1024

1025 When list items are semantically similar, they receive additional activation, which comes
1026 from the encoding of a categorical representation that is the same for all items of a similar list.
1027 This categorical representation adds a constant amount of activation to all memoranda at
1028 retrieval for semantically similar lists. Consequently, the difference in activation between the
1029 target and the non-target items remains constant. This can be seen in the upper panel of **Figure**
1030 **20**, where the relative activation level between target and non-target items is identical in the
1031 semantically similar ($M_{diff} = 3.1$) and dissimilar ($M_{diff} = 3.1$) conditions. In the choice rule that we
1032 use for response selection (Eq. 7), a constant difference in activation levels translates into a
1033 constant proportion of exponentiated activation levels. Let's assume a vector v which contains
1034 activation values for n items. The probability to recall each item is given by:

$$p_i = \frac{\exp(v_i)}{\sum_{j=1}^n \exp(v_j)} \quad Eq. 19$$

1035

1036 Now let's add a constant value c to each index in the vector v :

$$p_i = \frac{\exp(v_i + c)}{\sum_{j=1}^n \exp(v_j + c)} \quad Eq. 20$$

1037

1038 We can factor out e^c from both the numerator and denominator:

$$p_i = \frac{e^c \cdot \exp(v_i)}{e^c \cdot \sum_{j=1}^n \exp(v_j)} \quad Eq. 21$$

1039

1040 In Eq. 21, both e^c terms cancel each other, which brings us back to Eq. 19. Therefore, by adding
 1041 a constant boost of activation to all semantically similar items, our semantic similarity
 1042 mechanism based on the encoding of categorical information has no effect on the probability of
 1043 confusing a target item with one of the non-target items in the list. This means that in this model,
 1044 semantic similarity has no effect on order recall.

1045 Psychologically speaking, this property of the exponential version of Luce's choice rule
 1046 makes sense: When a constant representation, such as a taxonomic category, is added uniformly
 1047 to all items in a list (in the present model, this is achieved by keeping only the features shared
 1048 between list items active in the semantic ground layer), it results in equal discriminability
 1049 between the items. In this scenario, semantic features are not informative to discriminate
 1050 between the list items.⁶

⁶ As a metaphor, let's consider a situation in which one is asked to identify a criminal among several suspects. To differentiate between the suspects, one can rely on distinguishing cues such as age, facial characteristics, or voice pitch. However, if all the suspects in question happen to be white, recalling that the criminal was white is uninformative. Similarly, knowing that the items were drawn from the category of fruit is uninformative to discriminate between apple, banana, and orange.

1051 The effects of phonological similarity on item and order recall are different from those of
 1052 semantic similarity, because we assume that phonological features are activated directly by the
 1053 input they receive at encoding, and therefore, all phonological features of an item are bound to
 1054 that item's context.

1055 Phonological similarity increases items' activation at retrieval through a different route:
 1056 When the target item is cued by its positional cue, a pattern of activation is generated in the item
 1057 layer that is a weighted blend of all list items, each weighted by the similarity of its position to
 1058 the target position. This vector is then compared to all candidate items in long-term memory.
 1059 When the item vectors are similar to each other, the target item in long-term memory is similar to
 1060 some degree to all list items that contribute to the retrieved vector. Therefore, the target item
 1061 receives higher activation in the output layer at retrieval when list items are phonologically
 1062 similar. Mathematically, it can be seen from Eq. 16 that when values of M_{phon} get large, the sum
 1063 of $M_{phon}_{ij} * C_{jk}$ increases, too.

1064 As an example, let's assume for simplicity a two-item list, with a phonological similarity
 1065 value of 0.1 and 0.35 for a dissimilar and similar condition, respectively. Retrieval of the first
 1066 item is done by cueing the WM representation using cue 1, which has a similarity value of 0.5
 1067 with cue 2. The current cue is maximally similar to itself (i.e., similarity value of 1.0). In this
 1068 scenario, item 1 is maximally reactivated by the first cue, resulting in an activation value of $1.0 * 1.0$ in
 1069 the output layer. In addition, item 2 is also cued to some extent (i.e., with a value of 0.5) by
 1070 virtue of being partially associated to cue 1. Because item 2 is similar to item 1, this results in the
 1071 partial activation of item 1 through its shared features. Hence, item 1 is reactivated by $0.1 * 0.5$
 1072 in the dissimilar condition, and $0.35 * 0.5$ in the similar condition. The activation value of the

1073 first item in the output layer is then the sum of the activation generated by cue 1. In the dissimilar
 1074 condition, this gives:

1075
$$O_1 = 1.0 * 1.0 + 0.1 * 0.5 = 1.05$$

1076 In the similar condition, this gives:

1077
$$O_1 = 1.0 * 1.0 + 0.35 * 0.5 = 1.175$$

1078 Thus, this way of binding items to context results in higher activation values for lists of similar
 1079 items. The same effect, however, also applies to non-targets: Their long-term memory
 1080 representations are also similar to all list items, and therefore they receive activation from the
 1081 contribution of all list items to the retrieved vector. Critically, the non-targets receive activation
 1082 from the target item, which enters the retrieved vector with the highest weight, whereas the target
 1083 receives activation only from the non-targets, which enter with a lower weight. Thereby, non-
 1084 targets receive a larger boost to their activation in the output layer from phonological similarity
 1085 than targets do. Therefore, the activation difference between targets and non-targets decreases in
 1086 phonologically similar lists.

1087 Let's return to our 2-items list example. When the first item is cued using cue 1, item 2
 1088 gets re-activated by the current cue proportionally to its similarity value with item 1. This gives
 1089 $0.1 * 1.0$ in the dissimilar list, and $0.35 * 1.0$ in the similar list. In addition, item 2 gets activation
 1090 by virtue of being associated to cue 2. This gives $1.0 * 0.5$ in both conditions. Thus, activation
 1091 value in the output layer for the non-target item in the dissimilar condition becomes:

1092
$$O_2 = 0.1 * 1.0 + 1.0 * 0.5 = 0.60$$

1093 In the similar condition:

1094
$$O_2 = 0.35 * 1.0 + 1.0 * 0.5 = 0.85$$

1095 In our simplistic scenarios, if we take the difference in activation value between the target and
 1096 non-target items, we have $M_{diff} = 0.45$ in the dissimilar condition, and $M_{diff} = 0.325$ in the similar
 1097 condition. This is also observed in our simulations: In the phonologically similar condition, the
 1098 difference in activation level (see **Figure 20**) is smaller ($M_{diff} = 2.2$) than in the phonologically
 1099 dissimilar condition ($M_{diff} = 3.1$). In this context, the property as described in Eq. 19 through 21
 1100 no longer applies. This unequal difference in activation translates into reduced distinctiveness
 1101 between target and non-target items in the phonologically similar condition. Therefore, the model
 1102 produces more order errors in phonologically similar than dissimilar lists.

1103

1104 **Simulation #3 – Semantically Similar Retrieval Cues do not Lead to Increased Interference**

1105 When participants are cued with an item and must retrieve the position associated to it,
 1106 phonological similarity increases the occurrence of confusion errors, but semantic similarity does
 1107 not (Kowialiewski et al., 2023). In the study from Kowialiewski, Krasnoff and colleagues,
 1108 participants retrieved items from their context on half the trials, and retrieved contexts from the
 1109 items on the other half of the trials. We therefore simulated both retrieval directions. In addition,
 1110 all items and positions were tested in random order, an aspect of the experimental procedure we
 1111 also simulated. To retrieve items from their contexts, we used Eq. 16. For the opposite direction
 1112 the item layer and the context layer switch roles: The given item is activated in the item layer
 1113 (i.e., the phonological layer X and the semantic figure layer Z), which re-activates a distributed
 1114 representation of the position through the weight matrix W . The re-activated position
 1115 representation is forwarded to an output layer Ω with localist representations of the positions.
 1116 The combined phonological and semantic similarity matrices now play the role of similarities

1117 between retrieval cues, and the cue-similarity matrix \mathbf{C} takes the role of similarities between
 1118 retrieval candidates. Hence, we adapted Eq. 16 as follow:

$$\Omega_k = \sum_{j=1}^n \eta_j C_{jk} (M_{phon,ij} + \mu_{Hj} M_{sem,ij}) \quad Eq. 22$$

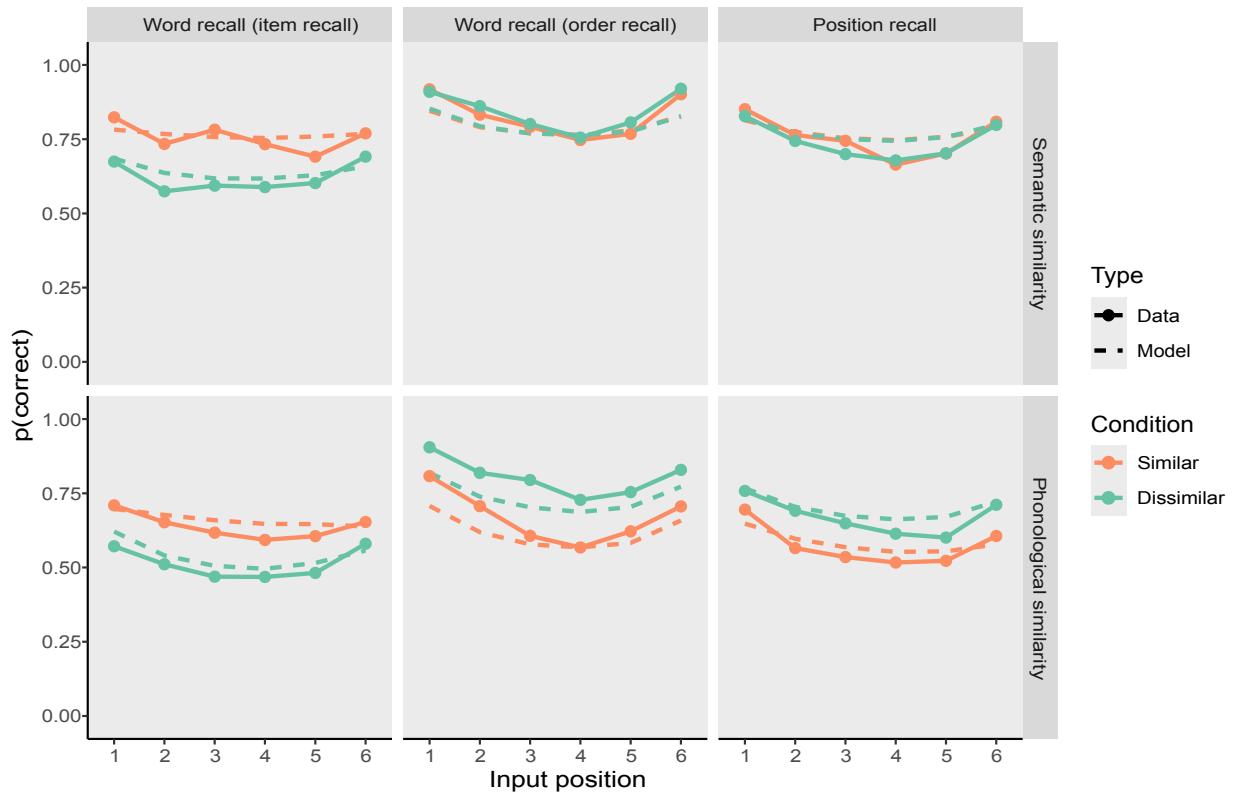
1119

1120 When modeling the retrieval direction from a given item to its position, we restricted the
 1121 set of retrieval candidates to the 6 positions and set the θ parameter to zero because in this task,
 1122 what needs to be retrieved (i.e., the positions from 1 to 6) is always known to the participants,
 1123 thus preventing omissions and extra-list intrusions. This also implies that items' localist semantic
 1124 units no longer play a role, which is why the L_i term doesn't appear in Eq. 22. We fitted the
 1125 model's parameters to the data reported by Kowialiewski et al. (2023), Experiment 2a & 2b.
 1126 Results of these simulations are displayed in **Figure 21**.

