

# To what extent does typicality boost semantic priming effects between members of their categories?

Angèle Brunellière, I. Bonnotte

# ▶ To cite this version:

Angèle Brunellière, I. Bonnotte. To what extent does typicality boost semantic priming effects between members of their categories?. Journal of Cognitive Psychology, 2018, 30 (7), pp.670-688. 10.1080/20445911.2018.1523174. hal-01917001

# HAL Id: hal-01917001 https://hal.univ-lille.fr/hal-01917001

Submitted on 17 Oct 2021

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Title: To what extent does typicality boost semantic priming effects between members

of their categories?

Authors: Angèle Brunellière<sup>1</sup>, Isabelle Bonnotte<sup>1</sup>

**Affiliation:** 

<sup>1</sup> Univ. Lille, CNRS, UMR 9193 - SCALab - Sciences Cognitives et Sciences

Affectives, F-59000 Lille, France

**Corresponding author:** 

Angèle Brunellière

SCALab, CNRS UMR 9193, Université de Lille, Domaine universitaire du Pont de

Bois, BP 60149, 59653 Villeneuve d'Ascq, France

Tel: +33 (0)3 20 41 72 04 E-mail: angele.brunelliere@univ-lille.fr

Acknowledgements: We are very grateful to Emmanuel Farce, Céline Lévêque, Oliver

Buland, and Eva Carru for their help in collecting of data and to Pascal Denis and

Nathalie Vauquier for building semantic representations for words obtained from

statistical co-occurrences in texts. The manuscript was proofread by a native English-

speaking copyeditor. We thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

Page 1 sur 47

Abstract:

Atypical items of their semantic category yield more generalization than their typical

members when relearning in connectionist networks (Plaut, 1996) and in empirical

studies (Kiran & Thompson, 2003). It seems therefore that atypical words provide more

information about the overall structure of the semantic category due to their specific and

shared features. In this view, atypical primes could strongly facilitate the processing of

targets compared to typical primes, because typical primes contain little information

about the variation between members within a category. In contrast, three semantic

priming experiments in visual word recognition showed an advantage with the typical

context, but not with the atypical one. These findings were observed in a variety of

tasks, including lexical decision, categorization and semantic judgment. Our results do

not support the findings about generalization in relearning and suggest that typicality

effects in semantic priming mostly come from the activation of representative features

of categories.

Count: 150 words

Keywords: Typicality, semantic priming, semantic category, word recognition

Page 2 sur 47

#### Introduction

Cat indicates a typical mammal (as does dog) while mink refers to an atypical mammal. The typical or atypical character of an entity depends on its distance from the prototype of its semantic category (Rosch, 1975). The prototype of a category is conceived as its central tendency, its centralized representation, or its core. The present study was designed to determine how category structure, in particular, the typicality of words within a category, affects word recognition, e.g. within the category of mammals, between cat and dog, or between mink and dog. The most widely studied effect to explore the organization of semantic representations and the dynamics of spreading activation in semantic memory (for reviews, Hutchison, 2003; Lucas, 2000) is the socalled "semantic priming effect". The semantic priming effect is traditionally measured by comparing performances in two priming contexts: one with semantically related prime-target pairs (e.g., cat-dog), and the other with unrelated prime-target pairs (e.g., scythe-dog). This refers to the observation that a target word is recognized faster when it is preceded by a semantically related prime rather than by an unrelated prime. Therefore, we explored whether semantic priming effects were affected by typicality in categorical priming.

According to the prototype theory (Rosch, 1975), the perceptual and functional features appearing frequently among members of a given category have a high probability of being integrated into its prototype. They are shared features and are distinguished from specific features. For example, the land-based lifestyle is a feature shared by many mammals. In contrast, the aquatic lifestyle is a specific feature of a few members of this category (e.g., whales). Thus, the members of a given category are

distributed at greater or lesser distances from its core according to the number of features shared between a given member and the prototype: the members near the core are typical while the members rather on the periphery are atypical.

In reference to Rosch's prototype model (1975), Plaut (1996) developed a connectionist simulation to test the hypothesis that the degree of generalization to new words produced by new training should be influenced by the relative typicality of learned words. It was hypothesized that after lesions in an artificial neural network, a new training of the network with words referring to typical concepts should give rise to a greater recovery of memory than the same type of training with words referring to atypical concepts. The results of the simulation were unexpected. In fact, new training on atypical words in their category gave rise to a greater generalization than new training on more typical words. Plaut (1996) concluded that atypical words, as a whole, provide more information about the overall structure of the category due to their specific and shared features. Atypical words include how semantic properties may vary between members of a category and provide a good approximation of the central tendency of the category. Thus, new training on atypical words can produce a generalization on all untrained words, both typical and atypical. On the other hand, new training on the typical words is generalized only to the other typical words. In the latter case, the performance on the atypical words decreased. These findings were explained by the fact that atypical words provide a better estimate of both the central tendency and the variation within the category on each semantic dimension, whereas typical words provide only information about the central tendency.

Plaut's results (1996) were confirmed by Kiran and Thompson (2003) in empirical studies. They studied the effect of the typicality of members of two superordinate categories (birds, vegetables) in a naming task (i.e., naming birds and vegetables presented in a pictorial format) administered to four patients with Wernicke's aphasia, a group of young adults, and a group of older adults. They found that training on atypical items, including relevant variables for typical items, facilitated a greater access to untrained items than training on typical items. It is important to extend these findings in terms of spreading activation during word recognition. While Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003) targeted learning and retrieving information processes in semantic memory, the present study investigated how the typicality of members of a given semantic category affects the recognition of other members within the same category in healthy populations. According to the hypotheses proposed by Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003), the initial processing of an atypical prime (with shared and specific features) would be more effective than that of a typical prime (with many shared features), regardless of which target is subsequently processed.

Contrary to this view, some authors have repeatedly found a more beneficial effect with typical members than with atypical ones in category membership verification tasks. When participants are asked to verify whether a member of a category (dog) belongs to a given category (mammals), faster reaction times are observed with typical than with atypical members. The two items are usually presented as a sentence or a word pair (Hampton, 1997; Larochelle & Pineau, 1994; Mervis & Rosch, 1981; Räling, Holzgrefe-Lang, Schröder, & Wartenburger, 2015; Smith,

Shoben, & Rips, 1974). The effects observed in category membership verification tasks plead in favor of a strong direct link between high typicality members and their superordinate semantic category. Based on the prototype model (Rosch, 1975), smaller distances according to the number of features shared between a given member and the prototype could explain the ability to verify whether a member belongs to a given semantic category. Nonetheless, these effects mostly reflect the degree to which a member (e.g., dog) is more or less representative of a given category (e.g., mammals) and were obtained with a presentation of the named category. Interestingly, a stronger beneficial effect with typical members than with atypical ones was also observed with fixation duration of target members when they were preceded by the category name in sentence-reading, without the participants performing an explicit category membership verification task (Carroll & Slowiaczek, 1986). This finding could be evidence of the spreading activation of the more representative members of a given category after the recognition of its name. Although Chumbley (1986) and Casey (1992) studied the time taken to verify category membership for both member-category and category-member orders, one unresolved question is to know to what extent a member prime (e.g., cat or mink) might serve the same function as a named category (e.g., mammal) on the processing of a member target. Therefore, it is not clear whether and how the typicality of a member of a given semantic category affects the recognition of another member within the same category.

The present study was conducted with young French adults using the visual procedure of semantic priming. Three experiments with a 166-ms stimulus-onset asynchrony (SOA) were used either in an implicit task (i.e. not forcing participants to

focus on semantic information) such as a lexical decision task (Experiment 1) or in explicit tasks (i.e., forcing participants to focus on semantic information) including a categorization task (i.e., whether the prime and the target belong to 'the same category' vs. 'different categories', Experiment 2) or a semantic judgment task (i.e., whether the prime is semantically related or not with the target, Experiment 3). To highlight the impact of the typicality of primes on the recognition of other members within the same category, the three experiments included four semantic priming conditions: typical and atypical related priming contexts (e.g., related typical primes conditions, cat-dog and cat-jackal versus related atypical primes conditions, mink-dog and mink-jackal) and their respective unrelated priming contexts (e.g., unrelated primes matching with related typical primes, scythe-dog and scythe-jackal versus unrelated primes matching with related atypical primes, *nut-dog* and *nut-jackal*). To avoid confounding with typicality, the unrelated priming contexts were matched with related priming contexts for a variety of psycholinguistic variables such as lexical frequency and length. Moreover, the impact of the typicality of primes on semantic priming effects was examined either during the processing of typical targets (e.g., dog), or during the processing of atypical targets (e.g., jackal).

#### **Experiment 1: Lexical decision task**

#### Method

# **Participants**

Fifty-two healthy native French speakers with normal or corrected-to-normal vision participated in this experiment. They were recruited at the University of Lille. The participants included 48 women and 4 men with a mean age of 21.1 years (range: 18–29 years). All participants signed a written consent form before beginning the experiment,

which was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. The experiment was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Lille.

