

# Structural differences in the semantic networks of younger and older adults

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## Abstract

Cognitive science invokes semantic networks to explain diverse phenomena from reasoning to memory retrieval and creativity. While diverse approaches are available, researchers commonly assume a single underlying semantic network that is shared across individuals. Yet, semantic networks are considered the product of experience implying that individual who make different experiences should possess different semantic networks. By studying differences between younger and older adults, we demonstrate that this is the case. Using a network analytic approach and diverse empirical data, we present converging evidence of age-related differences in semantic networks of groups and, for the first time, individuals. Specifically, semantic networks of older adults exhibited larger degrees, less clustering, and longer path lengths. Furthermore, the edge weight distributions of older adults individual networks exhibited significantly more skew and higher entropy across node pairs and, except for unrelated node pairs, less inter-individual agreement, suggesting that older adults networks are generally more distinct than younger adults networks. Our results challenge the common conception of a single semantic network shared by individuals and highlight the importance of individual differences in cognitive modeling. They also present valuable benchmarks to discern between theories of age-related changes in cognitive performance.

*Keywords:* Semantic memory, Network analysis, Mental Lexicon, Cognitive Aging

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## 1. Introduction

Semantic networks are a key ingredient of research in diverse areas of cognitive science [1, 2, 3]. With diverse cognitive processes operating on them, they have delivered explanations to important cognitive phenomena concerning reasoning [4], free associations and similarity ratings [5], language development [6, 7, 8], creativity [9, 10], or search in memory in healthy individuals [11, 12] and patients [13]. For instance, De Deyne et al. [14] showed that a random walk process spreading through a semantic network will take account of indirect connections between concepts permitting better prediction of human judgments of similarity than any modeling focusing alone on the two concepts at hand. Key such approaches of modeling human cognition is the availability of semantic networks. Studies have relied on networks derived from multiple sources including man-made taxonomies [4, 15], human association data [16, 17], network growth models [7, 18], or machine learning algorithms learning from natural language [19, 20]. Commonly, such approaches take a one-size-fits-all approach in that they assume a single semantic network to describe all individuals or, at least, groups of individuals. However, this introduces the problems of aggregation. Semantic networks are the product of experience and learning [21, 22]. Assuming that everyone possesses the same semantic network is, thus, equal to assuming that people have made identical experiences in their. While some consistency is expected due social forces, such as communication and coordination [23], one must individuals' semantic networks to differ in both content and structure. This should be particularly the case in comparisons younger and older adults. Older adults have been exposed to more and more different experiences, which should have left traces in their semantic networks. To date little is known on how aging or other individual differences impact people's semantic networks. To fill this gap, we use network analytic approaches and diverse empirical data to uncover age-related differences in semantic networks of groups and individuals.

### 1.1. *The Aging Mental Lexicon*

Compared to the ability to solve abstract problems or to quickly process incoming information, which tend to decline with age [24], individuals' store of words and concepts, also known as the mental lexicon [14], takes a different trajectory. Research on vocabulary has found vocabulary size to grow into late age [25, 26]. These results imply that semantic networks of older adults

37 should be larger than those of younger adults. This finding alone has inspired  
 38 a provocative hypothesis [27], namely that memory search demands associ-  
 39 ated with larger semantic networks may account for the decline observed in  
 40 other cognitive capacities that otherwise commonly attributed to cognitive  
 41 slowing [24, 28]. Simulation studies have shown that age-related effects on,  
 42 e.g., picture-naming or paired associative learning, can indeed be modeled  
 43 as resulting from a growing semantic network [27, 29], underlining the impor-  
 44 tance of understanding individual differences in semantic networks. Network  
 45 size is one aspect of semantic networks that is subject to change to across  
 46 age. Another is structure. Analogous to networks in other domains [30], the  
 47 structure of semantic networks exhibits small-world structure [31, 32, 33], im-  
 48 plying high local clustering and moderate average shortest path length, and  
 49 a (near) scale-free degree distribution, implying few words with many con-  
 50 nections and many words with few connections [34, 32]. Some evidence exist  
 51 that such macroscopic properties of networks are affected by aging. Using  
 52 data from free word associations, that require individuals to produce asso-  
 53 ciates to word cues presented to them, two recent studies both found older  
 54 adults networks to exhibit a lower average degree ( $\langle k \rangle$ ) and larger average  
 55 shortest path length ( $L$ ), but they did not produce consistent results concern-  
 56 ing which network exhibited the larger average local clustering coefficient ( $C$ )  
 57 [35, 36]. See Materials and Methods for details on network measures. Similar  
 58 to network size, network structure can be expected to impact psychological  
 59 functioning [37, 38, 39, 40]. Work on creativity, for instance, suggests a link  
 60 between the creative abilities and lower path lengths and higher clustering  
 61 [41].