1127

1128 **Figure 21**

1129 *Simulation Results from the Cue-Similarity Manipulation*



1130 *Note.* Upper panels: Semantic similarity. Lower panels: Phonological similarity. Left and middle
 1131 panels: Item and order recall, in the conditions involving the retrieval of items from contexts.
 1132 Right panels: Positional recall, in the conditions involving the retrieval of positions from items.
 1133 Dashed lines indicate model predictions. The model was fitted to the data reported by
 1134 Kowialiewski et al. (2023), Experiment 2a & 2b.

1135

1136 In agreement with the experimental data, the model produces bow-shaped serial position
 1137 curves instead of the strong primacy effect usually observed in serial recall⁷. The important

⁷In serial recall, input position is fully confounded with output position: The last encoded items are also output last.

A significant part of forgetting occurs in WM due to output interference (Cowan et al., 2002). Therefore, in serial recall, the last presented items also suffer most from output interference, which creates a strong primacy effect. In contrast, when items are cued in random order, the effect of output interference is equally spread over all positions. This causes more symmetrical recall performance across serial positions.

1138 results are those related to the similarity manipulations. As can be seen in **Figure 21**, left panels,
1139 the model predicts increased item recall for similar vs. dissimilar lists, for the same reasons as
1140 explained in simulations #1 and #2. When items are retrieved from contexts, phonological
1141 similarity increases confusion errors for the reasons explained in simulation #2. When contexts
1142 are retrieved from items, phonological similarity increases confusion errors for a different
1143 reason. If the presented cue is similar to other cues, this leads to a stronger activation of the other
1144 non-target contexts, increasing the probability to choose another context than the target one.

1145 As can be seen, semantic similarity has no effect on confusion errors for this retrieval
1146 direction. In our model, the semantic part of the item that is activated in the item layer functions
1147 as a retrieval cue only insofar as it is bound to the item's position in the weight matrix W . This is
1148 the case only for semantic features that are shared among multiple items. In dissimilar lists, such
1149 shared features hardly exist; in similar lists, the shared features are identical for all items, and
1150 therefore they are bound equally to all list positions. Hence, they cannot be used to discriminate
1151 one position from another. They add a constant amount of activation to all positions, without
1152 changing the difference between target and non-target positions, leading to no increase of
1153 confusion errors.

1154

1155 **Simulation #4 – Semantic Similarity and Task Difficulty**

1156 Serial recall of semantically similar lists is more resistant to task difficulty manipulations
1157 than recall of semantically dissimilar lists (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020; Neale & Tehan,
1158 2007). We simulated Neale and Tehan's results, who observed that the magnitude of the semantic
1159 similarity effect on item memory gradually increased as memory performance decreased.
1160 Interference by a secondary task (e.g., concurrent articulation) was implemented in the model by

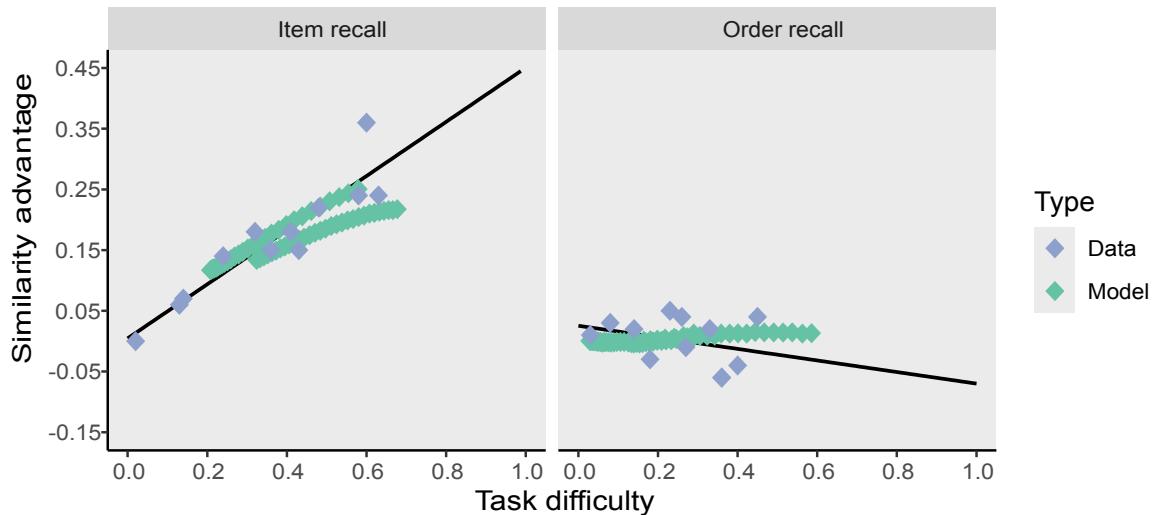
1161 scaling the encoding strength vector η with values ranging from 1.0 to 0.5. This variation of
1162 encoding strength affected only the binding of phonological features to their positional contexts.
1163 A value of 0.0 means that the content of WM was completely erased, and a value of 1.0 leaves
1164 the WM representations unaffected. We reduced the encoding strength specifically for the
1165 phonological representation, as the interfering tasks included by Neale and Tehan were
1166 phonological in nature (i.e., articulatory suppression, backward counting). Note that Neale and
1167 Tehan's experimental setup included two set size conditions: 4 and 6. These conditions were also
1168 included in the current simulations. For each set size, we simulated 30 task difficulty conditions.
1169 Note that Neale and Tehan (2007)'s raw data were not made available. For this reason, we
1170 simulated these results by using the parameter values which served to generate those of
1171 simulation #1. As can be seen in **Figure 22**, the model predicts the increased similarity advantage
1172 on item recall as task difficulty increases. In contrast, the model doesn't predict any similarity
1173 effect on order recall, and this absence is consistent across all task difficulty levels.

1174 The reason why the semantic-similarity benefit increases with higher task difficulty is
1175 rather trivial, and most likely not specific to our model: The poorer item recall becomes in the
1176 dissimilar condition, the more room there is for improvement through semantic similarity. For
1177 order recall this does not happen because semantic similarity has no influence on order recall.

1178

1179 **Figure 22**

1180 *Simulations of the Task Difficulty Effect*



1181 *Note.* Task difficulty was computed as the decrease in recall performance for a given score (item
 1182 recall or order recall). Results were simulated by using the same parameter values as in
 1183 Simulation #1.

1184

1185 **Simulation #5 – Semantic Similarity Modulates the Type of Intrusion Errors**

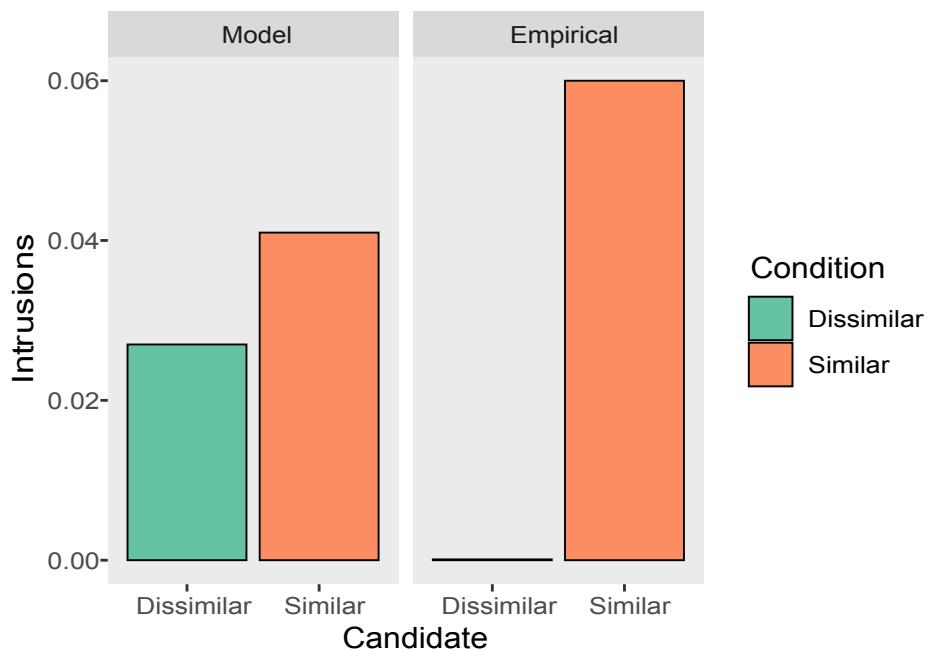
1186 In lists composed of semantically similar items, participants frequently recall a critical
 1187 lure that is highly similar to all list items but is not included in the list. This phenomenon is
 1188 rarely observed in lists composed of dissimilar items (Tehan, 2010). To simulate this effect, we
 1189 extracted the word2vec similarity values of 24 lists from the Stadler et al. (1999) norms, which
 1190 Tehan (2010) based his study on. The 6 strongest associates to the critical lure were chosen. We
 1191 extracted the similarity values between these list items and the critical lures, and included these
 1192 values in the similarity matrix M_{sem} . We used the same parameter values as Simulation #1.
 1193 Results from this simulation, reported in **Figure 23**, show that the model accounts reasonably
 1194 well for this phenomenon: The critical lure is recalled much more often in the similar than the
 1195 dissimilar list. Whereas in the experiment the critical lure was practically never recalled in the
 1196 dissimilar condition, the model still produced 2.6% critical-lure intrusions. This is probably due

1197 to the fact that we gave the model a much smaller vocabulary than adult human participants
 1198 have, so that the critical lure has a higher chance of being selected whenever an extra-list
 1199 intrusion occurred.

1200

1201 **Figure 23**

1202 *Recall of Critical Lures as a function of Semantic Condition*



1203 *Note.* The y-axis shows the proportions of times critical lures were recalled, out of the total
 1204 number of responses produced. The data were simulated by using the same parameter values as
 1205 in Simulation #1, and using the word2vec similarity values from the Stadler et al. (1999) norms.

