I Representation, meaning and language

In this chapter we will be concentrating on one of the key processes in the 'cultural circuit' (see du Gay, Hall et al., 1997, and the Introduction to this volume) – the practices of representation. The aim of this chapter is to introduce you to this topic, and to explain what it is about and why we give it such importance in cultural studies.

The concept of representation has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture. Representation connects meaning and language to culture. But what exactly do people mean by it? What does representation have to do with culture and meaning? One common-sense usage of the term is as follows: 'Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people.' You may well ask, 'Is that all?' Well, yes and no. Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things. But this is a far from simple or straightforward process, as you will soon discover.

How does the concept of representation connect meaning and language to culture? In order to explore this connection further, we will look at a number of different theories about how language is used to represent the world. Here we will be drawing a distinction between three different accounts or theories: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approaches to representation. Does language simply reflect a meaning which already exists out there in the world of objects, people and events (reflective)? Does language express only what the speaker or writer or painter wants to say, his or her personally intended meaning (intentional)? Or is meaning constructed in and through language (constructionist)? You will learn more in a moment about these three approaches.

Most of the chapter will be spent exploring the constructionist approach, because it is this perspective which has had the most significant impact on cultural studies in recent years. This chapter chooses to examine two major variants or models of the constructionist approach – the semiotic approach, greatly influenced by the great Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, and the discursive approach, associated with the French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault. Later chapters in this book will take up these two theories again, among others, so you will have an opportunity to consolidate your understanding of them, and to apply them to different areas of analysis. Other chapters will introduce theoretical paradigms which apply constructionist approaches in different ways to that of semiotics and Foucault. All, however, put in question the very nature of representation.
We turn to this question first.
1.1 Making meaning, representing things

What does the word representation really mean, in this context? What does the process of representation involve? How does representation work?

To put it briefly, representation is the production of meaning through language. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary suggests two relevant meanings for the word:

1. To represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination; to place a likeness of it before us in our mind or in the senses; as, for example, in the sentence, ‘This picture represents the murder of Abel by Cain.’

2. To represent also means to symbolize, stand for, to be a specimen of, or to substitute for; as in the sentence, ‘In Christianity, the cross represents the suffering and crucifixion of Christ.’

The figures in the painting stand in the place of, and at the same time, stand for the story of Cain and Abel. Likewise, the cross simply consists of two wooden planks nailed together; but in the context of Christian belief and teaching, it takes on, symbolizes or comes to stand for a wider set of meanings about the crucifixion of the Son of God, and this is a concept we can put into words and pictures.

**ACTIVITY 1**

Here is a simple exercise about representation. Look at any familiar object in the room. You will immediately recognize what it is. But how do you know what the object is? What does ‘recognize’ mean?

Now try to make yourself conscious of what you are doing – observe what is going on as you do it. You recognize what it is because your thought-processes decode your visual perception of the object in terms of a concept of it which you have in your head. This must be so because, if you look away from the object, you can still think about it by conjuring it up, as we say, ‘in your mind’s eye’. Go on – try to follow the process as it happens: There is the object ... and there is the concept in your head which tells you what it is, what your visual image of it means.

Now, tell me what it is. Say it aloud: ‘It’s a lamp’ – or a table or a book or the phone or whatever. The concept of the object has passed through your mental representation of it to me via the word for it which you have just used. The word stands for or represents the concept, and can be used to reference or designate either a ‘real’ object in the world or indeed even some imaginary object, like angels dancing on the head of a pin, which no one has ever actually seen.

This is how you give meaning to things through language. This is how you ‘make sense of’ the world of people, objects and events, and how you are able to express a complex thought about those things to other people, or
communicate about them through language in ways which other people are able to understand.

Why do we have to go through this complex process to represent our thoughts? If you put down a glass you are holding and walk out of the room, you can still think about the glass, even though it is no longer physically there. Actually, you can’t think with a glass. You can only think with the concept of the glass. As the linguists are fond of saying, ‘Dogs bark. But the concept of “dog” cannot bark or bite.’ You can’t speak with the actual glass, either. You can only speak with the word for glass — GLASS — which is the linguistic sign which we use in English to refer to objects which you drink water out of. This is where representation comes in. Representation is the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the ‘real’ world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events.

So there are two processes, two systems of representation, involved. First, there is the ‘system’ by which all sorts of objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representations which we carry around in our heads. Without them, we could not interpret the world meaningfully at all. In the first place, then, meaning depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can stand for or ‘represent’ the world, enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads.

Before we move on to look at the second ‘system of representation’, we should observe that what we have just said is a very simple version of a rather complex process. It is simple enough to see how we might form concepts for things we can perceive — people or material objects, like chairs, tables and desks. But we also form concepts of rather obscure and abstract things, which we can’t in any simple way see, feel or touch. Think, for example, of our concepts of war, or death, or friendship or love. And, as we have remarked, we also form concepts about things we never have seen, and possibly can’t or won’t ever see, and about people and places we have plainly made up. We may have a clear concept of, say, angels, mermaids, God, the Devil, or of Heaven and Hell, or of Middlemarch (the fictional provincial town in George Eliot’s novel), or Elizabeth (the heroine of Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice).

