

Punctum.

International journal of semiotics

3:1 July 2017

Special issue on The Fugue of the Five Senses: Semiotics of the Shifting Sensorium

edited by
Gregory Paschalidis

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Emiliano Battistini & Marco Mondino	For a semiotic multisensorial analysis of urban space. The case of Ballaro and Vucciria markets in Palermo
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Nassia Chourmouziadi	The deadlock of museum images and multisensoriality
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54124 Thessaloniki, Greece
- PUBLISHED BY** Hellenic Semiotic Society <http://hellenic-semiotics.gr/>

Punctum. International Journal of Semiotics 3(1)

July 2017

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INTRODUCTION

Semiotics and the senses

Gregory Paschalidis

By devoting this issue of *Punctum* to the semiotics of our current shifting sensorium we signal to the cross-fertilization of two scientific traditions founded almost simultaneously, in the final years of *le belle époque*: Georg Simmel's sensory sociology and Ferdinand de Saussure's semiology. The former, first intimated in Simmel's apprehension of metropolitan modernity as an over-stimulation of the senses (1903) and succinctly outlined in his 'Sociology of the Senses' (1907), stipulates the study of the senses as a way to become aware of the 'delicate, invisible threads' of social interaction, as a means to achieve a more accurate understanding of the 'web of society' as we experience it rather than as an abstract set of 'major organizational systems' acting upon people. Explicitly set against the organicist and functionalist models that comprised the sociological doxa of his time, Simmel's proposal demonstrates his pioneering role in launching the interactionist tradition of sociology, and, more specifically, in laying the cornerstone of the contemporary study of the social life of the senses. Saussure's path-breaking approach to language, on the other hand, summarized in the courses he taught between 1906 and 1911, foregrounded the conventional and relational nature of the linguistic sign. Although Saussure seems to move in direction opposite to that of Simmel, by stressing the overriding role of the linguistic system (*langue*) over individual language use (*parole*), his programmatic definition of semiology as the study of 'the life of signs in society', assigned to the new science he envisaged the inquiry of the dynamics of the cultural arbitrary in all forms of cultural communication. It is here that the stage is set for the encounter of the study of the social life of the senses with the study of the social life of signs.

Another crucial point of departure for our problematics involves two distinct contributions that both appeared in the early 1960s. The expression 'the fugue of the five senses', adopted in this issue's title, was used by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1964) in his analysis of the interplay of sensory codes in the myths of the South American Indians. In the same year, Marshall McLuhan

challenged both popular and scientific perceptions of mass media, with his assertion that electronic media demolish the hegemony of vision brought about by typography-based literate culture by fostering a kind of tribal, multi-sensorial sensibility. He perceives television, for example, not as a visual medium but as 'a tactual-auditory medium that involves all of our senses in depth interplay' (McLuhan 1964:336). Electronic media, he predicts, will become the new skin of humanity, while their aural and tactile bias will foster a heightened sense of empathy and synesthesia, in-depth involvement and inter-connectedness.

Both McLuhan's prognostications about the re-tribalization of post-literate/post-visual society and Levi-Strauss' 'science of myths' seemed to many of their contemporaries controversial and counter-intuitive. Just as for McLuhan it is the 'medium that is the message', in Levi-Strauss' analysis of myth it is the structure that is the meaning. In some respects, McLuhan's abstruse distinction between hot and cold media, aimed to grasp the different sensory-perceptive processes enabled by different communication technologies, offers an example of the *bricolage* which, according to Levi-Strauss characterizes mythical thought. Despite their initially dismissive reception by the scientific community, McLuhan's ideas about the media-induced (re)shaping of the human sensorium soon took root and grew into a distinct intellectual tradition commonly known as 'media ecology'. By contrast, Levi-Strauss' attention to the sensory codes had a rather inconsequential impact either on the semiotic or the anthropological research of the time, dominated as they both were by the textualist paradigm.

It was in direct opposition to the 'verbocentrism' and 'textualism' then dominant in anthropological theory, David Howes points out, that sensory anthropology started out, in the 1980s, inspired as it was, 'by a desire to explore under-investigated non-visual modes of experience' (Howes 2013). The subsequent growth of sensory anthropology had a vital contribution to the interdisciplinary field of Sensory Studies, which emerged in the 1990s with the additional valuable input of sociology and urban studies, social and cultural history, arts and literature, film and media studies. Amongst the wide-ranging research spawned in this field, during the last twenty-five years, the six volume *A Cultural History of the Senses* project, prepared under the general editorship of cultural historian Constance Classen (2014), is an eloquent testimony to this uniquely fertile encounter of social sciences and humanities around the problematics of the body, culture and the senses.

Both media ecology and Sensory Studies were instrumental in shaking the hierarchy of the senses that runs through the evolution of Western culture, having been elaborated and coded repeatedly from antiquity till the high days of post-war modernism in the 1950s and 1960s. In civilizational terms, the higher/lower senses distinction was formulated on the basis of the culture/nature opposition, with smell and taste in particular, being identified with the animalistic realm. Under the influence of Christianity, this hierarchy was forged in moral terms, with the lower senses being identified as the privileged venues of temptation and sin.

Ocularcentrism has also permeated the semiotic tradition. While 'visual semiotics' is a

highly developed and influential area of semiotic theory and research, privileged to have its own International Association for Visual Semiotics (est. in Perpignan, in 1988), no other human sense comes even near in terms of scholarly recognition and attention. In his detailed survey of the main areas of theoretical and applied semiotics up to 1989, Winfred Nöth underlines that ‘the conditions under which nonverbal behavior becomes sign or communication are of central interest to the foundations of semiotics’ (Nöth 1990: 387). However, he cannot produce but scant evidence of semiotic engagement with the so-called ‘lower senses’, apart, that is, from the extra-human field of zoosemiotics. Even in the case of ‘body language’, the most significant work mentioned regards the neighboring fields of Ray Birdwistell’s *kinesics* and Edward T. Hall’s *proxemics*. As Eric Landowski points out, it was only in the 1990s, after having developed (during the period 1970-1980) as a grammar of discourse, that semiotics has, in effect, been constituted on the basis of a phenomenologically inspired reflection on the perceived world, envisaged as the ‘non-linguistic space’ of the emergence of signification (Landowski 2004: 3). Ironically enough, it was from within the visual semiotics that grew the realization that the nonverbal cannot be restricted to the visual. More specifically, the systematic engagement with the heterogeneity of extra-visual sensorium sprung, when the inadequacy of a strictly representational approach to non-verbal communication was acutely felt. This is the case with both the two contemporary semiotic approaches to the senses.

As regards the first one, the Paris School of Semiotics, the turning point has been Algirdas Julien Greimas’s *De l’imperfection* (1987). Its foregrounding of the affective subject and of the hitherto ignored by semiotics issue of aesthesis (esth sies) – i.e. the way we sense previously uncoded things – has contributed in stimulating ‘further examination between sensory perception (*le sensible*) and the production of meaning (*l’intelligible*)’ (Martin & Ringham 2006: 224). Exemplary, in this regard, are the studies by Jacques Fontanille and Claude Zilberberg (1998), Eric Landowski (2004) and others, that elucidate the role of the senses – all five of them – in the emergence of meaning. As a consequence of this reorientation of post-Greimasian semiotics, according to Landowski, is the fact that the two antagonistic tendencies of semiotics – i.e. focusing either on the discursive, the rational, the articulated and the formalised, or on the pre-discursive, the affective, the amorphous and the esthetic – could reunite: ‘In reality, if a semiotics of “the sensible” – or rather, a semiotics able of accounting for the *efficiency principles of the sensible* in the process of the constitution of *sense in general* – ought to be established, it cannot be in opposition neither to the semiotics of the various forms assumed by “the intelligible”, nor by presuming to replace it. Both these possibilities would, in effect, lead us to admit as an inevitable necessity a division, whereas the real challenge today is precisely to find a way to overcome such a duality’ (Landowski 2004: 5).

The second contemporary approach to the senses is associated with the problematic of multimodality developed by social semiotics. This notion of multimodality was initially developed by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen in their effort to enhance their distinctive

approach to visual semiotics by emphasizing the intricate and systematic interweaving of the verbal and the visual in much of contemporary communication. Their intention to 'break down the disciplinary boundaries between the study of language and the study of images' by considering the verbal and visual aspects of a text not as 'entirely distinct elements' but as 'an integrated text' (1996: 183) is part of the wider 'visual turn' that, in the 1990s, advanced the systematic study of the visual as a corrective to the logocentric emphasis of the humanities, dictated by the preponderance of modern visual media. A similar emphasis is found at the time in W.T. Mitchell's notion of the 'imagetext', whereby he grasps the inherent hybridity of texts, the mutual contamination between the verbal and the visual. Hence his suggestion to go beyond their comparative study and focus on the construction of the human subject 'as a being constituted by both language and imaging' (Mitchell 1994: 24).

At the beginning of the 2000s, the concept of multimodality acquired a new significance in the work of Kress and van Leeuwen, who proceeded to expand its remit to cover the full range of semiotic modes in tandem with the shift of their initial focus on verbal-visual combination to that of multisensory communication (see Kress 2003, 2010; van Leeuwen 2001; Kress & van Leeuwen 2001). Addressing specifically the need for an enhanced definition of literacy, appropriate for the 'the new media age', Kress suggests that "reading the world" through different senses – sight, touch, hearing and even taste and smell – is always present in 'reading', even when we ostensibly focus on script alone' (Kress 2003: 141). Moreover, the anti-logocentric agenda of the earlier Visual Studies is replaced by the much more ambitious project of transcending the centuries-old mind/body dualism of Western thought: 'Introducing a concern with materiality and the senses into representation brings the long-standing separation in Western thinking of mind and body into severe question, and therefore challenges the reification and consequent separation of cognition, affect and emotion. It becomes untenable to assume that cognition is separable from affect; all representation is always affective, while it is also cognitive' (Kress 2003: 171).

The formative influences on the post-Greimasian semiotics and on the social semiotics of Kress and van Leeuwen are phenomenology and pragmatics, respectively. Notwithstanding their different terminology and methods, for both these recent semiotic traditions, what begun as a rehabilitation of the status of the visual, ended up as a sweeping rehabilitation of the full range of the senses. Another striking similarity, is their common desire to overcome the constitutive duality of body/mind. A notable difference, however, is the express engagement of social semiotics with the new media, which brings it in close dialogue with the recent work inspired by the media ecology tradition (see e.g. Bull 2007, MacDougall 2005, Shinkle 2008).

The current, near universal spread of touch screens and haptic devices have made many to talk about a veritable 'haptic revolution'. Sensors are placed in all kinds of appliances and tools, forming the basis for the rapidly expanding Internet of Things. They are increasingly placed on our own clothes and bodies, through wearable computing devices which provide

a complex interface with our environment but also with our own internal organs, physical and even mental conditions. More and more we interact with our diverse digital devices via voice, movement or gestures, and unlock them via our fingerprint or face recognition tools. A wide range of multisensorial environments, of multimodal and cross-sensory experience have emerged in art, entertainment, education, museums, urban life and social interaction. 'In the age of ubiquitous digital media, synesthesia is everywhere. Auditory-to-visual synesthesia, or "colored hearing" is realized on VJ screens in every club. On these screens sound is transformed, through special algorithms, into visual pattern and form instantly and automatically' (Whitelaw 2008: 260).

It seems that, as McLuhan had predicted, the electronic media have fostered a new, heightened sense of the fully sensual body. The cross-sensorial and synesthetic affordances of digital media not only have vindicated his aphorism that 'the medium is the message' – his provocative insinuation of the tactile bias of electronic media – but have given a new urgency to Merleau-Ponty's assertion that synesthetic perception is the rule rather than the exception (1962: 229). His emphasis on the synthetic or synergetic nature of perception, echoed also in Michel Serres's emphasis on the hybrid or 'mingled bodies', should encourage sensory semiotics to consider as its proper area of study not the singularity or distinctiveness of the different senses but their constant interplay, their inherent fusion and confusion, blending and intermingling. Its task is not to distinguish and separate, to bring order to the chaos, but rather to delve into the untidy muddle of our perceptual-cognitive processes and investigate the semiotic energies invested and released by our common, everyday practices of association, bridging, confluence and mingling that comprise the 'social life of the senses'.

Our special issue on the Fugue of the Senses opens with Emiliano Battistini and Marco Mondino's multisensorial semiotic reading of Ballarò and Vucciria, two historic market districts of the city Palermo, in Sicily. Drawing from recent research into the urban sensescapes (soundscape, smellscape, tastescape, walkscape) they succeed in combining the detailed analysis of the different sense dimensions with an insistence on a holistic approach that offers an integrated understanding of urban places as 'synesthetic crossroads'.

In 'Walking with media: a multimodal approach', Nikos Bubaris approaches the issue of multisensoriality when walking is combined with mobile media. Developing an analytical framework based on the problematics of multimodality, Bubaris investigates the shaping power of mobile media over the experience and meaning of walking by focusing on two media walk projects recently presented in Athens.

In Nassia Chourmouziadi's 'The deadlock of museum images and multisensoriality' the author provides a critical review of current museum practices that, having abandoned the ocularcentric bias of the modernist 'exhibitionary complex', have integrated multisensoriality as a means to advance new, emotionally and politically engaging pedagogies of feeling. Aiming to overcome undue emphasis on either cognition or feeling, Chourmouziadi discusses a range

of contemporary museums and exhibitions outlining an approach that seeks the balanced interplay of the sensible and the intelligible.

Valeria De Luca's article concerns the semiotics of dance, and in particular, the investigation of the bodily level of semiosis that takes place in the movements and bodily interaction that are characteristic of Argentinian tango. Drawing from the post-Greimasian semiotic tradition, her analysis of the intricate semiotic play of *marcación* leads her to question the current understandings of embodiment and empathy.

In 'Touching through calligraphy and tattoos: two exercises on human and animal bodies' Apostolos Lampropoulos investigates the complex depths of touch, the so-called 'deepest sense'. His examination of the disparate practices of calligraphy on human skin in Peter Greenaway's film *The Pillow Book* and the tattooing of pigs in Wim Deloye's art project *Art Farm* allows him to explore the dialectic of intimacy and violence, sharing and objectification that pervades the multiple dynamics of touching.

Our last article in this multi-faceted engagement with the semiotics of senses, focuses on smell, and more specifically on female perfumes. In his 'Deciphering the message in the perfume bottle', Panagiotis Xouplidis examines the cultural construction of the feminine perfume olfactory system and, utilizing a social semiotic perspective, proceeds to unravel the cross sensory management of female perfume packaging.

A decade ago, the social historian Mark Smith asserted that 'it is a good moment to be a sensory historian' (2007: 841). The impressive growth of historical research into the senses had given him good reason to do so. Given the recent awakening of semiotic interest in the contemporary 'fugue of the five senses' we are, I believe, justified to rephrase Smith, and declare that it is a good moment to be a sensory semiotician.

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Gregory Paschalidis is Professor of Cultural Studies at the School of Journalism and Mass Communications, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece.

Email: paschagr@jour.auth.gr

For a semiotic multisensorial analysis of urban space. The case of Ballaro and Vucciria markets in Palermo

Emiliano Battistini, Marco Mondino

One of the most interesting fields in which to study the interaction between senses is that of the urban space experience. If the semiotic approach questioned especially the meaning configurations deriving from the visual organisation of space and from the relationship between designed space and lived space (Hammad 2003, 2013; Marrone, Pezzini 2006 and 2008) other approaches suggested concepts like 'soundscape' (Schafer 1977) or 'smellscape' (McLean 2014). These concepts introduced new interpretative keys which allowed the study of landscape through sensorial channels other than sight. However, they once again anchored this study to only one sense, detached from the others. What we propose, by contrast, is to read landscape in its synesthetic and multisensorial complexity, by demonstrating the effectivity of an integrated approach (Ingold 2007), which takes account both of sight, hearing, smell, touch and taste too (Le Breton 2006). Assuming space as a text, i.e. as a universe of meaning delimited by specific pertinences and supported by a system of semantic oppositions, the article's aim is to analyse two historic districts of the city of Palermo, Ballarò and Vucciria (market places during the daytime and meeting and socializing spot in the evening), starting from the uses and sensorial perceptions of these places. The semiotic analysis is employed to highlight the structures of meaning resulting from the interaction between the different sensorial channels, and thus contributing to a holistic and integrated perception of urban landscape. The objective is to demonstrate how the different sensorial channels can either combine or collide, providing a complex and multisensorial reading of urban spaces.

KEYWORDS semiotics, multisensorial analysis, urban space, Palermo

Introduction: From landscape to urban sensescape

One of the most interesting fields for studying sense interaction is that of urban space experience. The vast majority of the research literature on the topic is concerned with the visual dimension of urban space. Some famous examples come from the Urban Studies research tradition, such as *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* by Jane Jacobs (1961) and *The Image of the City* by Kevin Lynch (1960). Since our society is generally sight-oriented – it is a fact that in Western civilization knowledge-related descriptions uses words from the semantic field of sight such as ‘point of view’, ‘perspective’, ‘theory’, etc. – it comes as no surprise that the city has been largely studied on the basis of its visual dimension. The focus on visual elements is also dominant in the semiotics of space approach, a field of study that questions the meaning of configurations generated by the relationship between designed space and lived space, as well as between the common use of the space and the practices of its resemantisation (Hammad 2003, 2013; Marrone and Pezzini 2006, 2008; Marrone 2010).

If up to the present day urban landscape was the main subject of Urban Studies and semi-otic analysis of space, other disciplines developed concepts like ‘soundscape’ and ‘smellscape’ and we are not far from speaking about ‘touchscape’ or ‘tastescape’. In the late Sixties and during the Seventies, Canadian composer Murray R. Schafer (1977) began studying the sounds of Vancouver environment using an interdisciplinary approach to underline the relationship between place, sound and society. He created the *World Soundscape Project* after a comparative study on the sonic dimension of five different European villages. This project then gave impulse to an international movement that coalesced around the World Forum for Acoustic Ecology. Nowadays, Soundscape Studies are beginning to be recognised thanks to the work of Schafer and his team (Schafer 1977; Truax 1985; Westerkamp 2006, 2007) as well as to the research of Steven Feld (1982) in anthropology and of CRESSON (Centre de Recherche sur l’Espace Sonore et l’Environnement Urbain) in architecture and sociology (Augoyard and Torgue 1995). Recently, thanks to Sound Studies, the role of sound in our everyday life and experience has been linked to disciplines such as contemporary art, history, media studies, communication, science & technology studies (cfr. i.e.: Bull and Back 2003; Carlyle and Lane 2013; Erlmann 2004; Pinch and Bijsterveld 2012; Sterne 2012).

Speaking about smellscape, ‘just as Schafer (...) and his colleagues on the World Soundscape Project in Vancouver, Canada, made notable steps in highlighting the positive role of ‘sound’ as opposed to ‘noise’ can play in environmental experience, smell too has a positive role to play in the city life’ (Henshaw 2014: 4).

Porteous (1990) originally coined the term ‘smellscape’ to describe the totality of the olfactory landscape. Sensory studies scholar Costance Classen (et al. 1994), and historians Emily Cockayne (2007) and Jonathan Reinartz (2014) have written of the everyday historical smell

experience of the city, with others writing of the experiences of specific groups (Cohen 2006, Manalansan 2006). Low (2009) has examined smell experiences in contemporary Singapore, Grésillon (2010) in Paris, and Madalina Diaconu (et al. 2011) in Vienna. Victoria Henshaw (2014) has studied the role of smell specifically in contemporary experiences and perceptions of English towns and cities, highlighting the perception of urban smellscape as inter-related with place perception, and describing odour's contribution to the overall understanding of a space. Kate McLean (2014) developed a smell map of Amsterdam and, with the cooperation of Daniele Quercia, Rossano Schifanella and Luca Maria Aiello (2015), a smell map of Rome.

Works on the role that touch plays in city experience are quite rare yet. Certain articles on touchscape can be found in *Senses and the City. An Interdisciplinary Approach to Urban Sensescape*, edited by M. Diaconu, E. Heuberger, R. Mateus-Berr and L. M. Vosicky (2001). The papers collected in this volume discuss the sensory dimension of cityscapes, with a focus on touch and smell. Both of the latter have been traditionally considered as 'lower senses' and thus undeserving any particular attention, apart that is of being objects of social prohibitions and targets of suppressing strategies in modern architecture and city planning.

The same applied to tastescape-focused essays. Australian historian Adele Wessell (2010), studying environmental history and food, uses tastescape to describe the impact of food consumption on land exploitation; tastescape becomes a kind of a text about cultural history. In anthropology, Norwegian researchers Gunnar Vittersø and Virginie Amilien studied how the Norwegian tastescape changes because of rural tourism, focusing on the role tourism plays in the creation or revival of cultural identity, based on local food products and food heritage. They draw from John Urry (1990) which, even though he uses the tourist gaze as a key concept, he recognizes that other senses such as sound, smell, taste, etc. have been also important in the production of 'sensed environments' by the tourism industry. The latter does not exploit only landscapes, but also soundscapes, smellscape and tastescape (Urry, 2002: 87, 146). Tastescape, for example, is the series-title of food guides created by the two food websites greatbritishchefs.com and greatitalianschefs.com. On the other hand, traversing history and literature, Wendy Wall (2015) uses tastescape to speak about English recipes in the Early Modern English kitchen.

All these concepts introduced new interpretative keys to study landscape through sensorial channels different from sight, but they are still anchored in only one sense, detached from the others. In this respect, anthropologist Tim Ingold says:

I deplore the fashion for multiplying –scapes of every possible kind. The power of the prototypical concept of landscape lies precisely in the fact that it is not tied to any specific sensory register – whether vision, hearing, touch, smell or whatever. In ordinary perceptual practice these registers cooperate so closely, and with such overlap of function, that the respective contributions are impossible to tease apart. (Ingold 2007: 10)

Following Ingold's suggestion, our proposition is to read landscape in its synesthetic and multisensorial complexity, showing how an integrated approach (Ingold 2007) – which takes account both of sight, hearing, smell, touch and taste– could be effective (Le Breton 2006). The present semiotic analysis will try to highlight the structures of meaning resulting from the interaction between the different sensorial channels that are useful to describe a more holistic and integrated perception of urban landscape. The objective is to demonstrate how different sensorial channels, through perception of urban space, can either combine or collide, providing a complex and multisensorial reading of urban spaces.

Case studies for a semiotic multisensorial analysis of the city

As a primary dimension of meaning articulation, space conveys a semiotics on its own. Namely, a language in which an expression refers to a content. Just as verbal languages create a reciprocal presupposition between acoustic articulations and semantic articulations, space is a semiotic system through which humans attribute meaning and value to the world on the basis of the material articulation of spatial extension, either artificial or natural. It is necessary, however, to link the plane of expression not to spatial morphology but to perceived space, because every place must be seen as a 'conglomerate of beings and things' (Greimas 1976, p.137), a unique social form made by humans, subjects and spaces. Hammad (2003) reminds us that the human subject is necessary to the construction of the meaning or of the content, not only as the recipient or interpreter of what is said by the expression but also as part of the expression system itself. Therefore, a syncretic semiotics is established, that is generated by the coexistence of heterogeneous semiotic systems. In the perspective of a theory of signification, 'the space speaks about other than itself, it speaks about society, it is one of the most important ways by which the society represents and shows itself as meaningful reality' (Marrone 2001: 292). So, the meaning of places is the result of a relationship between places and bodies, between things and people, between subjects that live and cross places. Following this theoretical and methodological perspective, characteristic of the structural semiotics coming from Greimas's work, our starting point is to consider the city as a text (Marrone 2014). In this perspective, 'text' is conceived as a theoretical model :

The text is not a thing anymore, it is not an empirical object but a theoretical model acting as a tool for description that, given certain requisites and certain explicit epistemological conditions, is able to retrace, at different levels, the formal devices of any object of knowledge of the science of signification. As the concept of narrativity has been reached by gradually expanding the analysis of actual narratives (e.g. fairy tales, myths, novels, short stories and many other literary works) in order to explain seem-

ingly non narrative discourses (e.g. advertising, political, journalistic or philosophical discourses), so the concept of textuality has been built using actual texts (e.g. novels, poetry, pictures) as a tool to explain the structure of meaning of seemingly non-textual semiotic manifestations (e.g. hypermarkets, urban spaces). (Marrone 2014: 12)

Assuming space as a text, i.e. as a universe of meaning delimited by specific pertinences and supported by a system of semantic oppositions, the aim of the present work is to analyse two historic districts of the city of Palermo, Ballarò and Vucciria – both market places during the daytime and meeting and socializing spots in the evening – starting from first hand experience and sensorial perceptions of that places. The city must be read as a syncretic text that articulates different semiotic systems such as images, sounds, smells, touch and taste perceptions, architectures, spaces, social practices, etc. From a methodological point of view, this syncretic text can be segmented in different areas, each relevant to the system analysis. Thus, identifying the parameters of textual closure allows to distinguish text from non-text. In this sense, the limits of the text are not ontologically given but rather always defined by negotiating terms. A text 'is always the final result of any cultural cut out that produces specific meaningful effects' (Marrone and Pezzini 2008: 10). We refer, then, to the idea of the text not as an object but as a model, whose limits are constantly under negotiation.

To test multisensorial approach in the semiotic analysis of the city we chose two of the main historical markets of Palermo, that give the name also to their respective districts: Vucciria and Ballarò. Both markets are in the historical city centre and configure themselves as complex places, very interesting from the point of view of perception and sensorial experience. Born during the Arab occupation of Palermo, Ballarò and Vucciria represented the Sicilian version of an Arab suk: little streets and squares full of every kind of goods organised in counters and benches, people passing all around and sellers trying to catch the attention of buyers singing the 'banniata' – a typical call in Sicilian language that describes the good and its price – in a very high voice. This is what happens in Ballarò every day during the morning and the afternoon. On the contrary, Vucciria lost the major part of market benches and nowadays its role is more than of a meeting place than of a market: during the evening and at night, crowds of people come to Vucciria to have something to drink or eat, to listen to music, to meet friends in a sort of an open-air disco.

To study the sensorial pertinence of these two places we decided to use the method of participant observation by going to the field, taking notes, pictures and audio recordings at different times during the day. As Soundscape Studies use soundwalks and Smellscape Studies use smellwalks, we used the walk as a methodological tool (Careri 2006). Assuming the role of flâneurs, all along the route we paid attention to bodily perceptions in relation with the space configurations of the markets and their social activities. The aim was to give a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973) of what we observed, reconstructing the weave of isotopies – such as the

networks of coherence of the semantic universe taken as object of study – that underly the way by which the different observed elements generate meaning. At the same time, we didn't study the sensescapes of Ballarò and Vucciria through their public representations found in newspaper articles, blogs or literature. As Nora Pleßke shows in her excellent work on London (Pleßke 2014), a way to make legible and intelligible a city or a metropolis is analyzing novels that take place in that city or metropolis, highlighting its specific urban mentality: 'it is the tool of mentality which offers orientation in order to manoeuvre the postmodern urban real and enables urbanites to gain a common understanding of the metropolis' (Pleßke 2014, p.13). We believe that Pleßke's approach is complementary to the one we adopted and, potentially, can be used as a further qualification of our study. In the next section we summarize the multisensorial analysis of both markets: first, we describe the effects of meaning given by each sensorial channels and secondly, we uncover their syncretism and synesthetic effects. Special attention is given to time, since a key factor in our analysis is the change that takes place in these two markets when switching from daytime to nighttime: when Ballarò is busy, Vucciria is calm and vice-versa. Because of its strong pertinence in the sensorial experience in these two places, the semantic opposition between day and night became the organizing axis for all the other oppositions we noted.

The Vucciria street market

Vucciria is one of the most important historical markets in Palermo. It is located near the port, between via Roma (one of the main streets of Palermo city centre) and the sea. Its main streets are via Maccheronai, piazza Caracciolo, via Argenteria, piazza Garraffello and via dei Cassari. Its name is derived from the French *boucherie*, meaning butchery, translated in Italian as 'bucceria' and in the Palermitan dialect as 'vucciria'. Slaughterhouse and meat market at first during the Anjou period, it then became a fish, fruit and vegetables market. In Palermitan language 'vucciria' means confusion, mess, because of the market noises. Nowadays, the name stresses its key role in the night life of the city.

Starting with the sense of sight, the first meaning effect comes from the perception of the architectural space. A general effect of emptiness comes from the deserted streets. During the day, only a few cars pass through the district, sometimes a scooter. Few people, people who actually live there, sometimes come and go or open a window or pick up clothes spreaded out of the windows to dry in the sunshine. There are very few shops and market stands, for example, a greengrocer and a fish shop, as well as some flea market stands. There are some bars, usually closed during the morning. All around the streets and squares of Vucciria there are old and ancient buildings, many of them destroyed totally or partially during World War II and still not restored. This generates a peculiar 'aesthetics of ruins' that characterises all the historic centre of Palermo. But, contrary to the rest of the historic city centre, Vucciria is also known to-

day for the street art works on the walls of its buildings. There are two different types of street art interventions that catch the eye of people who pass through Vucciria: a single site-specific artwork in Piazza Garraffello, made by UWE, an Austrian artist living in Palermo, and a series of overlapping graffiti that cover the greater part of Vucciria walls. If the site-specific work by a single author like UWE marks a discontinuity from the rest of Vucciria, giving a special visual identity of Piazza Garraffello, the overlapping graffiti stress a great collective work that gives a general continuity to the Vucciria streets.

As regards the light, during the day we found in Vucciria a scattered diffused light due to the fact that streets and squares are directly exposed to the sunshine. Shadows are rare, found only in a few corners. As a result, there is a good visibility of things and persons in Vucciria streets. Quite the contrary happens during the night. Since public illumination is quite undeveloped – there are few street lights – the greater part of the streets and squares is in the dark. Amongst this darkness there is a scattered number of illuminated places. During the evening, more and more people come to Vucciria bars for the happy hour and aperitif, to have dinner, meet other people and listen to music. The place becomes very crowded, especially during the weekend when Vucciria streets and squares are so full with people that they are almost impassable.

Taking the centre of Vucciria as a reference point, the sounds of Piazza Caracciolo play an important role in the soundscape of the district and in the general perception of the place. During the day, in the little square in the centre of the market – a little space delimited by old houses and ancient buildings – we mostly hear the sounds made by the local people: women who pick up clothes drying under the sunshine, mothers calling for their children who play in the streets, wives or husbands calling each other in front of the houses, the steps of a passerby, a teenager on his scooter looking for a way out to the main streets. In general, during the day sounds are discontinuous, with long pauses of silence; they consist of mid-high frequencies, giving a bright timbre and mood to the atmosphere of the place. They have a low volume, mostly in a middle range between *mezzo-piano* e *mezzo-forte*. They are directional, easily traced to their source. We can hear the sounds near to us or coming from the distance, so that there is always a figure and a background. They are part of the place. All these sonic characteristics confirm what is highlighted by the sight: the general meaning effect is that during the day, a public place like Piazza Caracciolo is predominantly private, resounding the rhythms and sounds of its inhabitants' everyday activities.

In the evening, however, the bars that are closed during the day start to open and more and more people arrive to meet friends, have a drink or a bite. The predominant street bars play recorded music at a very high volume. Since it's impossible to speak inside the bars and thanks to the warm weather, people stay in open air, speaking and drinking in the street. The soundscape changes radically. The sounds that comprise it are composed by continuous middle-bass frequencies in high volume, between *forte* and *fortissimo*; omni-directional and

in foreground, making it impossible to recognize the direction of sounds and the difference between figure and background of sonic space. We are immersed in a bubble of sound that envelopes everything: place, people, buildings. The general effect is that the place changes from private to a public one, and this in a rather extreme way. The all-pervasive sounds of music and people impose, in effect, the re-semantisation of the square from a 'living room' during the day to a 'disco' effect at night.

During the day, the emptiness of the little streets of Vucciria highlights the few objects that are in the street. Often it happens to see rubbish in the street coming from the night before or accumulated in front of ruined houses. Even when you don't see it, you can smell the rubbish placed in some corners or in the few garbage bins. From the point of view of aspectuality, this putrid smell is a punctual smell. On the contrary, during the night the perception of smells changes completely. Thanks to the numerous street-food stalls – selling cooked meat, fish or fresh vegetables – Vucciria becomes a sort of open air restaurant and different tempting aromas spread out in the place, especially in Piazza Caracciolo.

As for taste, during the day it is stimulated only in front of the sparse vegetable, fruit and fish stalls that we meet walking along the little streets. The meaning effect regarding the relationship between space, time and taste is of non continuity. During the night, by contrast, the presence of several street-food stalls fosters the constant and powerful stimulation of the sense of taste. Virtually active when walking through the night market, and actualised when you are in the queue waiting for the food ordered, and finally realised when tasting the fresh food cooked directly in the streets.

Since during the day the streets are almost empty, the sense of touch is quite focused on the architecture materials of buildings and especially on the streets. Similarly, in the case of sight, we find the isotopy of ruins. While walking, it is possible to sense with your feet the broken and misaligned paving or little pieces of glass and other debris laid on the ground. The contrary happens at night: the mass-crowd situation highlights a touch sensibility produced by the close contact and relationship with other people's bodies in the streets, rather than on by the material and architectural aspects of place.

The Ballarò street market

Developed during the Arab period, Ballarò is the oldest street market in Palermo. Located in the historic city centre, between Piazza Casa Professa and Corso Tukory, the Ballarò market can be divided in two main areas. The first one, running from the beginning of Via Ballarò to Piazza del Carmine, it includes small restaurants, street-food stands and few stalls where one finds packaged goods. The general meaning effect is that of mediation. Between the buyer and the market products there is the restaurant that caters for the buyers and the sellers. We can call this part of Ballarò market the 'touristic' area. The second area of Ballarò is located

between Piazza del Carmine and Corso Tukory. The main streets of this area are covered by market stands, movable constructions that display all kind of unpackaged food – fruit, vegetables, fish, meat, spices, etc. – exposing the products directly to the senses of the buyers. This organisation gives a general effect of non-mediation and immediacy. Given that this part of the market is the one used by the local inhabitants we can call it the ‘native’ area of Ballarò.

