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# Semiosis beyond signs: on two or three missing links on the way to human beings

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Abstract	perception, which is no one of the missing link animals and human be of relevance. Somewh sign, which is so much	ecial in mastering, apart from signs, a number of semiotic resources embedded already in ot differentiated, but which may still be iconic, indexical, or symbolic. The sign is no doubt s between human beings and other animals. An even earlier breaking point between (some) eings may be the ability to distinguish type and token, that is, to have access to a principle ere on the border between relevance and the sign is found the act of imitation. The Peircean n more (and less) than a sign, may be able to account for the emergence of imitation and its sign function, in the restricted sense.

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# Chapter 5 Semiosis Beyond Signs. On Two or Three Missing Links on the Way to Human Beings

### Göran Sonesson

Abstract Human beings are special in mastering, apart from signs, a number of 10 semiotic resources embedded already in perception, which is not differentiated, but 11 which may still be iconic, indexical, or symbolic. The sign is no doubt one of the 12 missing links between human beings and other animals. An even earlier breaking 13 point between (some) animals and human beings may be the ability to distinguish 14 type and token, that is, to have access to a principle of relevance. Somewhere on the 15 border between relevance and the sign is found the act of imitation. The Peircean 16 sign, which is so much more (and less) than a sign, may be able to account for the 17 emergence of imitation and its accomplishment in the sign function, in the restricted 18 sense. 19

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Contemporary studies of evolution suggest that not only human language, but also 21 the capacity for using pictures, as well as many kinds of mimetic acts and indices, 22 are (at least in their full, spontaneously developed form) uniquely human. It is clear 23 that semiosis itself must be manifold and hierarchically structured, in ways not yet 24 dreamt of in our philosophy. In order to grasp some of the discontinuities between 25 human beings and other animals, it is useful to start out from the conception of 26 phylogeny suggested by Merlin Donald (1991, 2001), which may be supposed to 27 have a least some rough parallels in ontogeny. 28

In Donald's evolutionary scale, stages of episodic, mimetic, mythic and theoretic 29 culture correspond to types of memory (Fig. 5.1). According to this conception, 30 many mammals, which otherwise live in the immediate present, are already capa-31 ble of episodic memory, which amounts to the representation of events in terms of 32 their moment and place of occurrence. The first transition, which antedates language 33 and remains intact in language impairment (and which Donald identifies with homo 34 erectus and wants to reserve for human beings alone) brings about mimetic mem-35 ory, which corresponds to such abilities as tool use, miming, imitation, co-ordinated 36 hunting, a complex social structure and simple rituals. Without even taking into 37 account intricate phenomena such as social structure, ritual, and hunting, one can-38 not avoid observing the heterogeneity of this list: in some cases, such as most clearly 39 tool use and some instances of imitation, no sign structure, with a clear distinction 40

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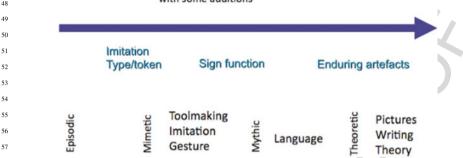
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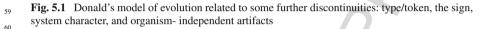
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of expression and content, is required, but simply the conformity of tokens to a perceived or remembered type, but in other cases, exemplified by other instances of imitation, and by miming and other gestures, the sign function would seem an absolute prerequisite. If early mimesis may give rise to the organization of tokens into types, the sign would seem to emerge at the later mimetic stage.

