Signs, gestures, meanings: 
Algebraic thinking from a cultural semiotic perspective

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Summary. In this presentation I will deal with the ontogenesis of algebraic thinking. Drawing on a cultural semiotic perspective, informed by current anthropological and embodied theories of knowing and learning, in the first part of my talk I will comment on the shortcomings of traditional mental approaches to cognition. In tune with contemporary research in neuroscience, cultural psychology, and semiotics, I will contend that we are better off conceiving of thinking as a sensuous and sign-mediated activity embodied in the corporeality of actions, gestures, and artifacts. In the second part of my talk, I will argue that algebraic thinking can be characterized in accordance with the semiotic means to which the students resort in order to express and deal with algebraic generality. I will draw upon results obtained in the course of a 10-year longitudinal classroom research project to offer examples of students’ forms of algebraic thinking. Two of the most elementary forms of algebraic thinking identified in our research are characterized by their contextual and embodied nature; they rely extensively upon rhythm and perceptual and deictic (linguistic and gestural) mechanisms of meaning production. Furthermore, keeping in line with the situated nature of the students’ mathematical experience, signs here usually designate their objects in an indexical manner. These elementary forms of algebraic thinking differ from the traditional one—based on the standard alphanumeric symbolism—in that the latter relies on sign distinctions of a morphological kind. Here signs cease to designate objects in the usual indexical sense to give rise to symbolic processes of recognition and manipulation governed by sign shape.

The aforementioned conception of thinking in general and the ensuing distinction of forms of algebraic thinking shed some light on the kind of abstraction that is entailed by the use of standard algebraic symbolism. They intimate some of the conceptual shifts that the students have to make in order to gain fluency in a cultural sophisticated form of mathematical thinking. Voice, gesture, and rhythm fade away. Embodied and contextual ways of signifying are then replaced with a perceptual activity where differences and similarities are a matter of morphology, and where meaning becomes relational.
INTRODUCTION

To deal with algebraic thinking in a plenary session is a bit risky. Unavoidably, it conveys the feeling of something *déjà vu*—something that has been said again and again. Indeed, since the 1980s algebraic thinking has been one of the most researched areas in mathematics education. And this is so not by chance. Among the branches of mathematics that students have to learn in school, there is none more frightening than algebra. Many students in our teachers’ training program at Laurentian University confess that everything was going well until they met algebra in Junior High School. As they admit, suddenly they found themselves in front of an abstract symbolic language, the meaning of which they could not grasp—a kind of hieroglyphic language that, to their dismay, has become like the Esperanto of modern sciences.

And it is the investigation of the students’ legendary difficulties in understanding algebra and the search for new ways to teach this subject that has kept many researchers busy for the past three decades. The question, hence, is whether or not there is really something new to say about algebraic thinking. It looks like there is not much left to be said about it. This impression would only be strengthened if you were to do a Google search. We did one at the end of November 2008, in our preparation for this talk, and our “algebraic thinking” search returned almost 176,000 hits. However, as you go through the entries, you realize that the content does not tell you much about algebraic thinking. The content is rather about items usually included in school algebra curricula. The least that can be said is that the term “algebraic thinking” has become a catch-all phrase. This may be a token of the fact that to deal with algebraic thinking is not a simple matter. It supposes that you have some sort of theory about thinking or at least a clear idea of what you mean by thinking in general. Let us pause for a moment: What do you take “thinking” to mean?