The visible perception of space is characterised by the presence or absence of the movable constructions used as market stands. Their presence rises significantly when moving from Area 1 to Area 2 of Ballarò, projecting a general effect of fullness. In Ballarò Area 2 we pass through different stands, whose tents cover the sky, while both walksides are covered by food stands. The visual organisation of the products on the stands is quite interesting and eye-catching. In the fruit or vegetable stands, in particular, produce is displayed in ordered modules; for example, rectangular modules are set one beside the other and one onto the other, by using boxes or cases of different size, and creating mountain-like heaps of apples, oranges, aubergines and all kind of fresh fruit or vegetable. The whole visual display is governed by repetition and symmetry. Fish and meat are equally carefully displayed, with selected pieces given a prominent place in order to catch the buyer’s attention, e.g. the entire head of the swordfish set beside the smaller fresh fishes, etc. Moreover, just as Vucciria, Ballarò is a street art place, but in a different way from Bucciria. Street art paintings are mainly found on the buildings facing Ballarò’s squares, giving a general feeling of non continuity as meaning effect. Ballarò’s perception changes radically during the night. The mobile constructions are shut down or moved, and the market streets are deserted. While during daytime it is very difficult to see farther than some meters in front of you, during the night you have full sight of the length of the street.

In Ballarò, we found a general effect of sonic continuity, due to the fact that street bars, restaurants and market stands are placed all along the main street of the district. This sonic continuity, however, is modulated in intensity. Sometimes the volume of market sounds is high and sometimes is low. The only sonic constant is the sound of the occasional scooter passing through the main street. Moreover, sonic density depends on the relationship between sound sources and urban architecture. In Ballarò Area 1, characterised by wide streets, sounds scatter around the place and this provokes a perceptive relaxation. In the narrow streets of Ballarò Area 2, by contrast, sounds tend to reverberate causing a perceptive tension.

As regards the differences between day and night, in Ballarò Area 1 – where various social practices take place during both day and night – there is no great difference in the volume of the sounds but only in the typology of sound sources: market sounds and cars during the day, music, pub and bar sounds during the night. A much more changeable is found in Ballarò Area 2. During the day, the narrow streets of Ballarò markets are full with the sounds of the market stands, the chatter of people greeting other people, asking for food and other goods. Near the fish stands, for example, we can hear the sound of running water used to clean the fish of the crackling ice used to keep it fresh. At the bread stand, we can hear the slicing of

the big loaves and the packaging of the bread slices inside the brown paper bags. Moreover, Ballarò market sellers are known for their characteristic call, the so-called 'banniata' in Sicilian language. A very high-pitched call – that every salesman learns from his father and teaches to his son – addressed to buyers and nowadays to tourists, that extolls the goods on offer in a brief and effective sentence. At the same time, the co-presence of tourists of different nationalities, of local Sicilians who speak dialect and of immigrants who reside in the popular district of Ballarò, creates a uniquely plurilingual 'voicescape'. The overall daytime soundscape has a remarkable intensity, thanks to the diverse market activities, something that generates an effect of perceptive saturation. On the contrary, during the evening, all the market stands of Ballarò Area 2 are shut down and the streets are empty. The night-time soundscape has a low-intensity, with only the occasional sounds of steps or closing doors resonating in the silence. The general meaning effect of meaning is of perceptive relaxation.

Ballarò Area 1: wide streets: perceptive relaxation = Ballarò Area 2: narrow streets: perceptive tension

The semi-symbolism (Greimas 1984) found in the relationship between sonic dimension and urban architecture works for smell perception, as well. In Ballarò Area 1 we sometimes register scents in the air because the main market street is larger and there are few market stands, while in the narrow streets of Ballarò Area 2 one walks very close to the market stands and can smell all kind of food. Apart from this difference, a general effect of continuity characterizes both the soundscape and the smellscape, with a variation of intensity all along the walk. Moreover, scents and odours tend to blend into one another, creating a mixed sensation. When scooters pass by, for example, the market stalls scents mix with the odour of scooter exhaust pipes.

Especially in Ballarò Area 2, in the middle of the traditional market street, the sense of taste is over-stimulated during the day because of the proximity with all the fresh produce displayed on the stands. This gives rise to a pragmatic effect: mouth-watering is quite common in front of the food stands. From the point of view of semiotic modalities, the exposure to fresh food changes the subject's status and this, in turn, leads to an action (the *faire être* becomes a *faire faire*) i.e. a desire to taste food and, eventually, buy it. In fact, while walking through the market, sellers often invite you to taste their produce; an invitation so hard to refuse that operates as a manipulation in the terms of the narrative grammar. During the night, on the contrary, the sense of taste is under-stimulated, since there is nothing in the empty streets of Ballarò to incite taste.

While walking in Ballarò, one's feet can sense the smooth and homogeneous paving, quite different from the one in Vucciria. The perception of architecture material is also different. Even in the case of old buildings and streets, we don't find in Ballarò the peculiar aesthetic of ruins one finds in Vucciria. Finally, with regards to proxemics and the relation between bodies,

a change is noticeable between day and night in Ballarò Area 2. During the day, the densely crowded market generates the general meaning effect of intensely close contact. During the night, by contrast, close contact is made impossible by the emptiness of the streets. Only a few passers-by cross the streets from time to time.

Conclusions

The multisensorial semiotic analysis of Vucciria and Ballarò districts revealed a structural relationship between the sensescapes of the two markets and the important role of synesthetic perception in urban walkscape.

The Palermo markets as a structural system

The following tabulation of all the five sense perceptions of the two markets we studied, organized around the central variable of day/night-time allows us to examine isomorphisms and discrepancies between Vucciria and Ballarò (Area 1 and 2):

The perfect opposition revealed between the street markets of Vucciria and Ballarò Area 2 as regards their sensorial experience during day and night highlights their structural relationship, i.e. their operation as a system whose elements have no identity of their own but that

MARKETS	SENSES								
	Sight		Hearing		Smell		Taste		Touch
	day	night	day	night	day	night	day	night	day
Vucciria	emptiness scattered dif- fused light	fullness scattered dif- fused dark	hi-fi mild	low-fi intense	putrid distinct	fresh blend	dis- con- tinuous	con- tinu- ous	no con- tact
Ballarò Area 1	emptiness scattered dif- fused light	fullness scattered dif- fused dark	hi-fi mild	low-fi intense	putrid distinct	fresh blend	dis- con- tinuous	con- tinu- ous	no con- tact
Ballarò Area 2	fullness scattered dif- fused dark	emptiness scattered dif- fused light	low-fi intense	hi-fi mild	fresh blend	putrid distinct	con- tinuous	dis- con- tinu- ous	close con- tact

they owe to their mutual relationship. The symmetrical inversion of semantic traits is evident. On one hand, during the day, the semantic category of space /Vucciria VS Ballarò/ creates with the semantic category of perception/intense VS mild/ the following semi-symbolic relationship: /Vucciria: mild = Ballarò Area 2: intense/. On the other hand, during the night, this semi-symbolism is inverted: /Vucciria: intense = Ballarò Area 2: mild/.

Nothing exists or has a meaning in itself. Everything defines itself thanks to a dialectic relationship of symmetry or opposition: the identity of each element is given inside this grid of complementary oppositions. In our case, the complementary opposition is between Vucciria and Ballarò Area 2. Moreover, taking Ballarò as a whole, we find an opposition between its Area 1 and Area 2 as a system similar to the one described above. In this way, we have a system inside a system, both following the same symmetrical rules, and that can be explained with the categories of the semiotic of culture by Lotman (1985) such as symmetry/asymmetry, centre/periphery, etc.

However, our aim to read Ballarò and Vucciria markets as a structural system needs further verification. A more exhaustive study needs to take into consideration the other two historic markets of Palermo's city centre – i.e. the ancient markets of Il capo and Borgo Vecchio districts – and investigate their semiotic relation. This could be the aim of our following research.

The role of synesthetic perception

In their structural relationship, the difference between Ballarò and Vucciria is a difference about intensity and not about the quality of perception (that can be conceived as the most functional situation for our senses to perceive the world): a mild sensescape could be much more rich than an intense one.

In any case, all the perceptions that we have studied occurred concurrently, even though they are presented here singularly, examining one sense at a time for analytical reasons. Synesthesia has a crucial role in the perception of a traditional market place. In our multisensorial examination of Vucciria and Ballarò, the senses were found to interweave and influence one another, giving rise to:

- haptic vision: 'to touch with eyes' (i.e. food, building surfaces, paving, etc.);
- gustatory vision: 'to taste with eyes' (i.e. food);
- gustatory smell: 'to taste with the nose' (i.e. mouth watering);
- haptic hearing: 'to touch with the ears' (i.e. 'banniate');
- visual hearing: 'to depict with the ears' (i.e. scooters);
- visual smell: 'to depict with the nose' (i.e. smokes)
- haptic smell: 'to touch with the nose' (i.e. fish).

We propose to call this holistic dimension of perception and meaning-making a 'synesthetic crossroads'. Even if – at a first instance – in order to analyse a specific environment it

is useful to consider the different senses one by one – as well as their meaning effects – on a second instance, the synesthetic crossroad analysis can lead to a multisensorial analysis of that space, helping us to approach urban landscape as an integrated sensescape, in need of an equally integrated understanding.

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Emiliano Battistini is PhD candidate in European Cultural Studies at the University of Palermo, Sicily, Italy.

Email: emiliano.battistini@unipa.it

Marco Mondino holds a PhD in European Cultural Studies at the University of Palermo, Sicily, Italy.

Email: marco.mondino@unipa.it

Walking with media: a multimodal approach

Nikos Bubaris

This paper explores the semantic space that emerges when walking and mobile media come together to create meaningful and multisensorial experiences. Drawing on social semiotics and media theory, it focuses on how walking serves an inter-modal function by binding modes (in that walking sets the common ground for different modes to be related), as well as by generating modalities (in that walking affects and shapes the ways resources are processed for making meaning). Initially, a conceptual framework for a multimodal analysis of media walking is developed, drawing on the three interrelated meta-functions of a communicative event (ideational, interactional and compositional). These functions are then extended beyond their linguistic origin and their predominantly visual references, by revisiting and introducing an array of embodied semiotic resources such as region, tempo, orientation and range. These embodied semiotic resources form how walking as a kinaesthetic practice may unfold an extended field of relations (between people, media, socio-cultural reality and the environment) that organizes the information perceived and enables the assignment of meanings in a coherent way. Subsequently, the multimodal conceptual framework is applied to two media walk projects recently presented in Athens: the multimedia walk Soundscapes/Landscapes developed by Medea Electronique and the acoustic walk Breath created by composer Dimitris Kamarotos. Emphasis is placed on how an assembly of visual, textual and aural modes unfolds sequentially and forms a 'pathway to experience' by regulating the relations between the movement, perception, response, emotions and knowledge of the walkers. It is argued that such a multimodal 'pathway to experience' constitutes a dynamic process of subjectification, as it blends body movement with ideal types of walking in our cultural imagination.

KEYWORDS

Mobile media, Media walking, Multimodality

1. Introduction: Walking with mobile media

In his seminal work *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, Marshall McLuhan expounds on how the wheel reorganizes the sense of time and space by acting at once as an extension and as an amputation of the foot and of physical mobility. Integral to media as different as the film projector and the car, the wheel accelerates processes and redistributes the sites of sociality, becoming one of the emblematic technologies of the mechanical age. However, the defining importance of the wheel recedes as we move deeper into the electrical age which, according to McLuhan (1994: 218), brings us back to the 'pedestrian scale'. This may sound like another peculiar McLuhanesque prognostication. However, the widespread daily use of smartphones by pedestrians in the urban space provides ample illustrations of how walking with digital mobile media creates a distinct scale of time and space perception, seamlessly combining the gradual, grounded and embodied activity of walking with the instantaneous, universal and impalpable flow of information in the wireless networks of digital telecommunications.

Beside its ordinary function as a way of human locomotion, walking is becoming progressively a practice pursued for experiential knowing and for interacting with an environment in diverse undertakings such as in outdoor leisure activities, urban planning and contemporary art. With reference to the latter, Bill Psarras (2017) notes that contemporary artists increasingly use walking in performances where various objects, materials and technologies act as semiotic references, as tools that place artists into spaces and as material manifestations of their inner world. This 'walking-with' practice, which Psarras identifies in contemporary art performances of Tim Knowles (*Windwalks*), Dominique Baron (*Black Walks*), Susan Stockwell (*Taking a Line for a Walk*) and others, can be extended to explore the various ways that walking projects bring into play mobile media to create meaningful spatial experiences in other cultural, social and political settings. All these diverse practices can be approached as varieties of media walking (Bubaris 2014). In my work on media walking, mobile media include digital mobile hardware, applications and services, but are not limited to them. Beside smartphones, web maps and location-aware systems, there is a wide range of portable objects and materials that enable, mediate, extend and transduce the relations of walkers with the environment. Indicatively, such mobile media forms may comprise the boards worn by sandwich men, the icons carried by believers in a Christian litany, the flags waved by protesters. By taking 'mobile media' to encompass a wide range of objects and technologies – past and present, low-tech and high tech – we can probe various meaningful relations that are activated as walkers engage corporeally and cognitively with communicative media in physical and discursive environments, going beyond the pinning of spatial information that renders the urban space into an individualized site of entertainment and consumption, as in the case of Foursquare and Google's 'Local Guides'.

The discussion of media walks as communicative events in the present article draws its conceptual and methodological framework from multimodal analysis. Multimodality sprung from the post-linguistic turn in social semiotics emphasizing that meaning is produced as people interact with various cultural resources in specific contexts (Kress 2010; van Leeuwen 2005). The term 'mode' concerns the consistent forms of the resources that a society uses and shares for making meaning. For example, if resources include colours, sounds, materials, bodies and symbols such as numbers and letters, some of their corresponding modes could be images, music, buildings, gestures, computation and texts. Resources and modes are not passive; their distinctive material affordances play a decisive role in the subsequent formation of meaning. The ways of sensing, processing and experiencing modes to make meaning are called 'modalities'. For example, the way a hand (i.e. resource) waves (i.e. mode) makes the meaningful gesture of a greeting (i.e. modality).

In social semiotics, all communications are considered to be multimodal (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Moreover, in a multimodal ensemble, meanings are produced by the interplay between modes rather than by the distinctive properties of assorted modes (Lyons 2016: 276). In this sense, multimodal analysis intertwines ongoing dynamics processes with lasting socio-cultural forms, the agency of the material with the motivation and the intentions of the people. This systematic but non-fixed binding over time of an 'in itself' rationale with an 'in relation to' orientation is one of the methodological strengths of multimodal analysis.

The aim of this article is to explore the semantic space that emerges when walking and mobile media come together to create multisensorial experiences that invite us to make sense of our changing position in the environment. In the first part of the article, I propose an approach to multimodal analysis that is structured around three interrelated meta-functions of a communicative event, namely representational, interactional and compositional (Kress & van Leeuwen [1996]2006), while elaborating them with a shift toward a more kinesthetic orientation. In the second part of the article, multimodal analysis is applied to two media walk projects from Athens: the multimedia walk *Soundscapes/Landscapes* developed by art group Medea Electronique and the acoustic walk *Breath* created by the composer Dimitris Kamarotos. The analysis demonstrates how an assembly of visual, textual and aural modes unfolds sequentially and forms 'pathways of experience' for the walkers, orchestrating the relations of their movement, perception, response, emotions and knowledge.

2. Walking and Multimodality

In the first pages of *Introducing Social Semiotics*, Theo van Leeuwen (2005: 4) briefly uses walking as an apt example to illustrate that the range of semiotic resources extend well beyond speech, writing and picture making and that their signifying potential includes not only socially

available meanings, but also meanings that are latent and not yet recognizable. In the rest of van Leeuwen's insightful book, however, there are no elaborations of the distinctive semiotic properties of walking. This is in keeping with the rest of the social semiotics literature, where walking is always evoked only briefly for its power as an example of the merits of multimodal analysis. This literally and semantically parenthetical attention to walking contrasts with the extensive analysis of other modes of embodied action, such as gestures performed by people usually sitting or standing still. It would seem that multimodal research shares and perpetuates a common belief in the modern western culture, that meaning-making is better analyzed in sedentarism and, as Mondada (2014) reminds us, is located in the upper parts of the body.

Or perhaps, walking is hardly ever examined as a semiotic resource, because it does not correspond directly to some mode of communication. Rather, walking is primarily a practice of relating multiple modes in various ways. Walking serves an inter-modal function by *synthesizing modes* and by *generating modalities*. *Synthesizing modes* involves setting the common ground for different modes to be connected; walking juxtaposes and attunes visual, aural, textual, material, corporeal, technological and other modes, forming the walking space as a multimodal ensemble. *Generating modalities*, involves affecting and shaping the ways resources are processed for making meaning. Meaning while walking does not arise through the connection of static entities, as in a gesture of pointing at a distant object, but through the continuous change in the relative positions and connections between the walker and the elements of the environment. Thus, a research focus on walking as a distinctive mode of body movement in the physical as well as the semantic space can contribute significant insights on the importance of relationality and mobility in multimodal analyses.

The focus here is on media walking, that is on walking that both affects and is affected by the content and the form of spatial information presented through mobile media, in the course of organizing the relation between the walkers and the environment in potentially meaningful ways. The multimodal analysis that follows is structured around the three interrelated meta-functions of a communicative event: *representational*, *interactional* and *compositional*. These meta-functions derive from a conceptual framework first proposed by Michael Halliday (1978), who used the terms ideational, interpersonal and textual respectively, as he was concerned with linguistic communication. It was adapted to the analysis of visual communication by Kress & van Leeuwen ([1996]2006), who introduced the terms adopted above. Subsequently, it has been elaborated and applied to multimodal analyses in diverse fields, e.g. moving images (Burn 2013), gestures (Martinec 2000), hypertexts and websites (Lemke 2002; Adami 2014), 3D exhibition spaces (Stenglin 2009). I extend this line of analysis further to the case of media walking by examining how walking, as an intermodal practice, fulfils these three communicative functions:

- the *representational* function: how walking becomes a meaningful practice expressing aspects of socio-cultural reality;

- the *interactional* function: how walking unfolds an extended field of relations between people, media and the environment;
- finally, the *compositional* function: how walking organizes the above relations and enables the assignment of meanings in a coherent way.

The use of the communicative functions of multimodal analysis provides a valuable conceptual toolkit for studying media walking practices. However, there are distinctive features of media walking, such as the prominence of body movement, the active role of the environment, the operational pervasiveness of the mobile media. Such features compel us to turn our attention to practices that fall outside what can be captured by methods and concepts of multimodal analysis established with reference to the text and the image (Leander & Vasudevan 2009), leading to a necessary conceptual and methodological shift. The relation of movement to meaning is a case at point: the classic multimodal approach and vocabulary (e.g. the term 'transduction') focuses on how the 'same' meaning is modified as it travels across different semiotic modes; in contrast, an analysis of media walking traces how movement across different semiotic modes or assemblages of modes creates new sequences of meanings and multiple layers of simultaneously present meanings.

At this point, some readers may question the methodological and conceptual consistency of this study. How could we research the relational and mobile features of an embodied action while drawing on a methodological framework originating in linguistics? How can we capture the kinesthetic and multisensorial features of walking with conceptual tools derived from visual communication? It is commonplace for contemporary cultural theory to admonish the predominance of language and vision in modern thinking about perception, interpretation and expression, which produced a rather static, distant and disembodied account of the human experience. Such admonitions mark a welcome and justified theoretical turn to more open and dynamic processes of knowing based on the senses, the body and human action. However, this rationale is often extended unnecessarily to a wholesale view of textual and visual communication as abstract, static and disembodied, failing to take into account multiple communicative functions in different contexts and their changes over time. For example, appreciating the perspective of a static image by focusing on the vanishing point from a distance is a modality of visual culture completely different from the experience of scanning space for visual cues for navigation on a 2D surface or in a 3D space. Similarly, texts are not only read, but acted upon; we do things with them (Adami 2015; O'Neil 2008). In this sense, a more multidimensional conceptualization of communicative events needs to be inclusive, rather than exclusive of different representational, affective and material aspects of the sensorial modalities. Following and extending this line of thought, we can now turn to applying the three communicative metafunctions to media walking, approaching it as an inter-modal practice of organizing semiotic resources towards meaningful experiences.

2.1 *The representational function*

The representational function refers to the shared ways members of a socio-cultural group connect modalities with conceptions, discourses, needs and expectations to construe events and actions in which they engage. During a game, for instance, teammates choose to exchange gestural (and not linguistic) modalities in order to develop a tactic which will lead to the desired game outcome. In this case, representations are combined with performance to make sense of a circumstance; some modalities are considered more suitable to the communicative purposes of the circumstance than others. The representational function serves to frame engagement by combining two complementary processes of experiencing. The first is a cognitive process instantiating patterns of appropriate responses to clusters of situations, based on accumulated practical knowledge (e.g. people are expected to act differently in situations framed as 'playing a game', 'running a game', or 'watching a game'). The second is an embodied process of strengthening, modifying, enriching or replacing these patterns as people make sense of the particular dynamics of an event and respond to it at the time of its unfolding.

With regards to walking, the representational function is evinced in the ways the socio-cultural world informs the performance, experience and signification of walking and, conversely, the ways walking may shape the signification of socio-cultural spaces and processes. Specifically, the representational function relates to the purpose, conditions, socio-cultural context and experiential outcomes of walking. Walking acquires meaning through its primary purpose which may be, indicatively: a) itinerating, i.e. travelling on foot from one specific place to reach another; b) wandering, i.e. walking about without a particular aim; c) exploring, i.e. looking for something noteworthy to acquire, to document or to enjoy, as in hunting or in collecting mushrooms; d) parading, i.e. walking in an organized ceremonial way, as in processions, litanies, marches and demonstrations; e) exercising, i.e. walking as a way to maintain a good physical condition. Furthermore, cultural representations of walking include social, spatial and temporal conditions and preconditions that delimit terms of access and modes of performance; for example, marching is normally performed collectively in a designated time and place. The purpose and conditions of walking are further defined discursively by the socio-cultural context in which it takes place (e.g. leisure, politics, art, consumption, religion etc.) and the ways participants fulfil, through their chosen pursuit of walking, desired experiential outcomes, such as mental stimulation, resistance, relaxation, play, sense of belonging in a social group or of immersion in nature.

Recurrent combinations of the above elements result in the establishment of socially recognizable and culturally signified patterns of walking, that correspond to ideal types. Ideal types form paths that interconnect selectively certain discursive resources. For example, *flânerie* has been a long-standing prominent ideal type of walking in modernity. *Flânerie* connects solitary walking with aimless wandering for mnemonic stimulation. Typically, *flânerie*

takes place in the urban space and in particular where the core of modern life is located. The notion of 'flânerie' was introduced by French poet Baudelaire to describe an artistic practice of relating to the growing urban life of Paris in the 19th century. In the interwar period Walter Benjamin theorized it as an emblematic sign of the modern human condition. In recent decades, contemporary artists have cultivated a hybrid version of flânerie by blending its aesthetic origins with the politics of the psycho-geographical *dérive* and the playful and performative characteristics of Fluxus/Land Art (Psarras 2017). In the same period, flânerie, often merged with the ideal type of info-nomadism, has been used as an evocative metaphor for navigation practices in digital telecommunication systems. The semantic journey of flânerie shows that ideal types are neither fixed nor arbitrary semiotic systems; rather their meaning is performatively modified, reorientated and multiplied as different actors appropriate them across social space and time. This spatial production of subjectivities through the performance of ideal types relates to the interactional and compositional functions of media walking, as discussed in the following sections. I envisage a more extensive multimodal analysis of media walking from this perspective, which will involve extending its methodology (e.g. discourse analysis of participants' documents looking at how they frame their media walking projects), but also relating it with other research approaches to the socio-cultural practices of walking (e.g. Amato 2004; de Certeau 1984; Inghold & Vergunst 2008; Richardson 2015)

2.2 *The interactional function*

In multimodal analyses, the interactional function of a communicative event refers to the ways in which participants relate to each other through the production and use of semiotic modes. Echoing Halliday's work on systemic functional grammar, the bulk of multimodal analyses mainly discuss how semiotic modes mediate relations between humans in terms of social distance, contact and attitude and how they place participants in specific positions of involvement and power when they form interpersonal relations. The present study of media walking as a communicative event leads to a more expansive account of the participants and their positionality. In this account, the environment and the media in use do not function merely as a context and a set of referential objects providing semiotic resources for interpersonal relations; rather, they are also considered agents in their own right participating alongside people in interactions that produce meaning. Moreover, since multimodal interaction is a process, rather than a momentary event (Norris 2004), the positions of participating agents are not absolute and static, but relational and dynamic. The location that any participant occupies, semantically and spatially, is always defined with reference to the location of other agents in the interaction. In walking, this spatial relation is subject to temporal changes through movement. Consequently, the regions of interaction are not distinctly demarcated and signposted, but are continuously shaped through acts of approaching, departing and forming paths.

Walking is configured as a meaningful experience through the ways walkers relate to the environment and, in the case of media walking, to the media apparatus. In the multimodal analysis vocabulary, the term 'binding' (Strenglin 2009) captures the relationships between a space and its occupants, for example the degree of openness or closure of space that produce feelings of security or insecurity. In media walking the notion of binding can be extended to the relationship with environmental and physical elements of the surrounding space such as the air, the temperature and the morphology of the ground, that stimulate a wide range of feelings (e.g. exposure, instability) and emotions (e.g. excitement, fear, expectation, nostalgia).

In media walking users also interact with locative technologies that guide their navigation in the physical space and with mobile media content that provides additional information about the space navigated. Moreover, locative and mobile media technologies are in an interactive relation with the environment through inputs and outputs that result in their mutual augmentation: technology mediates the environment by adding extra layers of location-specific information to it and conversely the environment augments technology by providing the locative cues that render it pervasive. In this sense, the interactional function of media walking as a communicative event includes and redefines the role of immersion. In the context of mediated user experiences, 'immersion' has been associated with a powerful rhetoric and with media practices for the construction of a distinctive mediated hyperreality, which is cut off from its physical surroundings. In the case of media walks, as I discuss below, immersion provides distinctive locative information that transcends the real-time of the walking area, but it complements rather than effaces the actual spatial experience of the physical environment.

A multimodal analysis of the interactive relations between walkers, environment and technologies in the course of media walking highlights two important dimensions: a) the multiplicity of interfacing and b) the potentials of interactivity. In media walking, the field of interaction is extended beyond user-to-screen, forming multiple interfaces (human, material, physical, technological, environmental), which in turn increase the available modes in action. For example, the experience of media walking crucially depends on paving as an interface of the walker with the ground. Asphalt, concrete, slate, cobblestone are modes that offer quite distinctive semiotic resources in terms of their cultural history, affordances, functional load and materiality. Another parameter is the distribution of potentialities between the agents participating in the interaction (e.g. the degree of participation, the perceptibility of interfaces and the intensity of the bi-directional exchange of information). For example, in the relation between the technology and the environment, the emphasis is usually on how locative mobile media can augment the physical space and not on how complicated environmental processes and events can influence the hardware and software of mobile technologies.

Across the nexus of multiple interfaces, the dynamics of interactivity in media walking are orchestrated through body movement. Body movement generates, processes and regulates the flow, the intensity and the content of pertinent information. By bringing together senses,

feelings, emotions, thoughts, discourses and representations through movement, the body becomes a nodal agent for the production of cultural experiences and meanings. Thus, the body becomes prominent in a multimodal analysis of media walking, not so much for its expressive functions (such as gaze, gesture, facial expression), as for what it provokes, receives, triggers and enacts through its movement. In this sense, embodiment is not merely one of the complementary modes in a communicative event, but a catalyst for the emergence of meaningful interaction. Therefore, a multimodal analysis of media walking attaches particular importance to the emergence of multiple modalities as they arise through embodied interactions in space, but also conversely, as they guide and motivate moving through these embodied interactions in a meaningful way. This brings us to the compositional function of media walking.

2.3 The compositional function

The compositional function refers to the pursuit of coherent meaningful experiences bringing together the representational and interactional functions. In media walking, this involves the organization of the production of meanings and experiences through the mixing of time-based modalities with space-based modalities. As Kress (2003: 35) remarks, there are different semiotic principles for spatial and temporal modes, with respect to how the meaning potential of resources becomes available. In time-based modes (e.g. speech, dance, music), semiotic resources unfold sequentially (e.g. one word/gesture/note appears after another), whereas in space-based modes (e.g. a poster, a streetscape) multiple resources are simultaneously present (e.g. images with texts, buildings with cars and pedestrians) and distinguished semantically by semiotic principles of their spatial distribution, as in the case of placing an image of central importance to the center of a picture (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Of course, if we focus not on the organizing principles of semiotic modes but rather on modalities, as the acts of sensing and processing of semiotic resources, then the process of meaning-making in space-based modes always involves modalities that are spatio-temporal. Therefore, in our approach to multimodality we can go beyond treating space as static.

The underlying logic in media walking brings together spatial and temporal modes: multiple resources become present (and meaningful) as walkers move sequentially in space. Media walking presupposes a common ground of kinesthetic practices formed through joint actions of bonding, orientating and traversing. A bonding action sets the conditions for humans to relate with non-human agents, particularly by guiding the physical-semantic movement of walkers into the space, through acts such as instructing, urging, advising, asking or inviting. An orientating action identifies the position of the walker with reference to the location of another walker, object, technology or event. An orientating action forms a relation, though its fulfilment still lies ahead and is still potential. A traversing action connects data dispersed in space forming sensory and semantic trajectories. Traversing, also common in the use of hyper-

texts (Lemke 2002), is similar to the practice of 'information linking' in multimodal ensembles (van Leeuwen 2005).

The ways these practices are realized in media walking depend decisively on the variables of tempo, range and vector. Tempo refers to the varying intensities in time, sliding along the dimension of acceleration-deceleration in a continuum between motion and stasis. Range refers to the varying extensions in space, including the dimensions of distance-proximity, visibility-invisibility and perceptibility-imperceptibility. Vector refers to a dynamic process of forming a direction for movement that brings together the intensities and extensities of time and space of tempo and range (see also Kress & van Leeuwen 2006).

The spatio-temporal variables of tempo, range and vector could be applied to modes concerning human movement as well as to modes concerning the movement of non-human participants. For instance, not only walking, but also sunlight and mediatized content, vary in time, form areas in space and move towards a direction (or multiple directions). In media walking, an analysis at the compositional level looks at how the relations of human and non-human participants in a communicative event become potentially meaningful, not only through the transfer of information, but primarily through the process of their interaction (Finnegan 2002). The variables of human and non-human participants are not only co-present as their values change, but also inter-related, configuring 'regions of interactions' i.e. areas in which the variables of one participant agent could be recognized and modulated in relation to the variables of another. For example, in GPS-based media walks, walking into a geo-located area activates mediatized content which, in turn, may affect the pace and directionality of walking. These compositional features could be further elaborated with reference to the 'actional-structural' ties (Lemke 2002) by showing how existing structures are activated through walking and how walking unfolds a dynamic field of relations that may lead to new arrangements.

In media walking, regions of interaction become the basic compositional fields for making meanings by forming sequences of performative spatialities. Regions of interaction fade in, change and fade out as their variables of tempo, range and vector, semantically affect and are affected by the kinesthetic ways of conditioning movement (bonding) of the walker with spatial reference to other participating agents (orientating) resulting in narratives composed by moving through space (traversing). In this way, embodiment becomes the process of orchestrating, testing, merging and transforming relations between walkers, media and the environment. In multimodal studies, the notion of embodiment captures the embodied production of meaning that relates physical experience, multimodal resources, media practices and social spaces (MODE 2012).

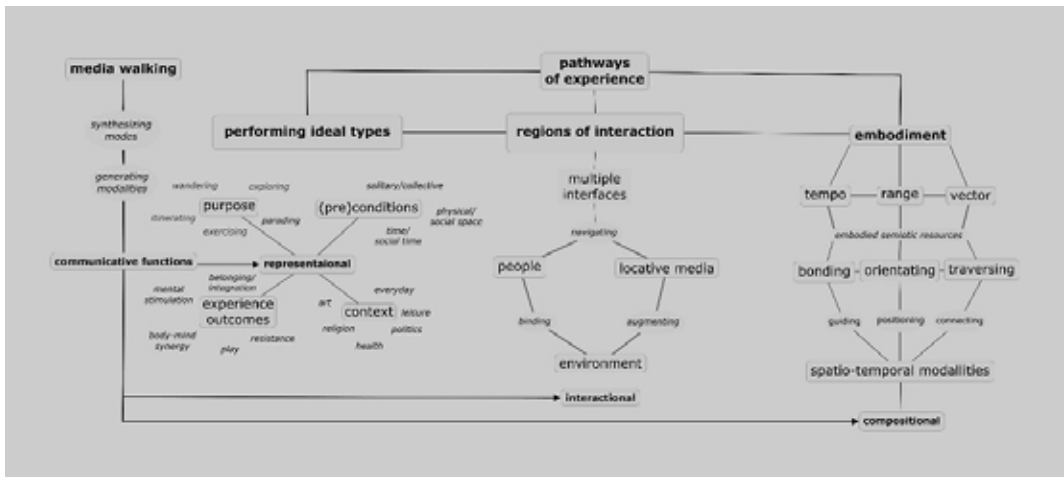


Figure 1. Analytic diagram of the proposed multimodal approach to media walking

Figure 1 summarizes the above multimodal analysis of media walking as a communicative event that creates ‘pathways of experience’ in the space of embodied inter-actions between walkers, multiple modalities and the environment. In the next section, I will trace the ways media walking creates ‘pathways of experience’ in two case studies: an acoustic walk (*Breath*) and a multimedia walk (*Soundscaapes/Landscapes*).

3. *Breath* and *Soundscaapes/Landscapes*

Breath is the title of an acoustic walk created by composer Dimitris Kamarotos in the 1st Cemetery of Athens. The location of the walk is a historical site with beautifully carved tombs, statues and sculptures of prominent dignitaries from the political, cultural and economic history of Greece. On the representational level, *Breath* is a collective walk performed in a particular place and time. Participants are enrolled and form a temporary collectivity walking together in an organized quasi-ceremonial way. All this happens in the context of an organized cultural event that resembles the walking form of litany in order to ‘propose the opening of a place of thought through the blending of urban and natural sounds with memories inscribed on marbles’ (Kamarotos - excerpt from artist’s statement). At the entrance to the cemetery, before the walk begins, Kamarotos sets the interactive conditions of bonding walkers, semiotic modes and the environment by summoning the participants around him and presenting briefly the aim of the walk and instructions for the performance. A printed leaflet, given to the participants in advance, shows the direction and the stops of the itinerary, and includes two short texts related to each stop.

