

Semantic Representations in Working Memory: A Computational Model

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All the data and codes have been made available on the Open Science Framework:
<https://osf.io/6j7tv/>

20 **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

35

Introduction

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

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

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.

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

Category Membership as a Semantic Similarity Metric

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

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

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

Benchmark #1: Semantic Similarity Benefits Item Recall

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 (Goh & Goh, 2006; Guérard & Saint-Aubin, 2012; Kowialiewski, Gorin, et al., 2021; Kowialiewski, Lemaire, & Portrat, 2021; Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020; Nairne & Kelley, 2004; Neale & Tehan, 2007; Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995; Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a; Tse, 2009). This is also observed if semantic similarity is manipulated by using thematic relationships (e.g., “dog”, “bones”), or values derived from latent semantic analysis

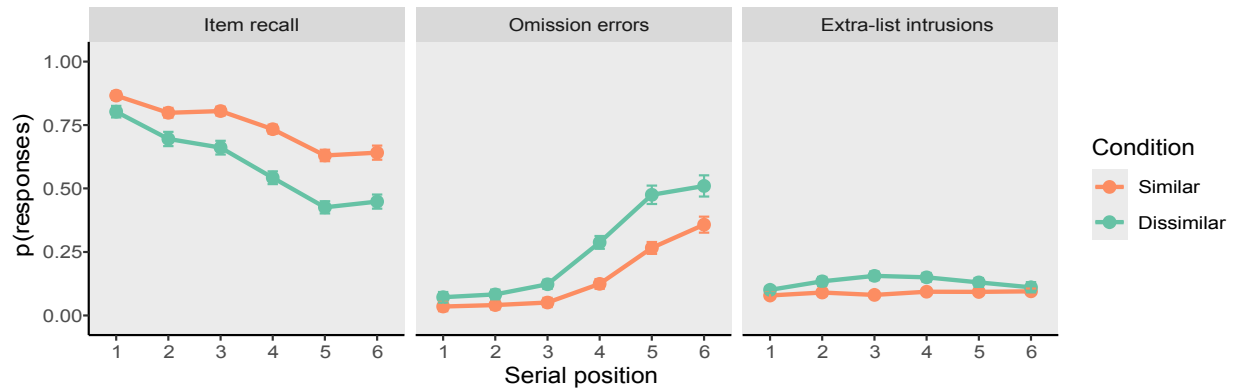
(Landauer & Dumais, 1997), and results are indistinguishable from those observed using taxonomic categories (Rosselet-Jordan et al., 2022; Tse, 2009). The recall advantage for lists composed of semantically similar vs. dissimilar items has been observed in other procedures, such as running span (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2018), backward recall (Guérard & Saint-Aubin, 2012), Brown-Peterson paradigms (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020; Neale & Tehan, 2007), complex span tasks (Rosselet-Jordan et al., 2022), and under concurrent articulatory suppression (Neale & Tehan, 2007; Poirier & Saint-Aubin, 1995; Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a). The beneficial effect of semantic similarity is also observed in children (Monnier & Bonthoux, 2011).

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

Figure 1

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.



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

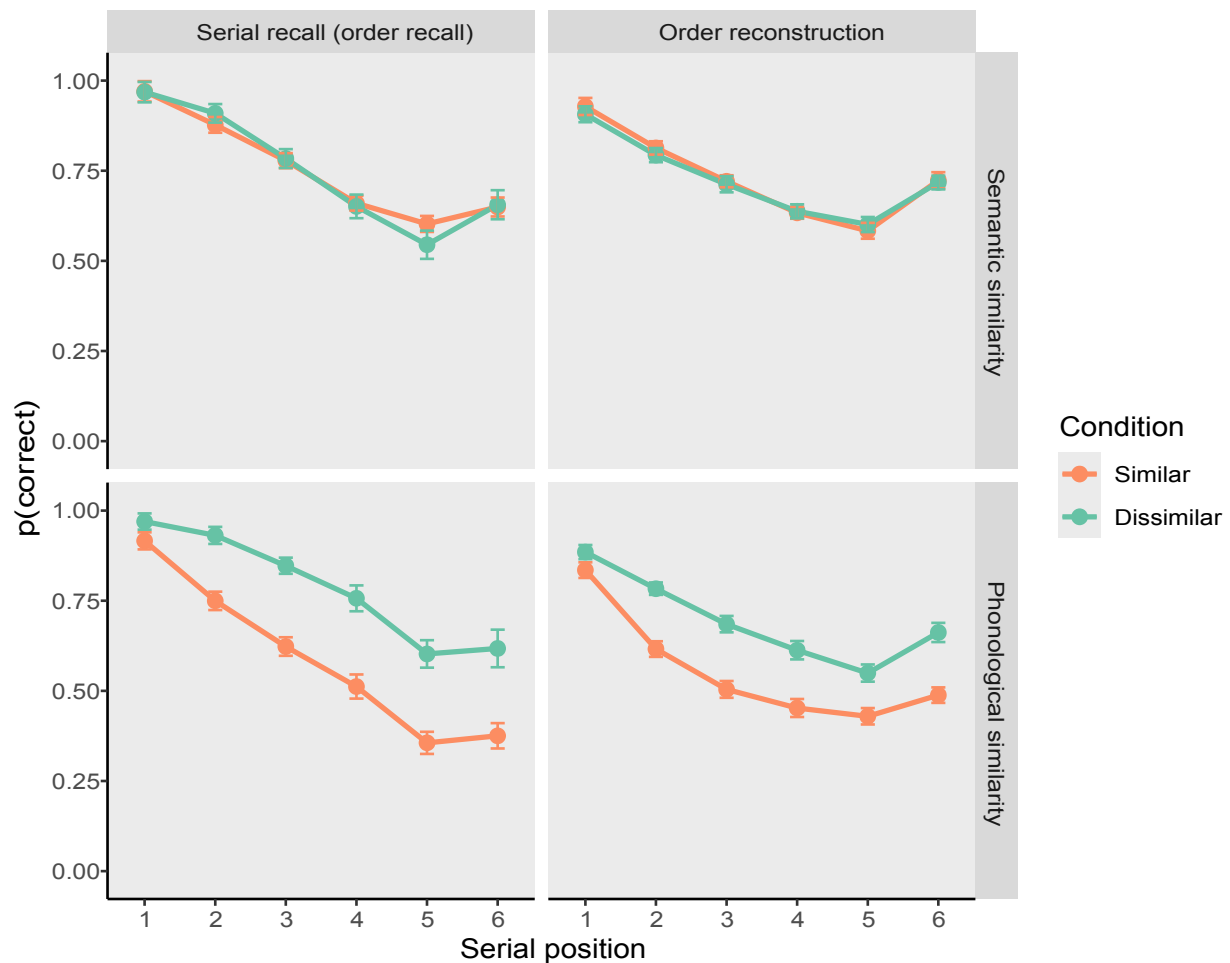
Benchmark #2: Semantic Similarity Does Not Decrease Order Recall

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

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

Figure 2

The Effect of Semantic and Phonological Similarity on Order Recall



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).

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

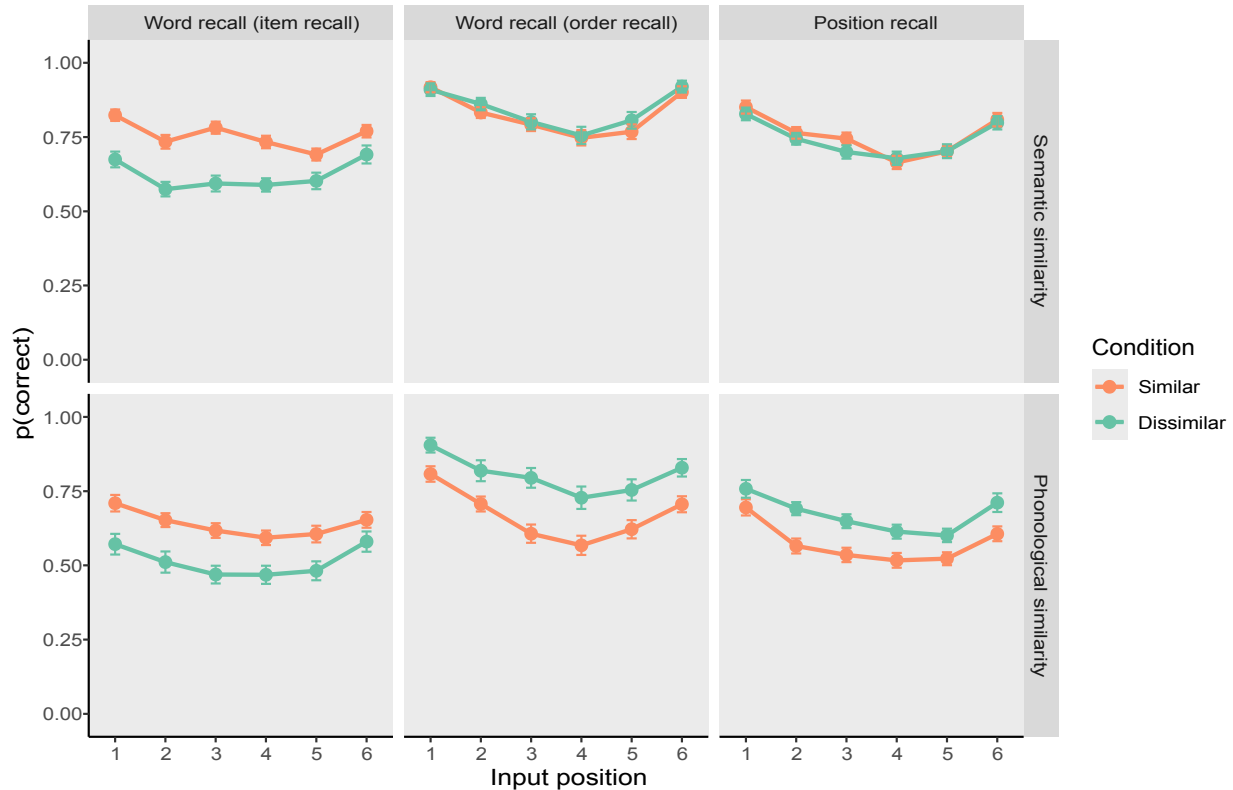
180 Similarity effects are typically tested in tasks in which the items are the targets of
 181 retrieval: The correct item needs to be retrieved for a given list position (see Benchmark #2). A
 182 complementary way of testing the effect of inter-item similarity – which has received less
 183 attention 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

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

Figure 3

Semantic and Phonological Similarity Effect on Item Recall, Order Recall, and Memory for 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

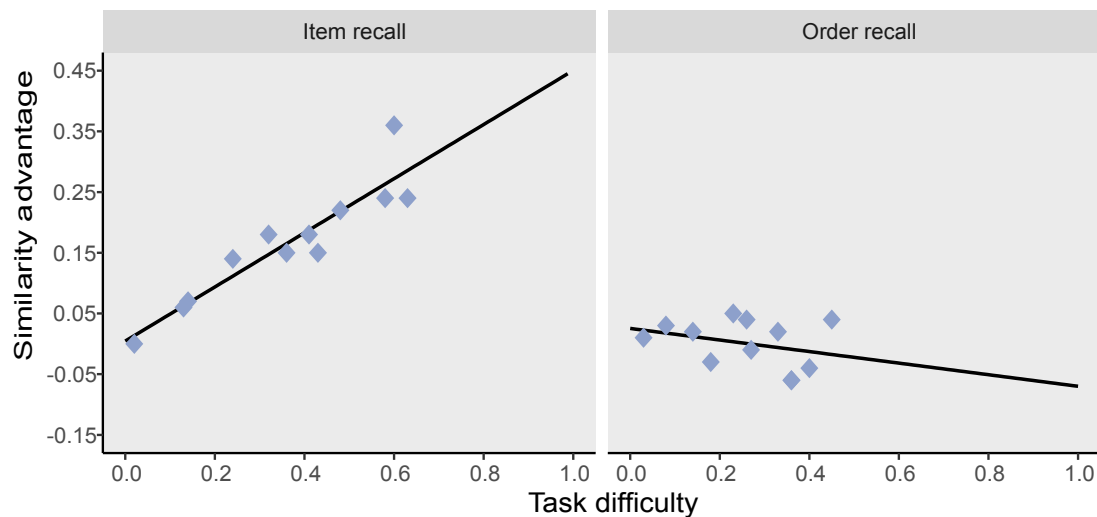
225 similarity effect with than without articulatory suppression, which has been subsequently

