

# How do we copy and paste?

## The semantic drift of quotations in blogspace

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The understanding of the origin of cultural similarity has triggered a sizable literature in the recent past, spanning over a vast area of research fields ranging from cultural anthropology to social network analysis and complex system modeling — and diversely labeled as studies on “opinion dynamics”, “cultural evolution”, or “information diffusion”, for the most part. Broadly, this type of research program relies on the understanding of phenomena pertaining to both cognitive science and social science, in order to jointly appraise the processing and transmission of information at the individual and social levels.

Several theories have been proposed and debated within these research fields, mixing social and individual cognition — notably from the side of cultural anthropology. There is, first, the debate around the “memetic” program initiated by Dawkins [1976], for which the collection of works by Aunger [2000] provides a solid overview. A second field relates to the development of evolutionary models of norms (see for instance Ehrlich and Levin 2005), following the seminal work of Boyd and Richerson [1985].

A third approach, “cultural epidemiology” initiated by Sperber [1996] recently attracted significant attention. Works such as Atran [2003] suggest that this program is anthropologically more accurate than memetics; see Kuper [2000], and Bloch [2000], for further details on the main issues in this debate. It focuses on the notion of *representation*, linking the cognitive science concept of *mental representation* to the concept of *public representation*, the latter being the equivalent of the former outside of the brain (i.e. in cultural artefacts: texts, utterances, etc.).<sup>1</sup> The key point here is that representations are not being replicated through a hi-fidelity copying process, but are being reformulated through an interpretation process, and thus evolve. Cultural epidemiology postulates this type of conceptual mutation and suggests that it can be appraised through the notion of “cultural attractor”, seen as the attraction domains of an underlying semantic dynamical system. Despite some recent modeling attempts (for instance Claidière and Sperber [2007]), the development of quantitative measurements focused on the key notion of cultural attractor has remained a relatively hard task and, to our knowledge, this hypothesis has not been empirically validated.

The last decade has however witnessed an avalanche of observable *in vivo* data stemming from online interactions. While they are not records of strictly “physical” inter-individual interactions (in the sense of “real life” interactions), these information trails and productions actually constitute a wealth of observations on the dynamics of public representations. As such, they are prone to radically improve the prospects of empirical validation of the individual-level processes of cultural evolution.

We aim to empirically describe the transformation of a specific type of public representations by focusing on the possible cognitive alterations performed by individuals during reformulation. To deal with robust and simple cultural representations, we paid attention to the evolution of quotations. Although these verbatim public representations should not suffer any alterations as they are repeated (as opposed to more elaborate expressions and opinions), in practice they are oftentimes transformed. We will in particular exhibit a non-trivial cognitive alteration by which some portions of the quotation, namely individual words, may be modified; and will wonder which are generally the semantic and structural characteristics of these words and their substitutions. Broadly, we contend that using this type of data is both equivalent to a large-scale psycholinguistic experiment and at the same time constitutes the first step towards the design of empirically realistic models of cultural evolution.

The next section (Sec 2) describes the relevant recent state-of-the-art on this matter. In Sec. 3, we detail the empirical protocol and the various assumptions that were made in order to deal with the available empirical material. Section 4 describes the significant psycholinguistic cues and biases observed during *in vivo* quotation reformulation, followed by a discussion and general guidelines for further work in Sec. 6.

### 2. RELATED WORK

The relevant literature on *public representation dynamics* features two main streams. On one hand, we find studies aiming at understanding the macroscopic phenomena of *social diffusion* of public representations, describing for instance the propagation of cultural items across social networks such as blogspace [Gruhl et al. 2004], the characteristic times and diffusion cycles both within these social networks and with respect to the topical dynamics of news media [Leskovec et al. 2009a], or the reciprocal influence between the social network topology and the distribution of issues [Cointet and Roth 2009]. These studies are relatively independent from anthropology and cognition and are at the interface between data mining, complex systems and quantitative sociology (first and foremost social network analysis). Without necessarily relying on specific social science theories, this research stream is of interest for its aim of cultural dynamics description by using large social media corpora.

