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**New Perspectives on the Aging Lexicon**

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**Abstract**

The field of cognitive aging has seen considerable advances in describing the linguistic and semantic changes that happen during the adult life span to uncover the structure of the mental lexicon (i.e., the mental repository of lexical and conceptual representations). Nevertheless, there is still debate concerning the sources of these changes, including the role of environmental exposure and several cognitive mechanisms associated with learning, representation, and retrieval of information. We review the current status of research in this field and outline a framework that promises to assess the contribution of both ecological and psychological aspects to the aging lexicon.

## Highlights

Past work suggests that normal and pathological aging are associated with changes in lexical and semantic cognition.

We review recent evidence on how life span changes in size and structure of the mental lexicon impact lexical and semantic cognition.

We argue that models of the aging mental lexicon must integrate both ecological and psychological factors and propose a research framework that distinguishes environmental exposure from cognitive mechanisms of learning, representation, and retrieval of information.

Our framework emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary collaboration between linguistics, psychology, and neuroscience to generate insights into the ecological and computational basis of the aging mental lexicon.

There is consensus in the cognitive sciences that human development extends well beyond childhood and adolescence, and there has been remarkable empirical progress in the field of cognitive aging in past decades [1]. Nevertheless, the role of environmental and cognitive factors in age-related changes in the structure and processing of lexical and semantic representations is still under debate. For example, age-related memory decline is commonly attributed to a decline in cognitive abilities [2, 3], yet some researchers have proposed that massive exposure to language over the course of one's life leads to knowledge gains that may contribute to, if not fully account for, age-related memory deficits (e.g., [4–6]). We argue that to resolve such debates we require an interdisciplinary approach that captures how information exposure across adulthood may change the way that we acquire, represent, and recall information. We summarize recent developments in the field and propose a conceptual framework and associated research agenda that argues for combining ecological analyses, formal modeling, and large-scale empirical studies to shed light on the contents, structure, and neural basis of the aging lexicon in both health and disease.

### **The Aging of the Mental Lexicon**

The mental lexicon can be thought of as a repository of lexical and conceptual representations, composed of organized networks of semantic, phonological, orthographic, morphological, and other types of information (see [7]). The cognitive sciences have provided considerable knowledge about the computational (Box 1; [9, 20–22]) and neural basis (Box 2; [23, 24]) of lexical and semantic cognition, and there has been considerable interest in how such aspects of cognition change across adulthood and aging (e.g., [27, 28]).

Past work on the aging lexicon emphasized the amount of information acquired across the life span (e.g., vocabulary gains across adulthood; e.g., [28]); however, new evaluations using graph-based approaches suggest that both quantity and structural aspects of representations differ between individuals [29] and change across the life span (e.g., [30–32]).

1 For example, Dubossarsky et al. [30] used free association data from thousands of  
2 individuals, ranging from 10 to 84 years of age, to capture aggregate semantic representations  
3 of different age groups using networks with words as nodes and edges defined by the strength  
4 of shared associations (see Figure 1). Such studies that infer the underlying representational  
5 networks from behavioral data suggest that older adults' semantic networks are less  
6 connected (i.e., the words in the network have lower average degrees), less organized (i.e.,  
7 the words in the network have a lower average local clustering coefficient), and less efficient  
8 (i.e., the shortest paths between any two words in the network have greater lengths relative to  
9 those of younger adults) ([30–32]; see Figure 1).

10 Crucially, evidence is also mounting that lexical and semantic structure is crucial to  
11 understanding individual cognitive performance in a variety of domains ([7, 34–36]; for a  
12 review see [37]). For instance, low clustering in semantic networks, a measure of the extent  
13 to which nodes in a network tend to cluster together, has been linked to poorer performance  
14 in cued recall of words [38]. Table 1 provides an overview of work that has linked different  
15 aspects of semantic network structure to cognitive performance. It suggests that uncovering  
16 the structural characteristics of networks may be useful to describe and perhaps predict  
17 cognitive performance of older individuals or distinguishing normal and pathological aging  
18 [65–67].