We have called this a ‘system of representation’. That is because it consists, not of individual concepts, but of different ways of organizing, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts, and of establishing complex relations between them. For example, we use the principles of similarity and difference to establish relationships between concepts or to distinguish them from one another. Thus I have an idea that in some respects birds are like planes in the sky, based on the fact that they are similar because they both fly — but I also have an idea that in other respects they are different, because one is part of nature whilst the other is man-made. This mixing and matching of
relations between concepts to form complex ideas and thoughts is possible because our concepts are arranged into different classifying systems. In this example, the first is based on a distinction between flying/not flying and the second is based on the distinction between natural/man-made. There are other principles of organization like this at work in all conceptual systems: for example, classifying according to sequence – which concept follows which – or causality – what causes what – and so on. The point here is that we are talking about, not just a random collection of concepts, but concepts organized, arranged and classified into complex relations with one another. That is what our conceptual system actually is like. However, this does not undermine the basic point. Meaning depends on the relationship between things in the world – people, objects and events, real or fictional – and the conceptual system, which can operate as mental representations of them.

Now it could be the case that the conceptual map which I carry around in my head is totally different from yours, in which case you and I would interpret or make sense of the world in totally different ways. We would be incapable of sharing our thoughts or expressing ideas about the world to each other. In fact, each of us probably does understand and interpret the world in a unique and individual way. However, we are able to communicate because we share broadly the same conceptual maps and thus make sense of or interpret the world in roughly similar ways. That is indeed what it means when we say we ‘belong to the same culture’. Because we interpret the world in roughly similar ways, we are able to build up a shared culture of meanings and thus construct a social world which we inhabit together. That is why ‘culture’ is sometimes defined in terms of ‘shared meanings or shared conceptual maps’ (see du Gay, Hall et al., 1997).

However, a shared conceptual map is not enough. We must also be able to represent or exchange meanings and concepts, and we can only do that when we also have access to a shared language. Language is therefore the second system of representation involved in the overall process of constructing meaning. Our shared conceptual map must be translated into a common language, so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images. The general term we use for words, sounds or images which carry meaning is signs. These signs stand for or represent the concepts and the conceptual relations between them which we carry around in our heads and together they make up the meaning-systems of our culture.

Signs are organized into languages and it is the existence of common languages which enable us to translate our thoughts (concepts) into words, sounds or images, and then to use these, operating as a language, to express meanings and communicate thoughts to other people. Remember that the term ‘language’ is being used here in a very broad and inclusive way. The writing system or the spoken system of a particular language are both obviously ‘languages’. But so are visual images, whether produced by hand, mechanical, electronic, digital or some other means, when they are used to express meaning. And so are other things which aren’t ‘linguistic’ in any
ordinary sense: the ‘language’ of facial expressions or gesture, for example, or the ‘language’ of fashion, of clothes, or of traffic lights. Even music is a ‘language’, with complex relations between different sounds and chords, though it is a very special case since it can’t easily be used to reference actual things or objects in the world (a point further elaborated in du Gay, ed., 1997, and Mackay, ed., 1997). Any sound, word, image or object which functions as a sign, and is organized with other signs into a system which is capable of carrying and expressing meaning is, from this point of view, ‘a language’. It is in this sense that the model of meaning which I have been analysing here is often described as a ‘linguistic’ one; and that all the theories of meaning which follow this basic model are described as belonging to ‘the linguistic turn’ in the social sciences and cultural studies.

At the heart of the meaning process in culture, then, are two related ‘systems of representation’. The first enables us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things – people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc. – and our system of concepts, our conceptual maps. The second depends on constructing a set of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into various languages which stand for or represent those concepts. The relation between ‘things’, concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call ‘representation’.

1.2 Language and representation

Just as people who belong to the same culture must share a broadly similar conceptual map, so they must also share the same way of interpreting the signs of a language, for only in this way can meanings be effectively exchanged between people. But how do we know which concept stands for which thing? Or which word effectively represents which concept? How do I know which sounds or images will carry, through language, the meaning of my concepts and what I want to say with them to you? This may seem relatively simple in the case of visual signs, because the drawing, painting, camera or TV image of a sheep bears a resemblance to the animal with a woolly coat grazing in a field to which I want to refer. Even so, we need to remind ourselves that a drawn or painted or digital version of a sheep is not exactly like a ‘real’ sheep. For one thing, most images are in two dimensions whereas the ‘real’ sheep exists in three dimensions.