#### Material

The selection of items was made from the French database of Dubois and Poitou<sup>1</sup> (2002). This database was constructed by asking 75 young French adults to list, in the order in which they came to mind, the names of objects belonging to 22 semantic categories: 9 categories of "natural" objects, 11 categories of "artificial" objects or artifacts and 2 categories of activities. From this database, 80 typical items and 80 atypical items were selected in order to be presented as targets. Each target was associated with four semantic priming conditions (related typical primes, related atypical primes, unrelated primes matching with related typical primes, and unrelated primes matching with related atypical primes). The same primes were presented with the typical targets and the atypical targets. The complete set of French stimuli is listed in Appendix A. In total, 480 words (80 x 2 targets + 80 x 4 primes) selected from the database belonged to 20 semantic categories: 9 categories of "natural" objects (birds, fishes, insects, mammals, metals and materials, flowers, fruits, trees, vegetables), 9 categories of "artificial" objects or artifacts (weapons, buildings, clothing, containers and utensils, drinks, furniture, musical instruments, tools, vehicles) and 2 categories of activities (professions, sports). There was the same number of typical and atypical targets within each semantic sub-category. Typical items should have been cited by at least 20% of participants (mean: 49.2; max: 97.33%), while atypical items should have been cited by at least 1.33% and at most 6.67% of them (mean: 2.17%). Semantic distances were extracted between each item and its named category from semantic representations for words obtained from statistical co-occurrences in texts (for more

details, https://magnet.gitlabpages.inria.fr/mangoes/). The semantic distances based on the French corpus of Wikipedia were weaker between typical items and their named category than those between atypical items and their named category. Semantically related and unrelated primes were matched for lexical frequency, word length and orthographical neighbors (see Table 1) obtained from the Lexique database (New, Pallier, Brysbaert, & Ferrand, 2004). When prime-target pairs were semantically related, primes and targets belonged to the same semantic category. Moreover, prime-target pairs were matched for co-occurrence frequency, orthographical, phonological, and morphological similarity. The co-occurrence frequency was collected from large language corpora of film subtitles (New, Brysbaert, Veronis, & Pallier, 2007) accessible on the Lexique website (www.lexique.org, for a similar approach, Brunellière, Perre, Tran, & Bonnotte, 2017).

# < Insert Table 1 here >

The 80 typical targets and the 80 atypical targets were divided into four lists so that each target was associated with the four priming conditions across all participants, but was presented only once per condition to a given participant. To make the relations between primes and targets difficult to discern and to avoid some attentional strategies, 160 additional unrelated prime—target word pairs were also presented. Each list was composed of 640 prime—target pairs, such that the semantically related pairs represented 25% of word-word pairs. For the purposes of the task, 320 word—pseudoword pairs were added and were not further analyzed. Pseudoword targets were orthographically legal and were constructed by replacing a letter in French words other than those in the experimental set. The word and pseudoword targets were matched for length. Moreover,

32 practice trials were built according to the same criteria.

#### Procedure

Each participant was randomly assigned to one list. The 640 trials were divided into five blocks of 128 trials each. Trial order within each block was randomized and a break was provided between the blocks. In each trial, participants were first presented with a fixation cross for 500 ms, followed by a prime word for 150 ms. After presentation of the prime, a black screen was presented for 16 ms, creating an SOA of 166 ms (for a similar approach in semantic priming, Brunellière, Perre, Tran, & Bonnotte, 2017). Thereafter, the target stimulus, either a real word or a pronounceable pseudoword, was displayed and remained on the screen until the participants' response. The primes and the targets, in lowercase, were presented synchronously in white font on a black background on a computer monitor with the screen refresh (refresh rate = 16.67 ms). Participants were instructed to indicate, as quickly and accurately as possible, whether the target stimulus was a real word or not. Responses were given by pressing one of two buttons on a button box, the button responses being assigned according to the participants' handedness. The inter-trial interval (a black screen) lasted 1500 ms. Before the experimental task, participants first received instructions and 32 practice trials. It took approximately 40 min to complete the task. The duration of prime presentation in the present study allowed us to explore categorical priming in the conscious presentation of primes, as assessed by a prime visibility test that participants performed after the priming task. The hit rates of prime recognition (mean hit rates: .91) were substantially higher than the false-alarm rates (mean false alarm rates: .1). At the end of the prime visibility test, all participants reported that they had consciously recognized

the letters of primes.

#### Results

Nine items giving rise to more than 30% of errors were excluded from the analyses in the lexical decision task (for a similar approach, e.g., Havelka, Bowers, & Jankovic, 2006; Kouider & Dupoux, 2005). Response times (RTs) longer than 1600 ms (based on RT distribution, see Baayen, McQueen, Dijkstra, & Schreuder, 2003) in correct trials and those greater than three standard deviations above and below the participant's overall responses were excluded from the analyses (in total, 2.1%). Mean error rates and RTs are shown in Table 2. Based on the aim of the study, ANOVAs with Prime Typicality (Atypical vs. Typical) and Priming Context (Related vs. Unrelated) as factors were conducted by each type of target. The analyses were performed on error rates and RTs by participants  $(F_1)$  and by items  $(F_2)$ . On atypical targets, the analysis of error rates revealed a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_1(1.51) = 6.85$ , p < .05;  $F_2(1.71) =$ 5.76, p < .05. Participants recognized atypical targets better when they were preceded by a semantically related context than by an unrelated context. The interaction between Priming Context and Prime Typicality was not significant,  $F_I(1,51) = 1.19$ , p > .2;  $F_2(1,71) = .8$ , p > .2. The size of the priming effect for atypical primes (2.9%) was thus similar to that for typical primes (1.5%). Contrary to atypical targets, neither a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_1(1,51) = 1.39$ , p > .2;  $F_2(1,78) = 1.54$ , p > .2, nor an interaction between Priming Context and Prime Typicality,  $F_1(1,51) = .01$ , p > .2;  $F_2(1,78) = .01$ , p > .2, were found for typical targets.

Similar to error rates, separate analyses on RTs were conducted on each type of target. On atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_I(1,51) = 4.74$ , p < .05;  $F_2(1,71) = 5.62$ , p < .05, was found but there was no interaction between Priming Context and

Prime Typicality,  $F_I(1,51) = 0.039$ , p > .2;  $F_2(1,71) = 0.001$ , p > .2. RTs were shorter when atypical targets were preceded by a semantically related context than by an unrelated context. The size of the priming effect for atypical primes (10 ms) was thus similar to that for typical primes (12 ms). Similar to atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_I(1,51) = 27.82$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,78) = 28.87$ , p < .001, was found for typical targets. Contrary to atypical targets, the interaction between Priming Context and Prime Typicality was significant,  $F_I(1,51) = 4.88$ , p < .05;  $F_2(1,78) = 4.34$ , p < .05, with a higher semantic priming effect with typical primes (26 ms) than with atypical ones (11 ms). After applying the post-hoc Tukey test by participants ( $q_1$ ) and by items ( $q_2$ ), it appeared that a semantic priming effect was found significantly with typical primes,  $q_1(4,51) = 7.28$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,78) = 7.57$ , p < .001, (597 ms for related typical primes, 623 ms for unrelated matching typical primes), but not with atypical ones,  $q_1(4,51) = 3.12$ , p = .13;  $q_2(4,78) = 3.15$ , p = .12, (604 ms for related atypical primes, 615 ms for unrelated matching atypical primes).

# **Discussion**

Experiment 1 showed a similar-sized semantic priming effect for both atypical and typical primes during the processing of atypical targets on error rates and response times. In contrast, a semantic priming effect was found only with typical primes during the processing of typical targets from response times. These findings did not confirm the hypothesis proposed by Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003). While there was indeed no beneficial effect of prime typicality during the processing of atypical targets, a beneficial effect was found with the typical primes during the processing of

typical targets. To evaluate whether the lexical decision task, which is an implicit task not forcing participants to focus attention on semantic information, could have led to divergent findings from those of Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003), we conducted a second visual semantic priming experiment during which new participants performed a categorization task that explicitly probed into the semantic level (Experiment 2).

< Insert Table 2 here >

**Experiment 2: Categorization task** 

Method

**Participants** 

Fifty-six healthy native French speakers with normal or corrected-to-normal vision took part in this experiment and had not participated in Experiment 1. They were recruited at the University of Lille. They included 43 women and 13 men with a mean age of 20.8 years (range = 17–29 years). As in Experiment 1, all participants signed a written consent form before beginning the experiment, which was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. The experiment was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Lille.

Material and procedure

The stimulus sets and sequence of events remained identical to those in Experiment 1 except for the task. Participants were instructed to indicate, as quickly and accurately as possible, whether the target stimulus belonged to the same category as the prime or not. The button responses were counterbalanced across participants. For the purposes of the task, we removed the additional unrelated prime-target word pairs and the word—

Page 13 sur 47

pseudoword pairs, so that the responses "same category" and "different categories" presented the same probability. The four lists were composed of 160 word-word pairs, which were divided into five blocks (i.e., 32 trials per block, with randomized trial order within each block; 4 breaks) and were preceded by 8 practice trials. As in Experiment 1, participants reported that they had consciously recognized the letters of primes (mean hit rates: .92; mean false alarm rates: .1).