In the context of the present article, I focus on the spatio-temporal modalities designed and developed during the stops of the walk. A stop is activated temporally and spatially when

the guide raises his hand holding a printed sign of the stop number. Walkers open their leaflet to identify their location on the map and to read the two short texts related to the particular stop. Unlike traditional guided tours, the texts are not intended to provide information conforming to an official narrative about the monuments at the stop (e.g. notes about the renowned deceased or the sculptor of the tomb), but rather to create a conceptual framework for the collective experience. The function of the first text is to provide a sensory description that proposes ways of listening to the location: how and what walkers may listen. The second text offers excerpts from literature that can be linked associatively to the ongoing spatial experience. Prompted thus to identify the location, to direct their senses and to develop associations, walkers now raise their head from the leaflet and develop their in situ sensorial-associative relation to the surroundings. At the same time, artificial sounds are occasionally produced by performers who move around the group of walkers. According to Kamarotos, the aim of these sounds is to awaken the senses, particularly hearing. After a while, walkers hear a discrete bell ring marking the end of the stop and they resume their walking.



Figure 2. Stopping at *Breath*

In *Breath*, stops are the most carefully designed part of the acoustic walk. In contrast to the rare and sporadic sounds designed into the walking part of *Breath*, during the stops a dense assemblage of visual, textual and aural modes is activated through gestures and body movements performed:

1. raising the number sign → marks the beginning of the stop
2. looking at the map → locates the particular position in the entire route
3. reading descriptive text on the left page → guides sensorial activity
4. reading conceptual text on the right page → proposes associations
5. making 'artificial' sounds → stimulates the sensorium
6. ringing the bell → marks the end of the stop and the resumption of walking

These embodied modalities are extended semantically as they induce the interactions of walkers with the environment, unfolding sequentially kinesthetic pathways of experience through movements, perceptions, responses and feelings. Specifically with respect to the semiotic resources of tempo, range and vector discussed above, the raising of the number sign extends its range of visibility and creates a vector for all walkers to direct their movement. While approaching, walkers explore the surrounding with quick glances and slow down the

pace until they stop. Standing still is the kinesthetic prerequisite for being temporarily engrossed in the texts and for being silent for the dense acoustic experience of the stop. At the same time, stillness is an embodiment of the pervasive peacefulness of a historic cemetery. After having gathered and read the texts, walkers quietly stare, or some of them approach, the marble tombs nearby. As they disperse within a short distance from the raised number sign, they persistently look around to locate the nearby sounds of the birds and the distant background noise of the city, both visually hidden, concealed in the foliage or blocked by the high pines and cypresses.

Thus, in *Breath* it is during the stops that the aim of the acoustic walk is fulfilled exemplarily in the practice of stillness. Far from idleness and motionlessness, stillness is what carries walkers to develop their own micro-movements for sensing the multi-layered and circumambient dynamics of the material, physical and cultural environment of the cemetery. *Breath* does not reproduce the official narratives of the historic place, but lets participants discover material manifestations of these narratives that cross their path. In this sense, the moment of stillness creates the time and space for reorientation out of the linear itinerary. Once these moments are performed quasi-ceremonially, then they may happen at any point of the itinerary as walkers appropriate the proposed practices of processing the available resources to develop their own pathways of experience. It is the artist's intention that pathways of experience proceed smoothly at the shifting intersections of two divergent processes: the alive, but fleeting world of omnidirectional sounds and the eternal presence/absence of death arrested in the fixedness of the marble.

While *Breath* is designed around assemblages of modes concentrated on particular spots of the walking route, in *Soundscapes/Landscapes (S/L)* multiple designed modes are distributed throughout the walking area. If *Breath*, revolves around the idea of expanding points of a linear itinerary toward multiple potential directions, *S/L* concretizes an extended space as the nexus of connections between multiple points. In *Breath* stillness is a precondition for developing pathways of experience; in *S/L* the core of the experience is constant choice through movement.

S/L uses a mobile multimedia application to mediate a walk in the neighborhood of Neos Kosmos in Athens. The project was created by the art collective Medea Electronique. *S/L* renders the multifaceted cultural character of Neos Kosmos through various semiotic modes: written excerpts from literature and philosophy, audio field recordings, oral histories and life stories, short experimental musical themes and video art presentations of local activities. On the representational level, *S/L* is attuned to the ideal types of flaneur and the info-nomad, as it is designed accordingly to be an individual walk for wandering, exploring and discovering 'hidden' and unexpected facts and events. The walk can be performed anytime in a wide but well-defined area, as long as someone has secured in advance the necessary technical setup. The project was funded by the Onassis Cultural Centre of Athens, which is located in the area,

thus an additional motivation that informs the design of *S/L* is to inscribe the presence of this institution within its surrounding area of Neos Kosmos.

In the brief discussion that follows about the conditions of developing pathways of experience through *S/L*, I focus on some textual directives it provides to users, as guidance for moving and for relating mediatized content with the surrounding physical space. As users move in space, short texts variations such as the following appear occasionally on their screen: *'There is no correct path. If you do not know which way to go, simply improvise. There is no way you can get lost'*; *'You don't have to follow a certain direction. So don't get stressed over experiencing S/L correctly. Around every point, near or far, there are other points. Go back, move forward, cross streets, squares, parks, roads'*; *'You don't have to look at your tablet and your map all the time. Let yourself be swept by emerging soundscapes'*.



Figure 3. Walking in the hybrid space of *Soundscapes/Landscapes*

These exhortations may sound paradoxical; walkers are directed not to follow the directions, and to drift while they are reassured that they won't get lost. The apparent contradiction aptly demonstrates the hybridity of the space in which the media walking experience arises. *S/L* provides an extended, dense and incessant assemblage of different semiotic modes. Some are explicitly marked on the map (such as video presentations), other appear on the screen automatically (e.g. the texts discussed above – left image of Figure 3) or as interactive links (right image of Figure 3). In any case, the communicative function of the modes conforms to their typical cultural history: the oral histories and the life stories of the residents provide 'authentic' accounts of the local social life, video artworks show the creators' idiosyncratic approaches to spatial events, abstract textual excerpts from literature and social theory act as interferences to site-specificity. Furthermore, all modes are narrative-independent and location-specific, therefore they can be reached from different directions and become interconnected in different ways. Thus, the way someone moves becomes a decisive practice in making meaning, since it is through movement that different modes are activated and come together

to form multimodal ensembles. In other words, as Vasudevan (2011) observed, it is not only how multimodality occurs that is important, but also when and where. In the case of *S/L*, this observation can be extended to connect multimodality with multimodality.

Multimedia applications comprise dense assemblages of media and modes. In the case of a multimedia walking application, such as *S/L*, printed maps, books, street signposts, a compass, photographs, videos, speech and sounds are all integrated on the screen and audio output of the mobile device, blending into a common mediatized environment. However, a new medium, such as mobile apps, does not merely assimilate older media forms as its content, but it also expands the objectification of the senses and, by extension, the objectification of experience (McLuhan 1994). Hitherto, the objectification of experience, which in the case of digital media is exemplified in the rhetoric and practice of immersion, typically has involved disassociating the media content from its time and space of usage, to create ubiquitous immersive media environments. This predominant cultural logic of objectification and of immersion is manifest in walking with mobile multimedia applications, but at the same time it undermines itself, as the extension of the sensorium can happen only if the mediatized experience is (re) connected to the actual body and particularly to the actual location of the body in the physical space at the particular time of walking.

The variations of textual directives in repetitive display during the *S/L* media walk, act as a leitmotif about how to form pathways of experience in walking with mobile digital media. Drawing on the communicative functions of language, proposed by Jakobson (1960), the short texts are addressed to walkers (conative function) by suggesting ways to orient towards the environment (referential function) in order to ensure that the bonding of walkers, media and the environment remains open and continuous (phatic function). For a communicative event to emerge in the hybrid space of media walking, such bonding is vital but cannot be taken for granted, given the predominant cultural logic that equates media usage with dissociation from the immediate environment. In the case of *S/L* this logic may be reinforced inadvertently as the sheer amount of digital information on the screen sways walkers' attention. The repetitive textual directives are designed to offset this dissociative pull of the screen. The on-screen information is designed to guide walking toward concrete places (a coffee-shop at the corner, a church close to a bridge), compelling walkers to discover the exact locations. Thus, in this type of media walks, the pathway of experience often becomes similar to treasure-hunting.

The activation of a potentially non-linear assemblage of mediatized semiotic modes through body movement does not constitute, in and of itself, a media walking experience. The modes mediated by the screen and the earphones do not form a self-contained mediatized environment. Rather, they always direct attention to particular objects, facts, events in the physical space. This deictic function can only be accomplished if the walker becomes aware of the actual referents and forms personalized experiences while walking. In this sense, an ethnographic approach could shed light to the ways walkers bring together the mediatized

spatial representations with their actual spatial referent in their personal imaginative world to make a sense of place.

Concluding Thoughts and Future Directions

Media walks are organised cultural activities designed to provoke meaningful experiences of a place through physical movement in interaction with mobile media. The multimodal analysis of media walking that I propose draws on the three communicative meta-functions of an event (representational, interactional and compositional), particularly as they have been elaborated in research about diverse modes of communication including language, visuals, digital media, gestures and 3D spaces. In media walks, the function of walking is inter-modal, as it serves to synthesize various modes in a multimodal ensemble and to generate modalities through the embodied and mental engagement of walkers with the semiotic resources they encounter. In this sense, my multimodal analysis is a kinesthetic elaboration of these three inter-related communicative meta-functions: representation is encompassed into the performance of ideal types of walking; body movement is constituted as a dynamic field of interactions between human and non-human agents; composition emerges from tracking the semantic organization of multiple modes through the formation of pathways of experience.

Multimodal analyses do not form a 'self-contained field' (van Leeuwen 2005: 1). In the same vein, the present multimodal approach is not so much a firmly structured conceptual framework, but more like a gestural movement towards it. It provides a point of departure and conceptual vectors that can be followed, elaborated, modified and redirected as they come to be applied to diverse forms of media walking. The cultural, medial and environmental characteristics of media walking set three axes of research that provide, in their combination, the coordinates for further research. Indicatively, the intermodal function of walking can be elaborated by considering the intersensory processes discussed in multimodal analyses, not only from a social semiotics perspective, but also within other fields such as mobile computing, particularly in studies that assign embodied meanings to data input-output exchanges. Semiotic analyses of modalities as ways of sensing, processing and experiencing the affordances of modes can be enriched greatly by engaging in a systematic dialogue with media theories, both new and old, that foreground a practice-oriented engagement with the materialities of the media and consider their interconnection with the environment. Finally, since media walks are organized cultural events, their multimodal design practices are organically and discursively connected with the agents, patterns and flows of institutionalized cultural production. As such, they provide multiple and dynamic ways of acknowledging and intervening in the spatial production of subjectivities, at the cusp of micro-intentions with macro-policies and of power relations with creativity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their thorough reading, insightful observations and helpful comments which contributed to a further elaboration of certain aspects of the paper.

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Nikos Bubaris is Assistant Professor at the Department of Cultural Technology and Communication at the University of the Aegean, Greece

E-mail: nbubaris@ct.aegean.gr

The deadlock of museum images and multisensoriality

Anastasia Chourmouziadi

Musealisation as tool for collective memory management, constitutes a violent intervention in the social life of material objects, which –among other things- transforms them into almost exclusively visual stimuli. This loss of materiality contravenes the consolidated museum practice that is based on the tangible evidence of ‘authentic’ objects, as well as its undoubted educational mission. I argue that the triptych ‘protection – authenticity – learning’ that has been the ontological base of modern museum is characterized by inherent contradictions. Therefore, any attempt to re-determine museum practice should re-examine it. In this vein of thought, it is imperative to challenge vision’s domination, using something more than limited naïve dashes of other sensorial stimuli, that leave intact the dominant visual approach. In other words, I argue that multisensorial museum experience can threaten traditional museum’s ontological features, and, therefore, can lead to a ‘new’ museum that will act principally as ‘public space’, and secondly, as the protector of a collection of dead things.

KEYWORDS museums, multisensoriality, museum education

One of the dearest presences of my childhood was Kitsos Makris,¹ mostly for the very funny stories he used to tell us. Like the one about this poor guy who one day visited the museum-like house of this highly acclaimed folklorist and found himself in apprehension in front of a collection of popular religious icons. He felt compulsive to kiss them and pray with his fingers crossed out of respect. He even asked for a stool to reach the ones who were hanging high. Whenever he told that story he used to laugh hard with the lack of awareness on the part of the guy and we used to laugh along, not because we knew that much about religious icons, but because we did know a few things about museums. Obviously, a similar kind of confusion is what the sign hanging at Nea Moni in Chios² tries to clear up: when you pass through the

heavy wooden gate of the Monastery you face a big label saying: 'The sacred Nea Moni is not a museum. It is FIRST of all a place of worship, and SECONDLY a monument of Christian architecture and art. Therefore, the visitor is a PILGRIM, who should fear God and His Holy Mother'. Needless to say, in a museum a visitor cannot taste the fear of God or His Holy Mother.

In the same way, in the very familiar modernist museum someone fails to engage in a range of emotions, as their visit seems designed to be a purely visual and cognitive experience (Chourmouziadi 2006; 2010). Of course, things were not so in the beginning. It is well known that, at the first private 'museums', European rulers and their courtiers were freely handling the precious objects of the royal collections. Moreover, at the first public museums of the 18th century, art and antiquity lovers of the upper class could pick up exhibits and closely examine them in their own time (Candlin 2008; Dudley 2010; Rees Leahy 2012), since their delicate hands were not regarded a threat of any kind.

However, the promotion of the public aspect of the museums was not solely associated with a romantic predisposition to democratise them,³ but rather more with their role in educating citizens. The carefully arranged objects presented to the working-class people the order of natural and social world in a crystallised and indisputable manner, while the visit itself as social experience, the contact with high art and other more 'civilized' visitors could positively affect their unpolished manners (Bennett 1995; 2006). Thus, the influx of all those 'ignorant' and 'crude' people in museum halls, brought to the fore the necessity of special measures of protection, and established between visitors and exhibits a safe distance that we all take for granted, today. On the other hand, already as early as the first decades of the 20th century, the appropriate exhibition toolkit – especially ample electric lighting and the extended use of glass cases – had been developed to foster a comfortable viewing, regardless of the need for a more sensory approach (Bacci & Pavani 2014; Howes 2014), transforming museum-goers from *handlers* into *spectators*.

So then, the established modern museum exhibition is exclusively directed to the 'pure gaze'⁴ (Bennett 1998; 2006; Duggan 2007), as a long lasting philosophical tradition considers vision to be the sense that maintains a sort of distance from the object observed and leads to its critical evaluation and understanding (Belova 2012). The rest of the human senses, deemed as 'inferior' to vision by many intellectuals due to their association with the early stages of cognition and with instinctive, uncontrollable reactions,⁵ are banned from a museum experience altogether, where a seemingly autonomous vision acquires primacy. In the same time, the behavioural norms imposed on the visitor along with the whole ritual of the visit itself (Duncan 1995; Rees Leahy 2012: 7) are tailored to address a rationally thinking individual. A visitor capable of full cognitive vigilance who refrains from speaking loudly, roll on the floor or eat in the premises, somebody who in many cases does not even feels fatigue or thirst, an entity who yearns nothing but spiritual satisfaction.

The entire museum 'technology' is developed to support this notion; linear narrative struc-

tures based on the information provided by well-organised collections, clean spaces, designated paths, elegant shelves with neatly arranged objects. Moreover, the coded representation of verbal information, the additional visual material, the ample lighting, etc. 'facilitate' the visitor towards learning by seeing.

However, despite the progress of exhibition practices and the fact that no one has ever challenged the educational aspect of a museum visit,⁶ in reality its learning outcomes have without fail been rather disappointing. Admittedly, despite the hundreds of archeological reports about prehistoric times, the Flintstones were the ones who predominantly formed our collective image of the period (Chourmouziadi 2006). Panting then while trying to catch up with the times, almost a century after the formulation of pedagogical theories regarding hands-on learning,⁷ museums have started to doubt whether this fixation on vision has been effective after all and are hesitantly attempting to use a few more sensory stimuli. However, other sensory modalities are introduced only in certain contextual situations – children and technology museums being the most usual examples – and they are aiming at producing certain experiential effects, often enhancing the commodification of museum experience.

Nevertheless, in most cases, the intention of such an introduction is primarily educational in the narrowest sense of the word. So, the use of the adverb 'hesitantly' does not only refer to the small number of examples or to the use of mere soundbites, but also to how limited the use of sensory stimuli is, so much resembling infant education practices. As an example, I can mention Volos Archaeological Museum, where three sonic elements are introduced in an otherwise typical exhibition. The first and rather obvious one is a small booth where an inscription with ancient music symbols is exhibited, accompanied by an explanatory video and headphones that offer to the visitor the opportunity to listen to the corresponding music. Although listening to music dating back to the 3rd century BC can be an overwhelming experience, emphasis is given rather to information than to auditory immersion. Some meters away, when the visitors approach a partial reconstruction of an ancient tavern an electronic sensor stimulates sound of people mumbling. In this case, the discrete ambient sound constitutes an effort to vitalise the ancient relics. The third sonic element is the sound of running water that can be heard when visitors come close to a roman clay water pipe. I must admit that I cannot quite understand the point of this sonic intervention, taking into account that this specific sound does not give any useful information, and that normally the thick clay walls of a semi-buried pipe do not allow the noise of the water to be heard. In other words, what the Volos Museum illustrates is that sonic experience, in most museum cases, boils down to 'I see a hammer and I hear a bash', 'I see a water pipe and I hear running water', 'I see a violin and I listen to a few notes'.⁸

Although demanding in its management, sound can be introduced in an exhibition without unsettling museum protection principles. On the contrary, touch usually – if not always – jeopardises the collection's preservation, and the visitors' temptation to handle the exhib-

ited objects is channeled to specially made copies. In the Museum of London, for example, standing in front of a roman mosaic floor visitors are encouraged to touch the tiles of a small contemporary mosaic embedded in the protective handrail. However, touch is a much more complex sense and is not limited to what our fingertips can feel. It can be evoked by vision or hearing, and in many cases its introduction does not necessarily adds to the museum experience. In the case I've just mentioned, one can wonder what is the point of touching with your hands something that, in its original context, was meant to be felt through your feet. Even more dubious is the adoption of the same practice in the case of a roman bronze dagger; touching a copy – blunt enough for obvious safety reasons – cannot give you the faintest idea how painful, even lethal, making contact with the original was. On the same wavelength are the various handling sessions that began to form part of the standard offerings at mainstream museums, such as the British Museum with its 'hands on desks', etc. (Howes 2014).

Satisfactory or not, we have quite a few examples of using sound and touch in exhibitions, while smell and taste are still troubling museum curators. We can mention limited experimental efforts, especially in art museums where the educational goal gives way to the other core element of the modernist museum, namely contemplation, where the use of marketing practices has been attempted. That is the use of ambient pleasant sounds and smells in the hope that this discreet sensory touch will foster vision and thus enhance the positive impact the works of art have on a visitor, exactly like the way such stimuli work in a supermarket to increase consumption. On the contrary, other experiments have shown that art museum visitors can focus on a pleasant ambient smell and disregard the works of art, or, even worse, visitors can be irritated when being forced to move their attention from the olfactory stimulus to the visual one of an exhibited painting (Cirrincione et al. 2014).

All these attempts are trying to superficially add non-visual elements in a museum exhibition that is designed as a well-organized series of images; therefore, they comfortably leave intact the well-guarded management methods of a museum collection. Recently, there have been several interesting critical voices stigmatising exhibition practices that caused objects to lose their materiality and be converted into plain representations of themselves (Dudley 2012). I have always been one of those who believe that museums were created, are surviving and evolving not to protect and present valuable things, but to house our own stories about things (Weil 1990; Witcomb 1997). However, museums are founded on the fertile ground of things. Having said that I have in mind not a closed, strictly organized collection of objects, or in other words a 'fait accompli' – to use Heidegger's term – but the elastic and continuously expanding record that we generally call 'material culture'. The assemblage that we have failed to precisely determine, and we resort to general terms such as 'materialities'. The assemblage that consists of all those that, since their measurement and physical description do not satisfy the scholars any more, fostered the pursuit of their agency, their decisive role, their fluid but unbreakable lattice relationship with humans.

Therefore, the loss of materiality of exhibited objects in fact entails an inherent conflict of the modernist museum itself, whose objects are indispensable for they are tangible evidence of the exhibitor's perspective. As a result, some innovative proposals discard the iconographic role assigned to the museum objects and seek the reinstatement of the things themselves. This is not done by stripping exhibitions off interpretive material and embrace early museum practices,¹⁰ but rather it means focusing on how active exhibits can become. In other words, by seeking ways of letting objects function as transmitters of a wide range of sensory stimuli. This trend in its extremity, along with a New Age concept, seemingly suggests that if we let our senses run rampant while visiting a museum we will acquire a better understanding of it (Hamilakis 2014: 3).

I will not pause here to dwell on the fainting episodes that such proposals may cause to heads of archeological museums all over, nor on the obvious technical difficulties that have to be to overcome. I will only say that apart from their provocative nature, these approaches could trigger, once more, the long-lasting dilemma regarding museums, whether objects or ideas should be at the heart of setting up an exhibition (Dudley 2012; Weil 1990; Witcomb 1997). In my opinion, this is a false dilemma.

Before I attempt an alternative approach to the question of 'whether a visit to a museum should have a multi-sensory character', I would like to make a key observation; the fact that, so far, we have been preoccupied with what visitors see, does not mean that they are not experiencing a museum with all their senses (Bacci & Pavani 2014; Levent & Pascual-Leone 2014: xvi). First of all, because viewing something invariably spawns sensory associations, or – as Merleau-Ponty puts it – it is the whole body and not just the eyes that see. Rather than dispassionately contemplating museum images visitors enter subconsciously in an active engagement with them, *de facto* rejecting the traditional subject-object dichotomy. Moreover, despite the fact that curators address the rational and focused gaze, what actually prevails in a museum visit is a continuously moving gaze, that is rarely fixed on one specific object, being constantly interrupted by activity and spontaneous associations (Duggan 2007).

The complex and, in final analysis, multisensorial character of vision can be explicitly observed in a museum dedicated to the act of watching itself, as it is the case of a cinema museum. Thessaloniki Cinema Museum, for instance, claims that it exhibits a 'collection of film watching moments', i.e. the experience of cinema and not a collection of props and filming or projecting equipment. Thus, the visitor is encouraged to 'walk inside a film', where interwoven still and moving images, light and sound are trying to reproduce the familiar illusive context of cinema; or – to put it in another way – to reproduce the visual by means of a more complex and intense bodily experience.

However, there is no need to look into extraordinary exhibitions to find this intermingled sensorial experience; even in a typical museum, as visitors browse through an exhibition they have a sense of themselves walking on the marble floor, they listen to other people whispering,

they are aware of the high ceiling above them, they pick the faint smell of the detergent from the freshly cleaned floors, they cannot wait to have something to eat after their visit. Furthermore, this apparently agonising effort to suppress all other senses but vision is not emotionally neutral, as the cold and exclusively cognitive process regarding the objects viewed would have required. Rather than the museum objects themselves, it is this effort to keep other senses but vision at bay that provokes awe and admiration for the greatness of ancestors, that instills anguish to hold on to the past and fear for a nation's decline and other things along these lines.

Consequently, since all senses are present in a museum visit, I argue that it would be meaningful to examine the role they can play into replacing the traditional museum with something substantially different, rather than trying to rejuvenate the outdated modernist one. I can refer to more radical experimental exhibition practices that have tried to isolate the sensorial potential, such as *Displace v1.0*,¹¹ an exhibition without any objects, only qualia. In this exhibition, that, according to David Howes, 'opened a crack in the Western sensorium', 'visitors were immersed in a symphony of sensations which included unusual combinations of flavors delivered in the form of liquids and jellies, an assortment of odors, vibrating surfaces, a rotating platform, an enveloping fog, waves of heat, and a giant hexagon formed of sheets of light that shifted color in sync with a computer-generated soundtrack' (Howes 2014: 264).

Of course, such experiments are rare and, I am afraid that they do not affect the majority of museums, because they are developing outside the 'normal' museum task-scape. Much intriguing these ideas may be, cannot easily imbue everyday curatorial practice. So, building upon them, if we want to go beyond the mere renovation of traditional exhibitional approaches with sensorial injections, we should challenge museum's three key concepts: the narrow school-like perception of its educational role, the central and dominant role the museum objects hold for themselves, and the belief that visitors are mere consumers of the museum product.

On the contrary, if the primary scope of an exhibition is to critically approach an issue, it might be imperative to ensure that it stimulates visitors emotionally by utilising their embodied experience more than just employing their pure logical analysis. Only then, I think, will we be able to achieve the psychological and cognitive twists required to enable visitors to confront their stereotypes, to question familiar representations, to comprehend discrepancies in interpretation, to be forced to identify contradictions and conflicts. In this case, the information put forward is not offered in a palatable way to ready to be satisfied consumers, but is there to be assessed and interpreted by the visitors themselves. Andrea Witcomb (2013; 2015), for instance, examining some Australian exhibition cases, makes a very interesting analysis of the role that affect plays in exhibitions which try to topple long lasting stereotypic colonialist approaches. She speaks about a 'pedagogy of feeling' that comes after the 'pedagogy of walking' (Bennett 1995) that characterises the 19th century museums whose mission was the formation of citizens capable and willing to serve the newly emerging European nation-states.

It even goes beyond the 'pedagogy of listening' which replaces passive viewing with a more active museum experience, welcoming visitors' response and limited pre-designed interaction. Witcomb criticizes the didactic and one-way character of those 'discovery approaches to learning and constructivist epistemologies in which the visitor was given a role in the creation of knowledge' (2015: 326) and argues that what is promoted by this new pedagogy of feeling is 'empathy rather than simply tolerance toward difference' and consequently 'dialogue and political responsibility' (327).

In this vein of thought, we can argue that an exhibition should neither be just the aesthetically pleasing arrangement of a collection nor just a narrative made up by the curator based on a collection's objects. We can conceptualise it as a three-dimensional opportunity for dialogue. A dialogue that raises issues, sets a framework, but also intrigues and leads to further research which ultimately enables the visitor to form a personal opinion. A similar 'critical museology' produces exhibitions that seek emotional stimulation and demand comprehensive physical involvement so that they manage to shake off indifference and, most importantly, pave the way to change established views or received wisdom. Admittedly, this revolutionary affectual ground is not an easy one. Adopting this approach, we are urged to create exhibitions that are supposed to deny the primacy of our own interpretation; even if this constitutes a realistic goal, no one can guarantee that the outcome of these unleashed alternative interpretations will be rational and unprejudiced, let alone 'progressive'. However, if we hesitate to take the risk we are doing nothing more than a mere renovation of worn out meaning-producing museum structures.

A museum, however, does not produce technologies, but rather borrows and employs what others invent. What I describe could get ideas from ephemeral art installations, introduced by the Dadaist movement as early as in the first decades of the 20th century. As Claire Bishop (2005: 7) puts it, the works of art that follow this tradition 'rather than imagining the viewer as a pair of disembodied eyes that survey the work from a distance [...] presuppose an embodied viewer whose senses of touch, smell and sound are as heightened as their sense of vision'. Visitors do not simply contemplate the work of art; they immerse in it, become involved at a multi-sensory level and ultimately contribute to its completion (Bacci & Pavani 2014). In this way, the distinct role of the museum objects is abolished since they are treated as one of the many tangible and intangible elements of the composition. The exhibition equipment itself is in its own accord an exhibit as it plays an instrumental role in the narrative as well as in stimulating the senses. Things are not just represented or described, they are somehow *there*, as well. The 'original' coexists with the 'copy' as they cooperate to construct a meaningful whole.

On the other hand, visitors are decentered. Exiled from their predetermined Renaissance central viewing position and forced to choose by themselves where to stand.¹² In practice, then, multiple short-lived positions, sometimes quite uncomfortable, should be taken in order to approach the exhibits. The visitor cannot complete the visit if he/she does not intervene

with what he/she is being shown, even by merely moving through space. Therefore, one could claim that he/she leaves traces behind that may possibly alter some of the exhibition aspects, and up to a point, even render him or her a co-creator.

In an exhibition like this, vision is largely not on its pedestal. The glimpse has become more important than the gaze (cf Duggan 2007). The moving body interacts with the exhibition and utilises touch, hearing and proprioception. Smell and taste could even come to play, even indirectly, with the enhancement of synesthetic stimuli that can cause visual, audio and tactile reactions.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that although the exhibition concept that I briefly presented is largely inspired by artistic events, I for once am concerned about the possibility of making good use of all things mentioned in exhibitions with more down to earth topics, like the ones that historical museums have to manage with. I argue that an exhibition aiming to the critical approach of a social phenomenon, and therefore presupposing psychological and cognitive subversion, should rely more on multisensorial stimuli and affect. Instead of the familiar awe and national pride, it should provoke surprise, discomfort, trouble, even anger to the visitors, in order to urge them think differently. Visitors should feel familiar with the presented, open and vulnerable, ready to be affected and altered by this contact (Bonnell & Simon 2007). In the Imperial War Museum North (IWMN) in Manchester, for example, the repulsive smell of the trenches and the blind touch of something furry – rodents perhaps? – that visitors experience can trigger thoughts about the horror and the absurdity of war, much more effectively than a well written text or a statistical graph.

In other words, I believe that what is needed is a balance between the dispassionate way in which traditional museums are approaching every aspect of the past – the people killed by plague during Peloponnesian War, the charred bodies found under lava in Pompeii, or the dead in 1st World War trenches – on the one hand, and over-sentimental melodramatic exaggerations, on the other. I can only mention some exhibitions related to the refugee crisis that have appeared in Europe, lately. Most of them, in my opinion, were pursuing emotion for its own sake; therefore, they may have made people feel sorry for the ‘poor refugee children’ but they didn’t obstruct intolerance and xenophobia to spread like plague all over the continent.

In the balanced mixture I have in mind, the search for a multi-sensory approach is not only about supporting or assisting the cognitive and mental processes, but even more so, about the management of non-defined, non-rational processes that play a cardinal role in shaping people’s perceptions. Because we love our homeland, and the taste of its sweets or the smell of its freshly cut grass reminds us of this love.¹³ But this love is not based on anything rational. The appeal a taste or a scent have on us cannot be rationally explained no matter how hard we try. Similarly, we hate foreigners because they are ‘filthy’, darker, their faces are not easy on the eye and we find them intimidating, their language sounds harsh and offensive, because we are afraid they would do us harm (Crang & Tolia-Kelly 2010). Possibly, no matter how many logical

and well-documented papers we are given to study about equality and solidarity, our irrational fears and the things we love, our instinctive attractions and repulsions might remain ingrained within us forever. Maybe, then, it is worthwhile to try to overcome them by organising exhibitions that from one point onwards aim to go beyond the rational and the clearly drafted. As I say this I remember what I proudly used to recite as a student in primary school ‘what I feel about my country is like a turmoil inside me’.¹⁴

NOTES

1. Kitsos Makris (1917-1988) was a prominent folklorist, honored by the Academy of Athens for his work. Albeit self-taught, in 1987 he was awarded the degree of Honorary Doctor of Philosophy by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He has published 47 books and studies, many of which were translated in English, French, German and Serbian. He bequeathed his folklore collection and his enormous archive to the University of Thessaly, along with his house that, today, functions as a folklore museum.

2. Nea Moni is an 11th century monastery, recognised as an UNESCO World Heritage site, due to its byzantine architecture and its magnificent mosaics.

3. It is widely commented how the transformation of Le Louvre from a private collection - contemplated only by the royal court and meant to underline the taste and the political power of French royal family - to one of the first public museums in the world, was closely related to the democratic spirit of French Revolution. Along with the demolition of La Bastille, the ‘opening’ of Le Louvre was one of the most symbolic acts of the new regime (Abt 2006; Bennett 1995; McClellan 1994).

4. The ‘pure gaze’ is a concept discussed by Pierre Bourdieu (1984:1–7). It is something possessed by the culturally and artistically competent, opposed to the ordinary way of seeing the world, which privileges function over form. The pure aesthetic demands a distance from life and necessity. For Bourdieu, this distance is enabled by the lives of ease enjoyed by those who hold this aesthetic disposition.

5. The origins of the theoretical discussion about the senses, their significance and their hierarchy can be traced, as usual, in the work of Plato and Aristotle. It was enriched by Decartes and Lock, reintroduced by theologians and modernists, and had a vigorous come-back, as usual, in the mid 20th century (Howes 2005).

6. The long tradition that considers museums as educators can be traced from the first examples engaged in the nation ideology formation procedures –as ideological state apparatuses (Althusser 1991), to the contemporary museumscape. Even if the size and the variety of the latter cannot easily establish a relation with nationalistic narratives in every museum, the education of the masses remains the key role of museums, as it is clearly mentioned in the ICOM’s

(International Council of Museums) official definition (<http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition>).

7. The significance of experience in learning was first introduced by John Dewey in his classic *Experience in Education* (1938). He focused on students' participation in experience and radical democracy and the learners' praxis. His work proved highly influential, especially on constructivist learning theory, which can be considered as the theoretical base of informal learning (Hein 1998).

8. The sonic design in a museum exhibition is a far more complicated issue. The immersive effect of the exhibition soundscape can not only support the interpretative process, but can alter the visitors experience altogether (Bubaris 2014; Zisiou 2011).

10. New Museology criticized early museums on the grounds that they left the objects 'to speak for themselves', referring to the limited and not at all imaginative interpretative material that accompanied the exhibited objects of the collection.

11. A production of labXmodal and the Concordia Sensoria Research Team (CONCERT) led by Chris Salter, a professor of design and new media art. It was first staged in the Concordia Blackbox in November 2011. It ran for four days during the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Montreal.

12. Claire Bishop argues that installation art's relationship to the viewer is underpinned by two ideas: 'activating the viewing subject' and 'decentring'. The first refers to the need of the visitor to move around and through the work in order to experience it, rather than just staying still to optically contemplate it. The latter is inspired by Panofsky's critique of renaissance perspective (Bishop 2005; 2012).

13. Nadia Seremetakis, making a splendid correlation between the smell and taste of a specific kind of peaches and homesickness, argues that 'memory cannot be confined to a purely mentalist or subjective sphere. It is culturally mediated material practice that is activated by embodied acts and semantically dense objects' (Seremetakis 1996: 7).

14. It is the final verse of the short poem by Aristotelis Valaoritis (1824-1879), 'My love for my country'.

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Anastasia Chourmouziadi is Assistant Professor at the Department of Cultural Technology and Communication, University of the Aegean, Greece

Email: nassiah@aegean.gr

Gesture as a device for converging of sensory and semiotic modes and levels. The case of Argentinian tango

Valeria De Luca

In recent decades, semiotics has shown an increasing interest in the passion and body dimensions of meaning. In particular, the growing emphasis on the role of bodily presence in semiotics has extended semiotic reflection to issues like embodiment, intersubjectivity, interactions and practices. In this context, a certain absence is noticeable regarding a field of reflection that is crucial for testing semiotic theoretical and methodological tools. This field concerns dance, that has been approached only marginally because of the challenges encountered in its analysis. Our contribution aims, first of all, at showing how the notion of gesture allows us to understand the passage from a sense of movement to the constitution of a cultural identity and imaginary based on bodily interaction and on the divers forms it assumes. We will focus our attention on Argentinian tango and the principles of tango movement, in an attempt to grasp the features of tango bodily interaction. Subsequently, this will allow us to highlight the close link between a strictly bodily level of semiosis and that concerning the social practice of dancing.