Visual signs and images, even when they bear a close resemblance to the things to which they refer, are still signs: they carry meaning and thus have to be interpreted. In order to interpret them, we must have access to the two systems of representation discussed earlier: to a conceptual map which correlates the sheep in the field with the concept of a ‘sheep’; and a language system which in visual language, bears some resemblance to the real thing or ‘looks like it’ in some way. This argument is clearest if we think of a cartoon drawing or an abstract painting of a ‘sheep’, where we need a very
sophisticated conceptual and shared linguistic system to be certain that we are all 'reading' the sign in the same way. Even then we may find ourselves wondering whether it really is a picture of a sheep at all. As the relationship between the sign and its referent becomes less clear-cut, the meaning begins to slip and slide away from us into uncertainty. Meaning is no longer transparently passing from one person to another ...

So, even in the case of visual language, where the relationship between the concept and the sign seems fairly straightforward, the matter is far from simple. It is even more difficult with written or spoken language, where words don't look or sound anything like the things to which they refer. In part, this is because there are different kinds of signs. Visual signs are what are called iconic signs. That is, they bear, in their form, a certain resemblance to the object, person or event to which they refer. A photograph of a tree reproduces some of the actual conditions of our visual perception in the visual sign. Written or spoken signs, on the other hand, are what is called indexical.

FIGURE 1.2
Q: When is a sheep not a sheep?
A: When it's a work of art.
(Damien Hirst, Away from the Flock, 1994).
They bear no obvious relationship at all to the things to which they refer. The letters T.R.E.E., do not look anything like trees in Nature, nor does the word ‘tree’ in English sound like ‘real’ trees (if indeed they make any sound at all!). The relationship in these systems of representation between the sign, the concept and the object to which they might be used to refer is entirely arbitrary. By ‘arbitrary’ we mean that in principle any collection of letters or any sound in any order would do the trick equally well. Trees would not mind if we used the word SEERT – ‘trees’ written backwards – to represent the concept of them. This is clear from the fact that, in French, quite different letters and a quite different sound is used to refer to what, to all appearances, is the same thing – a ‘real’ tree – and, as far as we can tell, to the same concept – a large plant that grows in nature. The French and English seem to be using the same concept. But the concept which in English is represented by the word, TREE, is represented in French by the word, ARBRE.

1.3 Sharing the codes

The question, then, is: how do people who belong to the same culture, who share the same conceptual map and who speak or write the same language (English) know that the arbitrary combination of letters and sounds that makes up the word, TREE, will stand for or represent the concept ‘a large plant that grows in nature’? One possibility would be that the objects in the world themselves embody and fix in some way their ‘true’ meaning. But it is not at all clear that real trees know that they are trees, and even less clear that they know that the word in English which represents the concept of themselves is written TREE whereas in French it is written ARBRE! As far as they are concerned, it could just as well be written COW or VACHE or indeed XYZ. The meaning is not in the object or person or thing, nor is it in the word. It is who we fix the meaning so firmly that, after a while, it comes to seem natural and inevitable. The meaning is constructed by the system of representation. It is constructed and fixed by the code, which sets up the correlation between our conceptual system and our language system in such a way that, every time we think of a tree, the code tells us to use the English word TREE, or the French word ARBRE. The code tells us that, in our culture - that is, in our conceptual and language codes - the concept ‘tree’ is represented by the letters T.R.E.E. arranged in a certain sequence, just as in Morse code, the sign for V (which in World War II Churchill made ‘stand for’ or represent ‘Victory’) is Dot, Dot, Dot, Dash, and in the ‘language of traffic lights’, Green = Go! and Red = Stop!

One way of thinking about ‘culture’, then, is in terms of these shared conceptual maps, shared language systems and the codes which govern the relationships of translation between them. Codes fix the relationships between concepts and signs. They stabilize meaning within different languages and cultures. They tell us which language to use to convey which idea. The reverse is also true. Codes tell us which concepts are being referred to when we hear or read which signs. By arbitrarily fixing the relationships
between our conceptual system and our linguistic systems (remember, 'linguistic' in a broad sense), codes make it possible for us to speak and to hear intelligibly, and establish the translatability between our concepts and our languages which enables meaning to pass from speaker to hearer and be effectively communicated within a culture. This translatability is not given by nature or fixed by the gods. It is the result of a set of social conventions. It is fixed socially, fixed in culture. English or French or Hindi speakers have, over time, and without conscious decision or choice, come to an unwritten agreement, a sort of unwritten cultural covenant that, in their various languages, certain signs will stand for or represent certain concepts. This is what children learn, and how they become, not simply biological individuals but cultural subjects. They learn the system and conventions of representation, the codes of their language and culture, which equip them with cultural 'know-how' enabling them to function as culturally competent subjects. Not because such knowledge is imprinted in their genes, but because they learn its conventions and so gradually become 'cultured persons' — i.e. members of their culture. They unconsciously internalize the codes which allow them to express certain concepts and ideas through their systems of representation — writing, speech, gesture, visualization, and so on — and to interpret ideas which are communicated to them using the same systems.