#### Results

As in Experiment 1, items giving rise to more than 30% of errors were excluded from the analyses (seventeen items). Response times (RTs) longer than 2590 ms (based on RT distribution, see Baayen, McQueen, Dijkstra, & Schreuder, 2003) in correct trials and those greater than three standard deviations above and below the participant's overall responses were excluded from the analyses (in total, 3.1%). In addition, analyses on error rates were conducted for each type of target. Mean error rates and RTs are shown in Table 3. A main effect of Priming Context was found on atypical targets,  $F_1(1,55) = 134.24$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,65) = 115.32$ , p < .001. Interestingly, a significant interaction between Priming Context and Prime Typicality was found,  $F_1(1,55) = 24.48$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,65) = 12.05$ , p < .001. We reported a simple effect analysis comparing YES responses (related primes and targets belonging to the same category) and another comparing NO responses (unrelated control and targets belonging to different categories). After applying the post-hoc Tukey test by participants  $(q_1)$  and by items  $(q_2)$ , it appeared that participants' performances were better when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 10.4$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,65) = 7.42$ , p < .001, (21.2% for related typical primes; 32.5% for related atypical primes). On the contrary, they were identical when

atypical targets were preceded by unrelated primes that matched either with typical primes or atypical primes,  $q_1(4.55) = 0.5$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4.65) = 0.48$ , p > .2, (3.6% for unrelated matching typical primes, 4.1% for unrelated matching atypical primes). Since no significant difference was found between the two types of unrelated primes, we then reported the statistical results after post-hoc Tukey comparisons between the related and unrelated conditions by participants  $(q_1)$  and by items  $(q_2)$ . A negative semantic priming effect between related and unrelated context was observed independently of the typicality of primes (for typical primes,  $q_1(4.55) = 16.29$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4.65) = 10.69$ , p < .001.001; for atypical primes,  $q_1(4.55) = 26.19$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4.65) = 17.63$ , p < .001). This negative semantic priming effect was smaller with typical primes than with atypical ones (respectively, 17.6% and 28.4% of errors more than in the unrelated priming context),  $t_1(55) = 4.94$ , p < .001,  $t_2(65) = 3.47$ , p < .001. Similar to atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_1(1.55) = 86.87$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1.77) = 65.11$ , p < .001, and a significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality,  $F_1(1,55) = 128.29$ , p < 100.001;  $F_2(1,77) = 60.21$ , p < .001, were found for typical targets. After applying the posthoc Tukey test by participants  $(q_1)$  and by items  $(q_2)$ , it appeared that participants' performances were better when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 23.86$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,77) = 16.35$ , p < .001, (5.7% for related typical primes; 27.3% for related atypical primes). On the contrary, performances were identical when typical targets were preceded by unrelated primes that either matched with typical primes or atypical primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 1.2, p > .2;$   $q_2(4,77) = 0.83, p > .2, (3.3\%)$  for unrelated matching typical primes, 4.4% for unrelated matching atypical primes). Moreover, whereas a negative semantic effect between related and unrelated context was observed when typical targets were preceded by atypical primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 25.28$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,77) = 17.31$ , p < .001, (27.3% for related atypical primes, 4.4% for unrelated matching atypical primes), no significant semantic effect between related and unrelated context was found when typical targets were preceded by typical primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 2.6$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4,77) = 1.79$ , p > .2, (5.7% for related typical primes, 3.3% for unrelated matching typical primes). There were 22.9% errors in the related context more than in the unrelated one when typical targets were preceded by atypical primes.

Consistent with error rates, separate analyses on RTs were conducted on each type of target. A main effect of Priming Context and a significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality were found on atypical targets, respectively  $F_I(1,55) = 4.81$ , p < .05;  $F_2(1,65) = 7.1, p < .01; F_1(1,55) = 22.77, p < .001; F_2(1,65) = 15.31, p < .001.$  The posthoc Tukey test by participants  $(q_1)$  and by items  $(q_2)$  was performed to interpret the significant interaction. Response times were shorter when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4.55) = 8.81$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4.65) = 7.55$ , p < .001, (946 ms for related typical primes; 1062 ms for related atypical primes). Response times did not significantly differ between the two types of unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 0.73, p > .2$ ;  $q_2(4,65) = 0.27, p > .2$ .2, (977 ms for unrelated matching typical primes, 968 ms for unrelated matching atypical primes). Moreover, whereas response times were longer when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related atypical primes than by unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 7.15$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,65) = 7.74$ , p < .001, (94 ms more than unrelated matching atypical primes), they did not significantly differ between semantically related typical primes and unrelated primes,  $q_1(4.55) = 2.39$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4.65) = 0.09$ , p > .2. Similar to atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context and a significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality were found on typical targets, respectively  $F_I(1,55)$  = 12.76, p < .05;  $F_2(1,77) = 3.81$ , p = .05;  $F_I(1,55) = 90.7$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,77) = 44.68$ , p < .001. After applying the post-hoc Tukey test by participants  $(q_1)$  and by items  $(q_2)$ , it appeared that response times were shorter when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 19.59$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,77) = 13.37$ , p < .001, (803 ms) for related typical primes; 982 ms for related atypical primes). Response times did not significantly differ between the two types of unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 0.54$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4,77) = 0.003$ , p > .2, (943 ms) for unrelated matching typical primes, 948 ms for unrelated matching atypical primes). In addition, whereas response times were longer when typical targets were preceded by semantically related atypical primes than by unrelated matching atypical primes), they were shorter when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes), they were shorter when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by unrelated matching atypical primes), they were shorter when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,55) = 15.3$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,77) = 8.91$ , p < .001, (140 ms) less than unrelated matching typical primes).

#### < Insert Table 3 here >

# Discussion

Unlike in Experiment 1, the processing of typical primes was more beneficial to the processing of targets than that of atypical primes in Experiment 2, regardless of the typicality of the targets. This advantage of target processing due to typical primes took the form of a facilitation of processing with respect to atypical primes. Moreover, it produced a reduction in negative semantic priming effect on error rates and a facilitation of semantic priming effect on response times. This pattern was particularly evident when the target and the prime were typical. In that case, a negative semantic priming

effect on error rates disappeared and a semantic priming effect, facilitating the processing of targets, was observed from response times. A categorization task is not usually used in the semantic priming paradigm, although it is very relevant when the nature of the semantic relationship to be explored is categorical. To confirm the beneficial effect of typical primes and their impact of priming effects, we conducted a third semantic priming experiment with another explicit task that probed into the semantic level. Instead of a categorization task, we used a semantic judgment task.

# **Experiment 3: Semantic judgment task**

#### Method

# **Participants**

Fifty-four healthy native French speakers with normal or corrected-to-normal vision took part in this experiment and had not participated in Experiments 1 or 2. They were recruited at the University of Lille. They included 48 women and 6 men with a mean age of 21.4 years (range = 18–30 years). As in Experiments 1 and 2, all participants signed a written consent form before beginning the experiment, which was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. The experiment was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Lille.

#### Material and procedure

The stimulus sets and the procedure were identical to those in Experiment 2 except for the task. Participants had to decide, as quickly and accurately as possible, whether the prime and the target were semantically related. The experimental session ended with the prime visibility test. As in Experiments 1 and 2, the hit rates of prime recognition (mean hit rates: .92) were substantially higher than the false-alarm rates (mean false

alarm rates: .09). At the end of the prime visibility test, all participants reported that they had consciously recognized the letters of primes.

# Results

As in Experiment 2, items giving rise to more than 30% of errors were excluded from the analyses (twelve items). Response times (RTs) longer than 3035 ms (based on RT distribution, see Baayen, McQueen, Dijkstra, & Schreuder, 2003) in correct trials and those greater than three standard deviations above and below the participants' overall responses were excluded from the analyses (in total, 3.5%). Analyses on error rates were conducted for each type of target. On atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_1(1.53) = 227.94$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1.68) = 157.62$ , p < .001, and a significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality,  $F_1(1,53) = 23.82$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,68) =$ 19.37, p < .001, were found. Moreover, participants' performances were better when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4.53) = 9.09$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4.68) = 8.18$ , p < .001.001, (21.1% for related typical primes; 32.6% for related atypical primes), as shown in Table 4. On the contrary, they were identical when atypical targets were preceded by unrelated primes that either matched with typical primes or atypical primes,  $q_1(4,53) =$ 0.67, p > .2;  $q_2(4,68) = 0.62, p > .2, (2.3\%)$  for unrelated matching typical primes, 1.5% for unrelated matching atypical primes). Additionally, the negative semantic priming effect was observed independently of the typicality of primes (for typical primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 14.69, p < .001; q_2(4,68) = 13.75, p < .001; for atypical primes, <math>q_1(4,53) =$  $24.46, p < .001; q_2(4.68) = 22.55, p < .001$ ). This negative semantic priming effect was smaller with typical primes than with atypical ones (respectively, 18.8% and 31.1% of errors more than with the unrelated priming context),  $t_1(53) = 4.88$ , p < .001,  $t_2(68) =$ 

4.4, *p* < .001.

Similar to atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context,  $F_1(1,53) = 88.36$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1.78) = 61.29$ , p < .001, and a significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality,  $F_1(1.53) = 132.2$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1.78) = 60.47$ , p < .001, were found for typical targets. Moreover, participants' performances were better when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4.53) = 24.28 \ p < .001$ ;  $q_2(4.78) = 16.49$ , p < .001, (4.2% for related)typical primes; 26.4% for related atypical primes), as shown in Table 4. On the contrary, they were identical when atypical targets were preceded by unrelated primes that either matched with typical primes or atypical primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 1.28, p > .2$ ;  $q_2(4,78) = 0.94$ , p > .2, (2.6% for unrelated matching typical primes, 3.7% for unrelated matching atypical primes). Besides, whereas a negative semantic priming effect between related and unrelated context was observed when typical targets were preceded by atypical primes,  $q_1(4.53) = 24.84$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4.78) = 16.85$ , p < .001, (26.4% for related atypical primes, 3.7% for unrelated matching atypical primes), no significant semantic priming effect between related and unrelated context was found when typical targets were preceded by typical primes,  $q_1(4.53) = 1.84, p > .2$ ;  $q_2(4.78) = 1.3, p > .2$ , (4.2% for related typical primes, 2.6% for unrelated matching typical primes). There were 22.7% errors in the related context more than in the unrelated one when typical targets were preceded by atypical primes.