1206

1207 We also simulated the distribution of extra-list intrusions as a function of list composition
 1208 (semantically similar and dissimilar lists) as shown in **Figure 5**. We started with the assumption
 1209 that most retrieval candidates in one's vocabulary are only weakly associated with their target
 1210 items, meaning that the overall probability of producing a semantically dissimilar intrusion is

1211 higher than that of producing a semantically similar intrusion. To model this, we first estimated
 1212 the proportion of words in the language that have low, medium, and high similarity to target
 1213 items in the memory list. We did this by computing the similarity between each target and the
 1214 available items in word2vec. These similarity values were used to categorize words in the
 1215 vocabulary into each bin, and the count in each bin was then divided by the sum of all counts.
 1216 Given the large number of words available in word2vec (3 million), we drew 10 words at random
 1217 for each target, and repeated the process for all list items in all experiments. The resulting
 1218 proportions were then used as a weighting factor in Luce's choice rule (Eq. 7) to simulate the
 1219 probability of retrieving an intrusion from each similarity bin. Specifically, we decomposed the
 1220 probability of retrieving a non-target item into non-targets with low, medium, and high similarity
 1221 to the target, each weighted by the proportion of words in the vocabulary belonging to each of
 1222 these three bins. Adapting Eq. 7 gives:

$$p_i = \frac{\exp\left(\frac{O_i}{\sigma}\right)w_i}{\sum_{j=1}^{N+1} \exp\left(\frac{O_j}{\sigma}\right)w_j} \quad Eq. 23$$

1223
 1224 Where w is a vector of weights whose values are fixed to 1.0, except for non-list items $n+1:n+3$
 1225 for which the w was set to the proportion of words in each bin. For those retrieval candidates, we
 1226 kept the original phonological similarity value S_2 as used in previous simulations. By this
 1227 method, the sum of $p_{n+1:n+3}$ gives back the original probability to retrieve a non-list item as found
 1228 in our previous simulations. Additionally, the model was assigned distinct semantic similarity
 1229 values between targets and non-target items for each bin. These semantic similarity values were
 1230 determined using the median semantic similarity values between targets and intrusions observed
 1231 in the empirical data reported in **Figure 5**. Results of these simulations are reported in **Figure 24**.

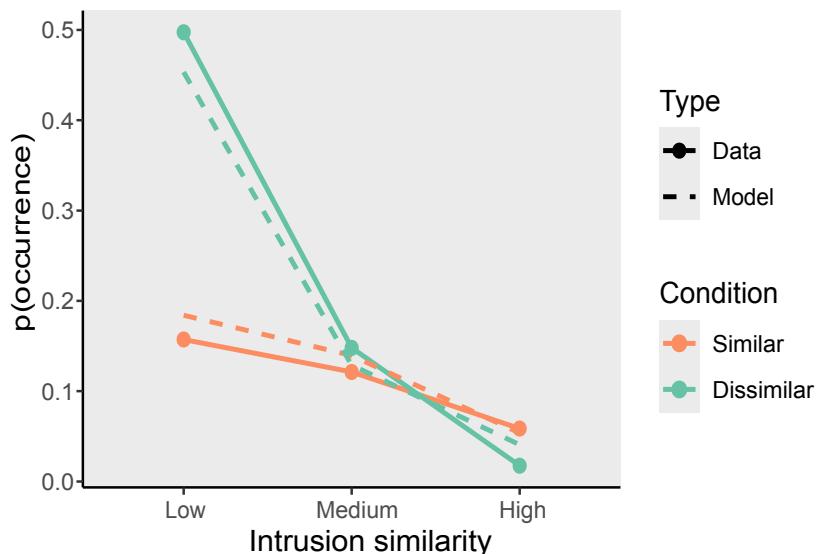
73 WM SEMANTIC MODEL

1232 The model reproduces the observed decrease in low-similarity intrusions, and the corresponding
1233 increase in high-similarity intrusions, in semantically similar lists. The decrease in low-similarity
1234 intrusions reflects the overall reduction in extra-list intrusions in semantically similar lists:
1235 because list items receive a larger boost of activation in the output layer (O) in a semantically
1236 similar list, they are more likely to be recalled than non-list items.

1237

1238 **Figure 24**

1239 *Distribution of intrusion errors*



1240 *Note.* Proportion of intrusion errors as a function of semantic similarity (similar vs. dissimilar).

1241

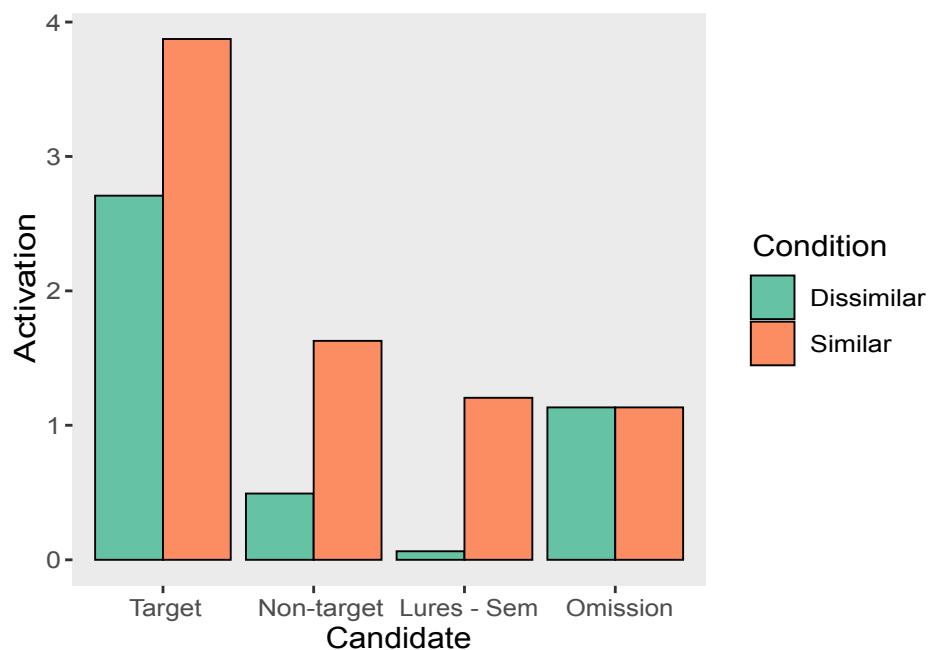
1242 The reason why highly similar intrusions occur more often in similar than dissimilar lists
1243 can be better understood by looking at the activation values extracted at retrieval, which we
1244 report in **Figure 25**. For simplicity, the analysis focuses on the simulations from the Tehan
1245 (2010) data reported in **Figure 23**, but this theoretical explanation also applies to the simulations
1246 reported in **Figure 24**. We divided the activation values in different categories: Target items, non-

1247 target items, the critical lures, and the omission threshold. In a semantically dissimilar list (upper
 1248 panel), the semantic part of the items is not encoded, because few features are shared between
 1249 list items. This means that the semantic part of the representation has little contribution when it
 1250 comes to select a recall candidate. Consequently, the lure item will receive very little activation
 1251 in the output layer \mathbf{O} and will therefore be rarely selected. In contrast, in a semantically similar
 1252 list the semantic part of the representation contributes strongly to the selection process. When
 1253 trying to retrieve an item, the semantic features of this item will match those of the lure items,
 1254 which means that the lure will receive a substantial amount of activation in the output layer O .
 1255 This leads the model to more often select extra-list items sharing features with the list items.

1256

1257 **Figure 25**

1258 *Activation Values Produced by the Model at Retrieval*



1259 *Note.* Activation values for the target item, non-target items, critical lures, and omission
 1260 threshold. Values are averaged across all retrieval attempts. In the dissimilar condition, the

1261 semantic part of the items has little contribution during the retrieval stage. As a consequence,
1262 critical lures (Lures-Sem) receive little activation and have a low probability to be recalled. In
1263 the similar condition, in contrast, critical lures receive high activation values due to their shared
1264 semantic features with the list items, which makes them more likely to be erroneously recalled.

1265

1266 **Simulation #6 – The Separation Effect**

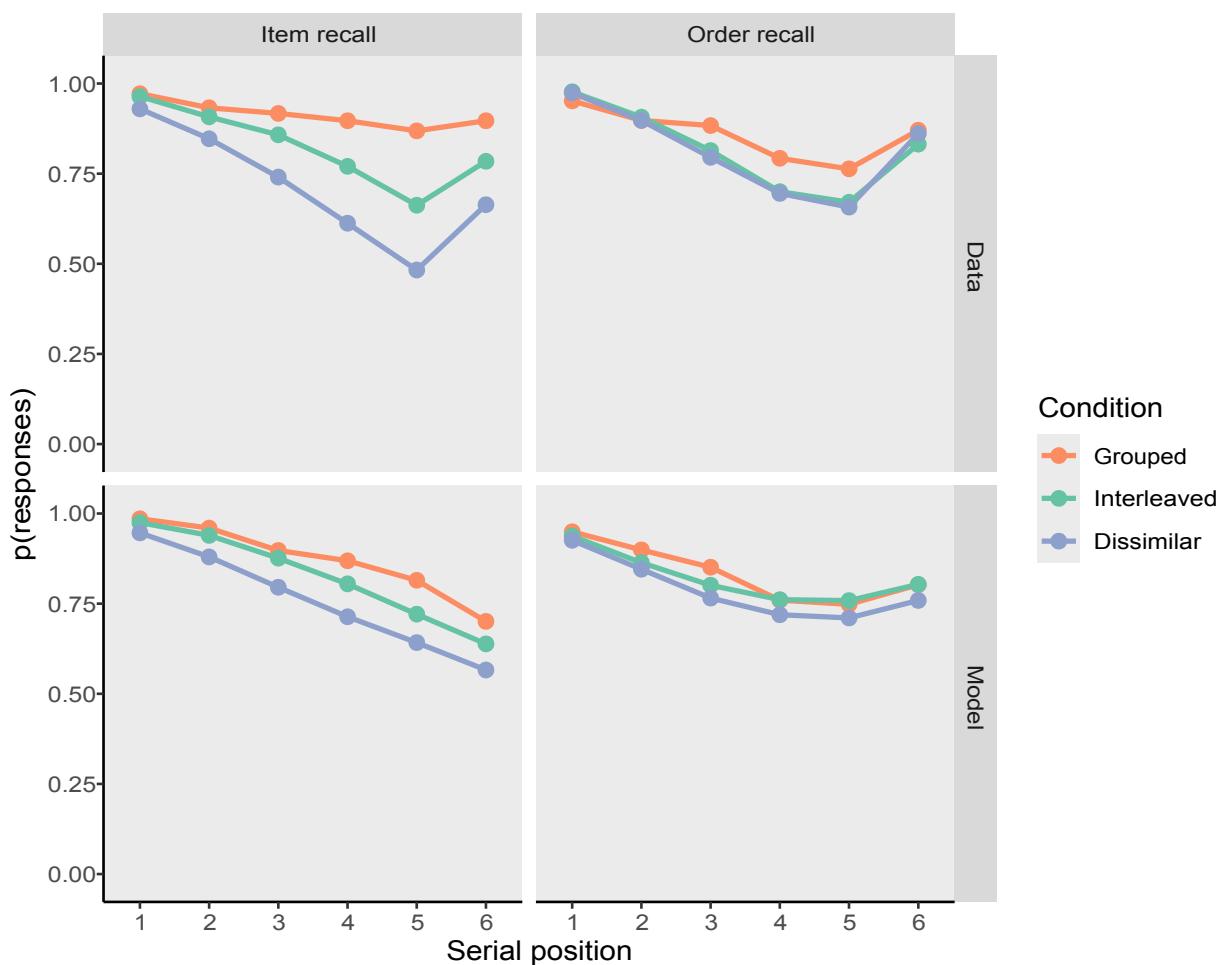
1267 In the separation effect, semantically similar items are better recalled if encoded at close
1268 vs. distant serial positions. We fitted the model to the data reported in Kowialiewski, Majerus, et
1269 al. (2023), Experiment 1. The experiment involved three conditions: grouped, interleaved, and
1270 dissimilar. In the grouped condition, items were presented in two sub-groups of three
1271 semantically similar items (i.e., AAABBB). Lists in the interleaved condition also consisted of
1272 two sets of three similar items, except that the similar items were presented in an interleaved
1273 fashion (ABABAB). The dissimilar condition involved lists composed of items drawn from six
1274 different categories (ABCDEF). We fitted the model to these data using the same procedure as
1275 described above. The semantic similarity value S_3 was identical in the grouped and interleaved
1276 conditions, as the two conditions were constructed using the same semantic categories. As can be
1277 seen in **Figure 26**, the model predicts the decreased recall performance in the interleaved
1278 compared to the grouped condition. This pattern is made possible via the dynamic activation
1279 threshold as computed in Eq. 11 through 14: When several semantically similar items are
1280 presented one after the other, the thresholds of their semantic features become lower. Once these
1281 thresholds are lowered, the items' semantic features receive more activation from similar items.
1282 When similar items are interleaved, the thresholds recover more strongly towards their initial
1283 value in between presentations of similar items. Therefore, when encoding the third and fourth