226 replicated (Saint-Aubin et al., 2005; Saint-Aubin & Poirier, 1999a). Stronger semantic similarity

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

Figure 4

Semantic Similarity as a Function of Task Difficulty



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

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

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

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

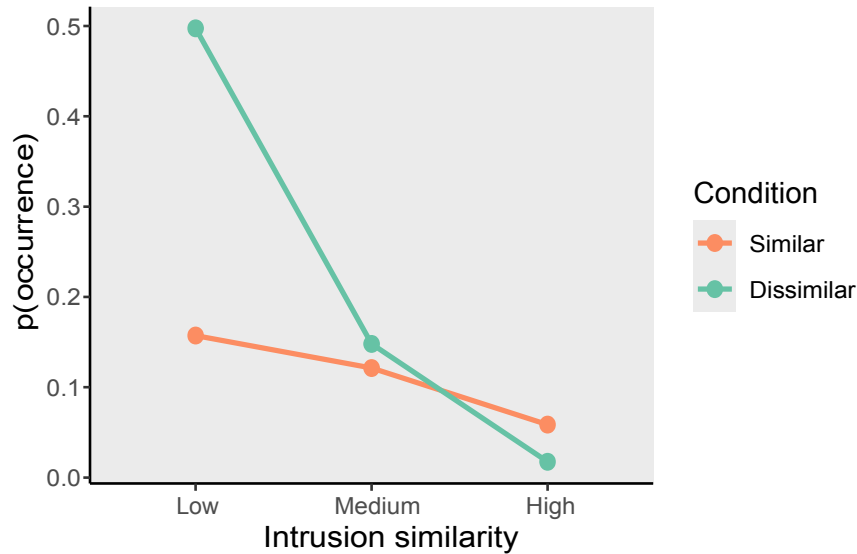
Another way to look at this phenomenon is via a detailed analysis of extra-list intrusions. We reanalyzed data from six experiments (Kowialiewski et al., 2023; Neath et al., 2022) involving 330 participants who recalled lists of semantically similar and dissimilar items across various experimental conditions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

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

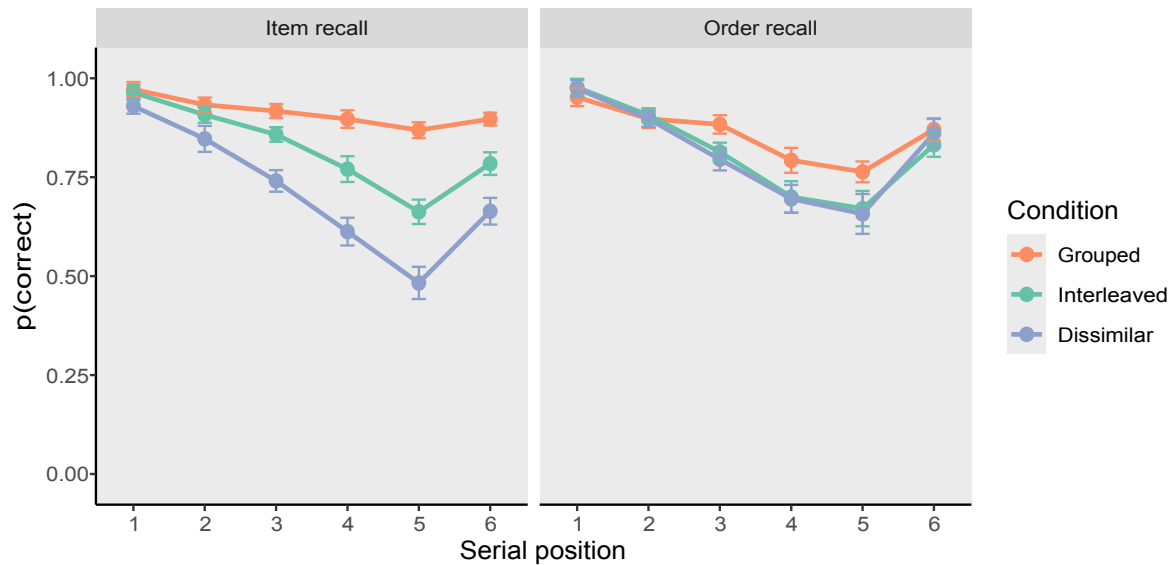
280 **Benchmark #6: The Separation Effect**

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.,

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

Figure 6

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”,**

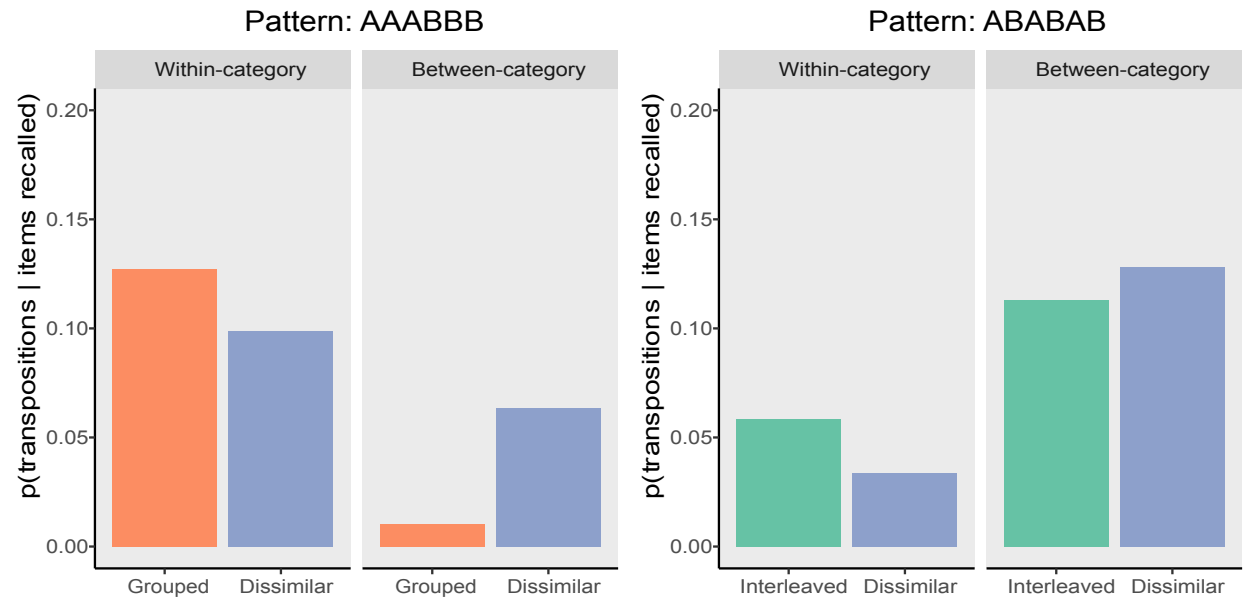
329 people rarely produce confusion errors such as “**leopard** – **puma** – Denmark – **tiger** – Belgium –
 330 Switzerland”. Instead, when any confusion error occurred, it involved mostly items from the
 331 same semantic category. In contrast, items in the dissimilar condition moved throughout the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

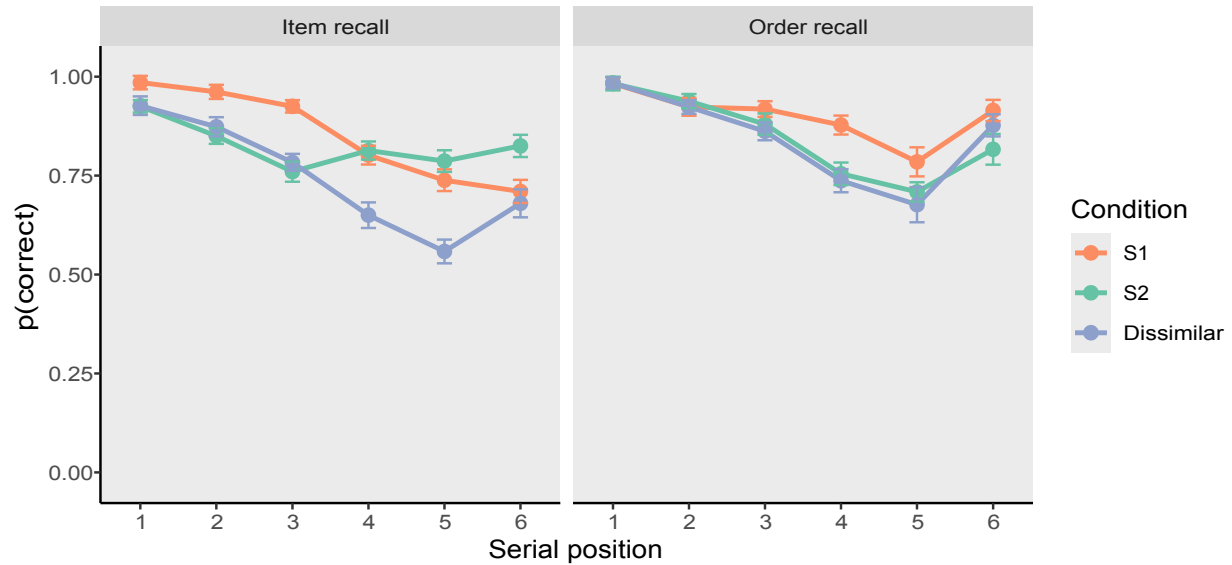
354
355 **Benchmark #8: Semantic Similarity Proactively Impacts Working Memory Performance**

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

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

Figure 8

Proactive Beneficial Effect of Semantic Similarity



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

Empirical Section: Summary

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

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).