Similar to error rates, separate analyses on RTs were conducted on each type of target. A significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality was found on atypical targets,  $F_1(1,53) = 65.8$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,68) = 19.17$ , p < .001. Although a main effect of Priming Context was found in the items' analysis,  $F_2(1,68) = 7.03$ , p < .01, this effect was not observed in the participants' analysis,  $F_1(1,53) = 1.96$ , p = 0.17. Response times were shorter when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 17.02$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,68) = 9.34$ , p < .001, (1035 ms for related typical primes; 1219 ms for related atypical primes). Response times did not significantly differ between the two types of unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 0.79$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4,68) = 0.59$ , p > .2, (1091 ms for unrelated matching typical primes, 1100 ms for unrelated matching atypical primes). Moreover, whereas response times were longer when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related atypical primes than by unrelated matching atypical primes), they were shorter when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 5.19$ , p < .01;  $q_2(4,68) = 5.54$ , p < .01, (56 ms less than unrelated matching typical primes).

As for typical targets, a main effect of Priming Context and a significant interaction Priming Context x Prime Typicality were found, respectively  $F_I(1,53) = 23.03$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,78) = 13.31$ , p < .001;  $F_1(1,53) = 57.33$ , p < .001;  $F_2(1,78) = 52.27$ , p < .001. After applying the post-hoc Tukey test by participants  $(q_1)$  and by items  $(q_2)$ , it appeared that response times were shorter when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by semantically related atypical primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 15.58$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,78) = 14.79$ , p < .001, (874 ms for related typical primes; 1057 ms for related atypical primes). Response times did not significantly differ between the two types of unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 0.44$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4,78) = 0.33$ , p > .2, (1052 ms for unrelated matching typical primes). In addition,

whereas response times were shorter when typical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes than by unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 15.15$ , p < .001;  $q_2(4,78) = 11.86$ , p < .001, (178 ms less than unrelated matching atypical primes), they did not differ between semantically related atypical and unrelated primes,  $q_1(4,53) = 0.007$ , p > .2;  $q_2(4,78) = 2.6$ , p > .2.

#### < Insert Table 4 here >

# Discussion

As in Experiment 2, the processing of typical primes was more beneficial to the processing of targets than that of atypical primes, regardless of the typicality of the targets. In particular, the pattern observed on error rates was identical to that found in Experiment 2, the advantage due to typical primes on target processing being shown by a reduction in the negative semantic priming effect. On the contrary, the pattern of response times observed in Experiment 2 was somewhat different from that found in Experiment 3. During the processing of atypical targets in Experiment 3, a negative semantic priming effect was found when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related atypical primes with respect to the matching unrelated condition, while a facilitatory semantic priming effect was observed when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related typical primes with respect to the matching unrelated condition. Although a negative semantic priming effect was also found when atypical targets were preceded by semantically related atypical primes in Experiment 2, there was no facilitatory effect in semantic priming due to the typical primes. The semantic judgment task in Experiment 3 seemed to reveal the semantic level differently from the categorization task. In addition, we observed a negative semantic priming effect when typical targets were preceded by semantically related atypical primes compared to the

matching unrelated condition in Experiment 2, an effect that was not found in Experiment 3. The semantic judgment task facilitated the detection of features common to primes and targets, while the categorization task forced participants to focus on the nature of these shared features, thereby forming a semantic category. Taken together, in the tasks probing explicitly the semantic level, typical primes facilitated the processing of targets compared to atypical primes. Meta-analyses have already shown that semantic similarity affects the strength of semantic priming effects (Hutchison, 2003; Lucas, 2000). To show whether the semantic priming effects observed in the three preceding experiments are coherent with the notion of semantic similarity, we measured the latter for each prime-target pair using a Likert-type rating scale.

#### **Experiment 4: Semantic similarity measures**

# Method

One hundred and twenty-one native French-speaking participants different from those included in the three semantic priming experiments performed a semantic similarity task between both words in a prime-target pair using a Likert-type rating scale on which 1 = 1 unrelated and 1 = 1 very strongly related.

# Results

Results with the semantic similarity task are displayed in Table 5. We performed the same statistical analyses on values of semantic similarity as those in the preceding experiments. On pairs with atypical targets, the analysis revealed a main effect of Priming Context, F(1,79) = 1674.73, p < .001, and a significant interaction between priming context and typicality of primes, F(1,79) = 16.83, p < .001. After applying the post-hoc Tukey test, we could interpret the significant interaction Priming Context x

Prime Typicality. The values of semantic similarity were greater with semantically related typical primes than with semantically related atypical primes, q(4,79) = 9, p <.001, (5.82 with semantically related typical primes, 5.18 with semantically related atypical primes). No significant difference in semantic similarity was found between the unrelated prime pairs, q(4.79) = 0.79, p > .2, (1.34 with unrelated matching typical primes; 1.29 with unrelated matching atypical primes). Moreover, the difference in semantic similarity between unrelated and related pairs was greater with typical prime pairs (difference in semantic similarity: 4.48) than with atypical prime pairs (difference in semantic similarity for atypical targets: 3.89, t(79) = 6.92, p < .001). Similar to pairs with atypical targets, a main effect of Priming Context, F(1,79) = 3644.17, p < .001, and a significant interaction between the priming context and the typicality of primes, F(1,79) = 47.9, p < .001, were found for pairs with typical targets. Moreover, the values of semantic similarity were greater with semantically related typical primes than with semantically related atypical primes, q(4.79) = 13.81, p < .001, (6.62 with semantically related typical primes, 5.72 with semantically related atypical primes). No significant difference in semantic similarity was found between the unrelated prime-target pairs, q(4,79) = 0.05, p > .2, (1.32 with both unrelated conditions). Additionally, the difference in semantic similarity between unrelated and related pairs was greater with typical prime pairs (difference in semantic similarity for typical targets: 5.3) than with atypical prime pairs (difference in semantic similarity for typical targets: 4.4, t(79) = 4.1, p < 0.001).

< Insert Table 5 here >

#### Discussion

Taken together, these results are somewhat convergent with those of our semantic priming experiments. Interestingly, the assessment of semantic similarity was influenced by the typicality of primes. The condition with the strongest semantic similarity was the typical prime-typical target pairs (6.62), a condition with the most efficient processing in the three priming experiments with regard to the value of semantic priming effects. Nonetheless, the findings in Experiments 2 and 3 appear to be more coherent with the semantic similarity measures than those found in Experiment 1. For instance, in Experiment 1, the semantic priming effects were not affected by the typicality of primes during the processing of atypical targets, whereas the values of semantic similarity were greater with typical prime pairs than with atypical prime pairs. On the contrary, the semantic priming effects observed in Experiments 2 and 3 were affected by the typicality of primes for both atypical and typical targets, as in the semantic similarity measures.

# **General Discussion**

Three semantic priming experiments were conducted with conscious presentations of primes in a lexical decision task, a categorization task, or a semantic judgment task. In the lexical decision task, the same size of semantic priming effect was observed for typical and atypical primes during the processing of atypical targets. On the contrary, a semantic priming effect was found only with typical primes during the processing of typical targets. In the categorization and semantic judgment tasks, the typical primes facilitated the processing of targets with respect to atypical primes. Moreover, this advantage of target processing produced a reduction in negative semantic priming effect on error rates and a facilitation of semantic priming effect on

response times. Altogether, our findings point to an advantage of the processing of typical primes as compared to that of atypical primes.

In an implicit task when participants were not forced to focus attention on semantic information between the prime and the target (i.e., in lexical decision task), the initial processing of an atypical prime (with shared and specific features) was no more effective than that of a typical prime (with many shared features) during the processing of atypical targets. More exactly, the semantic priming effect observed during the processing of atypical target seems to be induced by shared features within semantic categories given by both atypical and typical primes, since the same size of semantic priming effect was observed for typical and atypical primes. During the processing of typical targets, it appeared that sharing many features with the members of the category caused a facilitatory effect of semantic priming. Whereas the typicality of primes affected the processing of targets only for typical targets in the lexical decision task, the typicality of primes strongly influenced the processing of atypical and typical targets in the categorization and semantic judgment tasks. In these two tasks explicitly probing the semantic level, sharing some features with the members of the category between the prime and the target made it more difficult to decide whether a target was semantically related with a prime or belonged to the same category than to decide whether a target was not semantically related or did not belong to the same category. Interestingly, judgments of category- or semantic-relatedness were improved when the prime was typical with respect to atypical primes. The negative semantic priming caused by the difficulty to decide whether a target was semantically related with a prime or belonged to the same category was reduced on error rates when the prime was typical during the processing of atypical and typical targets. One may wonder whether this reduction in the negative semantic priming could simply be elicited when one member of a category is typical, independently of whether the member is presented as a prime or a target. However, supplementary analyses showed that the size of the negative semantic priming effect on error rates differed significantly between typical primes-atypical targets and atypical primes-typical targets in categorization and semantic judgment tasks. Therefore, the improvement in judgments of category- or semantic-relatedness was indeed due to the typicality of primes. Moreover, when both the target and the prime were typical, the negative semantic priming effect on error rates disappeared and a semantic priming effect facilitating the processing of targets was observed in response times. We therefore hypothesize that the main representative features provided by the typical primes and shared with the typical targets strengthen the beneficial effect of prime typicality on the recognition of targets compared to atypical primes.