1284 semantically similar item, the semantic features receive less activation than if the semantically
 1285 similar items were presented close to each other. The model also predicts the order recall
 1286 advantage (see **Figure 26**, right panel) in the grouped vs. dissimilar and interleaved condition.
 1287 This result is deeply linked to a fundamental property of our model, which we analyze in greater
 1288 details in the next section.

1289

1290 **Figure 26**

1291 *Simulations of the Separation Effect*



1292 *Note.* Upper panels: Empirical data. Lower panels: Model predictions. The model was fit to the
 1293 data reported in Kowialiewski, Majerus, et al. (2023), Experiment 1.

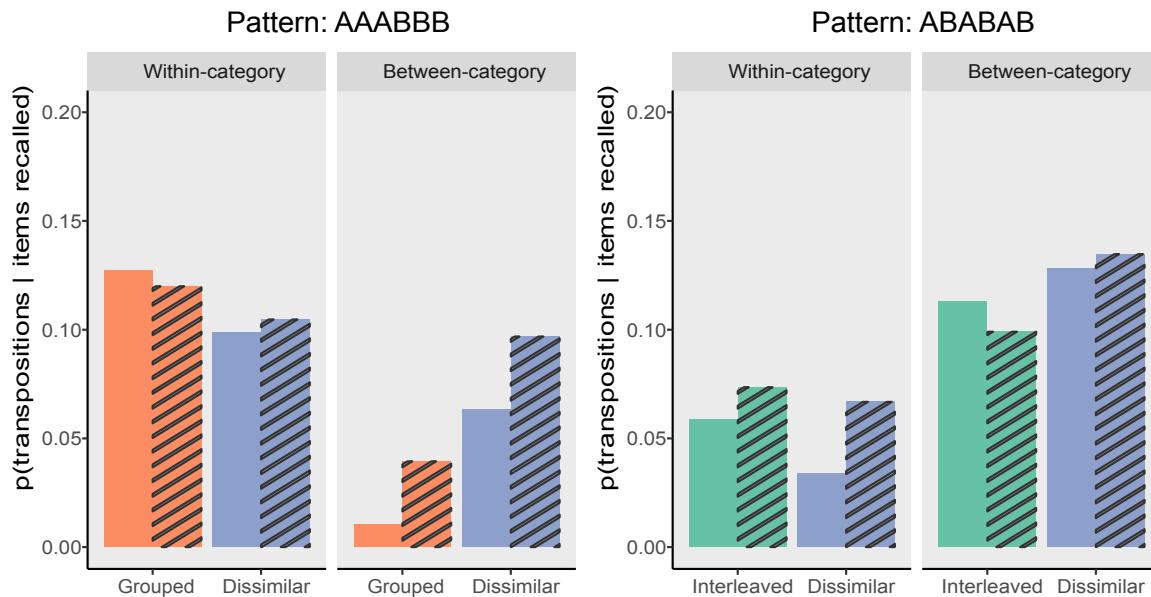
1294

1295 **Simulation #7 – Semantic Similarity Constrains Order Errors**

1296 When semantically similar items are presented in semantic subgroups (e.g., “piano, flute,
1297 guitar, leopard, cheetah, lion”), order errors tend to follow the semantic structure imposed by the
1298 experimental setup: People are more likely to transpose two semantically similar items than two
1299 semantically dissimilar ones. When the similar items are presented in an interleaved fashion
1300 (e.g., “piano, leopard, flute, cheetah, guitar, lion”), the effect is still observed, although only half
1301 as large as in the grouped condition. We report the same simulations as those in #5, as they
1302 involve the same experimental conditions. As can be seen in **Figure 27**, our model based on the
1303 encoding of categorical information captured the pattern of transposition errors induced by the
1304 lists’ semantic structure.

1305 Our model can capture this benchmark, because it encodes items’ semantic features in the
1306 grouped and interleaved conditions. The semantic structure prevents transposition errors from
1307 one group to another, because the semantic features encoded for items from distinct categories
1308 mismatch. For instance, when attempting to retrieve “item 3” in a “AAABBB” list, the semantic
1309 features of category “A” of this item are reactivated. When comparing this representation to all
1310 representations stored in long-term memory, the semantic representation of “item 3” will
1311 strongly match with those of the same category, in this case items 1 through 3, thereby slightly
1312 increasing within-category transpositions. In contrast, the representation of this item will
1313 mismatch with those of items 4 through 6, which strongly reduces between-category
1314 transpositions. This reduction of between-category transpositions explains why order recall is
1315 better in the grouped compared to the dissimilar condition, as reported in **Figure 26**.

1316

1317 **Figure 27**1318 *Transpositions as a Function of Semantic Similarity Structure and Transposition Type*1319 *Note.* Striped bars indicate model predictions. The model was fit to the data reported in

1320 Kowialiewski, Majerus, et al. (2023), Experiment 1.

1321

1322 To better understand what is happening in the model from a mathematical perspective, we
 1323 can start from a basic example. Suppose a first scenario in which the model tries to retrieve the
 1324 first item among a list of four dissimilar items to be remembered. Assuming a positional overlap
 1325 of 0.333, items' activation value for this retrieval step is: [1.0, 0.333, 0.111, 0.037]. Applying the
 1326 choice rule we reported in Eq. 7 with $\sigma=0.5$, the probability to recall each item is: [0.634, 0.167,
 1327 0.107, 0.092]. For this retrieval attempt, the proportion of within and between-category
 1328 transposition among all transpositions is 0.801 and 0.199, respectively.

1329 Now suppose a second scenario in which both items 1 and 2 receive a uniform boost of
 1330 activation of 0.5, which is what typically occurs in the model when two items are semantically

1331 similar (i.e., both items receive a constant boost). Items' activation value is now: [1.5, 0.833, 0.111, 0.037], and their probability to be retrieved is: [0.725, 0.191, 0.045, 0.039]. The proportion of within and between-category transposition is now: 0.916 and 0.084, respectively.

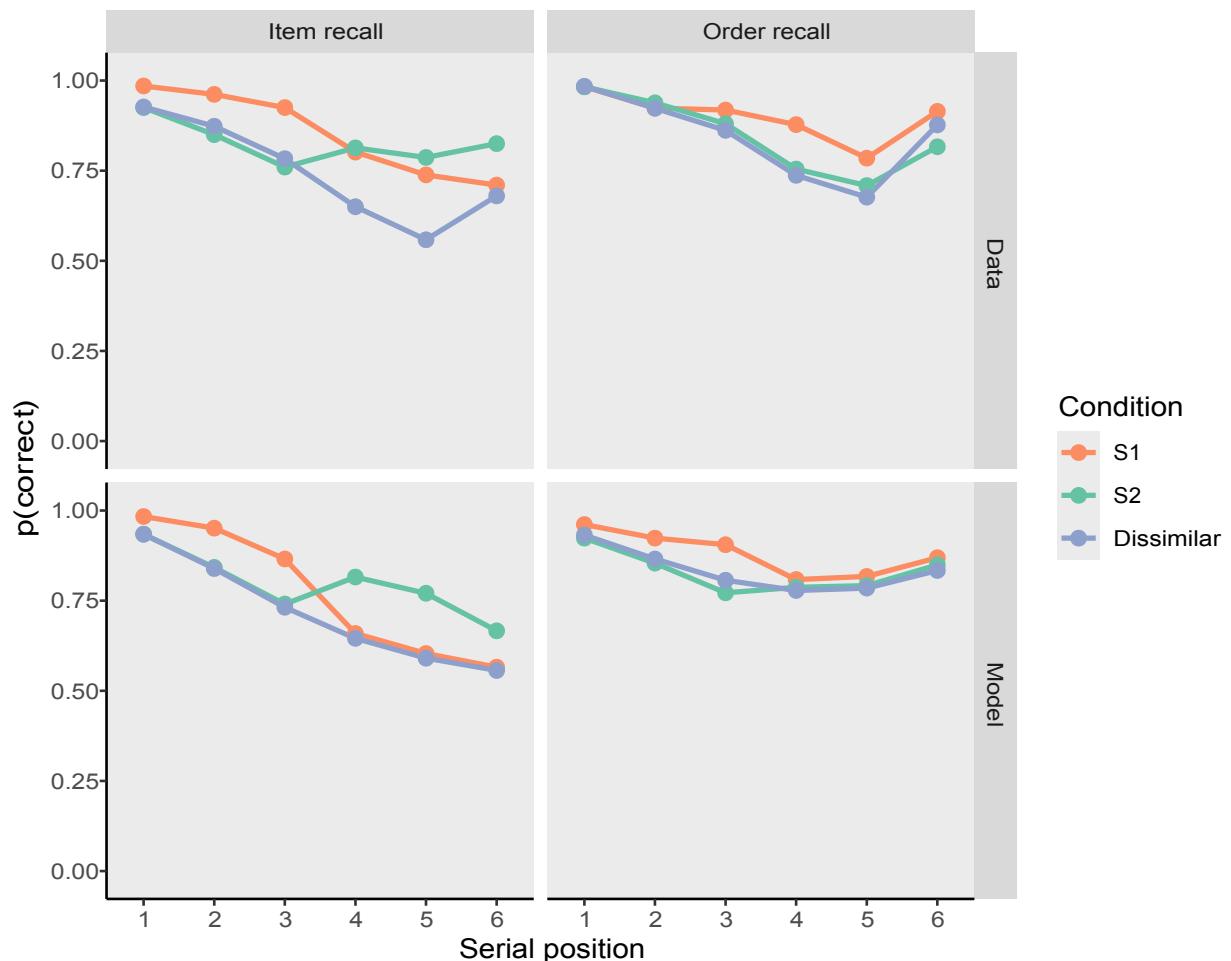
1334 Hence, increasing the activation value of items 1 and 2 increases within-category transpositions, but also decreases the proportion of between-category transpositions. Due to this 1335 decrease of between-category transposition, the target item is recalled more often in the correct 1336 position, because it migrates less often towards positions 3 and 4. In addition, because of the 1337 property described in Eq. 19 through 21, confusion errors do not increase between semantically 1338 similar items. If we compute the odds of retrieving item 1 relatively to item 2 in the first 1339 scenario, we get: $0.634 / 0.167 = 3.796$. In the second scenario, this gives: $0.725 / 0.191 = 3.796$. 1340 These are the core reasons why the model reproduces the pattern of migration errors observed in 1341 the empirical data.