KEYWORDS Argentinian tango, dance, gesture, body interaction, empathy, intersubjectivity

Introduction

The paper aims to examine the semiotic contribution to the study of dance and, in particular, the semiotic models by means of which it is possible to link the bodily and sensory dimension to all the other dimensions that are involved in dancing, conceived as social and cultural phenomenon. For this purpose, we will firstly examine the theoretical relationship between dance and semiotics, as well as certain methodological problems that arise in studying

dance form a semiotic point of view. Secondly, we will focus our attention on Argentinian tango, approached as a 'whole' phenomenon, in which bodily practice and cultural levels are closely linked. In this regard, we must make clear in advance that the cultural dimension, strictly speaking, will remain in the background of our reflection because of limits of space. We should specify here, that the analysis of bodily dance principles and of bodily dance interaction is part of a broader model of semiosis of practice, exemplified, in the case of tango, by the *milonga*. In brief, we conceived of a model that holds together syntagmatic constraints (according to Fontanille's model) and morphodynamical issues (drawing from notions such as 'form', 'figure' and 'morphogenesis', found in Thom 1990, Cadiot and Visetti 2001).

We will outline an imbricated analysis of these different dimensions, starting from notions like gesture and from Jacques Fontanille's model of levels of pertinence in generating the plan of expression (Fontanille 2008). In particular, we will describe some bodily – and, at the same time, cultural and historically defined – features of tango dancing in order to understand which kind of sensitivity is developed. In spite of the great importance immediately accorded to vision during the dance, we will highlight the role played by contact, not only physical contact but notably the kinesthetic one, driven by the so-called *marcación*, an enunciative body tool that configures the dancing contact and allows dancers to create gestural figures. This will lead us to think differently, in a semiotic perspective, about the notion of empathy, a key-concept in the study of dance interaction.

1. Semiotics and dance: an insight

In studying dance from a semiotic epistemology, we are confronted with a variety of possible approaches. Our first task is to determine which semiotic method is most appropriate to the range of values associated with the phenomenon under study. This not only implies certain choices regarding the size(s), level(s) and unit(s) of analysis, but also a vigorous reflection on the nature of semiosis itself. At first sight, dance does not seem to make sense, given that it cannot relate to the linguistic concept of the sign. On the other hand, there is the quantitative problem that there is a rather small number of researches on dance both in its generality and on particular dances. At the same time, from a qualitative viewpoint, dance is treated differently by different authors: i) as a repertoire/inventory of figures, modular units that allow the introduction of parallelisms with popular tales, as in the case of the work by Ciortea and Giurchescu (1968); ii) as a full-blown theoretical object, according to René Thom (1990); as an emblem of a certain semiotic regime, according to Eric Landowski (2005); iii) as a case study of an analytical model, such as the path through pertinence levels in Jacques Fontanille; iv) finally, as an autonomous meaning system, fully independent from language, according to Göran Sonesson's (2009) research on iconicity. So, an epistemological split exists between dance semiosis

as a particular case of general gestuality, and a semiosis that takes into account gestuality in specific dances as complex socio-cultural facts.

Greimas highlighted the challenge of a semiotic approach to dance, by stating that:

la danse est un problème qui fait partie d'une problématique de la gestualité en général et de l'expression corporelle somatique. *C'est le corps qui est un langage* ; le corps en mouvement avec la gestualisation. *La danse y apparaît comme un non-sens*, tout comme le cinéma. Pour qu'une analyse puisse être faite des arts en mouvement, il faut *l'immobiliser*, le stabiliser, d'où la nécessité d'une écriture de la danse ou d'une poétique de la danse qui est la condition nécessaire pour pouvoir étudier la danse elle-même. (Greimas 1986: 42)

In Greimas' conception of the moving, gesticulating body as a language, the only possibility for approaching and analyzing gestures as movement acts consists in arresting movement itself. The constitution of movement as an investigation object, in other words, necessitates the exclusion of the actual phenomenon under study. This contradiction would make the analysis a kind of notation of movement or, more generally, a sort of writing project, in order to translate the relations that are supposed to organize and articulate gestures. In other words, the system used as model is the semio-linguistic one, even if Greimas underlines the *continuous* nature – in a constant stabilization process – of gestures. On the one hand,

la gesticulation, apprise et transmise, tout comme les autres systèmes sémiotiques, est un phénomène social. [...] la gesticulation est une entreprise globale du corps humain dans laquelle les gestes particuliers des agents corporels sont coordonnés et/ou subordonnés à un projet d'ensemble se déroulant en simultanéité. (Greimas 1968: 12)

On the other hand, it seems almost impossible to segment 'gestural text in meaningful syntagms, other than through the semantic of natural languages' (Greimas 1968: 16). According to Greimas, this difficulty is due to so-called *désémantisation*, that is, the unstable nature of units supposed to form a gestural syntagm, in terms of their meaning function and status. In other words, it is hard to determine which unit can be classified in a sub-morphemic layer or, on the contrary, in a larger syntagmatic chain, and when it occurs.

However, if a gestural substance allows us to assume a gestural form (in hjelmslevian terms) behind it, made up of global cultural projects and programs, then the analogy between dance and language can be kept, at least partially, provided that we get out from a strict analogy between figures/gestural programs and the two aspects of the linguistic sign, i.e. the double articulation model. Starting from Greimas' hypothesis of a *practical gestuality*, Julia Kristeva suggests that gestuality should be considered itself as a practice, as an activity rather than as an act. Specifically, she claims that:

la gestualité [...] est susceptible d'être étudiée comme une activité dans le sens d'une *dépense*, d'une productivité antérieure au produit [...] Évidemment, le geste transmet un message dans le cadre d'un groupe et n'est que 'langage' que dans ce sens, mais plus que ce message déjà là, il est (et il peut rendre concevable) l'*élaboration* du message, le *travail* qui précède la constitution du signe (du sens) dans la communication. (Kristeva 1968: 50)

By conceiving gestures as a practice, as an activity, Kristeva grasps the relationship between gestuality and semiosis giving primacy to movement. Following Kristeva, a distinction can be made between gestuality as a generic activity that constitutes fields of relations, and gestures as acts, however ephemeral, that modulate body interactions, as in the case of dance. Having discussed this point extensively elsewhere (De Luca 2016), we should, however, note that this kind of double articulation, radically different from the linguistic one, allows us, on the one hand, to better grasp the semiotic modes of emergence and stabilization of tango as a *dancing form* and, on the other hand, to study and describe its specificities as deployed both by subjects' bodies and in other attested forms. A similar perspective is found in Susanne Langer's works, especially in her book *Feeling and Form* (1953), where she develops her view of the *expressive form* based on Ernst Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms and the principles of *Gestaltheorie*. In this framework, dance is not produced as a symbolic form through mere movement: dance emerges when gesture is virtual, imagined, transposed and, consequently, reflexive. That is what she calls *primary illusion*:

What, then, is dance? If it be an independent art, as indeed it seems to be, it must have its own 'primary illusion'. Rhythmic motion? That is its actual process, not an illusion. The 'primary illusion' of an art is something created, and created at the first touch—in this case, with the first motion, performed or even implied [...] Only when the movement that was a genuine gesture is *imagined*, so it may be performed apart from the squirrel's momentary situation and mentality, it becomes an artistic element, a possible dance-gesture. Then it becomes a free symbolic form [...] Dance gesture is not real gesture, but virtual.¹ (Langer 1953: 174, 175, 178)

But what does primary illusion mean? In Langer's perspective, shaping forms is not only a perceptive activity that organizes lived experience from a sensory point of view, but it also represents an inaugural moment of symbolic emergent activity, or, in other words, a moment of creation of meaning, of meaningful relations. This activity, which Langer calls a 'presentational symbol', allows her not only to recognize reality as a deployment of a landscape of 'mere' forms, but also to understand an emerging distribution of values, in the sense that forms condense simultaneously a perceptive activity and socio-cultural interactions. Medium and reflexive features of gesture are examined also by Giorgio Agamben (1991), when he looks

at Latin etymology of gesture and relates that to the concept of *forms of life*. Starting from Varron's distinction between *ăġĕre* (act), *făċĭo* (make, perform) and *ġĕrĕre* (manage, handle), Agamben notices that 'ce qui caractérise le geste, c'est qu'il ne soit plus question en lui ni de produire ni d'agir, mais d'assumer et de supporter. Autrement dit, le geste ouvre la sphère de l'*éthos* comme sphère la plus propre de l'homme' (Agamben 2011: 189). The openness to an ethical horizon is offered by a specific type of action that the gesture unveils:

si le faire est un moyen en vue d'une fin et l'agir une fin sans moyens, le geste rompt la fausse alternative entre fins et moyens qui paralyse la morale, et présente des moyens qui se soustraient *comme tels* au règne des moyens sans pour autant devenir des fins. (Agamben 2011: 189)

Therefore, gesture mediates between ends and means, and seems to install a specific space between potentiality and action, to the extent that it makes visible means and modes as such. In other words, the visibility of mediation as the primary modality of the relation between subject and environment, and as a prerequisite for constituting esthetic form, makes gesture the emblem of all semiosis. From a semiotic point of view, we can observe some important consequences: 1) gesture, by drawing attention to the subject's awareness of the mediated nature of his actions, requires that valuation systems work both at an individual level (as modes of subject involvement) as well as at the collective level; 2) by making medium visible as an expression, gesture problematizes the enunciative praxis, in view of the different mediations that are entangled in the body; 3) for this reason, gestural activity could imply the inquiry of its traces or other forms that constitute its expressive power. In this perspective, recent semiotic studies focus their attention on forms and modalities of body and practical interaction. Among these, we find Eric Landowski's interactional model, based on the idea of *adjustment* between inter-actants, and Jacques Fontanille's semiotics of practices. In the case of Landowski, *adjustment* is a particular regime of interaction that includes the sensual, bodily and lived dimensions, all the while emphasizing the idea of an emergent co-construction of meaning during the interaction. This co-construction is closely linked with the French notion of *épreuve* as both an experience and a test, a proof; a sensitive 'test' that helps us understand the specificity of those types of interaction, in which mutual fulfilment doesn't come from fusion but from autonomous and coordinated responsibility of action. Dance is emblematic in this respect:

si je veux, en dansant, interagir avec l'autre d'une manière qui fasse vraiment sens en mon propre corps, il ne suffira pas que j'attende de l'autre qu'il suive correctement les 'pas' codifiés de la danse que nous dansons [...] En revanche, si j'aspire [...] à une relation sensible créatrice de sens et de valeur, il faudra en premier lieu que je fasse moi-même en sorte que mon partenaire puisse [...] s'exprimer à son gré [...] le traiter,

sur le plan gestuel et somatique, comme un véritable co-énonciateur. (Landowski 2004: 28)

However, dancing interaction not only involves 'mere' bodies in mutual adjustment but, more precisely, it lies at the crossroads between at least two meaning and expression levels, i.e. following Fontanille's model, body-objects and practices. In this perspective, practices integrate and transpose certain bodily properties in a scene in order to constitute available forms for other broader configurations of meaning. In other words, it is a question of grasping through the body, transformations of perceptive valences in practical axiologies that can affirm themselves as vehicles of identity and cultural construction. Such a perspective allows an examination of dance by other semiotic forms. Fontanille states that:

on pourrait être tenté de reconnaître des pratiques [...] directement ancrées dans une 'topo-chronologie déictique', centrées sur un corps de référence, comme la danse [...] cette topo-chronologie est une structure d'accueil qui fait signifier des corps, et pas seulement comme centre de référence déictique, mais aussi dans toutes leurs propriétés de corps [...] ce ne sont pas des objets au sens courant, mais ce sont pourtant des supports d'inscription: l'expression chorégraphique consiste justement à inscrire des figures sur les corps des danseurs [...] Le cas de la danse [...] répond parfaitement aux critères d'une pratique, schématisable en 'scène prédicative' [...] il intègre de toute évidence [...] des 'ajustements' entre les corps en mouvement (Fontanille 2008: 60, 62).

As will be discussed in the following section, some bodily and dancing principles of Argentinian tango show this entanglement between sensoriality, interaction and practice.

2. Body and gesture in Argentinian tango

As we demonstrated elsewhere (De Luca 2016), Argentinian tango can be defined as a complex and transcultural set of gestural repertoires (choreography, steps, figures), textual productions (*letras*, i.e. tango songs' lyrics), normed practices (the *milonga*, i.e. dance evenings and ballrooms, dance spectacles such as world competitions and demonstrations, but also learning practices, musical performances etc.) and institutionalized cultural imaginaries (literary and trans-national stereotypes, such as *el compadrito*, *la milonguita*, or icons like the singer Carlos Gardel, or even poeticized emotions like nostalgia and idealized periods in music/dance history, like the 'golden age' of thirties and forties of the twentieth century). Tango emerged in last decades of nineteenth century around Buenos Aires (cf. Salas 1989) as a dance and music practice born from the hybridization between various ethnic and social groups of immigrants

coming both from the interior of Argentina and from abroad. Tango's roots have been a matter of intense debates. Opinion is split between its poor and black origins in the *orillas*² and *arrabales*³ of Buenos Aires, and its upper-class appropriation and refinement by Argentine urban society. However, we know that tango dancing and tango practice – the *milonga* – are improvised and progressively normed by their own driving habits. With respect to the dance, tango introduces several gestural novelties in pair dancing. As the ethnomusicologist Carlos Vega (1967) has observed, the major innovation in this regard was the insertion of the *figure* in the space of couple, drawing from two traditional 'principles': the *corte* and the *quebrada*. We describe *corte* and *quebrada* as 'principles' in the sense that they are not mere *figures* or steps, but a sort of *gestural forms* that promote another kind of bodily contact and interaction, that comprise the typical tango embrace, the *abrazo*. The dancer and tango teacher (*maestro*) Rodolfo Dinzel suggests that:

avec le tango, une nouvelle mécanique surgit dans le champ des danses de couple, une modalité véritablement révolutionnaire qui consiste en l'invasion de l'espace inférieur du partenaire. Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire? Cela signifie que le danseur [...] utilise ses jambes à l'intérieur de l'espace réservé aux jambes du partenaire [...] Jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle, la possibilité de danser en occupant l'espace de l'autre était inconcevable, qu'il s'agît de danses populaires ou académiques. (Dinzel 1999)

In what follows, we will try to explain that, by conceiving tango principles as gestural forms, we can provide a better definition of the enunciative (and bodily) praxis of the agents (the dancers) during dance improvisation, in terms of chains of transposition of imaginary and culturally embodied patterns. That will lead us to conceive the tango couple as a *bubble-actant*, by interpreting it in a more plastic and irregular way, unlike some current interpretations which interpret it only in terms of empathic dialogue between agents. Before discussing the *bubble-actant*, however, let's firstly take a closer look at the *impulso suspendido* (suspended momentum) and the *abrazo* (embrace). Subsequently, the study of *bubble-actant* will allow us to introduce the notion of *maración* (generally speaking, a marking process) in order to reconsider empathy from a semiotic perspective.

2.1 Suspended momentum

During the tango dance, partners walk side by side embracing themselves in two possible ways: a traditionally closed embrace (*abrazo cerrado*) where chests are in with contact, or an open embrace (*abrazo abierto*) where the contact is imaginary. The leader (often a man), walks forward while the follower (often a woman), walks backward, carrying out original gestural sequences - whether these are specular or not. In other words, the gestures of each partner can

be different in the composition and performing of a figure. Moving in space involves a deformation of linearity, that defines any type of figure in the walk (*caminada*). Any figure can in turn be performed whether on site or by walking. This possibility is allowed by what Argentinian dancer and psychoanalyst Lidia Ferrari (2011) calls *impulso suspendido*. It specifies the idea of a break expressed by *corte*, which indicates any suspension or interruption of a gestural chain that enables its transformation and the transition to a new figure. *Impulso suspendido* performs this pause in that:

lorsque l'on danse le tango, l'instant essentiel est celui dans lequel le pied se lève juste avant de s'appuyer à nouveau au sol. Il y a une impulsion, celle qui est conférée dans l'engagement du pas, qui peut être suspendue pendant que l'on danse ; puis, ce pied peut aussi bien retarder le contact avec le sol que l'accélérer [...] Cet instant est infinitésimal, mais la légèreté ainsi que la tension qu'il produit dans la danse sont remarquables [...] Le retard dans l'appui du pied au sol oblige le danseur à trouver un équilibre sur le seul pied qui non seulement soutient tout le corps, mais qui le fait tout en dansant. (Ferrari 2011: 27-28)

In other words, *impulso suspendido* creates an inner space-time in dance – a sort of gestural gap – that makes present the virtuality of gestures, i.e. it foregrounds the emergence of gestures by extending the moment of their constitution. It is through these gestural gaps that dancers receive feedback on their posture, balance and *marcación*. There is also a strong interdependence between *impulso suspendido* and *abrazo*, due to the muscular 'lag' introduced by *abrazo*, an imbalance which is highlighted as a founding element of dance contact.

2.2 The embrace

In order to walk in embrace, insert figures in the walk and, at the same time, avoid tripping over your partner's feet, tango dance developed ways enabling each dancer to negotiate differently his weight, as well as modes of weight-shifting between dancers. Redistribution of weight is performed by changing posture, especially by tilting the balance axis of each dancer; the new posture is called *apile*⁴ and therefore the *abrazo* thus formed is called *abrazo apilado*. Regardless of the tilt angle of each dancer's axis, redistribution of weight and forces – and consequently the imbalance generated from tilt – are organized through a specific relation to gravity and floor, and by taking different roles, whereby each body limb shapes the *abrazo*. Finally, in the tango embrace we can see: i) the key role played by the chest zone in terms of gestural suggestion/response (the 'active' side of *marcación* that, in short, doesn't reduce it to a simple affordance), balancing forces, directional control and spatial extension of the couple; ii) the support role played by the embrace form in determining the couple's borders, which

are defined by the left hand of the follower placed on the right shoulder of the leader and by the right arm/hand of the leader placed on the follower's shoulder; iii) the role of gestural extension of the couple and a support role when the *abrazo* configuration is broken, played by specular contact between the follower's left hand and the leader's right hand.

The hand-arm-shoulder contact side is called the closed side of tango, whereas the hand contact configuration is called the open side of tango. Closed and open sides are not rigid structures; on the contrary, plasticity of embrace is essential to 'suggestion/response' dynamics. Deformability of *abrazo* is performed for example by modulating the size of circumference of the dancing couple through a slippage of arms on the closed side of *abrazo* or through a change in the tilt of the axis.

2.3 The "bubble-actant"

In *Pratiques sémiotiques*, Jacques Fontanille defines body-objects as 'des structures matérielles tridimensionnelles, dotées d'une morphologie, d'une fonctionnalité et d'une forme extérieure identifiable, dont l'ensemble est "destiné" à un usage ou une pratique plus ou moins spécialisés' (Fontanille 2008: 21). Generally speaking, practices are 'des "énonciations" de l'objet; à cet égard, l'objet lui-même ne peut porter que des traces de ces usages [...] c'est-à-dire des "empreintes énonciatives", leur "énonciation-usage" restant pour l'essentiel, et globalement, virtuelle et présumée' (Fontanille 2008: 24).

On the one hand, a dancing body is as such both a surface of inscription and an acting material object; on the other hand, dance performance continuously updates the presupposed 'énonciation-usages'. This means that it is the point where an ascribed role converges with an achieved one. In tango, the first question is: what is inscribed in the body and how such inscription can occur? Do we actually inscribe only postural principles, as if they are action scripts always true to form? In our perspective, figures could be conceived also as real 'products' of enunciation *in action*, as gestures (both actions and acts) which lie at the boundary between *débrayage* and *embrayage*, by folding them over each other. What is, then, the appropriate actantial model for tango dancing interaction? Taking the couple as an actant seems plural and flexible, both from the outside and the inside. As *maración* shows, the 'lag' motif is profiled during the interaction by a distribution of actorial roles amongst the two partners. The couple-as-actant can be interpreted as a dual actant, in which the agents' bodies are more or less solidary and play several roles during their interaction. The *adjustment* of the couple-as-actant to the performance of gestures and to music, involves their (inter)action *as if* they were just one person, but, in reality, what we have is a duplication. Following Fontanille's model of the actant body (Fontanille 2004, 2011), the couple-as-actant can be subdivided into a Me-flesh and Self-own-body. In particular, flesh is

ce qui résiste ou participe à l'action transformatrice des états des choses, mais qui joue aussi le rôle de 'centre de référence' [...] la *chair*, ce serait l'instance énonçante en tant que *principe de résistance/impulsion* matérielles [...] la chair est aussi, du même coup, le siège du *noyau sensori-moteur* de l'expérience sémiotique. (Fontanille 2004: 22).

Self-own-body is 'ce qui se constitue dans la sémiose', as 'porteur de l'identité en construction et en devenir' (Fontanille 2004: 22-23). Me-flesh and Self-own-body, which are solidary and in a mutual presupposition, form two sides of the actant body, looking at the inside (sensory-motor animation) and at the outside (target/input), respectively. In dance, we can observe not only interaction or possible conflicts between these instances, but also – from the point of view of gestural form – a specific way of configuring dancing bodies, as in the case of *abrazo*. To this end, we propose to conceive tango's couple-as-actant in terms of a *bubble-actant*, following Fontanille's statements on a sound semiotics. The image of a *bubble* replaces the image of sphere, widely used in sound studies, because

les limites du volume sont fluctuantes et en incessante déformation et déplacement [...] Le volume est animé par des masses en mouvement, des forces et des tensions entre masses, les moments critiques de ces mouvements et tensions donnant lieu à des événements. (Fontanille 2010)

By taking the couple-as-actant as the epicentre of movement, the dancing bubble is subject to surface tensions on the boundaries of *abrazo*, caused, for example by gravity, as in the case of an internal imbalance of one or both partners, by an 'echo' effect of other couples, or by any form of direct contact (brushing, crashing, pushing, invasion of space). Sustaining the bubble is ensured by processes such as: i) resistance to pressures and counter-balancing through opposition of its own energy mass and, ii) control of balance (adjustments between external and internal stresses).

These processes can be understood 'internally', whereby the bubble, starting from adjustments between the dancers' 'flesh' and envelopment, is approached as a source that resists to gravity and keeps its 'center' during moving, as well as during executing figures on the spot. In these cases, the processes at work are: i) the absorption and release of weight on the floor, with a swing of the forces of weight and inertia between partners, and ii) the establishment of a reference center (covalent bonds between marking points) that allows space occupation, exploration and penetration of the space, statically as well as dynamically. From these observations, two regimes or driving styles of interaction seem to be interwoven, a polemical style – related to somatic manipulation – and the other one, more linked to adjustment (Landowski 2005). The notion of *marcación* helps us to understand by what device the bubble-actant undertakes its course of action.

2.4 Enunciative marking

The *marcación* (literally: marking) is the enunciative device by which gestural figures emerge in the space of *abrazo*, all the while it depends on the total field of the dance floor and, more generally, on dance practice. Both in tango studies and during tango learning, the *marcación* remains a fuzzy notion, which sometimes is generically considered as an *intention*, but in others it is thought to be embedded in given areas of the dancers' bodies. Generally speaking, *marcación* is defined as

l'intention du leader qui se réalise à travers sa main ou son bras afin de [...] guider le follower [...] On peut nommer marquage tout l'ensemble de signaux et de modes adoptés par le leader pour transmettre ce qu'il désire et ressent par le biais de la danse [...] Le marquage n'est pas que le mouvement de la main ou du bras : il surgit notamment du torse, du thorax. (Lala 20015:12)

Rodolfo Dinzel uses, for want of a better term, the words order/counter-order, by stating that the order

n'est ni plus ni moins qu'une perturbation du centre d'équilibre du partenaire, la proposition de stimulations pour qu'il réagisse sans perdre l'axe d'équilibre individuel et du couple. Les ordres sont des tensions sur l'axe et [...] doivent être communiqués au fur et à mesure, jusqu'à provoquer le mouvement. (Dinzel 1999: 35, 69)

Conceived in this way, *marcación* seems to focus more on the general path of a couples' movement (forward, backward, to the right, to the left), rather than on the co-formation of the gestural figure. The idea of *projection* raised in some studies, in order to describe the transfer of body weight – in particular in the absence of a real contact between chests – as well as the indication of direction of movement, seem to reinforce this observation.

Alternative interpretations of the *marcación* can be derived from aspects such as its effectiveness, even in the absence of torso contact, the perturbation of the partner's center balance, its specific length, which is not exclusively dependent on coordination with rhythmic musical accents, but also on other factors, and a partial emancipation of vision concerning its effectiveness. On the basis of the theoretical and methodological perspectives we develop here, interest in *marcación* concerns not so much muscular tension or movement, such as the degree of chests' reciprocal tension, the extension of steps, the length of rotation or the sudden contraction of arms in averting a collision with another couple of dancers. *Marcación* is interesting because it represents the enunciative device that contributes to managing the practical course of action from the point of view of the body.

In tango, we have observed that the bubble-actant is a dual actant which provides for

two actorial roles, leader and follower. At the same time, these two roles are partially mixed. Specifically, at the beginning of the dance these roles are clearly distinguished and distributed between the two actors. During the subsequent interaction, however, each actor partially undertakes the other's role, because of his degree of involvement in *marcación*. Following, responding, accepting, refusing, perhaps compromising the conduct of dance are just a few of possible ways of engagement in interaction. That depends on double duplication: i) the constitutive duplication of bubble-actant, when it is considered as a unique body-actant, ii) the potential duplication of every actor, attributable to relationships between flesh and envelope (Fontanille 2004). In every moment of the interaction, and therefore, in every moment of *marcación*, the very nature of gesture generates a loop of *débrayage/réembrayage* which affects solicitations dealing with: i) envelope of bubble-actant and emerging gestural figures, ii) flesh of bubble-actant, iii) envelope of every dance partner, iv) flesh of every partner.

As a consequence, *marcación* complicates the status of the body-object, which is at the same time the support and the interface of inscription. Indeed, *marcación* reactivates the device/support of inscription by introducing variations of previous body inscriptions. This confirms the function of the device without limiting it to its instructional side. *Marcación* operates in a field of indetermination, in an *imminence* (Fabbri 2007) which prefigures the emergence and the stabilization of actants and of gestural figures. From this viewpoint, it can be configured as a device that we can include in the notion of enunciative praxis, insofar as

il n'y a de 'praxis' dans l'énonciation qu'en raison du mouvement qui la caractérise [...] La praxis énonciative 'navigue' [...] entre diverses formes immanentes [...] entre plusieurs devenir possibles des trames narratives, pour les conduire vers la manifestation [...] la praxis énonciative transfigure le principe du 'mouvement' énonciatif en dialectique du même et de l'autre, de la stabilisation schématique et de l'innovation individuelle ou collective [...] comporte [...] une capacité de stabilisation ou de déstabilisation de formes [...] toute énonciation pratique est une exploration réflexive au cours de laquelle émergent et se constituent un ou plusieurs actant-corps auxquels peuvent être imputés les effets de la mise en procès et de la régulation de ce procès. (Fontanille 2014)

3. Reweaving empathy

Marcación leads us to put into question a common belief in tango, namely a conceptual overlap between the notion of empathy, intersubjectivity and the idea of an ecstatic fusion and unity. By contrast, a semiotic model based on gestural forms and figures, on practice and

enunciation *in action* is not limited to description of sensorimotor areas or perceptive processes, but examines them as dimensions of making, as conditions of production of sense. Research in cognitive cultural psychology and, to some extent, in cognitive semiotics, tries to include in analysis the development of the dancers' body interaction; in particular, those aspects that concern synchronization between partners during improvisation, intersubjective constitution of dancers and the role of the space of *milonga*. Starting from the premise that tango interaction unfolds empathically, they seem to identify dancing interaction and practice with an irenic model of empathy. In fact, we can notice two quite distinct senses of empathy. As the psychiatrist Nicolas Georgieff explains,

le terme empathie [...] décrit le fait de connaître, en le partageant, l'état mental d'autrui, c'est-à-dire une expérience subjective qui témoigne de la transmission d'un état mental entre autrui et soi. Mais il définit aussi le processus objectif qui accomplit cette transmission, la réalité objective du mécanisme de reproduction d'une activité psychique par une autre. Le concept d'empathie recouvre donc sous le même terme la *description* clinique d'un état mental ou d'un processus psychologique, et l'*explication* de cet état, c'est-à-dire son mécanisme de production, dont l'état mental ou l'expérience subjective ne sont que le produit. (Georgieff 2008: 384)

The issue here is demystify the univocity of empathy when it is evoked in the context of improvisational tango interaction. Cooperation, synchronization of movements, co-deciding the management of steps and gestures in respect to the length of music and interaction, all of that should not fool us; an emphasis on identity is inscribed in empathy, as well as its inner dialectic between rapprochement and distance.

In summary, it is a question of complicating the idea that 'dans le tango, le corps propre fusionne avec le corps de l'autre pour faire un corps à deux. C'est la conquête de l'intérité' (Hess 2009).⁵ This complexity is allowed precisely by a minimal definition of empathy as the capacity to put oneself in someone else's place, whether with respect to embodied emulation of movement or to reaction to an emotional state. The ability to identify others goes together with the establishment of one's self. In this sense, empathy is part of intersubjectivity. Neurobiologist Jean Decety states that empathy

repose sur notre capacité à reconnaître qu'autrui nous est semblable mais sans confusion entre nous-mêmes et lui. Par conséquent [...] une autre caractéristique essentielle de l'empathie réside dans la distinction entre soi et l'autre, et ce parallèlement avec l'expérience d'un partage affectif. (Decety 2004: 54)

Therefore, the recognition of a common base of qualities and states leading towards a likeness is not a mere identification or a total matching between self and other. Every gesture

involves not only the development of action, but also a reflexive feedback in progress concerning the course of action; thus, empathic process is an activity at the same time neuronal, perceptive, intersubjective and social. As the philosopher Jean-Luc Petit argues,

en tant que produit de constitution active, qui dépend en son sens d'être du jeu de nos kinesthèses et du couplage empathique des systèmes kinesthésiques des différents agents, ce monde ne tolère pas le découpage entre un monde social et un monde physique [...] Quand on se met à la place d'autrui, c'est rarement pour observer 'ce qui se passe en lui', plus souvent pour s'assurer qu'on est bien dans le même monde. (Petit 2004: 140-41)

Conclusion: A shared and social embodiment

Previous remarks on empathy allow us to consider differently the imbrication between (dancing) body and practice in shaping intersubjectivity. On this subject, let us recall some suggestions put forward by Patrizia Violi about the status of the *body* in embodied cognition theories, as well as on the intersubjective nature of cognition. She underlines the existence of a 'corporal' excess in embodiment theories, that risk weakening the complexity of the body. She states that

There is [...] a risk present in contemporary theories of embodiment, which, paradoxically, could be described as an 'excess of body'. If, for centuries, the body did not appear to play any significant role in the mind's functioning, today one often faces an opposite situation, where almost everything seems to be located in the body – and, indeed, only there. (Violi 2009: 58)

According to Violi, the proliferation of the concept of *embodiment*, and consequently of theories generally based on the body, is made possible by the widespread use of an abstract notion of the body. In fact:

it alludes to a non-gendered, pre-discursive phenomenon, hiding the concrete reality of the many different bodies [...] with all their social, cultural, and discursive determinations. The concrete and variable reality of these individual bodies is often confused with the abstract notion of bodily or corporeal schemas and the role those schemas play in perception, cognition, and action [...] the risk [is] of hypostatizing the very notion of the body, at the same time making it an abstract and generic concept. Without contextualizing the processes that construct the body, one risks ending up

by naturalizing the notion of body as something isolated and definable on its own premises – rather than a way of living in the world, acting in it, and making sense of it through one's acculturated body (*ibidem*).

While the risk of a hypostasis of body is suggested by the immediate, given nature of its own phenomenological experience, on the contrary, the semiotician emphasizes that it is in ordinary experience that the body appears as 'the result of a complex process and of the various practices that shape one's perception of it' (*ibidem*). However, in many embodiment theories, the body is conceived ultimately as a 'pure' form, modeled through excluding culture, habits, and practices. Following Violi, without taking in account these dimensions, 'one risks transforming it [the body] into a kind of ontological essence' (Violi 2009: 59). She notices the presence of such a restricted conception in cognitive linguistics as well as in semiotics. In relation to cognitive linguistics, Violi criticizes the schematicism that lies at the origin of conceptual and semantic oppositions based on the model of body schema. She claims another vision of *embodiment*, more dynamical and shared:

in order to understand the full nature of embodiment, one should move towards a more dynamic vision, taking into account the interaction of the body with its environment and the co-constructed nature of meaning – which, in turn, open up cultural meaning variations (Violi 2009: 60).

Finally, embodiment should not be taken to refer only to the bodily nature of cognition. It should rather be considered as a broader process of the co-constitution of bodies and cognition, conceived in a semiotic sense. Understanding embodiment in this way, implies a wider notion of the body itself, conceived as the biological, sensitive, intersubjective, social and cultural result of the interaction with the environment and with others. In particular, intersubjectivity is not only intercorporeality, but it 'implies a semiotic dimension of meaning's social co-construction' (Violi 2009: 61). In conclusion, comprehension of intersubjective sense-making on which embodied cognition is based, needs to

move away from a mental/representational approach to a different view of cognition where meaning is distributed among actors and the mind is no longer the internal, individual apparatus where cognitive processes take place. It is rather replaced by an extended, 'external' mind (*ibidem*).

With respect to tango and its bodily features, we can finally provide a wider view on the links and the implications concerning the practical and the cultural levels. In order to understand the sharing and social embodiment implied by the device of *marcación*, we have to look at how the *milonga* is organized as a *praxeological* space (and not merely as a physical one). First of all, *mi-*

longa is a normed and scenic space where the constitution of the dancing couple, its movements in space and the elements of improvisation, are prescribed and occur *at the same time*. This is documented by historical sources⁶ and it is today visible at the level of different tango dance styles. As we discussed elsewhere (De Luca 2016 and 2017, forthcoming), in our analytic model styles represent a ‘strategic’ level, located between practice and culture (in what Fontanille calls *forms of life*), where the social, normed and imaginary implications of a bodily set-up are clearly visible. Dance styles are transmitted by practice, but at the same time, in tango history, and they have been extensively investigated as the primary means to identify the authentic Argentinian quality of tango. The case of Tango World Championships is very instructive, in this respect (Morel 2013). In these high-profiled events, attitudes and styles originating in the informal practice of *milonga* become part of the strict rules of competition – mainly in the category of salon tango (*tango de salon*) rather than that of show or stage tango (*fantasia*) – with the aim to reproduce, protect and promote the genuine ambiance of *milonga*.