Only the second transition brings about language (which, Donald muses, may at 67 first have been gestural) with its *semantic* memory, that is, a repertory of units which 68 may be combined. This kind of memory permits the creation of narratives, that 69 is, mythologies, and thus a completely new way of representing reality. Although 70 Donald is not very clear about it, his description of semantic memory could be 71 taken to imply the presence of system character, that is, an organization in which 72 signs mutually define each other. It is quite conceivable for language (but perhaps 73 in an earlier gestural form) to be the first extant sign system. 74

Interestingly, Donald does not think development stops there, even though there 75 are no further biological differences between human beings and other animals to 76 take account of (however, the third transition obviously would not have been possi-77 ble without the attainment of the three earlier stages). What Donald calls theoretical 78 culture supposes the existence of external memory, that is, devices permitting the 79 conservation and communication of knowledge independently of human beings. 80 The first apparition of theoretical culture coincides with the invention of drawing. 81 For the first time, knowledge may be stored externally to the organism. The bias 82 having been shifted to visual perception, language is next transferred to writing. 83 It is this possibility of conserving information externally to the organism that later 84 gives rise to science. This, again, would seem to be a breaking point on the way 85 to human beings: the possibility of memory as an external record, which perdures 86 independently of the human organism. 87

Elsewhere, I have used Donald's conception of evolution, as rendered in the model above (Fig. 5.1), to discuss the curious fact that iconicity (and indexicality) are present already at the second stage, as mimetic gesture, but then makes an

renewed appearance at the fourth stage, in the shape of pictures (Sonesson, 2006, 2007a, in press). I have also discussed, within the same framework, the final "missing link" in the progression from animal to man, the emergence of organism-independent artefacts (Sonesson, 2007a, 2007b, 2010a, 2010b, in press). In the following, however, I will be concerned with two other, (nearly) missing links, the (principle of) relevance and the sign, as well as the act of imitation bridging them.

# 5.1 A Sign Concept for Integral Semiotics

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The most serious problem of semiotics is that both the Saussurean and the Peircean 101 brands of received semiotic theory do not explain *what* a sign is; they simply take 102 it for granted. It is not enough to say there are signifiers and signifieds, or represen-103 tamen, object, and interpretants, without specifying the requirement for something 104 to fall under one of these categories. A useful concept of *sign* designates a kind of 105 meaning, but it does not cover all meanings. Perception is clearly meaningful to ani-106 mals and infants alike, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the capacity for sign 107 use is a much more exclusive property. Conceptualizing the capacity of sign use in 108 this way may help us to distinguish stages in evolution and development, notably 109 the relationship between imitation and sign. 110

We will say that the sign is a meaning which is made up of two parts, tradition-111 ally known as *expression* and *content*. That the sign consists of two parts implies 112 that the parts are separated. In Piaget's (1945, 1967, 1970) terms, they are "differen-113 tiated from the point of view of the subject". This it not to say that the differentiation 114 is "subjective", in the ordinary language sense - in most cases, the differentiation 115 is part of what is learnt by the child growing into his particular culture. However, 116 what is differentiated within the sign may or may not consist of several objects 117 in the "objective" common sense world (where "objective" is that which is taken 118 for granted in the dealings of ordinary life). Contrary to what Piaget suggests, we 119 will therefore conclude that a thing which is immediately continuous to another or 120 which is a part of another in the common sense world may very well be differenti-121 ated within the sign (cf. Sonesson, 1989, 1992b, 2010b, in press). We can imagine 122 the same child that in Piaget's example uses a pebble to stand for a piece of candy 123 having recourse instead to a feather in order to represent a bird, or employ a peb-124 ble to stand for a rock, without therefore confusing the part and the whole: then 125 the child would be employing a feature, which is *objectively* a part of the bird, or 126 the rock, while differentiating the former from the latter from his point of view. 127 Only then would he be using a true sign. In terms of socially better-established 128 signs, a similar example would be the bull's head used to indicate, above a market 129 stand, that beef is sold there. Although in France, for example, cast heads of bulls 130 or horses are employed outside the relevant shops, it is still possible to find real 131 heads used in traditional markets in some countries. In a parallel fashion, things 132 that are similar to each other can be differentiated within the sign. Thus, there can 133 be indexical (contiguity-based) and iconic (similarity-based), as well as symbolic 134 (rule-based) signs. If I see a branch sticking up over the house and conclude that 135

there is a tree behind the house, this is a mere indexicality; but the marks on the
ground left by the animal are indexical signs, clearly separated from the (part of)
the animals having produced them. And the photographic print of a person I know
is clearly differentiated from the person seen in the picture.