1343

1344 **Simulation #8 – Proactive and Retroactive Effects**

1345 Semantically similar items, when presented at the beginning of a to-be-remembered list, 1346 enhance WM performance for dissimilar items presented later in the list. When the similar items 1347 are presented at the end of the list, no such improvement is observed for the dissimilar items 1348 earlier in the list (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat, 2021). This proactive benefit is observed 1349 both at the item and serial order levels. We fitted the model to the data reported by Kowialiewski, 1350 Lemaire, & Portrat (2021) using the same procedure as described above. **Figure 28**, lower left 1351 panel, shows the recall advantage for similar vs. dissimilar items predicted by the model, as 1352 classically observed. We will now provide a more detailed explanation of the results concerning 1353 the proactive and retroactive effects.

1354

1355 **Figure 28**1356 *Proactive and Retroactive Effects*

1357 *Note.* Upper panels: Empirical data. Lower panels: Model predictions. The model reproduces the
 1358 overall beneficial effect of semantic similarity. However, it falls short at explaining the proactive
 1359 benefit of semantic similarity (i.e., recall advantage for items 4, 5 and 6 in the “S1” condition).
 1360 S1 = Semantically similar in the first half of the list. S2 = Semantically similar in the second half
 1361 of the list. Dissimilar = All items are drawn from a different semantic category. The model was
 1362 fit to the data reported by Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat (2021).

1363

1364 *The proactive benefit.* The model does not predict the proactive benefit on item recall,
 1365 because it includes no additional WM mechanism to enhance recall performance for the
 1366 subsequent items. Our implementation increases item recall for semantically similar items, but
 1367 this influence is specific to the similar items themselves. As there is nothing in the model to
 1368 make the effect more global, the model is incapable of predicting the proactive benefit.

1369 *The absence of retroactive impact.* As can be seen in **Figure 28**, lower left panel, the
 1370 model predicts no retroactive impact on item recall. This occurs for the same reason the model
 1371 does not predict a proactive benefit: The semantic similarity effect is specific to the semantically
 1372 similar items themselves. Note however that the model predicts a small, but noticeable
 1373 retroactive impact in serial position 3 when order recall is considered (see **Figure 28**, right
 1374 panel). This occurs because when the model tries to retrieve the third item, the semantic features
 1375 of item 4 will be re-activated to some extent due to the similarity between positions 3 and 4 as
 1376 retrieval cues. Item 4 will therefore have a slightly higher activation level and therefore a small
 1377 advantage during the competition for retrieval, resulting in increased anticipation errors.

1378

1379 **Simulations: Summary**

1380 Results of the simulations for each benchmark are summarized in **Table 2**. As can be seen,
 1381 the model can explain nearly all the benchmarks presented in the introduction. The only
 1382 exception is the proactive benefit of semantic similarity.

1383

Table 2. Summary of the Simulations

Benchmarks	Description	Qualitative fit
#1a: Item benefit and omissions	Semantic similarity reduces the production of omission errors	+
#1a: Item benefit and extra-list	Semantic similarity reduces the	+

intrusions (item benefit)	production of extra-list intrusions	
#2: Order recall	Semantic similarity has a null effect on order recall	+
#3: Cue similarity	When positions are tested using items as cue, semantic similarity does not increase confusion errors	+
#4: Task difficulty	Semantic similarity increases with task difficulty	+
#5: Intrusion errors	Semantic similarity modulates the type of intrusion errors	+
#6a: Separation effect on item recall	Similar items presented adjacent to each other are better recalled than when presented at more distant serial positions	+
#6b: Separation effect on order recall	Similar items presented in groups (AAABBB) lead to increased order recall than when presented in an interleaved fashion (ABABAB) or in dissimilar lists (ABCDEF)	+
#7: List structure on transposition errors	The semantic structure of a list constrains the way items are transposed	+
#8a: Proactive benefit	Semantic similarity increases memory performance for subsequent, dissimilar items in the same list	-
#8b: Absence of retroactive impact	Semantic similarity does not retroactively impact memory performance for dissimilar items in the same list	(+)

Note. The different symbols indicate the qualitative fit of the models to the data. +: Predicted correctly; (+): Predicted largely correctly -: Not predicted correctly.

1384

1385

General Discussion

1386 We propose a computational model that offers a comprehensive explanation for the effects
 1387 of semantic similarity in WM for lists of words. We used a WM architecture in which items are
 1388 encoded into WM by binding them to their contexts, that is, to their serial positions in the list.
 1389 Whereas phonological features are bound to their positions instantly and nonselectively, semantic
 1390 features are encoded in a more limited way: Only those features shared by several memoranda
 1391 are bound to their contexts. This is made possible by a dynamic threshold of activation for
 1392 semantic features by which the subset of shared features is selected, together with a tagging
 1393 mechanism that enables the model to bind shared features to their list positions retrospectively.

1394 Using these principles, the architecture can explain most of the empirical observations made so
1395 far on the semantic similarity effect.

1396

1397 **Similarity and Confusion Errors**

1398 Phonological similarity impairs order recall for short lists of words (Baddeley, 1966;
1399 Fallon et al., 2005; Gupta et al., 2005; Nimmo & Roodenrys, 2005; Roodenrys et al., 2022). This
1400 effect has been taken as evidence that WM stores information in a phonological format. Whether
1401 semantic similarity also impairs order recall has been the object of debates. Early studies did not
1402 find a detrimental effect of semantic similarity on order recall (Neale & Tehan, 2007; Poirier &
1403 Saint-Aubin, 1995; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a). Sometimes, a detrimental effect was found
1404 (Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Tse, 2010; Tse et al., 2011), and some have argued that these
1405 discrepancies might be explained by the metric used to manipulate semantic similarity (Ishiguro
1406 & Saito, 2020). Recent studies have shown multiple times that semantic similarity has no
1407 negative impact on order recall (Kowialiewski, Krasnoff, et al., 2023; Kowialiewski, Majerus, et
1408 al., 2023), even when different similarity metrics are used (Neath et al., 2022), including the
1409 metric recently proposed by Ishiguro and Saito (Ishiguro & Saito, 2024; Kowialiewski et al.,
1410 2023). As similarity effects have been previously taken as evidence that WM relies on a
1411 particular kind of information, the null effect of semantic similarity on order recall could be
1412 taken to imply that WM does not encode semantics.

1413 A recent study has shown that semantic similarity can, under some circumstances, lead to
1414 a slight detrimental effect on order recall (Guitard et al., 2025). To test whether the inability of
1415 earlier studies to detect this effect was due to a lack of statistical power, we combined results
1416 from five experiments using comparable methodologies (i.e., serial recall and order

1417 reconstruction, set size 6), resulting in a dataset of 270 participants. The reanalysis of this
1418 dataset, reported in **Appendix B**, provides strong evidence against a semantic similarity effect in
1419 order reconstruction. In serial recall, the evidence is ambiguous, suggesting that the detrimental
1420 effect of semantic similarity on order recall is not a consistent phenomenon. One possible
1421 explanation for this small and inconsistent effect is that participants sometimes remember the
1422 shared category of the items in semantically similar lists and guess within that category when
1423 unable to recall an item. When list items are typical members of that category, they have a high
1424 chance of being produced through informed guessing. In this way, failures of item memory can
1425 look like failures of order memory. This interpretation can explain why a semantic-similarity
1426 effect on order memory has only ever been reported for the order scoring of serial recall, but not
1427 for reconstruction of order, as reported in **Appendix B**. Because extra-list intrusions are not
1428 possible in order reconstruction, this procedure prevents false classification of guesses as
1429 transposition errors.

1430

1431 **Does Working Memory Encode Semantics?**

1432 To explain the null effect of semantic similarity on order recall, one could assume that
1433 WM does not encode semantics by binding semantic features to context. This idea has recently
1434 been proposed by Kowialiewski & Majerus (2020) in a model in which the beneficial effect of
1435 semantic similarity is explained via a spreading activation mechanism. Basically, the
1436 presentation of an item triggers the activation of its concept in a semantic network, and this
1437 activation lies outside of the core item-context binding representation – it plays out in what we
1438 refer to as the lexical layer L in the present model. Activation then spreads to other semantically
1439 similar concepts. For instance, when the concept “tiger” gets activated in the network, it

1440 automatically activates neighbor concepts such as “puma” and “cheetah” through spreading
1441 activation. When several semantically similar items are presented in the same list, this results in
1442 higher activation levels for semantically similar compared to dissimilar concepts, because the
1443 similar concepts reinforce each other’s activation in the semantic network. Thanks to this
1444 property, such a model can capture the beneficial effect of semantic similarity on item recall
1445 (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat, 2021; Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020). In addition, it also
1446 predicts a null effect on order recall, because semantic features are not bound to context and are
1447 therefore not part of the representation of order, and cannot therefore be used to discriminate
1448 between the items.

1449 We considered this spreading activation mechanism as an alternative to the model
1450 presented in this study. We report additional simulations involving the spreading activation
1451 model in **Appendix A**. To summarize the results, such a model assuming that semantic features
1452 are not bound to context performs surprisingly well at accounting for several benchmarks.
1453 However, simulation results in **Appendix A** reveal two major limitations that we detail below.

