

How Maps Work

Representation, Visualization, and Design

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structural rendering shopping mall plan MDS plot of city images
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CHAPTER FIVE

A Primer on Semiotics for Understanding Map Representation

Two dominant semiotic traditions can be identified, one with roots in C. S. Peirce's "semiotic" and the other in Saussure's "semiology" (associated with North America and Europe, respectively). Peirce (1839–1914) approached semiotic as a science of signs, taking the perspective of a scientist (with training in chemistry) interested in the "logic of science." He achieved induction into the U.S. National Academy of Sciences in recognition of his contributions to logic. Saussure (1857–1913), in contrast, was trained in France as a linguist. He envisioned the topic of semiology as a science which "studies the life of signs in society" and attempted to link it with the developing field of social psychology, a field that he also saw as focusing on the most important components of language (Hervey, 1982). Saussure's semiology presented language as the analytical paradigm for all other sign systems. The traditions traced to these founding scholars remained, for more than half a century, surprisingly separate. According to Nöth (1990), it was not until 1969 that the term "semiotics" was generally agreed upon as the label for the discipline (when it was selected by the initiators of what eventually became the International Association of Semiotic Studies).¹ Although many "schools" of semiotics (with both theoretical and applied emphases) exist today, their links to either the Peircean or the Saussurean tradition remain evident. The Peircean tradition has provided the most elaborate analysis of the typology of signs and how they "stand-for" their referents, while the Saussurean

tradition has had a decisive influence on the semiotic theory of codes (i.e., the study of sign systems).

The above distinction suggests two fundamental issues of semiotic inquiry relevant to map representation: the *nature of map signs* as relationships between map marks and referents (and associated typologies of signs) and the *nature of map sign systems* as relationships among map signs. Each includes functional components (i.e., related to the mechanism of representation) and lexical components (i.e., related to kinds of meaning and how it is achieved).

THE NATURE OF SIGNS

Among the initial issues that we must address is a precise definition of the topics of discussion: the sign and its components. The terminology of semiotics can be particularly confusing because of the interdisciplinary nature of the field (with terms contributed from linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, logic, psychology, and sociology). To make matters worse, individual scholars are often inconsistent in their own use of terminology. Part of the difficulty seems to be related to issues of dual-category representation (common and scientific), discussed in Chapter 4. Many terms used by semioticians (including the term "symbol") had common meanings before they were usurped for scientific use. Often the common and scientific uses become intermixed, even within the same essay. I preface our semiotic primer, therefore, with a discussion of the terminology to be adopted.²

At the broadest level, semiotics considers the relationship between an "expression" and the "concept" to which that expression refers. Not all semiotic theories include reference to the "real" world. In those that do, however, sign is expanded to include the "object of reference." Following Nöth (1990), I adopt the convention of using *sign* to specify this overall relationship: the "entity" encompassing an expression, the concept it stands for, and the object of reference. Thus, a sign (as defined here) is not a "symbol" in the common sense, nor any other kind of mark that carries meaning. Neither is it a physical device used to inform or dictate behavior (as used in the term *traffic sign*).

The "carrier of meaning" will be referred to here as a *sign-vehicle*. While this term is perhaps clumsier than "symbol" or "expression," it does not suffer from the multiple meanings of "symbol" nor the implied links to natural language of "expression." In addition, as will become clear below, the term "symbol" has come to have a very narrow definition in the semiotic literature. A physical traffic "sign" is an example of a sign-vehicle, as is a drawing of a pair of crossed pickaxes on a topographic map.

The "meaning" (or concept) to which the sign-vehicle refers is termed the *interpretant*. This term (borrowed from Peirce) has been selected over the many alternatives (meaning, sense, idea, content, signatum, notion, significatum) because it is unlikely to be confused with an actual object in the real world (as "content" or "signatum" might be) and because it suggests an act of interpretation (making clear that the sign relationship is more than one of simple definition).

Finally, the object of reference to which the sign-vehicle is linked via the sign (in those theories where such an object is included as part of semiotic inquiry) will be labeled the *referent*. This term does not imply that all signs represent physical entities (as Peirce's use of "object" does), nor does it limit consideration to explicit relationships (as Morris's [1946/1971] use of "denotatum" seems to).

Models of the Sign

The two semiotic traditions referred to above (i.e., those traced to Peirce and to Saussure) are linked with two general models of "sign" as a relation. These models are referred to as *dyadic* and *triadic* models, alluding to the number of elements identified in their sign relationship.

For Saussure in 1916 (1959 translation reprinted in Innis, 1985) a sign was the relationship between a sign-vehicle (what he called a *signifié*) and an interpretant (what he called a *signifiant*). In his linguistic application of the idea, these became a "sound image" and a "concept," respectively (Figure 5.1). This dyadic model for Saussure's "sign" explicitly omits the referent. For Saussure, semiology (i.e., semiotics) operated within the sign system which was, in his view, completely arbitrary (Nöth, 1990). Saussure's theory of the sign, then, had nothing to do with how sign-vehicles refer to real-world entities, only with how they refer to mental concepts. As Nöth (1990, p. 61) notes, "According to Saussure's structuralist view of semantics, meaning is the *value* of a concept within

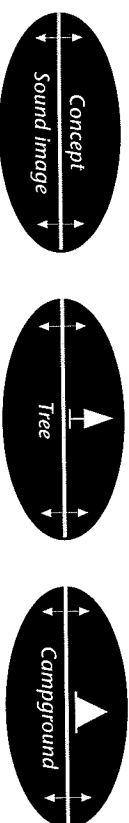


FIGURE 5.1. A depiction of the sign *tree* as proposed by Saussure (1959 translation reprinted in Innis, 1985) and a similar relationship as it might be applied to the sign *campground* as depicted on a map. Note that the referent (or the signified) in the map case could be a mental image of a campground, a propositional representation of a campground, or the word "campground," which in turn could have its own sign relationship with an image or proposition. Derived from Saussure (1916/1986, p. 99).

the whole semiological system These semantic values form a network of structural relations, in which not the semantic concepts as such, but only the differences or oppositions between them are semiotically relevant."

Applying this view to mapping, as at least one recent critique of cartography has done (see Woods and Fels, 1986), we arrive at the conclusion that maps do not refer to the real world, but to concepts about the world. This perspective on map representation seems counterintuitive if considered in relation to a general map schema that has topographic maps as a prototype. Most cartographers would probably argue that the real-world referent is a critical part of the signifying relationship for a topographic map.³ The idea that map signs do not refer directly back to the real world is most plausible when applied to maps of something like global-climate-model predictions of temperature change due to increased CO₂. Questions of what a map's referents are (and whether there are referents corresponding to all sign-vehicle-interpretant pairs) will be taken up below (in Chapter 7).