Indeed, a further differentiation may have to be made for certain purposes. The 140 marks on the ground tell me "an elk was here before", and this is something distinct 141 from the marks, as well from the elk, which is now somewhere else. Similarly, the 142 colour configuration on the photograph is distinct from the perceptual impression of 143 my wife, and the photograph is here with me now, while my wife is at her working-144 place. This is why we really have to separate three parts of the sign, *expression*, 145 *content*, and *referent*, where content is the standpoint taken on the referent by the 146 sign user, as codified in some semiotic resource.<sup>1</sup> To the hunter, it is important to 147 identify the marks on the ground (expression) as being those of an elk (indexical 148 content), but, being a hunter, he cannot be satisfied with this; he will follow the traces 149 left by the animal until he finds the real elk (referent). Looking at the photography, 150 I have no trouble (unlike small children and animals) to distinguish the colour spots 151 on the paper (the expression) from the vicarious perception it suggests, e.g. of my 152 wife fifteen years ago dancing Jalisco in a ample, pink skirt (content), nor from 153 the real person I have known for twenty-six years and with whom I share so many 154 memories (the referent, the real, continuous person in my personal Lifeworld). 155

But differentiation is not a sufficient criterion. Each time we actively and con-156 sciously put together a set of items that we have perceived, we must first differentiate 157 the items to be joined – as opposed to the obliteration of their difference in categor-158 ical perception. But categorization is not as such a kind of sign use. Contiguity and 159 factoriality are present everywhere in the perceptual world without as yet forming 160 signs: we will say, in that case, that they are mere indexicalities. An index, then, 161 must be understood as indexicality (an indexical relation or ground) plus the sign 162 function. Analogously, the perception of similarities (which is an iconic ground) 163 will give rise to an icon only when it is combined with the sign function. As always, 164 there are passages in Peirce's work, which may be taken in different ways, but it 165 makes more systematic and evolutionary sense to look upon iconicity and indexi-166 cality as being only potentials for something being a sign.<sup>2</sup> Iconicity, indexicality, 167 and symbolicity only describe that which connects two objects; they do not tell 168 us whether the result is a sign or not (Fig. 5.2). These considerations allow us 169 to separate the study of the phylogenetic and ontogenetic emergence of iconicity, 170 indexicality and symbolicity from that of the corresponding signs (cf. Sonesson, 171 AQ2 172 1998, 2001, in press).

- my earlier publications, but perhaps most explicitly in Sonesson, 2009), that I am not interested in
- <sup>178</sup> finding out what Perice "really said". To give an all to simple expression to a complicated issue, I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This is of course not the Peircean triad, but rather corresponds to the representamen, and to the immediate and dynamical objects, respectively (as well as to the corresponding interpretants).

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  In relation to the standpoint of many other semioticians, I have to spell out here (as in many of

will just say that I use Peirce as a source of inspiration, just as I do with many other writers on the
 theme.

181		Firstness	Secondness	Thirdness
182	Principle	Iconicity		
184	(Firstness)			
185 186	Ground (Secondness)	Iconic ground	Indexicality = indexical ground	-
180	× /			
188	Sign (Thirdness)	Iconic sign (icon)	Indexical sign (index)	Symbolicity = symbolic ground = symbolic sign
189				(symbol)

**Fig. 5.2** The relationship between principles, grounds, and signs, from a point of view inspired by Peirce as spelled-out in Sonesson (1996, 2007a, 2007b)

194 The sign as such is thus a whole made up of two parts, expression and content, 195 and there is a *double asymmetric relationship* between them. First, from the point 196 of view of immediacy, expression is more accessible to consciousness than content. 197 In the second place, content is more in focus (more prominent, more important) 198 than expression. When I look at the photograph, I am normally interested in the 199 person depicted (my wife, either at the exact moment she was dancing Jalisco, or 200 as an enduring person of my personal Lifeworld). My wife does not represent the 201 photograph.<sup>3</sup> The phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (1939) formulated the defini-202 tion of the sign (more precisely, "appresentation") more or less in these terms, but a 203 similar view is implicit already in Augustine's conception of the sign (in our terms, 204 the expression) as something which, by becoming conscious, makes us aware of 205 something else (the content; cf. Deely, 2001).<sup>4</sup>