On the other hand, the study of the *transformation* of public representations has emerged only recently. For one, the notion of “cultural attractor” has been the focus of models rendering the evolution of some representations and behaviors not until a few years ago [Claidière and Sperber 2007]. Among the empirical approaches on the mutation of representations, some of the most relevant studies to date consist of a series of papers investigating *quotation* transformations from a large corpus of US blog posts, initially collected and studied by Leskovec et al. [2009a] and further analyzed by Simmons et al. [2011] and Omodei et al. [2012]. They generally show several types of regularities and propose models of diffusion-transformation of quotations, which may nonetheless appear to be relatively simplistic from a cognitive viewpoint. One of the main conclusions of these works lies in the fact that even for the supposedly most stable type of public representation, namely quotations,

<sup>1</sup>Sperber [1996] emphasizes this distinction in his seminal work: “A representation may exist inside its user: it is then a *mental representation*, such as a memory, a belief, or an intention. The producer and the user of a mental representation are one and the same person. A representation may also exist in the environment of its user, as is the case, for instance, of the text you are presently reading: it is then a *public representation*.”

it is indeed still possible to observe and measure significant transformations. However, these studies address transformations by focusing on the properties of the author (e.g. news vs. blogs) of the quotation, or the surrounding public space (e.g. quote frequency in the corpus), rather than the very cognitive features which may trigger or, at least, bias these transformations.

At this level, we have to turn to the broader psycholinguistic literature which provides one of the main cognitive foundations of public representation evolution by studying the influence of word features on the ease of recall. This state-of-the-art is relatively developed and shows the positive impact of classical psycholinguistic variables, such as word frequency (see Yonelinas [2002] for a review), age-of-acquisition [Zevin and Seidenberg 2002], number of phonemes and number of syllables (see for instance Rey et al. [1998] and Nickels and Howard [2004]).

The study of network-based properties, while heavily discussed around the notion of connectionism and its normative processual models, appeared much more recently as an empirical investigation field [Citation needed]. Let us mention two interesting and recent studies on that matter, which demonstrate in a strictly *in vitro* framework and at the vocabulary level that word properties computed on a word network are important factors in the cognitive processes and reproduction of those words. First, Griffiths et al. [2007] analyze a task where patients are asked to speak out the first word which comes to their mind when they are presented with a random alphabet letter. The authors show that there exists a link between the ease of recall of words and one of their semantic features, namely their authority position (PageRank) in a language-wide semantic network built from external word association data. A second psycholinguistic study by Chan and Vitevitch [2010] shows, in a picture-naming task, that words come quicker when they have a higher clustering coefficient in an underlying phonological network (which, again, is defined from external phonological data).

On the whole, the current psycholinguistic state-of-the-art seems to hint at two antagonistic types of results. On one hand, part of the literature tends to show that recall is easier for the least “awkward” words; those whose age of acquisition is earlier, length is smaller, semantic network position is more central – this is particularly true in tasks where participants are asked to form spontaneous associations or utter a word in response to a given signal [Citation needed]. On the other hand, when the task consists in remembering a specific list of items, “awkward” words are actually more easily remembered, possibly as they are more informative and plausibly more discernable [Citation needed]. The jury is still out as to whether reformulation alteration, i.e. spontaneous replacement of words when asked to repeat a given utterance, is rather of the former or latter sort. Our paper additionally sheds light on this debate.

More broadly, we thus observe a gap between, on one side, macro-level empirical studies on diffusion dynamics in a social system and, on the other side, studies essentially focused on micro-level transformations of representations — these latter studies being either strongly normative, or yielding information whose integration into realistic cultural epidemiology models remains difficult.

### 3. PROTOCOL

To measure cognitive bias during reformulation, we chose to focus on public representations which could be expected to undergo variations which could be described easily and automatically. Quotations appeared to be a perfect candidate. First, they are generally cleanly delimited by quotation marks (or by HTML markup in web pages), which greatly facilitates their detection in text corpora. Sec-

ond, they stem from a unique “original” version, and could ideally be traceable back to it. Third, and perhaps most importantly, their duplication should *a priori* be highly faithful, apart from cropping issues: not only should variations be of a moderate magnitude, but when specific words are not perfectly duplicated, it is safe to assume that the variation is due to involuntary cognitive bias — as writers may expect any casual reader to easily verify, and thus criticize, the fidelity to the original quote.

#### 3.1 Dataset

We thus relied on a large and reliable quotation dataset collected by Leskovec et al. [2009a] which is of a sufficiently large size to lend itself to statistical analysis. This dataset consists of the daily collection of news stories or blog posts from around a million online sources, with the approximate publication rate of 900k texts per day, over a nine-month period ranging from August 2008 to April 2009 [Leskovec et al. 2009b].<sup>2</sup> Quotations were then automatically extracted from this corpus: each quotation is a more or less faithful excerpt of an utterance (oral or written) by the cited person. Quotations were then gathered in a graph and connected according to their similarity: either because they differ by very few words (in that case, no more than one word) or because they share a certain sequence of words (in that case, at least ten consecutive words). A community detection algorithm is applied to that quotation graph to detect aggregates of tightly connected, i.e. sufficiently similar, groups of quotations (see Leskovec et al. [2009a] for more detail). The final data contains around 70,000 sets of quotations. Each set allegedly contains all variations of a same parent utterance, annotated with the respective URLs and timestamps of publication of each individual variation.