62 Based on previous research, semantic networks can be expected to un-  
 63 dergo noticeable and consequential age-related changes in terms of both size  
 64 and structure. How exactly these changes come about, however, is still rela-  
 65 tively unclear. Approaches to model the growth of semantic networks have  
 66 either focused on language learning during childhood [18, 7, 42] or paid no  
 67 attention to developmental at all [17, 19]. Yet, it seems useful, as a first at-  
 68 tempt to understand aging in semantic networks, to derive predictions from  
 69 existing growth models. To this end, we simulated growth using [32]’s model,  
 70 which was proposed to account for the small-worldness and scale-freeness of  
 71 adult semantic networks. Aside from the size of the network  $|V|$ , this model  
 72 has one parameter  $m$  governing the number of edges created for every new  
 73 node in the network. As we have no assumption, how this parameter, which  
 74 is intimately related to the average number of edges in the network, would

change across the lifespan we implemented three regimes: growing, constant, and declining. Figure 1 shows how growth effects three key indicators of network structure. Crucially, the figure shows that non-increasing  $ms$  are able to produce the same pattern of results observed by empirical studies [36, 35]. This result, which arises from natural unavoidable dependencies between  $\langle k \rangle$ ,  $C$ , and  $L$  [43, 44] implies that a single process may underlie the currently observed differences between younger and older adult semantic networks. One candidate for this process is network degradation [45, 46, 47]. That is, similar to the neuronal networks, the semantic network could be subject to deterioration. A technically similar, but, in spirit, very different explanation, is that  $\langle k \rangle$  declines as a function of increased discrimination [27]. By providing further evidence on the structural differences between younger and older adults we seek to shed some light on the plausibility of either explanation.

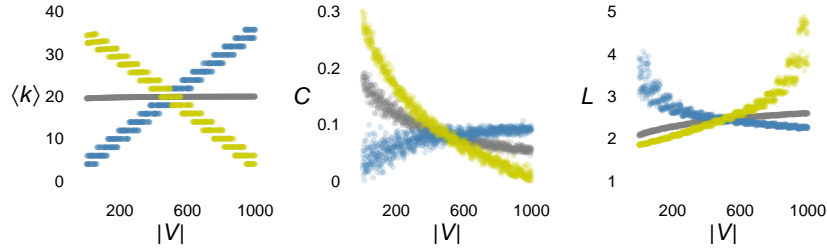


Figure 1: Simulation of semantic network aging using the Steyvers-Tenenbaum growth model. The figure shows changes in average degree ( $k$ , left panel), average local clustering coefficient ( $C$ , middle panel) and average shortest path length ( $L$ , right panel) as a function of three regimes of network growth: stable, declining, and increasing connectivity, in which the number of newly established connections per node is constant (grey), declines (yellow), or increases over time (blue). Results are based on 1,000 repetitions per number of nodes.

## 1.2. Measuring age-related differences in semantic networks

In this study, we will, first, compare semantic networks of older and younger adults derived from several verbal fluency data sets [48] using a novel network inference approach. Verbal fluency tasks require participants to report in a limited time window as many elements of a natural category, such as animals or countries [49]. Using this data, we seek to confirm the existing findings using a different method and different data sets. Second, we extend existing findings by measuring individual-level semantic networks via a similarity rating tasks. This allows us to sidestep two methodological

97 problems associated with aggregate networks. First, there is no good way  
 98 to average across the presence and absence of edges and nodes. As a result,  
 99 aggregate networks usually reflect the union of individual networks rather  
 100 than their average, rendering the aggregate network unrepresentative of in-  
 101 dividual networks. Second, aggregate networks prevent standard statistical  
 102 inferences, as they provide only a single observation of its structural prop-  
 103 erties. We overcome these problems by letting individuals provide similarity  
 104 ratings on the same large set of word pairs using a continuous scale. This will  
 105 allow us to create comparable, weighted, and individualized networks that  
 106 can be subjected to standard statistical analyses. Finally, the distribution of  
 107 similarity ratings and how it differs between younger and older adults will  
 108 provide valuable insights on the processes underlying the age-related changes  
 109 in semantic networks.