You may find it easier to understand, now, why meaning, language and representation are such critical elements in the study of culture. To belong to a culture is to belong to roughly the same conceptual and linguistic universe, to know how concepts and ideas translate into different languages, and how language can be interpreted to refer to or reference the world. To share these things is to see the world from within the same conceptual map and to make sense of it through the same language systems. Early anthropologists of language, like Sapir and Whorf, took this insight to its logical extreme when they argued that we are all, as it were, locked into our cultural perspectives or 'mind-sets', and that language is the best clue we have to that conceptual universe. This observation, when applied to all human cultures, lies at the root of what, today, we may think of as cultural or linguistic relativism.

**ACTIVITY 2**

You might like to think further about this question of how different cultures conceptually classify the world and what implications this has for meaning and representation.

The English make a rather simple distinction between sleet and snow. The Inuit (Eskimos) who have to survive in a very different, more extreme and hostile climate, apparently have many more words for snow and snowy weather. Consider the list of Inuit terms for snow from the Scott Polar Research Institute in Table 1.1. There are many more than in English, making much finer and more complex distinctions. The Inuit have a complex classificatory conceptual system for the weather compared with the English. The novelist Peter Hoeg, for example, writing
about Greenland in his novel, Miss Smilla’s Feeling For Snow (1994, pp. 5–6), graphically describes ‘frazzil ice’ which is ‘kneaded together into a soapy mash called porridge ice, which gradually forms free-floating plates, pancake ice, which one, cold, noonday hour, on a Sunday, freezes into a single solid sheet’. Such distinctions are too fine and elaborate even for the English who are always talking about the weather! The question, however, is – do the Inuit actually experience snow differently from the English? Their language system suggests they conceptualize the weather differently. But how far is our experience actually bounded by our linguistic and conceptual universe?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>snow</th>
<th>ice</th>
<th>siku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blowing —</td>
<td>piqtulluk</td>
<td>— pan, broken —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is snowstorming</td>
<td>piqtulluktuq</td>
<td>— ice water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falling —</td>
<td>qanik</td>
<td>melts — to make water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— is falling; is snowing</td>
<td>qaniktuq</td>
<td>candle —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light falling —</td>
<td>qaniaraq</td>
<td>flat —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light — is falling</td>
<td>qaniaraqtuq</td>
<td>glare —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first layer of — in fall</td>
<td>aprimun</td>
<td>piled —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deep soft —</td>
<td>mauya</td>
<td>rough —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>packed — to make water</td>
<td>aniu</td>
<td>shore —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light soft —</td>
<td>aquluraq</td>
<td>shorefast —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar —</td>
<td>pukak</td>
<td>slush —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waterlogged, mushy —</td>
<td>masak</td>
<td>young —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— is turning into mosisak</td>
<td>masagutuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watery —</td>
<td>maqayak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet —</td>
<td>misak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet falling —</td>
<td>qanikkuk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet — is falling</td>
<td>qanikkuktuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— drifting along a surface</td>
<td>natinuvik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— is drifting along a surface</td>
<td>natinuviktuq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— lying on a surface</td>
<td>apun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snowflake</td>
<td>qanik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is being drifted over with—</td>
<td>apiyuaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One implication of this argument about cultural codes is that, if meaning is the result, not of something fixed out there, in nature, but of our social, cultural and linguistic conventions, then meaning can never be finally fixed. We can all ‘agree’ to allow words to carry somewhat different meanings – as we have for example, with the word ‘gay’, or the use, by young people, of the word ‘wicked!’ as a term of approval. Of course, there must be some fixing of
meaning in language, or we would never be able to understand one another. We can’t get up one morning and suddenly decide to represent the concept of a ‘tree’ with the letters or the word VYXZ, and expect people to follow what we are saying. On the other hand, there is no absolute or final fixing of meaning. Social and linguistic conventions do change over time. In the language of modern managerialism, what we used to call ‘students’, ‘clients’, ‘patients’ and ‘passengers’ have all become ‘customers’. Linguistic codes vary significantly between one language and another. Many cultures do not have words for concepts which are normal and widely acceptable to us. Words constantly go out of common usage, and new phrases are coined: think, for example, of the use of ‘down-sizing’ to represent the process of firms laying people off work. Even when the actual words remain stable, their connotations shift or they acquire a different nuance. The problem is especially acute in translation. For example, does the difference in English between know and understand correspond exactly to and capture exactly the same conceptual distinction as the French make between savoir and connaître? Perhaps, but can we be sure?

The main point is that meaning does not inhere in things, in the world. It is constructed, produced. It is the result of a signifying practice – a practice that produces meaning, that makes things mean.

1.4 Theories of representation

There are broadly speaking three approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works. We may call these the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist or constructivist approaches. You might think of each as an attempt to answer the questions, ‘where do meanings come from?’ and ‘how can we tell the “true” meaning of a word or image?’

In the reflective approach, meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world. As the poet Gertrude Stein once said, ‘A rose is a rose is a rose’. In the fourth century BC, the Greeks used the notion of mimesis to explain how language, even drawing and painting, mirrored or imitated Nature; they thought of Homer’s great poem, The Iliad, as ‘imitating’ a heroic series of events. So the theory which says that language works by simply reflecting or imitating the truth that is already there and fixed in the world, is sometimes called ‘mimetic’.