These findings are thus not consistent with the view proposed by Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003). Their theory (Kiran, Sandberg, & Sebastian, 2011) was that "training items at the periphery would strengthen a more distributed set of featural representations of items that help fulfill the goal of the category, whereas training featural representations of items at the center of the category would reinforce only the core features that fulfill the goal but not the featural variations". If we extend this view to the spreading activation between the prime and the target, it could be predicted that the processing of typical and atypical targets in semantic priming would be facilitated by semantically related primes. This facilitation should be greater with atypical primes that have shared and specific features. The fact that we did not find this pattern in the three tasks could be because the stimuli belonged to 20 semantic

categories. Plaut (1996) used only one semantic category for simulation and Kiran and Thompson (2003) and Kiran (2008) used only two. Exposure to a low number of semantic categories could be advantageous when processing atypical members, since the latter are situated at the periphery of the semantic category, thereby creating a boundary. When participants are exposed to many semantic categories, they could tend to differentiate them more on the basis of their tendency towards a central meaning than on their semantic variation. This could explain the divergent findings between the present study and those by Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003). Moreover, Plaut (1996) and Kiran and Thompson (2003) targeted learning and informationretrieval processes in semantic memory with connectionist networks or patients, whereas we investigated information-retrieval processes in semantic memory with healthy individuals taking word recognition tasks. Interestingly, studies exploring the relearning of members within a semantic category in patients (Kiran, 2008; Kiran & Thompson, 2003; Kiran, Sandberg, & Sebastian, 2011) showed that training on typical items produced rapid results on trained typical items with limited generalization while training on atypical items produced slower results on trained atypical items with enhanced generalization on untrained typical and atypical items. The enhanced generalization of untrained items within one category was thus triggered by the repeated exposure on a variety of atypical items. Therefore, we hypothesize that exposure to single-item trials, as in the semantic priming paradigm, might not induce a beneficial effect of the initial processing of an atypical item on the recognition of a target by activating the representations of category features.

In studies investigating information-retrieval processes in the semantic memory of healthy populations, the advantage of processing typical primes is in line with previous findings obtained in category membership verification tasks (Hampton, 1997; Larochelle & Pineau, 1994; Mervis & Rosch, 1981; Räling, Holzgrefe-Lang, Schröder, & Wartenburger, 2015; Smith, Shoben, & Rips, 1974). When a member of a category (e.g., dog) belongs to a given category (e.g., mammal), faster reaction times are observed for typical than for atypical members. This finding is consistent with the spreading activation theory (Collins & Loftus, 1975), the prototype model (Rosch, 1975), and with distributed feature-based models (O'Connor, Cree, & McRae, 2009). According to the spreading activation theory, a high typicality member has a stronger direct link to its superordinate semantic category in addition to multiple shared features than a low typicality member, which has a weak direct link to its superordinate semantic category. In the prototype model (Rosch, 1975), the members of a given category are distributed at greater or lesser distances from its core according to the number of features shared by a given member and the prototype. This means that the members near the core are typical while the members on the periphery are atypical. Lesser distances according to the number of features shared between a given member and the prototype should explain the ability to verify whether a member belongs to a given semantic category. Distributed feature-based models make the same prediction but propose that a typical member and its semantic category share many representative features while an atypical member and its semantic category share fewer features.

Unlike category membership verification tasks, the magnitude of priming does not increase with the typicality of members when their semantic category is presented as a prime in a semantic priming paradigm with simulated or empirical studies (O'Connor, Cree, & McRae, 2009; Schwanenflugel & Rey, 1986). It thus appears that the demands of paradigms strongly affect the way in which the relationship between the

superordinate semantic category and its members can be established. It may be assumed that according to the demands of the paradigms tested in the semantic priming and category membership verification tasks, the participants focused more on the general shared features between the superordinate semantic category and its members in the semantic priming paradigm when the superordinate semantic category was presented as a prime. When we investigated how the typicality of a member of a given semantic category affects the recognition of another member within the same category, the prime which provides shared representative features within a given semantic category seemed to facilitate the processing of the target. This was particularly evident in the two tasks explicitly probing the semantic level. This effect on semantic priming was coherent with semantic similarity between items within pairs. However, the semantic priming effects cannot be explained only by semantic similarity, since the difference in semantic similarity between unrelated and related pairs with typical primes and atypical targets was identical to that with atypical primes and typical targets. In addition to semantic similarity which is known to affect the strength of semantic priming effects (Hutchison, 2003; Lucas, 2000), the frequency of lexical co-occurrence appears to modulate semantic priming effects (e.g., Brunellière, Perre, Tran, & Bonnotte, 2017). For example, co-occurrence frequency was found to boost semantic priming effects (Brunellière, Perre, Tran, & Bonnotte, 2017). However, since this variable was controlled between the prime-target pairs in the present study, its influence may be ruled out. Moreover, the three tasks provided some assumptions about the use of shared semantic features between members varying as a function of task demands. The categorization task seemed to produce a finer analysis of shared semantic features and their nature.

In conclusion, the present study shows an advantage with typical priming but not with atypical priming during the spreading of information activation that occurs between words of the same semantic category.

#### References

- Baayen, R. H., McQueen, J., Dijkstra, T., & Schreuder, R. (2003). Frequency effects in regular inflectional morphology: Revisiting Dutch plurals. In R. H. Baayen, & R. Schreuder (Eds), *Morphological structure in language processing*, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 355-390.
- Brunellière, A., Perre, L., Tran, T. M., & Bonnotte, I. (2017). Co-occurrence frequency evaluated with large language corpora boosts semantic priming effects. *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 70(9), 1922-1934.
- Carroll, P., & Slowiaczek, M. L. (1986). Constraints on semantic priming in reading: A fixation time analysis. *Memory & Cognition*, 14(6), 509-522.
- Casey, P. J. (1992). A reexamination of the roles of typicality and category dominance in verifying category membership. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 18*(4), 823-834.
- Chumbley, J. I. (1986). The roles of typicality, instance dominance, and category dominance in verifying category membership. *Journal of Experimental Psychology:*Learning, Memory, and Cognition, 12(2), 257-267.
- Collins, A. M., & Loftus, E. F. (1975). A spreading-activation theory of semantic processing. *Psychological Review*, 82, 407-428.
- Coltheart, M., Davelaar, E., Jonasson, J. F., & Besner, D. (1977). Access to the internal lexicon. In S. Dornic (Ed.), *Attention & Performance VI* (pp. 535-555). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Dubois, D., & Poitou, J. (2002). « Normes catégorielles » (liste de termes) pour vingtdeux catégories sémantiques. *Cahiers du LCPE*, *5*, 31-104.
- Hampton, J. A. (1997). Associative and similarity-based processes in categorization decisions. *Memory and Cognition*, 25, 625-640.
- Havelka, J., Bowers, J. S., & Janković, D. (2006). Cross-alphabet and cross-modal long-term priming in Serbian and English. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 13(5), 842-847.
- Hutchison, K. A. (2003). Is semantic priming due to association strength or feature overlap? A microanalytic review. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 10, 785-813.
- Kiran, S. (2008). Typicality of inanimate category exemplars in aphasia treatment: Further evidence for semantic complexity. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, 51(6), 1550-1568.
- Kiran, S., Sandberg, C., & Sebastian, R. (2011). Treatment of category generation and retrieval in aphasia: Effect of typicality of category items. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*. *54*(4), 1101-1117.
- Kiran, S., & Thompson, C. K. (2003). The role of semantic complexity in treatment of naming deficits: Training semantic categories in fluent aphasia by controlling exemplar typicality. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, 46(4), 773-787.
- Kouider, S., & Dupoux, E. (2005). Subliminal speech priming. *Psychological Science*, *16*, 617-625.
- Larochelle, S., & Pineau, H. (1994). Determinants of response-times in the semantic verification task. *Journal of Memory and Language*, *33*, 796-823.
- Lucas, M. (2000). Semantic priming without association: A meta-analytic review.

- Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 7, 618-630.
- O'Connor, C. M., Cree, G. S., & McRae, K. (2009). Conceptual Hierarchies in a Flat Attractor Network: Dynamics of Learning and Computations. *Cognitive Science*, 33(4), 665-708.
- Mervis, C. B., & Rosch, E. H. (1981). Categorization of natural objects. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 32(1), 89-115.
- New, B., Pallier, C., Brysbaert, M., & Ferrand, L. (2004). Lexique 2: A new French lexical database. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, *36*, 516-524.
- New, B., Brysbaert, M., Veronis, J., & Pallier, C. (2007). The use of film subtitles to estimate word frequencies. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 28, 661-667.
- Plaut, D. C. (1996). Relearning after damage in connectionist networks: toward a theory of rehabilitation. *Brain and Language*, 52(1), 25-82.
- Räling, R., Holzgrefe-Lang, J., Schröder, A., & Wartenburger, I. (2015). On the influence of typicality and age of acquisition on semantic processing: Diverging evidence from behavioural and ERP responses. *Neuropsychologia*, 75, 186-200.
- Rosch, E. (1975). Cognitive representations of semantic categories. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 104, 192-233.
- Schwanenflugel, P. J., & Rey, M. (1986). Interlingual semantic facilitation: Evidence for a common representational system in the bilingual lexicon. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 25, 605-618.
- Smith, E. E., Shoben, E. J., & Rips, L. J. (1974). Structure and processing semantic memory: a featural model for semantic decisions. *Psychological Review*, 81(3), 214-241.