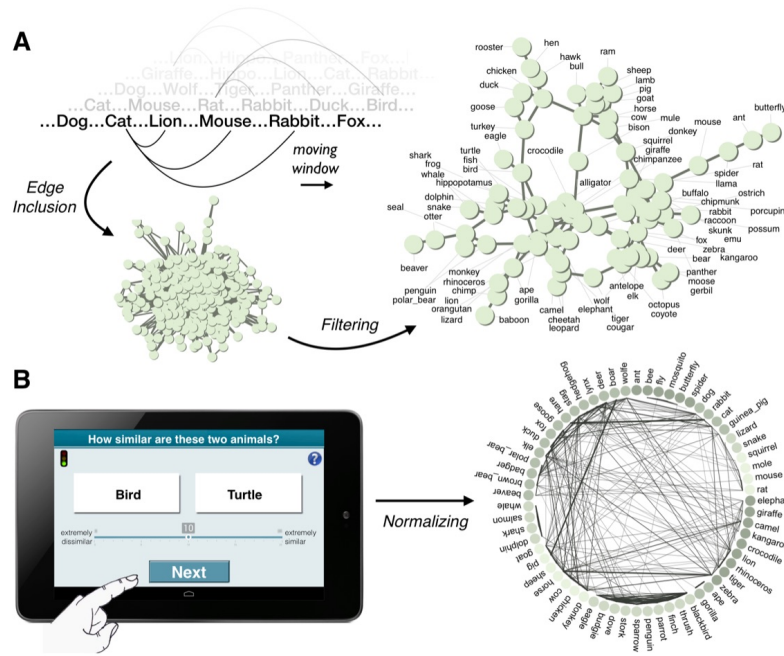


Figure 2: Methodological approach. Panel A illustrates the steps, edge inclusion and filtering, involved in inferring networks from verbal fluency sequences. For details see Materials and Methods. The resulting network is based on 142 sequences of the older adults group of study 1. Panel B illustrates the creation of networks from similarity ratings, involving merely normalization of individual's responses. The weighted network is based on the average ratings of the older adults group of study 3.

## 110 2. Methods

### 111 2.1. Fluency data

112 A total of four data sets from three studies were used to infer networks  
113 from fluency data. The first data set was obtained from [? ], who analyzed  
114 the data of two published studies, i.e., from Hills et al. [50] and the Midlife in  
115 the United States (MIDUS3) longitudinal study. The data of Hills et al. [50]  
116 contains three waves of responses to one minute animal fluency task collected  
117 at Stanford University, CA, in 2011. At time point one, the data included  
118 a total of 201 participants aged 27 to 99 (Mdn = 68). To avoid practice  
119 effects and problems associated with participant attrition, we used only the  
120 first wave. The MIDUS3 data contained one minute animal fluency data -  
121 recorded in phone interviews - from 104 individuals aged 34 to 83. Audio  
122 recordings were transcribed by us (see Supplementary Material). In order to  
123 obtain a sufficient amount of data to infer fluency networks, we joined the two  
124 data sets, but eliminated individuals with fewer than 10 fluency productions  
125 and mini-mental state values lower than 26, which is indicative of either low  
126 attention to the task or beginning age-related disorders. Groups of younger  
127 and older adults were created by splitting the data at the median age. This  
128 resulted in groups of 142 individuals each aged 29 to 65 years old and 66 to  
129 94 years old, respectively. Our first study with original data was collected in  
130 the context of another study on age-difference in decision making running in  
131 the laboratories of the Max Planck Institute (MPI) for Human Development,  
132 Berlin. We collected 10 minute fluency data for both animals and countries  
133 from 71 older adults and 41 younger adults. Responses were recorded using a  
134 microphone and transcribed by us. Participants were recruited through the  
135 internal participant database of the MPI of Human Development. The older  
136 adults group ranged from 65 to 80 years with a median age of 70 years, the  
137 younger adults age ranged from 17 to 33 with a median age of 25. Participants  
138 were paid 10/hour for participation. The second study was also collected at  
139 the Max Planck Institute for Human Development using participants from  
140 the MPIs internal database. We collected 10 minute fluency data for animals  
141 from 36 older adults and 36 younger adults. Responses were recorded using  
142 a microphone and transcribed by us. The older adults group ranged from  
143 65 to 78 years with a median age of 70 years, the younger adults age ranged  
144 from 18 to 32 with a median age of 24. Participants were paid 10/hour for  
145 participation. Study 1, 2 and 3 were approved by the internal review board  
146 of the Max Planck Institute for Human Development.

147 Fluency data was subjected to minimal preprocessing. Responses were  
 148 scrutinized for category membership and spelling. A lenient criterion was  
 149 used to assess category membership to retain as much of the original data  
 150 as possible. In the case of animals, all non-fictional entries that described  
 151 entire, non-human, and non-fictional animals were retained. This lead us  
 152 to exclude few cases from the data, such as Godzilla, cat eye, or animal  
 153 trainer. Similarly, in the case of countries, we retained all existing and named  
 154 territories such as Istrien, a region of Italy, Croatia and Slovenia, the desert  
 155 Sahara or cities, but not non-existing, fictional territories such as Middle-  
 156 earth. Spelling was hand-corrected on the basis of the Merriam Webster  
 157 online dictionary. Overall 96.8% to 99% of responses were retained in the  
 158 analysis.