To get back to our starting point, styles inform dance embodiment by their mnemonic and practical power but, at the same time, they become singular and reflexive every time they are performed in improvisation. In other words, styles allow dancers to assume a reflexive stance in relation to their own bodily and social experience. In that sense, styles comprise a ‘third’ dancing body of tango: neither wholly personal, nor exclusively social, they are agents of an embodied process of differentiation of values and, consequently, of forms (bodily forms of dance and cultural lived forms of dancing encounter). Consequently, social and shared embodiment can be understood in terms of an experience of normativisation of culture, as enactivist cultural psychology claims by affirming that the question is ‘to move away from an account of culture as an already established normative system and toward an account of culture as an ongoing stylization of a normativity that remains, so to speak, without positive terms’ (Baervelt and Verheggen 2012).

Notes

1. For a deeper reflection on virtuality – in Deleuze’s sense – and tango, see Manning’s works, and in particular his *Politics of touch. Sense, movement, sovereignty*, where the author evokes the dimension of the ‘in-between’ as emblematic of tango interaction.
2. Litterally, the ‘shore’.
3. Litterally, the ‘suburb’
4. ‘Apile’ is a typical form like an inverted letter ‘v’.
5. ‘Préface’ to Joyal, (2009). The term *intérité* is suggested by Hess.
6. One can find a first review in Vega’s works, but also in all textual documents (press, anonym chronicles and dance manuals) edited in early years of XX century (see also Salas 1989). All

these sources provided the basis for an imaginary foundation of tango, on one side, as a really Argentinian and passionate practice and, on the other side, as a *transcultural* (see Pelinski 2009) practice where different musical and dance features could converge in a new original form. This form, as we tried to explain here, is at the same time, bodily (the *abrazo* with its bodily peculiarities), practical (embodiment of roles in dancing but in an improvisational framework) and cultural. The improvisational and transnational nature of dance – and at the begin, of tango music – had as result, on one side, the search for norms and codes (the *codigos* of the *milonga*) and, on the other side, a different and multifaceted rooting of tango in several countries that tried at the same time to refer to the same ‘archetypical’ tango which was constantly transposed and reinvented, in spite of several claims of authenticity coming from inside and outside of Argentina/Buenos Aires (Ruiz 1996).

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Valeria De Luca holds a Phd from the Centre de Recherches Sémiotiques at Université de Limoges, France

Email: v.deluca.83@gmail.com

Touching through calligraphy and tattoos: two exercises on human and animal bodies

Apostolos Lampropoulos

*During the last decades, touch has become the epicenter of serious critical attention and of various creative practices. Within this context, this paper revisits Peter Greenaway's film *The Pillow Book* that explores calligraphic practices on human skin and Wim Delvoye's artistic project *Art Farm* that consisted in the tattooing of pigs and their transforming into objects of art. Both of these works are articulated through writing taking place on the skin and consequently contact between humans or between humans and animals is established. Furthermore, a sense of uniqueness of the written body is developed, and the possibility of intimacy is renegotiated through writing on the palimpsest skin. The paper focuses on touch as a process of sharing (both in the sense of dividing and partaking of) and of the creation of intimacy. It aims to answer questions such as the following: what does it mean to touch someone through writing or through tattooing the skin? Under which conditions can one talk about intimacy? Who is receiving, hosting or excluding whom during, and through, the act of touching? What difference does it make to touch a human's or an animal's skin? When does touching come to an end and what are the consequences of un-touching? In a nutshell, this paper seeks to understand the multiple dynamics of touching as an act of separating, of coming together, and of creating a common space and an in-between.*

KEYWORDS touch, writing, intimacy, Peter Greenaway, Wim Delvoye

Writing as touching

Over the past few decades, a good deal of work in the humanities and in several artistic practices has extensively investigated and problematized touch. From philosophy to cultural anthropology and from literature to performances, touch has emerged as a way of tackling issues as diverse as personhood, exteriority and finitude, incorporation and rejection, harassment and care.

This intense interdisciplinary interest in touch synchronizes and revamps different phases of its reception, speaking both to its mythological, theological, and allegorical interpretations that abound since antiquity, and to the fact that interest in the senses has fuelled philosophical and scientific investigation at least since Aristotle; thus inspiring a body of work that ranges from antiquity, through the Enlightenment, up to and including research in phenomenology and to contemporary experiments in post-humanism (cf. Classen 1993: 4). Following Merleau-Ponty's (1968: 134) seminal position that 'every vision takes place somewhere in the tactile space', a new space for touch is opened amidst the ocularcentric cultural paradigm. It also stands for the fact that, along with all the other senses, touch is not only a physical evidence, but encapsulates a whole range of meaningful possibilities that vary historically, socially, and culturally. This tension between the presumed constancy of touch as a sensory mechanism, and the fluctuation of its denotations and connotations, is at the heart of the semiotic concern with touch. The tripartite distinction reintroduced by Bezemer and Kress (2014: 78-79) is indicative in that sense: from 'implicit touching' ('touching we take for granted, such as when we touch tools/materials we routinely act with and on') to explicit touching ('touching to "explore" the world – surfaces, temperature, structures, textures') and from there to touch as 'resource for "outward" meaning making' and a mode of representation and communication; touch is an omnipresent way of doing, of learning, and of making sense through a sense.

The emphasis placed on the cultural dimension of touch is symptomatic of a broader pattern in sense studies. Frequently neglected or outright ignored, touch is often understood through the restrictions on the individuals or the objects that are touchable and those that should, under certain conditions, remain untouchable. From unique manuscripts which can only be micro-filmed by the staff of a prestigious library to disposable volumes of pulp fiction, and from tactile defensiveness in certain cultures to the free hugs offered during public happenings, touch is more easily understood, and even theorized, when it is defamiliarized and explicitly debated. If one accepts –following Derrida (2005: 53) who draws on Aristotle– the idea that 'the haptical, unlike the other senses, is coextensive with the *living body*', one has to also face the question that he asks some lines later: would a theorization of touch be a 'becoming-tangible of the untouchable or on the contrary an idealization, a spiritualization, an animation that produces an intangible becoming of the tactile body, of the touching and touched?' To put it more simply, making sense of, and through, touching presupposes an abstraction of a skin-to-skin; what is more, it is indissociable from an act of appropriation or dispossession, from the decision to take in or to leave out, to give form to or to be shaped by the touched or the untouchable.

According to this logic and as many theorists have shown, reflecting on touch is about the borders of the corporeal, the limits of the self, the conditions, techniques and technologies of contact with the other body, as well as about the idea that getting in touch, literally, can never be an unmediated gesture and is never devoid of a power game. This is precisely why touch has found its own distinct place in the bibliography of work on biopolitics. More than the discovery of the secret sense of a sense, this evolution has offered us the opportunity to revisit and to formu-

late a philosophy, an epistemology, and a semiotics of touch. Touch has emerged as an occasion to rethink intricate issues such as the sacred and the blasphemous (for example, the possibility of touching certain relics as opposed to the interdiction of touching objects of archeological value); the healthy and the unwell (for example, the widespread fear of touching HIV-infected persons during the first phase of the AIDS epidemic, and, inversely, the idea of a totally harmless, not to say beneficial, touch in later AIDS awareness campaigns); or issues of gender (such as the 'male skinlessness' of the severely burnt figure of Count László de Almásy in Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient* vis-à-vis 'female skinful emptiness' of Katherine Clifton whose corpse was used, in the same novel, as armor as if it consisted 'only of skin, sheath, surface'; Benthien 2004: 216-17). Whether it encompasses sacredness, healthiness or corporeal integrity, questions such as the accessibility of skin, the availability to touch and the nuances of tactility relate to the power of touch: symbols are renegotiated, hierarchies develop and codes are interfered with.

This is precisely where the importance of writing on the skin emerges, whether it be tattooing, or letting oneself be marked upon. This mode of touching has taken many different forms. Some more temporary ones vary from the notes that a medical doctor may make on a patient's skin during an allergy test, or before esthetic surgery to mark the areas that will be permanently altered, hence written upon, with the knife, to body painting in the context of theater or dance shows. More permanent forms include tattoos which, for instance, can serve as a memorial inscription and as a promise of fidelity (the tattooed names of beloved and departed ones, or tattooed dates of important events); as a mnemotechnical device (the amnesiac Leonard's body in Christopher Nolan's *Memento* is perhaps the most notorious example); as an exposed mosaic of fragments of personal beliefs (words and phrases written in alphabets known or unknown by the tattooed person and persons susceptible to see them); or even as a sign of domination and power exercised upon the bodies of those who have been tattooed (the identity numbers of detainees of concentration camps or different types of tattoos diachronically marking the bodies of slaves). All these manners of making a body writeable or even writerly take into account the history and agency of writing itself and are expressions of communities with semiotic systems in which 'touch has been developed into a mode which is highly articulated, with extensive reach' and a sophisticated 'communication radius' (Bezemer-Kress 2014: 80). From parchments to henna tattoos to fashion collections which flirt with tattoos –like Jean-Paul Gaultier's whole collection based on tattoos with body socks that allowed the wearer to receive a second tattooed/designer skin– it is all about adding a provisional or quasi-indelible touch to skin, making it more visible or concealing it, letting it speak, lending it a voice or making it ruminate someone's words.

In what follows I define writing in the broader sense of a material corporeal inscription, including standard lettering on the skin, body painting, tattooing, and so on. I see touching through writing, or writing as touching, as an ongoing elaboration of intimacy between two bodies, a stylus and a skin, a porous surface and the will of an inscription. It is on the same basis that

a more complex semiotics of touch is developed. This kind of writing has already been described as an imagined penetration (Benthien 2002: 214), which aligns with the Derridean position that writing (even the most perfunctory kind, I should add) is a 'breaching, the tracing of a trail, [as it] opens up a conducting path. Which presupposes a certain violence and a certain resistance to effraction. The path is broken, cracked, fracta, breached' (Derrida 1978: 252; cf. Margaroni 2017: xx). Hence, writing resembles touching and vice versa, because they are both prone to stories of 'resistance and receptivity, inscription and erasure, presence and absence, legibility and illegibility, emergence and withdrawal' (Margaroni 2017: xxi; cf. Derrida 1978: 282) and it is at the juncture between these characteristics, shared by writing and touching, that this paper is articulated.

More precisely, I will be revisiting two well-known works of the late 1990s and the early 2000s, namely Peter Greenaway's emblematic film *The Pillow Book* and Wim Delvoye's controversial artistic project *Art Farm*. I will be focusing on touch as a way of sharing in the sense of dividing and partaking in, seeking to analyze touch as a means which leads to intimacy in terms of tact, receiving, hosting, or excluding someone. Dealing with the difference between touching human and animal skin, I will be exploring the somewhat paradoxical dynamics of touching which can be read as an act of separating, of coming together and of creating a common space and a differentiated in-between. I will be following Cranny-Francis' (2011: 463) conviction that 'the deployment of touch reveals the nature of both embodied subjects and the society and cultures in which they live, and in this sense is *semeful* – multiply significant, physically, emotionally, intellectually, spiritually, politically', that is to say that the deployment of touch can be seen as a way of giving form to oneself and being shaped by the other, producing meaning while confronting the other self or collaborating with it. In that sense, I see my corpus as a tactile art which, according to Gallace and Spence (2011: 571) 'is intimate, drawing us into relationship with what we are touching. It is active rather than passive, requiring us to reach out and explore'. Without forgetting that both *The Pillow Book* and *Art Farm* grapple with issues of artistic creation and value, I will attempt to go beyond the logic of (not) touching the objects exhibited in the cabinets of curiosities or in the museum (cf. Lampropoulos 2011: 34-43). Without further ado and as my subtitle indicates, I will delve into the intricacies of writing-as-touching human and animal bodies.

Nagiko's calligraphic writing-as-touching

Greenaway's *The Pillow Book* borrows its title from the homonymous text by Sei Shonagon, a classic 10th-century Japanese diary (for what follows, see Willoquet-Maricondi 1999). The film's protagonist Nagiko was herself, as a child, inspired by Shonagon's text, which her aunt read to her as part of a yearly ritual that took place on her birthday. During this ritual, Nagiko's father, a calligrapher, gently painted a birthday greeting on her forehead, cheeks, lips, neck, and back. The

father's repetitive action was both affectionate and odd: according to the script, 'the child is no more, for a moment, than something to write on'. Nagiko only refused part of this ritual when her father's editor, who was also sodomizing him, intruded, took her father's brush and replaced him in a role that allowed neither consent nor intimacy, thus no continuation of the ritual. Nagiko then left her seat and looked for protection among the women present in the room. That turned out to be the moment when she took the decision to look for a lover who can write on her body, although she had now to face a dilemma in choosing between a mediocre lover who was a good calligrapher and an excellent lover who was a poor calligrapher. Her early marriage failed when Nagiko's husband refused to perpetuate her father's ritual, he preferred playing with arrows to using the stylus and burned her own *Pillow Book*. But when Nagiko met Jerome (a British translator who offered himself saying 'Treat me like the page of a book. Your book'; Greenaway 1996: 67; also cf. Margaroni 2017: xx), she chose him as her lover even though at the beginning he only seemed able to scribble rather than practice calligraphy.

The trajectory from the father's caressing writing to the editor's intrusiveness establishes Nagiko's skin as both a welcoming and a resistant surface. Her intolerance to the non-touching husband that gave its place to the tolerance for Jerome's rubbing writing was compensated by his availability and his embrace of her experiments. The always already established intimacy between Nagiko and her father gave way to an impossible intimacy with the editor, whereas the voluntarily illiterate husband gave his place to the amateurish yet (self-)exploratory attitude of Jerome. At that point, Nagiko started to become the pen instead of remaining the page, and began to perform her own artistic writing on male bodies. When she discovered that Jerome was being sodomized by the same editor as her father –in other words, when she was struck through her favorite penetrated page– she opted for revenge. She sent a series of twelve anonymous books written on male bodies to the same editor: the first one, the *Book of the Agenda*, was written on Jerome and was followed by the *Books of the Innocent*, the *Idiot*, the *Impotent*, and the *Exhibitionist*. After Jerome committed suicide, she wrote a second book on his corpse, the *Book of the Lover*; the editor unburied and flayed Jerome's body making a book out of his written skin. Then followed the *Books of Youth*, of the *Seducer*, of the *Secret*, of *Silence*, of the *Betrayer*, of *False Beginnings* (making twelve books) and, finally, she sends a thirteenth, signed book: the *Book of the Dead*. Upon reading this last text and recognizing the signature, the editor accepted to be killed. This unfamiliar and indirect correspondence (from Nagiko's stylus to the men's bodies and from there to the editor's inquisitive fingers and eyes) came to its official end when the book that has become Jerome's body found its place under a bonsai tree in the center of Nagiko's house. The calligraphic touch gave birth to an un-exhibitible object because, semi-published as it was, the book nevertheless served as a caress-blow to Jerome and as a pure blow to the editor, and was ultimately officially buried right at the root of Nagiko's life, hence at the most intimate part of Nagiko's house. Only then was she ready to celebrate her twenty-eighth anniversary, a birthday which coincided with the millennial celebration of the publication of the original *Pillow Book*.

At the very moment Nagiko asked Jerome to improvise his writing on her, she was no longer the palimpsest page on which the same words were repeating themselves. When Jerome wrote ‘we met at Typo café’ on her back in three languages (English, French, and Japanese), he broke with the ritualistic, monolingual, monological and self-citational routine of Nagiko’s father. Instead, he avoided the monumentalization of his inscription, introducing the paradoxical logic of a common diary, a shared *journal intime*. Nagiko tests her tolerance to cacography and, ultimately, to the unpredictability and undecipherability of the unknown other’s writing, as well as to an urgent writing which is also the confirmation of an encounter that might not be worth repeating. When Nagiko responds to Jerome’s challenge and starts writing on his skin, she extends the common writing surface and, consequently, the shared *journal intime*. Assuming the –hitherto exclusively masculine– responsibility of the stylus, she becomes a quasi-androgynous scripter and experiences an extended reciprocity with Jerome. Her skin is therefore dilated, the writing surface is extended, and the possibilities of touching are multiplied along with the variations of this peculiar writerly intimacy: the mutual touching through the parallel writings are a way of consolidating intimacy and constructing a common hospitable space. As opposed to the one-way correspondence between Nagiko and the editor, and to the fact that they both claimed touching Jerome’s skin before and after his death, Nagiko and Jerome do more than touch each other. They supplement their own skin with the other’s, extending their common writing surface and perpetuating their intimacy.

In a sense, Nagiko and Jerome are moving toward what, to paraphrase Derrida, could be described as a ‘touching well’. When Derrida (1991: 115) elaborates the concept of ‘eating well’, he says: “‘One must eat well’ does not mean above all taking in and grasping in itself, but learning and giving to eat, learning-to-give-the-other-to-eat [...]. It is a rule offering infinite hospitality. And in all differences, ruptures and wars [...], ‘eating well’ is at stake’. While writing on each other’s bodies, Nagiko and Jerome might remain on the surface of the other, but they are also learning-to-give-the-other-to-touch. Instead of consuming the common surface, or stabilizing and exhibiting the outcome of their writings, their practice foretells the touching and the intimacy to-come, which saves them future conflicts and confrontations. When Nagiko places the act of touching and writing in the semi-public and semi-secluded compartment of a restaurant, she does not just repeat the affectionate, albeit one-way, gesture of her father, most certainly not on a near-stranger who is also calligraphy-illiterate and ignorant of the pictorial dimension of writing. And if she is being progressively de-objectified, this does not merely happen because she is experimenting with the objectification of someone standing opposite her, at least not yet. This is also something different to writing a Pillow Book with four hands instead of two. It is about treating writing as touching, establishing a dialogue with still-to-be-defined content, and about opening this dialogue up to unpredictable responses which may sometimes remain unreadable on one’s own, or the other’s, body. Even more importantly, this is about displacing the mutually seductive and asymmetrical writing and rearranging it in new venues. Just like the skin of one’s

body, these places are never really sealed: waitresses, housekeepers and entertainers keep popping up and become witnesses to writing and to lovemaking, somehow similar to the privileged few who had, in years past, attended Nagiko's birthdays.

This is a situation of measured openness to the unpredictable, a still awkward yet sensual caress tending toward what Levinas (1979 257-258) considers when he writes, mixing touching and eating:

The caress consists in seizing upon nothing, in soliciting what ceaselessly escapes its form toward a future never future enough, in soliciting what slips away as though it *were not yet*. It *searches*, it forages. It is not an intentionality of disclosure but of search: a movement unto the invisible. In a certain sense it *expresses* love, but suffers from an inability to tell it. It is hungry for this very expression, in an unremitting increase of hunger. [...] Beyond the consent or the resistance of a freedom the caress seeks *what is not yet*, a 'less than anything', closed and dormant beyond the *future*, consequently dormant quite otherwise than the *possible*, which would be open to anticipation.

And if Levinas brings the caress into focus, Manning (2007: 70) describes touch in analogous terms: 'Touch errs. [...] It would be fallacious to argue that the body is always constant in its directionality. A politics of touch must be errant'. This is exactly how Nagiko and Jerome try new directions on each other and why their intimacy is indissolubly linked to this openness to the future. Open to the unpredictable inscriptions by the lover and to the erratic arrivals of the strangers, while at the same time without any way to predict whether it will be repeated or not. Therefore, it is crucial that this does not become a ritual, does not become institutionalized, and does not become contaminated by the quest for a spectacle. There is intimacy through touching precisely because their writing remains temporary and precarious, thanks to the fleeting semiosis of the effaceable ink, washable during a common bath and permanently deleted by a sudden deluge. Despite this highly eroticized setting, one should not forget that in *The Pillow Book* intimacy unfolds, as Margaroni (2017: xix-xx) would suggest:

as an unsettling (at times, even violent) experience of *contact* between radically heterogeneous elements: i.e. bodies and texts, images and words, skin/page/the point of a stylus or the hair of a brush, blood and ink, ink and milk, a 10th century Japanese court-lady and a late-20th century fashion-model, the feminine and marginalized practice of diary-writing and the art of patriarchal calligraphy, an economy of interest-oriented exchange (exemplified [...] by the Publisher and his profitable business) and a counter-economy of erotic expenditure (which Nagiko cultivates).

As I explained earlier in my analysis, none of these tensions is actually resolved and no

average or compromise is found. Intimacy is possible because the multiple rewritings take place as a touch posed upon a receptive and welcoming common surface during a mutual live writing, contrary to what would have happened if the technique of the tattoo were chosen. While a common pictographic language is developed, and despite the numerous uncertainties of Nagiko and Jerome's atypical code, this writing explores superficially and hastily –à fleur de peau– not what might be happening within the body, but all the future possibilities that lie beyond the aforementioned binaries. More than anything else, the mutual touch through writing constantly confirms an always renewed will to get together, to host and to be hosted, and to use the act of semiosis as a method of blurring the double border between two skins while at the same time exploring its potential.

Things change when Nagiko uses Jerome's body to get in touch to the editor she hates and despises. Jerome will function as a messenger, a filter and a protective shield between the two enemies, while being penetrated by both: by Nagiko's paintbrush which is no longer explorative but threatening, and by the editor's phallus and by his printing techniques. If the editor had intruded into Nagiko's family house uninvited, indiscrete and intimidating some years earlier, this time she is exporting an intimacy that the editor cannot slip into or even tolerate. Taking revenge upon the one who represents the printed word means making use of the lover whom she met at the Typo café and who still uses a typewriter, hitting (with) the letters instead of touching (with) them. The same writing that was meant to operate as a caress laid upon her lover's body now becomes a powerful blow sent to an enemy. I think that Derrida's (2005, 69 et seq.) aporetic definition of touching is, once again, at work here; according to him, touching makes no sense in itself, because it is never merely a neutral corporeal contact and remains available to a range of interpretations. When Nagiko inscribes a message for the editor upon Jerome's skin, she is sacrificing the smooth and temporary writing of intimacy that had emerged ever since the two receptive skins met. Replacing the ongoing writing with a cryptic message that is nevertheless bound to find its clear meaning, she moves from a soft touching to the carving of a threat upon an enduring material. And if Nagiko annuls her intimacy with Jerome, it is also important to remember that the death of Jerome occurs after he swallows pills with indelible ink performing an aggressive touch from the inside which, according to Margaroni (2017: xx), 'renders literal what can be taken as "merely" metaphorical'.

This is precisely the moment when touching Jerome is no longer about writing on him, but about making him readable, placing him before someone else's eyes and risking his transformation into an exhibit. I see this as the result of Nagiko's touching tactic. When she sends Jerome to the editor she opts for a first anonymous book, namely the Book of the Agenda, which is also a book setting the outline of things to come, turning a diary not only into a private message, but also into a public and programmatic reading. As I already said, Nagiko exports this atypical touching intimacy into the intruder's territory, thereby trying to trap him. She continues to send

ever more intricately touched and written bodies with ever more indecipherably unsigned texts, written on ever more folded parts of the body, demanding ever more effort to be read, and having an ever more unsettling effect on their reader. In deploying this tactic, Nagiko inevitably objectifies Jerome and literally exposes him to the harsh touch of the editor which she herself had already faced some years ago. Jerome remains too long at the editor's place (thus developing an unwanted and unpredicted intimacy, at least as it was sensed from a distance), and Nagiko waits too long for him (hence, she is dispossessed by her own bookish creature). As a result, she un-hosts him by sending other body/books and thereby rendering him rewriteable, replaceable, and consumable, making of him one message/exhibit among many.

At that point, a Levinassian caress on Jerome, a touch of loving hunger longing for a future, is no longer possible. Detached from his open touching with Nagiko, he literally belongs somewhere, thus elsewhere. He doubles his exile when he commits suicide, leading Nagiko to write the sixth book (the *Book of the Lover*) on his corpse as an act of mourning. Encompassing the grey zone between a goodbye letter, a gravestone inscription, a set of archival notes and a funeral decoration, this final touch is both farewell and a trace of love which is enacted upon the dead body of a lover. Simultaneously, it confirms that he is now readable (touched only by a gaze) rather than writable (touched with the skin). In stealing him out of his tomb and flaying his corpse, the editor transforms Jerome's skin into a finished and precious book which he occasionally inserts between his kimono and his skin. Jerome henceforth oscillates between the status of an untouchable sacred book, an object of collection, an *ex-voto*, and that of a body which has suffered terribly. Even the very end of the film fails to radically question this position, because the book that Jerome's skin has become finds its final resting place in the middle of Nagiko's house, meticulously disposed of in a separate box under a bonsai tree. In essence, Nagiko re-archives what the editor had already archived, turning the *Book of the Lover* into a precious item, even though she expects it to disseminate and flourish. The honorable place in the middle of the house where an extraordinary intimacy was achieved resembles a cenotaph that is not quite completely empty or which is only skin-deep. A corporeal book can now find peace underneath an emblematic plant, invisible yet exhibited, untouchable even by the vegetal caress of the root.

In sum, *The Pillow Book* oppugns the often illustrative and hypomnesic logic of the tattoo, exploring a good part of the potential of touch, from the urge for proximity to the expression of a straightforward hostility. In that sense, touch reminds us of Butchart's (2015: 238) position that the task is to be open 'to the with *within which* we are exposed, and to protect that openness as the condition for coexistence of beings "among which"'. In *The Pillow Book* neither the content nor the pictorial value of writing is of central importance; in fact, most writing in the film is unreadable, because it fluctuates between many different languages, or because it is only partially (or not at all) translated on the screen, or because the glances of the written body are too rapid to be captured in any detail during a regular screening. This corporeal writing resembles touching in so far as it goes beyond the idea of a common code, staying 'within the with' and establishing bonds of intimacy

and/or intimidation, bonds of a porous privacy and/or a readability and publicity. As Cranny-Francis (2011: 478) would put it, touch is a site of 'semefulness', a fullness of 'meanings physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual'. Writing resembles touching both in opening possibilities as wide as possible, and in the promise of paradoxes, contradictions, convergences, and discrepancies. Less a sense to be defined, it resembles the possibility of continuous definitions, refinements and readjustments, a touching which can lead to the coming together of intimacy or to the un-touching of the exhibited body or object – as well as to all the possibilities in-between.

Delvoye's tattooing as un-touching

My reading of Greenaway's *The Pillow Book* focused on different versions of touching (through writing and painting in the first place, but also touching in the form of kissing, caressing, hitting, flaying and folding), all of which occur in the triangle defined by the human, the objectified and, at the end of the film, the vegetal. The missing element was, obviously, the animal touch. In this section, I aim to think about what happens when expert hands touch animals in order to turn them into artworks that are available to gaze upon without being necessarily exhibited, as well as accessible to touch without the fear of ill-mannered behavior or of its deteriorating effect. More precisely, I want to investigate the terms in which animal touch can find its place in art production, creating or avoiding intimacy with animals, and destabilizing or, eventually, consolidating museum practices. With this in mind, I will turn to the Belgian born artist Wim Delvoye (cf. Criqui 2009) and, more specifically, the project *Art Farm* (cf. Sterckx 2007) which he undertook in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Delvoye started this project, tattooing one or two pigs, by 1994; by 1995 he had tattooed a total of fifteen pigs. These first of these were 'dead pigs', i.e. merely skins he had bought from slaughterhouses. He started tattooing live pigs in 1997, because, as he explained, he was interested in the idea of a 'piggy bank'. Even though the concept was not completely and entirely formulated at that point, Delvoye decided to place some small drawings onto living organisms and let them grow until they gained enough value and could be sold. *Art Farm* has gained the continuous interest of the art scene, the most recent example being a Delvoye retrospective exhibition held at the DHC-ART Foundation for Contemporary Art in Montreal, which included some of the pigskins, arguing that the project 'cleverly amalgamates the conceits of art collecting, the lowly rank of the pig, and the notoriety of tattoos to raise questions about class, value, and craft' (DHC-ART 2016). Along the lines of my analysis of *The Pillow Book* in the first section, I will consider some aspects of the animal touch which follows a movement from intimacy with a living being to the exhibition of an art object.

Before going into a more detailed analysis of the *Art Farm*, allow me to take a theoretical detour. What appears as a leitmotiv in the work of critics from different disciplines is that the animal touch is predominantly linked to the act of eating. For instance, Derrida (1991: 114) in-

roduces the concept of carno-phallogocentrism, in order to describe ‘the virile strength of the adult male [that] belongs to the schema that dominates the concept of subject. The subject does not want just to master and possess nature actively. In our cultures, he accepts sacrifice and eats flesh’. More simply, if the construction of the subject is a masculine affair, it is inextricably linked to a power that can only deploy touch for devouring, absorbing, incorporating and digesting, for receiving and assimilating instead of allowing itself to be shaped by and with what is touched. Referring to acceptable social practices from a socio-semiotic perspective, Shukin (2011: 486) reminds us that ‘in contemporary western culture touching animals with the mouth is often only socially sanctioned when it involves the eating of their dead flesh’’. To put it in a different way, if the spectrum of touching with the hand varies from the caress to the blow, among the things that can ‘be exchanged between lips, tongues, and teeth’, the animal touch seems to be of the order of biting rather than of the order of kissing (Derrida 2005: 69).

Similarly, when Shukin (2011: 484) wonders how ‘techniques of power seek to govern or to “conduct the conduct” of animal touch’, she refers to the ‘biorisk reduction’ both in terms of safe eating and in terms of handling, i.e. touching, animals in contexts like private pet-keeping, petting zoos and animal therapy centers, in which an animal caress is common and an animal kiss can, under certain circumstances, be envisaged. In terms of biosecurity, touching a pet is opposed to what usually occurs in non-petting (or traditional) zoos which ‘were designed around the visual spectacle and consumption of animal alterity; only trainers and zoo personnel could touch animals. [Z]oos in the West were designed to exhibit non-human (and human) others for consumption by imperial eyes’ (Shukin 2011: 494). In the same vein, touching a pet is different from what happens in the museum that ‘exhibits animals in its galleries of natural history. Rather than alive, however, animals in museums are usually taxidermically preserved specimens’ (Shukin 2011: 497). If in traditional zoos and in natural history museums only expert hands can manipulate and take care of animals, either living or dead ones, they do so in order to prepare and preserve them as exhibits. Therefore, expert hands touch them before they untouch them for as long as possible, rendering them as untouchable as possible. These exhibits (exotic, rare, respectable and probably somewhat frightening at the same time) can hardly be thought of as pets, i.e. as potential partners in an intimate human-animal relation. In fact, they reproduce the taboo on touch within the museum, reinforcing the internalized notions that Classen (2005: 282) spells out: visitors are ‘less important than the exhibits on display and thus must behave deferentially towards them’; ‘to touch museum pieces [is] disrespectful, dirty, and damaging’; ‘touch [has] no cognitive or aesthetic uses and thus was of no value in the museum’. In a nutshell, the tension that seems to develop here is between the intimate touching of pets on the one hand and the preparation of the untouchability of the exhibited animals on the other.

As I said at the beginning of this section, one of the basic ideas behind the *Art Farm* project was that the pig would grow in value, although Delvoye knew that they were considered worthless in traditional and practical terms. For that matter, he bluntly admitted that ‘it is hard

to make something as prestigious as art from a pig'. In 2004, Delvoye became a part-time resident of China where he rented a farm and his goal was to use their skins in order to make art that literally grows. A year later, he purchased a larger farm about one hour outside of Beijing, where his workers tattooed and pampered his precious property. When he was invited to answer the question as to whether collectors have bought his live pigs, Delvoye said: 'Yes, but they have never taken them home, which was my original plan. Some people with nice gardens seriously considered it though. Regardless, the pigs grew and their owners' profits increased' (Delvoye 2007). Elsewhere, he explained his decision to set up a pig farm in China as follows: 'I've wanted an art farm for a long time. Previously pig-raising had been a nomadic activity, wherever the occasion arose. My work has evolved in different ways, but [...] my nomadic life has settled; the tattoo project finally found a permanent address'.

So, *Art Farm* was an artistic project with animals in search for a permanent home that would further domesticate them. Moreover, it is one of the most well-known projects to experiment with writing on animal skin and creating art-pets of sorts. Unsurprisingly, it raised a considerable amount of suspicion among animal rights activists, who insisted on the idea of the unnecessary pain that has been imposed on living beings. The artist's answer in the same interview reads as follows:

[The pigs] are really spoiled. Last October, for example, we ordered coal for winter. I didn't want the pigs to get cold so I ordered a lot. Two big mountains of coal came in and the whole village was immediately whispering. It was insulting to the village honchos that I treated my pigs so well. They couldn't understand why a guy with a few pig keepers and a flycatcher needed so much coal.

It is in only slightly different ways that the above passages of Delvoye's interview conceptualize the artist's hand. The first one points to the experimenting hand, one learning how to tattoo, to bend the resistance of the writing surface, and to create a sign system on the animal skin; the writing surface goes with the scene of the writing, both within the framework of a self-teaching and learning. The second passage describes the activity of the caring hand, the one protecting the pigs from the cold, establishing an unheard of intimacy with pigs and offering a hospitality significantly more hospitable than the one usually preserved for animals. Nevertheless, the two statements by Delvoye do not radically question the mainstream semiotics of animal touch. Both the writing and the caring hand are expressions of 'the sovereign organ of touch when it comes to the tricky business of engaging in intimate relationship with other animals without abrogating the species paternalism that underpins "petting"' (Shukin 2011: 486), while at the same time they attempt to turn the animals into emancipated, so to speak, artworks that would be taken care of as if they were pets but with the added value of the potentially untouchable object. In short, Delvoye's pigs, belonging to a species that is usually not considered among the most touchable, is in the process

of becoming both a pet and an artwork (less touchable than a pet and more touchable than an artwork) by being touched – being both written on and being taken care of.