# Footnote

<sup>1</sup>One hundred and twenty participants not participating in the three semantic priming experiments declared that they knew the selected words.

Table 1. Main psycholinguistic properties of primes and targets used in Experiments 1, 2, 3, and 4

	Related typical primes	Unrelated matching with typical primes	Related atypical primes	Unrelated matching with atypical primes	Typical targets	Atypical targets
Lexical Frequency	25.55	17.70	2.7	3.24	22.03	3.13
Word length	5.99	6.03	6.75	6.83	6.53	7.01
Orthographical neighbors	2.95	3.05	2.06	1.48	2.73	1.12

Lexical frequency in number of occurrences per million words; word length in number of letters; an orthographic neighbor is any word that can be created by changing one letter of the word while keeping the letter positions (Coltheart, Davelaar, Jonasson, & Besner, 1977).

Table 2. Mean error rates and response times (RTs in milliseconds) according to priming conditions, and priming effects in Experiment 1 (standard deviations in parenthesis).

Typical Targets	Errors	Priming effect	RTs	Priming effect on
		on errors		RTs
Related typical	0.9 (2)	-0.5 (3.2)	597 (62)	-26 (41)
primes				
Unrelated matching	1.4 (2.6)		623 (60)	
with typical primes				
Related atypical	1.3 (2.6)	-0.4 (3.9)	604 (63)	-11 (33)
primes				
Unrelated matching	1.7 (2.6)		615 (59)	
with atypical				
primes				
Atypical Targets	Errors	Priming effect	RTs	Priming effect on
		on errors		RTs
Related typical	5.8 (6)	-1.5 (7.7)	673 (73)	-12 (53)
primes				
Unrelated matching	7.3 (6.8)		685 (71)	
with typical primes				
Related atypical	4.7 (5.8)	-2.9 (8.3)	674 (71)	-10 (45)
primes				
Unrelated matching	7.6 (6.9)		684 (66)	
with atypical				
primes				

Table 3. Mean error rates and response times (RTs in milliseconds) according to priming conditions, and priming effects in Experiment 2 (standard deviations in parenthesis).

Typical	Errors	Priming effect on	RTs	Priming effect on
Targets		errors		RTs
Related typical	5.7	+2.4 (7.7)	803 (161)	-140 (130)
primes				
Unrelated	3.3		943 (189)	
matching with				
typical primes				
Related atypical	27.3	+22.9 (15.5)	982 (197)	+34 (130)
primes				
Unrelated	4.4		948 (203)	
matching with				
atypical primes				
Atypical	Errors	Priming effect on	RTs	Priming effect on
Targets		errors		RTs
Related typical	21.2	+17.6 (17.2)	946 (174)	-31 (139)
primes				
Unrelated	3.6		977 (207)	
matching with				
typical primes				
Related atypical	32.5	+28.4 (16.6)	1062 (224)	+94 (150)
primes				
Unrelated	4.1		968 (186)	
matching with				
atypical primes				

Table 4. Mean rates and response times (RTs in milliseconds) according to priming conditions, and priming effects in Experiment 3 (standard deviations in parenthesis).

Typical	Errors	Priming effect	RTs	Priming effect
Targets		on errors		on RTs
Related typical	4.2 (6.2)	+1.6 (7.5)	874 (185)	-178 (152)
primes				
Unrelated	2.6 (4.1)		1052 (206)	
matching with				
typical primes				
Related atypical	26.4 (13.5)	+22.7 (14.9)	1057 (197)	0 (170)
primes				
Unrelated	3.7 (4.7)		1057 (197)	
matching with				
atypical primes				
Atypical	Errors	Priming effect	RTs	Priming effect
Targets		on errors		on RTs
Related typical	21.1 (15)	+18.8 (16.2)	1035 (204)	-56 (190)
primes				
Unrelated	2.3 (4.2)		1091 (230)	
matching with				
typical primes				
Related atypical	32.6 (13.7)	+31.1 (14.4)	1219 (251)	+119 (178)
primes				
Unrelated	1.5 (3.5)		1100 (234)	
matching with				
atypical primes				

Table 5. Semantic similarity according to priming contexts per typicality of primes, and semantic similarity differences between related and unrelated pairs in Experiment 4 (standard deviations in parenthesis).

Typical Targets	Semantic similarity	Semantic similarity difference between related and unrelated pairs
Related typical primes	6.62 (0.5)	5.3 (0.7)
Unrelated matching	1.32 (0.4)	
with typical primes		
Related atypical primes	5.72 (0.9)	4.4 (1.1)
Unrelated matching	1.32 (0.6)	
with atypical primes		
Atypical Targets	Semantic similarity	Semantic similarity difference between related and unrelated pairs
Atypical Targets  Related typical primes	Semantic similarity  5.82 (0.9)	difference between related
	·	difference between related and unrelated pairs
Related typical primes	5.82 (0.9)	difference between related and unrelated pairs
Related typical primes  Unrelated matching	5.82 (0.9)	difference between related and unrelated pairs
Related typical primes  Unrelated matching with typical primes	5.82 (0.9) 1.34 (0.6)	difference between related and unrelated pairs 4.48 (1)

## Appendix A. Stimuli used in Experiments 1, 2, 3, and 4 Part 1. Primes accompanied by typical targets

1 410 1. 1 1111100 4000111	sumed by typical targets	Unrelated matching with	
Typical primes	Typical targets	typical primes	Typical targets
pie magpie	corbeau raven	tank tank	corbeau raven
thon tuna	requin shark	jeep jeep	requin shark
hareng herring	maquereau mackerel	carafe carafe	maquereau mackerel
abeille bee	bourdon bumblebee	tunique tunic	bourdon bumblebee
scarabée beetle	fourmi ant	salsifis salsify	fourmi ant
moustique mosquito	puce chip	lentilles lentils	puce chip
chat cat	chien dog	faux scythe	chien dog
lion lion	tigre tiger	four oven	tigre tiger
éléphant elephant	girafe giraffe	logement housing	girafe giraffe
lapin <i>rabbit</i>	chèvre goat	villa <i>villa</i>	chèvre goat
vache cow	cheval horse	voile sail	cheval horse
singe monkey	panthère panther	banque bank	panthère panther
bronze bronze	or gold	flèche arrow	or gold
zinc zinc	aluminium aluminium	arc bow	aluminium aluminium
plomb lead	acier steel	bœuf beef	acier steel
muguet lily of the valley	violette violet	massue mace	violette violet
iris iris	lilas <i>lilac</i>	sofa <i>sofa</i>	lilas <i>lilac</i>
jacinthe hyacinth	bleuet cornflower	chimiste chemist	bleuet cornflower
pomme apple	banane banana	lutte fight	banane banana
citron lemon	orange orange	expert expert	orange orange
framboise raspberry	fraise strawberry	carrosse coach	fraise strawberry
mandarine mandarin	cerise cherry	synagogue synagogue	cerise cherry
cerisier cherry tree	poirier pear tree	paquebot liner	poirier pear tree
chêne oak	érable <i>maple</i>	moule mold	érable <i>maple</i>
prunier plum tree	pommier apple tree	rentier annuitant	pommier apple tree
endive endive	betterave beet	mygale tarantula	betterave beet
poireau leek	chou cabbage	clavier keyboard	chou cabbage
navet turnip	céleri celery	venin venom	céleri celery
tomate tomato	haricot bean	tunnel tunnel	haricot bean
carotte carrot	persil parsley	antenne antenna	persil parsley
musée museum	cathédrale cathedral	bâton stick	cathédrale cathedral
église church	château castle	artiste <i>artist</i>	château <i>castle</i>
robe dress	jupe skirt	gare station	jupe skirt
manteau coat	imperméable raincoat	prison jail	imperméable raincoat
costume suit	pantalon trousers	console console	pantalon trousers
chapeau hat	bonnet beany	plateau tray	bonnet beany
slip underpants	chaussette sock	rhum rum	chaussette sock
maillot shirt	chemise shirt	taureau taurus	chemise shirt
blouson jacket	gilet vest	panier basket	gilet vest
écharpe scarf	gant glove	notaire notary	gant glove
tasse <i>cup</i>	bol bowl	grange barn	bol bowl