Of course there is a certain obvious truth to mimetic theories of representation and language. As we’ve pointed out, visual signs do bear some relationship to the shape and texture of the objects which they represent. But, as was also pointed out earlier, a two-dimensional visual image of a rose is a sign – it should not be confused with the real plant with thorns and blooms growing in the garden. Remember also that there are many words, sounds and images which we fully well understand but which are entirely fictional or fantasy and refer to worlds which are wholly imaginary – including, many people now
think, most of *The Iliad*! Of course, I can use the word ‘rose’ to refer to real, actual plants growing in a garden, as we have said before. But this is because I know the code which links the concept with a particular word or image. I cannot think or speak or draw with an actual rose. And if someone says to me that there is no such word as ‘rose’ for a plant in her culture, the actual plant in the garden cannot resolve the failure of communication between us. Within the conventions of the different language codes we are using, we are both right – and for us to understand each other, one of us must learn the code linking the flower with the word for it in the other’s culture.

The second approach to meaning in representation argues the opposite case. It holds that it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. Words mean what the author intends they should mean. This is the **intentional approach**. Again, there is some point to this argument since we all, as individuals, do use language to convey or communicate things which are special or unique to us, to our way of seeing the world. However, as a general theory of representation through language, the intentional approach is also flawed. We cannot be the sole or unique source of meanings in language, since that would mean that we could express ourselves in entirely private languages. But the essence of language is communication and that, in turn, depends on shared linguistic conventions and shared codes. Language can never be wholly a private game. Our private intended meanings, however personal to us, have to enter into the rules, codes and conventions of language to be shared and understood. Language is a social system through and through. This means that our private thoughts have to negotiate with all the other meanings for words or images which have been stored in language which our use of the language system will inevitably trigger into action.

The third approach recognizes this public, social character of language. It acknowledges that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language. Things don’t mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs. Hence it is called the constructivist or **constructionist approach** to meaning in language. According to this approach, we must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate. Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others.

Of course, signs may also have a material dimension. Representational systems consist of the actual sounds we make with our vocal chords, the images we make on light-sensitive paper with cameras, the marks we make with paint on canvas, the digital impulses we transmit electronically. Representation is a practice, a kind of ‘work’, which uses material objects and
effects. But the meaning depends, not on the material quality of the sign, but
on its symbolic function. It is because a particular sound or word stands for,
symbolizes or represents a concept that it can function, in language, as a sign
and convey meaning – or, as the constructionists say, signify (sign-i-fy).

1.5 The language of traffic lights

The simplest example of this point, which is critical for an understanding of
how languages function as representational systems, is the famous traffic
lights example. A traffic light is a machine which produces different
coloured lights in sequence. The effect of light of different wavelengths on
the eye – which is a natural and material phenomenon – produces the
sensation of different colours. Now these things certainly do exist in the
material world. But it is our culture which breaks the spectrum of light into
different colours, distinguishes them from one another and attaches names –
Red, Green, Yellow, Blue – to them. We use a way of classifying the colour
spectrum to create colours which are different from one another. We
represent or symbolize the different colours and classify them according to
different colour-concepts. This is the conceptual colour system of our
culture. We say ‘our culture’ because, of course, other cultures may divide the
colour spectrum differently. What’s more, they certainly use different actual
words or letters to identify different colours: what we call ‘red’, the French call
‘rouge’ and so on. This is the linguistic code – the one which correlates certain
words (signs) with certain colours (concepts), and thus enables us to
communicate about colours to other people, using ‘the language of colours’.

But how do we use this representational or symbolic system to regulate the
traffic? Colours do not have any ‘true’ or fixed meaning in that sense. Red
does not mean ‘Stop’ in nature, any more than Green means ‘Go’. In other
settings, Red may stand for, symbolize or represent ‘Blood’ or ‘Danger’ or
‘Communism’; and Green may represent ‘Ireland’ or ‘The Countryside’ or
‘Environmentalism’. Even these meanings can change. In the ‘language of
electric plugs’, Red used to mean ‘the connection with the positive charge’
but this was arbitrarily and without explanation changed to Brown! But then
for many years the producers of plugs had to attach a slip of paper telling
people that the code or convention had changed, otherwise how would they
know? Red and Green work in the language of traffic lights because ‘Stop’ and
‘Go’ are the meanings which have been assigned to them in our culture by the
code or conventions governing this language, and this code is widely known
and almost universally obeyed in our culture and cultures like ours – though
we can well imagine other cultures which did not possess the code, in which
this language would be a complete mystery.