## 159 2.2. Measures of macroscopic network structure

160 The average degree of a network  $G = (V, E)$ , with nodes (or vertices)  
 161  $V$  and edges  $E$ , is defined as  $\langle k \rangle = \frac{2|E|}{|V|}$  for unweighted networks and as  
 162  $\langle k \rangle = \frac{2}{|V|(|V|-1)} \sum_{i,j \in V; i \neq j} a_{ij} w_{ij}$ , where  $a_{i,j}$  denotes the presence of an edge  
 163 between nodes  $i$  and  $j$  and  $w_{i,j}$  the according edge weight. The average  
 164 degree or strength, as it is commonly referred to for weighted networks, de-  
 165 scribes the average connectivity in the network. The average local clustering  
 166 coefficient for unweighted networks is defined as  $C = \frac{1}{|V|} \sum_{i \in V} C_i$  with  $C_i =$   
 167  $\frac{2}{|k_i|(|k_i|-1)} \sum_{j,h \in N_i} a_{jh}$  and  $k_i$  being the degree of node  $i$  and  $N_i$  the set of neigh-  
 168 bors to  $i$ . For weighted networks,  $C_i^w = \frac{1}{|s_i|(|k_i|-1)} \sum_{j,h \in N_i} \frac{w_{ij} + w_{ih}}{2} a_{ij} a_{ih}$ ,  $a_{jh}$   
 169 with  $s_i = \sum_{j \in N_i} w_j$  being the strength of node  $i$ , the weighted analog to  
 170  $k_i$ . The local clustering coefficient describes the degree of transitivity in the  
 171 network and is related to network modularity [51]. It is often conceived as  
 172 an indicator of the structured-ness of a network [52]. The average shortest  
 173 path length is defined as  $L = \frac{2}{|V|(|V|-1)} \sum_{i,j \in V; i \neq j} L_{ij}$  where  $L_{ij}$  is the length  
 174 of shortest path between nodes  $i$  and  $j$ , also known as the geodesic distance.  
 175 For weighted networks,  $L_{ij}$  is the sum of weights rather than the length. The  
 176 average shortest path length describes the average distance between nodes.  
 177 Low average shortest path lengths have been associated with efficient infor-  
 178 mation processes [53, 54].

## 179 2.3. Networks inference approach

180 Networks were inferred from verbal fluency data based on the community  
 181 model developed by [?] and studied by Zemla and Austerweil [55]. The

182 model is based on a two-step procedure. First, nodes and edges are included  
 183 for every pair of responses that occurred within a distance of  $l$  responses. For  
 184 instance, for the response sequence dog, cat, mouse, rabbit and a criterion  
 185 of  $l = 2$ , edges would be included for all pairs less than three responses  
 186 apart, excluding only the pair dog and rabbit, which are three responses  
 187 apart. Second, an edge is identified as a true edge, if the frequency of the  
 188 connected words occurring with  $l$  or fewer steps apart exceeded a frequency  
 189 threshold  $t_{min}$  reflecting the required minimum frequency of co-occurring  
 190 within  $l$  responses to be considered in the first place, as well as a frequency  
 191 threshold  $t_{chance}$ . The latter is derived from the probability  $p_{ij}^{linked}$  of two  
 192 words occurring within  $l$  responses by chance, which is calculated as  $p_{ij}^{linked} =$   
 193  $p_{ij}^{co-occur} * p_{ij}^{\geq l}$ . Furthermore,  $p_{ij}^{co-occur}$ , the probability of two words to co-  
 194 occur within a fluency sequence, and  $p_{ij}^{\geq l}$ , the probability that two responses  
 195 are no more than  $l$  responses apart, are being calculated as  $p_{ij}^{co-occur} = \frac{f_i f_j}{MM}$   
 196 and  $p_{ij}^{\geq l} = \frac{2}{N(N-1)}(-lN^{\frac{l(l+1)}{2}})$  with  $f_i, f_j$  denoting the number of times two  
 197 responses occur across  $M$  sequence and  $N$  denotes the average number of  
 198 productions per sequence.  $t_{chance}$  is then defined as the  $1 - \alpha$  quantile of the  
 199 binomial distribution  $B(M, p_{ij}^{linked})$ . Based on the simulations reported in the  
 200 Supplementary Material, we found a minimal model with  $l = 1$ ,  $t_{min} = 1$ ,  
 201 and  $\alpha = 1$  to the best recover the underlying network structure.