In Peirce's theory of signs, the referent (his "object") plays a critical role.⁴ The sign, according to Peirce (Innis, 1985, p. 5), "is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, [an interpretant]. . . . The sign [the interpretant] stands for something, its *object*." Elsewhere, Peirce (quoted in Hervey, 1982, p. 27) states that "a sign [sign-vehicle] mediates between the *interpretant* . . . and its object." Hervey uses this statement to propose a graphic model of the sign relation (Figure 5.2). He describes the implications of this interpretation of Peirce's triadic model as follows:

In this triadic correlation, the role of a sign is to establish a habit or general rule determining both the way the sign is to be "understood" on the occasions of its use, and the kind of perceptible, or at least "imaginable," features of experience to which the sign may be applied. Thus we may take it that the way a sign is to be "understood" implies some kind of mental activity or state, whereas the features to which a sign can be applied presuppose something perceptual or experiential. (Hervey, 1982, p. 28)

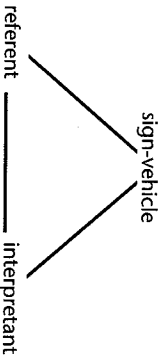


FIGURE 5.2. Hervey's graphic interpretation of Peirce's triadic correlation between object (referent), sign (sign-vehicle), and interpretant. Derived from Hervey (1982, Fig. 1.6, p. 28).

Cartographically, this triadic view of signs suggests attention to the way in which map "symbols" are simultaneously linked to actual or possible referents and to concepts about those referents on the part of the map user. From this perspective, map "symbols" might be evaluated on dual grounds: on the basis of the concepts they prompt (or the knowledge schemata they cue) and on the basis of the manner in which they correspond to the real or the imagined world.

Although a triadic interpretation of the theory of signs dominates North American semiotic literature, the relative position of the three elements in the relationship has varied. The primary alternative to Peirce's view of sign-vehicles as the mediator between referent and interpretant was offered by Ogden and Richards (1923). They also seem to have been the first to provide a graphic depiction of the sign relationships in the form that has become known as the "semiotic triangle" (Figure 5.3). The Ogden-Richards triangle depicts an interpretant (which they call the "thought or reference") as mediator between the sign-vehicle (labeled "symbol") and the referent. Their immediate application was to language. Their diagram, then, was meant to suggest that a word (as a sign-vehicle or symbol) has a causal relationship to a thought (interpretant), which in turn refers to a thing (or referent). The "stand-for" relationship between the word and the thing is depicted as less direct than that between interpretant and either sign-vehicle or referent. The word is thus portrayed as linking the thing, primarily through a thought or concept (rather than the concept linking to the thing through the word).

The Ogden-Richards triangle has somewhat different implications for the analysis of cartographic signs than does the initial Peirce triadic model. In the Ogden-Richards approach, emphasis is placed on the nature of interpretants as links between map "symbols" and referents. Attention, for example, might be directed to alternative interpretations of the sign-vehicle-referent relationship. As suggested in Part I, these alternative interpretations can be modeled in terms of knowledge schemata as the mediator between what is seen and what is known. As discussed below, one application of the Ogden-Richards semiotic triangle to visual representation has reinterpreted the connection between sign-vehicle and referent to suggest a connection that can vary in strength (i.e., re-

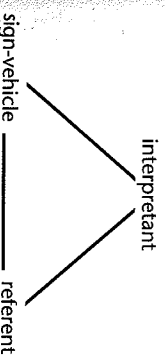


FIGURE 5.3. A depiction of the semiotic triangle with the interpretant (rather than the sign-vehicle) as mediator. Derived from Ogden and Richards (1923, p. 11).

flecting the degree of similarity between sign-vehicle and referent) (Knowlton, 1966) (Figure 5.4).

Typology of Signs

Signs, whether they are treated as dyadic or triadic relationships, can be categorized on a variety of criteria. Nöth (1990), for example, cites Eco's (1973/1977) proposal of ten criteria.⁵ Peirce (Innis, 1985) initially offered three trichotomies of signs, from the point of view of the sign-vehicle, the referent, and the interpretant. From the sign-vehicle perspective, Peirce proposed *qualisign* (a quality that is a sign-vehicle), *rhesisign* (a thing or event that is a sign-vehicle), and *legisign* (a law that is a sign-vehicle). From the referent perspective, Peirce proposed *rheme* (a sign of qualitative possibility, it represents "such and such a kind of possible object"—a name is a rheme), *dicent* (a sign that represents in terms of or asserts the actual existence of something), and *argument* (a sign that asserts the truth of something). Perhaps the most important sign categorization criteria in relation to cartographic applications (and certainly the one that has attracted the most attention from both semioticians and cartographers) is the kind of relationship that exists between the sign-vehicle and the referent (i.e., from the point of view of the interpretant). This was the criterion selected by Peirce in devising his well-known typology of icon, index, and symbol.

For Peirce (Innis, 1985, p. 7), the icon is a sign-vehicle that refers "merely by virtue of characters of its own." Through a rather convoluted argument, Peirce ends up deciding that "a possibility alone is an Icon purely by virtue of its quality," thus essentially eliminating the category of icon as a visible sign-vehicle. While no true icons exist (at least ones that can be used on maps), Peirce (Innis, 1985, p. 9) contends that other sign-

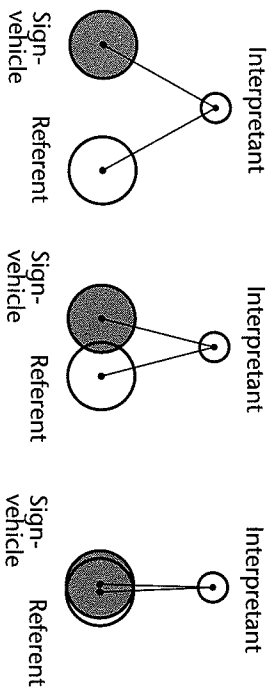


FIGURE 5.4. A depiction of Knowlton's variable strength semiotic triangle. After Knowlton (1966, Fig. 5, p. 171). Adapted by permission of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology, Copyright 1966, Washington, DC.

vehicles can be iconic, "that is, may represent its object [referent] mainly by its similarity, no matter what its mode of being." The term *hypocicon* is coined to specify these iconic sign-vehicles. Three forms are identified: (1) *images*—those that represent through similar visual qualities (e.g., a drawing of a ranger station on a National Park Service map); (2) *diagrams*—those that represent the relations of parts through analogous relations of parts (e.g., a network diagram that topologically represents stream order for streams in a particular drainage basin); and (3) *metaphors*—those that represent through a parallelism in something else (e.g., the use of up-level-down line orientation to represent increasing-stable-decreasing pollutant indices—as on the map in Figure 3.39). More so than the other hypocicons, metaphorical iconicity is a kind of similarity that generally depends on cultural codes (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), although the particular line-orientation example cited could be argued to depend upon universal kinesthetic image schemata.