However, Bates (1979, p. 43) has hinted at the idea that the sign (our expression)
 and its referent (which would seem to correspond to both what I have called content and referent) must be conceived as being both similar and separate for a sign
 relationship to obtain. Bates' somewhat convoluted definition is later unpacked by
 Daddesio (1995, p. 117):

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Given a physical mark (sound, movement, shape, etc.), a, and a particular class of things, b, that a is thought to stand for, let us consider three possible ways which an organism can relate a and b. In the first instance, the organism fails to grasp any relation whatsoever between the two. /---/ In the first case, semiosis is thus absent. In the second case, the organism would be capable of relating the two, but instead of apprehending a relation between two distinct entities, it would simply react in the same fashion if presented a and if presented b. /---/ In the third case, the organism would recognize a and b as distinct but related.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> <sup>3</sup> Seeing her now, I may of course be reminded of when I took that photograph, or when she made that dance, but this does not change the asymmetric structure of the sign, only my mental use of it.
 <sup>4</sup> This does not preclude other relations between expression and content being symmetric. It is common to suppose a substitutive relationship, which is a symmetric relation, between expression and content, but this may be misleading, since expressions are rarely used for the same purpose and in the same context as their contents.

Nevertheless, it is in fact impossible to conclude from an individual treating a and b 226 as being distinct, that the particular relationship between a and b is necessarily one 227 of appresentation (sign function). Daddesio's second case is that of categorization. 228 which is important to perception. Given a prototype conception of categories, a and 229 b may be treated as different just because they are differently central to the category 230 of which they are perceived to be a part. Or they may be attended to differently, 231 merely because one contains more, and more interesting, perceptual properties than 232 the other (and, indeed, sign vehicles would tend to be "degraded stimuli", when 233 compared to what they are signs of). The problem of separating the expression and 234 the content of a sign becomes particularly acute in the case of an iconical sign, in 235 which, by definition, expression and content must share at least some properties (Cf. 236 Sonesson & Zlatev, forthcoming). 237

The sign, then, consists of two intrinsic parts, expression and content, which are related to a third, the referent. The relation between these parts may be iconic, indexical, or symbolic, but it always supposes a differentiation of the parts, from the point of view of the sign user. The sign relation is asymmetric in a double sense: what we call expression is always more directly perceived than the content, and the content is more accessible than the referent. On the other hand, it is the referent and/or the content that is in focus, at least more so than the expression.

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# 5.2 Imitation as Token and as Sign

The characterization of the sign above is partly inspired in Piaget's notion of the 249 "symbolic" (later the "semiotic") function, which is a capacity acquired by the child 250 at an age of around eighteen to twenty-four months, which enables him or her to 251 imitate something or somebody outside the direct presence of the model, to use 252 language, make drawings, play "symbolically", and have access to mental imagery 253 and memory. The common factor underlying all these phenomena, according to 254 Piaget, is the ability to represent reality by means of a signifier, which is distinct 255 from the signified. The sign function thus characterizes a stage of child development, 256 though Piaget himself chooses to describe this stage only negatively, that is, a being 257 pre-operational. Imitation, or, more exactly, "representative imitation", is claimed 258 by Piaget (1945) to be at the origin of the semiotic function. When more closely 259 scrutinized, some instances of imitation actually turn out to be signs already, while 260 others clearly are not. 261