#### 3.2 Word-level measures

##### 3.2.1 Standard psycholinguistic indices.

[introduce the classical psycholinguistic measures – kind of like “demographic” usual suspects]

We also considered grammatical types within quotations by detection of *Part-of-Speech* (POS) categories, using the Penn Tree-Bank Project typology [Santorini 1990] and thereby distinguishing verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. The results were however extremely similar across the various categories, exhibiting no specific behavior of words belonging to different POS categories.

##### 3.2.2 Network-based definitions.

We rely on two types of network-based data: curated synonym associations provided by WordNet [WordNet 2010], and “free association” relationships collected by Nelson et al. [2004].

The WordNet (WN) database gathers more than 117 000 concepts and about 147 000 words attached to these concepts. WordNet entries are disambiguated words, or “*lemmas*”, which are attached to concepts called “*synsets*”, each of them gathering the set of lemmas corresponding to the same single meaning. Note that the choice of a synset for a lemma immediately determines the grammatical category of that lemma. Lemmas make the nodes of the semantic network (homonyms are aggregated into a single node), whose neighbors are synonymous lemmas belonging to the same synset(s) as the lemma(s) represented by that node. In other words, synsets induce cliques in the semantic network. Links connecting two synonymous lemmas are being assigned a weight correspond-

<sup>2</sup>The original article [Leskovec et al. 2009a] does not provide additional details on the method of source selection.

ing to the number of times these lemmas are mentioned by WordNet as synonyms, i.e. in the same synset.

#### [Explain Free Association]

The original WN network is a weighted, undirected network; the FA network is a directed network where weights have a different meaning. Both semantic networks describe synonymy relationships corresponding to qualitatively distinct forms of association: either from a linguistic viewpoint (WN) or from the perspective of actual information retrieval by humans (FA). In order to work in a unified framework, we consider links as an information on the existence of some sort of association between two words and transform both networks into undirected, unweighted networks.

We introduce three standard network-based features, which may also be relevant psycholinguistically:

- Distance**, a classical dyadic network measure corresponding to the shortest path length between two nodes. This measure may be used as a proxy of the remoteness between two given lemmas, which is likely to have an influence on the likelihood of being a relevant substitution candidate.
- Centrality**  $k$ , measured by the number of neighbors of a given node, and interpretable as a proxy for the polysemy of words. For the directed network FA we also define the incoming centrality  $k'$  (number of neighbors pointing to that node). Note that in the present case, there is a quasi-perfect correlation between node degree and node *PageRank* [Page et al. 1999], which had already been used in [Griffiths et al. 2007] and may be interpreted as a generalized and recursive measure of lemma polysemy — central nodes in the PageRank sense are those which are linked to many nodes themselves linked to many nodes, and so on, recursively.<sup>3</sup>
- Clustering coefficient**  $c$ , which measures the extent to which a node belongs to a local aggregate of tightly connected nodes, and defined as the ratio between the number of actual vs. possible links between a node's neighbors [Watts and Strogatz 1998]. A lemma is likely to have a higher clustering coefficient whenever the synsets to which it belongs are themselves semantically linked. This measure had been used by Chan and Vitevitch [2010].

**3.2.3 Variable correlations.** It would be difficult to discuss possible correlations between distance ( $d$ ), on one side, and centrality ( $k$  or  $k'$ ) or clustering coefficient ( $c$ ) on the other side, as the former is a dyadic measure while the latter are monadic measures. We may however note that centrality and clustering are relatively weakly (and negatively) correlated, with a Pearson coefficient of  $-0.26$ . [remove, redundant with below]