Let us stay with the example for a moment, to explore a little further how,
according to the constructionist approach to representation, colours and the
‘language of traffic lights’ work as a signifying or representational system.
Recall the two representational systems we spoke of earlier. First, there is the
conceptual map of colours in our culture – the way colours are distinguished
from one another, classified and arranged in our mental universe. Secondly,
there are the ways words or images are correlated with colours in our
language – our linguistic colour-codes. Actually, of course, a language
of colours consists of more than just the individual words for different points on
the colour spectrum. It also depends on how they function in relation to one
another – the sorts of things which are governed by grammar and syntax in
written or spoken languages, which allow us to express rather complex ideas.
In the language of traffic lights, it is the sequence and position of the colours,
as well as the colours themselves, which enable them to carry meaning and
thus function as signs.

Does it matter which colours we use? No, the constructionists argue. This is
because what signifies is not the colours themselves but (a) the fact that they
are different and can be distinguished from one another; and (b) the fact that
they are organized into a particular sequence – Red followed by Green, with
sometimes a warning Amber in between which says, in effect, ‘Get ready!
Lights about to change.’ Constructionists put this point in the following way.
What signifies, what carries meaning – they argue – is not each colour in
itself nor even the concept or word for it. It is the difference between Red and
Green which signifies. This is a very important principle, in general, about
representation and meaning, and we shall return to it on more than one
occasion in the chapters which follow. Think about it in these terms. If you
couldn’t differentiate between Red and Green, you couldn’t use one to mean
‘Stop’ and the other to mean ‘Go’. In the same way, it is only the difference
between the letters P and T which enable the word SHEEP to be linked, in the
English language code, to the concept of ‘the animal with four legs and a
woolly coat’, and the word SHEET to ‘the material we use to cover ourselves
in bed at night’.

In principle, any combination of colours – like any collection of letters in
written language or of sounds in spoken language – would do, provided they
are sufficiently different not to be confused. Constructionists express this
idea by saying that all signs are ‘arbitrary’. ‘Arbitrary’ means that there is no
natural relationship between the sign and its meaning or concept. Since Red
only means ‘Stop’ because that is how the code works, in principle any
colour would do, including Green. It is the code that fixes the meaning, not
the colour itself. This also has wider implications for the theory of
representation and meaning in language. It means that signs themselves
cannot fix meaning. Instead, meaning depends on the relation between a sign
and a concept which is fixed by a code. Meaning, the constructionists would
say, is ‘relational’.

ACTIVITY 3

Why not test this point about the arbitrary nature of the sign and the
importance of the code for yourself? Construct a code to govern the
movement of traffic using two different colours – Yellow and Blue – as in
the following:
When the yellow light is showing, ...

Now add an instruction allowing pedestrians and cyclists only to cross, using Pink.

Provided the code tells us clearly how to read or interpret each colour, and everyone agrees to interpret them in this way, any colour will do. These are just colours, just as the word SHEEP is just a jumble of letters. In French the same animal is referred to using the very different linguistic sign MOUTON. Signs are arbitrary. Their meanings are fixed by codes.

As we said earlier, traffic lights are machines, and colours are the material effect of light-waves on the retina of the eye. But objects – things – can also function as signs, provided they have been assigned a concept and meaning within our cultural and linguistic codes. As signs, they work symbolically – they represent concepts, and signify. Their effects, however, are felt in the material and social world. Red and Green function in the language of traffic lights as signs, but they have real material and social effects. They regulate the social behaviour of drivers and, without them, there would be many more traffic accidents at road intersections.

1.6 Summary

We have come a long way in exploring the nature of representation. It is time to summarize what we have learned about the constructionist approach to representation through language.

Representation is the production of meaning through language. In representation, constructionists argue, we use signs, organized into languages of different kinds, to communicate meaningfully with others. Languages can use signs to symbolize, stand for or reference objects, people and events in the so-called ‘real’ world. But they can also reference imaginary things and fantasy worlds or abstract ideas which are not in any obvious sense part of our material world. There is no simple relationship of reflection, imitation or one-to-one correspondence between language and the real world. The world is not accurately or otherwise reflected in the mirror of language. Language does not work like a mirror. Meaning is produced within language, in and through various representational systems which, for convenience, we call ‘languages’. Meaning is produced by the practice, the ‘work’, of representation. It is constructed through signifying – i.e. meaning-producing – practices.

How does this take place? In fact, it depends on two different but related systems of representation. First, the concepts which are formed in the mind function as a system of mental representation which classifies and organizes the world into meaningful categories. If we have a concept for something, we can say we know its ‘meaning’. But we cannot communicate this meaning without a second system of representation, a language. Language consists of signs organized into various relationships. But signs can only convey meaning
if we possess codes which allow us to translate our concepts into language—and vice versa. These codes are crucial for meaning and representation. They do not exist in nature but are the result of social conventions. They are a crucial part of our culture—our shared ‘maps of meaning’—which we learn and unconsciously internalize as we become members of our culture. This constructionist approach to language thus introduces the symbolic domain of life, where words and things function as signs, into the very heart of social life itself.

ACTIVITY 4

All this may seem rather abstract. But we can quickly demonstrate its relevance by an example from painting.