Donald places imitation within the second stage of human development, mime-262 sis. In his view, mimetic culture starts out with the emergence of "conscious, 263 self-initiated, representational acts, which are intentional [i.e. voluntary] but not 264 linguistic" (1991, p. 168). The examples given by Donald are such things as ges-265 ture, dance, ritual, mime, play-acting, and (precise) imitation, but also tool use (or 266 perhaps rather the social generalization of tool use) and skill. Somewhere in between 267 mimesis and language the semiotic function arises, though Donald addresses this 268 only obliquely, mentioning the use of intentional systems of communication and the 269 distinction of the referent. In fact, this certainly happens between animal camouflage 270

and pictures. According to Deacon (1997, pp. 74ff), however, iconicity as found in 271 "a portrait" is "not basically different" from the fact of there being no distinction 272 at all, that is, it would seem, from mere identity. On the following pages, Deacon 273 then goes on to maintain that a number of phenomena which could otherwise appear 274 to be completely different are in fact equivalent: the perception of the same "stuff" 275 over and over again (seeing something that does not change into something else). 276 camouflage as exemplified by the case of the moth's wings being seen by the bird as 277 "just more tree", "stimulus generalisation", and even recognition, that is, the iden-278 tification of something as pertaining to the same category. Although all or most 279 abilities subsumed under the mimetic stage depend on iconic relations, only some 280 of them are signs, because they do not all involve some asymmetric relation between 281 an expression and the content for which it stands. 282

In fact, in his early book, Donald (1991, pp. 168f) opposes mimesis to mimicry 283 and imitation, both of which are said to be quite common in animals but lacking "a 284 representational dimension". Though the import of this claim is not clear, it could 285 be taken to mean that mimicry and imitation, in this sense, lack differentiation. In 286 Donald's (2001, pp. 260f) later book, however, "(precise) imitation" is an instance of 287 mimesis. This would no doubt exclude the kind of automatic imitation in the infant 288 ("neonatal mirroring"), discovered by Meltzoff, such as sticking out the tongue to 289 one who does just that (Cf. Gallagher, 2005; also see Donald, 2001, pp. 264ff). It is 290 less clear whether Donald would follow Tomasello (1999) in making a distinction 291 between the imitation of goals (called "emulation"), of which he believes apes to 292 be capable, and the imitation of means, which is a capacity Tomasello would like 293 to restrict to human beings, although he later on (in Tomasello, 2008) recognizes its 294 presence in at least some apes.<sup>5</sup> At first it may seem strange that imitating the goal 295 is presented as being easier than imitating the means by which the goal is achieved. 296 But no doubt it is less demanding to recognize the interest of the aim (getting the 297 banana) than the interest of the requisite steps for realising the goal. At another 298 level, it is like attending to the content, not the expression, of a sign. Indeed, it is an 299 instance of quite ordinary Lifeworld behaviour. 300

One may wonder why tool use and skill are thought to be part of mimetic cul-301 ture and not just "routine locomotor acts" or "procedural memory" which Donald 302 (1991, p. 168) elsewhere takes pains to separate from mimesis. No doubt Donald 303 (1991, pp. 171ff) would answer that they are different because they comply with 304 his criteria for mimetic acts: they are "intentional" (that is, voluntary), "generative" 305 (that is, analysable into components which may be recombined into new wholes), 306 and "communicative" (or at least, as we shall see "public"). Moreover, they have 307 reference ("in mimesis the referential act must be distinguished from its referent", 308 that is, in our terms, there must be differentiation), stand for an unlimited number 309 of objects, and are auto-cued (produced without an external stimulus). Generativity 310

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> <sup>5</sup> A study of imitation of actions from static pictures, reported in Call, Hribar, and Sonesson (forth-coming) would certainly seem to suggest that apes may be capable of imitating means as well as
 <sup>313</sup> goals, at least in one sense of these terms. In his most recent book, however, Tomasello (2008)
 <sup>315</sup> seems to downplay even more the capacity for imitation in apes.

is a property of many kinds of meaning, which are not signs. However, it is not 316 clear in what sense tool use and many other kinds of skill are "communicative", and 317 therefore, in which way they have reference and stand for an unlimited number of 318 objects. 319