Peirce's definition of an index was as a sign-vehicle that refers to its referent "by virtue of being really affected" by it (Innis, 1985, p. 12). The reference is due "not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object [referent] happens to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object [referent], on the one hand, and with the senses of memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand" (Innis, 1985, p. 12). Examples he cites include a yardstick, a photograph, and a pointing finger.⁶ Three distinguishing features of indices are noted: (1) they have no significant resemblance to their referents; (2) they refer to individuals or individual units, collections or continua; and (3) they direct attention by "blind compulsion." With index, Peirce clearly had in mind a sign-vehicle property rather than a kind of sign, and even comments that it would be "difficult, if not impossible," to identify a pure index. Also, Peirce suggests that most sign-vehicles will have some level of indexical quality. Among the most clearly indexical sign-vehicles on maps are the graticule lines or tick marks used to "indicate" latitude and longitude.

Although map graticule provides an example of a map sign-vehicle that might be considered primarily indexical, any map symbol with fixed position has the property of spatial indexicality, regardless of the other sign aspects it may possess. The possibility that a sign can be indexical in relation to location while at the same time signifying some attribute of the place (perhaps iconically) accords with Keates's (1982) dichotomy of locational and substantive information and Schlichmann's (1985) dichotomy of spatial and nonspatial characteristics. As Schlichmann points out, this distinction can be separately applied to sign-vehicles and to interpretants (his sign expression and content).

life. He set out to accomplish this task by delineating several “modes of signifying” that relate to purposes of sign use. Together these modes and purposes define a matrix of discourse types.

Morris initially proposed five modes of signifying which he reduced to four in his later writing (Hervey, 1982). These five are:

Designative: The sign directs attention to a referent by signifying “observable” properties—properties are “designed.” A map example is a choropleth map of population density in which the sign-vehicle (shade or color) designates the density range for that country.

Appraisive: The sign signifies the “consummatory” properties of a referent, it directs attention to preferential treatment of the referent, or it assigns a value judgment. Signs on a highway map such as yellow = scenic route, dashed = unimproved road, etc., constitute appraisive signs.

Prescriptive: The sign signifies how a situation should be reacted to, it directs attention to performing a response (a signal as defined above would, typically be prescriptive). An arrow on a city street map specifying a one-way street can be considered prescriptive.

Identificative: The sign directs attention to a certain spatial-temporal region (an index will use this mode of signifying). All map signs have identificative properties in relation to geographic position. Some signs, like simple dots to indicate city location, may be primarily identificative in mode. Morris dropped the identificative mode from his later writing.

Formative: The sign signifies in a “logical,” “grammatical,” or “structural” way. Conjunctions (“and,” “or”) are considered formative. They perform operations on other signs. On maps, signs can use formative mode to suggest links between places. A double-ended hook symbol (common on tax maps) uses formative mode by indi-

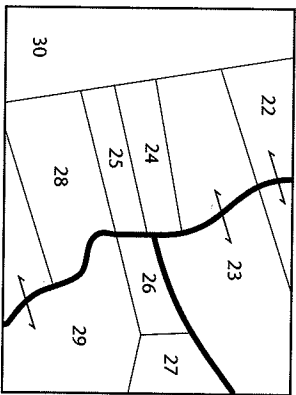


FIGURE 5.5. An example of the formative mode of signifying in which the sign's interpretant (for parcels 22, 23, and 29) is “these two map regions are part of the same land parcel.”

cating an “and” relationship between two parcels of land (Figure 5.5).

Complementary to the modes of signifying, Morris (1946/1971, p. 172) offered four dimensions of use that address the “question of the purpose for which an organism produces the sign which it or other organisms interpret.” These dimensions of use include:

Informative: The sign is intended to inform about something.

Valiative: The sign is intended to aid in preferential selection.

Incitative: The sign is intended to incite response-sequences.

Systemic: The sign is intended to organize sign-produced behavior into a determinate whole.

Morris (1964) contends that the modes of signifying and dimensions of sign use have no necessary links. In fact, he provides a matrix indicating all possible combinations and types of discourse to which they might apply (e.g., the designative–informative combination is typified by scientific discourse and the prescriptive–valuative combination is typified by political discourse). He does note, however, that “in general, designative signs are used informatively, appraisive signs are used valuatively, prescriptive signs are used incitively, and formative signs are used systematically” (p. 15). Although we might expect most map signs to match signifying modes and dimensions of sign use in this way, it is those cases that deviate from expectations that provide the most food for thought and that have attracted interest among recent critics of cartographic practice (e.g., Harley, 1989; Wood, 1992). I will come back to this issue in Chapter 7.

Morris's typology of discourse is closely paralleled by Guiraud (1975) who worked from a more Saussurean linguistic base in developing an analysis of “the functions of communication.”⁸ Since Guiraud contends that the function of signs is to communicate, his analysis can also be considered a typology of discourse. Guiraud's typology includes the following functions: referential, emotive, connotative or injunctive, poetic or aesthetic, phatic, metalinguistic, understanding and feeling, meaning and information, and attention and participation. Even without a detailed account of these functions, it is clear from their labels that correspondence exists with Morris's categories. The main difference seems to be in Morris's separation of modes of signifying from dimensions of sign use. Guiraud's one-dimensional typology does not allow the potential mismatches between how signs signify and how they are used to be identified.

Guiraud's (1975) poetic–aesthetic category has the least clear com-

plement in Morris's typology. Defined as "the relation between the message and itself," this category suggests semiotic analysis of maps as an object of expression in and of themselves. Keates's (1984) views on art in cartography (see Chapter 1) offer a hint of the directions such analysis might take (although Keates does not couch his argument in semiotic terms).

How Signs Signify: Specificity or Levels of Meaning

While an icon-index-symbol typology of signs focuses on the sign-vehicle to referent link and a typology of discourse focuses on how and why signs are used, attention can also be given to the directness/explicitness of the link between sign-vehicle and interpretant. From a logical perspective—typological perspective, Morris (1946/1971) proposed eight categories of sign (or sign-vehicle) distinguished primarily on the basis of consistency or specificity of meaning.⁹ Hervey (1982) discounts the possibility of the first category (sign-vehicles that are not part of a sign family), but goes on to summarize the remaining seven. These are defined as:

Singular sign: The interpretant permits only one referent (for a map, an example would be "capital of the United States in 1990").

General sign: The interpretant permits any number of individual referents (a map example might be "river" but could also be "Columbus"—a name-sign for which several referents exist within the United States).