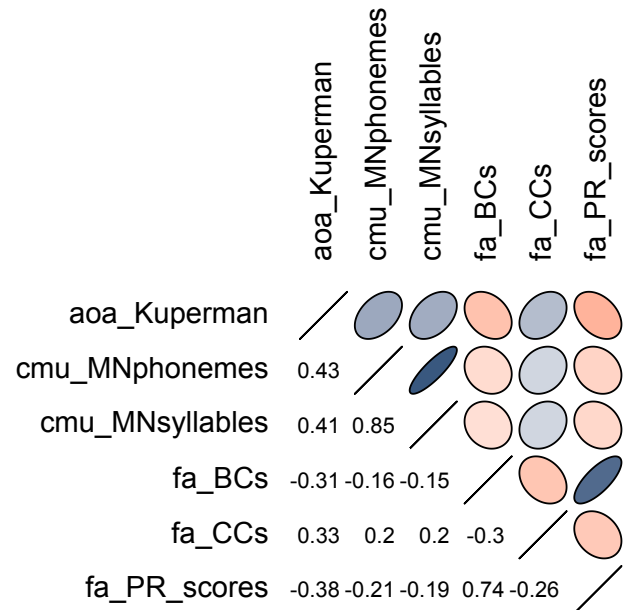
An important question here relates to the various possible correlations between all the variables we consider. The age of acquisition is a key variable, primarily as a usual suspect in psycholinguistic studies, and also appears to be generally correlated to all the other variables. This coincides with an ongoing debate suggesting that age of acquisition encodes a variety of phenomena which are difficult to disentangle from more specific phenomena, which could

<sup>3</sup>Betweenness coefficient, another measure of node centrality describing the extent to which a node tends to connect otherwise remote areas of the network [Freeman 1977]. More technically, it corresponds to the normalized number of shortest paths connecting dyads which pass through that node; the higher, the more important is that node in ensuring the connectedness of the rest of the network. Correlation between FA-BC and FA-PR is 0.74; between WN-BC and WN-PR it is 0.83.

be captured by more independent variables such as [Citation needed]. Indeed, the minimal linear correlation of *aoa* ( $-0.31$ ) with other variables has a higher magnitude than the maximal linear correlation of other variables with each other ( $-0.26$ ). [how do we get to that conclusion?]

Additionally, phonemes and syllables exhibit a strong linear correlation (0.85). We see a better prediction effect of phonemes over syllables, which is consistent with [Nickels and Howard 2004], and choose to focus on phonemes only. [check that!]

Network properties, finally, appear to be relatively weakly correlated with each other, across one network or between both networks (i.e. nodes with high index values are generally distinct between FA and WN), and may be used. We rely on FA as there is a direct possible psychological interpretation (that human copy-pasting may or may not show the same type of trend as human free association), noting that prediction results will be matched against WN as well. [comment peut-on dire que les nœuds importants dans FA ne sont pas nécessairement importants dans WN mais que, pourtant, la forme de la prédiction est la même? cela me semble illogique en première lecture]



### 3.3 Detection of substitutions

Nonetheless, these sets bear no explicit mention of which is the authoritative, original quotation. Defining substitutions from the dataset therefore requires additional assumptions.

Indeed, an author writing a new post and reproducing (possibly altering) a quotation bases himself on original quotations we have no access to. We face a reverse engineering problem where, given all quotations and their occurrence timestamps, we must estimate which was the originating quote for each instance of each quote. We therefore model the underlying quote selection process by making a few additional assumptions which let us define substitutions from the available data.

The main question in this problem concerns the way we consider later occurrences of a quote which, when it first appeared, was identified to be an alteration from an original quote. Let us give an ex-

ample: say the quotation “These accusations are false and absurd” ( $q_a$ ) appears in a blog on Jan 18th, and the slightly different quotation “These accusations are false and incoherent” ( $q_b$ ) appears in another blog on the 19th, the 20th, and the 21st of January. If  $q_a$  was sufficiently prominent when  $q_b$  first appeared, we can safely assume that the author of  $q_b$  on the 19th based himself on  $q_a$ . But what about the following occurrences of  $q_b$ ? Should we consider them to be substitutions based on  $q_a$  (i.e. re-creations of  $q_b$  by a new instance of the substitution process that brought from  $q_a$  to  $q_b$  in the first place) or reproductions of the first occurrence of  $q_b$ ?

To settle this question we model the process as follows: we assume that when a quote  $q$  appears at time  $t$ , if not original (i.e. if not stemming from a source external to the dataset, e.g. initiating a new set of quotations), it is based solely on the most frequent quote  $q_{max}$  in the preceding period of time  $[t - \Delta t; t]$ . The length  $\Delta t$  of that period of time is fixed as a fraction of the total duration of the considered set of quotations; we took one fifth in the implementation (i.e. one month for a set of quotations spanning five months, or one day for a set spanning only five days; this takes the dynamism of the set of quotes into account). If  $q$  differs from  $q_{max}$  by only a word, it is counted as a substitution from  $q_{max}$  to  $q$ . In any other case, i.e. if  $q$  and  $q_{max}$  are the same or if  $q$  and  $q_{max}$  are different in other ways, the occurrence of  $q$  is not considered to be an instance of substitution and is discarded.