After introducing "communicativity" as a criterion of mimesis, Donald (1991, 320 p. 172) goes on to say that "although mimesis may not have originated as a means 321 of communication, and might have originated in a different means of reproductive 322 memory, such as tool-making, mimetic acts are, by their nature, usually public and 323 inherently possess the potential to communicate." This, though, is very different 324 from imitation as a sign, which is what is realised by the actor, who presents his acts 325 to a specific public; it is even different from the child's symbolic play, which must be 326 available to and shared with other children. What we have here is, first, the extraction 327 of a token from a type, which supposes treating the other as a spectacle; and second, 328 the realisation of the tool act, which is not public-directed, but can be made available 329 to the public (Fig. 5.3). The use of the tool does require the separation of the typical 330 properties from the single act occurring in the here and now, i.e. relevance. In order 331 to learn the use of a tool, you must at least be able to isolate the properties that 332 should be imitated from those which are of no avail. However, even though this act 333 of imitation may be observed, it is not part of its purpose to be observed. When the 334 actor who has the part of Hamlet lifts up the skull of "Poor Yorick", then his act 335 does not only consist in imitating what a man having that name supposedly did in 336 Renaissance Denmark, but also in presenting this act as something to be seen, as a 337 spectacular act (cf. Sonesson, 2000a). The symbolic play of children may perhaps be 338 considered to be some kind of intermediary case, because its spectacular character 339 is not its ultimate goal, but is only instrumental in making the play function as play; 340 indeed, it is not intentionally offered as a spectacle for individuals not participating 341 in the play. 342

345					
346		Imitation (Token/Type)	Imitation as Learning	Symbolic play (Expression/	Play-acting (Expression/
347 348			(Extracting Type from Token)	Content)	Content)
540			nom rokenj		
349		Instantiates a type of act	Extracts a type from	Represents a type of	Represents an individual
350			one or several (novel) token acts	(habitual) act - or perhaps token outside	act in time and space
351				of time and space	
352	vehicle	Using the typical means for realising the type	Observing the hammering (first	Realising the typical acts of the mother part	Creating the appearance here and now of being
353		hammering the nail	token) extracting the	acto of the motion part	Hamlet doing Hamlet
354			type for doing hammering (second		things
355			token)		
356	tenor	Doing the type of act	Extracting the type of	Doing what mothers	Doing as Hamlet did in
357		having as goal to hammer	hammering a nail	usually do to their	Helsinoer during the
358		a nail		babies	Renaissance
359					

360	Fig. 5.3	From imitation as token for a type to imitation a	sign
360	116.000	Trom minution as token for a type to minution a	5151

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Thus, tool use and other kinds of skill as such are not mimesis, because they 361 are not communicative, but they are "public", and they lend themselves to imita-362 tion – which leads to generalization of tool use and skill in society. This is where 363 they become different from routine acts and procedural memory. They are socially 364 shared. But this is only possible if the act can be separated from the unique tool user 365 and transferred to another user. That is, the act as token must be abstracted to a type 366 in order to be realised in another token. What is shared is the type, in other words 367 the scheme of interpretation, which defines the principle of relevance (in the sense 368 of a rule that picks out the properties of one object being mapped onto another). In 369 this sense (not in the sense of reference), a single mimetic act may correspond to 370 various events. 371

It is therefore by means of imitation that the "extension of conscious control 372 into the domain of action" (Donald, 2001, p. 261) may be obtained. But the act of 373 imitation, in this instance, is in no way a sign. If I see somebody use a stone as a tool 374 to crack open the shell of a nut, I may do the same thing, not to bring into mind the 375 act of the other person I have observed, but to obtain the same effect. I attempt to 376 realise the same act as he did, that is, to open the shell up, so that I can take out the 377 nut and eat it. Instead of producing an expression that is non-thematic but directly 378 given which refers to a content that is thematic but indirectly given. I am realising 379 a new instance of the category of acts consisting in cracking open a nutshell. Like 380 Tomasello's apes, I may of course try to obtain the same effect without attending 381 to the adequate means, which would produce a failed act of imitation. Or, I may 382 merely simulate the outer actions of cracking the shell open, without letting them 383 have a sufficient impact on the physical environment, in which case I may either be 384 engaged in symbolic play, play-acting, or simply practicing the movements. 385