Interpersonal sign: Several interpreters share the same signification (a good map example might be signs dealing with geologic structure for which those trained in geology share a common understanding of the map sign-vehicles, their referents, and their interpretants).

Consign: Has the same signification for the producing organism and the interpreter (the goal of most communication-model-oriented cartographic research was to develop, discover, or teach consigns).

Vague sign: Does not allow a determination of whether a particular entity is or is not a referent of the sign (on a map, "forest" without the necessary spatial qualifiers that determine the smallest area that will qualify and the required density of trees is a vague sign).

Unambiguous sign-vehicle: Has one interpretant (this is the goal of most map symbology, but it is only met in those situations where we limit the definition of interpretant to an explicit meaning specified in a legend).

Ambiguous sign-vehicle: Has several interpretants (as discussed in Chapter 7, sign-vehicles on maps are probably ambiguous in this sense more often than cartographers have cared to admit).

Issues of vague signs and ambiguous sign vehicles are also taken up by Guiraud (1975) in relation to what he terms the "codification of signs." According to Guiraud, all signification (the relation between sign-vehicle and interpretant) is codified, or defined by a "code" or convention between individuals for whom the sign serves a communication function.¹⁰ That code may be explicit or implicit. Guiraud's concept of convention, then, is one of degrees. Codification is viewed as "an agreement among the users of a sign [whom recognize the relation between the signifier [sign-vehicle] and the signified [interpretant] and respect it in practice. Such agreement may be more or less inclusive and more or less precise" (Guiraud, 1975, p. 25). Signs, then, can be *monosemic* (i.e., unambiguous) and precise, or *polysemic* (i.e., ambiguous) and imprecise. Similarly, signs can be *explicit* versus *implicit*, *conscious* versus *unconscious*, and *denotational* versus *connotational*.

For natural language, polysemic codes are the rule. With a polysemic code, a single sign-vehicle has multiple referents (e.g., "table" can represent an object to dine on, something that can be done to a decision at a board meeting, or an organized listing of numbers). Scientific languages and signaling systems (e.g., naval signal flags), along with other "logical" codes, are cited by Guiraud (1975) as the only monosemic sign systems. Bertin (1981) contends that cartography is a monosemic system of codes, but many arguments to the contrary can be made. This issue of the extent to which cartography is monosemic or polysemic will be considered in Chapter 7.

According to a number of semioticians, particularly those following in the Saussurean tradition (e.g., Barthes), all codes are polysemic in the sense of having two (or more) "levels" of meaning. The first is the primary, conscious, explicit meaning that can be defined as a sign's "denotation." To this can be added a secondary, implicit and (perhaps) unconscious meaning, the sign's "connotation."¹¹ Guiraud (1975, p. 28) provides a relatively clear example of the distinction in relation to the sign function of military uniforms: "A uniform denotes rank and function; it connotes the prestige and authority attached to rank and function." He goes on to suggest that "scientific codes, being essentially monosemic, eliminate possibilities of stylistic and connotative variation which abound in poetic codes."

This elimination of possibilities for multiple connotations was clearly the goal of a communication-model-oriented cartography that viewed maps as "scientific," and therefore objective and free from evaluative con-

notations. As will be discussed fully in Chapter 7, Harley (1989) contends that cartographers have for too long presented their maps as scientific and free from multiple connotative meanings. Both in semiotics and cartography there has been a growing realization that the separation between science and art is not as clear-cut as science would like to believe and that most signs, scientific or otherwise, carry connotative meaning.

Hjelmslev's theory of connotation serves as a basis for several current semiotic approaches to the denotation-connotation distinction (Nöth, 1990). The key feature of this theory was Hjelmslev's linguistically motivated expression-content dyadic sign model. Signs, in this model (as in Saussure's), were considered to be a relation between an expression and a content. What Hjelmslev added was that signs themselves could serve as either the expression or the content of other signs. He used the label "metallanguage" for signs as content and the label "connotation" for signs as expression. Barthes (1967), building on Hjelmslev, formalized this idea as a graphic model (Figure 5.6).

For Barthes, signs denote via convention (generally accepted relational rules), but connote via *signification*. Signification is, for Barthes (1967), "a property of objects that do not declare openly their possession of signification." In summarizing Barthes's perspective on connotation, Hervey (1982, p. 136) suggests that Barthes' "connotation" is appropriately used in cases where a sign acquires a 'higher' level of signification, functioning thereby as a 'secondary' sign that hints at a partially concealed, but all the more conspicuous, not to say insidious, message." For Barthes, there are no "innocent" facts.

In relation to visual images (in advertising), Barthes (1977, p. 37) distinguishes between literal and symbolic (cultural) messages based on knowing what things are versus what they stand for. The "literal image is denoted and the symbolic image connoted." Barthes contends that the system of connotation "takes over" that of denotation and suggests that we often use language to prevent or limit this "taking-over." Linguistic messages (text on the image) are said to "fix" a "floating chain of signifieds,"



FIGURE 5.6. A depiction of Barthes's model of connotation as a semantic extension of a denotative sign. Derived from Barthes (1967, p. 90).

or to "anchor" an otherwise polysemic sign. As an apparent complement to his view that connotations are often hidden in signs so that they exert their influence unconsciously, Barthes (1977, p. 198) suggests that text in images can "remote control [the viewer] toward a meaning chosen in advance." It can prevent connotations from being achieved—precisely its goal on many maps where text is added to define, reduce ambiguity, and generally try to ensure a monosemic system of signifying.

Traditional semantics treats connotative meaning as a secondary meaning that a sign may have in addition to its primary denotative meaning (Nöth, 1990). This idea (apparent in much of Barthes's work cited above) opens up a variety of possibilities for kinds of inference that might be made to achieve this secondary meaning level. Recent deconstructionist ideas suggest that it may actually be impossible to determine which is the denotation and which the connotation, which is the primary meaning and which must be inferred from it. Eco, as early as 1968, seemed to imply as much with his typology of connotations (originally published in Italian, with a German translation; Eco, 1972; cited in Nöth, 1990, p. 102):

1. Connotation of definitional meaning (e.g., Venus = Morning Star).
2. Connotations of the constituent elements (e.g., Lat. *luna* connotes "feminine").
3. Ideological connotation.
4. Emotional connotation.
5. Connotations derived from hyponymy (*tulip* connotes "flower"), hyperonymy (*flower* may connote "tulip") or antonymy (*husband* connotes "wife").
6. Connotations by intersemiotic translation (e.g., a word sign connoting a picture sign).
7. Connotations of rhetorical figures (e.g., metaphors).
8. Rhetorical-stylistic connotations.
9. Global axiological connotations (referring to values).