Delvoye used the technique of the tattoo, which – apart from its unquestionable anthropological interest, its persistence in many different times and cultures, and its omnipresence in contemporary urban, youth, and counter-cultures – could be described as the hard-copy version of a corporeal archive. Distinct from most kinds of transformations that the skin undergoes (wounds, ulcers, scars, eczemas, as well as dryness, wrinkles), it is read as the trace of an inscription, either intended or involuntary. The tattoo is also seen as a signature, were it of the individual on whom it is done, or the power that it imposes upon someone; the list is long, from concentration camps, to all types of gangs, to drug dealers. A similar investment in a power game is present in *Art Farm*. Working through tensions such as the ones between humanity and animality, signer and signee, or the permanence of the written sign and the evolution of the living writing surface, Delvoye revisits the possibility of art to relativize the power of the inscribing instance, as well as its capacity to create intimacy with living beings that are indisputably seen as animals and to put together a condition of hospitality. In that sense, what Delvoye attempts to do is different from touching, for example, an ancient stone tracing the sense of being with humans from millions of years ago (Cranny-Francis 2011: 469-470), or experimenting an erotic relationship with a material object as in the myth of Pygmalion (Paterson 2007: 82), or touching for understanding, and believing, as doubting Thomas did (Paterson 2007: 67). If touching is a work that is undertaken on the limits and borders, *Art Farm* is research which considers the limits of intimacy, of domestication and of the capacity of art to destabilize the power it exercises on its own objects.

It is important to remember that Delvoye's project evolved from work on dead objects to live ones: while his first attempts were undertaken on pigskins which could be seen as the translated version of parchments, he then moved to living animals, expressly including their evolution in the justification of the *Art Farm*. As mentioned earlier, Delvoye's initial position was that a growing tattoo would allow for an increase in value. Even more interestingly, not only did he make a new temporary home for himself in China, but he also had to create something like a home for his pigs. This artistic pig sty is even more homely than the abodes of the local population of the surrounding village. The pigs, on the other hand, are condemned to never find their way to collectors' homes, probably not even to their gardens, whereas they are preserved and somehow exhibited, fully as living animals and partially posthumously. The very idea of tattooing an animal for the sake of artistic creation is controversial, as was proven by the public outcry of animal activists. But this is also the case because it hesitates between (or, in fact, combines) Midas' touch turning everything into gold and Marsyas' flaying which evokes a punishment for the hubris of performing art, or as a technique which guarantees the perpetuation of the artistic performance, perhaps even alleviating the live animal effect.

If all animal touch is always already codified (I already referred to the various forms of animal touches concerning pets, natural history museums, and zoos), tattooing animals is an

act of oversemioticization. As paradoxical as it might sound, Delvoye's writing on pigskins updates, transposes and radicalizes Baudelaire's (1995: 33-34) notorious position on the art of face-painting that should not be assigned 'the sterile function of imitating Nature', but should be left free to 'display itself, at least if it does so with frankness and honesty'. Profoundly and overtly unnatural, Delvoye's gesture explores the potential of the artist's hand as 'the sovereign organ of touch itself' (Shukin 2011: 491-492), while claiming the beneficial effect this action could have on the pigs themselves. The idea of domestication is also at stake here: his touch is not enough to justify an intimacy with animals comparable to that between Nagiko and Jerome even though it takes place in a domicile homelier than the ones commonly assigned to humans in the same region of China. It was clear from the start that Delvoye's conceptualization did not aim at a caress able 'to give or give back to the other the possible site of his identity, of his intimacy' (Irigaray 1993: 206) – where in this case, 'intimacy' would mean the non-humanized integrity of the pigs. Even more, it did not generate the originary, so to say, intimacy between the owner of an animal and the animal itself, or the usual intimacy between the art collector and the art object, at least not while the pigs are still alive. The last phase of *Art Farm* does, however, remind us of the end of *The Pillow Book*: just as the handwritten book made from Jerome's skin finds its place at the center of the house of his lover Nagiko who also becomes a pillow book collector, the pigskins find their own place as contemporary parchments in private or museum art collections. In both cases, interrupted or failed intimacies through touch have led to potentially exhibited object.

In the first volume of *The Beast and The Sovereign*, Derrida reads D. H. Lawrence's *Snake*. One of the issues that he raises is the possibility of considering the face of an animal and of a face-to-face encounter with an animal (cf. Kakoliris 2016: 244-252). At some point, Derrida (2009: 318 et seq.) comments on the verse 'And must wait, must stand and wait, for there he was at the trough before me', insisting on the ambiguity of the phrase 'at the trough before me', which can be understood either in a chronological or in a spatial sense. Derrida then reminds us that one's responsibility vis-à-vis the other does not depend on who the other is, but it always follows the other who is the first to arrive, whoever she or he is. D. H. Lawrence says something similar: 'How glad I was he had come like a guest in quite, to drink at my water-trough', although he regrets that he momentarily thought about killing the snake, listening to 'the voices of [his] accursed human education'. The challenge of such an encounter resides in the fact that it reconsiders the human-animal relationship which, in our case, would be a skin-to-skin encounter rather than a hardly face-to-face with a pig. Delvoye took the decision to work systematically on live pigs after improvising with pigskins. So, touching some pigs –which, I guess, must have been initially undifferentiated for him– amounted to taking a responsibility vis-à-vis a series of unique animals that had been there well before he noticed them. Despite the glaring one-sidedness of the project, namely the obvious incapacity of pigs to react, they were signed, eponymous, and potentially receivable in spaces other than

pig sties or slaughterhouses, albeit only temporarily. But if D. H. Lawrence regretted having thought about killing the snake, Delvoye meticulously worked on the pigs' afterlives. Not only did the tattooed inscriptions unambiguously identify the scripter and the page, but they also fell into the trap of the 'accursed human education': exhibition, ownership, and the art market.

Conclusion

In both Greenaway's *The Pillow Book* and Delvoye's *Art Farm*, writing takes place on bodies, touching upon skin. There is contact, tactics, and tact too, to a greater or lesser degree. A sense of uniqueness of the inscribed bodies is developed, as well as a sense of sharing a surface, porous and welcoming or rigid and resistant. Touching proved to have its own mutable temporality and positioning, along with its flexible semiotics. These aspects of touching in the two works do not lead me to underestimate the fact that sometimes their modes differ significantly: human vs. animal bodies; divergent writing techniques; the varying readability of the inscriptions, the visibility of the bodies and intelligibility of the overall process; and dissimilar processes of homemaking. But in contrast to what one might think at a first glance, *The Pillow Book* and *Art Farm* are comparable in terms of intimacy and objectification through touching. When touched, the lover Jerome becomes a notepad and a letter, while after being flayed he becomes an archival book and a fatally calligraphic trace of love. When touched, Delvoye's pigs are decorated and quasi-domesticated, while after being skinned they are recognized as artworks. And if some intimacy is achieved or at least sought for, it is neither transferrable nor exportable to the situations in which the touching skins become propriety and are exhibited.

In my analysis of the two works, I described the itinerary from a prospective or achieved intimacy with the living writable skin to a lost intimacy with the archived or, even better, the potentially exhibited one. Intimacy as sharing and as convergence between lovers or between humans and animals was the basis of my understanding of touching. In a certain sense, I repeated Probyn's (2001: 89-90) question, asking whether 'the very smoothness of our skins [could] cause difference to slide away, erasing the markings of black and white, past and present, here and there', whereas skin meant 'being overwhelmingly close to difference, without subsuming difference into the same, or the same-other'. I saw *The Pillow Book* and *Art Farm* as exercises in proximity and as an attempt to gain and maintain continuity without homogeneity between lovers, both calligrapher and non-calligrapher, or between a tattooing artist and the tattooed animals. What was particularly compelling in both cases was the fact that none of the two combinations went without saying and bodies were 'near in no longer having a common assumption, but having only the between-us of [their] tracings' (Nancy 2008: 91). Thus, the quest for intimacy sustained the discrepancy underpinning the different encounters, eradicated any illusion of fusion, and guaranteed the possibility of a withdrawal (cf. Nancy 2008: 17-19). At the same time,

defining writing and tattooing as touching was necessary in order to go beyond the binary logic of estrangement and reciprocity (Butchart 2015: 241) and to broaden the interstitial space of intimacy opening it to the unpredictability of signs prone to fill it. To prolong the idea of touching's semefulness, writing as touching is neither an excoriation nor an anointing unction, but an exposition before the other and perhaps an itch, standing for the apprehension of the multiplicity of the skin (Connor 2004: 178 et seq.; 49 et seq.; 234).

Still, the semefulness of touch in *The Pillow Book* and *Art Farm* does not result in a plethora of meanings shared by the touching partners. What Bezemer and Kress (2014: 78) term the 'affordances of touch [...] as the "stuff" which can be elaborated into a semiotically "full" communicational resource' can, under certain circumstances, lead to harmful touching or to an interruption of touch altogether and a return to the 'triteness of self-same' (Probyn 2001: 91). Several times in this article, I have talked about failed intimacy and I will now further nuance this position in order to conclude. In *The Pillow Book* intimacy failed when touching was used, first as a means to reach the enemy and take revenge, then as a message to be read and, at some point, to be understood, and, finally, as the preparation of an esthetic archival object. In *Art Farm* the effort to establish intimacy (either between Delvoye and the live pigs or between the live pigs and the art collectors) came to an end when it became obvious that the tattooed pigskins would end up as clear-cut artworks.

The skin-to-skin intimacy between lovers in *The Pillow Book* seems to work and Delvoye's initial caring touch was intended to be promising. Both these touches were meant to reach an other – a non-calligrapher or some animals – in a context of intimacy. However, they inevitably preserved the dynamics that is inherent in every touch, namely the fact that touch shapes the touched other, 'causing [his/her] flesh to be born [...] under my fingers' (Sartre 2001: 390). In that sense, only a new Jerome could emerge from Nagiko's corporeal writing and only a new kind of animal could surface at the time of Delvoye's inscriptions, whereas touch could only remain substantially undefinable, both 'ontogenetic' and 'always beyond its-self, equal to its emergence' (Manning 2007: 89) that 'never quite succeeds in finalizing its approach toward an other, [because it] is a threat even while it creates an opening' (Manning 2007: 69-70). This is precisely what happened when Jerome functioned as a message note, and when live pigs were seen as artworks in suspense. As intimate as it might have been, touch did not only concern Jerome and the pigs as the 'you that you will become in response to [Nagiko's and Delvoye's] reaching toward' (Manning 2007: 87). The receivers of touch also entered an economy of violence (Manning 2007: 69) that exposed them to the non-intimate gazes and touches, to those who would only see them as finished objects to be preserved and would deliberately ignore the possibility of re-touching them. Jerome's and the pigs' flayed skins were archived or exhibited, proving that the respectful untouchability was nothing more than the violence lurking in the most estheticized versions of touching intimacy.

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Apostolos Lampropoulos is Professor of Comparative Literature at the University Bordeaux Montaigne, France.

Email: aplampro@gmail.com

Deciphering the message in the perfume bottle

Panagiotis Xouplidis

Humans hardly ever perceive odors in a neutral and objective manner as their perception comes loaded with attractive or repellent impressions emotionally dominating the brain's connection with the outside world. Although the sense of smell is rather undervalued and the natural body odor is stigmatized in the 'olfactory silence' of the modern de-odorized era, the still-growing multi-billion dollar perfume industry exploits the indescribability of odor, cultivating the myth of the magic allure of perfume. Considering the fact that in modern Western societies the majority of perfumes are created and commercialized for female consumers in search of a perfumed gender specific identity, the article discusses two emergent themes from a social semiotic perspective: the feminine perfume olfactory system and the consumers' preference patterns of perfume according to the cross sensory perception management of perfume packaging in the form of the perfume bottle.

KEYWORDS olfaction, perfume, cross-sensory perception, multimodality

“When people think pink, they think Arden.”

Elizabeth Arden

In ‘Sociology of the senses’, Simmel (1997:119) observes the following about the lower sense of smell: ‘By smelling something, we draw this impression or this radiating object more deeply into ourselves, into the centre of our being; [...] Smelling a person’s body odour is the most intimate perception of them;’ concluding that ‘one can characterize the sense of smell as the dissociating sense’. Furthermore, as Classen et al (1994:2) point out ‘The perception of smell, thus, consists not only of the sensation of the odours themselves, but of the experiences associated with them.’

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word *perfume* in the following ways: 1. Fragrant liquid typically made from essential oils extracted from flowers and spices, used to give a pleasant smell to one’s body, 2. Pleasant smell. To explain more clearly the denotation related to the

word *perfume* it is necessary to look up the words *smell*, *odor*, *scent* and *fragrance*; *smell*: 1. The faculty or power of perceiving odours or scents by means of the organs in the nose, 2. A quality in something that is perceived by the faculty of smell; an odour or scent, 3. An unpleasant odour; *odor*: 1. A distinctive smell, especially an unpleasant one, 2. A lingering quality or impression attaching to something; *scent*: 1. A distinctive smell, especially one that is pleasant, 2. Pleasant-smelling liquid worn on the skin; *perfume*, 3. A trail indicated by the characteristic smell of an animal and perceptible to hounds or other animals; *fragrance*: 1. A pleasant, sweet smell.

A close examination reveals that at the level of denotation, *smell* is the primary element of a semantic chain that connects all terms. On a second level, however, it acquires a negative connotation closely related to the term *odor*, on account of its relation to our bodily emissions. On the other hand, *scent* stands on the positive end, as a synonym to *perfume* and *fragrance*, and receives a totally positive denotation, enhancing the positive side of smell. The central bipolarity here lies between *odor* and *scent*, presented as distinctive, personal or from a specific source, with *odor* negatively attached to a subject whereas *scent* is positively perceived by another person. In this way, *odor* becomes a personal quality, the natural olfactory sign of an individual body. Meanwhile, *scent* resembles a trail to be followed by the receiver when a liquid is applied to one's skin. At the effect level, the bipolarity of olfactory conception is produced by *pleasant vs. unpleasant*, where pleasant is related to essential oils, flowers and spices and unpleasant to body odor.

In linguistic terms, *perfume* as a word cannot be connected directly with the sense of smell as they belong to a totally different set of the human sensorial system. In other words, smell belongs to the non-verbal and non-visual realm of stimuli related perceptions, it cannot be expressed neither orally nor visually as it's a chemical based system of connecting with the surrounding reality of the human nature.

The olfactory communication system of humans is based on the biological structure of the human body, more specifically the emission and reception of natural substances. When two human individuals, at the positions of the addresser and the addressee respectively, are engaged in an olfactory interaction, an olfactory message is sent and received, that of odour. The emission is a pure physiological reaction, largely uncontrolled by the sender, and thus culturally insignificant for lack of intentionality. At the level of the receiver, however, the message reveals an olfactory identity (individual and/or social), as well as psychological aspects of the sender, for example fear, fatigue or sexual availability. For Classen et al. (1994: 182):

Concern with body odour and with methods of suppressing it has existed in the West since antiquity. What is new in our era — the era of consumer capitalism — is the availability of ready-made, mass-produced products to deal with body odours and the advertising used to promote them.

The dominant concept related to olfactory communication in the western modern world is that of deodorance, the complete suppression of the natural emissions of the human body related to olfactory interaction and communication. Foul smells and stench are considered unpleasant and are related to manual labour and the lower classes. Thus, the olfactory image of the ideal society becomes totally deodorized, civilized and clean, free from the animalistic bodily connections of the past. As Classen et al. (1994: 176) states, the 'olfactory revolution' of the late 19th century marked the beginning of the era of deodorance while, at the same time, founded a perfume industry devoted to satisfying consumer needs for fragrance. Fragrance plays the role of a superficial and pleasurable mask of natural body odours. In this way it becomes the medium that creates a person's individual olfactory profile because the sensorial experience of smell covers a vast range of information related to the person in the exchange of olfactory stimuli. Consequently, the need for a socially controlled and properly designed olfactory profile led to the rise of the perfumers and the perfume industry. Thus, fragrance replaces odour as a 'pheromonal' mimesis in terms of sexual olfactory profiles to become the material from which a possible olfactory profile can be detected by the receiver as a message containing information about the sender, and vice versa. In this way, the choice of a certain perfume and its use for olfactory interaction aiming to transmit a desired olfactory profile constitutes an olfactory representation of the identity of the sender, the fragrant self.

The sociology of feminine perfume

Smell constitutes a social and historical phenomenon, not only a simple biological and physiological one; but odours, unlike colors, remain indescribable. Odours are employed by societies and enriched with cultural values in the interaction of the individual with the world. Consequently, smell can be identified also as a cultural phenomenon as aromatic substances serve a variety of purposes across cultures since the dawn of civilizations all around the world. Although smell has been devalued as a lower sense in modernity, in the pre-modern cultures odors were identified by Classen et al. (1994: 3) as 'intrinsic "essences", revelatory of the inner truth'. Their ability to escape and blend into olfactory wholes made smell threaten the impersonal paradigm of modernity combining radical interiority with boundary crossing and emotional involvement. However, during the 'olfactory revolution' of the nineteenth century, a term introduced by Corbin (1986), there has been a transposition of fragrance from religion and medicine to the realm of sentiment and sensuality. The sense of smell, as a cultural phenomenon, seems to create ethnic, class and gender boundaries, as olfactory codes underlie conscious thought. The importance of odor and olfactory codes can be observed in fragrance engineering and the commercialization of smell in the modern era.

This article discusses fragrance from a gender perspective and focuses on the multimo-

dality of perfume for women, which constitute the vast majority of perfume consumers. A socio-semiotic analysis of the gender-specific perfume sign should, then, be constituted via cultural research to document historically and culturally established signification related to feminine perfume; in other words the evolution of female olfactory practices in western societies.

For Classen et al. (1994: 92) 'The olfactory condition of the modern West is not a definitive model for the role of smell among all peoples at all times, but simply the result of certain very particular historical and cultural circumstances, a result as subject to continuing shifts and transmutations as odour itself'. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the same perfumes were used by men and women indistinctly. By the late nineteenth century, however, scents started to mark gender differences, with sweet floral blends being qualified as exclusively feminine, and sharper scents as exclusively masculine. According to Classen et al. (1994: 84)

Sweet, floral fragrances were considered feminine by nature because, according to the gender standards of the day, 'sweetness' and 'floweriness' were quintessentially feminine characteristics reflected upon stereotyped feminine olfactory profiles based on these projected connotations.

Perfume has been considered a woman's product in the twentieth century; therefore, the majority of perfumes are created for and target a female public. Classen et al. (1994: 189-190) established a chronology of the dominant elements of perfume advertising in the last half of the twentieth century that indicates an evolution of the types of olfactory profiles introduced with feminine traits of the perfume product. In decoding the perfume sign some important examples are analyzed. The series of perfumes depicted here reflect, partially, the evolution and the defining parameters of perfume creation and marketing, as well as constant semiotic elements that target to the feminine perfume consumer public.

Based on this gender classification scheme, the perfume industry created and promoted perfumes specifically for women to match the established olfactory standards, and others for the masculine types, respectively. Following the revolution of chemistry and the innovations of the rising perfume industry, the production of an increasingly broad range of scents in the 1890s marked the end of the mimesis of natural scents and the beginning of abstract compositions involving the blending of various fragrant ingredients. As Reinartz (2014:74) informs about French perfumer Paul Poiret (1879–1943): 'Poiret created perfumes in collaboration with the perfumer-glassmaker Maurice Schaller and the celebrated perfumer Henri Alméras to resemble the free and fluid lines of his fashion designs. Since then perfume design becomes central in the perfume industry strategies to establish aesthetic criteria related to gender-specific olfactory profiles for female users'. According to Kress (2010: 28)

Design rests on the possibility of choice - 'this could be chosen rather than that'.

That permits the description of style as the effect of a series of choices made in the design of the message.[...] Styles are subjected to social evaluations and these lead to a social ranking expressed as aesthetic judgment. Hence, socially, *aesthetics* can be seen as the politics of style.

Recent survey responses in a published research article (Grahl et al 2012: 551) verified also the importance of bottle design. The results demonstrated that although there wasn't significant difference in different residential areas and types of profession, the difference in preference between male and female consumers was important, a fact also confirmed by other research (Wang 2012: 2-3). Perfume packaging for Peterson McIntyre (2013: 292) sends a message: 'With words and pictures which convey luxury and desire they also produce glamorous and sensual meanings.' Shapes, colors, and words classify spicy and musky scents as masculine, sweet and flowery as feminine or fresh and citrusy as unisex. The visual and textual components of perfume conceptualize perceptions of smell related to semiotic gender differences of objects.

For Neuliep (2015: 286), the process of olfactory social interaction between individuals can be qualified as nonverbal communication and can provide information through smell about a person's ethnicity, gender, social class, and status. Cultures establish norms for acceptable and unacceptable scents linked to the human body. Thus, olfactory profiles transmit specific information about the wearer of the perfume, which corresponds to a certain social or/and gender type. Consequently, perfume as a whole comprises elements which constitute a representation of the self from its olfactory perception in conceptual terms of social classification.

For Kress (2010: 52) 'representation constantly remakes the resources for making meanings and, in the remade resources, shapes those who remake them. That is the effect of representation in the constant self making of the identity.' To acquire a fragrant olfactory profile the individual chooses from a vast range of available products. In this way, they enter the perfume world network as a consumer seeking for a perfume product to satisfy the need for a desired fragrant profile. Combined procedures are required for a perfume to reach the consumer; the perfume maker designs the perfume according to detected target groups of potential consumers, the perfume company manufactures and brands the product while the advertising company promotes and distributes it to perfume shops for the consumer public. The desirable olfactory profile should be identified via the material form of the perfume product, as an olfactory representation, thus it could be analyzed in semantic codes by examining the discourse of perfume, as perfume makers or perfume designers and perfume consumers, engage the material elements of fragrance production and perfume packaging as resources for a representation of an olfactory message.

The feminine perfume system

The term perfume refers not only to a collection of products, but to a system of communication, images, uses, social situations, and social behavior. If a woman buys a perfume item, she consumes it by wearing it, but at the same time she transforms a simple object of fashion into an olfactory interaction. This item constitutes the functional unit of a system of communication, transmits a situation, constitutes information, signifies, and becomes a real sign. All smells serve as signs among the members of a given society, but furthermore when needs for olfactory control are satisfied by production and consumption, perfume acquires the characteristics of an institution, as for Barthes (2008: 29) 'its function can no longer be dissociated from the sign of that function'.

Thus, if perfume is a system, its constituent units would not coincide with the products in current use in the economy, but those elements that produce a difference in signification. The perfume semantic units detected could be compared to each other to reveal that which signifies and thus, could be used to reconstruct systems, syntaxes (olfactory profiles), and styles (types) organized in codes. The perfume sign brings together different units (such as effect and substance), forming a composite unit with a single signification.

The significations connected to perfume and to the semiotic mechanisms related to this function could be investigated with the use of socio-semiotic theory and methodology. Goutdiener and Lagopoulos (1986: 8) indicate that: 'Conceptual stimuli in the environment play a more fundamental role as physical forms are assigned certain significations.' In this case the material objects, or physical objects, are perfumes which act as stimuli as every perfume is transformed, at the level of denotation, into a signified of its function. It also signifies on a second level, namely that of connotation.

The socio-semiotic approach is a materialist inquiry into the role of ideology related to olfaction in everyday life, that seeks to account for the articulation between semiotic and non-semiotic social processes in the ideological production and conception of fragrance for women. Thus, a socio-semiotic analysis at the level of signification of perfumes, involves identifying the role of connotative and denotative codes of mediation of perfume components. It consists of a series of combined aspects of study related to the decomposition of complex perfume signs according to the modes of attributing meaning, where *modes*, according to Kress (2010: 11), 'are the result of a social and historical shaping of materials chosen by a society for representation'.

Observational data should be considered for the description of olfactory material invested with signification that serve as gender specific perfume. Specific fragrance elements such as appearance and qualities therefore serve as vehicles of signification. To establish the codes the research used bibliography from various disciplines: sociology, psychology, cultural, consumer and medical studies in order to examine the discourse of perfume makers and consumers as

appearing in studies and surveys. At this point this task cannot be considered exhaustive as further research should be conducted as more aspects of the subject need to be brought to light.

It is safe to assume that the conception of perfume for the consumer is filtered through and finally shaped by a cultural grid which is composed of a set of semantic components that introduce a specific manner of approaching and apprehending fragrance for feminine perfume consumers.

In a scheme of the psychological effects of odours, *The Odor Effects Diagram* (Jellinek 1997: 114-125), two basic polarities are observed by Zarzo (2013: 464):

1. Erogenous (*animal, musk, vanilla and powdery*) vs. anti-erogenous (refreshing) *citrus, green, watery, and aldehydic,*
2. Narcotic (*floral, balsamic*) vs. stimulating (*herbaceous, mossy*)

A closer observation of *The Odor Effects Diagram* reveals the underlying olfactory perception of classified smells:

1. The erogenous effect is produced by alkaline components and the anti-erogenous effect is produced by acid components. Thus, at a chemical level, the basic bipolarity is *alkaline vs. acid*, opposed chemical elements that can't be combined directly.
2. The narcotic effect is produced by sweet components and the stimulating effect is produced by bitter components. Thus, it establishes the bipolarity between *sweet vs. bitter*, opposed semantic elements—which can't be combined directly—metaphorically related to another sense, that of taste. *Sweet* here is a semantic descriptor for floral or balsamic ingredients and *bitter* is a semantic descriptor of herbaceous or mossy ingredients.
3. The calming effect is produced by acid to sweet components
 - a) Acid to bitter: resinous, camphorae, minty, spicy
 - b) Acid to sweet: green, watery, fruity
4. The sultry effect is produced by alkaline to sweet components
 - a) Alkaline to sweet: urinous, fecal, honey-like
 - b) Alkaline to bitter: cheesy, fatty, rancid, dusty, burnt

The classification could be considered as empirical, observed through the variation of terms. Origins, taste effect, texture composition, chemical and natural elements are combined together in a scheme of codes that involves all human experience related to perfume fabrication. Consequently, the cross-sensorial and cultural nature of perfume is based on the cultural construction of perfume making practices that shape the olfactory experience by manipulating the stimulating components of the chemical composition.

For Zarzo & Stanton (2009: 234-236), the majority of feminine perfumes belong to the *floral*

category because they are considered to constitute an especially feminine olfactory profile. In their study *floral* was the more characteristic descriptor for feminine fragrance. The same study indicated that *erogenic*[*erogenous*], *sensual*[*calming*] and *warm*[*sultry*] are also regarded as feminine.

Thus, semantic codes are assigned to odour perception qualities of feminine perfume, as shown in Table 1.

Odour character descriptor	Odour Effect	Semantic codes
Alcaline	Erogenous	Sexual
Citrus	Non-erogenous	Sexual
Sweet	Narcotic	Stimulation
Honey-like	Sultry	Impression
Balsamic	Sultry	Impression
Fruity	Calming	Intensity
Green	Calming	Intensity
Watery	Calming	Intensity
Woody	Fresh	Intensity

Table 1. Relation between odour descriptors, odour effects and semantic codes

As a first approach, the organization of semantic elements related to odour characteristics for the feminine perfume user (underlined options) to acquire a desirable feminine olfactory profile could be summarized in this scheme of codes:

The feminine perfume code system

masculine vs. <u>feminine</u>	gender code
<i>non floral</i> vs. <u>floral</u>	feminine odour code
bitter vs. <u>sweet</u>	stimulation code
stimulating vs. <u>narcotic</u>	
not desirable vs. <u>desirable</u>	sexual code
non erogenous vs <u>erogenous</u>	
low vs. <u>high</u>	impression code
cool vs <u>sensual</u>	
high vs. <u>low</u>	intensity code
exalting vs. <u>calming</u>	

The *feminine odour code* is isomorphic to the overarching gender code. All codes are *sub-codes* of the *odour code*. The *feminine odour code* seems to be the core code in the structure of this code system. All remaining sub-codes (stimulation, sexual, impression, intensity) organize the gender-specific conception of perfume compositions in order to connote the feminine odour effect described as *floral*.

For Eco (1997: 352) the composition of the industrial made perfume entails a semiotic problem between the materials used and the olfactory effect: 'The real crux of the misunderstanding yet again lies in the immediate passage from the primary iconism of perception (that is, from the evidence that relations of likeness exist perceptually) to an established theory of similarity, in other words, of the creation of the effect of likeness.'

The perfume has an ability that yet remains to be described: evaporation of the liquid components, an aspect that constitutes its major advantage. In the process of becoming aerial the contained liquid liberates its connotation potential, vanishes in the air, penetrates the body by respiration and forms a 'magical personal cloud', an indescribable power of attraction, has an inconceivable potential. Perfume is a fragrant liquid substance constituted by a complex composition of odorants with different volatilities that evaporate gradually when applied to the skin. *Substantivity* or *tenacity* is the parameter that measures the lasting property of these types of materials.

An interesting aspect of the perfume art is the use of the musical term *notes* to describe the characteristics of a specific fragrance. The olfactory aspects of a perfume are typically described in musical metaphors because there are few words that specifically describe olfactory experience. Thus, the combination of ingredients in a perfume is called a *composition*, and it has three *notes* that unfold over time. The first note is called the *top note*, or *head note*, and it produces the immediate impression of the perfume. Top notes consist of small, light molecules with high volatility that evaporate quickly. *Middle notes* (also called *heart notes*) emerge just before the top notes have dissipated. Scents from this note class appear anywhere from 2 minutes to 1 hour after the application of perfume. *Base notes* appear while the middle notes are fading. Compounds of this class are often the fixatives used to hold and boost the strength of the lighter top and middle notes. Base notes are large, heavy molecules that evaporate slowly and are usually not perceived until 30 minutes after the application of the perfume. Diagram 1 describes the perfume composition by the substantivity of its components from base (high) to top (low).

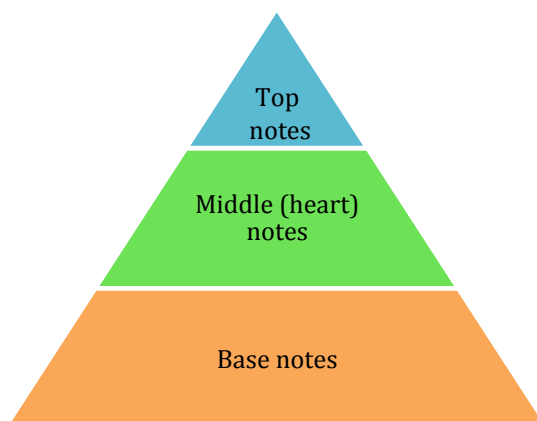


Diagram 1. Perfume notes substantivity scheme

Usually top notes are the 20-40%, middle notes the 40-80% and base notes the 10-25% of the chemical mixture. Thus, quantities and qualities of the chemical materials used determine the final olfactory effect. Zarzo (2013: 464) discusses the manufacturers' classification of perfumes by the effect in time produced when applied to human skin related to this property:

It is well known by perfumers that olfactory notes perceived as fresh tend to evaporate quickly, while the opposite applies to those most dissimilar to *fresh*. Actually, *fresh* and *green* are attributes commonly encountered in the description of top notes (*i.e.*, the ones that are perceived firstly when smelling a fragrance). *Light* refers to scents with high volatility, while *heavy*, *rich* or *tenacious* is applied to materials with high substantivity. Light fragrances are those perceived as non-sweet with a predominant fresh note that is often associated with citrus, greens or aldehydes. Conversely, the least volatile ingredients such as mosses and animal scents dominate in heavy perfumes.

Fragrance compositions are classified normally by the perfumers in fragrance groups. The association between fragrant material, fragrance groups, and their substantivity is presented in Table 2. The codified musical metaphors are organized in a semantic code, the *olfactory* code and they appear in the last column of Table 2.

Fragrant material	Fragrance group	Substantivity	Olfactory code
Orange essential oil, lemon essential oil, mandarin essential oil, grape fruit essential oil, bergamot essential oil	Citrus	Low	High
Decanal, undecanal, 2-methyl undecanal, dodecanal	Aldehydic	Low	High
Galbanum essential oil, cis-3-hexenol and its esters, coriander essential oil	Green	Low	High
Black currant absolute, Isoamyl acetate, Ethyl caproate, Ethyl butyrate	Fruit	Low	High
Phenylethyl alcohol and geraniol, methyl anthranilate and indole, beta ionone, benzyl salicylate and eugenol, anisic aldehyde or heliotropin	Floral	Medium	Middle
Tonka absolute, vanillin, ethylvanillin, ethylmaltol	Vanillic	High	Low
Ambergris, myrrh	Oriental	High	Low
Civet, synthetic musk, castoreum absolute	Animal	High	Low
Cedarwood essential oil, sandalwood essential oil, patchouli essential oil, vetiver essential oil, oakmoss absolute	Wood	High	Low

Table 2. Relation between fragrant materials¹, fragrance groups, substantivity & olfactory code.

Table 2 classifies perfumes regarding the *substantivity* variant of fragrant ingredients related to the perfumers' classification of chemical compositions in fragrant families. It indicates a well elaborated transposition between semiotic systems; as a time dependant chemical variant olfactory stimuli correlates with an also time dependant musical variant. Furthermore, the metaphorical attribution of musicality to fragrant experience constitutes a second effect level that relates the final result of perfumery art to the art of musical composition. In this way, it creates a cross-sensorial olfactory-acoustical experience, while at the same time projects perfume as musical creation and the perfumer as musical composer. Thus, musical melody can be perceived as a connotation of olfactory harmony.

In addition to this system, according to 'The Fragrance Wheel' (Edwards, 2017)² — a classificatory system created by Edwards in 1984 and updated yearly— perfumes are classified by the conceptualization of effects at a metaphorical level and organized in fragrance families by colour. Edwards uses a chromatic palette to visualize the different categories of fragrant compositions. Thus, a *chromatic* code is applied to describe the combination of certain elements of the perfume composition and at the same time establishes a system that can easily be visualized for perfumer or consumer use. The selection of the chromatic components is based on

the codified metaphorical meaning of color. For Marks (1978:98), there is a: '[...] widespread, if not universal, perception of blue and green as cool colors, red and yellow as warm colors'. For example, warm colours are used for fragrances classified as *warm* and cold colours for *fresh* scents. Table 3 presents the relation between fragrant materials fragrance families, and colours, organized in the *chromatic code*. The Table includes chemical elements usually involved in feminine perfume compositions.

Fragrant material	Fragrance family	Chromatic code
orange essential oil, lemon essential oil, mandarin essential oil, grape fruit essential oil, bergamot essential oil	Citrus	Yellow
galbanum essential oil, cis-3-hexenol and its esters, coriander essential oil	Green	Light Green
Black currant absolute, isoamyl acetate, ethyl caproate, ethyl butyrate	Fruity	Orange
Methyl anthranilate and indole, beta ionone, anisic aldehyde or heliotropin	Floral	Pink
Phenylethyl alcohol and geraniol		Red
benzyl salicylate and eugenol		Crimson
Tonka absolute, vanillin, ethylvanillin, ethylmaltol, benzoid resinoid	Oriental	Fuchsia
Ambergris, labdanum absolute, myrrh, birch tree, cistus essential oil		Maroon
Civet, synthetic musk, castoreum absolute, birch tree essential oil		—
Cedarwood essential oil, sandalwood essential oil, patchouli essential oil, vetiver essential oil, oakmoss absolute	Woods	Light brown

Table 3. Relation between fragrant materials, fragrance families and chromatic code.