Imitation, in this sense, may thus be said to be differentiated, in the sense of 386 separating the mediator and that which is mediated, but it is not asymmetric, neither 387 in the sense of focus, nor in that of directness. Indeed, it is really the type that is 388 mediated by the token. This also means that the purpose of the act of imitation is 389 not to present the original act to another subject (or even to oneself). Bentele (1984) 300 in fact argued against Piaget that imitation does not manifest the semiotic function, 391 but is a prerequisite for it: indeed, it will function as a sign only to the extent that 392 it is taken to refer back to the imitated act, instead of just being another instance of 393 the same kind. 394

Acts of imitation in this sense have two interesting properties: they are "public", 395 in the very broad sense characterized by Donald, i.e. they may be perceptually, often 396 visually, inspected; and they can be copied by means of the observer's own body, 397 with or without some additional implement such as a stone. In both these ways, 398 imitation is different from episodic memory; and it is different from procedural 399 memory in being a public record. Like in procedural memory, the record is located in 400 one's own body, but it can only function as memory to the extent that it is somehow 401 separable from the body as such. In fact, this can only be so, to the extent that 402 memory traces are instantiated in other bodies as well as in one's own body. This 403 supposes a distinction between token and type (that is, relevance) preceding that of 404 the semiotic function. 405

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# **5.3** The Peircean Sign or the Observer Observed

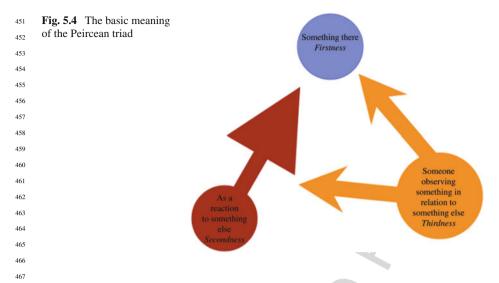
407

The Peircean sign is a sign only in a very Pickwickean sense of the term. It is one of three specifications of Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness. It might be said to be concerned with interpretation in a more generic sense than the sign: "semiosis". Perhaps this is what Peirce was thinking about when, at a later stage, he complained that his notions were too narrow, and that, instead of referring to signs, he should be talking about mediation or "branching" (CP 4.3. and MS 339 quoted in Mertz & Parmentier, 1985).

Conceived in this way, Peirce's theory appears to be about the situation of com-415 munication, but much closer to what we now would describe as a hermeneutical 416 model than to the model known from the theory of information. In this sense, "a sign 417 [or rather semiosis] is whatever there may be whose intent is to mediate between an 418 utterer of it and interpreter of it, both being repositories of thought, or quasi-minds, 419 by conveying a meaning from the former to the latter" (MS 318, quoted by Jappy, 420 2000). In many passages, the object is not described as that which the sign is about, 421 that is, to which it refers, in the sense in which this term is used in linguistic phi-422 losophy: instead, it is that which incites somebody to produce a sign (which may or 423 may not coincide with the referent). It is in this sense that the object is Secondness: 424 it concerns the relation between the reality perceived and the expression produced. 425 Similarly, the interpretant must be seen as the result of the receiver taking in the 426 whole event of the utterer creating an expression starting out from some feature of 427 his experience. Because it refers to the relation between the utterer and that which 428 he reacts to, it is not only an elementary relation, it is Thirdness. Indeed, this idea is 429 very well illustrated by the notion of "branching", which Peirce used to characterise 430 his later concept of mediation. 431