Regardless of the precision, strength, or multiplicity of levels of the conventional relation or signification between sign-vehicle and interpretant(s), the relation can be one of two types: motivated or unmotivated (i.e., arbitrary). Motivation here is used in roughly the same sense as in Chapter 4: a motivated relationship is one in which there is cognitive economy in recognizing similarity on some criteria. According to Guiraud (1975), motivation is a natural relation that can be either analogical (related to substance) or homological (related to form).¹² Moti-

vated signs are equated to icons as defined above. The important distinctions between Guiraud and most other authors, however, are that motivation or iconicity should be considered a continuum (rather than the discrete categories proposed by Peirce, Sebeok, and others) and that this continuum is a concept that applies to both denotation and connotation. For denotation, Guiraud's concept of a sign motivation continuum is similar to that suggested by Knowlton's variable semiotic triangle cited above.

Typology of Comprehension (or Miscomprehension)

If we are interested in "how maps work," we must consider how signs, at all levels, work. One aspect of this question is whether signs are *comprehended*.

Prieto's theory of semiotic acts (as described in Hervey, 1982) devotes considerable attention to the success and failure of sign "comprehension." The fundamental principle of his theory is that for a sign to function, a person comprehending it must recognize that the perceptible sign-vehicle belongs to a particular class and infer from it that some other indicated entity (the interpretant) belongs to a specific class.¹³ Both the sign-vehicle and the interpretant exist in a separate "Universe of Discourse" (defined as the possible sign-vehicle and interpretants). The sign-vehicle (which Prieto calls the "indicator" or "signal" occupies a Universe of Discourse termed a "sematic field" consisting of all the alternatives with which it significantly contrasts. On a U.S. National Park Service map, for example, a pictorial point symbol will have a relatively limited sematic class consisting of the 74 possible symbols in the complete set. The interpretant's Universe of Discourse is termed the "noetic field." For the same Park Service map, the noetic field could vary tremendously in size depending upon how familiar a person was with the features represented on the maps (From some small number of possible interpretants to some indefinitely large number). Comprehension involves comparing these two fields (or Universes of Discourse).

In relation to this general framework, Hervey (1982) provides a concise statement of how Prieto evaluates comprehension.

Taking cognisance of the fact that the sender intends to convey a message, and perceiving the signal [sign-vehicle] as identifying a particular Sematic field to which it belongs, lead to a state of uncertainty in the receptor. This uncertainty is given specificity by the fact that, on recognizing the appropriate Sematic field, the receptor is, by

automatic association, made aware also of the corresponding Noetic field. . . .

Within the Noetic field which the receptor of a signal [sign-vehicle] identifies . . . the receptor's uncertainty has the precise form of an indecision as to which of a (perhaps indefinite) number of mutually exclusive classes in the Noetic field he could fix on as the class to which the sender's message belongs. Comprehension, therefore, can be seen as the dispelling (in part or totally) of the particular uncertainty in question, ideally by identifying the "narrowest" Noetic class that corresponds to the signal in question. (p. 67)

It should be clear from the above statement that several potential levels of comprehension present themselves, based on both the kind and the level of success in matching sematic and noetic classes. Complete success requires not only correct, but total comprehension. Prieto establishes a typology of sorts to delineate a set of comprehension possibilities. They are as follows:

1. *Complete success*: The interpreter has narrowed the noetic field down to a single class corresponding to the class of the sign-vehicle, and the choice is an exact correspondence (e.g., on a five-class choropleth map of mean income, recognizing the third darkest gray tone as the middle category and successfully matching this to a concept associated with middle income defined by a specified income range).
2. *Partial failure*: Identification of an appropriate superordinate class in the noetic field but failure to be able to narrow the choices down to a single class, thus retaining a level of uncertainty in the sign-vehicle—interpretant match (e.g., on the same choropleth map, recognizing the third darkest category as representing income levels, but being uncertain about which of the three central categories it represents).
3. *Total failure*: The interpreter has narrowed the noetic field down to a single class corresponding to the class of the sign-vehicle, and the choice is wrong (e.g., incorrectly matching the third darkest category with the second highest income level).
4. *Failure due to situational factors*: Specifically situations in which the originator of the sign-vehicle is either not as precise as the situation allows the perceiver to be, or in which the originator is quite specific, but there are more interpretants than anticipated (e.g., an interpretation of the middle and next highest category as "middle income" in the context of a news story about "middle income" Americans).

Cartographically, the latter case might just as easily be considered a hypothesis as a failure because the map perceiver might be as likely to infer something useful as to infer the wrong thing.

THE NATURE OF SIGN SYSTEMS

In the context of cartography, a study of signs independent of how they interact with one another (the study of sign systems) would be little more than an intellectual curiosity. The key to productively applying a semiotic approach to map representation is to use that approach to consider how the individual-cognitive aspects of map representation discussed in Part I link to the public function and lexical process to be considered in Chapters 6 and 7. While understanding how signs denote and connote is an important piece in the puzzle, the puzzle is not complete until we consider how signs relate to one another. Issues of "the nature of signs" considered thus far closely parallel those of mental categories discussed in Chapter 4. Those of sign systems (discussed in this section) closely parallel those of map schemata. If maps are to work, mental categories and categories indicated by sign-vehicles need to correspond in some logical way and map schemata must link to the sign systems created by cartographers.

Morris seems to have had the most impact (at least in North America and certainly within cartography) on thinking about this question of sign interrelationships. His *three dimensions of semiosis, syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics*, provide the needed framework for addressing this question. A number of cartographers have tried to adapt these concepts to understanding map representation (Board, 1973; Morrison, 1974; Keates, 1982; Wolodtschenko and Pravda, 1993). Before I consider their efforts (in Chapter 6) a synopsis of Morris's dimensions of semiosis and some other attempts to address issues of semiotic systems is required.

Dimensions of Semiosis

For Morris (1938), semantics studies how sign-vehicles and their referents are related and pragmatics deals with sign-vehicle-interpretant relations. Thus each of these focuses on individual signs (as we did above). The third proposed relationship, syntactics, is probably the most important for cartography, but has also been the most controversial. According to Morris, syntactics is the relation between a given sign-vehicle and other sign-vehicles. There is a critical distinction here (that many cartographers have missed) between Morris's "syntactics" and the linguistic subcategory of "syntax." While syntax puts emphasis on word order and

parings (i.e., on a linear sequence), syntactics is much broader in scope. Syntactics allows for consideration of any kind of among-sign relationships.¹⁴ Morris (1938, p. 16) makes this point explicitly in his statement that there are "syntactical problems in the fields of perceptual signs, aesthetic signs, the practical use of signs, and general linguistics." He provides an intriguing graphic depiction of his conception of the three dimensions of semiosis applied to the three attributes of a sign (Figure 5.7). Most of what Morris considered to be semantics and pragmatics has been alluded to above, in considering "the nature of signs." Although I will return to these dimensions of semiosis in the next chapters, here I will focus on syntactics.