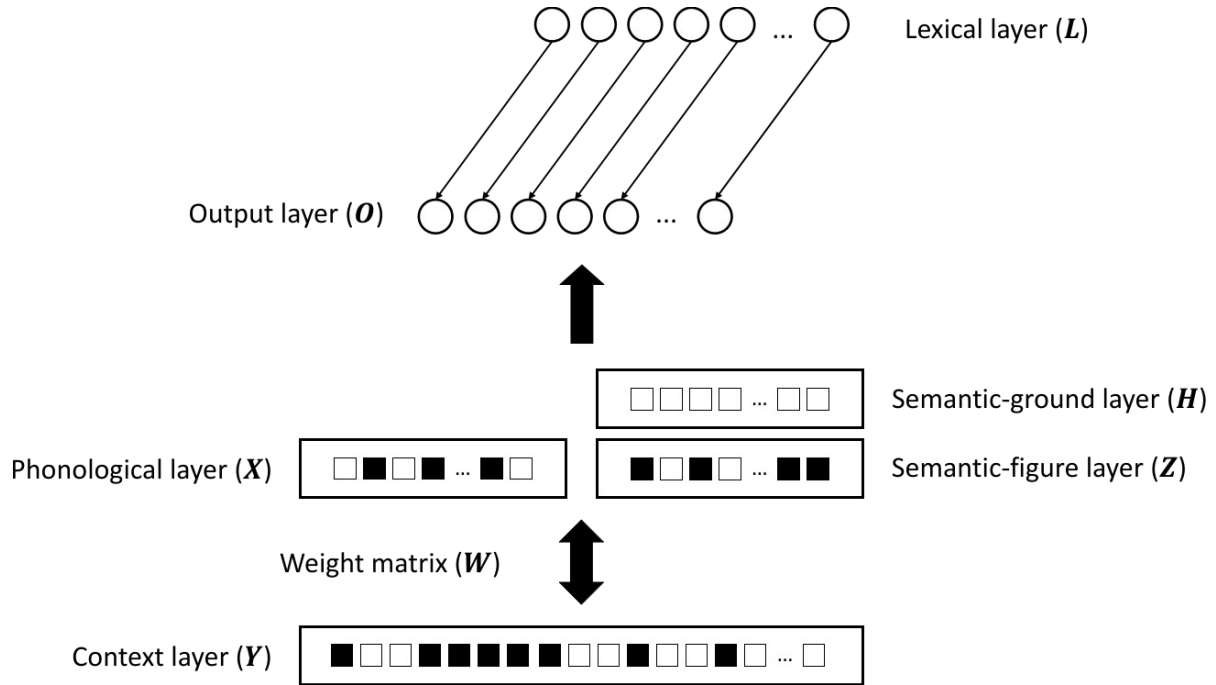
410 Encoding into WM is done by associating items to contexts. For instance, when presented
 411 with the sequence “flower – pancake – leopard”, the model associates “flower” to position 1,
 412 “pancake” to position 2, and so on. The core WM representation is stored in these associations

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 .

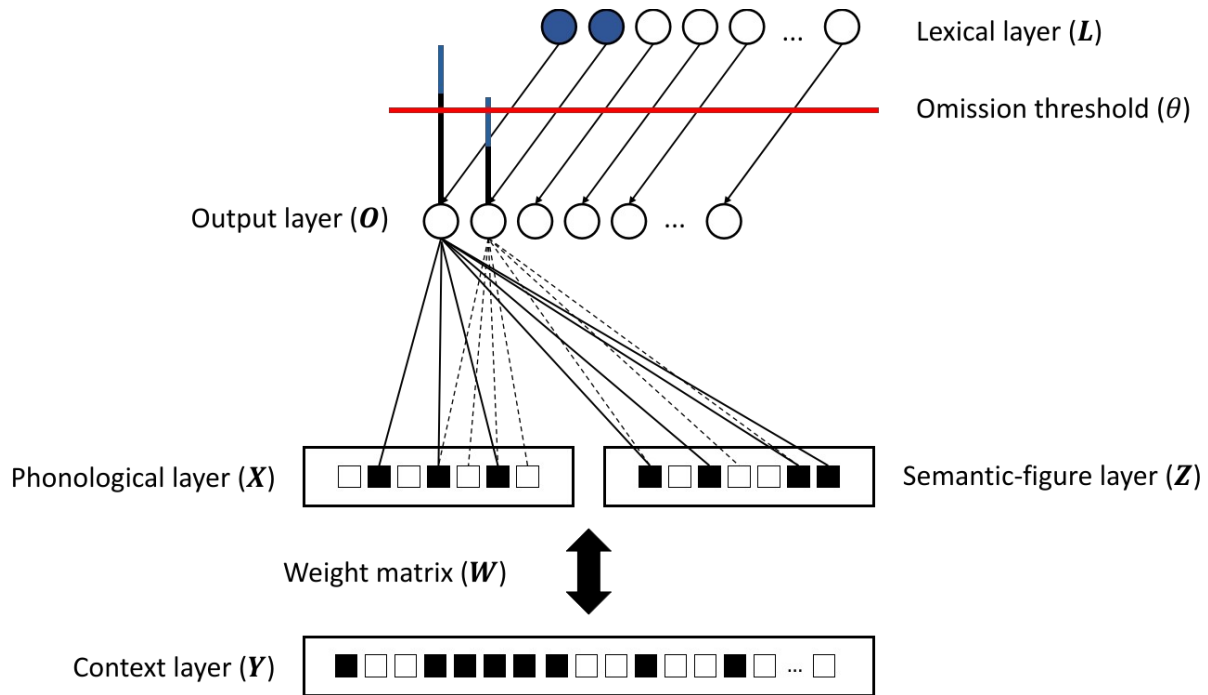
459 The distorted representation of the to-be-recalled item cannot be produced as response
 460 directly. Instead, an item must be produced by selecting among a set of retrieval candidates
 461 (Schweickert, 1993). In immediate serial recall of words, the retrieval candidates are the words
 462 stored 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,

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

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

Figure 10

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

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

503

504 **Semantic Encoding Mechanism**

Each time an item is encoded, it triggers the activation of the items' associated semantic features in different modality-specific regions across the neo-cortex (Binder et al., 2009; Binder & Desai, 2011; Lambon-Ralph et al., 2017). One important aspect of our implementation is the way semantic features are encoded (i.e., bound to their positional context). We assume that only semantic features shared among several items are encoded in this way. In a list in which items are drawn from the same taxonomic category, only the items' features characteristic for that category will be encoded, which boils down to encoding the category itself. For instance, when encountering a list such as "knife – sword – dagger", people maintain features common to all items, such as "hurts people", "is dangerous", "is a weapon", etc. This mechanism implies that in a list containing semantically dissimilar items, only a negligible number of shared semantic 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	
	v_2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	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	1	0			
	v_2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	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.

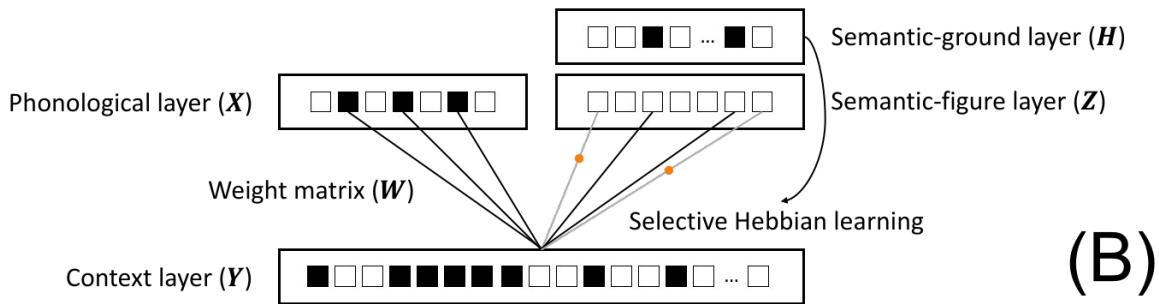
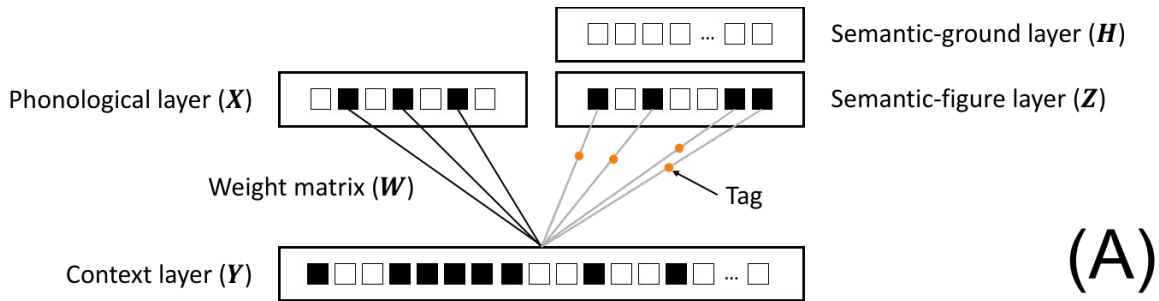
530 Suppose two vectors, v_1 and v_2 , representing the phonological and the semantic features of two
 531 items that are bound to their respective positional contexts, as illustrated in **Figure 11**. In a
 532 condition in which these two vectors are semantically dissimilar (upper panel), all semantic
 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.

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

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

Depending on the relevance of a semantic feature over the course of the trial, a new association may be formed using the tags. This is where the second mechanism comes into play. Shared semantic information is kept active thanks to a threshold mechanism which controls the persistent activation of items' semantic features in the semantic-ground layer. Longer-lasting 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.

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:

$$\Delta W_{xy} = \eta_k X_x Y_y \quad \text{Eq. 1}$$

611

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

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

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

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

$$L_i = a \quad \text{Eq. 3}$$

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:

$$C_{jk} = P^{|j-k|} \quad \text{Eq. 4}$$

654

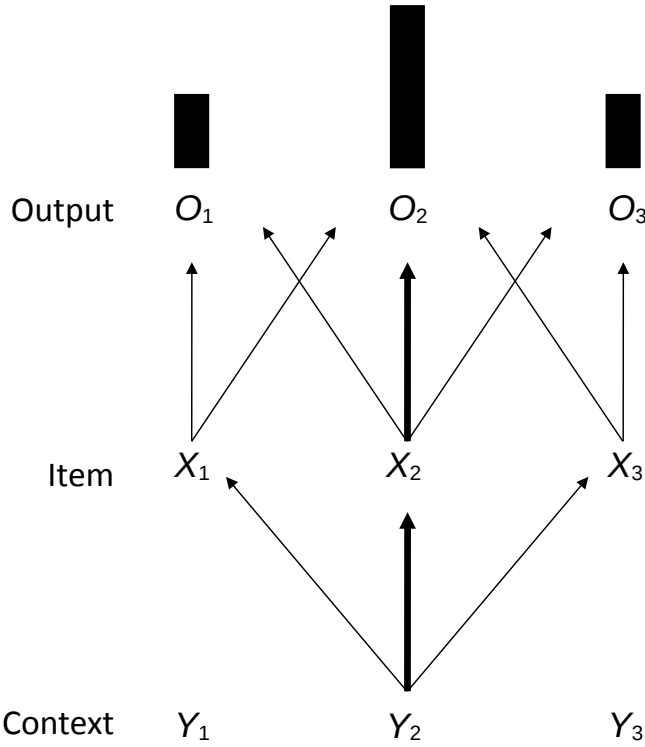
655 *Retrieval*

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 \mathbf{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

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:

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

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:

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

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:

$$\Delta L_i = -L_i \epsilon \quad \text{Eq. 9}$$

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/mmihaltz/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 \mathbf{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 \mathbf{W} are
 745 first *tagged* based on the activations in the semantic-figure layer, \mathbf{Z} , and in the context layer, \mathbf{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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$I_z = a \quad \text{Eq. 12}$$