An example of this detection in a situation akin to the one described above can be seen on figure 1:  $q_a$  and  $q_b$  differ by only a word, and  $q_a$  appears first and stays the most frequent in the beginning. This is why the occurrences of  $q_b$  at  $t_1$  and  $t_2$  are detected as substitutions stemming from  $q_a$ . After a time the situation is reversed:  $q_b$  becomes more frequent than  $q_a$ . This entails that occurrences of  $q_b$  are seen as reproductions of itself ( $t_3$ ), and that occurrences of  $q_a$  are detected as substitutions stemming from  $q_b$  ( $t_4$ ), i.e. *re-creations* of  $q_a$ .

The assumptions embedded in this model are only a subset of a wider set of possibilities, all leading to alternative models. We identified and implemented five other such possible models, which all yielded essentially the same results. These models differ in the definition of the source quote from which new occurrences stem, essentially modifying the balance between reproduction of previous occurrences of a quote and re-creation of itself by a new substitution instance. For example, the time-windows considered can have different lengths, can include all occurrences from the beginning of the set of quotations, or can have fixed positions. The source quote of a potential substitution can be chosen among those time-windows, or otherwise (e.g. among *all* quotes having appeared before  $t$  and differing by a word from the considered arrival quote; this detection process would include all possible substitutions detected by other models, but would also include many false-positives).

### 3.4 Characterization of substitutions

We then measure the cognitive alteration of human copy-pasting by comparing the relative properties of substituted and substituting words in quotations. We only consider altered quotations, i.e. quotations where at least one word has been modified; in other words, we measure the properties of alteration *knowing that* there has been a variation (which indicates a certain reformulation) while we do not take invariant quotations into account, as it is impossible to know, in that case, whether there has been perfect individual reformulation, or just digital copy-pasting of a source (“Ctrl-C/Ctrl-V”).

We build two main observables for each word property. First, we measure the variation of word features over a substitution, looking

at the difference of the value of a given feature between arrival and start words. Second, we measure the susceptibility for words to be the target of a substitution, knowing that there has been a variation, in order to show which semantic features are the most likely to be the target of a substitution.

**3.4.1 Alteration.** For a given feature  $\mathfrak{F}$ , we measure how a word  $w$ ’s feature varies as  $w$  is substituted by  $w^*$ . Let us denote this quantity:

$$\Delta(w, w^*) \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \mathfrak{F}(w^*) - \mathfrak{F}(w)$$

Averaging this value over all start words with a given feature value  $f$  yields the mean variation for that feature value  $f$ .<sup>4</sup> This quantity can be written:

$$\langle \Delta(w, w^*) \rangle_f = \langle \mathfrak{F}(w^*) - \mathfrak{F}(w) \rangle_{\{(w, w^*) | \mathfrak{F}(w) = f\}}$$

We introduce a null hypothesis  $\mathcal{H}_0$  to compare the actual variation of a word’s feature to its expected variation assuming the arrival word  $w_{\mathcal{H}_0}^*$  had been chosen randomly from the pool of **WN/FA** words. The corresponding average quantity over all start words may be written as:<sup>5</sup>

$$\langle \Delta(w, w_{\mathcal{H}_0}^*) \rangle_f = \langle \mathfrak{F}(w_{\mathcal{H}_0}^*) - \mathfrak{F}(w) \rangle_{\{(w, w_{\mathcal{H}_0}^*) | \mathfrak{F}(w) = f\}}$$

We also considered an alternative null hypothesis, denoted  $\mathcal{H}_{00}$ , where the arrival word is chosen randomly *among immediate synonyms of the start word* (neighbors), i.e. an arrival word chosen among semantically plausible though still random words (in this case  $w_{\mathcal{H}_{00}}^*$  does depend on  $w$ ).

Using this method we obtain the mean variation of feature for each start feature value, and can compare the variations to a situation where arrival words are chosen randomly. This gives us a fine-grained view of how word features evolve upon substitution.