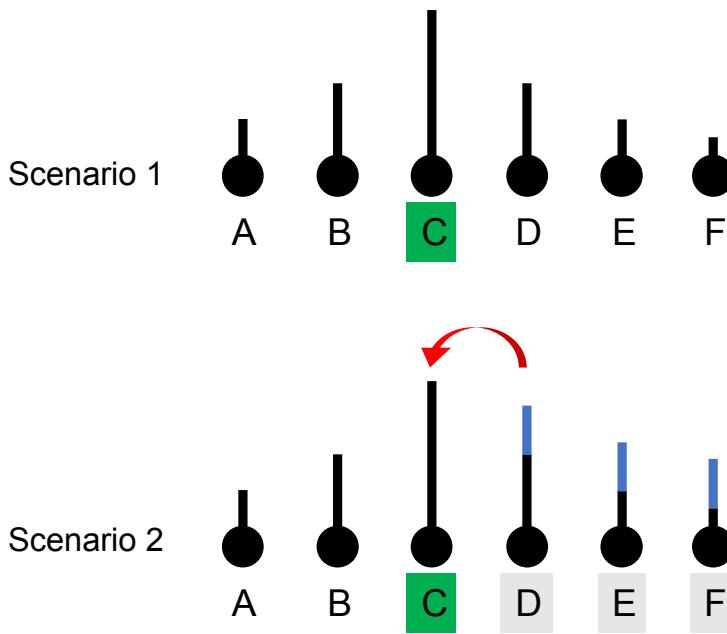
1454 First, the spreading activation explanation holds if pure lists of semantically similar and
1455 dissimilar items are used. However, this model falls short at accounting for empirical data when
1456 experimental conditions involve several items drawn from different semantic categories, for
1457 instance in lists such as “**lion – leopard – cheetah – piano – flute – violin**”. When processing
1458 such lists, the spreading activation mechanism fails to account for the fact that items’ semantic
1459 categories constrain transposition errors. This is because the spreading activation model does not
1460 bind semantic features to context. Without a way to bind semantic information to context, the
1461 model has no knowledge regarding which category belongs to which position, and therefore fails
1462 at capturing this benchmark.

1463 Second, the spreading activation mechanism fails when similar items are presented at the
1464 end of a to-be-remembered list, such as “leopard – bike – table – **Mars – Jupiter – Venus**”. For
1465 these lists, the mechanism predicts the production of massive *anticipation errors*, leading to a
1466 deleterious retroactive impact on order recall, which conflicts with the empirical data. This result
1467 reflects a general problem in models in which items’ relative activation levels affect serial order
1468 errors (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, Majerus, et al., 2021). Basically, because semantically similar
1469 items in positions 4, 5 and 6 reinforce each other in the semantic network, they have a higher
1470 activation level than semantically dissimilar items in positions 1, 2, and 3. When trying to
1471 retrieve item 3 (for instance), the activations of items 4, 5 and 6 give them a large advantage in
1472 the competition for retrieval over the target item in position 3. Therefore, semantically similar
1473 items in later list positions have a higher probability to be recalled at position 3, and in general,
1474 to migrate toward earlier serial position, displacing the items in those positions (i.e.,
1475 anticipations). The problem posed by these families of model is illustrated in **Figure 29**.

1476

1477 **Figure 29**

1478 *Illustration of the Increased Anticipation Errors Problem*



1479 *Note.* This image illustrates the pattern of activation values generated in the spreading activation
 1480 model when retrieving “item C” in dissimilar lists (Scenario 1) and in lists in which items D, E
 1481 and F are semantically similar (Scenario 2). The black lines represent the pattern of activation
 1482 generated by the cueing process. The blue lines represent values from the lexical layer L. In
 1483 Scenario 1, the pattern of activation generated behaves as usual, with items B and D being
 1484 equally likely to be retrieved in case of a transposition error. In Scenario 2, the higher activation
 1485 values of items D, E, and F cause an increase of anticipation errors, because the selection process
 1486 in our WM models is based on relative activation of recall candidates. This pattern of results is
 1487 not observed in the data.

1488

1489 Category Encoding and Tagging

1490 When semantically similar items are presented in semantic sub-groups (e.g., “**lion** –
 1491 **leopard** – **cheetah** – *piano* – *flute* – *violin*”), transposition errors tend to follow the semantic
 1492 structure imposed by the experimental lists: When items migrate, they are more likely to do so

1493 towards the position of another semantically similar than a semantically dissimilar item. This
1494 result is difficult to explain without assuming that semantic features are bound in some way to
1495 their contexts. Results reported by Kowialiewski, Gorin, et al. (2021) constitute therefore the
1496 best evidence we have so far that semantics must be bound in some way to contexts. However,
1497 binding semantic features to context in the way same as phonological features necessarily leads
1498 to increased confusion errors for lists of semantically similar than dissimilar items. How can this
1499 contradiction be resolved? Here we provide a solution based on the idea that WM encodes only
1500 the semantic features shared by the items (Kowialiewski, Majerus, et al., 2024). By encoding
1501 only the features shared between memoranda, the model not only predicts an item recall
1502 advantage for semantically similar items, but also an absence of a detrimental effect on order
1503 recall, because the encoded features are common to all items. In that way, the semantic
1504 information isn't a useful cue to discriminate between items in lists composed of pure
1505 semantically similar items. In lists of dissimilar items, the semantic information is not encoded
1506 and is therefore also useless to discriminate between items. However, in mixed lists involving
1507 different semantic categories, encoding a semantic category reduces transposition errors from
1508 one category to another, which explains the constraint that semantic similarity has on
1509 transposition errors.

1510 When designing such a model, we faced an important problem. When encoding a list such
1511 as “knife – fork – spoon”, we need to assume that their shared semantic features are bound to the
1512 positional context of all three words. This is necessary because the semantic similarity effect can
1513 already be observed for the first encoded item when input position is deconfounded from output
1514 position (see also **Figure 3**). However, when the first word, “knife”, is presented, the person does
1515 not know yet what, if any, semantic features it will share with subsequent words. That becomes

1516 clear only after at least one more item has been presented. Therefore, there must be a mechanism
1517 which updates the WM representations at input position N, based on what is encoded at input
1518 position N+X. To do this, we first considered a rehearsal mechanism which would go back
1519 through the preceding items and would re-encode them. However, we found this explanation
1520 implausible, because the semantic similarity effect is found even under concurrent articulatory
1521 suppression (Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a). The only explanation we found uses a tagging
1522 mechanism in which associations are tagged instead of being directly formed (Rombouts et al.,
1523 2015). We combined this with a mechanism that filters semantic features for their relevance in
1524 the context of the entire list: In the semantic-ground layer, features are activated to the extent that
1525 they are shared by several items presented in close succession, and as such, represent the
1526 semantic category or theme that several, or all, list items have in common. Once semantic
1527 features have been activated in the semantic-ground layer, and thereby have been identified as
1528 being shared by several items during the current trial, the tagged association is transformed into
1529 an actual association.

1530 When incorporating semantic representations into the current architecture, we used
1531 similarity values from word2vec semantic vectors, which have been shown to account for human
1532 performance across various semantic paradigms (Mandera et al., 2017). A potential direction for
1533 future research would be to incorporate phonological similarity values based on such principled
1534 metrics. A recent study by Zhang and Osth (2024) compared the ability of various orthographic
1535 similarity metrics to account for episodic recognition performance within a global matching
1536 model and found support for open-bigram representations. Similarly constructed phonological
1537 similarity values could prove valuable for two reasons. First, they would enable predicting the
1538 identity of extra-list intrusions, as the majority of such errors are phonological (e.g., Romani et

1539 al., 2008). Second, incorporating these metrics may help disentangling different ways of
1540 representing phonological information, for instance by implementing different theoretical
1541 assumptions and comparing their ability to predict transposition errors and extra-list intrusions,
1542 thereby advancing our understanding of the underlying structure of WM content.

1543

1544 **The Proactive Benefit**

1545 Our model fails to capture the proactive benefit of semantic similarity due to the absence
1546 of a mechanism that operates globally on the items. There exist two explanations for the
1547 proactive benefit. However, both of these explanations have issues which prevent us from
1548 including them in our WM architecture.

1549 *Decay & Refreshing.* One way to explain the proactive benefit is via a compression
1550 mechanism coupled with a decay and refreshing architecture, as previously proposed
1551 (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2024; Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat, 2021). When
1552 encountering a list of semantically similar items, people could extract the common category
1553 shared by the similar items and use it to maintain the similar items more easily. Coupled with a
1554 decay and refreshing architecture, fewer refreshing attempts are required to maintain the similar
1555 items, thus leaving more time to refresh the subsequent items. This leads to a proactive benefit.

1556 Simulations have shown the ability of decay and refreshing models to create a proactive
1557 benefit, and no retroactive effect. There are, however, problems posed by this explanation. First,
1558 in a list composed of completely similar items, better order recall for the similar items
1559 themselves is expected, because items will be more strongly encoded via item-context binding,
1560 thus violating benchmark #1 (see also **Figure 30** and associated explanation in the next
1561 paragraphs).

1562 Second, there is compelling evidence against decay of verbal information in WM (Farrell
1563 et al., 2016; Lewandowsky et al., 2009). In addition, refreshing itself currently lacks direct
1564 empirical support (Oberauer & Souza, 2020), and studies have failed to find evidence that
1565 increasing refreshing rate increases memory performance (Souza & Oberauer, 2018). Therefore,
1566 attributing the proactive benefit to decay and refreshing mechanisms remains risky without
1567 robust empirical evidence supporting them. This issue reflects a more general problem: As long
1568 as the fundamental properties of WM are not established, making interpretation regarding
1569 potential interactions between WM and other cognitive functions becomes risky, because we are
1570 dealing with too many unknown mechanisms.

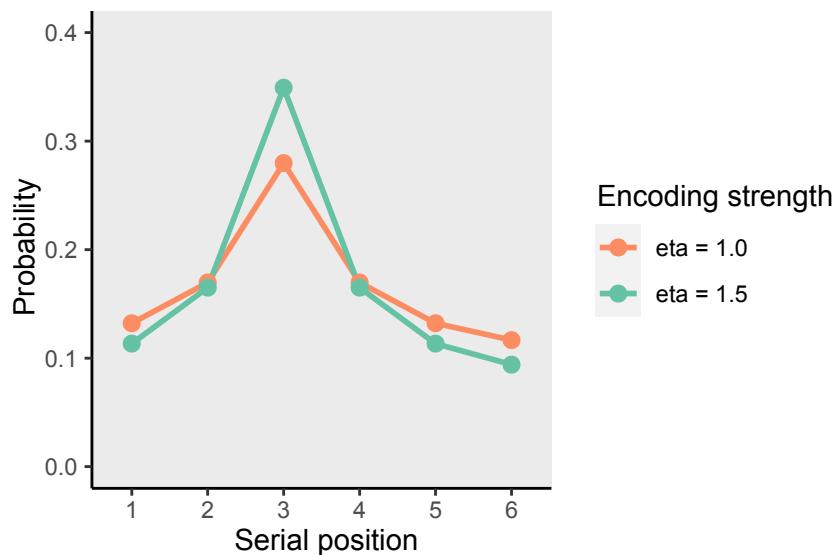
1571 *Encoding Resource.* Another way to explain the proactive benefit is by including an
1572 encoding-resource mechanism (Popov & Reder, 2020). In this mechanism, encoding an item
1573 depletes a proportion of a limited resource. Encoding strength, in turn, is proportional to the
1574 amount of resource available. One could assume that similar items deplete less of that resource,
1575 because they are easier to activate, for instance via spreading of activation in the semantic
1576 network (Kowialiewski, Lemaire, et al., 2022; Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat, 2021). This
1577 mechanism predicts a proactive benefit, because when encoding “leopard – lion – puma”, these
1578 items should deplete a smaller part of the encoding resource than three dissimilar items. The
1579 saved resource can subsequently be used to encode more strongly the following items. However,
1580 including this mechanism creates additional problems. First, for all-similar compared to all-
1581 dissimilar lists, this mechanism predicts increased semantic similarity benefits across input
1582 position. This occurs because the savings in encoding resource should accumulate with each
1583 additional encoded item in the similar compared to the dissimilar condition. A growing similarity
1584 benefit is not observed when input position is deconfounded with output position, as shown in

1585 **Figure 3.** Second, the encoding-resource mechanism predicts better order recall performance for
 1586 lists of purely similar vs. dissimilar items: Stronger encoding into WM means increasing the
 1587 item-context binding. The phenomenon is illustrated in **Figure 30**, which shows the probability
 1588 to retrieve each item given a retrieval cue (i.e., in this case, positional marker 3), before and after
 1589 multiplying encoding strength by 1.5. As can be seen, increasing item-context binding translates
 1590 to increased probability to select the target item, and reduced probability to select other list-
 1591 items, leading to increased order recall. This prediction is in contradiction with the absence of
 1592 semantic similarity effect on order recall performance.