At least three kinds of sign relationships seem to fall under Morris's umbrella of syntactics (Posner, 1985, in French; cited in Nöth, 1990, p. 51). These include: (1) "the consideration of signs and sign combinations so far as they are subject to syntactical rules" (Morris, 1938, p. 14), (2) "the way in which signs of various classes are combined to form compound signs" (Morris, 1946/1971, p. 367), and (3) "the formal relations of signs to one another" (Morris, 1938, p. 6). Cartographically these perspectives on sign relationships emphasize, respectively, issues such as: (1) development of logic for map legends, (2) rules about combining nominal with ordinal sign-vehicles, and (3) principles for matching graphic variables to differential versus ordinal data.

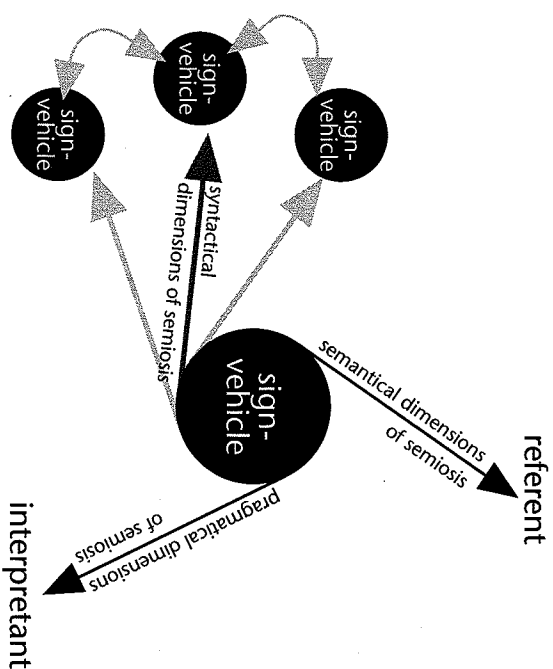


FIGURE 5.7. A depiction of a sign as an entity linking its three components via the relations of syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics. Derived from Morris (1939/1971, p. 417).

Robinson and Perchenik (1976) presented a convincing argument that maps have no "syntax." Implicit in their argument was an assumption that linguistic syntax was equivalent to syntactics. Most subsequent cartographers (particularly within North America) accepted the argument against a map syntax and took for granted the equivalence of syntax and syntactics. As a result, North American cartography has largely ignored the concept of syntactics.

Robinson and Perchenik's discounting of syntax as a viable cartographic issue was part of a broader argument against a linguistic approach to cartography. They (rightly) pointed out that individual maps have no predetermined reading sequence, and therefore no "word" order comparable to that considered under the linguistic concept of "syntax." In addition, they asserted that maps have no equivalent to "words" and are not "discursive." To demonstrate the weakness of the mapping-as-language analogy, they pointed to two possible aspects of mapping that might be equated with syntax, both of which were intended to demonstrate that the possible link between mapping and language is tenuous at best. First, they suggested that syntax (for a static map) can only be defined in relation to spatial structure (either horizontally across geographic space or vertically in terms of visual perceptual levels). They went on to concede that there is something weakly analogous to linguistic "syntax" in the structuring of visual levels. One could argue, in fact, that if carefully designed, visual levels could be used to lead a perceiver through a series of stages from global patterns to local details. They also conceded that animated maps can have a kind of syntactical structure related to temporal order (but contended that this structure "has nothing to do with the map per se") (Robinson and Perchenik, 1976, p. 56).

As should be clear by now, the point that Robinson and Perchenik (1976) missed is that while most maps do not have syntax in the narrow sense of structured reading order, they do (or should) have a carefully structured syntactics in terms of the interrelationships among signs they are composed of. Most potential applications of syntactics to map representation relate to Morris's broad, nonlinguistic approach. Since 1976, when Robinson and Perchenik developed their argument against map syntax, however, technological changes have resulted in practical tools for the design of animated maps. It is therefore now considerably more important to question their contention that the temporal syntax of animated maps has nothing to do with the map. It is my contention that the temporal syntax of animated maps has everything to do with the map!

When maps play out over time, as a map movie, it may prove useful to borrow some ideas from film analysis to address the many new issues that arise. From a semiotic perspective, the most interesting possibility of film analysis with map animation applications is Metz's (1968/1974)

filmic syntax. Metz developed a model (or typology) of "syntagmatic types" to characterize the temporal-visual manipulation possible in film, but not in other visual media. As Korac (1988) points out, temporal manipulation results in a range of possible syntactic relations from those that mimic real time-space relations (and result in a motivated or iconic sign system) to those that have arbitrary relations with real-world time-space relations (thus resulting in an arbitrary or symbolic sign system). Metz's model is hierarchically organized with a major division into relatively simplistic films consisting of a single coherent sequence (single-shot units) and those more complex films in which there are multiple units (to which the filmmaker exerts varying kinds and degrees of manipulation) (Figure 5.8). The categories depicted can be defined as follows:

Sequence shot: The most "motivated" temporal-visual organization in which filmic and chronological time are *identical* and visual plane has continuity (i.e., full duration from single point of view).

Scene: A highly motivated temporal-visual organization in which filmic and chronological time are identical, but visual continuity is interrupted (i.e., full duration, but from several different viewpoints as typical in a TV portrayal of a sporting event).

Ordinary sequence: Contains both visual and temporal discontinuity,

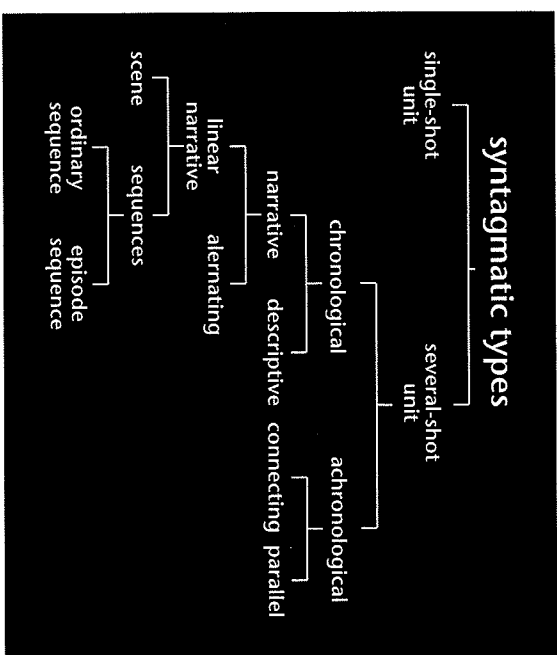


FIGURE 5.8. Metz's semiotic typology of syntagmatic types for film. Derived from Metz (1968/1974, p. 146) and Korac (1988, Fig. 1, p. 78).

having changes in duration, gaps in time, and changes in place, but with temporal order maintained.