In this *chromatic code*, the chromatic element represents the perfume composition based on the olfactory effect conceptualized in the relation between the olfactory and the visual mode as a link between different semiotic systems. Thus, the combined elements of Tables 1, 2 and 3 describe the relation between fragrant material elements (non semiotic) and *olfactory*, *chromatic* elements (semiotic) for the *feminine odour code* (analyzed in the stimulation, sexual, impression and intensity sub-codes) is presented in Table 4.

Fragrant material	Olfactory code	Chromatic code	Stimulation code	Sexual code	Impression code	Intensity code
orange essential oil, lemon essential oil, mandarin essential oil, grape fruit essential oil, bergamot essential oil	High	Yellow	—	Non-erogenous	—	—
galbanum essential oil, cis-3-hexenol and its esters, coriander essential oil	High	Light green	—	—	—	calming
Black currant absolute, Isoamyl acetate, Ethyl caproate, Ethyl butyrate	High	Orange	—	—	—	calming
Decanal, Undecanal2-methyl, undecanal, dodecanal	High	—	—	—	—	—
Methyl anthranilate and indole, beta ionone, Anisic aldehyde or heliotropin	Middle	Pink	narcotic	—	—	—
Phenylethyl alcohol and geraniol	Middle	Red	narcotic	—	—	—
Benzyl salicylate and eugenol	Middle	Crimson	narcotic	—	—	—
Civet, synthetic musk, castoreum absolute	Base	Fuchsia	—	Erogenous	sensual	—
Ambergris, myrrh, Tonka absolute, vanillin, ethylvanillin, ethylmaltol	Base	Maroon	—	Erogenous	sensual	—
Cedarwood essential oil, sandalwood essential oil, patchouli essential oil, vetiver essential oil, oakmoss absolute	Base	Light brown	—	—	cool	—

Table 4. Relation between fragrant materials and olfactory/chromatic/feminine odour codes

The *feminine odour* code structure of codified olfactory qualities is organized by the *olfactory* code and codified in the *chromatic* code. Possible combinations can be materialized in perfumes classified as feminine with the combined use of these codes. To give a simple example, a perfume with galbanum essential oil, heliotropin and synthetic musk is a complete

composition with *high*, *middle* and *base* elements of the *olfactory* code and has an overall feminine odour profile (floral) qualified as calming, narcotic, erogenous and sensual. As for the *chromatic* code, it could probably be represented by light green or pink. The codes for this specific feminine odour profile are described in Table 5.

Fragrant material	Olfactory code	Chromatic code	Feminine odour code
galbanum essential oil	High	Light Green	calming
heliotropin	Middle	Pink	narcotic
synthetic musk,	Low	—	erogenous/sensual

Table 5. Relation of codes in a feminine odour profile.

The example given in Images 1 and 2 concerns the feminine perfume *Cabotine* by Grès, launched in 1990.



Image 1.
Cabotine perfume
bottle and package



Image 2.
Cabotine advertisement

The perfume bottle of *Cabotine* is transparent and has a rounded shape. It has a flower shaped cap of light green colour matching the *chromatic* code of the olfactory code's *high*, the top note of the perfume. The concept of this perfume —green floral— is based on the *feminine odour* and *olfactory* codes' relation to the *chromatic* code linked to the shape and cap design, a green flower as shown in the advertisement.

The decomposition of the feminine perfume sign system by the examination of the *feminine odour* code into its *olfactory* and *chromatic* semiotic elements reveals that feminine odour profile representation involves different semiotic systems combined into multimodal ensembles. This cross-sensorial effect of the multimodal representation is imprinted on the meaning of the perfume bottle. Thus, the perfume bottle from a mere vessel of the olfactory message becomes itself the message.

The message is the bottle

The development of perfume bottles since ancient times has its own history but it is in the last few hundred years that it is considered as essential to the perfume trade as the scents themselves. In the eighteenth century, with the rise of the modern perfume trade, customers themselves provided the small porcelain bottles to be filled with the scents mixed especially for them. In the late nineteenth century, for marketing purposes, manufacturers made package design central by adding symbolic value to products. Several artists were involved in designing perfume bottles and labels, often drawing their inspiration from the art styles of the day. Surface emblems of real gold and designs by famous artists guaranteed the quality and the luxury status of the fragrance. Jean-Paul Guerlain (Atlas and Mouniot: 1997) in the foreword to *Guerlain, Perfume Bottles since 1828*, states that 'when most perfumers did not think of bottles as anything but a simple container, my ancestors quickly understood the subtle relationship that linked the bottle and its precious contents'. Thus, the bottle was established as a key element of the perfume, having the role of a medium for the transference of the fragrant-message, for enhancing the olfactory stimuli with visual and tactile elements necessary for the transmission of meaning. For François Coty (Reinarz 2014: 76): 'Perfume needs to attract the eye as much as the nose'.

Primary packaging helps perfume brands convey the idea behind the product, thus the message behind the fragrance acquires a vital importance in perfumery. Perfume brands attempt to create meaningful, emotional relationships with their public to inspire consumer loyalty based on the memory potential and the limbic system of the consumer. Olfactory styling and perfume design aim to re-arrange the olfactory spectrum replacing natural odours by abstract compositions organized in multimodal ensembles. Women's perfume marketing, in particular, often demonstrates a sexual relationship between product and consumer, the bottle and a woman, as seduction plays a key role in perfume packaging according to gender-specific ideas related to modern olfactory practices of the feminine public. In perfume packages, as Petersson Mac Intyre (2013: 296-297) observes, what is at work is a

[...] well-used strategy to approach customers as 'types', such as 'the romantic', 'the classy-woman', 'the seductress', 'the sporty woman' and 'the sexy, mysterious woman' or even the 'unisex woman' or the 'masculine woman', consumers are increasingly asked to cultivate such personality types within themselves and refine them differently on different occasions. 'Types' are now presented as personality traits which reside in each one of us and which can be brought out on occasion with the use of a particular fragrance.

The perfume as such is an invisible and ethereal substance that *senso strictu* cannot be

represented but metaphorically, through the abstractions and pseudo-iconic concepts that we have examined earlier. For marketing purposes, the only material components of the perfume that are susceptible to direct representation are its liquid form and its vessel, i.e. the bottle. Far more suggestively, however, than the colour codes associated with the former, the perfume's bottle assumes here a critical role as a multimodal ensemble that combines logo, decorative elements, shape, color hues, texture and transparency. The dominant function of the bottle for the branding of a perfume derives from this ability to offer a multi-sensorial effect and a cross-sensorial experience to the consumer.

The perfume bottle as a multimodal ensemble is comprised of the image mode (shape, color), linguistic mode (text) and haptic mode (texture, temperature). This multimodal design of the perfume-message translates the material components into semantic units of a complex sign which is, in effect, irrelevant to the actual olfactory experience. Thus, in this process the fragrance as olfactory sign passes from simple olfactive mode to a multimodal state. In other words, we are confronted with a *transduction*, in the way that Kress defines it (2010: 125):

When the rearticulation of meaning involves a change of mode, it necessarily entails a change in the entities of the mode. [...] The term *transduction* is used to signal this process of drawing/'dragging' meaning across from one mode to another.

Perfumes bottles are used as sign systems that connote a woman's sensuality, beauty, or desire, and the possibility to encounter an ideal self or lover through olfactory interaction. Thus, olfaction is isolated from its natural context by the use of semiotic manipulation of sensorial information aiming to encourage odor identification towards multi-sensorial ambiguous meanings in favor of perfume gender typing. For this reason the advertising techniques employed for perfumes acquire a cross-sensorial dimension through their image-based strategies. Visual images of the packaging material play a central role in perfume marketing, while the quasi-magical force of perfume establishes the myth of the perfume by transferring the indescribable power of odour to the bottle.

As the globalized perfume industry is unable to describe an ephemeral volatile impression of an ideal self, it visualizes an olfactory image in the shape of a bottle, a package of a colored chemical substance with, usually, floral scents that fulfils the modern woman's desire for desirability. The content is the message, more specifically that of SCENT, thus the bottle is the image to be semiotically consumed by the feminine public in search of luxurious olfactory experiences. The olfactory industry bases the marketing of perfumes on connotations such as magical, indescribable and irresistible. This represents a vacuum of denotation that works mainly on synaesthesia, playing off the demarked gender differences of western societies. In this way the 'perfumed sex', the odorless and artificial sex of the modern era, is compelled to purchase a mythical vessel which contains nothing but the imagined self, the sign of the myth that makes

no SENSE at all, as the, by far, 'animalistic' sense is stripped from its archetypal instincts and becomes an artificial memory of desire, a reminiscence of the senses, the fumes of the incense burnt to the brand-gods trapped in colored glass. Thus, the self is perfumed and bottled, shaped, typed and branded by names of illusion such as *Poison*, *Heat* or *Desire me* while the art of perfumery plays the music of 'olfactory silence' in the odorless myth of the lost sense.

Considering the fact that this is a first approach and understanding the need for a more focused and extensive socio-semiotic research on the perfume bottle, we will attempt the following presentation of some small case studies aiming to trace semiotic elements that could support our hypothesis about the feminine odour profile representation in the perfume bottle. The bibliography in this case is limited and we will focus only on certain aspects of the bottle, especially the shape and the colour of the vessel.

Although modern technology has made possible to design and manufacture complicated shaped bottles, there are a few standard choices for the designer. Images 3 and 4 present a range of familiar designs for perfume bottles.



Image 3. Rectangular bottle



Image 4. Set of perfume bottles

Considering the different combinations of size and shape for transparent glass perfume bottles, we proceed to examine bottle shape as the non-semiotic material element that could supply visual information for the content of the bottle. In their study, Hanson-Vaux et.al (2013: 164-165) confirmed that there is a cross-modal correspondence between odour effect descriptors and shapes. As they state, sweet smells are associated with round shapes, while bitter smells are linked to more angular shapes, based on smell and taste cross-modal relations. The pairing of *sweet/rounded* vs. *bitter/angular* could be the link between the cross-sensorial correspondence of odour effect for the shape of the perfume bottle. An interesting aspect discussed also is that sour odours, such as lemon, were described as 'significantly angular'. Furthermore, the study confirms that certain pictorial shapes linked to recognizable eatable objects— for example, the smell of strawberry combined to a strawberry shaped image— could be linked more easily than less propitious pairing between shape and smell. In this study, there is also evidence of a relation of angular shapes with intensity and round shapes with pleasantness.

Transparent glass bottles are the most common type of vessel for perfumes. Transparency produces for the viewer a focus shift to the content of the vessel. In the case of colourless liquids, attention is drawn to the shape and to the cap of the vessel. To examine transparency as a visual semiotic element better *Table 6* presents the possible composition and relation of semiotic codes for *Pleasures*, a feminine perfume by Estée Lauder, launched in 1995.

Chemical material	Musical code	Chromatic code	Feminine odour code
Galabanum essential oil	High	Light green	calming
Methyl anthranilate and indole Benzyl sacilicate and eugenol	Middle	Pink Red	narcotic narcotic
Sandalwood essential oil, Patchouli essential oil	Low	Light brown	cool

Table 6. *Pleasures* by Estée Lauder, relation of musical, chromatic and feminine odour codes.

The probable shape for a sweet smelling flower feminine perfume is rounded and the featured colour could be green, pink or red according to the *chromatic* code of the composition. Light brown is unusual for feminine fragrances, thus excluded. *Image 5* presents the bottle and package box of the perfume and *Images 6* and *7*, two of its advertisements.



Image 5. *Pleasures* bottle



Image 6. *Pleasures*, advertisement No 1



Image 7. *Pleasures*, advertisement No 2

In this case, the feminine odour code is introduced by the rounded shape of the bottle and the pink package, as a link between the *feminine odour* code of the fragrance and its visual representation. The *olfactory* and *chromatic* codes' relation is present in the first advertisement with the strong presence of light green colour and of pink colour in the second advertisement and on the package. Thus, all visual elements present a calming, narcotic and non-erogenous feminine odour profile.

Angular shaped perfume bottles are common for masculine perfumes, designed to match their frequently bitter taste cross-sensorial perception. For women, however, angularity probably is linked to less feminine odour profiles, because of the lack of the *sweet/floral/feminine* connotation of rounded shapes; although angularity can be related to the intensity of the fragrance. Perfume bottle shape and colour are the means for an efficient representation of a given feminine odour profile. Thus, the perfume bottle becomes the main signifying resource for branding this feminine olfactory profile. Table 9 and Table 10 present the relation of codes for *Spring Flower* by Creed, launched in 1996 and *Jasmal*, also by Creed launched in 1959. Images 9 and 10 present the bottle of *Spring Flower* and *Jasmal*, by Creed launched in 1959.

Fragrant material	Olfactory code	Chromatic code	Feminine odour code
Ethyl butyrate	High	Orange	calming
Methyl anthranilate and indole Phenylethyl alcohol and geraniol	Middle	Pink Red	Narcotic narcotic
Ambergris, Synthetic musk	Low	Maroon Maroon	erogenous erogenous

Table 7. *Spring Flower* by Creed, relation of codes

Fragrant material	Olfactory code	Chromatic code	Feminine odour code
Galbanum essential Oil Bergamot essential oil	High	Light green Orange	calming
Methyl anthranilate and indole	Middle	Pink	Narcotic
Ambergris	Low	Maroon	erogenous

Table 8. *Jasmal*, by Creed, relation of codes



Image 9. Bottle of *Spring Flower*



Image 10. Bottle of *Jasmal*

By comparing made the elements of Tables 9 and 10, it transpires that the two compositions correspond to different feminine odour profiles. In the case of *Spring Flower* the bottle has a bright pink colour matching the strong floral character of the odour present in the *chromatic* code for the middle note of the *olfactory* code. In the case of *Jasmal*, the less strong floral character relates to the transparency of the bottle, although it could have light green, orange or light pink elements corresponding to the *chromatic* code's relation to the notes of the *olfactory* code. Besides these differences, both perfume bottles have the same shape (rounded), size, cap and decorative elements, except the name of *Spring Flower* above the brand's logo on the surface of the bottle. This case indicates that overall design could be incorporated in such a way to the bottle so as to constitute the main brand element of the perfume product. Additionally, it suggests that there is a correspondence between: i) the *chromatic* code and the perfume bottle colour; in other words, between the chromatic representation of the perfume composition and the chromatic representation of the feminine odour profile on the perfume bottle. The *olfactory* code relates to the *feminine odour* code's narcotic and erogenous elements for a strong floral focused feminine odour profile.

To illustrate further the connotation potential of the shape and colour of the bottle we will apply the system on the perfume bottle of *Be Delicious* by DKNY, launched in the US and Canada, in 2004. Table 6 presents the probable perfume composition and its correspondence with the *olfactory*, *chromatic* and *feminine odour* code.

Fragrant material	Olfactory code	Chromatic code	Feminine odour code
Grapefruit essential oil Cis-3-hexenol Ethyl butyrate	High	Yellow Light green Orange	Non-erogenous calming calming
Phenylethyl alcohol and geraniol	Middle	Red	Narcotic
ambergis	Low	Maroon	erogenous

Table 9. *Be Delicious*, DKNY, relation of codes

The feminine odour profile is coded in the *chromatic* code by yellow, green, orange and red. In order to make the comparison, in Image 5 we can see the *Be Delicious* perfume bottle and in Image 6 the perfume's advertisement.



Image 5. *Be Delicious* perfume bottle



Image 6. *Be Delicious* advertisement

In this case study, a *sweet/rounded* cross-modal pairing could lead to *floral/rounded*, thus *feminine/rounded* pairings. Rounded shapes resembling eatable objects are often associated with sweet smells thus with feminine odour profiles, as discussed previously. As the probable colour according to the *chromatic* code could be yellow, light green, orange or red, there is a match on the perfume bottle colour to one of the components of the top note, light

green. Although green apples don't smell like flowers, in this perfume bottle concept the pseudo-iconicity is crucial for the transmission of green 'appleness' of the top note as freshness. Consequently the concept of the light green apple-shaped perfume bottle is dominant for the odour profile projected on it through the advertising campaign. The reflection of New York landmarks on the bottle cap in the advertisement reveals also the 'Big Apple' concept, as the brand DKNY, stands for Donna Karan, New York. Additionally, a young woman offering a delicious apple constitutes a strong connotation of the Biblical original sin, linked to the erogenous element of the *feminine odour* code. The branded perfume has the connotation potential to create cross-sensorial relations for a cross-modal representation aiming to conceptualize the 'deliciousness' of the apple or of the female wearer on the perfume bottle as a gender-specific New York odour profile trend to be followed. This case proves the centrality of the bottle shape and colour for the feminine odour type, where the *chromatic* code's relation to the *olfactory* code and the *feminine odour* code has a specific association to the perfume shape and colour. As the top note constitutes the first impression of the perfume composition, the *high* of the *olfactory* code creates the first connotation of the *feminine odour* code to be represented on the light green element of the *chromatic* code, while the middle note of the *olfactory* code is materialized in the rounded shape, creating a green-apple shaped perfume bottle as a message of a desirable delicious femininity.

In the cases discussed above, the chemical compositions were approximations to the real formulas, as information about them can only be accessed indirectly by critics about perfume compositions.³ Perfume formulas remain secret and under strict prohibition of publication. Real data could only be accessed under license of the perfume designer and brand. This research cannot be considered exhaustive as more detailed research needs to be conducted to establish the transduction of meaning from the fragrant composition to the perfume bottle as a multimodal ensemble. Transparency and bottle cap are, in our opinion, case studies that need to be studied separately, at first, and then combined with the rest of the system. Further research has to be conducted also for the linguistic and symbolic elements of the bottle considering their material form on bottle surface engravings. Decorative elements on the bottle are also a propitious subject to be classified and decoded. Finally, the overall design related to branding purposes which arranges all available resources for a branded feminine odour type should be taken into consideration.



Image 11. Perfume bottles classified by shape and colour.

The perfume bottle constitutes a meaningful arrangement of material components for the representation of a fragrant message based on cross-sensorial perception and composed by semiotic elements that conceptualize a feminine odour profile. The fragrant message is codified in the *feminine odour* code and transmitted by related semiotic codes from different semiotic systems, namely the *olfactory* and the *chromatic* code established by the perfume industry. Perfume bottle design requires the organization of material elements to engage the practical and conceptual dimensions of the content. They are vessels for a volatile liquid substance with prefigured substantivity and they must have a proper size for the right quantity and a bottle cap to avoid evaporation. Feminine perfume bottles come in rounded or angular shapes according to the relation between shape, the *olfactory* code and the *feminine odour* code. Shapes are combined with colours to match, as shown in the cases studies presented, to the *feminine odour*, *olfactory* and *chromatic* codes of the fragrant composition. They are combined with decorative elements in an aesthetic concept with linguistic or pictorial elements on the surface to brand the product. Feminine odour profiles with calming, narcotic and non erogenous effects to be used during the day would probably correspond to brighter colours and less rounded shapes. On the other hand narcotic, erogenous and sensual effects for parties and nightlife are probable to have darker colours and more rounded shapes (Image 11).

Consequently, the perfume bottle is to be identified by the female consumer as a package of a desirable odour profile to acquire. In this task, creativity and originality are employed to turn the connotation potential of a volatile scent impression into a representation of a feminine olfactory type on the vessel and the packaging material, although the standard codification of the perfume industry seems to organize the feminine perfume olfactory landscape. The conception of the feminine olfactory whole is invested on the bottle, as a tradable, visible and desirable material form with gender-specific elements. Advertising supports concepts related to the suggested feminine odour profile by promoting the fragrant product based on the image of bottle. The message in the bottle becomes the message on the bottle to reach finally the advertisement campaign where the message is the bottle.

NOTES

1. Information about fragrant material and fragrance groups from Buettner (2017: 1034)
2. Information about fragrance families and The Fragrance Wheel in <http://www.fragrancesoftwareworld.com/FragranceWheel>
3. Information about perfume notes for *Cabotine* by Grès, *Pleasures* by Estée Lauder, *Spring Flower* and *Jasmal* by Creed and *Be Delicious* by DKNY in <http://www.basenotes.net>

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Panagiotis Xouplidis is PhD candidate in Comparative Literature at the Department of Italian Language and Literature, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece.

Email: pxouplid@gmail.com

Review Article

Preliminaries to a taxonomy of intersemiosis*

Göran Sonesson

The specificity of a semiotic approach to translation is often taken to reside in two dictums, separately, or more commonly compounded, one of them due to Roman Jakobson, and the other to Charles Sanders Peirce. The first shibboleth consists in Jakobson's (1959: 233) extension of the term 'translation', beyond what he still terms 'translation proper', that is, the 'interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language', to include also two other instances, 'rewording', or the 'interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language' as well as to 'transmutation', or 'the interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal signs systems'. We will return to the second shibboleth below.

There can be no disputing the creative achievement of this model which is also a metaphor, in the sense in which Max Black (1962), following Aristotle, identified those two: as procedure for discovering new things, the means for finding out, and even creating, similarities never observed before (see also Ricœur 1975; Sonesson 2015a). A metaphor may very well be at the origin of a domain of study. But, if the study is going to be fruitful, it cannot abide by this single discovery. This is why I suggested in two recent papers (Sonesson 2014a, b) that the time had come to take the metaphor further and also spell out what the differences are between these three kinds of intersemiotic acts. Dinda Gorrée (2015) has now published a book in which, clearly quite independently of my suggestion, she undertakes to separate what she calls "translation" in quotation marks' (2015: 9) into Jakobson's translation proper, that is translation without quotation marks, and transduction, which seems to correspond to what Jakobson calls transmutation (and what Sonesson 2014b: 268 called 'transposition').¹

This is all the more remarkable as Gorrée (1994), together with Susan Petrilli (2003) and Peeter Torop (2003), were among the scholars whom I took to task for neglecting to go beyond the similarity of these semiotic acts, to inquire into how they were different. After saluting

* Review of Gorrée, Dinda. 2015. *From translation to transduction: The glassy essence of intersemiosis*. Tartu. Tartu University Press.

this achievement, however, I would like to take this occasion, to enlarge on the residue which I think remains of the original metaphor in Gorlée's work, as well as to derive some inspiration from points made by Gorlée which may help in bringing the study of translational semiotics forward – in the sense of "translation" in quotation marks'.

1. The 'translation' internal to basic semiosis

One can always rely on Gorlée (1994; 2015) to dive deeply into all kinds of Peircean quotations, in the business of which she is exceptionally well-versed, including those quotation only available to the happy few who have been drinking at the manuscript source at Bloomington. In this sense, Gorlée's new book, just as her earlier one, is the wellspring indicated for those who want to find out, if possible, what Peirce really wanted to say. This is to say that Gorlée's new book has a value already as a vademecum for the interpretation of Peirce. Here, however, I will be exclusively involved with its contributions to the study of "translation" in quotation marks', that is, to the study of intersemiosis broadly understood.

There is of course a rationale for Gorlée intermingling translation studies with the interpretation of Peirce's philosophy. Indeed, as I pointed out (in Sonesson 2014a, b), the second shibboleth, after Jakobson's metaphors, which allows to recognize the current semiotic approach to intersemiosis, derives from Peirce's contention that meaning is a process consisting in the 'translation' (with quotation marks, no doubt) of the parts of the sign (that is, the representamen, the object, and the interpretant) into other signs. In Gorlée's book, as so often, this idea gets fundamentally curtailed into the 'translation' of interpretants into other interpretants, and so on. Whatever the phenomenon thus described by Peirce is, it can certainly not be identified with translation in any of the very broad Jakobsonian meanings. In a by now classic passage, Jacques Derrida (1967) used Peirce's chain of interpretants to elucidate the Saussurean structure of language, which he then chose to generalize to the world at large (though he certainly had other motives: see Sonesson 2015b). And Terrence Deacon (1997), starting out from the same chain of interpretants, ended up, without knowing it, proposing a view of language which is indistinguishable from the Saussurean *langue* (See Sonesson 2006). They may not have been all that wrong.

The truth is, Peircean translation may be this, and many other things. Different meanings can be given to the chain of interpretants, some at the level of the linguistic system, and other at those of the specific speech situation. Among the first, one may distinguish the syntagm/paradigm duality, in the sense of Saussure and, more specifically, Hjelmslev, which has a clear grammatical meaning; the broader 'semantic field', in the sense of classical German linguistics, which is more of a semantic notion; and language structure as a whole, consisting of a network of relations to relations, which, according to Saussure, is the reality behind the superficial figure of the signifier and the signified. If you are a believer in Chomskyan metaphysics, as of the sixties or the seventies of the

last century, you may even add the whole paraphernalia of deep structure, transformations, filters, constraints, surface structure, and what have you, of which not much remains in the recent meta-physical instantiations of that theory. On the other hand, there are of course all the meanings which may be derived from a given discourse in a specific situation and/or context, which may go from simple instances of the connections offered by the system to logical reasoning, on one hand, and to socially shared or more or less personal associations, on the other. Perhaps Peircean translation corresponds to all these cases, but then it needs to be differentiated. As far as I know, general linguistics has not progressed very much in the study of the differences between these varied means of ‘translation’ internal to linguistic consciousness (and of which similar cases should be found in other semiotic resources), but even the account above, which is based on rather classical insights, goes much further than the Peircean notion of ‘translation’.

Clearly, the Peircean notion of translation is something more basic than what we normally call translation. It is conceivable, of course, that Peirce’s notion could be emended to yield a more precise notion of translation in the ordinary language sense of the term, but it does not seem to me that Gorfée manages to do so in her book. Not to stop the line of inquiry, to paraphrase Peirce, we need to rummage an area much greater than Peirce’s collected works, whether it is only in order to understand “‘translation’ in quotation marks’ as envisaged by Peirce, or whether we want to grasp the differences between Jakobsonian translation proper, rewording and transmutation.

2. In-between languages: Translation and semiotranslation

It can probably be taken for granted that Gorfée’s translation outside of inverted commas is the same thing as Jakobson’s ‘translation proper’. It is, however, only in the second chapter (p. 20ff) that translation is defined, only to be superseded (p. 25f, 28ff) by the notion of ‘semiotranslation’. Translation, Gorfée (2015:20) says, ‘has the ideal goal to recreate the perfect one-way replacement of textual material of the source text in one language by equivalent textual material in another language’. Quite clearly, such a goal can never be realised, and thus has to be exchanged for ‘semiotranslation’. In numerous ways, Gorfée (2015: 25) tries to circumscribe the nature of ‘semiotranslation’, notably as a practice which instead of striving for “‘the “perfect” sign of logical Thirdness /.../ has become softened (or weakened) in the “imperfect” pseudo-semiosis of Peirce’s “quasi-minds””. It is, however, only much further on into text, when Gorfée talks about translation as a kind of abduction, and when she connects semiotranslation to an exchange in terms of Peirce’s emotional, energetic, and logical interpretations, that this distinction starts to make sense.

The question remains, nevertheless, how to separate the ‘ideal goal’ of a semiotic act, and its actual possibilities of fulfilment, in view of the harsh realities of the world, or, in this case, of semiosis itself. Of course, there is no easy way of translating from one language to another, and as I remarked (in Sonesson 2014a, b), these difficulties become even greater when different

semiotic resources are involved. But either the goal of translation (proper) remains to establish such a close equivalence between two texts as is possible given their different employment of resources, and semiotranslation is simply the same thing as translation; or semiotranslation is another kind of semiotic act which has a different goal. As we will see, there are reasons to think that Gorrée may at least sometimes intend the latter interpretation (but then semiotranslation would seem to shade into transduction, as it also does in the later chapters).

Indeed, it may be true, as Thomas Munck (2000:4) suggests, that translators during the 18th century ‘did not always try to be “accurate”, and might act more as mediators by adapting an original work to the mind-set of the intended readership’. This is all the more unsurprising as, during the Middle Ages, even the act of copying a manuscript was not clearly distinguishable from commenting on it. Indeed, as Ian Macleod Higgins (1997) shows in his detailed study of the different versions of the famous mediaeval book called *Mandeville’s Travels*, which was rapidly translated into at least ten languages, the translators (apparently even more than the copyists using the same language) had no problem adding entire stories to the text, suppressing others, and even changing the ideological (i.e., at the time, religious) position from which the events were viewed. As far as I know, we have no record of what ‘translation’ meant at the time, and whether it was applied to this kind of secondary text, which often did not even tell its name. No matters what term was used, the idea of translation at the time was clearly different from the contemporary one. And, from a semiotic point of view, the essential task is to reconstruct what we nowadays mean by translation.

Elsewhere, I have suggested that translation proper is a double act of communication. To grasp the nature of translation, we have to start from a certain idea about the act of communication, which I have presented elsewhere (see Sonesson 1999; 2014a, b): according to this model, also the receiver is an active subject, who must concretise the artefact produced by the sender into a percept; any two parts in a game of communication will only have partly overlapping resources for interpretation at their disposal, and thus one will have to retrieve the resources of the other, or some part of them, for the act of communication to be successful; and communication may be rendered more difficult by the sender and receiver being situated in different cultures and/or using different languages, let alone different semiotic resources; and this is often enough true for all three participants in the double act of communication.

Given this model of communication, it becomes clear that the translator must be a doubly active subject, as interpreter and as creator of a new text. He or she is the receiver of one act of communication and the sender of another one. Any translation which is at all adequate as such, therefore, needs to take into account two contexts of sending and two contexts of receiving, though possibly to different extents. The first sender context is that of the original speaker/writer, and the second one is that of the translator himself. Similarly, there is the receiver context of the translated text and the receiver context of the translator himself.

For there to be a double act of communication, the content of both acts of communication

should be, in a qualified sense of the term, identical all through the acts, which is impossible, for different reasons, in what Jakobson has called intralinguistic and intersemiotic ‘translation’. It is not the sequence of one act of communication and another one which is a translation of that act into another verbal language which makes translation into a double act of communication, but the fact that this second act must take into account the situation of the sender and receiver of the original act, as well as of the act currently taking place. All through this process, the translator tries to convey the same meaning, to the extent that this is possible, to a receiver disposing of a different and/or more limited pool of knowledge. Translation proper is guided by the goal to get as close as possible to conveying the same idea. Other semiotic acts are possible, but if they do not follow this precept, they do not constitute instances of unqualified translation.

Gorlée (2015, 23, 59, 101ff., etc.) repeatedly seems to suggest, although never being very clear about it, that Saussure’s notion of language as consisting of a signifier and a signified should make translation all too easy, but this is a complete misconstrual. As my old professor of general linguistics, Bertil Malmberg (1971; 1974) never tired of observing, given the Saussurean conception of linguistic structure, translation should be impossible; and yet, according to Malmberg, it was necessary.² This, clearly, is the same position taken by Gorlée (2015: 69ff), who, after citing the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, proceeds to downplay its import. She may be overdoing the latter, however, for, when quoting Hjelmslev’s classical example according to which ‘I do not know’ is differently formed in different languages, even at the level of words and word classes, she (p. 70ff) only includes, and extends, his examples from Indo-European languages. The fundamental point, however, is that the Saussurean notion of language, like that of Sapir-Whorf, seems to lead to an aporia, when confronted with the task of translation, and Gorlée would have been better advised to start from this aporia, in order to show that Peirce had a solution. Even in this case, however, she would have failed her task, because, as we’ve seen previously, Peirce’s notions are too general to be able to explain the particularity of translation proper, and even “translation” in quotation marks’.

3. In-between different semiotic resources

On the face of it, Gorlée (2015: 9) is much clearer about what she means by transduction: it involves ‘the parallel of “translation” not applied to language but within the intermediality of speeches of non-linguistic texture between the doctrinal, the educational and the emotional aspects of different arts’. If the latter part of this definition already seems rather convoluted, the plot thickens in the chapter specially dedicated to transduction (Gorlée 2015: 91ff) as well as in the final note on the term (Gorlée 2015: 231ff). Transduction seems to be exemplified by such things as translating ‘a love letter from English to Chinese, a legal marriage contract from Arabic to Dutch, an operatic libretto from old Italian to modern English’, etc. (Gorlée 2015: 20, 91). These are fascinating examples, and I will later suggest that the introduction of such cases

is Gorrée's essential contribution to the discussion of intersemiotic acts. Quite clearly, though, these are not cases of exchange of one semiotic resource for another; rather, they are translations with added complications, caused by the intercultural variation of the schemes regulating particular kinds of social practices. And here I think it is important not to confuse languages and cultures: although Mexican Spanish is not very different from the Spanish spoken in Spain, cultural practices are immensely different, notably as far as the idea of courteous behaviour is understood (see Dunér & Sonesson 2016). But, for the moment, our essential task is to single out the way in which translation proper differs from what Jakobson called transmutations.

Gorrée (2015: 17, 101, 109, etc.) refers at several places to a paper by Michael Silverstein (2003), which bears the title 'Translation, transduction, transformation'.³ In this paper there is a definition of transduction (not quoted by Gorrée) which appears to be even more entangled than Gorrée's own variety, but which might still give us an inkling of what is at stake:

a process of reorganizing the source semiotic organization (here, in the original problem, denotationally meaningful words and expressions of a source language occurring in co[n]text) by target expressions-in-co(n)text of another language presented through perhaps semiotically diverse modalities differently organized. (And let us stipulate for the time being that both source and target are, in general outlines, multidimensionally 'like'.) (Silverstein 2003: 83).

Transduction, in this sense, clearly is not necessarily Jakobsonian transmutation. Rather, like Gorrée's term semiotranslation, Silverstein's (and Gorrée's) transduction seems to be called upon to indicate that translation, as Malmberg said, is necessary though in principle impossible. Or, in other terms, in spite of the Shannon & Weaver model which Jakobson and Eco have imposed on us, translation is not like encoding and decoding, whether these terms refer to substituting the Morse alphabet for our ordinary alphabet, or substituting a series of zeros and ones for anything shown on the computer monitor (see Sonesson 1999). It can be done from the inside of Searle's Chinese room, only because someone has already done the job of producing the book consulted by the language blind man inside the room. If I understand correctly, transduction and transformation, according to Silverstein (2003: 91) and Gorrée (2015: 117ff) are simply further steps away from the impossible ideal of translation as transcoding. But, at the end of the day, this is simply what we ordinarily mean by translation (proper).

Before we inquiry further into this issue, it will be useful to spell out the difference between 'translation proper' and Jakobsonian transmutation (which I take to be a transduction according to Silverstein in which source and target are not 'multidimensionally "like"'). As Umberto Eco (2004) rightly remarks, a 'translation' from language to film or even to a static picture has to add a lot of new facts (specific looks of the persons, etc.). As I have observed elsewhere (Sonesson 2014a, b), this remark may be countered by pointing out that the same thing applies when going from

one language to another, and this fact no doubt inspired Silverstein and Gorrée to use a new term also for this transaction. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the informational discrepancy between, for instance, a picture and a piece of language, will necessarily be immensely greater. After all, what languages choose to pick up as relevant from experienced reality may vary enormously, but it always varies in one dimension, whereas some other semiotic resources are multidimensional.