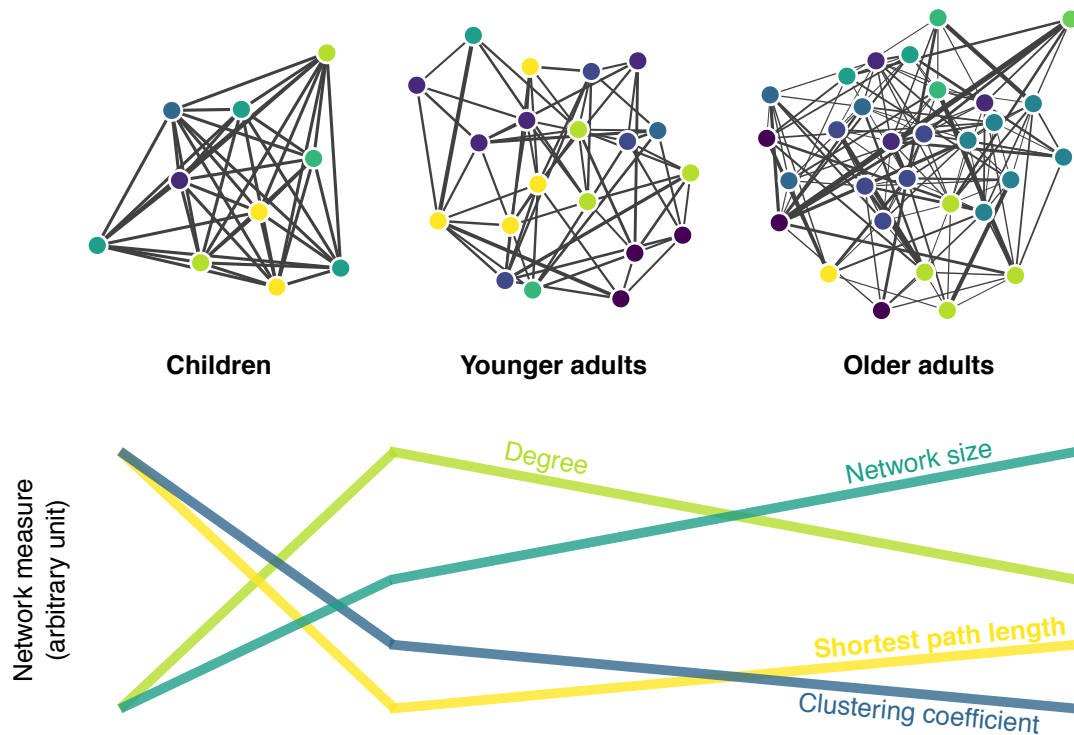


Figure 1. The life span trajectory of the mental lexicon represented as networks (upper panel) which reflect the schematic results below concerning various network measures (lower panel). The schematic results are based on recent studies comparing structure of semantic networks across the life span [30–32]. There is now converging evidence that although network size appears to grow continuously across the life span [33], degree and shortest path length show mirrored non-linear trends, with degree increasing across childhood and decreasing across adulthood and shortest path length decreasing across childhood and increasing across adulthood [30–32]. The findings for the clustering coefficient are more mixed (cf. [32]); however, the evidence points towards a monotonically declining clustering coefficients throughout the life span [30, 31].

Table 1

*Links between network properties of the mental lexicon and cognitive performance.*



<i>Network Property</i>	Empirical links to lexical and semantic cognition	Refs
Centrality	Words with <b>higher centrality</b> in associative networks are retrieved more often as the first responses in letter fluency tasks ([39]; using PageRank) and are identified faster as a word (rather than a non-word) in a lexical decision task ([40]; using PageRank and node degree).	[39, 40]
Neighborhood	Words with <b>many phonological or orthographic neighbors</b> (or large neighborhood sizes) are more difficult to identify in spoken word recognition [41], are produced faster in a naming task [42], are more frequently involved in tip-of-the-tongue phenomena [43], and are subject to stronger inhibitory priming [44].	[41–4]
	Words with <b>many semantic or associative neighbors</b> are less likely to be remembered in free recall task and cued recall tasks [38, 45], trigger lower feelings of knowing [46], and are more likely to be accepted in new word combinations [47].	[38, 45–7]
	Words with <b>high phonological clustering</b> are more difficult to identify in spoken word recognition and lexical decision tasks [48] whereas <b>high associative clustering</b> are remembered better in a cued recall task [38]	[38, 48]
Distance	Words with <b>low semantic or associative distance</b> are judged as more semantically related [40], remembered better in paired-associate learning tasks [36, 49], retrieved closer to each other in free recall [50] or verbal fluency tasks [51, 52], produce stronger priming effects in naming tasks [53], and lead to faster sentence verification [54] and recognition [55].	[36, 40, 49–55]
	Words with <b>low phonological or orthographic distance</b> produce stronger priming effects [56, 57].	[56, 57]
Large-scale structure	<b>Shorter average distances</b> between words in a network are assumed to facilitate the exchange of information exchange [58, 59] and have been empirically linked to creativity [60, 61].	[58–61]
	<b>Weak average connections between semantic and phonological representations</b> of words are assumed to drive tip-of-the-tongue occurrences [5, 62].	[5, 62]
	<b>Associative schemata</b> facilitate new learning [63], but also false-memory [64].	[63, 64]

1

2

Although evidence is mounting concerning the links between aging and semantic

3

structure and potential importance of lexical and semantic structure for cognitive

performance, we have yet to gain a full understanding of the sources and mechanisms of these changes. Crucially, a variety of likely candidates have been proposed in the literature, including environmental factors, such as the cumulative nature of information exposure across the life span, and a suite of cognitive mechanisms, such as those concerning learning, representation, and retrieval of information. In what follows, we review past evidence for the role of such factors and discuss the need for assessing the relative contribution of each to understand the aging lexicon.