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

$$\Delta T_z = -T_z I_z \quad \text{Eq. 13}$$

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

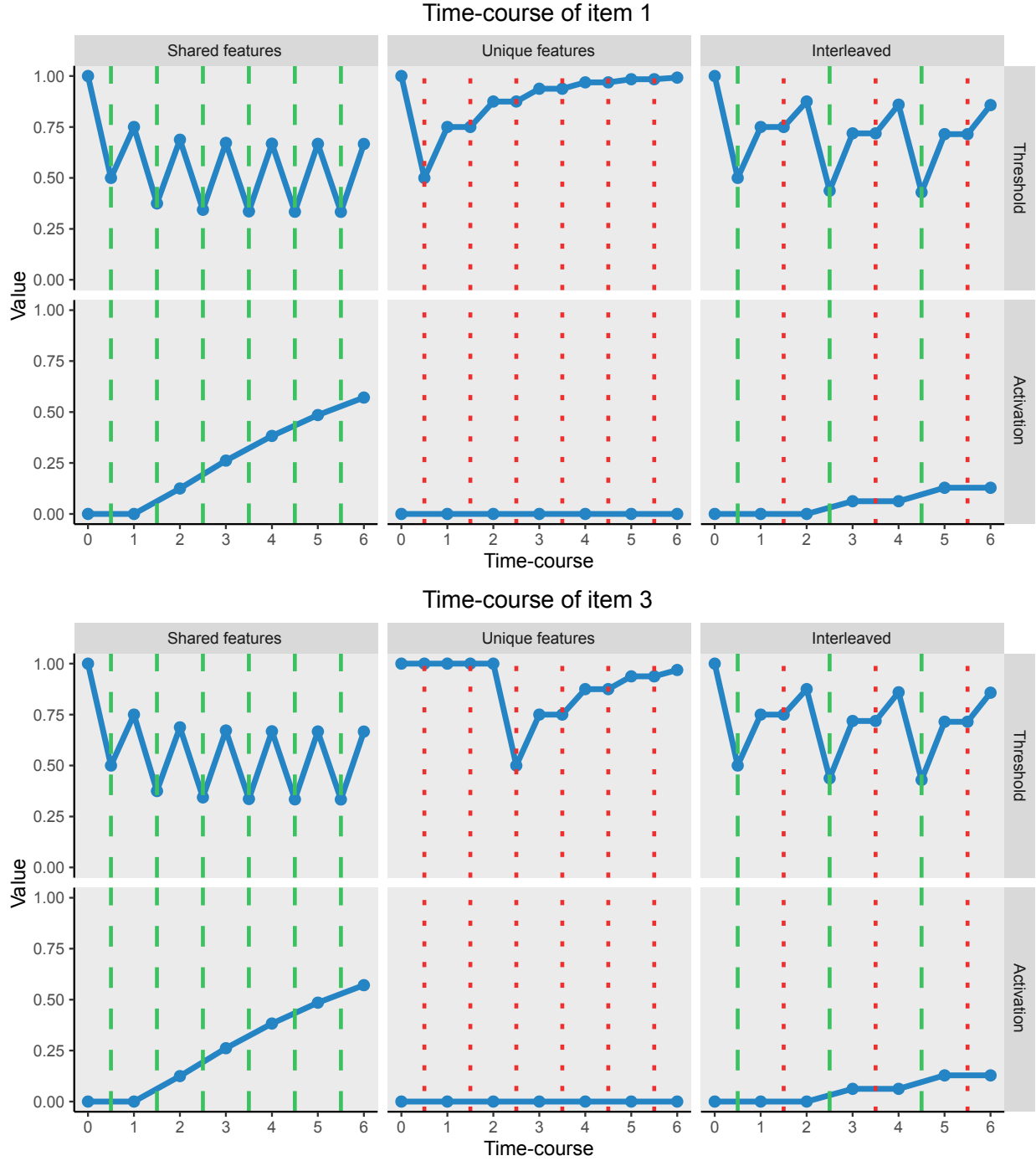
During the presentation of a new item, the thresholds recover half of their value:

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

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

Figure 14

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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} :

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

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:

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

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

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

Parameter Estimation

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

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

We used the deviance as loss function:

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

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

For instance, suppose the model tries to retrieve the first item in a three-item list. The model might generate a pattern of activation in the output layer \mathbf{O} which looks like this: [1.0 0.3 0.09].⁵ Applying Eq. 7 using a noise parameter $\sigma = 0.5$, the probability to retrieve each retrieval candidate is: [0.7099 0.1751 0.115]. If the participant recalled the second item for that particular 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.

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

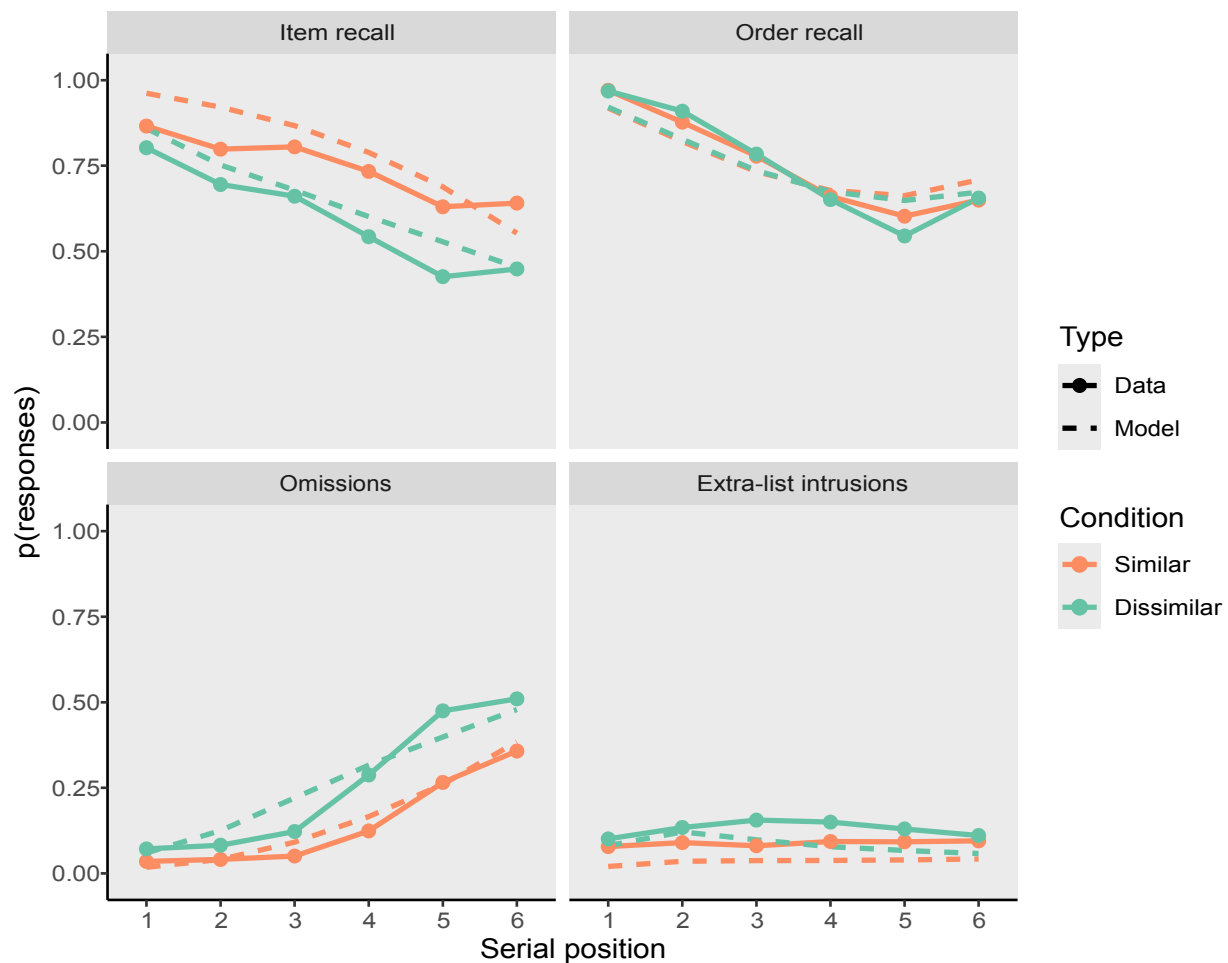
Model Results

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

(primacy and recency) for order errors, omissions, and extra-list intrusions. Importantly, the model predicts the recall advantage for similar vs. dissimilar items (upper left panel). This contribution comes from a reduction of omission errors in the similar condition (lower left panel), but also a reduction of extra-list intrusions (lower right panel). Finally, the model predicts 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*

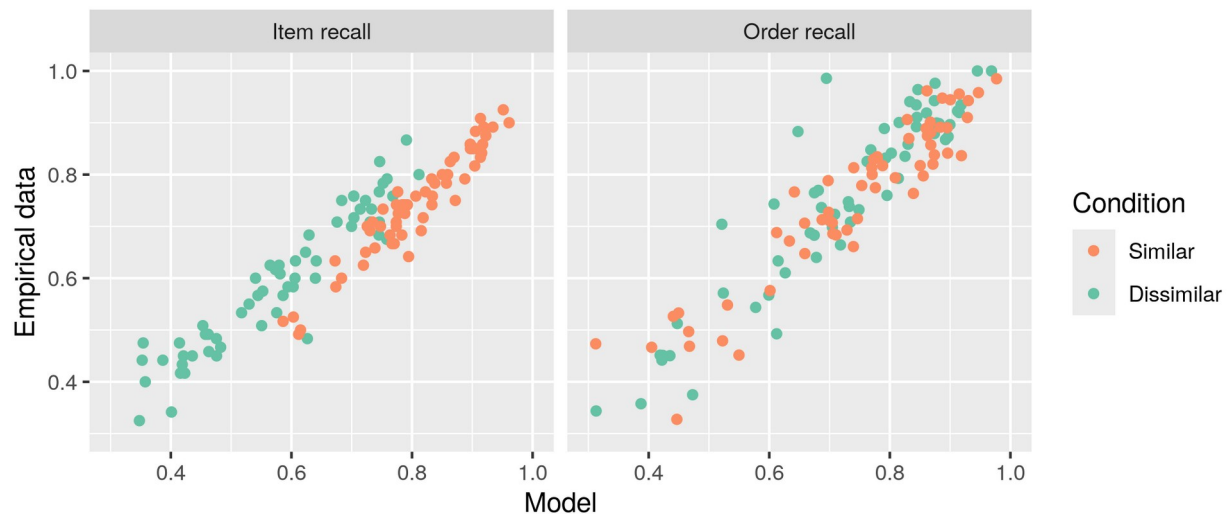
Note. The model reproduces the general semantic similarity effect, with (1) a reduction of omission for lists composed of semantically similar than dissimilar items, (2) a reduction of

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

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

Figure 16

Individual Fits from Simulation #1

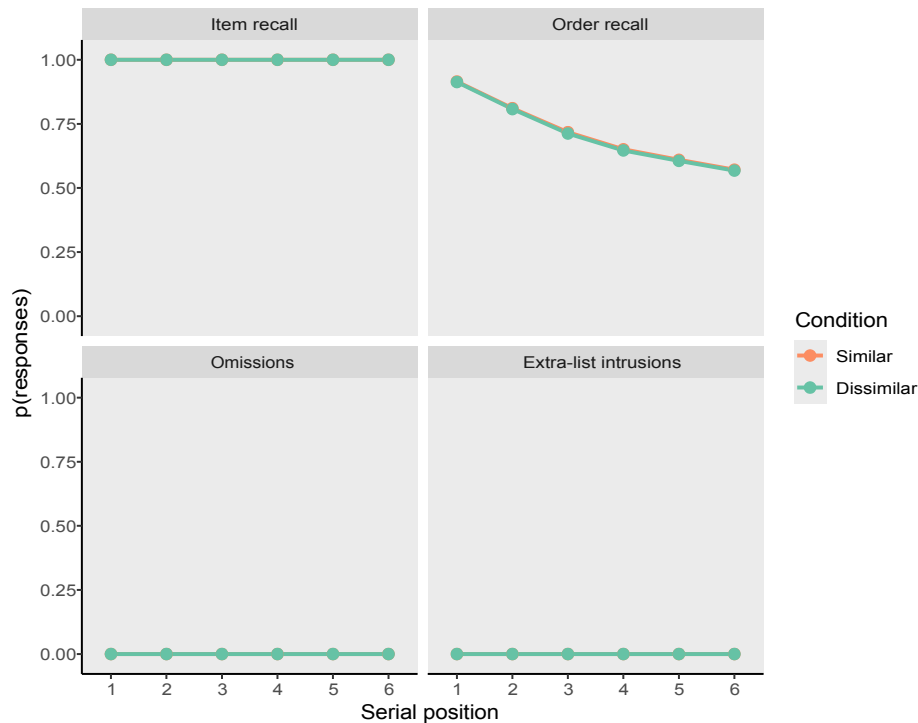


Note. Correlation between the model's performance (x-axis) and the empirical data (y-axis). Left panel: Item recall criterion. Right panel: Order recall criterion.