Episode sequence: Like above, but more extreme. Filmic time is compressed to an extreme degree (e.g., several years in a few minutes created through a sequence of potentially time-compressed shots interposed with large jumps in time).

Alternating syntagm: Events actually taking place at the same time are presented alternately in the film (a variation is alternating flashback and flashforward, producing a psychological rather than a physical sense of simultaneity).

Descriptive syntagm: The use of a time sequence to describe an area (rather than presenting a temporal sequence).

Connecting syntagm: A linear sequence of spatially and temporally different shots depicting objects or events that belong to the same category or class, thereby implying links of ideas due to juxtaposition in film time (e.g., horrors of war signified through a sequence showing bombs dropping, destroyed houses, dead or wounded, etc., regardless of which war is shown). Korac (1988, p. 80) labeled this syntagm "the stuttering filmic equivalent of categorization." This technique uses temporal proximity (a Gestalt property) to suggest grouping due to family resemblance (one aspect of the prototype theory of categorization).

Parallel syntagm: An alternating sequence of shots that depict changes in place but not time, typically places that belong to opposite categories where the temporal juxtaposition of the scenes puts emphasis on contrasts.

The Metz typology has several similarities to the approach to dynamic mapping that some colleagues and I developed (DiBiase et al., 1992). In particular, identification of both temporal and nontemporal uses of time sequence and the attention given to manipulation of time as a sign corresponds to our approach to treating time in a manner analogous to the visual variables of map symbolization (size, shape, orientation, etc.).¹⁵

Systemology

Morris's tripartite typology of semiosis (into semantics, pragmatics, and syntactics) is not the only cartographically relevant attempt to formalize the study of semiotic systems. Hervey (1982) describes a complementary classification, termed *systemology*, that he defines as a "deductive classification of semiotic systems." Systemology is derived from principles of ax-

formatic semiotics, a variation on *functional semiotics* attributable to Mulder and Hervey (1980). As described in Hervey (1982), both axiomatic and functional semiotics are subfields of (or perspectives on) semiotics that limit their attention to semiological systems and typologies of indices (signs), specifically signs that have an intention to communicate. Differences between the two branches of semiotics are primarily in terms of limits on scope of inquiry, and need not concern us here.

Hervey initially describes why the medium of communication in which signs are used (e.g., sight, sound, etc.) and the pragmatic use of the system (e.g., for the sighted vs. the blind) are not semiotically relevant. He then goes on to contend that *semiotic economy* provides the only important dimension on which to classify semiotic systems.

Semiotic Economy

"Semiotic economy" is defined in relation to two levels of entity in a semiotic system. A distinction is made between the "figurae" and the "signa." This distinction can be interpreted as that between the sign-vehicle and the sign of which it is a part, or perhaps the mark that becomes the sign-vehicle (prior to its becoming part of a sign) and the sign (or sign-vehicle-interpretant relationship). Hervey (1982) uses a simple example to clarify the terms. The example involves the letters H, W, and C as they often appear on single-knob bathroom shower controls. The letters by themselves are figurae. On the faucet, if the proper sign-vehicle-interpretant connection is made, the result is the signa of: H = hot water, W = warm water, and C = cold water.

According to Hervey's systemology, figurae occupy the *cenological* (from the Greek indicating "empty" of meaning) level of signification. Signa, on the other hand, occupy the *plerological* (or "full" of meaning) level. Semiotic economy is calculated by determining the ratio of figurae in the cenological level to the signa of the plerological level. For the water faucet example, the semiotic economy of the system is 1:1 because there are exactly the same number of potential figurae as there are signa. Such a system is considered "simple" in contrast to "complex" systems (i.e., those having a one-to-many relationship). A good example of the later is Morse code in which two figurae in varied combinations (a dot and a dash) represent all letters and numbers. Written language, of course, has much greater economy with (in English) only 26 letters able to produce all possible words of the language (native Hawaiian achieves this with only a dozen letters).

Cartographically, if we consider subcomponents of maps separately (e.g., just those symbols forming a system for representing point loca-

tions) we can find examples of both simple and complex semiotic systems. The U.S. National Park Service system of pictorial symbols for depicting feature locations is a simple 1:1 system in which each symbol is a different shape. Semiotic economy is achieved when pairs of graphic variables (e.g., shape and color hue) are used in combinations where one graphic variable acts as a qualifier of the others. One example is the map of Motor Vehicle Manufacturers in the United States for 1986 found in the National Geographic Society's *Historical Atlas of the United States, Centennial Edition*. On this map, seven point symbol shapes are used to represent categories of manufacturers (the four major U.S. firms at the time plus other American, European, and Japanese manufacturers) and three color hues are used to represent type of facility (assembly, parts, headquarters/R&D). The ten figurae can result in 7×3 signa, or 21 disparate signs, a semiotic economy of 1:2.1. For maps as a whole, like written language, it becomes clear that we have a system with tremendous semiotic economy. Whether one accepts Bertin's (1967/1983) contention that there are seven graphic variables, or the expanded set of eleven identified in the next chapter, we have a system with a *figure:sigma* ratio of *few:indefinite*. Individual maps, of course, vary in the way they take advantage of the potential economy and we know little if anything at this point about the relationship between semiotic economy of maps and the cognitive aspects of map representation discussed in Part I (i.e., does semiotic economy help or hinder a user's ability to identify visual categories and/or apply appropriate schemata?).

Simultaneity versus Articulation

In addition to the simple-complex dichotomy of semiotic economy, Hervey (1982, p. 193) proposes a second dichotomy, "that between the formation of *simultaneous bundles* and the formation of *articulated constructions*." The two concepts are presented in relation to linear semiotic systems. With simultaneous bundles, for example, the order of combination is irrelevant (e.g., on encountering a pair of highway signs while approaching an intersection, one indicating "Stop" and the other "No left turn," the order in which the signs are encountered has no effect on their meaning). In contrast, when dealing with Morse code with its two units of expression, the order in which dots and dashes (and pauses between them) are encountered provides the basis for meaning. Morse code is one of Hervey's (1982) examples of a prototypic articulated system. Hervey considers articulated systems to be more powerful than those whose sign-vehicle combinations result in simultaneous bundles. Articulated systems can be seen as making use of human pattern recognition abilities (see

Part I). Although articulation is a concept primarily associated with order of presentation or encounter with signs, it has also been applied to nonlinear constructions such as traffic "signs."