### A Framework for Understanding the Aging Lexicon

We introduce a novel framework to help us discuss a number of mechanisms that have been linked to age differences in the mental lexicon. Our framework spans both ecological and psychological aspects and consists of four components (see Figure 2), a) the physical, social, and linguistic environment, b) the learning processes that build up a mental representation, c) the structure of the mental representation itself, and, finally, d) the processes of manipulating or retrieving information from the representation. We review past evidence concerning each of these components below.

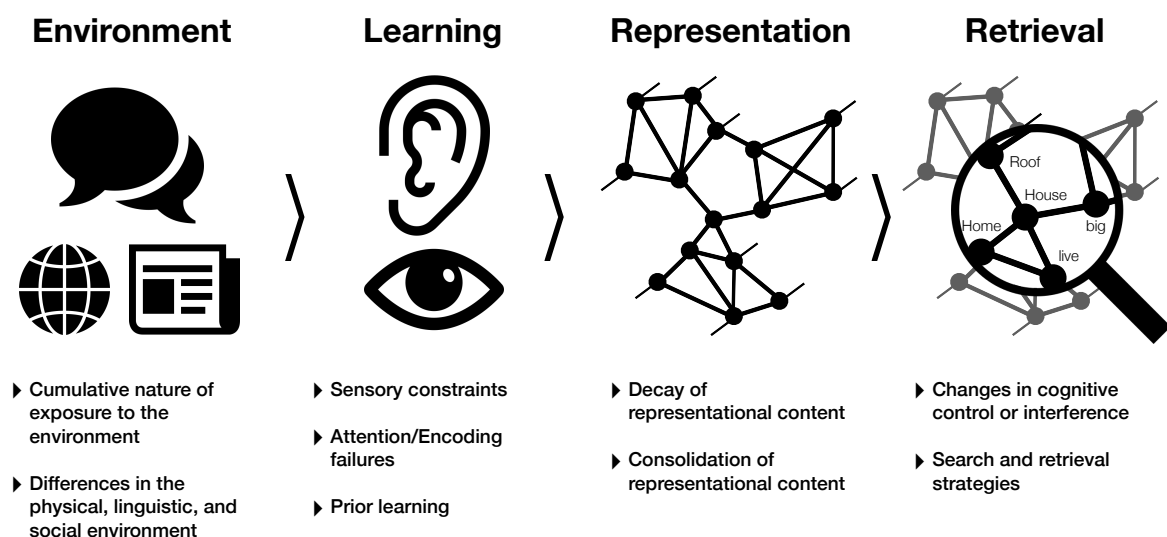


Figure 2. Conceptual framework to help understand candidate drivers of change in the aging lexicon. The framework encompasses four components, spanning the environment, learning

and perception, the semantic and lexical representation in memory, and mechanisms of search in and retrieval from the representation. Note that although the illustration suggests a unidirectional information cascade from the environment to retrieval, our framework does not preclude a dynamic flow, with later components influencing earlier ones.

## *Environment*

*Cumulative exposure.* Over the course of a lifetime an average European attended about 10.9 years of schooling [68], watched more than 100,000 hours of TV [69], worked 10 different jobs [70], and was part of a countless number of conversations with family, friends, and co-workers. These experiences are the fundamental basis for learning and shaping an individual's mental representations [71]. Some have argued that older adults can be considered experts in a general sense [64] in that they possess different memory representations because they have been exposed to more environmental input overall, and these have important implications for cognition [4, 6, 36]. For example, Ramscar and colleagues [6, 36] used a computational model that learns word associations from different amounts of text to account for older adults' difficulty in word-pair learning (as compared to younger adults), and their work suggests that the exposure to different amounts of information alone could account for age differences in word-pair memory performance. Similarly, Buchler and Reder [4] used computational modeling to explore how lifelong experience could account for memory performance (e.g., paired-associate recognition) and found that lifelong experience increases the strength (resting level of activation) of concepts in a network but also saturates the network with an increasing number of episodic associations. The increased number of episodic associations to each concept means that activation spreads more diffusely, making retrieval of any newly established memory trace

less likely; while the greater strength of a concept makes recognition based on familiarity more likely.

*Different environments.* Older and younger adults' differ not only in quantity of experience but also in its content. Young and older adults differ in occupational status [72], social networks [73], and their use of the internet and social media [74]. These differences in experience further contribute to shaping the contents of younger and older adults' lexical and semantic representations [75]. Regrettably, the extent to which differences in the amount and content of information exposed to young and older adults determines their lexical and semantic representations and cognitive performance remains largely unexplored.

We should note the ecological approaches emphasized above do not logically exclude the contribution of additional mechanisms to age-related differences in cognitive performance, including age-related differences in learning and other factors that we review below. Given the body of knowledge concerning the biology of age-related cognitive decline [1] it is unlikely that ecological explanations alone provide a full understanding of differences in young and older adults' mental lexicon. Nevertheless, the results above show that it would be naïve to neglect the role of ecological factors in models of the aging lexicon and that it remains to be tested to what extent additional psychological factors are needed to account for age differences in linguistic and semantic cognition.