Look at the painting of a still life by the Spanish painter, Juan Sanchez Cotán (1521–1627), entitled Quince, Cabbage, Melon and Cucumber (Figure 1.3). It seems as if the painter has made every effort to use the ‘language of painting’ accurately to reflect these four objects, to capture or ‘imitate nature’. Is this, then, an example of a reflective or mimetic form of representation—a painting reflecting the ‘true meaning’ of what already exists in Cotán’s kitchen? Or can we find the operation of certain codes,
the language of painting used to produce a certain meaning? Start with
the question, what does the painting mean to you? What is it ‘saying’?
Then go on to ask, how is it saying it – how does representation work in
this painting?

Write down any thoughts at all that come to you on looking at the
painting. What do these objects say to you? What meanings do they
trigger off?

READING A

Now read the edited extract from an analysis of the still life by the art
critic and theorist, Norman Bryson, included as Reading A at the end of
this chapter. Don’t be concerned, at this stage, if the language seems a
little difficult and you don’t understand all the terms. Pick out the main
points about the way representation works in the painting, according to
Bryson.

Bryson is by no means the only critic of Cotán’s painting, and certainly
doesn’t provide the only ‘correct’ reading of it. That’s not the point. The
point of the example is that he helps us to see how, even in a still life,
the ‘language of painting’ does not function simply to reflect or imitate a
meaning which is already there in nature, but to produce meanings.
The act of painting is a signifying practice. Take note, in particular, of
what Bryson says about the following points:

1. the way the painting invites you, the viewer, to look – what he calls
   its ‘mode of seeing’; in part, the function of the language is to position
   you, the viewer, in a certain relation to meaning.

2. the relationship to food which is posed by the painting.

3. how, according to Bryson, ‘mathematical form’ is used by Cotán to
distort the painting so as to bring out a particular meaning. Can a
distorted meaning in painting be ‘true’?

4. the meaning of the difference between ‘creatural’ and ‘geometric’
   space: the language of painting creates its own kind of space.

If necessary, work through the extract again, picking up these specific
points.

2 Saussure’s legacy

The social constructionist view of language and representation which we have
been discussing owes a great deal to the work and influence of the Swiss
linguist, Saussure, who was born in Geneva in 1857, did much of his work in
Paris, and died in 1913. He is known as the ‘father of modern linguistics’.
For our purposes, his importance lies, not in his detailed work in linguistics,
but in his general view of representation and the way his model of language
shaped the semiotic approach to the problem of representation in a wide
diversity of cultural fields. You will recognize much about Saussure’s thinking
from what we have already said about the constructionist approach.

For Saussure, according to Jonathan Culler (1976, p. 19), the production of
meaning depends on language: ‘Language is a system of signs.’ Sounds,
images, written words, paintings, photographs, etc. function as signs within
language ‘only when they serve to express or communicate ideas ... [To]
communicate ideas, they must be part of a system of conventions ...’ (ibid.).
Material objects can function as signs and communicate meaning too, as we
saw from the ‘language of traffic lights’ example. In an important move,
Saussure analysed the sign into two further elements. There was, he argued,
the form (the actual word, image, photo, etc.), and there was the idea or
concept in your head with which the form was associated. Saussure called
the first element, the signifier, and the second element – the corresponding
concept it triggered off in your head – the signified. Every time you hear or
read or see the signifier (e.g. the word or image of a Walkman, for example), it
correlates with the signified (the concept of a portable cassette-player in your
head). Both are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between
them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains
representation. Thus ‘the sign is the union of a form which signifies
(signifier) ... and an idea signified (signified).’ Though we may speak ... as if
they are separate entities, they exist only as components of the sign ... (which
is) the central fact of language’ (Culler, 1976, p. 19).

Saussure also insisted on what in section 1 we called the arbitrary nature of
the sign: ‘There is no natural or inevitable link between the signifier and the
signified’ (ibid.). Signs do not possess a fixed or essential meaning. What
signifies, according to Saussure, is not RED or the essence of ‘red-ness’, but
the difference between RED and GREEN. Signs, Saussure argued ‘are
members of a system and are defined in relation to the other members of that
system.’ For example, it is hard to define the meaning of FATHER except in
relation to, and in terms of its difference from, other kinship terms, like
MOTHER, DAUGHTER, SON and so on.

This marking of difference within language is fundamental to the production
of meaning, according to Saussure. Even at a simple level (to repeat an
earlier example), we must be able to distinguish, within language, between
SHEEP and SHEET, before we can link one of those words to the concept of
an animal that produces wool, and the other to the concept of a cloth that
covers a bed. The simplest way of marking difference is, of course, by means
of a binary opposition – in this example, all the letters are the same except P
and T. Similarly, the meaning of a concept or word is often defined in
relation to its direct opposite – as in night/day. Later critics of Saussure were
to observe that binaries (e.g. black/white) are only one, rather simplistic, way
of establishing difference. As well as the stark difference between black and
white, there are also the many other, subtler differences between black and
dark grey, dark grey and light grey, grey and cream and off-white, off-white and
brilliant white, just as there are between night, dawn, daylight, noon, dusk,
and so on. However, his attention to binary oppositions brought Saussure to the revolutionary proposition that a language consists of signifiers, but in order to produce meaning, the signifiers have to be organized into 'a system of differences'. It is the differences between signifiers which signify.