As psychologists, philosophers, anthropologists and others are willing to acknowledge, there is no simple and direct answer to this question. As odd as it may seem, thinking is something that we continuously do. Thinking is as ubiquitous as breathing. Yet, we still do not know how we think! Commenting on the elusiveness of thinking, Dan Rappaport said: “The knowledge that thinking has conquered for humanity is vast, yet our knowledge of thinking is scant. It might seem that thinking eludes its own searching eye.” (Rappaport, 1951; quoted in Benson, 1994, p. 13). Western idealist and rationalist epistemologies have conveyed the idea that thinking is something immaterial, something purely mental, bodiless. The influence of Plato’s epistemology on our understanding of thinking is perhaps greater than we are usually aware (Radford, Edwards, Arzarello, 2009).
In this article, I introduce a typology of forms of algebraic thinking based on their level of generality. The typology rests on a theoretical approach that capitalizes on the results of the 1990s algebra research agenda and supplements it by incorporating a semiotic theoretical platform. Signs lose the representational and ancillary status with which they are usually endowed in classical cognitive theories in order to become the material counterpart of thought. This semiotic platform opens up new possibilities for understanding algebraic signs and formulas in a nonconventional manner. Traditionally, letters and signs for operations (like “+”, “x”, etc.) have been considered the algebraic signs of school algebra. Alphanumeric symbolism has indeed been regarded as the semiotic system of algebra par excellence. Yet, from a semiotic perspective, signs can also be something very different. Words or gestures, for instance, are signs on their own — semiotically speaking, they could be as genuine algebraic signs as letters. Of course, as I will argue later in more detail, this does not mean that they are equivalent or that we can simply substitute the ones for the others. What makes semiotic systems unique and unsubstitutable is their mode of signifying. There are things that we can signify and intend through certain signs, and things that we cannot. Try to put Pablo Neruda’s famous poem “Canción Desesperada” [“Desperate Song”] in an algebraic formula, and you will see how hopeless the task is.

In the first part of this article, I argue that the mathematical situation at hand and the embodied and other semiotic resources that are mobilized to tackle it in analytic ways characterize the form and generality of the algebraic thinking that is thus elicited. My claim is based not only on semiotic considerations but also on new theories of cognition that stress the fundamental role of the context, the body and the senses in the way in which we come to know. In the second part, I present some concrete examples through which the typology of forms of algebraic thinking is illustrated.

**THE 1990s ALGEBRA RESEARCH AGENDA**

During the discussions held in the 1980s and 1990s, either in the PME Algebra Working Groups or in other similar research meetings (Bednarz, Kieran, & Lee, 1996; Sutherland, Rojano, Bell, & Lins, 2001), it was impossible to agree upon a minimal set of characteristics of algebraic thinking. There was, however, a more or less general consensus concerning two aspects. Algebra deals with objects of an indeterminate nature, such as unknowns, variables, and parameters. Furthermore, in algebra, such objects are dealt with in an analytic manner. What this means is that in algebra, you calculate with indeterminate quantities (i.e. you add, subtract, divide, etc. unknowns and parameters) as if you knew them, as if they were specific numbers (see, e.g., Kieran 1989; 1990; Filloy & Rojano, 1984a, 1989; Cortes, Vergnaud, & Kavafian, 1990; for some epistemological analysis, see Filloy & Rojano, 1984b; Puig, 2004; Radford & Puig, 2007; Serfati, 1999).

Of course, one way or another, algebraic objects have to be designated. The general tendency in the 1990s was to associate school algebra and algebraic thinking with the use of letters. Even if at the time the idea was not universally shared (Linchevski, 1995; Balacheff, 2001), it nonetheless prevailed and is still very strong in current research on the teaching and learning of algebra. Although I do believe that it is impossible to practice
abstract algebra (e.g., Galois Theory) without some sort of sophisticated notations, I do not think that algebra and algebraic thinking can be reduced to the use of letters. As John Mason pointed out some years ago, “the manipulation of symbols is only a small part of what algebra is really about” (1990, p. 5). Letters indeed have never been either a necessary or a sufficient condition for thinking algebraically. For instance, in his Elements, Euclid used letters without thinking algebraically. Conversely, Chinese and Babylonian mathematicians thought algebraically without using letters (Radford, 2006).

What I am suggesting here is hence this: algebra is about dealing with indeterminacy in analytic ways. But instead of giving alphanumeric symbolism the exclusive right to designate and express indeterminacy I am claiming that there is a plurality of semiotic forms to accomplish it. This is true of the practices of elementary algebra and of advanced algebra as well—even if in the latter, alphanumeric symbolism becomes more salient.