#### 202 2.4. Similarity ratings

203 Similarity ratings were collected in the context of study 2 and prior to  
 204 participants completing the verbal fluency task. Participants took home a  
 205 tablet to provide, over the course of roughly one week, on a scale from 1 to 20  
 206 similarity, ratings for 2268 pairs of animals, consisting of each possible pair of  
 207 63 frequently occurring animals and 315 repeated pairs. The 63 animals were  
 208 selected on the basis of the verbal fluency responses of study 1 in manner  
 209 that equated word frequency across younger and older adult age groups. See  
 210 Supplementary Material. Reliability was found to be high for both younger  
 211 and older adults with respective correlations of  $r = .76$ ,  $r = .74$ . Participants  
 212 were paid 10/hour for participation in the lab session and a flat fee of 44.1  
 213 for providing the similarity ratings.



### 214 3. Results

#### 215 3.1. Differences in networks inferred from verbal fluency data

216 We inferred networks from verbal fluency sequences using the community  
217 model, which has recently been found to predict human similarity ratings  
218 very well and likely better than other approaches available [? 55]. As il-  
219 lustrated in 2, the approach is based on two steps: First, edges for every  
220 pair of items that occurred withing a distance of  $l$  responses from another  
221 and, second, edges are retain that occurred more often than a minimum cri-  
222 terion  $t_{min}$  and what would be expected by chance given a false alarm rate  
223 of  $\alpha$ . For details see Methods. To validate this approach, we ran extensive  
224 simulation analyses based on the specifications of our four fluency datasets.  
225 For details see the Supplementary Material. These showed that a minimum  
226 model of  $l = 1$ ,  $t_{min} = 0$ , and  $\alpha = 1$ , essentially a random-walk threshold  
227 model [13, 55], was able to best recover underlying networks. Assuming a  
228 moderate network size and a censored random walk retrieval process [56, 55],  
229 this model detected 70.5% of the edges that could have been detected given  
230 the available data, while committing only 6.8% of the edge false alarms that  
231 the more lenient, random-walk model ( $t_{min} = 0$ ) would commit. Moreover,  
232 this model recovered the macroscopic structure of the underlying network  
233 well, as indicated by correlations of .95 and .79 between inferred and true  
234 values of  $C$  and  $L$ , respectively. Finally, the presence and absence of edges in  
235 the inferred animal fluency networks was able to predict well the similarity  
236 ratings collected in study 2 ( $d = (.88, 1.32, 1.53)$ ).

237 Networks were inferred for younger and older adult groups of four fluency  
238 datasets. The data sets varied in terms of domain (animal vs. country),  
239 design (lifespan vs. cohort), and fluency duration (1 minute vs. 10 minute).  
240 Among those factors, duration exerted a strong influence on performance,  
241 with 10-minute fluency leading to 4 to 5 times as many responses per sequence  
242 than 1-minute fluency. Notably, the longer duration allowed older adults to  
243 produce as many, if not more, items than younger adults, contradicting the  
244 typical observation of declining performance in verbal fluency [57, 58, 50].  
245 Moreover, we found that older adults, as a group, produced more unique  
246 responses both in total and per response, consistent with the notion that  
247 adults possess larger vocabularies and, thus, may possess larger semantic  
248 networks (see Table 1).

249 In order to account for differences in network sizes, which could obfuscate  
250 differences in structure [43], we compared the macroscopic structure younger

Table 1: An Overview of Fluency Data and their Inferred Macroscopic Network Structure

Dataset	N	Age	$\tilde{N}$	$\frac{N_u}{N_a}$	$ V $	$\langle k \rangle$	$C$	$L$
Wulff et al. (2016)	142	29-65	22.00	.09 <sup>b</sup>	84	3.85	0.46	2.53
Study 1 - Animal	41	18-34	93.10	.15 <sup>b</sup>	165 <sup>c</sup>	1.85	0.24	4.72
Study 1 - Country	71	66-81	101.80	.18 <sup>b</sup>	155 <sup>c</sup>	1.69	0.24	5.09
Study 2 - Animal	41	18-34	77.60	.08 <sup>b</sup>	132 <sup>c</sup>	2.94	0.36	3.67
Study 2 - Country	71	66-81	80.30	.11 <sup>b</sup>	135 <sup>c</sup>	2.49	0.35	4.12
Study 2 - Animal	36	18-32	97.50	.17	141	1.72	0.26	4.66
Study 2 - Country	36	65-78	98.10	.19	123	1.62	0.31	5.06

<sup>a</sup> Ignoring duplicate productions. <sup>b</sup> Proportions were found to be significantly different between younger and older adults according to permutation tests. <sup>c</sup> To equate the amount of data per group, the older adults results are rounded averages of 200 random samples of 41 older individuals.

and older adult’s networks only for the shared set of nodes, i.e, their common subgraph. We found the pattern of results to be consistent with previous results Zortea et al. [35], Dubossarsky et al. [36]. Older adult networks were characterized by smaller average degrees and higher average path lengths than networks of younger adults. Older adults’ networks also exhibited a smaller average clustering coefficient than younger adults in two data sets and a larger clustering coefficient in the other two data sets, mirroring the inconsistent findings of previous studies [35, 36]. See Figure 3. These results confirm previous findings and strongly suggest age-related differences in semantic networks.