### *Learning*

*Sensory constraints.* Sensory acuity declines with age [76, 77] and differences in cognitive performance, including the ability to learn new associations, have been linked to changes in sensory acuity [78]. Proponents of the *information degradation hypothesis* have argued that degraded perceptual inputs can lead to errors in perceptual processing, which in turn may affect non-perceptual, higher-order cognitive processes [79]. However, changes in learning and cognitive performance are found even when controlling for sensory limitations

during testing [80], implying that age differences in sensory acuity are more likely to reflect general senescent alterations in the aging brain rather than simply sensory deficits in the processing of training and assessment stimuli. Nevertheless, it remains to be assessed whether specific impairments (e.g., hearing) represent direct contributors to age differences in the aging lexicon.

*Attention/encoding failures.* Older adults suffer from difficulties in sustaining attention across an encoding episode [2] and in encoding associations between words [81]. As a consequence, a generally held position is that learning depends on executive or cognitive control abilities that are impaired in older adults [82]. Given the important role of cognitive control structures in the processing of linguistic and semantic information, it is likely that age differences in cognitive control plays a central role in information acquisition [24], for instance, by impacting how well older adults can focus on the relevant and suppress irrelevant information during the learning episode [2].

*Prior knowledge.* The encoding of new information is also moderated by an individual's pre-existing knowledge [49], such as knowledge accumulated over the life span [64, 71, 83. For instance, new associations with words that occur overall frequently in the environment and that already possess strong associations with other words are more difficult to form than are associations with infrequent words [6, 36]. On the other hand, experiences consistent with pre-existing larger schemata in semantic memory have been found to consolidate faster into a long-lasting memory trace relative to inconsistent ones [63, 84]. Along these lines, older adults have been found to encode new material more efficiently than younger adults but only when the information is encapsulated in a context that is natural for the respective material, for instance, when a target word was placed within a meaningful sentence ([85]; see also [86]). These results imply that older adults' exposure to past

environments can also have an *indirect* influence on the mental lexicon by impacting how new information is encoded.

#### *Representation*

*Decay.* A longstanding hypothesis is that memory traces are subject to passive, gradual decay as a result of not using the particular trace (e.g., [87, 88]). Although decay accounts have been widely abandoned in memory research in favor of accounts focused on interference [89], the notion of passive decay has led to successful accounts of, in particular, pathological, age-related changes in mental representations. For instance, Borge-Holthoefer and colleagues [90] were able to account for the increased semantic priming in Alzheimer's patients by degrading the connection strength between words in an associative network. Similarly, Dilkina, McClelland, and Plaut [91] were able to account for behavior of patients with semantic dementia in both semantic and lexical tasks by lesioning specific representational loci in a connectionist model. The notion of weakening connection strength lies at the heart of another representation-based account of age differences in cognitive performance. The so-called *transmission deficit hypothesis* [62] posits that as connections between nodes weaken with age, the transmission of activation between semantic and lexical word representations is especially affected. This progressive weakening is thought to produce states of semantic activation without lexical or phonological activation, resulting in a feeling of knowing without being able to actually pronounce a word, commonly known as a tip-of-the-tongue state.

*Consolidation.* Consolidation refers to the process in which an item in memory is transformed into a long-term form taking place both at the level of the synapse (*synaptic consolidation*) and the brain system (*systems consolidation*; [92]). Whereas the former works on relatively small timescales, the latter is believed to be ongoing for months or even years

[84], altering not only where but also how memories are represented in the brain. That is, it has been argued that systems consolidation involves an active, well-organized decay process that systematically removes selective memories to produce sparser and more efficient memory representations [87]. While its role across very long timescales, years to decades, is mostly unexplored [84], consolidation does represent a promising alternative for phenomena attributed to passive decay and, generally, a plausible neuro-physiological mechanism for age-related changes in the mental lexicon.

### *Retrieval*

*Cognitive control.* Models of memory and language typically view the productions of the cognitive system not as direct readouts of internal representations but rather the result of a response mechanism that operates on them (e.g., [93]). This mechanism is thought to involve cognitive control and retrieval strategies. Cognitive control is conceptually related to working memory capacity [94] and, generally, refers to an executive ability that is needed to actively maintain relevant information and inhibit external and internal distractors [95]. Cognitive control is thought to mediate retrieval from memory by reducing interference and enhancing focus on currently activated, task-relevant representations [16, 95]. Older adults typically exhibit lower cognitive control resulting in poorer memory retrieval performance in, for instance, verbal fluency or episodic memory tasks [96, 97].