**3.4.2 Susceptibility.** Furthermore, the protocol lets us compute substitution *susceptibilities* for each feature value  $f$ . We say that a word is *substitutable* if it appears in a quote which undergoes a substitution, whether that substitution operates on the considered word or on another. Word substitution susceptibility (denoted  $\mathfrak{S}_{\mathfrak{F}}(w)$ ) is computed as the ratio of the number of times  $n_s(w)$  a word is substituted to the number of times  $n_p(w)$  that word appears in a substitutable position. We have:

$$\mathfrak{S}_{\mathfrak{F}}(w) \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \frac{n_s(w)}{n_p(w)}$$

Now averaging over all words having a given feature value  $f$ , we obtain the mean susceptibility for the feature value  $f$ :

$$\langle \mathfrak{S}_{\mathfrak{F}} \rangle_f = \left\langle \frac{n_s(w)}{n_p(w)} \right\rangle_{\{w | \mathfrak{F}(w) = f\}}$$

This measure focuses on the selection of start word instead of the selection of the arrival word. Indeed, the features have an effect not only on the choice of a new word when a substitution takes place, but also at the preceding moment when it is not yet known which word in the quote – if any – will be substituted.

<sup>4</sup>To avoid any auto-correlation effect due to the number of substitutions in a cluster, we first average substitutions over each cluster, by considering the average of arrival word features for a given starting word. Indeed, substitutions occurring in the same cluster are likely not statistically independent.

<sup>5</sup>Note that  $w_{\mathcal{H}_0}^*$  is in fact constant in this averaging, since by definition it does not depend on  $w$ .



## 4. RESULTS

We may see that  $\mathcal{H}_0$  and  $\mathcal{H}_{00}$  are slightly translated yet not qualitatively different.

### 4.1 Location of arrival words

Where in the network are arrival words, are they related to the origin word, when relying on a given semantic network? (In other words, would a semantic word be a good predictor of the arrival of words?). *[tout un blabla sur les distances dans les substitutions.]*

### 4.2 Known psycholinguistic effects

We first looked at well-known (and well-studied) psycholinguistic features, and doing so we were able to determine which of the two alternative hypotheses presented in the introduction is valid; the features we examined were age of acquisition norms<sup>6</sup> and number of phonemes<sup>7</sup>. *[repetition]* First, by looking at substitution susceptibilities for those features, we can see that words with lower age of acquisition (figure 2a) and words with lower number of phonemes (figure 2b) are more likely to be substituted than words with higher values for either of those features. This shows us that, although words learned later in development (as well as words with larger number of phonemes) may be cognitively harder to recall, they seem to be substituted according to hypothesis [X]: their relevance and specificity makes them less susceptible to change, whereas words learned earlier or with smaller number of phonemes are more easily substituted.

Now looking at what type of arrival words are selected upon substitution, we can see that both words learned earlier in development (figure 3a) as well as words with lower number of phonemes (figure 3b) are substituted for words with roughly the same feature values (they tend to augment a little, but stay way below the values expected under  $\mathcal{H}_0$  or  $\mathcal{H}_{00}$ ). Conversely, words learned later in development and words with higher number of phonemes, when substituted, go towards words with lower feature values, but no lower than what the null hypotheses predict. This shows again that words learned early on are easily interchangeable for other words learned at about the same age. On the other hand, it seems the cognitive system puts little constraint on the arrival word when substituting a word learned later in development (that is, those words are rarely substituted, but when a substitution does occur the arrival word does not show constraints related to the features we examined). We also tested these results for dependence on the grammatical category of words, i.e. POS tags, and found no effect.

Though not originating from the better-known image-naming or controlled lexical-retrieving tasks, these results shed a new light on the strength of the effect of these features depending on their exact value, and on how these features behave in the context of *substitution* and not only free recall.

### 4.3 Epidemiological setting

Secondly, and coming back to our primary goal of providing a first empirical testing means for epidemiological models of culture, we added to these two features a number of more abstract properties

<sup>6</sup>The Age-of-Acquisition data is obtained from Kuperman et al. [2012].

<sup>7</sup>The number of phonemes are obtained from the CMU Pronouncing Dictionary for U.S. English [Weide 1998], included in the NLTK package [Bird et al. 2009]. We note that these two measures are likely to be linked, since words with larger numbers of phonemes are likely to be learned later in development.

computed from the Free Association norms used by Griffiths et al. [2007]: namely, the PageRank, betweenness coefficient and clustering coefficient of the words. *[repetition]*

These new features are classical measures for network-related matters, but – to our knowledge – have seldom been applied to word characterization. They are only a few among many other features that can be used to characterize words based on the network they form (be it the Free Association norms network, another semantic network, or even a phonological network). We consider the complete set of these features (which includes the two mentioned in the previous section, the new network-based ones, as well as any other network-based feature one can compute) as traits characterizing words in an empirical epidemiological evolution of quotes. The benefit we get from measuring the evolution of such features is in how we can use this information to falsify epidemiological culture models. Indeed, in such a setting the information on how a feature is modified upon substitution (detailed to the individual feature value) is in fact a *fitness landscape* for that particular feature. This fitness landscape can in turn be re-injected into epidemiological models to see if those models account for the empirical distribution of quotes, their life-span and relative success. The data for PageRank, betweenness coefficient and clustering coefficient are shown in figures 4a, 4b and 4c.