Furthermore, the relation between the signifier and the signified, which is fixed by our cultural codes, is not—Saussure argued—permanently fixed. Words shift their meanings. The concepts (signifieds) to which they refer also change, historically, and every shift alters the conceptual map of the culture, leading different cultures, at different historical moments, to classify and think about the world differently. For many centuries, western societies have associated the word BLACK with everything that is dark, evil, forbidding, devilish, dangerous and sinful. And yet, think of how the perception of black people in America in the 1960s changed after the phrase 'Black is Beautiful' became a popular slogan—where the signifier, BLACK, was made to signify the exact opposite meaning (signified) to its previous associations. In Saussure's terms, 'Language sets up an arbitrary relation between signifiers of its own choosing on the one hand, and signifieds of its own choosing on the other. Not only does each language produce a different set of signifiers, articulating and dividing the continuum of sound (or writing or drawing or photography) in a distinctive way; each language produces a different set of signifieds; it has a distinctive and thus arbitrary way of organizing the world into concepts and categories' (Culler, 1976, p. 23).

The implications of this argument are very far-reaching for a theory of representation and for our understanding of culture. If the relationship between a signifier and its signified is the result of a system of social conventions specific to each society and to specific historical moments—then all meanings are produced within history and culture. They can never be finally fixed but are always subject to change, both from one cultural context and from one period to another. There is thus no single, unchanging, universal 'true meaning'. 'Because it is arbitrary, the sign is totally subject to history and the combination at the particular moment of a given signifier and signified is a contingent result of the historical process' (Culler, 1976, p. 36).

This opens up meaning and representation, in a radical way, to history and change. It is true that Saussure himself focused exclusively on the state of the language system at one moment of time rather than looking at linguistic change over time. However, for our purposes, the important point is the way this approach to language unfixes meaning, breaking any natural and inevitable tie between signifier and signified. This opens representation to the constant 'play' or slippage of meaning, to the constant production of new meanings, new interpretations.

However, if meaning changes, historically, and is never finally fixed, then it follows that 'taking the meaning' must involve an active process of interpretation. Meaning has to be actively 'read' or 'interpreted'. Consequently, there is a necessary and inevitable imprecision about language. The meaning we take, as viewers, readers or audiences, is never exactly the meaning which has been given by the speaker or writer or by other
viewers. And since, in order to say something meaningful, we have to enter language, where all sorts of older meanings which pre-date us, are already stored from previous eras, we can never cleanse language completely, screening out all the other, hidden meanings which might modify or distort what we want to say. For example, we can’t entirely prevent some of the negative connotations of the word BLACK from returning to mind when we read a headline like, ‘WEDNESDAY – A BLACK DAY ON THE STOCK EXCHANGE’, even if this was not intended. There is a constant sliding of meaning in all interpretation, a margin – something in excess of what we intend to say – in which other meanings overshadow the statement or the text, where other associations are awakened to life, giving what we say a different twist. So interpretation becomes an essential aspect of the process by which meaning is given and taken. The reader is as important as the writer in the production of meaning. Every signifier given or encoded with meaning has to be meaningfully interpreted or decoded by the receiver (Hall, 1980). Signs which have not been intelligibly received and interpreted are not, in any useful sense, ‘meaningful’.

2.1 The social part of language

Saussure divided language into two parts. The first consisted of the general rules and codes of the linguistic system, which all its users must share, if it is to be of use as a means of communication. The rules are the principles which we learn when we learn a language and they enable us to use language to say whatever we want. For example, in English, the preferred word order is subject–verb–object (‘the cat sat on the mat’), whereas in Latin, the verb usually comes at the end. Saussure called this underlying rule-governed structure of language, which enables us to produce well-formed sentences, the langue (the language system). The second part consisted of the particular acts of speaking or writing or drawing, which – using the structure and rules of the langue – are produced by an actual speaker or writer. He called this parole. ‘La langue is the system of language, the language as a system of forms, whereas parole is actual speech [or writing], the speech acts which are made possible by the language’ (Guller, 1976, p. 29).

For Saussure, the underlying structure of rules and codes (langue) was the social part of language, the part which could be studied with the law-like precision of a science because of its closed, limited nature. It was his preference for studying language at this level of its ‘deep structure’ which made people call Saussure and his model of language, structuralist. The second part of language, the individual speech-act or utterance (parole), he regarded as the ‘surface’ of language. There were an infinite number of such possible utterances. Hence, parole inevitably lacked those structural properties – forming a closed and limited set – which would have enabled us to study it ‘scientifically’. What made Saussure’s model appeal to many later scholars was the fact that the closed, structured character of language at the level of its rules and laws, which, according to Saussure, enabled it to be