*Search strategies.* Search in memory refers to the systematic, goal-directed foraging of memory representations [94] and is often modeled as a strategic combination of sustained, focused attention to local areas of the representation (e.g., a particular semantic category) and (random) global switches to distant areas of the representation [20, 52, 99]. Applications of this modeling approach to verbal fluency tasks have found older adults to exhibit shorter

periods of local search than younger adults, which has been attributed to reduced levels of cognitive control [100].

Search strategies and cognitive control do not concern the question of age-related differences in lexical representations directly, but they are nonetheless important; they represent the link between representations and behavior that must be understood to be able to make inferences about the representations underlying observable behavior [9, 31, 59, 101]. Behavior is inevitably determined by both representation and retrieval mechanism, and both are powerful explanations making it difficult to attribute the source of a particular age-related difference unequivocally to either one. This is problematic in so far as theoretical and empirical work has suggested age-related differences in both of these components. This has led, for instance, to very different accounts of related age-related pathologies: Hoffmann and colleagues [16] recently found that semantic cognition of patients with semantic dementia and semantic aphasia were best accounted for by changes in a controlled retrieval process, whereas that of patients with Alzheimer's has been successfully attributed to representational decay (cf. [90]). The difficulty with disentangling representation and process has recently been addressed explicitly in an exchange of papers centering on the nature of search in a verbal fluency paradigm [20, 101], which culminated in two insights: First, representations created from behavioral data, such as free associations, can contain signals of the retrieval processes involved in producing the behavioral data. Second, understanding the contribution of each component requires independent sources of data, which are seldom available.

## **All Together Now: Integrative and Interdisciplinary Approaches to Understanding the Aging Lexicon**

Extant explanations of age differences in the mental lexicon and its behavioral consequences have typically relied on only a subset of the four components described above,



environment, learning, representation, and retrieval (see Figure 2). For example, whereas Ramscar and colleagues [6, 36] focused on the impact of cumulative experience to account for, for instance, paired-associate learning (*environment*), others considered damage to internal *representations* and controlled *retrieval* processes to account for semantic deficits [16], and yet others relied on a combination of attentional deficits (*learning*) and *retrieval* processes to account for age-related memory change [2].

Modeling approaches that encompass all four components as sources of age differences are lacking. Ideally, a full account of the aging lexicon should consider all four components to assess whether age differences can arise from each component independently, their cumulative action, or dynamic interactions among them. Modeling accounts omitting some of the components risk falsely attributing age differences to the subset of evaluated components, when their joint action is more likely. The goal for future research should be to develop a more integrative formal account of the aging lexicon spanning all four components. To this end, we propose three steps for future research: First, we hope to see researchers build models that integrate ecological and cognitive accounts of age differences in the mental lexicon. Second, the field should deploy large-scale studies that investigate individual and age differences for several indicators of linguistic and semantic cognition constrains to these models. Third, we hope to see increased use of neuroimaging techniques to help specify the contribution of different cognitive components, such as learning, representation, and retrieval. In what follows, we outline a few steps in these directions.

Past research has modeled semantic cognition assuming that representational structure is shared among both younger and older adults (e.g., [20, 99]). Such approaches have favored accounts of aging in the mental lexicon focusing on cognitive aspects (e.g., [16, 99]), rather than on the role of the environment, because such frameworks do not capture the impact of environmental exposure on individual and age differences in mental representations. As

1 reviewed above, several results suggest that it is now essential to consider the role of  
2 environmental factors. Fortunately, tools to account for the influence of the environment are  
3 readily available. Researchers can now choose from a variety of off-the-shelf learning models  
4 that turn a continuous stream of environment input, typically large amounts of digitized text,  
5 into distributed representation of words and concepts ([19, 21]; Box 1). Recent research has  
6 demonstrated that varying the amount of text used for training such models can produce some  
7 behavioral patterns that are often otherwise attributed to cognitive decline (e.g., [6, 36]);  
8 however, the impact of qualitative differences in the environments remains unexplored. One  
9 reason for this is the lack of ambitious context-aware cross-sectional and longitudinal projects  
10 that could provide a characterization of the language environments of younger and older  
11 adults' environments over time. Although unprecedented large amounts of contextualized  
12 text and speech data are becoming available with the digital revolution (e.g., [102]; Box 3),  
13 few of these datasets differentiate age groups or individuals. Thus, one of the challenges for  
14 future research is to create age-annotated language corpora, including possibly even non-  
15 linguistic sensorial information relevant to the creation of specific concepts [115]. Another  
16 challenge is to complement existing learning models to account for the changes in learning  
17 arising from the accumulation of knowledge and cognitive and sensory development (cf. [6,  
18 36]).

19       Representations that are created by training learning models using age-specific  
20 language environments have the potential to account for many age differences in cognitive  
21 function. To further dissociate the contribution of the four components, large-scale studies  
22 that capture a clear set of diverse empirical benchmarks are required. There is a recent trend  
23 to conduct so-called mega-studies in the domain of memory and language; that is, studies  
24 involving the collection of behavioral data on a large number of linguistic stimuli—now  
25 typically in the order of tens of thousands (cf. [33, 114]). However, some of these resources

on the linguistic environment require considerable effort to collect and do not often focus on age differences (Box 3). Future studies may want to seriously consider individual and age differences and capture multiple outcomes from the same individuals because these can be linked to differential aspects of linguistic and semantic performance that give insight into the learning, representation, and retrieval components (cf. [116]).