1593

1594 **Figure 30**

1595 *Probability of Retrieving a Target Item Compared to a Non-Target Item as a Function of Binding
 1596 Strength*



1597 *Note.* In this hypothetical scenario, the model tries to retrieve “item 3”. The third item therefore
 1598 has the strongest probability to be retrieved. Because of positional overlap, other list items also
 1599 have a non-zero probability to be retrieved. As can be seen, increasing encoding strength from

93 WM SEMANTIC MODEL

1600 1.0 to 1.5 increases the probability to retrieve the target item, and decreases the probability to
1601 retrieve other list-items. Stronger item-context binding therefore leads to improved order recall.

1602

1603 The reason why semantic similarity proactively impacts WM performance remains to be
1604 explained. Without further empirical explorations regarding the boundary conditions of this
1605 phenomenon, it remains yet challenging to uphold a robust theoretical explanation. It must be
1606 noted that proactive benefits have been observed across a wide range of experimental
1607 manipulations, such as word frequency (Miller & Roodenrys, 2012), chunking (Thalmann et al.,
1608 2019), Hebb learning (Mizrak & Oberauer, 2021b), and temporal gaps (Mizrak & Oberauer,
1609 2021a). Therefore, explaining why memory performance in one part of the list improves when
1610 the preceding part is easier to process is likely to be a general problem for models of memory,
1611 and goes beyond the assumptions we include to explain our semantic similarity effects.

1612

1613 **Alternative Architectures**

1614 The principles we exposed in this work are not restricted to any particular kind of
1615 architecture. We chose to integrate semantic representations in an architecture using direct
1616 bindings between item and positional vectors, as in previous models (Lewandowsky & Farrell,
1617 2008; Oberauer et al., 2012; Oberauer & Lin, 2024). There is no reason to believe that other
1618 architectures wouldn't be able to achieve the same results. An example is the feature model
1619 (Nairne, 1990) and its recently revised version (Saint-Aubin et al., 2021). One issue with the
1620 feature model relates to its feature-overwriting mechanism, according to which features of item
1621 N overwrite the features of previously encoded items with a certain probability if they are shared
1622 with item N. When an item has its features overwritten, it is *weakened*. This implies that this

1623 mechanism predicts a detrimental (as opposed to beneficial) effect of semantic similarity on item
1624 recall, which contrasts with the empirical data. Further, as any other model of serial recall, it
1625 predicts a detrimental effect of semantic similarity on order recall. We assume that the feature
1626 model could account for the benchmarks reported in the present literature review by revising the
1627 way it represents semantics, just as we did in the present architecture. Such modifications could
1628 include dropping the feature-overwriting mechanism for the semantic features, and implementing
1629 a mechanism preventing confusion errors between semantically similar items, such as the
1630 tagging mechanism proposed in the current manuscript.

1631

Conclusion

1633 Semantic similarity behaves in a qualitatively different way than other similarity effects,
1634 such as phonological similarity, notably by not increasing confusion errors. This may suggest
1635 that semantic information plays no role in the WM representation. In contradiction to this,
1636 experiments using lists composed of multiple semantic subgroups revealed that people remember
1637 information about the position of categorical information. We resolved this apparent
1638 contradiction by proposing a mechanism wherein only semantic features shared by several items
1639 in a list are encoded by binding them to positional contexts. This process is made possible via
1640 two core mechanisms: A tagging mechanism which allows semantic features to be bound
1641 retroactively based on their relevance for a particular trial, and a threshold mechanism which
1642 filters activation of semantic features based on their frequency of appearance. These combined
1643 mechanisms can explain most of the semantic similarity effects which have been observed so far
1644 in the literature.

1645 **Appendix A – The Spreading Activation Mechanism**

1646 This section presents a spreading activation mechanism as an alternative to the category-
 1647 encoding assumption used in the main text. In the spreading activation mechanism, the
 1648 presentation of an item triggers the activation of its lexical unit, which spread activation towards
 1649 the semantic features it connects to. Contrary to the category-encoding assumption, these
 1650 semantic features are not encoded into WM by binding them to contexts. Instead, the semantic
 1651 features spread activation back towards items' lexical units. Due to this mechanism, semantically
 1652 similar items reinforce each other via their shared features. For instance, when a list such as
 1653 “leopard – lion” is presented, the features of the word “leopard” become activated. When
 1654 activation spreads back to the lexical units, this will not only re-activate the concept “leopard”,
 1655 but also the concept “lion”, because both concepts share features. Similarly, when encoding
 1656 “lion”, this concept will activate “leopard” through their shared features. This results in higher
 1657 activation level in the items' localist units as compared to a situation where items are
 1658 semantically dissimilar. These additional activations are then used to help the items surpass the
 1659 omission threshold, resulting in higher item recall.

1660 More formally, the dynamics of the activation for the semantic features is identical to
 1661 those described in Eq. 11 through 14. We kept the threshold mechanism, because it ultimately
 1662 allows the model to simulate the separation effect. Contrary to the category-encoding
 1663 assumption, the activated semantic features are not directly used to create item-context
 1664 associations. Instead, the semantic features send their activation back to the lexical units they
 1665 connect to at the end of encoding:

$$\Delta L_i = \mu_{Fj}$$

Eq. 24

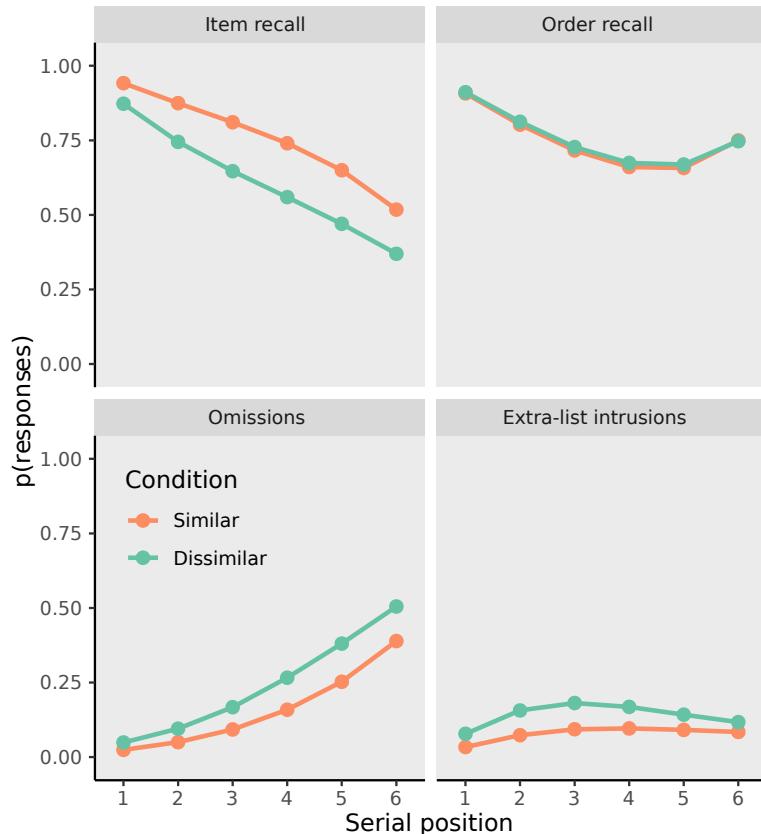
1666

1667 **Figure A1** shows simulation results for immediate serial recall. The model predicts an
1668 item recall advantage for semantically similar vs. dissimilar items. As expected, the higher
1669 activation provided by the spreading activation mechanism allows the list-items to surpass the
1670 omission threshold more often in the similar than in the dissimilar condition. In addition, this
1671 boost of activation makes list-items recalled more often than non-list items in the similar than in
1672 the dissimilar condition, reducing the production of extra-list intrusions. Finally, the model does
1673 not predict any effect of semantic similarity on order recall, because it does not encode semantic
1674 features by binding them to contexts. Therefore, the model performs very well on these
1675 benchmarks.

1676

1677 **Figure A1**

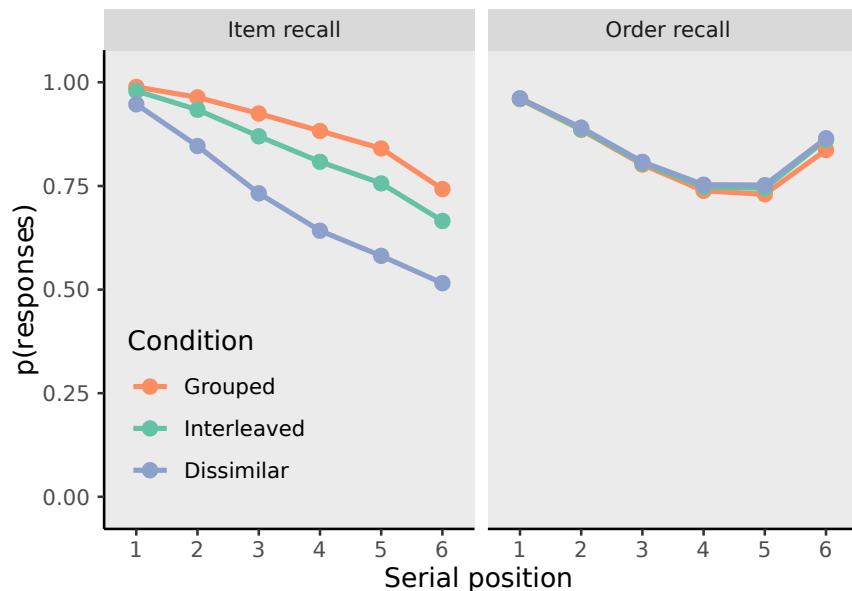
1678 *Semantic Similarity in Immediate Serial Recall*



1680 Next, **Figure A2**, left panel, shows that the spreading activation mechanism can predict
 1681 the separation effect after fitting the model on the data reported by Kowialiewski, Majerus, and
 1682 colleagues (2023). The fact that this mechanism produces a separation effect has nothing to do
 1683 with the specificity of the spreading activation mechanism *per se*, but is due to the threshold
 1684 mechanism we implement throughout all simulations. More importantly, the model does not
 1685 predict better order recall performance for grouped vs. dissimilar lists, as can be seen in the right
 1686 panel. This misprediction is an important one, because it shows one of the main limitations of the
 1687 model that we explain in the next paragraphs.