louche ladle cuillère spoon cirque circus cuillère spoon bouteille bottle vase vase militaire *military* vase vase casserole pan marmite cooking pot ministère ministry marmite cooking pot ceinture belt assiette plate verre glass verre glass pot pot faitout stew pot poing fist faitout stew pot bière beer vin wine brique brick vin wine thé tea café coffee loup wolf café coffee cidre cider limonade lemonade taupe mole limonade lemonade whisky whiskey cognac cognac crayon pencil cognac cognac eau water lait milk bas stocking lait milk liqueur liqueur champagne champagne poulain foal champagne champagne chaise chair canapé couch mine mine canapé couch buffet buffet armoire wardrobe armoire wardrobe hangar hangar lit bed divan couch divan couch bois wood bureau desk table table combat fight table table piano piano harpe harp mouton sheep harpe *harp* guitare guitar trompette trumpet piscine swimming pool trompette trumpet contrebasse double bass renard fox contrebasse double bass violon violin pince pliers tournevis screwdriver chant singing tournevis screwdriver tenaille pincers marteau hammer alouette lark marteau hammer bêche spade lustre chandelier bêche spade pelle shovel ciseaux scissors clé key dauphin dolphin clé key pioche pickaxe râteau rake caille quail râteau rake vélo bike vélo bike moto motorbike ciré wax train train bateau boat lance spear bateau boat mobylette moped trottinette scooter églantine eglantine trottinette scooter camion truck autocar coach palais palace autocar coach auto car avion aeroplane nover walnut avion aeroplane poignard dagger couteau knife chameau camel couteau knife canon cannon grenade grenade pliant folding grenade grenade carabine carbine mitraillette submachine gun guéridon pedestal table mitraillette submachine gun fusil gun bombe bomb marin marine bombe bomb boucher butcher boulanger baker buisson bush boulanger baker infirmier nurse psychologue psychologist tablier apron psychologue psychologist rugby rugby football soccer bison bison football soccer handball handball athlétisme athletics sodium sodium athlétisme athletics ski ski cyclisme cycling cyclisme cycling grue crane natation swimming basket basketball ouistiti marmoset basket basketball équitation horse riding alto alto équitation horse riding judo *judo* 

		Unrelated matching	
Atypical primes	Typical targets	with atypical primes	Typical targets
jars gander	corbeau raven	houx holly	corbeau raven
murène moray	requin shark	titane titanium	requin shark
piranha <i>piranha</i>	maquereau mackerel	habitat habitat	maquereau mackerel
grillon cricket	bourdon bumblebee	plongeon plunge	bourdon bumblebee
termite termite	fourmi ant	liseuse bad jacket	fourmi ant
morpion crab	puce chip	citerne tank	puce chip
vison mink	chien dog	écrou nut	chien dog
opossum opossum	tigre tiger	dériveur sailing dinghy	tigre tiger
okapi <i>okapi</i>	girafe giraffe	aïkido <i>aikido</i>	girafe giraffe
tapir tapir	chèvre goat	stylo <i>pen</i>	chèvre goat
poney pony	cheval horse	banjo <i>banjo</i>	cheval horse
renne reindeer	panthère panther	benne skip	panthère panther
opale <i>opal</i>	or gold	motel motel	or gold
nitrate nitrate	aluminium aluminium	cithare zither	aluminium aluminium
plutonium plutonium	acier steel	égouttoir draining	acier steel
pervenche periwinkle	violette violet	corneille crow	violette violet
amaryllis amaryllis	lilas <i>lilac</i>	caméléon chameleon	lilas <i>lilac</i>
pavot poppy	bleuet cornflower	robot robot	bleuet cornflower
kaki <i>khaki</i>	banane banana	maçon <i>builder</i>	banane banana
citrouille pumpkin	orange orange	claquettes tap dance	orange orange
pistache pistachio	fraise strawberry	éboueur dustman	fraise strawberry
olive olive	cerise cherry	sandale sandal	cerise cherry
grenadier grenadier	poirier pear tree	saladier bowl	poirier pear tree
caoutchouc rubber	érable <i>maple</i>	conducteur driver	érable <i>maple</i>
avocatier avocado	pommier apple tree	alligator alligator	pommier apple tree
soja soy	betterave beet	inox stainless steel	betterave beet
piment chilli pepper	chou cabbage	patins skates	chou cabbage
maïs <i>corn</i>	céleri celery	étau vice	céleri <i>celery</i>
cornichon pickle	haricot bean	tambourin tambourine	haricot bean
ciboulette chive	persil parsley	radiologue radiologist	persil parsley
hospice hospice	cathédrale cathedral	cuirasse cuirass	cathédrale cathedral
monastère monastery	château castle	parapluie umbrella	château castle
toge toga	jupe skirt	fève bean	jupe skirt
kimono kimono	imperméable raincoat	martini martini	imperméable raincoat
smoking tuxedo	pantalon trousers	caviar caviar	pantalon trousers
béret beret	bonnet beany	évier sink	bonnet beany
gaine sheath	chaussette sock	tique tick	chaussette sock
chandail sweater	chemise shirt	pinceau brush	chemise shirt
moufle mitten	gilet vest	loutre otter	gilet vest
perruque wig	gant glove	clinique clinical	gant glove
biberon baby bottle	bol bowl	acacia acacia	bol bowl
serviette towel	cuillère spoon	chapelle chapel	cuillère spoon

potiche vase pédiatre pediatrician vase vase vase vase chaudron cauldron marmite cooking pot clairon bugle marmite cooking pot gourde gourd verre glass fiacre carriage verre glass baril barrel hibou owl faitout stew pot faitout stew pot sangria sangria vin wine uranium uranium vin wine chicorée chicory café coffee chimpanzé chimpanzee café coffee limonade lemonade menthe mint limonade lemonade chrome chromium nectar nectar cognac cognac guépard cheetah cognac cognac lait milk tortue turtle lait milk potage soup bahut credenza rosé rosé champagne champagne champagne champagne strapontin folding seat canapé couch technicien technician canapé couch vitrine showcase armoire wardrobe cravate tie armoire wardrobe hamster hamster transat deck chair divan couch divan couch comptoir counter table table mouchoir tissue table table sifflet whistle harpe harp foulard scarf harpe harp cloche bell trompette trumpet barque small boat trompette trumpet timbale kettledrum contrebasse double bass gorille gorilla contrebasse double bass pointe point tournevis screwdriver tournevis screwdriver charme charm maillet mallet marteau hammer cigogne stork marteau hammer fourche fork bêche spade poivre pepper bêche spade bistouri bistoury clé key hérisson hedgehog clé key binette hoe râteau *rake* bécasse woodcock râteau rake traîneau sled vélo bike soufflet bellows vélo bike bateau boat bateau boat radeau raft jasmin jasmine caravane caravan trottinette scooter salopette overalls trottinette scooter autocar coach daim suede autocar coach van van voilier sailing ship avion aeroplane poivron pepper avion aeroplane glaive sword couteau knife cruche jug couteau knife mortier mortar grenade grenade chômeur unemployed grenade grenade pétard petard mitraillette submachine gun routier truck driver mitraillette submachine gun torpille torpedo bombe bomb absinthe absinthe bombe bomb boulanger baker herboriste herbalist dromadaire dromedary boulanger baker libraire bookseller psychologue psychologist autruche ostrich psychologue psychologist football soccer coing quince football soccer squash squash cricket cricket athlétisme athletics beffroi belfry athlétisme athletics surf surf cyclisme cycling cyclisme cycling lynx lynx marathon marathon basket basketball myosotis myosotis basket basketball canoë canoe équitation horse riding baobab baobab équitation horse riding

Part 2. Primes accompanied by atypical targets

		Unrelated matching with	
Typical primes	Atypical targets	typical primes	Atypical targets
pie <i>magpie</i>	pintade guinea fowl	tank <i>tank</i>	pintade guinea fowl
thon tuna	espadon swordfish	jeep <i>jeep</i>	espadon swordfish
hareng herring	anchois anchovy	carafe carafe	anchois anchovy
abeille <i>bee</i>	cousin gnat	tunique tunic	cousin gnat
scarabée <i>beetle</i>	éphémère ephemeral	salsifis <i>salsify</i>	éphémère ephemeral
moustique mosquito	blatte roach	lentilles lentils	blatte roach
chat cat	chacal <i>jackal</i>	faux scythe	chacal <i>jackal</i>
lion lion	jaguar <i>jaguar</i>	four oven	jaguar <i>jaguar</i>
éléphant elephant	buffle buffalo	logement housing	buffle <i>buffalo</i>
lapin <i>rabbit</i>	marcassin boar	villa <i>villa</i>	marcassin boar
vache cow	mulet <i>mule</i>	voile sail	mulet mule
singe monkey	panda <i>panda</i>	banque bank	panda <i>panda</i>
bronze bronze	rubis <i>ruby</i>	flèche arrow	rubis <i>ruby</i>
zinc zinc	lithium lithium	arc bow	lithium lithium
plomb lead	potassium potassium	bœuf beef	potassium potassium
muguet lily of the valley	lavande lavender	massue mace	lavande lavender
iris <i>iris</i>	glycine wistaria	sofa <i>sofa</i>	glycine wistaria
jacinthe hyacinth	sauge sage	chimiste chemist	sauge sage
pomme apple	papaye papaya	lutte fight	papaye <i>papaya</i>
citron lemon	rhubarbe rhubarb	expert expert	rhubarbe rhubarb
framboise raspberry	gland glans	carrosse coach	gland glans
mandarine mandarin	cacahuète peanut	synagogue synagogue	cacahuète peanut
cerisier cherry tree	magnolia magnolia	paquebot liner	magnolia magnolia
chêne oak	amandier almond	moule mold	amandier almond
prunier plum tree	manguier mango	rentier annuitant	manguier mango
endive endive	cresson cress	mygale tarantula	cresson cress
poireau leek	asperge asparagus	clavier keyboard	asperge asparagus
navet turnip	pissenlit dandelion	venin venom	pissenlit dandelion
tomate tomato	avocat <i>lawyer</i>	tunnel tunnel	avocat lawyer
carotte carrot	riz <i>rice</i>	antenne antenna	riz <i>rice</i>
musée museum	abbaye <i>abbey</i>	bâton stick	abbaye <i>abbey</i>
église church	palace luxury hotel	artiste artist	palace luxury hotel
robe dress	kilt <i>kilt</i>	gare station	kilt <i>kilt</i>
manteau coat	parka <i>parka</i>	prison jail	parka <i>parka</i>
costume suit	guêtre <i>gaiter</i>	console console	guêtre gaiter
chapeau hat	casquette cap	plateau tray	casquette cap
slip underpants	chausson slipper	rhum rum	chausson slipper
maillot shirt	pantoufle slipper	taureau taurus	pantoufle slipper
blouson jacket	poncho poncho	panier basket	poncho poncho
écharpe scarf	lunettes glasses	notaire notary	lunettes glasses
tasse <i>cup</i>	gobelet cup	grange barn	gobelet cup