### 3.2. Differences in networks based on similarity ratings

To test whether the results from fluency networks extend to the level of the individuals and to rule out any influence of aggregation biases, we measured networks of younger and older individuals using similarity ratings. Specifically, we had individuals rate all 1953 pairs of 63 animals on a scale from 1 (extremely unsimilar) to 20 (extremely similar) plus 315 repeated pairs in order to assess reliability, which was found to be high (older adults:  $r = .76$ , younger adults:  $r = .74$ ). Before creating the networks, we mapped

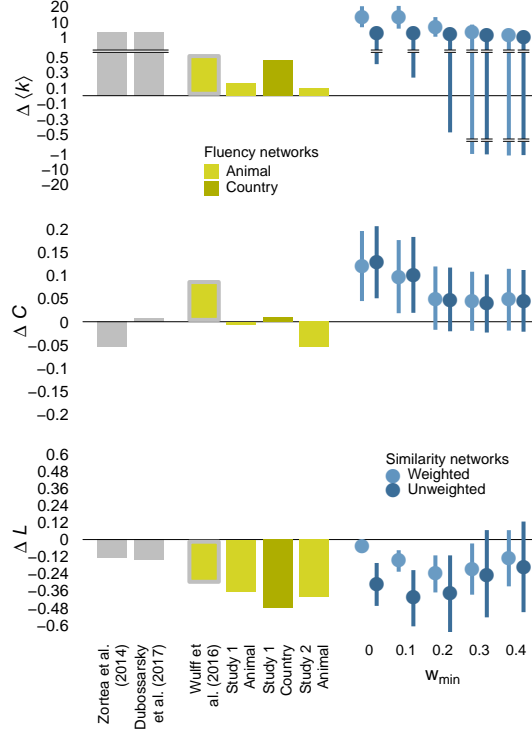


Figure 3: Differences in the macroscopic structure of younger and older networks. Grey bars show the the difference between the young and old age group in Zortea et al. [35] and that of age 30 and 70 in Dubossarsky et al. [36], respectively. Yellow bars show differences in networks inferred from the four fluency data sets. Blue points show differences in weighted and unweighted similarity rating networks, with blue bars showing 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals.

269 individuals' minimum ratings to 0 and maximum ratings to 1, in order to  
 270 account for differences in scale use. Weighted and unweighted networks were  
 271 then constructed by including edges larger than  $w_{min}$ . The threshold  $w_{min}$   
 272 was needed for two reasons. First, clustering can only be evaluated for net-  
 273 works that are not fully connected. Second, by varying the treshhold we were  
 274 able to evaluate the robustness of the results. Across various values of  $w_{min}$ ,  
 275 we found older adults' networks to consistently exhibit lower average degrees  
 276 ( $\langle k \rangle$ ), higher average shortest path length ( $L$ ), and also lower local cluster-  
 277 ing coefficients ( $C$ ), irrespective of whether the networks were analyzed as  
 278 a weighted or unweighted network. For highly inclusive values of  $w_{min}$  that  
 279 retain more than 50% of all edges, i.e.,  $w_{min} \in (0, .1)$  moderate to large ef-

fects were observed, each reaching statistical significance. Effects for more restrictive values of  $w_{min}$ , i.e.,  $w_{min} > .1$  pointed in the same direction, but they were smaller in size and, due to larger variance, did not consistently reach significance. These results confirm and extend findings from fluency networks. Moreover, they demonstrate, for the first time, systematic age-related differences in the structure of semantic networks on the level of the individual.