Even describing that which Peirce is concerned about as an act of communication 432 may amount to being too specific. Instead, it could be characterized as an observa-433 tion being observed. Summarizing all of Peirce's different attempts at pinning down 434 the nature of Firstness, we could probably say that it is something that appears or 435 may appear (without connection to anything else It is thus prior to all relationship. 436 Secondness is not only the second term that comes into play, but also it is made up 437 of two parts, one of which is a property, and the other a relation. It is something 438 the function of which it is to hook up with something already given as a possibility. 439 In this sense, it is a reaction, in the most general sense, to Firstness, where the first 440 part is the connection to the property independently appearing and the second part 441 describes the nature of this relationship. Thirdness is not only the third term which 442 is ushered in, but it consists of three parts, two of which are relational: one which 443 is hooked up to the term of Firstness and another which is connected to the relation 444 of Secondness, together with which we find a third term describing the relationship 445 between these two terms. It is thus an observation of the reaction. Appearance is 446 monadic, reaction is dyadic, and observation is triadic (Cf. Fig. 5.4). 447

In social psychology, in particular developmental psychology, there is also much
 talk about dyads and triads, and about some things being dyadic and other triadic
 (cf. Tomasello, 1999). Thus, interactions, engagements, eye gaze, and so on, are said



to by either dyadic or triadic. This terminology would seem to have originated in 468 the sociology of Georg Simmel (Cf. Simmel, 1971). Dyads and triads are to Simmel 469 groups of two or three individuals, respectively. Units, not relationships are counted. 470 Between two individuals there may be any number of relationships, just as there may 471 be between three individuals. When, in contemporary articles, when we read about 472 a "mother-child dyad", etc., this is clearly what is meant. In general, translated into 473 the terminology of Sonesson (2000b), a dyadic situation seems to be taken to consist 474 of Ego and Alter (another person) or Ego and Alius (a thing or a person treated as 475 a thing), whereas a triad includes all three types. Even more specifically, the triad 476 tends to involve child, caretaker and a referent. 477

Other uses are more explicitly relational: dyadic is opposed to triadic as the rela-478 tion of a subject to an object, or another subject is opposed to the relation of a subject 479 both to another subject and another object. Thus, on one hand, there is "dyadic eye 480 gaze: looking at object or person", and on the other hand there is "triadic eye gaze: 481 looking back and forth between object and person" (Cf. Bates, 1979). A more com-482 plex interpretation would suppose that a dyadic relation is a relation between two 483 individuals, while a triadic relation is a relation to the relation between two individ-484 uals. This is similar to what Peirce seems to mean, according to the interpretation 485 given above. It should be noted that such a relation to the relation between Alter and 486 Alius is not the same thing as two relations, to Alter on the one hand, and to Alius on 487 the other. However, in practice, the only way to know that somebody is attending to 488 the relationship between two individuals may be to observe him or her looking first 489 at one individual and than at the other. Perhaps we would even need to go further, 490 introducing relations between relations as well as relation between such relations. 491

Clearly social psychology, in spite (or because) of being a much more practical concern that Peircean philosophy, is as unclear about what is dyadic and triadic
as Peirce. Basically, however, it seems that what is involved in dyadic relations, in
both cases, is a subject taking cognizance of the world, and in the triadic relations,

somebody being aware of what the first subject is doing.<sup>6</sup> Typically, in social psy-496 chology, this is the caretaker observing the child's perceptual interchange with the 497 world. In other words, it involves Ego and Alter interacting with reference to Alius. 498 Understood in this way, Peircean semiosis (which we should no longer restrict 499 to being a sign) is not properly speaking "communicative", in Donald's sense, but 500 certainly "public" or, perhaps better "spectacular". It is available to others. Yet, for 501 it to be available, it is not enough for it to be present, but it must be accessible to 502 attention. What is needed is a community (not only a single caretaker) for which this 503

information is available – and the capacity for attending, without which the information is lost, as it is on so many other animals than man, as soon as it goes beyond the properties defined by its ecological niche (Cf. Gurwitsch, 1957; Sonesson, 1989, 1996, 2007a, 2007b; Arvidson, 2006). Thus the capacity for attending freely to the outside world – going beyond the Umwelt to the Lebenswelt –, may well be the first missing link on the way from animals to human beings.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>539</sup> <sup>6</sup> Or something: The mind is not necessarily a subject to Peirce, but he does admit that there is no <sup>540</sup> way of explaining it, at least at present, than by reference to a subject.

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