louche ladle écuelle bowl écuelle bowl cirque circus bouteille bottle amphore amphora militaire *military* amphore *amphora* casserole pan terrine terrine ministère ministry terrine terrine saucière sauceboat ceinture belt saucière sauceboat assiette plate pot pot couvercle lid poing fist couvercle lid bière beer brique brick grog grog grog grog thé tea décoction decoction loup wolf décoction decoction cidre cider grenadine grenadine taupe mole grenadine grenadine whisky whiskey scotch scotch crayon pencil scotch scotch verveine verbena verveine verbena eau water bas stocking mousseux sparkling wine liqueur liqueur poulain foal mousseux sparkling wine chaise chair balancelle lounger mine mine balancelle lounger buffet buffet desserte desert desserte desert hangar *hangar* lit bed berceau cradle berceau cradle bois wood établi workbench bureau desk combat fight établi workbench piano piano lyre lyre mouton sheep lyre lyre guitare guitar maracas maracas piscine swimming pool maracas maracas grelots bells renard fox grelots bells violon violin pince pliers scalpel scalpel chant singing scalpel scalpel tenaille pincers fraiseuse milling alouette lark fraiseuse milling lustre chandelier pelle shovel trident trident trident trident ciseaux scissors épingle pin dauphin dolphin épingle pin pioche pickaxe grattoir scraper caille quail grattoir scraper moto motorbike solex solex ciré wax solex solex train train cargo cargo lance spear cargo cargo mobylette moped poussette stroller églantine eglantine poussette stroller camion truck navire ship palais palace navire ship auto car wagon wagon nover walnut wagon wagon poignard dagger javelot javelin chameau camel javelot javelin canon cannon boulet drag pliant folding boulet drag carabine carbine cartouche cartridge guéridon pedestal table cartouche cartridge fusil gun marin marine roquette rocket roquette rocket boucher butcher confiseur confectioner buisson bush confiseur confectioner infirmier nurse historien historian tablier apron historien historian rugby rugby bison bison polo polo polo polo handball handball randonnée hiking sodium sodium randonnée hiking luge luge ski ski luge luge grue crane natation swimming kayak kayak ouistiti marmoset kayak kayak escalade climbing alto alto escalade climbing judo *judo* 

Atypical primes	Atypical targets	Unrelated matching with atypical primes	Atypical targets
jars gander	pintade guinea fowl	houx holly	pintade guinea fowl
murène <i>moray</i>	espadon swordfish	titane titanium	espadon swordfish
piranha <i>piranha</i>	anchois anchovy	habitat habitat	anchois anchovy
grillon cricket	cousin gnat	plongeon plunge	cousin gnat
termite termite	éphémère ephemeral	liseuse bad jacket	éphémère ephemeral
morpion crab	blatte roach	citerne tank	blatte roach
vison mink	chacal jackal	écrou nut	chacal <i>jackal</i>
opossum opossum	jaguar <i>jaguar</i>	dériveur sailing dinghy	jaguar <i>jaguar</i>
okapi <i>okapi</i>	buffle buffalo	aïkido <i>aikido</i>	buffle buffalo
tapir <i>tapir</i>	marcassin boar	stylo pen	marcassin boar
poney pony	mulet mule	banjo <i>banjo</i>	mulet mule
renne reindeer	panda <i>panda</i>	benne skip	panda <i>panda</i>
opale <i>opal</i>	rubis <i>ruby</i>	motel motel	rubis <i>ruby</i>
nitrate nitrate	lithium lithium	cithare zither	lithium lithium
plutonium plutonium	potassium potassium	égouttoir draining	potassium potassium
pervenche periwinkle	lavande lavender	corneille crow	lavande lavender
amaryllis amaryllis	glycine wistaria	caméléon chameleon	glycine wistaria
pavot poppy	sauge sage	robot robot	sauge sage
kaki <i>khaki</i>	papaye <i>papaya</i>	maçon <i>builder</i>	papaye <i>papaya</i>
citrouille pumpkin	rhubarbe rhubarb	claquettes tap dance	rhubarbe rhubarb
pistache pistachio	gland glans	éboueur dustman	gland glans
olive <i>olive</i>	cacahuète peanut	sandale sandal	cacahuète peanut
grenadier grenadier	magnolia magnolia	saladier bowl	magnolia magnolia
caoutchouc rubber	amandier almond	conducteur driver	amandier almond
avocatier avocado	manguier mango	alligator alligator	manguier mango
soja soy	cresson cress	inox stainless steel	cresson cress
piment chilli pepper	asperge asparagus	patins skates	asperge asparagus
maïs <i>corn</i>	pissenlit dandelion	étau vice	pissenlit dandelion
cornichon pickle	avocat lawyer	tambourin tambourine	avocat lawyer
ciboulette chive	riz <i>rice</i>	radiologue radiologist	riz <i>rice</i>
hospice hospice	abbaye <i>abbey</i>	cuirasse cuirass	abbaye <i>abbey</i>
monastère monastery	palace luxury hotel	parapluie umbrella	palace luxury hotel
toge toga	kilt <i>kilt</i>	fève bean	kilt <i>kilt</i>
kimono kimono	parka <i>parka</i>	martini <i>martini</i>	parka <i>parka</i>
smoking tuxedo	guêtre gaiter	caviar caviar	guêtre gaiter
béret beret	casquette cap	évier sink	casquette cap
gaine sheath	chausson slipper	tique tick	chausson slipper
chandail sweater	pantoufle slipper	pinceau brush	pantoufle slipper
moufle mitten	poncho poncho	loutre otter	poncho poncho
perruque wig	lunettes glasses	clinique clinical	lunettes glasses
biberon baby bottle	gobelet cup	acacia acacia	gobelet cup
serviette towel	écuelle bowl	chapelle <i>chapel</i>	écuelle bowl
potiche vase	amphore amphora	pédiatre pediatrician	amphore amphora

clairon bugle terrine terrine chaudron cauldron terrine terrine gourde gourd saucière sauceboat fiacre carriage saucière sauceboat baril barrel couvercle lid hibou owl couvercle lid sangria sangria grog grog uranium *uranium* grog grog chicorée chicory décoction decoction chimpanzé chimpanzee décoction decoction menthe mint grenadine grenadine chrome chromium grenadine grenadine guépard cheetah nectar nectar scotch scotch scotch scotch verveine verbena tortue turtle verveine verbena potage soup rosé rosé mousseux sparkling wine bahut credenza mousseux sparkling wine strapontin folding seat balancelle lounger technicien technician balancelle lounger vitrine showcase desserte desert cravate tie desserte desert transat deck chair berceau cradle berceau cradle hamster hamster établi workbench mouchoir tissue établi workbench comptoir counter sifflet whistle lyre lyre foulard scarf lyre lyre cloche bell maracas maracas barque small boat maracas maracas timbale kettledrum grelots bells gorille gorilla grelots bells pointe point scalpel scalpel charme charm scalpel scalpel maillet mallet fraiseuse milling fraiseuse milling cigogne stork fourche fork trident trident poivre pepper trident trident bistouri bistoury épingle pin hérisson hedgehog épingle pin binette hoe grattoir scraper bécasse woodcock grattoir scraper traîneau sled solex solex soufflet bellows solex solex radeau raft cargo cargo jasmin jasmine cargo cargo caravane caravan poussette stroller salopette overalls poussette stroller van van navire ship daim suede navire ship voilier sailing ship wagon wagon poivron pepper wagon wagon glaive sword javelot javelin cruche jug javelot javelin mortier mortar boulet drag chômeur unemployed boulet drag pétard petard cartouche cartridge routier truck driver cartouche cartridge torpille torpedo roquette rocket absinthe absinthe roquette rocket herboriste herbalist confiseur confectioner dromadaire dromedary confiseur confectioner libraire bookseller historien historian autruche ostrich historien historian squash squash polo polo coing quince polo polo cricket cricket randonnée hiking beffroi belfry randonnée hiking surf surf luge luge lynx lynx luge luge marathon marathon kayak kayak myosotis myosotis kayak *kayak* canoë canoe escalade climbing baobab baobab escalade climbing