1688

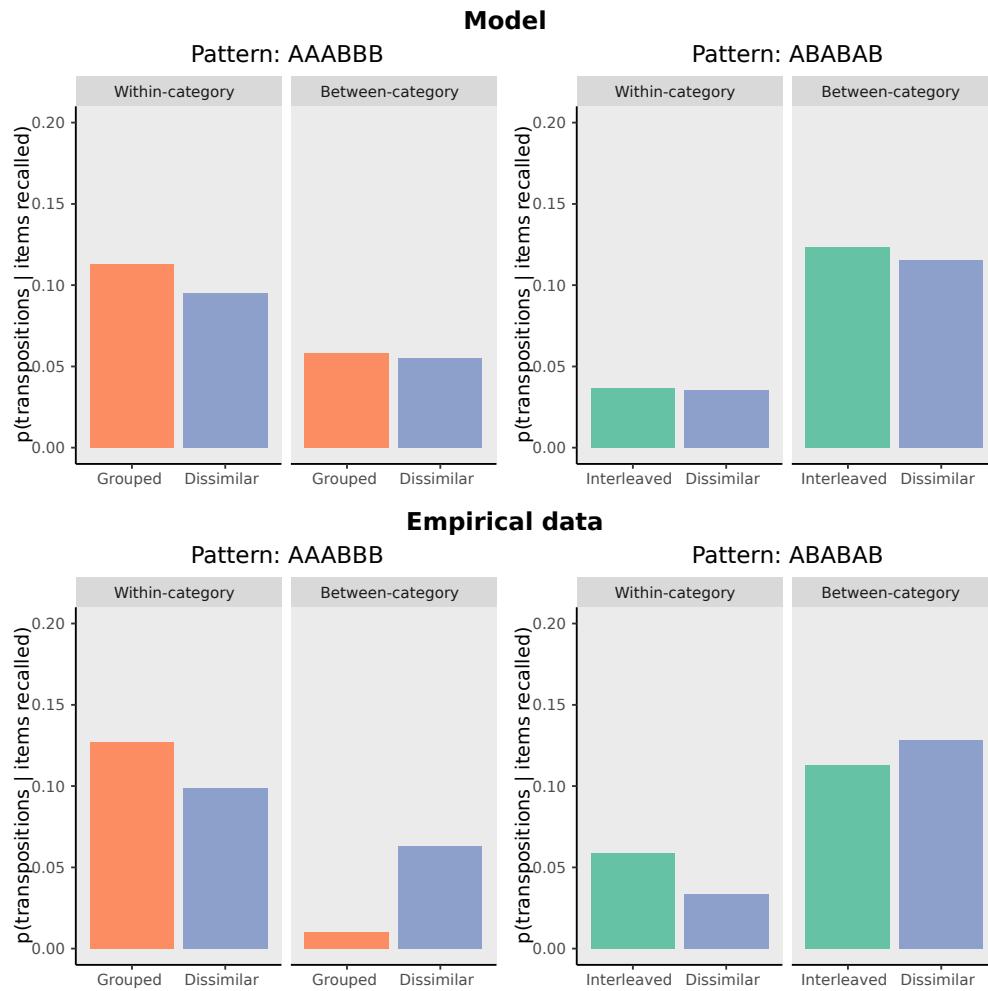
1689 **Figure A2**

1690 *Simulations of the Separation Effect*

1692 **Figure A3** shows the same simulations results as in **Figure A2**, except that we display this
 1693 time the pattern of transposition errors. The spreading activation model does not predict an effect
 1694 of list structure on transposition errors. The reason why this happens is trivial: Since the model
 1695 does not bind semantic features to context, it has no information regarding which item belonged
 1696 where based on that item's semantic content. This also explains why the model does not predict
 1697 better order recall performance in the grouped vs. dissimilar condition of **Figure A2**.

1698

1699 **Figure A3**



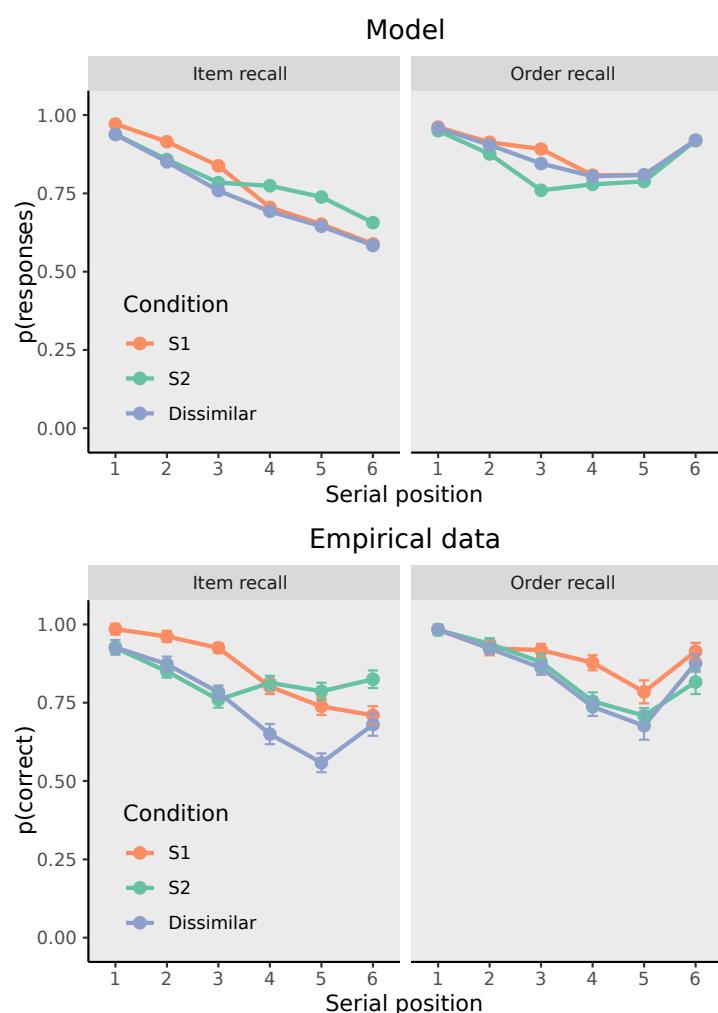
1701 Last, **Figure A4** shows the model's predictions on proactive and retroactive benefits. As
 1702 can be seen, the spreading activation mechanism shows a substantial deleterious retroactive
 1703 impact on order recall, contrary to experimental data. This problem is explained in further details
 1704 in the General Discussion sections. Briefly, when items 4, 5 and 6 are semantically similar, they
 1705 benefit from a boost of activation in the output layer \mathbf{O} . Due to this boost of activation, these
 1706 items will always have a competitive advantage for retrieval, regardless of the retrieval cue
 1707 currently used. This means that they will often outcompete the correct items in earlier serial
 1708 positions, leading to increased anticipation errors and a detrimental retroactive effect. This

1709 problem also explains why the similarity benefit is so small in the spreading activation model:
 1710 During model fitting, small parameter values for similarity are favored to prevent a high number
 1711 of anticipation errors, which would lead to a strong deviation from the data. This is another
 1712 important misprediction from the model.

1713

1714 **Figure A4**

1715 *Proactive and Retroactive Effects*



1717

1718 **Appendix B – Reanalyzing semantic similarity data**

1719 In this section, we report a re-analysis of the following datasets:

1720 • Kowialiewski et al. (2023), Experiment 1

1721 • Kowialiewski et al. (2024), Experiment 3

1722 • Neath et al. (2023), Experiments 1, 2 and 3

1723 These datasets were chosen because they all used comparable experimental procedures.

1724 Specifically, all these studies involved a paradigm requiring participants to encode and serially

1725 recall lists of 6 items, tested in two ways: Serial recall and order reconstruction. Together, these

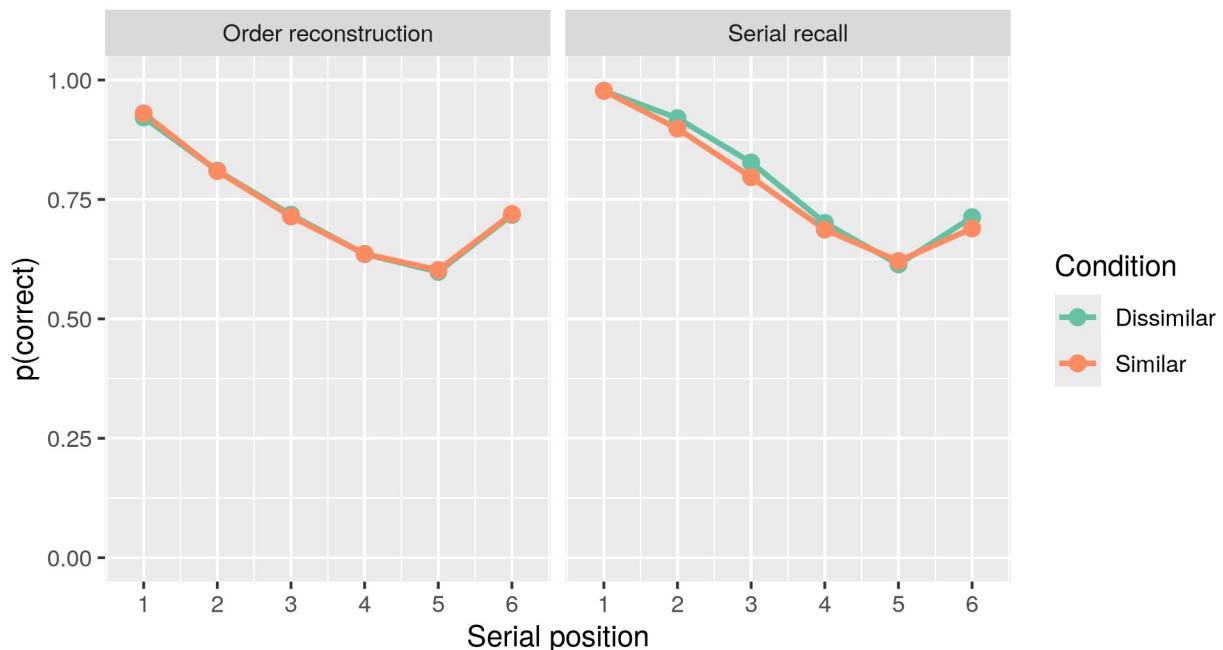
1726 data sets form a sample of 270 participants. Because it is possible that the two procedures for

1727 assessing memory for order lead to different outcomes, the figure below shows the data split as a

1728 function of test procedure: order reconstruction and serial recall (conditional order score) in the

1729 left and right panels, respectively.

1730



1732

1733 As can be seen, the order reconstruction tasks provide strong evidence for the absence of an
1734 effect of semantic similarity ($M_{\text{diff}} = 0.17\%$, $d = 0.002$), as supported by the Bayes factor in favor
1735 of the null hypothesis ($BF_{01} = 14.66$). In contrast, the serial recall data show a small difference
1736 ($M_{\text{diff}} = 1.39\%$, $d = 0.136$), which is not credibly supported ($BF_{01} = 1.95$).

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