Table 2: Average Macroscopic Structure of Similarity Networks for  $w_{min} \in (0, .1, .2)$

		Weighted			Unweighted		
	$ V $	$\langle k \rangle$	$C$	$L$	$\langle k \rangle$	$C$	$L$
$w_{min} = 0$							
YA	63	16	.87	.13	50.7	.86	1.16
OA	62.9	12.5	.75	.18	37.0	.73	1.47
$d$	.42	.51 <sup>a</sup>	.73 <sup>a</sup>	-.46	.94 <sup>a</sup>	.74 <sup>a</sup>	-.93 <sup>a</sup>
$w_{min} = .1$							
YA	63	15.5	.77	.24	42.4	.76	1.31
OA	62.7	12	.67	.38	29	.66	1.72
$d$	.34	.50 <sup>a</sup>	.56 <sup>a</sup>	-.88 <sup>a</sup>	.85 <sup>a</sup>	.56 <sup>a</sup>	-.93 <sup>a</sup>
$w_{min} = .2$							
YA	62.8	13.6	.64	.56	28.5	.62	1.66
OA	61.8	11	.59	.80	21.2	.57	2.04
$d$	.30	.39	.33	-.85 <sup>a</sup>	.54 <sup>a</sup>	.31	-.63 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> $p < .05$

### 3.3. Comparison of edge weights

What drives the structural differences between networks of younger and older adults? To shed light on this question, we compared the distribution of edge weights in the similarity networks. As illustrated in Figure 4A adults' edge weight distributions were found to be significantly more skewed ( $t_{53.8} = -2.02$ ,  $p = .049$ ,  $d = -.48$ ) and of significantly smaller entropy ( $t_{56.9} = 3.46$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $d = .82$ ) than those of younger adults. The same pattern was observed on the level of individual nodes. Nodes in older adults networks exhibited edge weight distribution that also were significantly more

296 skewed ( $t_{114.2} = -3.89$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = -.69$ ) and of significantly smaller  
 297 entropy ( $t_{107.7} = 5.33$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .95$ ) than nodes in younger adult net-  
 298 works. We also compared the distribution of edge weights between younger  
 299 and older adults' networks (Figure 4B) and found that older adults' networks  
 300 show lower edge weights than younger adults' networks, particularly, for those  
 301 edges that possess moderate weights in the younger adults networks. Consis-  
 302 tent with results obtained for aggregate networks [36], these results suggest  
 303 higher discrimination of semantic relatedness in older as compared to younger  
 304 adults. Specifically, in older adults networks, items of medium relatedness  
 305 appear to have been driven further away from maximum similarity than in  
 306 younger adults networks.

307 We evaluated compared within-group consistency by measuring the inter-  
 308 quartile ranges ( $IQR_w$ ) for each edge within a group. We found that older  
 309 adults' networks showed a nearly three times higher dispersion of  $IQR$ s  
 310 than younger adults ( $\hat{\sigma}_{older}^2 = .029$ ,  $\hat{\sigma}_{younger}^2 = .011$ ). This higher disper-  
 311 sion stems from older adults showing significantly higher consistency ( $d =$   
 312  $-9.04$ ,  $p < .001$ ) for weakly related node pairs, i.e.,  $0 < w < .2$ , and sig-  
 313 nificantly lower consistency highly for related noted pairs, i.e.,  $.2 < w < 1$ ,  
 314 showing maximum inconsistency for  $.4 < w < .6$  ( $d = 1.57$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Thus,  
 315 except for relatively unrelated node pairs, such as rat and fly, older adults  
 316 semantic networks tend to be more different from one another than those of  
 317 younger adults.

## 318 4. Discussion

319 Semantic networks are a key ingredient of many models of cognition.  
 320 They provide the underlying knowledge base that allow cognitive processes  
 321 to reason whether a penguin is bird or to remember the name of a person,  
 322 you have just met. This knowledge base is the product of learning from expe-  
 323 rience [19, 59]. Individuals who make different amounts and different kinds  
 324 of experiences should, thus, possess different semantic networks. In this in-  
 325 vestigation, we have demonstrated that this assertion holds true. Studying  
 326 the association of age and semantic networks, we have found structural dif-  
 327 ferences in networks of groups and individuals. Group-level analyses using  
 328 verbal fluency data have replicated previously observed [35, 36] differences be-  
 329 tween networks of younger and older: Older adults' networks exhibited larger  
 330 average degrees and lower average shortest path lengths than younger adults'  
 331 networks and they did not systematically differ in terms average clustering