*[some talk about what this confirms in Griffith's work]*

Moreover, the substitution susceptibility corresponds to a *mutation probability* in this setting (shown in figures 5a for PageRank, 5b for betweenness coefficients, and 5c for clustering coefficient). To sum up, the data obtained here are empirical measures of (some of) the parameters of epidemiological models of cultural evolution, i.e. essential information to allow empirical testing of these models. If quotes, as a first example of cultural representation, do indeed follow epidemiological rules in their evolution, we may be able to empirically prove the validity – or falsify – the existing models of cultural evolution.

*[this is very rough and brute-like. It needs to be better presented and further developed.]*

## 5. PROCESSUAL MODEL

*[Evaluation of the predictability of substitutions for neighbors only, choosing candidates among the immediate neighborhood, proportionally to a score computed over subsets of the above cues (including the empty set as a random baseline), comparing the efficiency of FA and WN in this task.]*

## 6. CONCLUSION

Main contributions:

—large *in vivo* psycholinguistics experiment, emphasizing the importance of the semantic network structure (Wordnet: Pagerank, degree, clustering[, distance?]), finely describing the impact of classically-influent psycholinguistic variables (*aoa*, number of phonemes, etc.);

—new in the sense that it does not focus on ease of recall but rather bias of substitution, and that in this respect it not only provides a finer description of the bias but also corresponds to an “input-output” reformulation couple describing the joint properties of (substituted→substituting) terms.

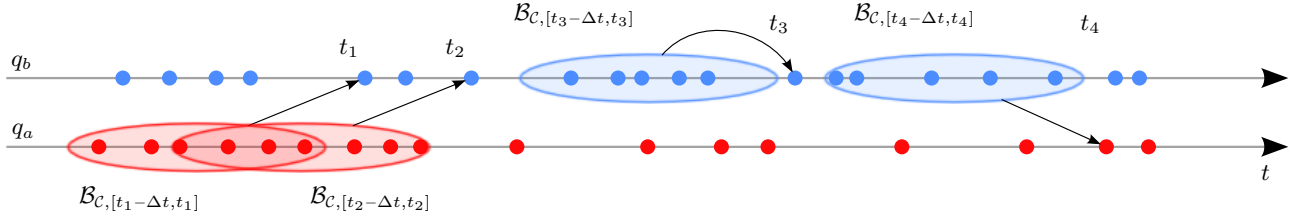
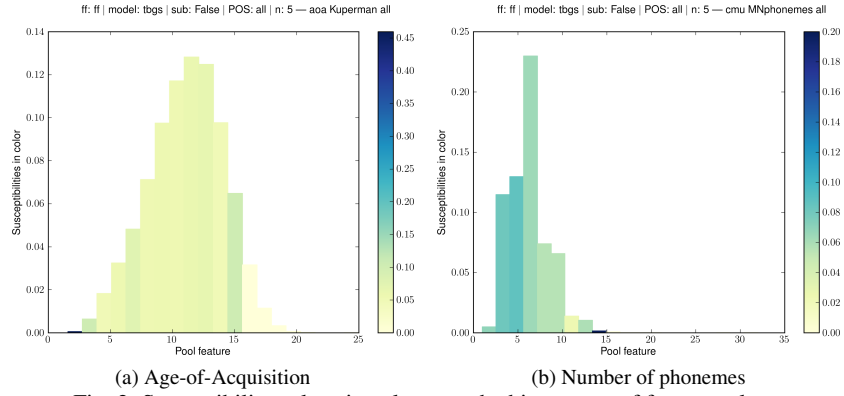
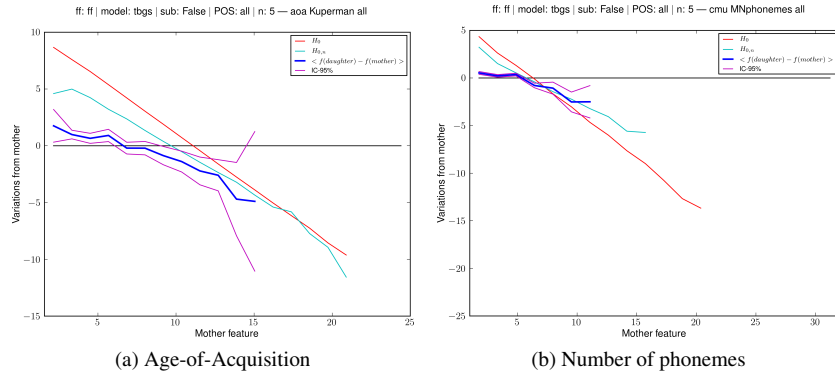
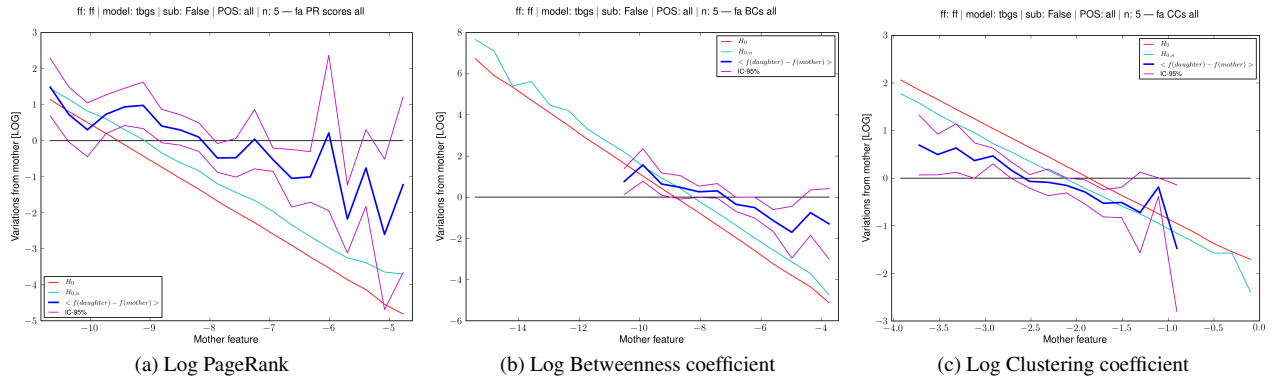
—beyond that, provide the first bricks of an empirical *fitness landscape* for the epidemiology of representations