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

Figure 17

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

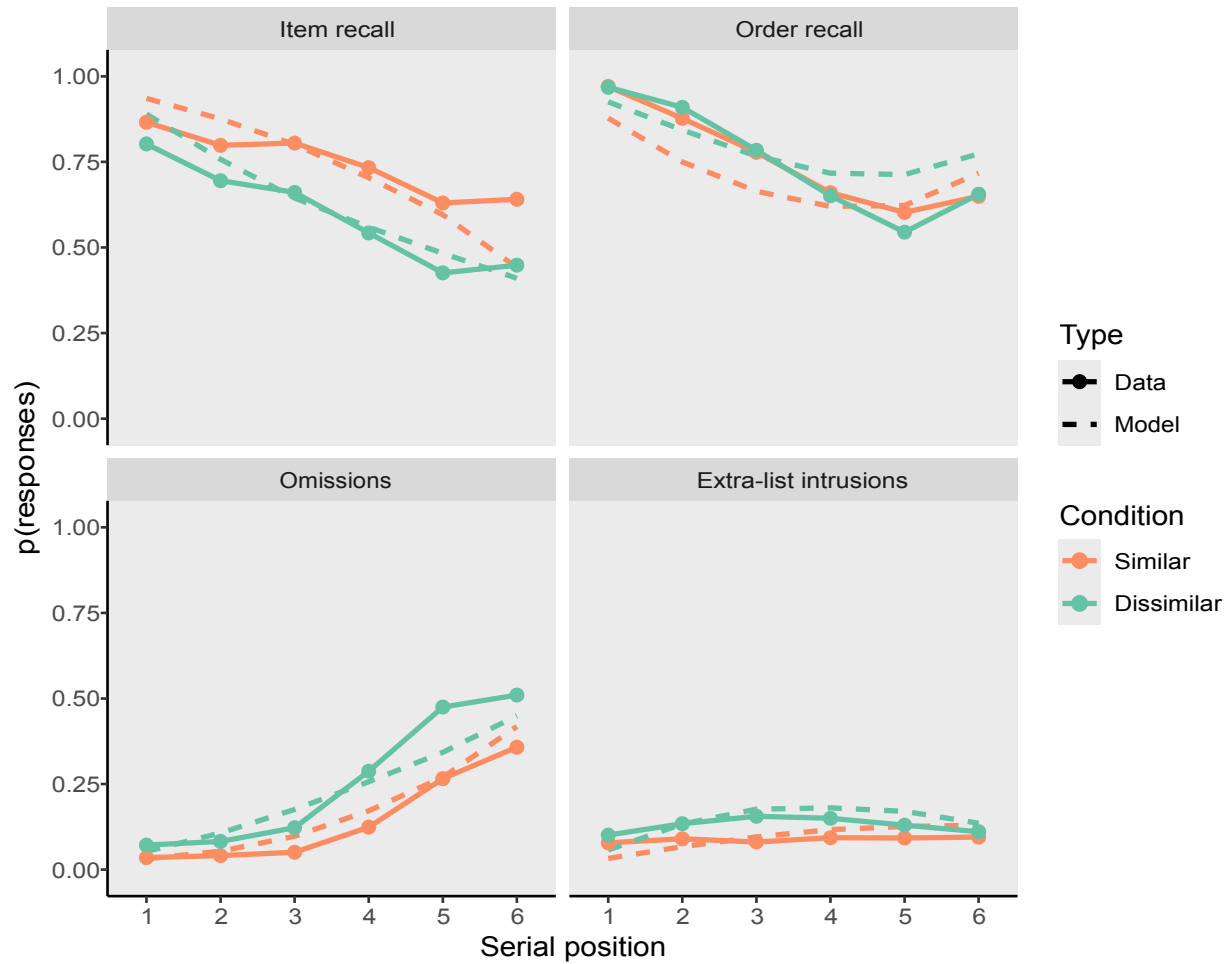


Note. When tested on reconstruction of order, the model successfully reproduces the absence of semantic similarity on order recall. There is no omission and no extra-list intrusion possible in reconstruction of order, because the only items available at retrieval are the memoranda. The model was run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

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

Figure 18

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 Kowaliewski, Krasnoff, et
 971 al. (2023), Experiment 1a.

972

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

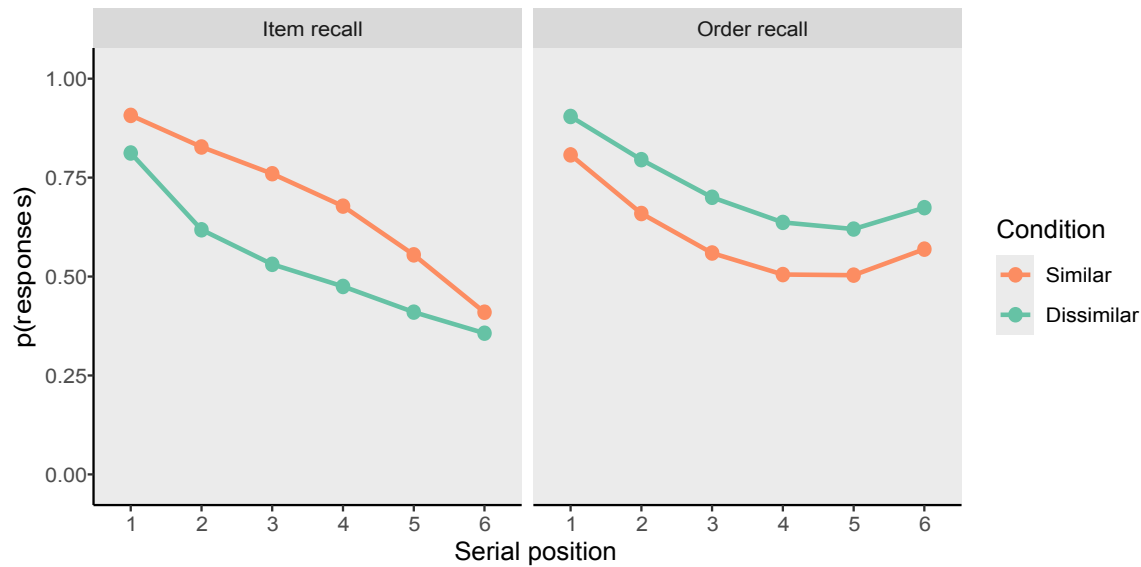
974 The previous simulations show a null effect of semantic similarity on order recall, which
 975 means that semantic similarity did not increase confusions errors. To understand why, we need to

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

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

Figure 19

Rhyming Similarity in Immediate Serial Recall – Model Predictions



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

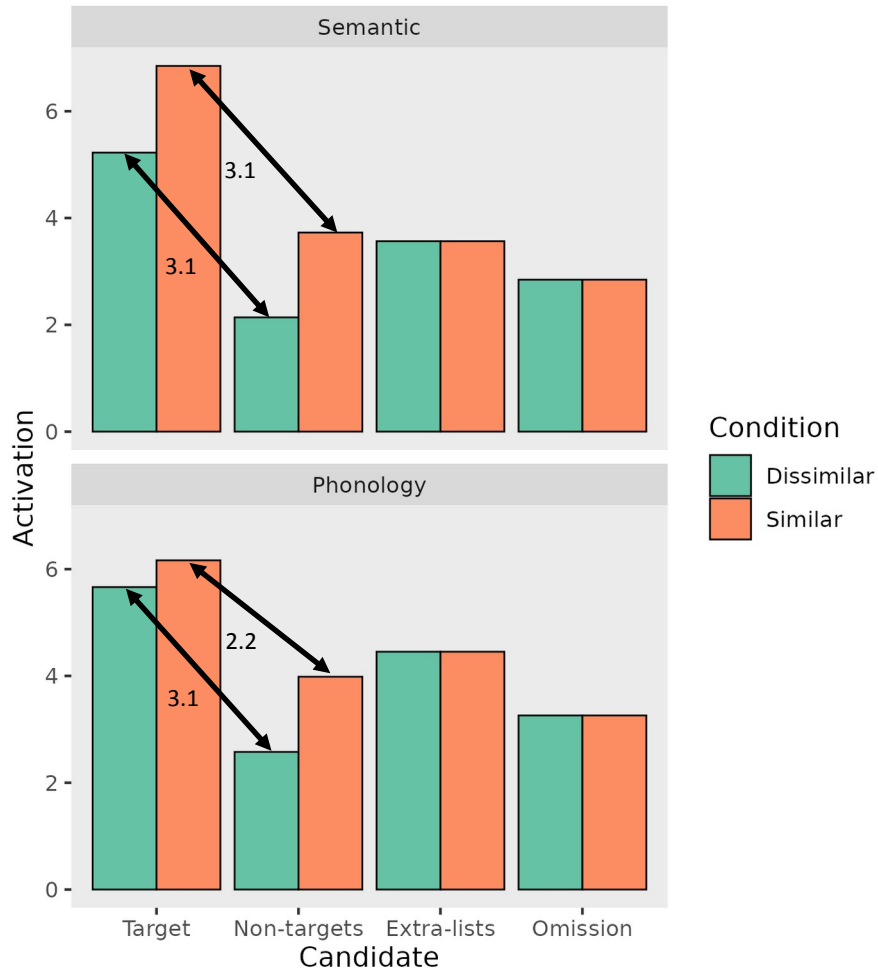
To understand this discrepancy between semantic and phonological similarity, we computed the items' activation at retrieval. Each time the model attempts to retrieve an item, the activation associated with the target item, non-target items, extra-list items, and the omission threshold were extracted.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

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

1010

1011 **Figure 20**

1012 *Activation Values Produced by the Model at Retrieval*



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

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

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

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

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

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

1037

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

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

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 *
 1069 1.0 in 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:

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

1076 In the similar condition, this gives:

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

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:

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

1093 In the similar condition:

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

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

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

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

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

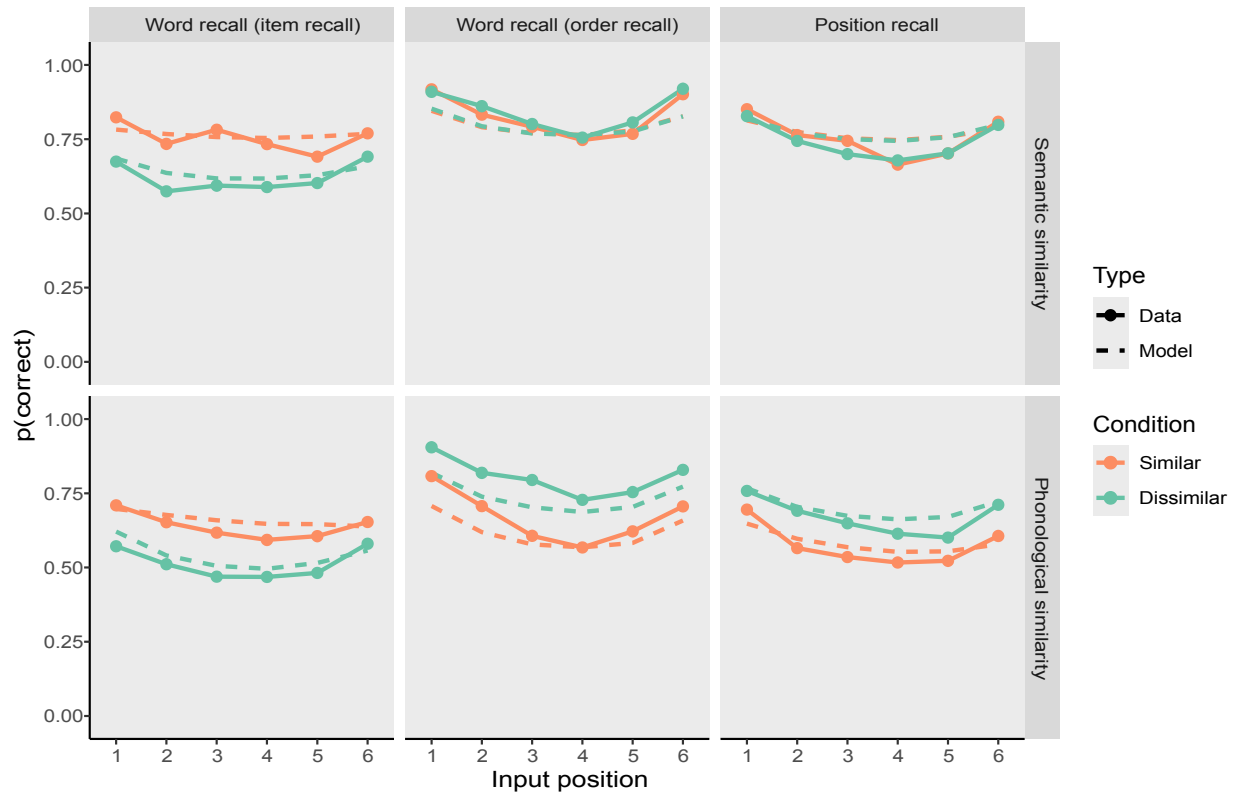
1119

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.

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

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

Simulation #4 – Semantic Similarity and Task Difficulty

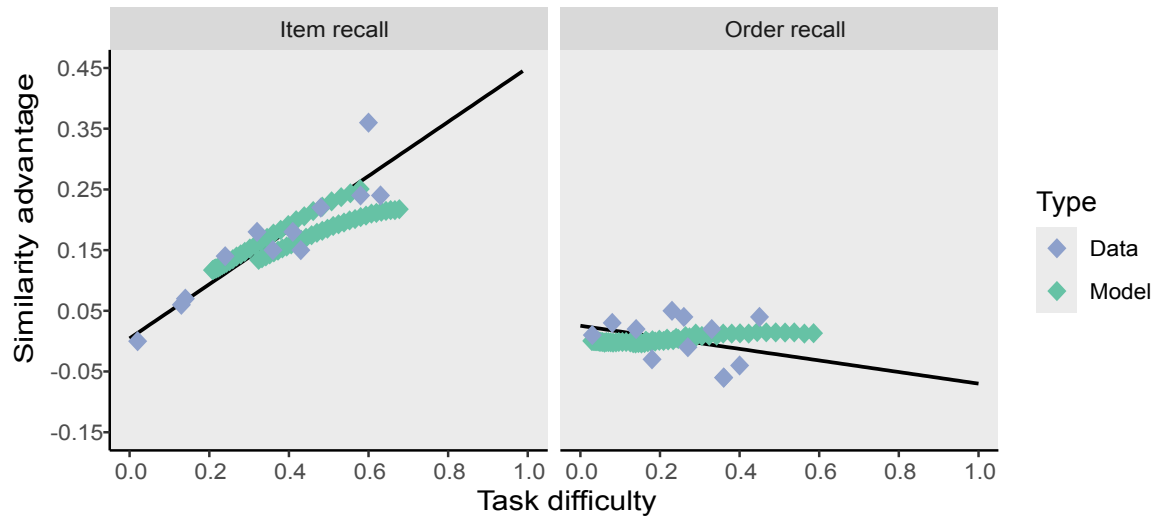
Serial recall of semantically similar lists is more resistant to task difficulty manipulations than recall of semantically dissimilar lists (Kowialiewski & Majerus, 2020; Neale & Tehan, 2007). We simulated Neale and Tehan's results, who observed that the magnitude of the semantic similarity effect on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

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

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

Figure 22

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.

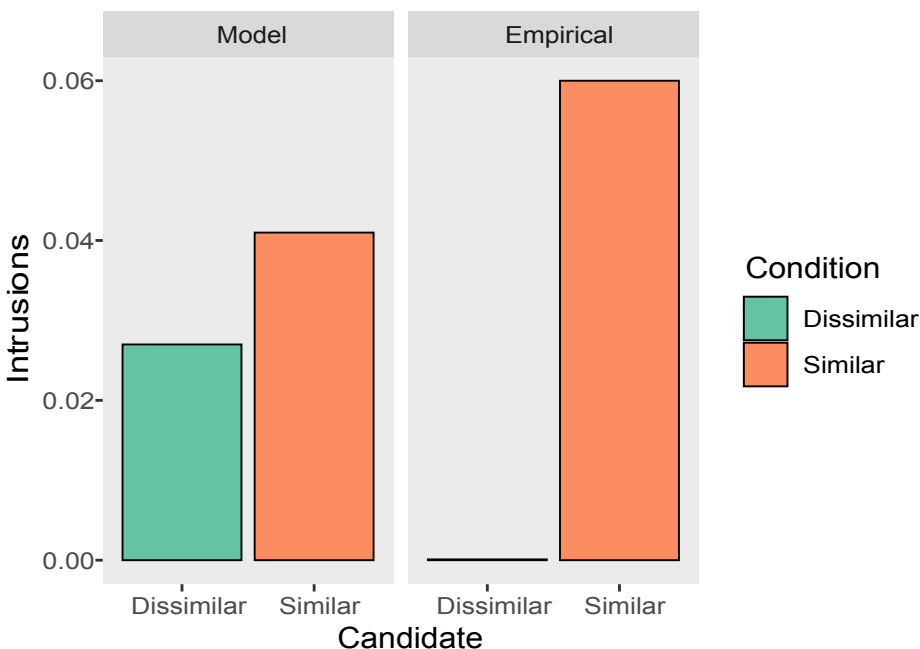
1193 Results from this simulation, reported in **Figure 23**, show that the model accounts reasonably
 1194 well for this phenomenon: The critical lure is recalled much more often in the similar than the
 1195 dissimilar list. Whereas in the experiment the critical lure was practically never recalled 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

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

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

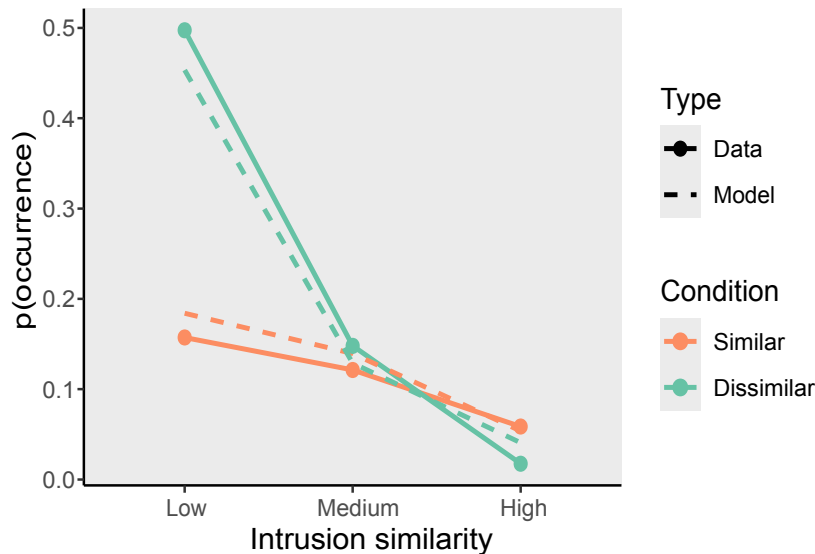
Where \mathbf{w} is a vector of weights whose values are fixed to 1.0, except for non-list items $n+1:n+3$ for which the \mathbf{w} was set to the proportion of words in each bin. For those retrieval candidates, we kept the original phonological similarity value S_2 as used in previous simulations. By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

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

1237

1238 **Figure 24**

1239 *Distribution of intrusion errors*



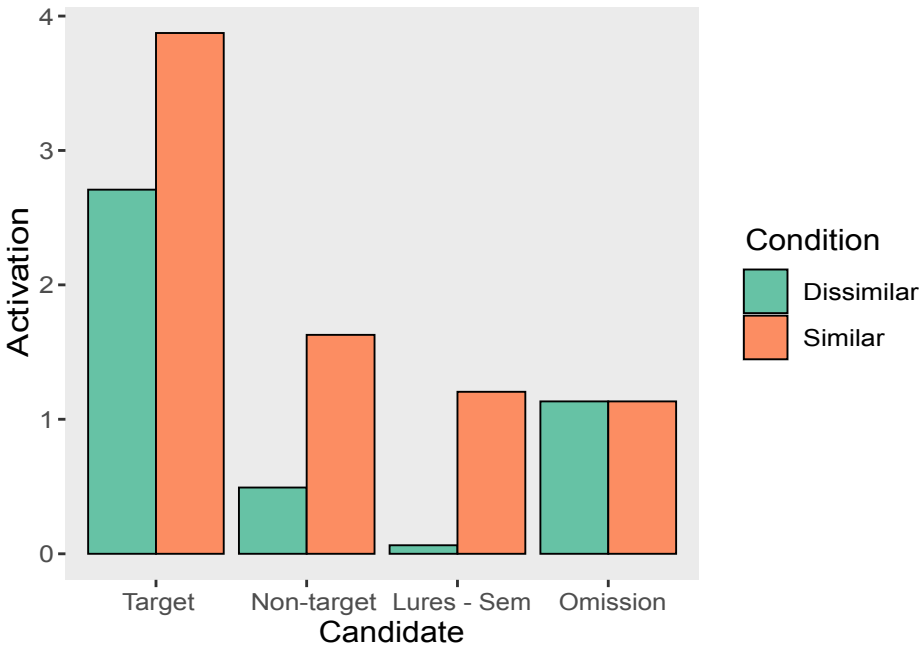
1240 *Note.* Proportion of intrusion errors as a function of semantic similarity (similar vs. dissimilar).