But before I go further, let me reassure you that my idea is not to challenge the power of symbolic algebra. Rather, I am trying to convince you that it is worthwhile to entertain the idea that there are many semiotic ways (other than, and along with, the symbolic one) in which to express the algebraic idea of unknown, variable, parameter, etc. I deem this point important for mathematics education for the following reason. Ontogenetically speaking, there is room for a large conceptual zone where students can start thinking algebraically even if they are not yet resorting (or at least not to a great extent) to alphanumeric signs. This zone, which we may term the zone of emergence of algebraic thinking, has remained largely ignored, as a result of our obsession with recognizing the algebraic in the symbolic only.

SENSUOUS COGNITION

My claim about a diversity of semiotic forms for dealing with algebraic indeterminacy rests on a perspective on thinking that is squarely at odds with the mental conception of thinking that informed most of the 1990s research on mathematics education. Within this mental conception of thinking signs were often considered “symptoms” of mental activity—hence the distinction between internal and external representations. Drawing on Vygotskian psychology, from the semiotic-cultural perspective advocated here, the question of the relationship between signs and thought is thematized in a different way. First, signs are considered in a broad sense, as something encompassing written as well as oral linguistic terms, mathematical symbols, gestures, etc. (Arzarello, 2006; Ernest, 2008; Radford, 2002a). Second, signs are not considered as mere indicators of mental activity. In contrast, signs are considered as constitutive parts of thinking. In more precise terms, within this semiotic-cultural perspective, thinking is considered a sensuous and sign-mediated reflective activity embodied in the corporeality of actions, gestures, and artifacts.

The adjective sensuous refers to a conception of thinking that is inextricably related to the role that the human senses play in it. Thinking is a versatile and sophisticated form of sensuous action where the various senses collaborate in the course of a multi-sensorial experience of the world (Radford, 2009a). This multi-sensory characteristic of cognition
has been emphasized by philosophers like Arnold Gehlen (1988) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945) and at its heart is the idea of the important role that the body plays in the way we come to conceptualize things. As Gallese and Lakoff recently contended,

the sensory-motor system not only provides structure to conceptual content, but also characterizes the semantic content of concepts in terms of the way that we function with our bodies in the world (Gallese and Lakoff, 2005, pp. 455–456).

In tune with such views, some researchers in our field are paying attention to the embodied nature of mathematical cognition. This is the case with Ferdinando Arzarello and the Torino Team in Italy, Rafael Núñez and Laurie Edwards in the USA, Michael Roth and the CHAT group in Canada, the Uniban research team in Brazil, etc. To mention a brief example, the Uniban research team in Brazil is investigating the role of gestures in blind children. Here gestures and tactility come to play a crucial role in understanding mathematical concepts (Figure 1).

Of course, tactility and other sensorial mediated processes are also important in non-impaired children. Ricardo Nemirovsky has suggested that instead of being mere mental processes, understanding and imagination of mathematical concepts are literally embedded in perceptuo-motor action: the “understanding of a mathematical concept spans diverse perceptuo-motor activities” (Nemirovsky, 2003, I -108), so that in this regard, “understanding is … interwoven with motor action” (Nemirovsky, 2003, I-107).

However, thinking encompasses still much more than that. Thinking is an activity that, although performed by an “I” and the “I’s body”, is ubiquitously drawing on culture’s kit of patterns of meaning-making as well as on historically constituted concepts of an ethical, political, scientific, and aesthetic nature. Thinking is bound to the context and the culture in which it takes place. This is why it is more accurate to say that thinking in general, and algebraic thinking in particular, is a body-sign-tool mediated cognitive historical praxis.

**LEARNING AS OBJECTIFICATION**

From an educational perspective, the main question is: How do the students acquire fluency in such cognitive cultural historical praxes? How do they become acquainted with
the historically constituted forms of action, reflection and reasoning that those *praxes* convey? Since mathematical forms of reasoning have been forged and refined through centuries of cognitive activity, they are far from trivial for the students. It is the historical density of such praxes, sedimented now in compact, systemic, and highly abstract formulations, that is the basis of what Vygotsky intended with his famous distinction between “quotidian” and “scientific” concepts —regardless of how unfortunate Vygotsky’s choice of terms was.