Moving forward, one particular challenge will be to distinguish the contribution of representational differences from the retrieval processes that operate on these representations. Past computational modeling approaches have found it relatively challenging to separate these components (e.g., [101]). Although it remains to be seen whether these issues can be addressed using computational modeling, neuroimaging approaches represent a promising source of data for dissociation [24]. For example, there has been some progress in using data-driven methods to provide a map of the neural representation of semantic information [117], and future work could use such techniques to quantify age differences in such representations to assess the degree of longitudinal change across individuals' life span. Similarly, there is significant promise in linking biomarkers (e.g., gray-matter density) associated with age-related decline to both control and representational aspects of linguistic and semantic cognition to understand the contribution of different neural structures and processes to age differences in the mental lexicon [118].

## **Concluding remarks**

This review suggests that it is important to consider several explanations to understanding the development of the mental lexicon across the life span, including environmental exposure, as well as age-related changes in learning, representation, and information retrieval. As a consequence, future work in this field will require interdisciplinary teams with expertise in linguistics, computational modeling, psychological measurement and testing, and

1 neuroscience, that can simultaneously tackle a description of individuals' linguistic ecologies  
2 as well as the cognitive representations and processes that build on individuals' lifelong  
3 experiences.

4

## **Box 1 – Models of Lexical and Semantic Representation**

Multiple frameworks exist for representing lexical information, and each approach offers a unique lens through which to view the lexicon. Three of the most prominent architectures in the current literature are complex networks, connectionist models, and vector space models (Figure B1.1).

Networks are a generic approach to represent relational data. In a network model of the lexicon each node represents a word, and the connections between nodes signify some form of lexical or semantic relation (for an overview see [9]). Networks are commonly used in the cognitive literature to represent conceptual relations (e.g., [8]), morphological relationships such as neighborhood size [10, 11], and behavioral relationships such as how likely a word is as a response to a cue in free association norms [12, 13]. Rather than considering each relationship independently, recent work has begun to consider multiple relationships simultaneously via multiplex networks (e.g., [14]). The utility of networks is bolstered by the availability of a large toolbox for characterizing, comparing, and visualizing representations [9].

Where networks are relatively theory-agnostic, connectionist and vector-space models explicitly specify mechanisms by which lexical representations are learned. In a connectionist (aka, neural network) architecture, a word's lexical representation is a distributed pattern across connected layers of nodes. A typical connectionist model has a layer for input, a hidden layer, and an output layer, and representations are learned using an error-correction mechanism such as backpropagation [15]. Connectionist models have frequently been used to understand deterioration of lexical knowledge (e.g., [16]) and age-related impairments of semantic memory (e.g., [17]).

Vector-space models represent words as distributed patterns over latent dimensions (or points in a high-dimensional space). A key distinction of vector is that they learn their

representations from statistical regularities in the environment, most typically a large-scale corpus of text. Words that frequently co-occur in text will develop similar representations, but so will words that frequently occur in similar contexts, even if they never directly co-occur (e.g., synonyms). Although classic vector models required batch learning (e.g., [18]), modern versions develop their representations continuously (e.g., [19]). These continuous vector models are excellent candidates to study change in the lexicon as a function of environmental modulation and to evaluate candidate mechanisms of aging.

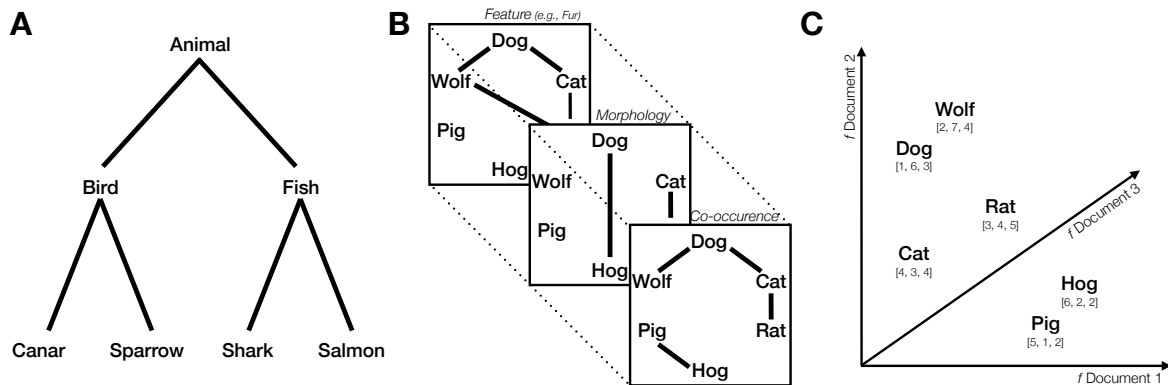


Figure B1.1. Models of lexical and semantic representations. Panel A shows a simple, tree-based network similar to those employed in early research on semantic memory [8]. Panel B shows a multiplex network representing co-occurrence, phonological, and feature-similarity at the same time. Panel C shows a distributional model that represents words as a function of the occurrence frequencies across three documents.