1241

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

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

Figure 25
Activation Values Produced by the Model at Retrieval



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

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

Simulation #6 – The Separation Effect

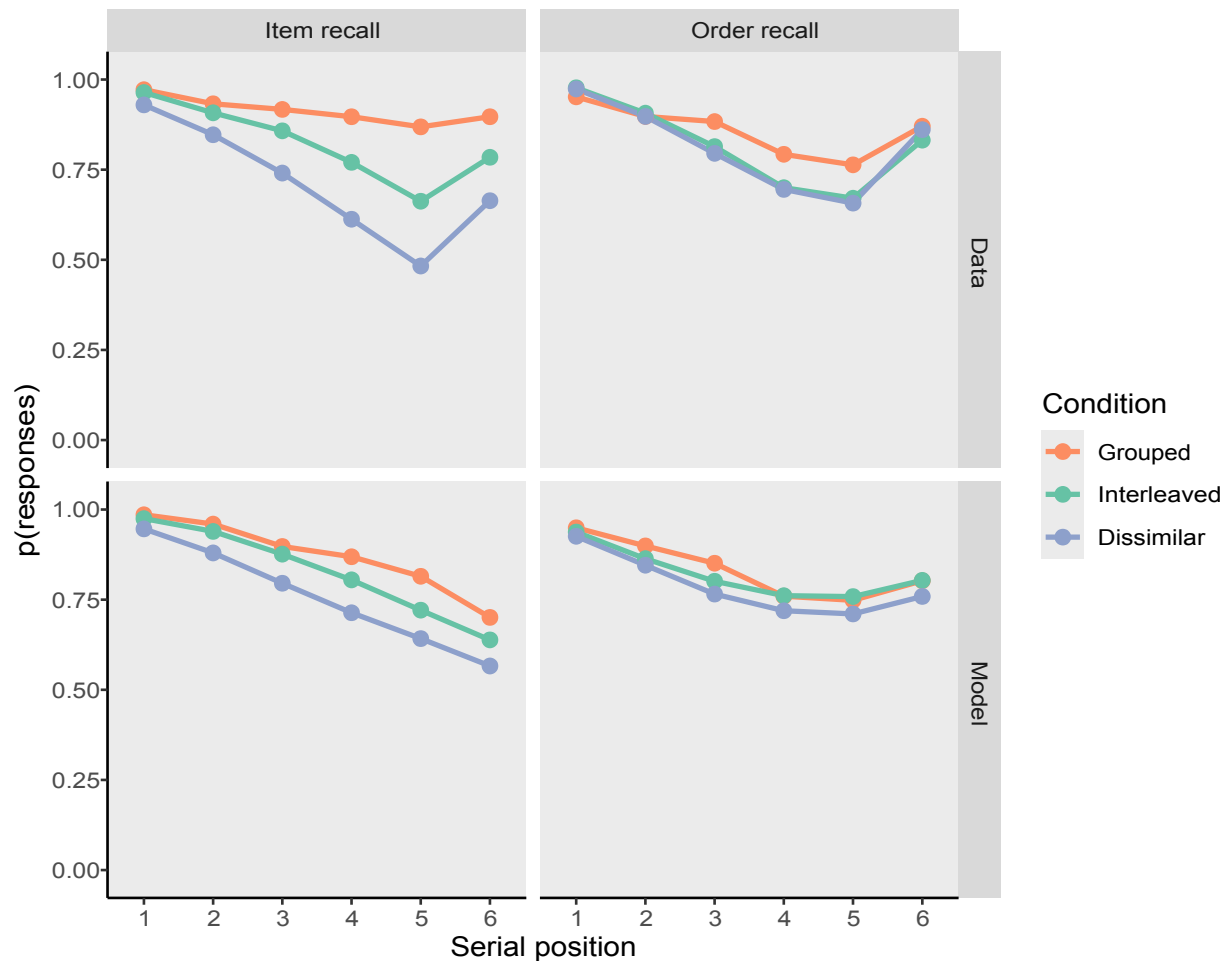
In the separation effect, semantically similar items are better recalled if encoded at close vs. distant serial positions. We fitted the model to the data reported in Kowialiewski, Majerus, et al. (2023), Experiment 1. The experiment involved three conditions: grouped, interleaved, and dissimilar. In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

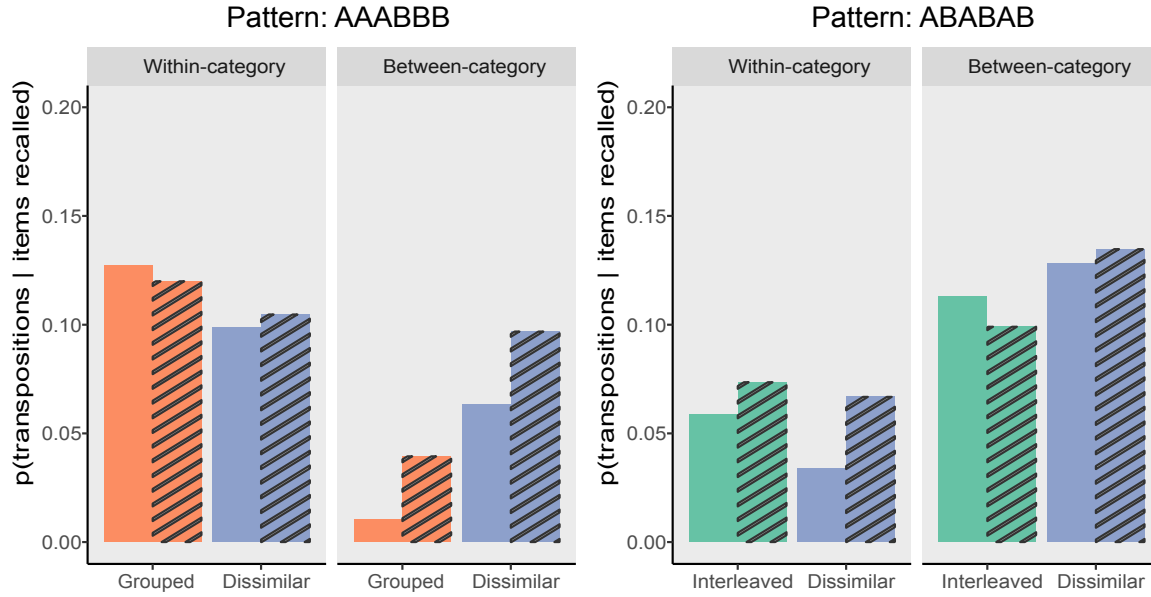
1294

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

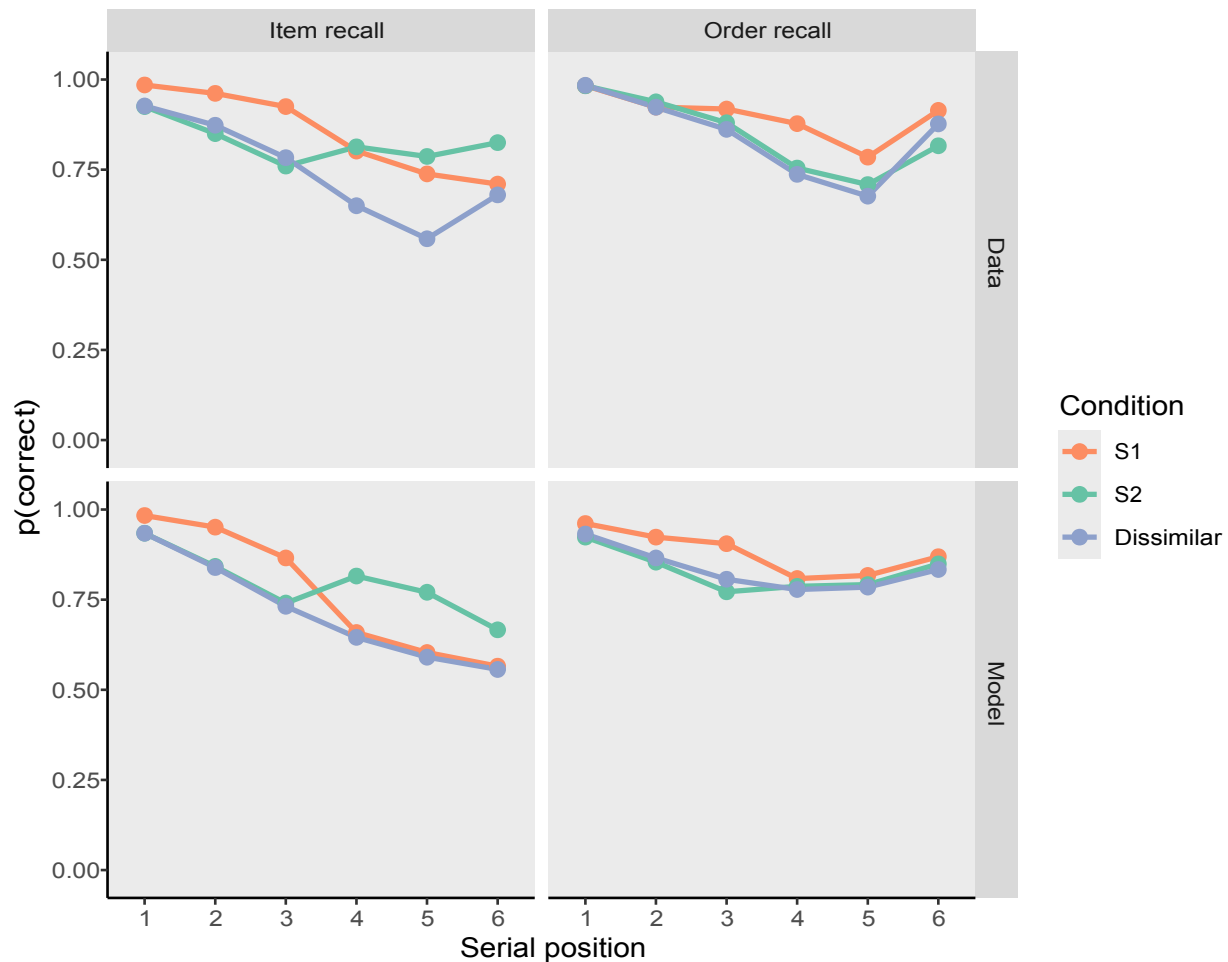
similar (i.e., both items receive a constant boost). Items' activation value is now: [1.5, 0.833, 0.111, 0.037], and their probability to be retrieved is: [0.725, 0.191, 0.045, 0.039]. The proportion of within and between-category transposition is now: 0.916 and 0.084, respectively.

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 decrease of between-category transposition, the target item is recalled more often in the correct position, because it migrates less often towards positions 3 and 4. In addition, because of the property described in Eq. 19 through 21, confusion errors do not increase between semantically similar items. If we compute the odds of retrieving item 1 relatively to item 2 in the first scenario, we get: $0.634 / 0.167 = 3.796$. In the second scenario, this gives: $0.725 / 0.191 = 3.796$. These are the core reasons why the model reproduces the pattern of migration errors observed in the empirical data.

Simulation #8 – Proactive and Retroactive Effects

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

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

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

Simulations: Summary

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

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

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1385

General Discussion

1386

We propose a computational model that offers a comprehensive explanation for the effects

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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

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

Does Working Memory Encode Semantics?

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

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

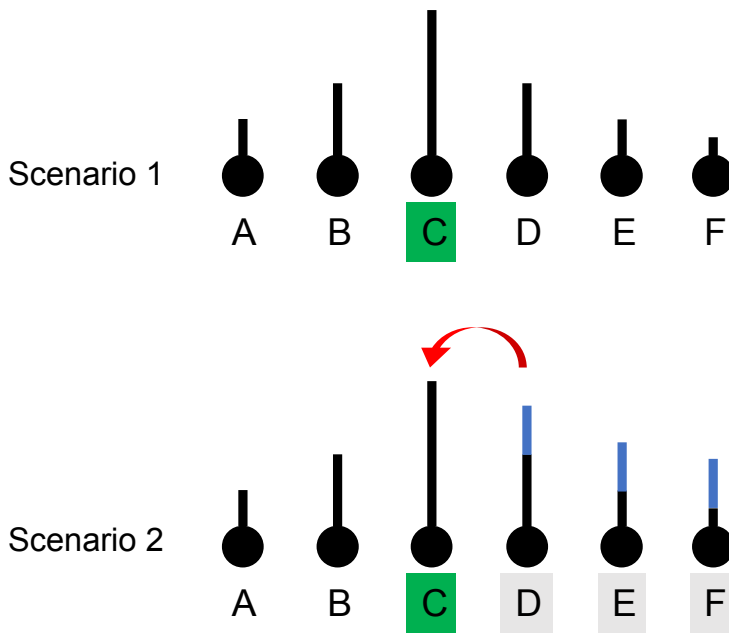
We considered this spreading activation mechanism as an alternative to the model presented in this study. We report additional simulations involving the spreading activation model in **Appendix A**. To summarize the results, such a model assuming that semantic features are not bound to context performs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