Reflective acquaintance with cognitive historical praxes and their concomitant forms of action and reasoning is what learning consists of. And, as I submitted elsewhere (Radford, 2008a), it can be theorized as *processes of objectification*, that is, those social processes through which the students grasp the cultural logic with which the objects of knowledge have been endowed and become conversant with the historically constituted forms of action and thinking.

Working within this theoretical framework, where semiotics, culture and history are driving principles, in recent years my collaborators and I have been busy in implementing classroom holistic activities that can offer the students a possibility to reflect algebraically and to get acquainted with some basic ideas of algebra in different contexts —equations, pattern generalization and, recently, graph interpretation (Radford, 2000, 2002b, 2003, 2009a; 2009b; Radford, Bardini & Sabena, 2007). Our goal has been to try to understand what I previously referred to as the *zone of emergence of algebraic thinking* and forms of algebraic thinking elicited by our activities.

Let me pause this theoretical discussion here and turn now to some short examples that come from our first longitudinal research project—a project that we conducted from 1998 to 2003 and during which we accompanied four classes of students as they went from Grade 8 to Grade 12, i.e., until the completion of high school. The examples will, I hope, give an idea of our approach and the kind of analysis we conducted.

**SOME CLASSROOM RESULTS**

The students’ first contact with algebraic symbolism occurred when they were in Grade 8. In Grade 9 we decided to start with an activity that was intended as a means to revisit the concepts learned in the previous year. In the introductory part of the activity, the students, working in groups of three, had to draw Figure 4 and Figure 5 of the sequence shown in Figure I and to find out the number of circles in Figures 10 and 100¹. In the second part of the activity, the students were asked to write a message to a student of another Grade 9 class indicating how to find out the number of circles in any figure (“*figure quelconque*”, in the original French), and then to write an algebraic formula for the number of circles in Figure n.

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¹Figures identified with Roman numbers (e.g., Figure II) refer to objects in the article, whereas figures identified with Indo-Arabic numbers (e.g., Figure 2) refer to elements of a pattern in the classroom activity given to the students.
Figure I. The sequence of the introductory pattern generalization activity in Grade 9.

**Factual Algebraic Thinking**

Usually, the students start counting the number of circles in Figures 1, 2, and 3, and realize that, in sequences like the one shown in Figure I, the number of circles increases by the same number each time. However, as the students quickly notice, this recursive relationship between consecutive figures is not really a practical way to answer the question about “big” figures, like Figure 100.

In one of the groups (formed by Jimmy, Dan, and Frank), working on the sequence shown in Figure I, the students imagined the figures as divided into two rows:

1. Dan: *(Referring to Figure I)* Well… *(pointing to the top row)* 2 on top; there, there is 3 on the bottom…
2. Jimmy: [Figure] 2, there are 3; [Figure] 3, there are 4.
3. Dan: wait a minute. Ok *(he makes a series of gestures as he speaks; see four of the six gestures in Figure II)*, Figure 1, 2 on top. Figure 2, 3 on top. Figure 3, 4. Figure 4, 5.
4. Jimmy: Figure 10, it will be 11…
5. Dan: … 11 on top, and 12 on the bottom.
6. Jimmy: All the time it will be one more in the air.
7. Frank: [Figure] 100? 101, 102…

As the students’ dialogue suggests, the generalization was accomplished in two steps. In the first step (lines 1-3), the students conceived of the figures as divided into two lines, and, drawing on perceptual observations made on the first three given figures, they were able to objectify a *regularity*: a relationship between the number of the figure and the number of circles in its rows.
The grasping of the regularity is not enough, however, to ensure the generalization. The regularity has to be generalized. And this is what the students accomplished in the following lines where they came up with a formula to find the number of circles in Figures 10 and 100. Indeed:

- In lines 4 and 5 the observed regularity of perceptually available figures was generalized to Figure 10, a figure that is not in the students’ perceptual field.
- Line 6 contains a partial linguistic formulation of the general structure of the figures, as perceived by the students: “All the time there will be one in the air”, i.e., for all figures of the sequence, there is always one unmatched circle on the bottom row.
- In line 7, Frank resorted to the objectified pattern structure in order to calculate the number of circles in Figure 100.