Shakespeare's play *Macbeth*, which we only know as a piece of linguistic text, has given rise to numerous filmic interpretations, among which by Orson Welles, Akira Kurosawa and Roman Polanski; it has also, of course, been at the origin of numerous theatrical representations, of which most have not been preserved to the present, beginning with those of Shakespeare's own company. Suffice it to consider just the title personage, Macbeth. 'Translating' this single personage into visual form depends on an innumerable series of choices on many different dimensions: kind of crown, shape of head, shape of nose, cheek contours, colour of eyes, kind of beard, etc. Of course, in the cinema or in a photograph, you do not normally get to select many of those parameters independently (except, in the list above, for the crown and even, to some extent, the beard): you have to make do with the extended chunk of properties carrying the name of a particular actor. The independent choice of each property is of course, in this case, a fiction, but still, some choices may gain more importance than others and determine the selection of the actor. In a drawing, on the other hand, in an animated movie, or even in something looking more or less like an ordinary film but produced with the help of 3D rendition software, there is a possibility of picking the properties piecemeal. In the case of classical cinema, most of your options may appear to be set, once you decide on the actor, but there still is the question of showing him from different angles, distances, and the like, which is something the verbal text does not have to decide.

Unlike intralinguistic transposition, however, intersemiotic transposition certainly is (in the normal case) a double act of communication which has to take into account the sending and receiving instances of both acts involved. But there are other problems with this kind of "translation" in quotation marks'. For, while the goal of translation proper, at least at present, is certainly to convey as much of the meaning of the source text as possible, this is probably rarely the case of someone making a film based on a particular novel. Rather, the novel is a pretext for a new creation, which, on rare occasions (as in the case of Tarkovsky's *Solaris*), may have a much richer content than the novel offering the pretext. The case may be different with the illustrations which draughtsmen have made for famous works of literary art, as the drawings of Sandro Botticelli, William Blake, Gustave Dorée, and others, destined to accompany Dante's *Divina Comedia*. In all these cases, further investigation will certainly be required to tell apart the contribution of fidelity to the source, to other purposes, to more or less unconscious cultural influences at the time of production, and even, of course, to personal whim, which might be able to account for the differences between these series of pictures purporting to illustrate the same literary work.

4. Within the same semiotic resources

Gorlée does not seem to have anything to say about the second kind of “translation” in quotation marks’ distinguished by Jakobson. Although she mentions it several times, when she quotes Jakobson’s scheme (sometimes confusing inter- and intralinguistic ‘translation’; see Gorlée 2015: 113, something which is all too easy to do), she never delves deeper into its nature. Elsewhere, I have suggested that Jakobson’s intralinguistic ‘translation’ sometimes can be similar to translation proper, if the regulatory instance is the audience, and that it can be quite different, if the regulatory instance is the referent (see Sonesson 2014a, b).

In the case of intralinguistic transposition, no double act would seem to be needed, at least not any act involving an additional participant. At first, it may seem to be quite the opposite of translation: while in translation, you search for a new expression trying to hold the content as stable as possible, here you substitute a new sign whose content is held partly constant but whose expression may become completely different in order to be truer to the referent. In this case, the regularity instance is reference: while taking into account the nature of the referent, you search for the proper term.

However, if we suppose the substitution of words to be made for the benefit of a particular audience, such as children or foreigners with a limited command of the language involved, intralinguistic transposition becomes more similar to translation. Here the regulatory instance, as in translation, is the audience. You try to convey the same meaning, to the extent that this is possible, to a receiver disposing of a different and/or more limited pool of knowledge. Still this is no double act of communication. There is no double audience. Even if we suppose that the subject ‘translates’ from what he first meant to say, he does not have to account for the conditions of any earlier act – and this is a difference to true translation. Expanding the perspective from words to discourse, however, intralinguistic ‘translation’ is seen to be heavily dependent on the extra-linguistic or extra-signic environment. In a way, that which is not present as a real object in the perceptual situation has to be ‘translated’ (or transposed) into language, while the objects perceived can, at least in part, be left out of the ‘translation’. Differences of environment may also make the difference for ‘translation proper’, first, because the extra-linguistic and/or extra-signic environment may be different, and second, because the rules of redundancy may differ.

These are two reasons for making changes to the expression used, although staying within the same language and the same semiotic resource. This prompts the question whether changes from one language to another and/or from one semiotic resource to another may also depend on such reasons. It seems rather obvious that the change from one language to another has its regulatory source in the audience addressed rather than the adequate description of the referent or anything else, but perhaps there may still be other concurrent goals involved. For instance, I may be able to discuss Swedish phenomena and Mexican phenomena with wife in each of the corresponding languages. As for the passage from one semiotic resource to another, for instance from writing to pic-

tures, it clearly depends on the shift of audience in the famous case of Church frescos playing the part of the 'pauper's bible', but it is not certain that such a case can be generalized. Might it not be true that some referents, or some pieces of information about referents, can be more easily conveyed by one semiotic resource than by another? This, of course, was the claim of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's (1964 [1767]) *Lakoon*, according to which temporal objects were better rendered by language, and spatial objects in pictures (see some criticism of this in Sonesson 1996; 2007; 2014b).

5. Then what more is 'transduction'?

If we consider the three cases purportedly involving transduction treated more fully in Gorrée's (2015: 130ff) recent book, Henry Thoreau's habit of quoting Homeric poetry and applying it to the American landscape, *Peer Gynt* as a work not only by Henrik Ibsen but also by Edvard Grieg, and Salvador Dali's paraphrase of *Venus of Milo* with drawers added, it is difficult to recognize any transduction in them, if this term is to be taken in the sense in which Jakobson talked about transmutation (and I talked about transposition). Grieg's music, to be sure, could be taken as a kind of 'illustration' to Ibsen's work, similar in that respect to the case of Botticelli's, Blake's and Dorée's illustrations of Dante, but, even more than the latter, it can hardly function as such than in juxtaposition to Ibsen's work. It is true than some of Gorrée's remarks (2015: 171ff) could be taken to suggest that some kind of fairly abstract iconicity, notably to Nordic folklore, is shared by Grieg's music and, perhaps not so much Ibsen's words, as his characters and motifs. My reason for thinking that Grieg's music can be iconic to Ibsen's work, or to some meaning they have in common, only when juxtaposed to Ibsen's work, is that, unlike the illustrations to Dante, music on its own does not carry very much meaning for which a correspondence can be found in visual perception and/or its verbalization (see Monelle 1992; Agawu 2014). Even in the best case this will only be an instance of what I have elsewhere called *secondary iconicity*, that is, the case where you can see the similarity once you know the meaning (see e.g. Sonesson 1998). The Ibsen-Grieg twosome also seems to be the only case in which Gorrée (2015: 174, 178, 198) quotes, without discussing them, different instances of 'translation fitting' involving the same text.

Much more interesting is Gorrée's mention of cases like the translation/transduction (unclear in the context) of 'a love letter from English to Chinese, a legal marriage contract from Arabic to Dutch, an operatic libretto from old Italian to modern English' (Gorrée 2015: 20, 91). Something similar to the last case obviously applies to the English translation of Ibsen's text when they accompany Grieg's melodies, and in fact, even before that, to the extent that the original text follows a particular metre and/or obeys the constraints of rhyming. If, except for conveying the same ideas from one language to another, you also have to follow the same metre, or adapt the text to rhymes in another language, or adapt the text to the constraints of singing (in the same or

in another language), then there clearly are other schemata which regulates your task apart from translation. Thus, it could be said that, apart from being a more or less truthful rendering of the meaning of Ibsen's text, a literary translation must also conform to the constraints of metrability and rhymability, and, when the text is set to Grieg's music, it must also comply with the demand for songability. It seems to me that we are here concerned with what different traditions have called 'schemes' or 'scripts', of which the more obvious instances may be the conventions for writing love letters or contracts in different languages, and even, as I suggested above, for being courteous in different cultures sharing more or less the same language. It would take us too far, in the present context, to enter the discussion of the different ideas which have been formed about this phenomenon in different traditions, but, for the time being, we will have to be content with suggesting that this has something to do with what Alfred Schütz called 'systems of relevancies', of which different societies possess different sets (see Sonesson, to appear a).

It seems to me that these are cases of intersemiosis not dreamt of by Jakobson. They are different, but somewhat comparable to cases in which not only the semiotic resource, but the particular language used, may remain constant, and in which the content can also be fairly similar, but where the meaning of the content has been subtly contrived so as to produce phenomena to which terms such as parody and satire have traditionally been applied, and which Gérard Genette has characterized as different variants of hypotextuality. Michael Bakhtin (1984; 1986) and Gérard Genette (1992) are well-known for having tried to delve deeper into this kind of discourse and, in the latter case, to classify its forms. It is therefore surprising that these authors and their contributions are not mentioned by Gorrée (2015), although she several times uses the term 'intertextuality', which Julia Kristeva is famous for having introduced as a French term for the kind of phenomena discussed by Bakhtin. Nevertheless, the final example given by Gorrée (2015: 201ff), Salvador Dalí's *Venus of Milo* with added drawers, is clearly of this kind. To adapt again the language of Bakhtin, it could be said that, to the layer of socially recognized purposes due to the original creator, a further layer of socially recognized purposes, which overdetermines the former layer, has been appended, producing a parodic and/or satiric purport, which requires the intersemiotic relation to exist, although it does not relate the work in question to any language or semiotic resource, but to another particular work of art.

One may wonder where to place, in this context, Eugene Nida's (1959; 2003) ideas about adapting the Biblical text, not only to the language of the intended audience, but also to their general world-knowledge and presuppositions, even to the point of transforming the landscape into something the audience will recognize, all in order to convince people in other culture about the core Biblical message. All translation, as all acts of communication, involves some adaptation to the receiver, as well as an adaptation to the sender of the original communicative act, in varying proportions (see Sonesson 2014a, b). But when does such as intersemiotic act, in the sense in which it includes interlinguistic acts, cease to be merely a translation? Clearly, at some point, the purpose of persuasion becomes paramount (see Sonesson,

to appear b). The difference here, however, is that while there is a source text to which these missionary intentions are added, Nida would certainly not be interested in the original text being recognized beyond that which is presented – and this contrasts with such a recognition being needed for parody and satire being present.

6. Conclusion

On the one hand, Dinda Gorrée's new book is a rich source for discovering quotations from Peirce which are not in the common market. On the other hand, it purports to go beyond the Jakobsonian quasi-identification, in Jakobson's terms, of translation proper, rewording, and transmutation. It remains unclear how the former part is supposed to contribute to the latter, in particular without going beyond the references to Peirce's writings. The contribution of the book consists in the introduction of the notion of transduction, which, although it turns out to be ambiguous, offers some examples which should really be taken into account in the study of intersemiosis, both when, as in the examples given in the running text, it is taken to involve some further schema applied to the outcome of the process of translation, and when it comes close to a notion of Bakhtin, to which Kristeva gave the name intertextuality, and as it was later explored in a more serious fashion by Genette. There is every reason to salute this book for broadening the scope of the domain of intersemiosis beyond the wildest dreams of Roman Jakobson.

NOTES

1 For similar, but also complementary, points, see Jia (2017), which however does not take into account Gorrée's recent book, nor my papers.

2 A point also made by Silverstein 2003: 76ff.

3 Gorrée (2015: 17) also refers to Keane (2013: 10), who takes the term from Silverstein, but uses it in a more esoteric sense: 'from invisible to visible, from immaterial to material, and from intelligible to sensible.'

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Göran Sonesson is Professor of Semiotics and Head of the Centre for Cognitive Semiotics at Lund University, Sweden.

E-mail: goran.sonesson@semiotik.lu.se

Book Reviews

Anna Anastasiadis-Symeonidis

SIGNATA. *Annales des sémiotiques/Annals of semiotics* 8/2017. *La notion de paradigme dans les sciences du langage/The Paradigm Concept in the Sciences of Language*. Dossier dirigé par P. Basso Fossali & M. Colas-Blaise. Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège.

Le présent numéro thématique de *Signata* est issu des contributions à l'intérieur de séminaire LanDES consacré à la thématique du 'paradigme' (p. 101, 269) commentées par d'éminents linguistes, ce qui explique l'originalité des sujets traités ainsi que la haute qualité des articles. Le volume est divisé en deux parties: Le dossier, la partie qui est consacrée à la notion de paradigme du point de vue de la sémiotique linguistique, et varia, qui comprend deux contributions. Notre présentation se limitera à la première partie, qui se subdivise en six sections, chacune comprenant deux contributions: la vie des paradigmes, pratiques paradigmatiques, la mise en question des paradigmes, les paradigmes en discours, degrés de complexification paradigmatique, conditions de résistance d'une notion classique. Pourtant, cette division aurait pu être moins détaillée, vue le fait que la plupart des douze contributions partagent des traits communs, comme par exemple la référence au discours ou les pratiques paradigmatiques.

Dans ce volume, la notion de paradigme est éclairée en profondeur avec un regard neuf et grosso modo homogène malgré la diversité des niveaux de l'analyse linguistique, des domaines et des courants examinés (phonique, morphologique, syntaxique, sémantique, textuel – lexique – linguistique historique, structurale, interactionnelle, de l'énonciation, sémantique interprétative). La plupart des auteurs passent en revue une série de définitions de la notion de paradigme, en s'arrêtant sur celles en linguistique et en épistémologie. Pour la définition en linguistique, les traits définitoires sont fondés sur l'opposition syntagme/paradigme ainsi que sur leurs principes fonctionnels respectifs, de l'ordre de la combinaison pour le premier, et de la substitution pour le second. Il y a aussi des contributions, par exemple celles de Rabatel, de Colas-Blaise et de Basso Fossali, qui ont essayé de montrer avec succès le lien, d'un côté, entre l'acception du terme de paradigme en linguistique, qui n'est utilisé que par les linguistes, et de l'autre, de celle en philosophie/épistémologie, à savoir 'système de représentations de connaissance' ou 'forme épistémique de la pensée dans une époque culturelle' (Kuhn 1962), la seule rencontrée dans le langage ordinaire. 'En apprenant un paradigme, l'homme de science

acquiert à la fois une théorie, des méthodes et des critères de jugements, généralement en un mélange inextricable' (Kuhn 1962).

Tout d'abord les théories des grands linguistes qui ont fondé et creusé la notion de paradigme sur le plan de l'organisation des systèmes linguistiques comme Saussure, Hjelmslev, Greimas, Jakobson, Martinet, sont présentées avec clarté. En outre, ce panorama est complété par un renouvellement de la notion de paradigme sur le plan de l'organisation des langues et avant tout des discours, aussi bien que sur les relations entre langue et parole, chez des linguistes comme Pottier, Rastier, Halliday. Cependant, la présentation de la théorie de Danièle Corbin aurait complété ce panorama, puisque, dans sa théorie de Morphologie Constructionnelle, les affixes concurrents appartenant à la même Règle de Construction de Mots en forment le paradigme.

De même, le lecteur trouvera des réflexions éclairantes dans le cas des langages non verbaux. Le volume s'ouvre avec le texte de présentation en français et en anglais de Basso Fossali, qui pose les jalons des questions qui seront examinées. Ce texte ne figure pas dans la table des matières. L'article de Matieux Goux focalise sur la reconnaissance en tant que paradigme à part entière, dans les textes de description linguistique à l'époque classique, de la catégorie des déterminants et avant tout de l'article défini comme classe grammaticale, reconnaissance tardive due en grande partie au poids qu'exerçait la tradition grammaticale latine (textes de Meigret, Estienne et Irson). L'auteur adopte une définition restreinte de la notion de paradigme 'deux éléments du système linguistique sont en relation paradigmatique du moment qu'ils peuvent commuter dans un environnement syntaxique donné sans entraîner d'agrammaticalité' (p. 21). Un statut intermédiaire est accordé dans les textes de Maupas et Chiflet. Mais la reconnaissance du déterminant pas seulement comme morphème grammatical mais comme une partie du discours, une catégorie grammaticale, donc comme paradigme, a été consacrée dans la *Grammaire* de Port-Royal et fondée sur des considérations sémantiques et référentielles, position généralisée dans les grammaires du XVIII^e siècle.

La contribution de Jean-François Sablayrolles concerne les rapports entre paradigme et créativité lexicale en discours, le terme de paradigme étant pris dans ses acceptions au sein des sciences du langage: élément pris comme modèle de référence et ensemble des formes qu'il représente, par exemple les créations flexionnelles et le paradigme dérivationnel. L'auteur observe d'un oeil attentif et méticuleux d'une part comment des trous du lexique sont comblés par des créations construites par analogie ou par application de règles, et, de l'autre, les réactions suscitées par ces créations chez les locuteurs natifs. Dans les énoncés apparaissent parfois des néologismes flexionnels, qui constituent par ex. des créations accidentelles et inconscientes, ex. *vous buverez*, des créations délibérées, ex. *nous nous en allerons*, ou des créations créatrices de sens, ex. le slogan *je travaille, tu travailles, il travaille, nous travaillons, vous travaillez, ils profitent*. Par ailleurs, les natifs sont amenés à créer des dérivés non attestés dans le lexique conventionnel tel qu'il est consigné dans les dictionnaires, en utilisant plusieurs procédés, ex. la dérivation inverse: *alphabète* créé sur *analphabète*, la suffixation: *la bravitude*, la conversion: à partir d'*esclave* création du verbe *esclaver*. De même des familles de mots sont construites sur la même

base. Nous sommes d'accord avec les conclusions proposées par cette recherche: adopter une conception large et scalaire de la néologie, s'interroger sur les raisons de l'émergence des néologismes et, enfin, prendre en compte les jugements épilinguistiques des locuteurs natifs.

L'article de Catherine Fuchs examine les liens entre comparaison et paradigme. Tout d'abord, l'auteur examine la polysémie du terme de paradigme, en fonction du domaine scientifique où il s'applique (psychologie, linguistique, épistémologie) et procède, de façon originale, à la distinction d'une part, d'une perspective extensionnelle dans l'acceptation du paradigme comme classe d'équivalence fonctionnellement définie entre des objets donnés (p. 53), et, de l'autre, d'une approche intensionnelle du paradigme, fondée sur la propriété saillante du modèle (objet que l'on montre à titre d'exemple). Par la suite, l'auteur aborde les structures comparatives d'égalité et d'inégalité sous les deux facettes de la notion de paradigme présentées ci-dessus: d'une part la comparaison quantitative et la comparaison qualitative simple de ressemblance par similarité, s'appuyant sur un paradigme appréhendé en extension, et, de l'autre, la comparaison qualitative figurative de ressemblance par analogie, qui s'appuie sur un paradigme abordé en intension.

Bien qu'en syntaxe généralement l'accent soit mis sur les relations de dépendance, l'article de Nathalie Rossi-Gensane se propose d'examiner les relations d'équivalence à la lumière de certaines relations d'entassement, la juxtaposition étant considérée comme une coordination non marquée, dans le but de mettre en avant des relations syntaxiques d'ordre paradigmatique. L'auteur examine de façon critique la notion de coordination et propose en plus une coordination au-delà d'une phrase définie à partir d'un critère uniquement syntaxique. Ensuite l'auteur examine l'apposition, qui ne semble pas rangée dans les relations d'équivalence et dans les relations d'entassement, ainsi que son statut syntaxique, puisque, plutôt que d'une relation, il s'agit d'une fonction incidente à un nom, ex. *Lyon, capitale de la France, a une longue histoire*. L'auteur propose aussi la notion de relais relevant de relations d'équivalence, qui constitue un pendant syntaxique à la notion, d'ordre sémantique, de reformulation, ex. *la leur d'affolement, pour ne pas dire de folie, qu'il percevait à présent dans ses yeux avait découragé chez lui toute pulsion érotique*, ainsi que la notion de reprise syntaxique, relation d'équivalence, mais non d'entassement, ex. *ma soeur, elle adore le chocolat*.

Ayant comme point de départ que la notion de paradigme renvoie à une classe constituée par le test de la commutation des éléments et/ou l'observation de leurs distributions (p. 126), Danielle Leeman, appuyée sur des exemples livrés par le *Dictionnaire Électronique des Synonymes* du CRI-SCO et par GOOGLE, met en avant le fait que, dans la conception de la langue comme système, aucune unité ne peut avoir exactement les mêmes propriétés qu'une autre, car la commutation ne peut pas s'opérer dans tous les contextes. Ceci a pour conséquence la mise en doute de l'existence de classes dans le cadre de la linguistique de corpus. Néanmoins, l'utilité de ces classes a été prouvée dans des projets en vue de la traduction automatique. Enfin, l'auteur montre avec succès que, malgré l'existence de paradigmes de la grammaire de langue, les classes observables en discours ne correspondent pas à celles que l'on postule pour la langue, ce qui est dû au point de vue qu'a une société à un moment donné de son histoire sur les référents des mots.

L'objectif de l'article de Véronique Traverso est d'examiner la notion de paradigme à la lumière de l'appareillage conceptuel de la linguistique interactionnelle, qui étudie les processus liés à la production et à la réception de la parole, par des locuteurs engagés dans les situations sociales. Après avoir présenté la notion d'entassement linguistique du modèle aixois, l'auteur focalise sur certaines notions centrales, comme le caractère temporalisé de la production de la parole et le choix du point de vue 'émique', point de vue des membres. La première comprend les notions de temporalité (succession d'éléments), de séquentialité (implication d'un élément suivant par un premier élément) et de progressivité (orientation des participants vers l'avancée de l'interaction, par l'enchaînement attendu d'éléments). Sous cette lumière, le syntagme est lié à la notion de progressivité; par contre, le paradigme pourrait paraître immobile et hors du temps. Par conséquent, recourir au paradigme pour la description des fonctionnements interactionnels impliquerait d'en étendre la portée, en le temporalisant. C'est la proposition de l'auteur, qui offre une description temporalisée de cas de recherche de mot, puisés dans des corpus oraux.

Dans sa contribution, Emmanuelle Prak-Derrington s'intéresse aux figures de répétition dites d'élocution, qui relèvent de la répétition réticulaire, un entrelacement régulier de figures de répétition, à tous les niveaux de l'analyse linguistique, qui obéit au principe de cohésion rythmique. Basée sur des exemples appartenant au discours épideictique, et principalement au discours politique, mais aussi au discours publicitaire, donc de l'oral élaboré, l'auteur montre que la cohésion rythmique se définit par deux propriétés conjointes: la mise en suspens du principe de substitution paradigmatique et la figuralité de cette mise en suspens. La cohésion rythmique est fondée sur une paradigmatisme spécifique: les paradigmes *in absentia* de la langue deviennent des paradigmes *in praesentia* dans le discours. La répétition, un phénomène perceptif, identifié sensoriellement, instaure des paradigmes rythmiques, construits sur des signifiants non-substituables, ayant des répercussions directes sur l'interprétation sémantique. Sa fonction rassérénante permet à l'auditoire de prévoir l'à-venir des énoncés.

Alain Rabatel, qui se concentre sur la notion de paradigme et de ses traits (opérations de substitution et de commutation, rapports associatifs, paradigmes clos/ ouverts, paradigme scientifique), examine de façon critique les limites de la notion de paradigme en langue et propose une nouvelle approche avec l'extension de la notion de paradigme dans un cadre transphrasique, en introduisant la notion de paradigmatisme. Après avoir montré que substitution et commutation ne sont pas des notions synonymes, il montre l'opacité de la notion de substitution et la réduction à certains types de rapports associatifs de la notion de paradigme, qui est pourtant complexe, et met en avant le fait que la distinction *in praesentia* vs *in absentia* convient peu pour l'analyse des interactions orales, c'est-à-dire si l'on prend en compte la diversité des usages où des phénomènes (macro-)syntaxiques, textuels, rhétorico-pragma-énonciatifs ont lieu. Cela montre que le paradigme ne repose pas toujours sur un nombre fini d'éléments ou sur des données préconstruites, mais qu'il se construit aussi dans le texte.

Bien que la dualité axe paradigmatique-système virtuel/axe syntagmatique-procès réalisé

soit bien ancrée en linguistique, Jacques Fontanille souligne qu'en sémiotique il y a au moins quatre mode d'existence: le virtuel, l'actuel, le potentiel et le réel, propose qu'il y a des formes syntagmatiques qui constituent des paradigmes qui n'appartiennent pas au système et distingue les virtualités du système paradigmatique et les potentialités des solutions syntagmatiques. Après avoir examiné la notion de manifestation chez Hjelmslev et Greimas, il focalise sur la notion de lapsus, qui constitue une substitution qui n'accède pourtant pas au statut de commutation, sa pertinence étant incomplète. Le procès de manifestation est guidé par l'attention et l'intention, notions travaillées par Freud, dont le trouble peut conduire au lapsus. Enfin, l'auteur arrive à juste titre à la conclusion qu'un paradigme n'est pas seulement une classe d'unités disponibles pour la manifestation, parce qu'il est marqué par tout usage antérieur ou concomitant, et que la manifestation est une compétition, issue d'une composition de forces d'énonciation.

L'article de Marion Colas-Blaise a comme objectif d'approfondir la notion de paradigme pour une théorie sémiotique de l'énonciation. Après avoir examiné la polysémie du terme de paradigme, l'auteur s'oppose à une vue statique du paradigme et plaide pour une conception dynamique/dynamiciste dans le processus de la construction du sens, en déplaçant l'accent vers le déroulement textuel/discursif. Le paradigme est considéré comme un espace continu et comme le lieu d'une variation interne et intrinsèque. Par ailleurs, elle met l'accent sur le processus de paradigmatization, envisagée comme une stratégie textuelle/discursive et comme une activité énonciative interne, qu'elle aborde sous l'angle de la reformulation et plus précisément de la reformulation de reconsidération.

L'article de Sémir Badir et de Lorenzo Cigana présente le concept hjelmslévien de paradigme et l'évolution du concept des rapports associatifs de Saussure (1916), sans organisation interne, vers la notion de paradigme et de classes/catégories, qui apparaissent plus systématiques, dérivés spécifiques des concepts de corrélation et de système. Après avoir présenté les caractéristiques du concept de paradigme qui n'apparaissent pas explicitement dans la définition par Hjelmslev, les auteurs procèdent à l'analyse de la place du paradigme dans l'analyse du sens dans le cadre de la théorie glossématique et de la sémiotique de Greimas, dont la fidélité à la théorie évoquée par Hjelmslev se marque dans l'usage de paradigmes pour fermer les inventaires sémantiques. Le paradigme se révèle être un des concepts les plus fondamentaux de la linguistique structurale et de la sémiotique, malgré la réévaluation nécessaire au nom de l'ouverture du sens comme elle se pratique désormais en sémiotique.

La contribution d'une étendue considérable de Pierluigi Basso Fossali, résultat d'une enquête de grande envergure, constitue une exploration théorique sur la contribution de l'organisation paradigmatique à la gestion du sens en acte, ayant comme objectif d'illustrer, de démontrer et de schématiser le principe de la résolution paradigmatique de la complexité. L'auteur, qui jette une lumière innovante sur la notion de paradigme, s'arrête sur la polysémie de ce terme, dans le but d'en présenter une schématisation unificatrice, où seront traités les concepts de densité (illimitation), d'extensionnalité/intensionnalité, de prédication distribuée, de compétition phém-

ique et de distribution phorique, de configuration, de systématisation, de domanialisation, d'euphémisme et de dysphémisme, ainsi que de pression, d'influence, de résonance et d'absorption. Toutefois, l'usage d'une terminologie savante mais personnelle pourrait constituer un obstacle pour la compréhension profonde du cadre théorique proposé. De même, le texte aurait gagné en clarté s'il était illustré par des exemples.

Bien que l'opposition paradigme/syntagme fasse partie des dualités fondamentales de l'analyse linguistique issues du structuralisme et passées dans la tradition grammaticale, la réactualisation de la réflexion sur le paradigme est un fait. C'est la raison pour laquelle, à notre avis, les auteurs du présent volume ont eu raison de s'interroger, un siècle après, sur la notion de paradigme dans les sciences du langage, l'ancrage théorique principal étant fourni par la sémiotique: en effet, la définition de la notion de paradigme en linguistique structurale, la distinction *in praesentia/in absentia* ou la subordination du paradigmatique à la syntaxe ne restent encore valables que pour la langue écrite, car la recherche concernant la langue parlée, dont le caractère processuel éclaire les étapes de sa confection, a depuis longtemps montré ses limites. Par conséquent, une réactualisation de la notion de paradigme était nécessaire, étant donné que le paradigme concerne non seulement la langue mais aussi le discours, avant tout dans les recherches sémiotiques actuelles, et qu'il possède des facettes multiples: flexionnel, dérivationnel, désignationnel, fonctionnel, catégoriel – paradigmes à liste close ou ouverte. D'où l'intérêt que présente ce volume, lecture incontournable sur la mise à jour nécessaire de la notion de paradigme, par l'introduction de la dynamique dans le paradigme lui-même, de l'articulation du discontinu avec le continu, ou de la relation entre le paradigmatique et la syntaxe.

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Anna Anastasiadis-Syméonidis est Professeure Emérite de Linguistique Générale à l'Université Aristote de Thessaloniki, Grèce.

Email: ansym@lit.auth.gr

Book Review

Magdalena Nowotna

Fontanille, Jacques 2015. *Formes de vie*. Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, pp. 278, 36.00 €, ISBN (10) 2875620665, ISBN (13) 9782875620668).

Formes de vie de Jacques Fontanille est plus qu'un livre, un univers sémiotique, il est à lui seul une sémiosphère pour utiliser le terme de Lotman, si apprécié par l'auteur des *Formes*. Fontanille trace un parcours, il nous propose une promenade, un itinéraire, un chemin de vie, 'au milieu de notre vie', qui contrairement à Dante ne se sent pas égaré dans les méandres existentiels de la forêt des idées et leurs concepts, cette forêt bien que dense et forte est néanmoins moins sauvage que celle du grand florentin, au moins pour certains, espérons-le, lecteurs potentiels. Fontanille nous conduit à travers ces branchages et ramifications qui n'ont rien à envier de l'aspect effroyable à ceux dépeints par l'esprit dantesque. La densité est, il me semble, l'effet de sens du souci de l'exactitude et de l'exhaustivité. En partant de la création vers la cristallisation des formes complexes mais savoureuses dans cette complexité. Comme dans la métaphore du sang: au début nous avons un liquide presque transparent qui coule facilement, à la fin c'est une épaisse croûte solide. Du primaire sensible informe on arrive aux formes extrêmement stratifiées et bien construites où *l'intentio autoris* dans l'empilement des niveaux conceptuels est là pour nous préciser et re-préciser la signification de la chose. Il se peut que la cause de l'honnêteté intellectuelle produit souvent des propos redondants mais utilisant toutes les possibilités de l'interprétation et, de ce fait, nous prémunit des mauvaises aventures en annulant les doutes. Par exemple:

Mais si l'on considère les formes de vie comme le type se sémiose le plus englobant qu'il soit possible d'identifier aujourd'hui, cette notion doit également être confrontée à celle qui, tout en ne prétendant pas au statut de 'sémiotique objet' à part entière, avec plan du contenu et plan de l'expression, visent néanmoins à définir des formes d'organisations sociales ou culturelles (...) susceptibles de 'faire sens' ou du moins de concourir à procurer du sens au monde que nous habitons et avec lequel nous interagissons. (Fontanille 2015: 11)

Un projet énorme dans son envergure, un projet total.

Dans le premier chapitre la vie prend forme, entre nature et société, parle de la création de l'univers sensible. On part 'de la sémiotique du vivant' pour arriver 'aux formes de vie'. De la matière du vivant, manière de vivre et de sentir, nous sommes conduits aux formes, formes de vie. Les formes de vie prennent forme dans la cohérence et la congruence. Variations de la présence sensible.

Le deuxième chapitre, passe du sensible aux régimes des croyances mis en concurrence: provocations, conflits et concessions. Il est question des provocations éthiques et esthétiques. Les sensations et les significations se concrétisent. Le beau geste par exemple. Ensuite il y a la mauvaise foi et bien évidemment la part de l'Autre. Un destinataire apparaît, le Destinataire transcendant (Fontanille 2015: 63) qui est évoqué en tant que 'garant de la mise en œuvre d'un système de valeurs à priori' et un tiers actant pour 'garantir la grille culturelle de référence (...)'.

Le troisième chapitre nous amène vers l'espace-temps de la persistance et de la persévérance. En passant par la périodicité et les territorialités. Là où les formes de vie vivent.

Les grands jalons balisent le parcours mais dans chaque jalon-station nous descendons dans les profondeurs des descriptions pour réfléchir sur les nuances possibles de chacune des grandes problématiques détaillant les variantes possibles des formes de vie, leurs modalités d'être, la façon de l'appréhender à l'aide de l'appareillage sémiotique, leurs façons de s'articuler avec les autres.

Ainsi dans le chapitre premier une question intrigante est posée: la vie peut-elle mentir, ouvrant la discussion sur la dimension fiduciaire et donc la véridiction. Une question métaphysique qui surprend agréablement dans cette forêt de purs concepts.

Dans le deuxième chapitre: le cas du beau geste attire notre attention et notamment la magnifique analyse de la ballade *Le gant* de Schiller (Fontanille 2015: 70) ou on réfléchit comment dans le beau geste l'acte se transforme en geste éthique. Le phénomène de la beauté transforme en valeur esthétique. 'Le beau geste, puisqu'il relève de la sensibilité éthique, va de ce fait adopter un style, une manière esthétique de mettre en œuvre l'agencement syntagmatique du procès. (...)'. Dans le cas du chevalier de Schiller, on pourrait parler de 'dislocation' du procès, car et en segmentant et démarquant la séquence qui précède, la rupture, son geste interrompt la chaîne de l'échange proposée par la dame et conforte par le public, témoin de la scène, et il initialise un nouveau segment, obéissant à d'autres règles encore indéterminées' (Fontanille 2015: 71).

La vision du monde est en général immanentiste avec quelques incursions au-delà de la structure sémiosphérique, au-delà de la sémiosphère comme c'est le cas du destinataire et du tiers actant mentionnés à la page 63 ou encore la périodicité au dernier chapitre ou on se connecte avec la vie réelle.

Impressionnant.

Magdalena Nowotna est Professeur des universités émérite en *Théorie littéraire, Traductologie, Etudes Polonaises* à L'INALCO (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales) à Paris.

Email: mmnowotna@gmail.com

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