For dynamic maps, the concept of articulated versus simultaneous combinations becomes particularly relevant. As demonstrated in DiBiase et al. (1992) and described in the next chapter, if we treat time as a cartographic variable (instead of just something to map), the meaning of a particular set of dynamic signs will be determined, in part, by the order of presentation. A set of cartographic primitives including temporal order as an operator (or figurae, in Hervey's terms) would thus be considered an articulated semiotic system, at least in those cases for which order is explicitly used as a sign-vehicle.

Combinatorial Relations

Hervey (1982) suggests that semiotic systems can be articulated at either the cenological or the plerological level. This combination of two dichotomies results in four possible types of subsystem (Figure 5.9). The highway-sign example above represents a simultaneous-plerological subsystem because combinations are among bundles of "signa" (or signs). Morse code is an articulated-cenological system because in it, figurae (devoid of independent meaning) are combined. Hervey cites arabic numbers as an example of an articulated-plerological subsystem in which the signa (0, 1, 2, . . . , 9) have independent meaning and their combinations are dependent upon how they are arranged (e.g., 123 is not the same as 321). Using a diamond, circle, and triangle on a map to represent hotels, restaurants, and theaters would be an example of a simultaneous-cenological system. The figurae or sign-vehicles have no predetermined meaning and whether you see \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge next to a point on the map or \blacklozenge \blacklozenge \blacklozenge , the meaning is the same (although consistent ordering will probably facilitate more purely perceptual tasks such as visual search). Hervey goes on to contend that some systems exhibit all four subsystems

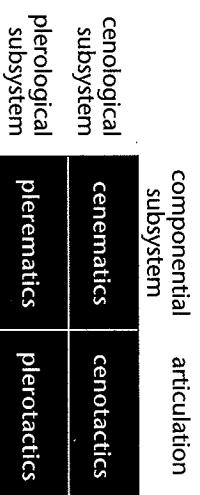


FIGURE 5.9. Hervey's semiological subsystems. After Hervey (1982, Fig. 7.5, p. 197). Adapted by permission of Routledge, Chapman & Hall.

at various levels of analysis. Human languages are shown to feature the interlocking of all four, and it seems likely that all could be identified in some dynamic maps.

APPLICATION OF THE SEMIOTIC APPROACH TO MAP REPRESENTATION

This chapter has provided an abbreviated synopsis of selected issues in the field of semiotics. It is my belief that semiotics has tremendous potential as a tool for systematizing our approach to maps as representations and for developing logical systems of, and transformations among, representations. In addition, a semiotic perspective offers a structured way to consider the interaction of the explicit and implicit meanings with which maps are imbued. The remaining two chapters of Part II will make extensive use of this introduction to semiotics as it relates to functional and lexical aspects of map representation. Chapter 6 addresses the structure of cartographic representation as a set of hierarchically interlocking sign systems in which attention can be directed to a range of issues from how individual symbols represent to how entire maps serve as a sign for a particular worldview. Although it is not possible to completely separate Morrist's three dimensions of semiosis (semantics, syntactics, and pragmatics), the chapter emphasizes the first two of these, the semantics and syntactics of map representation. Chapter 7 continues from this base to emphasize the multiple levels and kinds of meaning in map sign relationships and the processes by which these multiple meanings arise, thus, the pragmatics of maps.

NOTES

1. The spelling was changed from Peirce's original "semeiotic" and the use of the plural form was officially adopted at this time.
2. For those wishing to pursue a semiotic approach to cartography further, Nöth's (1990) tabulations of terminology should prove useful in comparing ideas by different authors using different terminology. He provides a table listing terms used by 15 scholars who have adopted the dyadic model of "sign" and another table of terms from 10 authors who have adopted the triadic model.
3. Axelsson and Jones (1987) and Wood and Fels (1986) point to the ways in which this assumed real-world referent for topographic and other large-scale reference maps can hide and distort other kinds of signifying relationships.
4. Peirce frequently used the term "sign" in both a broad sense of the overall relationship and in a narrower sense corresponding to "sign-vehicle" as defined above, and at times talks about the interpretant as a "sign" in the mind of

the interpreter. Quoting from Peirce, therefore, presents interpretation difficulties. To minimize the confusion, I have inserted in brackets [] the appropriate interpretation for "sign" in the succeeding passages taken from his work.

5. Nöth's interpretation is based on a 1977 edition of *Zeichen: Einführung in einen Begriff und seine Geschichte* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp), which is a translation of a 1973 publication.
6. Peirce also cites a photograph as a kind of image hypicoicon. This dual categorization is evidence that Peirce did not consider his typology a mutually exclusive categorization of sign-vehicles, but a categorization of attributes that sign relations could have, individually or in conjunction. It seems, then, that Peirce approached categorization from what later would be identified as a prototypic, rather than a classical, perspective. Although he did not link his approach to category theory (which was developed several decades after Peirce's death), Peirce was quite clear about the difficulties involved in classifying signs (Hartshorne and Weiss, 1931).
7. Saussure's use of symbol fits in the latter category and may be one of several reasons for the lack of interaction between the two traditions.
8. As Guiraud (1975) points out, this typology is derived from Jakobson (1960).
9. He also proposed two categories of relations among signs and one dealing with interpreters of signs (interpreter-family as a group of interpreters for whom a particular sign has the same interpretant). The categories relating signs will be taken up below.
10. Following from Saussure, signs do not exist for Guiraud unless there is an intention to communicate.
11. If we accept Harley's (1989) or Wood and Fels's (1986) critiques of cartography, these secondary connotations are an intimate part of mapping, are one reason for the importance of maps in society, and are anything but unconscious for the cartographers. These issues will be taken up in detail in Chapter 7.
12. Guiraud's homological motivation seems to be roughly equivalent to Peirce's diagram hypicoicon, and his analogical seems equivalent to Peirce's image hypicoicon or a combination of image and metaphor hypicoicons.
13. Prieto's work is thus far available only in French. The discussion presented here is based on a synopsis of Prieto's theory presented by Hervey (1982). It remains unclear from Hervey's presentation whether Prieto considers the "indicated entity" an interpretant or a referent. Since Prieto seems to have developed his ideas within a Saussurean context, however, it is probably safe to assume a dyadic sign model with the "indicated entity" being an interpretant rather than a referent. See Martinet (1990) for more on Prieto.
14. Throughout this book, the adjective "syntactic" relates to the broader concept of syntactics rather than to syntax.
15. Our approach to dynamic variables for animated maps will be considered in Chapter 6 and the similarities and differences between Metz's typology and our conceptual approach to map animation will be considered in Part III.

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