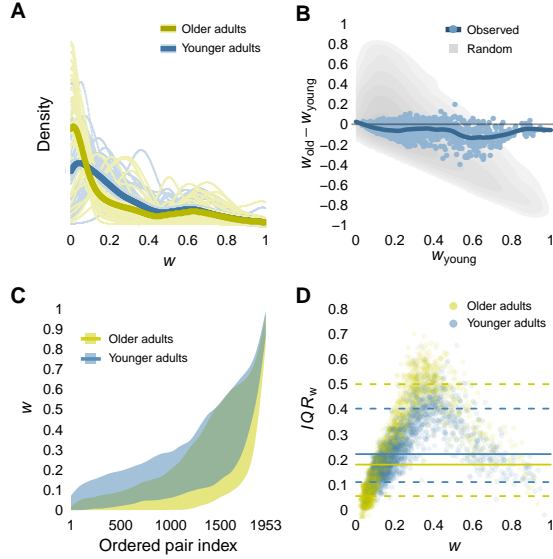


Figure 4: Comparison of edge weights in younger and older adults' networks. Panel A shows the individual and aggregate density distribution of edge weights for younger (blue) and older adults (yellow). Panel B shows the differences in edge weights between younger and older adults as a function of the younger adults edge weights (in blue). The grey background shows the expected result distribution (determined by simulation) assuming the marginal distributions in panel A and independence between edge weights of younger and older adults. Panel C illustrates within-group differences in edge weights by showing as polygons the edge weights interquartile range across individuals for all 1953 pairs ordered by the pair's average weight across both groups. Panel D shows the relationship between the a pairs' average edge weights and the associated interquartile ranges

332 coefficients. Individual-level analyses of weighted and unweighted networks  
 333 based on similarity ratings confirmed the differences in average degrees and  
 334 lower average shortest path lengths and also revealed systematic differences  
 335 in terms of average clustering coefficients, pointing to lower clustering in older  
 336 adults semantic networks. These results establish, for the first time, conclu-  
 337 sive evidence for structural, indivudal-level differences in semantic networks  
 338 of younger and older adults.

339 Our results have important implications for understanding and modeling  
 340 human cognition. It is generally assumed that differences in size and struc-  
 341 ture of semantic networks can manifest in differences in cognitive performance  
 342 [37, 38, 39, 40, 27, 29, 19]. This creates a thorny problem: Both network  
 343 structure and cognitive process can independently be powerful explanations

344 of behavior, which can render it difficult to decide between competing models.  
 345 Recently, a version of this problem has been at the core of a debate concern-  
 346 ing models of human memory search. It was found that a simple random  
 347 walk process operating on a network generated from free association data  
 348 was able to explain verbal fluency data just as well as previously proposed,  
 349 more complex cue-based search process operating on a network generated  
 350 from natural language data using machine learning [56, 21, 11]. Thus, differ-  
 351 ent choices concerning the underlying semantic network can critically impact  
 352 conclusions drawn from data regarding the cognitive process, not even con-  
 353 sidering individual differences. A key challenge for future research is, thus,  
 354 to develop new methodological approaches to reliably measure the semantic  
 355 network of groups and individuals free of influences of process [21, 60]. This  
 356 will involve characterizing the linguistic and physical environment of individ-  
 357 uals and to develop appropriate learning mechanisms that build a realistic  
 358 image of a person’s semantic network.

#### 359 *4.1. What drives age-related differences in network structure?*

360 Another, related challenge is the development of models of age-related  
 361 differences. Both Zortea et al. [35] and Dubossarsky et al. [36] had studied  
 362 semantic networks across the entire lifespan, including children, and observed  
 363 inverted U-shaped trends with inflection points at around 30 years of age.  
 364 Because of this, it seems unlikely that network growth models, such the  
 365 one by Steyvers and Tenenbaum [17], are able to capture the full develop-  
 366 mental trajectory, as they tend to grow monotonically. A probably more  
 367 fruitful approach is the use of models of computational semantics (e.g., [19]),  
 368 which learn representations from natural language, and a language corpus  
 369 that is age-specific. The input to the cognitive system, in this case text,  
 370 is often ignored and may account for some of the observed developmental  
 371 non-linearities. The goal of such an agenda should be how much of the ob-  
 372 served findings can be explained through natural learning, in order to find  
 373 out whether and which additional aging process need be assumed [45, 46, 47].

374 For this agenda, it will be useful to consider the complex edge-weight  
 375 differences between younger and older adults. Compared to younger adults  
 376 networks, We found the distribution of edge weights in older adults net-  
 377 works to be considerably more right-skewed and most different from younger  
 378 adults networks for moderate edge weights. Moreover, we found older adults  
 379 networks to be more similar to each other for unrelated node pairs, and  
 380 more distinct from each other for related node pairs as compared to younger

adults networks. These patterns can, at least in parts, arise from natural development. Models of continued discriminative learning predict that related and unrelated concepts are driven further apart from each other over time [29]. Moreover, the fact that younger adults will likely have spend about half their life in educational institutions and, thus, in highly similar environments, whereas the relevance of education is much lower for older adults, may explain the considerably lower dispersion among younger than among older adults. Thus, the demonstrated structural differences between younger and older adults may not reflect decline, but continued learning and a possibly quite useful adaptation to the requirements of older adults life [61].

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