## **Box 2 – Models of Lexical and Semantic Cognition and the Aging Brain**

Research on the neural basis of linguistic and semantic cognition has a long history, going back to Paul Broca’s work on the localization of language functions. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, models evolved considerably, with a shift from localizationist to associative models involving multiple brain areas. Currently, prominent models of linguistic processing distinguish parallel information streams, including, a dorsal stream that maps phonological representations onto articulatory motor representations and involves parieto-temporal and frontal brain areas, and a ventral pathway that maps phonological representations onto lexical and conceptual representations and involves mostly temporal brain areas (e.g., [23]). Models that focus on semantic cognition postulate a distributed network associated with information representation. For example, the prominent hub-and-spokes model describes semantic cognition as emerging from the interaction of a transmodal “hub” situated in the anterior temporal lobes and linked to modality-specific areas — “spokes”—responsible for the representation of sound, affect, functional and other attributes that are distributed across the neocortex [24]. Importantly, such models also postulate an important role in control processes involving a distributed neural network that interacts with, but is largely separate from, the network for lexical and semantic representation, and relies heavily on prefrontal brain structures [24].

Evidence about the role of aging in linguistic and semantic cognition is accumulating from studies involving the comparisons of younger and normal (i.e., non-pathological) older adult populations using several different paradigms, such as lexical decision, naming, and semantic judgment tasks. A recent meta-analysis of neuroimaging (fMRI) studies identified age-related reduction in left hemisphere semantic network but increase in right frontal and parietal regions during lexical and semantic tasks. These findings may be interpreted as an age-related shift from semantic-specific to domain-general neural resources, perhaps

indicating neurodifferentiation and a role for cognitive control deficits in accounting for age-related differences in linguistic and semantic tasks ([25]; see Figure B2.1). We should note, however, that such cross-sectional findings are not always observed longitudinally (e.g., [26]). Concerning pathological aging, there are various forms of dementia known to be associated with linguistic and semantic cognition, including semantic dementia, which contributed significantly to current understanding of temporal lobe functioning, in particular the anterior temporal pole which is known to be important for cross-modal semantic knowledge, and suggests a role for representational deficits in at least some forms of pathological aging [24].

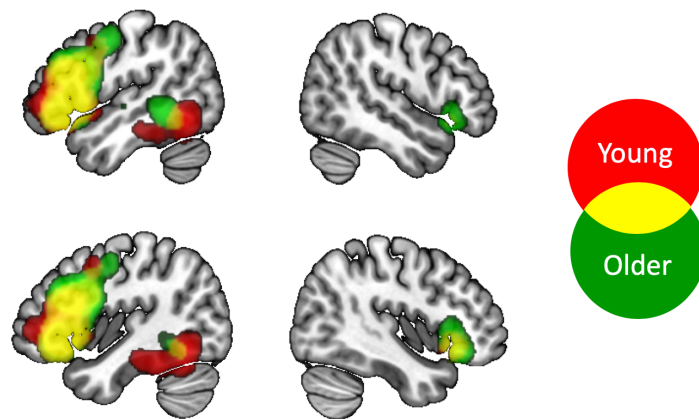


Figure B2.1. Activation likelihood maps for analyses of studies comparing young and older adults' linguistic and semantic cognition [25]. Overall, the results suggest that age groups activated similar left-lateralized regions, but older adults displayed less activation than younger adults in some elements of the typical left-hemisphere semantic network, and greater activation in right frontal and parietal regions.



**Box 3. Resources on the environment, representations, and behavioral data to study the mental lexicon across the life span** (see <https://aginglexicon.github.io/> for additional resources).

### **Capturing the (linguistic) environment**

New natural language processing techniques are making large amounts of richly annotated data increasingly available [102]. Currently, a description of single individual's linguistic environment is still challenging as large-scale corpora of written language derived from newspapers and online media has remained mostly aggregate and anonymous and may not be representative of an individual's natural environment. The advent of internet-based resources and individual tracking is a promising avenue to address these issues [103].

Notable resources. Child-directed speech is already available through the CHILDES corpus [104] whereas adult speech across the life span is represented in a variety of corpora such as the Switch-board I corpus [105]. Written corpora for children based on children books have also been collected in various languages [106, 107]. Written corpora for adults are more comprehensive than those of children, albeit annotations are often incomplete. For example, the widely used British National Corpus (BNC; [108]) corpus contains information about author age for only 26% of the sources.