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

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

Figure 29

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Proactive Benefit

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

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

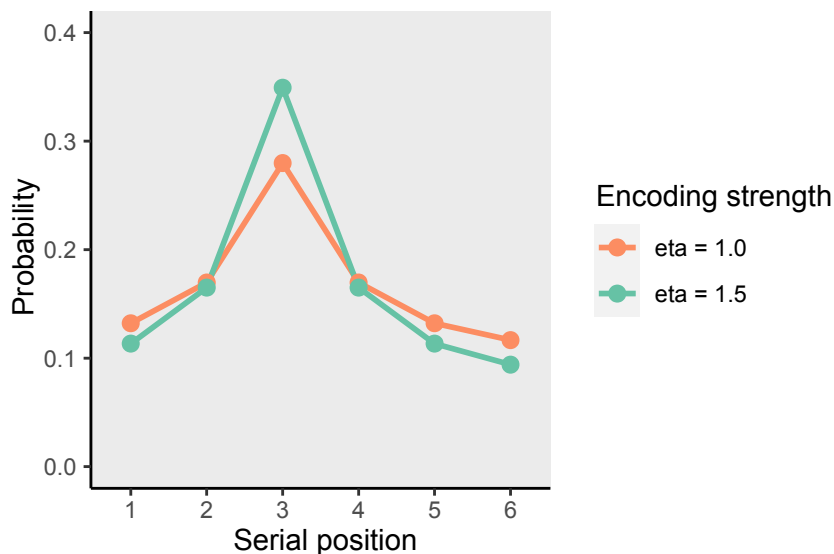
Simulations have shown the ability of decay and refreshing models to create a proactive benefit, and no retroactive effect. There are, however, problems posed by this explanation. First, in a list composed of completely similar items, better order recall for the similar items themselves is expected,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

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

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

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

Figure 30
Probability of Retrieving a Target Item Compared to a Non-Target Item as a Function of Binding Strength



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

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 (Thalman 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

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

Conclusion

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

$$\Delta L_i = \mu_{Fj} \quad \text{Eq. 24}$$

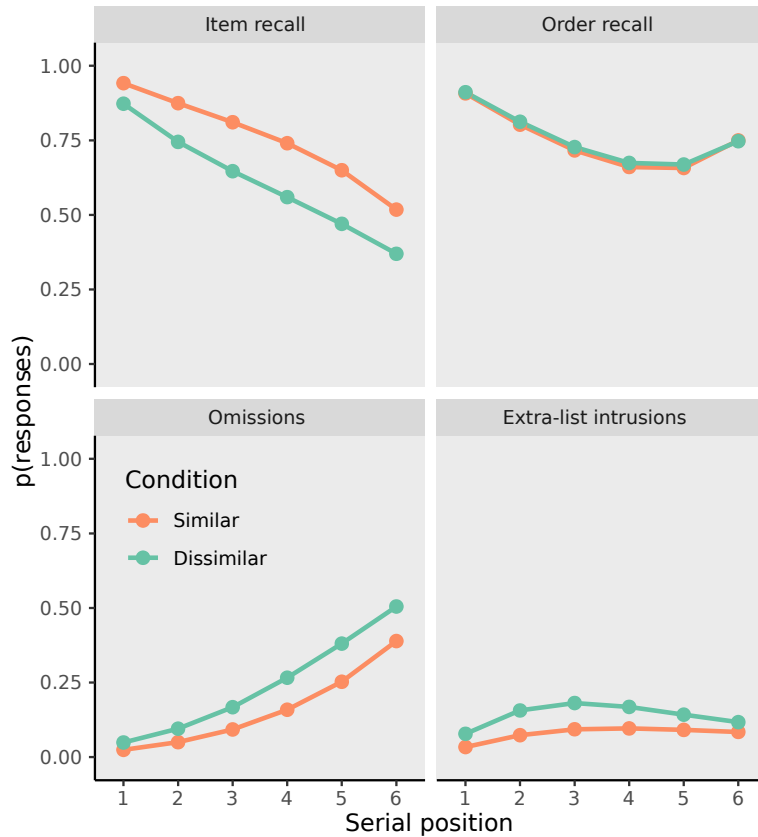
1666

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

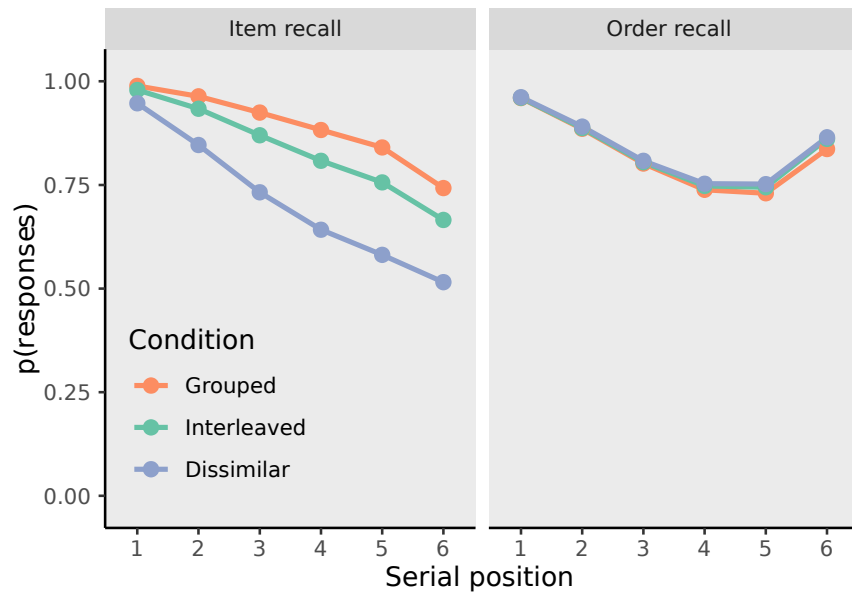
1677 **Figure A1**

1678 *Semantic Similarity in Immediate Serial Recall*



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

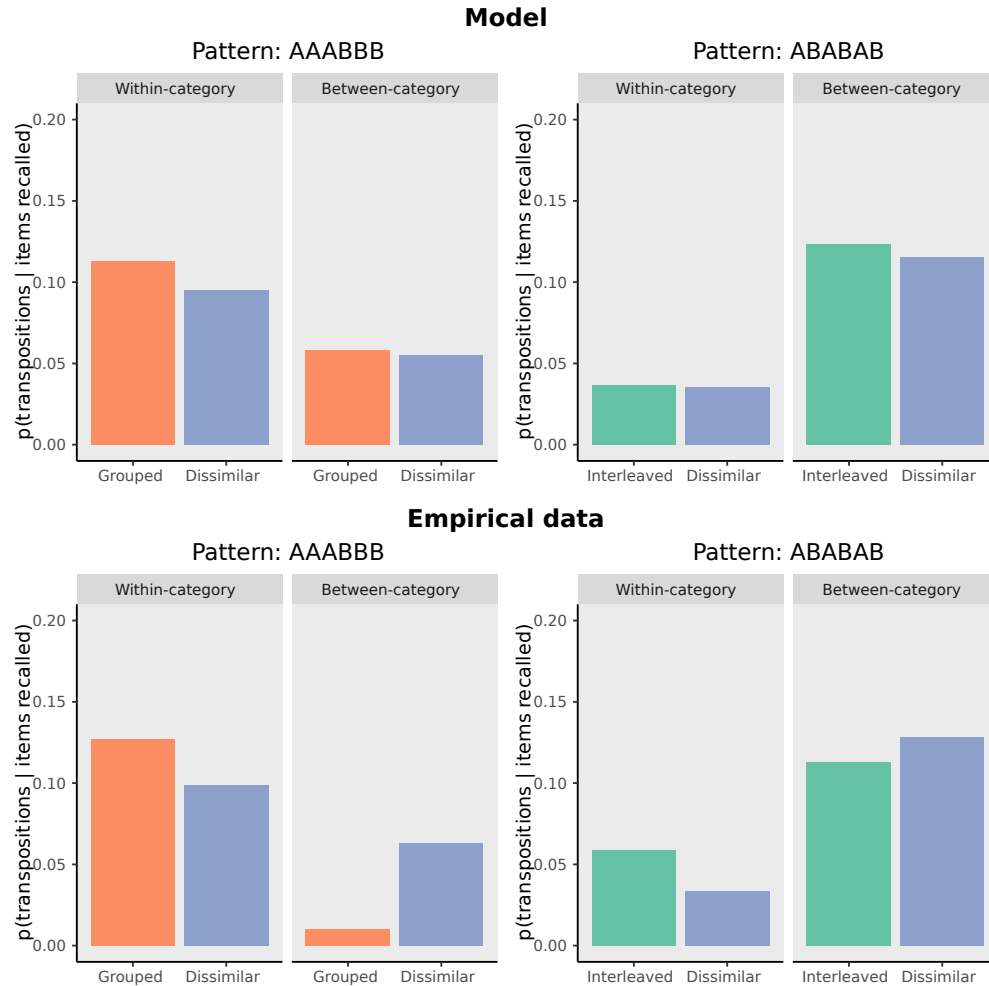
Figure A2

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**

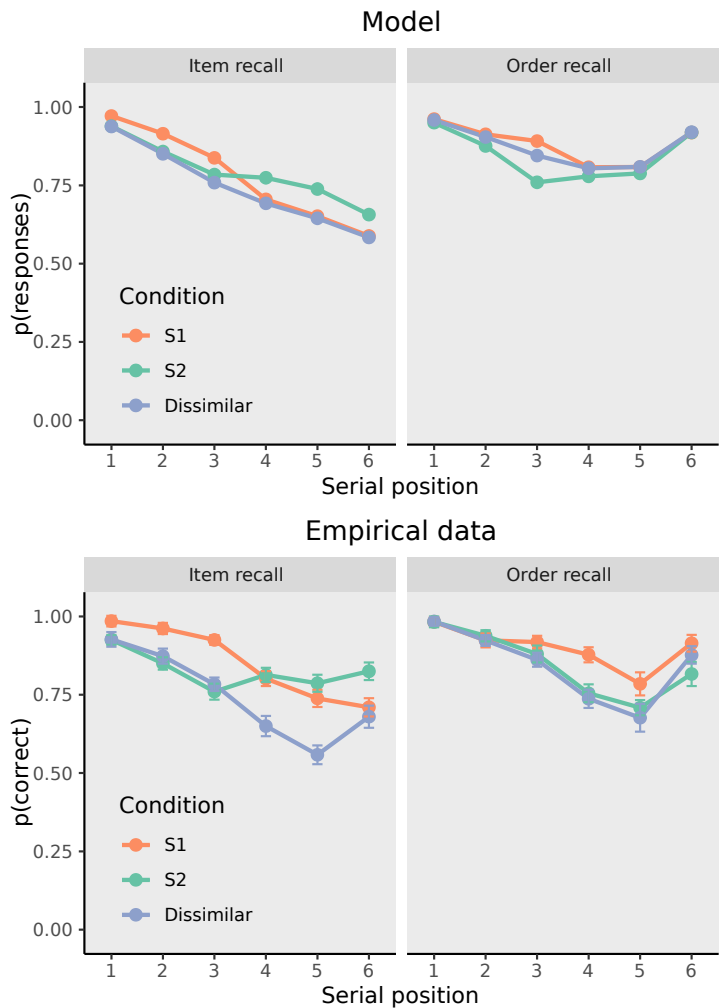


1701 Last, **Figure A4** shows the model's predictions on proactive and retroactive benefits. As
 1702 can be seen, the spreading activation mechanism shows a substantial deleterious retroactive
 1703 impact on order recall, contrary to experimental data. This problem is explained in further details
 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 **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

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

Figure A4

Proactive and Retroactive Effects



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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