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Fig. 1: Detection of substitutions according to model [\[update text in figure\]](#)(a) Age-of-Acquisition (b) Number of phonemes  
Fig. 2: Susceptibility values in color over the histograms of feature values(a) Age-of-Acquisition (b) Number of phonemes  
Fig. 3: Variations of features, with corresponding values under  $\mathcal{H}_0$  and  $\mathcal{H}_{0,n}$ (a) Log PageRank (b) Log Betweenness coefficient (c) Log Clustering coefficient  
Fig. 4: Variations of features, with corresponding values under  $\mathcal{H}_0$  and  $\mathcal{H}_{0,n}$

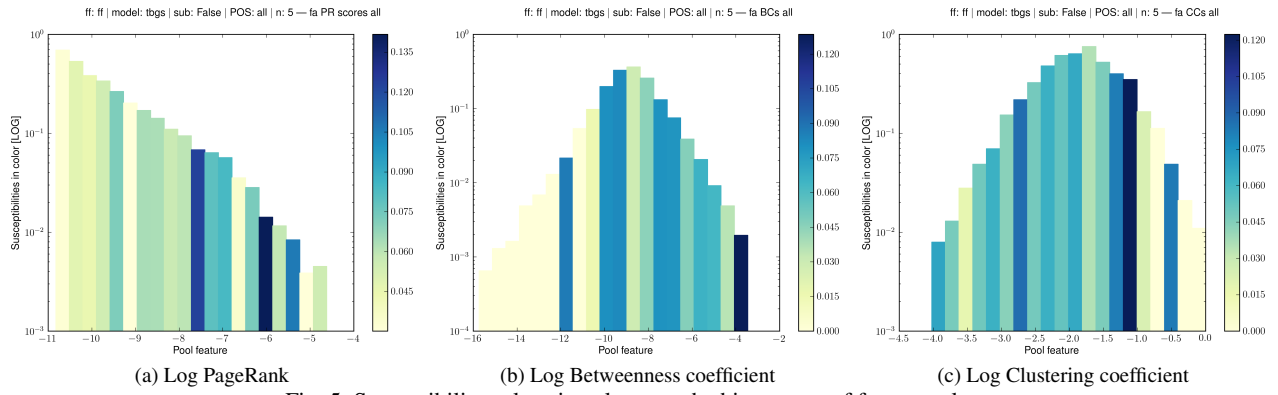


Fig. 5: Susceptibility values in color over the histograms of feature values