### **Measuring and modeling the mental lexicon across the life span**

Mega-studies have become relatively common to sample large amounts of lexical and semantic knowledge from individuals [33]. In most cases they have not directly targeted questions about age differences and do not sample individuals across the full adult life span. In turn, new modeling resources are becoming increasingly available and will facilitate and spur on future computational modeling of aging in linguistic and semantic cognition

1 including prominently open-source software for learning representations [21, 209, 110] and  
2 simulating retrieval [37, 110].

3 Notable resources. Comprehensive datasets on vocabulary development are increasingly  
4 available. *Wordbank* contains measurements of vocabulary in early life derived from over  
5 75,000 children in 29 languages [111]. Also available are extensive measures of vocabulary  
6 size and prevalence obtained from hundred-thousands of adults in various languages [112,  
7 113]. Semantic knowledge can be assessed from word association norms such as the *Small*  
8 *World of Words* project, which currently includes age-annotated word association corpora  
9 derived from adult Dutch and English speakers [40, 114]. Other mega-studies that cover the  
10 life span have focused mainly on behavioral measures. These includes age-annotated lexicon  
11 projects (naming and lexical decision reaction times) in a variety of languages (see [109] for  
12 an overview).

13

**Box 4 – Outstanding questions**

- To what extent can purely environmental explanations account for reported age differences in lexical and semantic cognition? Are representational deficits necessary to account for differences in normal and pathological aging?
- To what extent are different types of representation models, such as network-based, connectionist, or distributional models able to capture the same underlying effects and account for the age differences observed in linguistic and semantic cognition?
- How can we build on existing corpora or develop new resources to measure the most important properties of individuals' linguistic environments? Can we annotate existing corpora to include age and socio-demographic information to investigate aspects of the aging lexicon? Is it feasible to deploy mega-studies to capture linguistic, socio-demographic, and biological properties of individuals longitudinally over periods of decades?
- How can we integrate the results of different tasks and paradigms, such as language comprehension, production, and semantic tasks that may provide contradicting evidence concerning the role of specific mechanisms?
- Which neuroimaging methods and analyses can provide the best ways to distinguish learning and search processes from representational deficits in the aging lexicon?
- Past research and our overview primarily focuses on the integrity and efficiency of information processing, without considering changes in motivation and goals that direct the cognitive system [118]. To what extent can or should these effects be captured in models of the aging lexicon?

## 1    **Glossary**

2    *Aging lexicon* – Age-related changes in the mental lexicon (see mental lexicon).

3    *Association* – Relationship between words that is often based, but not limited to, word co-  
4    occurrences in the environment (see environment). Free association tasks prompt participants  
5    to produce one or more words that come to mind when cued with another word.

6    *Clustering coefficient* – The (local) clustering coefficient of a node is defined as the number  
7    of edges between the neighbors of the node divided by the maximum possible number of  
8    edges.

9    *Connectionism* - an approach that views cognitive processes as cooperative and competitive  
10   interactions among large numbers of simple computational units (see Box 1).

11   *Corpus* – a body of processed linguistic data, such as recorded conversations or written text  
12   (e.g., BNC), often including various meta-data, such the age of the source.

13   *Degree* – The degree of a node is the number of other nodes connected to it.

14   *Environment* – here, the entirety of language and language related input to sensory organs.

15   *Learning* – here, the processes involved in acquiring novel lexical and semantic information  
16   and storing them, at least temporarily, in the representation.

17   *Lexical decision* – task requiring participants to decide whether a string of letters spells a true  
18   word of the respective language or not.

19   *Multiplex network* – networks containing multiple types of edges permitting the simultaneous  
20   representation of, e.g., semantic and phonological information.

21   *Mega-study* – a large-scale behavior study involving hundreds or thousands of participants  
22   and/or stimuli.

23   *Mental lexicon* – a repository of lexical and conceptual representations including semantic,  
24   phonological, orthographic, morphological, and other types of information (see [7]). Several  
25   computational accounts of lexical and semantic representation exist, including connectionist

(see connectionism), network (see network), and vector-space models (see vector-space models). See Box 1.

*Naming* – task requiring individuals to name an object from its picture, description, or spoken form.

*Network* – a collection of points, called nodes, joined by edges. Nodes represent elementary components of the system (e.g., words) whereas edges represent the connections or associations between pairs of units (e.g., the associations between a cue word with the word produced as a response).

*Recall* – task requiring participants to retrieve, with or without supporting cues, words from a previously learned word list.

*Representation* – here, the relatively stable storage of acquired lexical and semantic information.

*Retrieval* – here, the processes involved in retrieving lexical and semantic information from the representation.

*Shortest path length* – Shortest number of steps required to connect a pair of nodes in the network.

*Vector-space model* – computational models that learn high-dimensional word representations from their co-occurrences in language corpora (see corpus).

*Verbal fluency* – a constrained association task requiring participants to retrieve in a limited amount of time as many words as they can from a given category (e.g., animals; category fluency) or from all words beginning with a certain letter (e.g., S; letter fluency).

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