The students are equipped now with a formula to answer questions about Figure 1000, Figure 1 000 000, or whatever particular figure you may have in mind.

Now, I am talking about a formula, yet there are no letters! That’s true. The algebraic formula consists, rather, in a piece of embodied action. We can call it —borrowing an expression from Vergnaud (1996) and changing it slightly— an in-action-formula.

A “formula” of this concrete form of algebraic thinking can better be understood as an embodied predicate with a tacit variable: indeterminacy does not reach the level of discourse. It is present through the appearance of some of its instances (“1”, “2”, 3”, “4”, “5”, “10”, “100”). It remains an empty space to be filled up by the eventual uttering of particular terms. We call this type of situated and concrete form of algebraic thinking that operates at the level of particular number or facts factual.

Despite its apparently concrete nature, factual algebraic thinking is not a simple form of mathematical reflection. On the contrary, it rests on highly evolved mechanisms of perception and a sophisticated rhythmic coordination of gestures, words, and symbols. The grasping of the regularity and the imagining of the figures in the course of the generalization results from, and remains anchored in, a profound sensuous mediated process—showing thereby the multi-modal nature of factual algebraic thinking.

Let us turn now to the second part of the Grade 9 activity.

**Contextual Algebraic Thinking**

In the introduction I suggested that the mathematical task at hand and the social sign-mediated processes of perception and generalization can inform us of the form and generality of the algebraic thinking that is thus elicited. What kind of algebraic thinking will now be generated? The task requires that the students go beyond particular figures and

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2 The adjective factual stresses the idea that this generalization occurs within an elementary layer of generality—one in which the universe of discourse does not go beyond particular figures, like Figure 1000, Figure 3245, and so on.

3 In our current research with Grade 2 students these mechanisms of rhythmic coordination are also present, but they do not reach the subtle sensorial synchrony that we observe in older students as those reported here.
deal with a new object: a *general* figure. Indeterminacy must now become part of explicit discourse. Our question is: How will the students build the formula? In the absence of gestures and rhythm, to which linguistic mechanisms will the students resort?

In fact, in being asked to write a message, the students were invited to enter into a deeper level of objectification than the one of action and perception characteristic of factual algebraic thinking. Writing makes one render explicit things that may have remained on what neuropsychologists call the area of proto-attention, or what Husserl used to call the horizon of intentions (Husserl, 1954).

In Grade 8, writing a message that involves this new object “general figure” proved to be very difficult. As we reported in previous work (see, e.g., Radford, 2000), the students often used particular figures (like Figure 12) as examples to convey a *generic* idea or used particular figures in a *metaphorical* sense to talk about the still unutterable generality (Radford, 2002a). Sometimes the message was not complete. Here is an example: “You add 1 [circle] on the top and 1 on the bottom.”

In Grade 9, the students felt much more comfortable with this level of generality. The following message is paradigmatic of what the students wrote: ”You have to add one more circle than the number of the figure in the top row, and add one more circle than the top row to the one on the bottom.”

Of course, this procedural sentence can be seen as a *formula*. But it is very different from the one discussed in the previous section. Here, rhythm and gestures have been replaced by key descriptive terms—“top,” “bottom.” These terms are what linguists call spatial *deictics*, that is to say, words with which we describe, in a contextual way, objects in space. The indeterminate object variable is now explicitly mentioned through the term “number of the figure.” However, although different from factual algebraic thinking both in terms of the way indeterminacy is handled and the semiotic means which the students think, the new form of algebraic thinking is still contextual and “perspectival” in that it is based on a particular way of regarding something. The algebraic formula is indeed a *description* of the general term, as it was to be drawn or imagined. This is why we term this form of algebraic thinking *contextual*. Here is another Grade 9 example: “# of the figure + 1 for the top row and the # of the figure + 2 for the bottom. Add the two for the total.”

Let us turn now to the last part of the Grade 9 activity.

**Standard algebraic thinking**

Expressing the formula in algebraic standard symbolism was much more difficult than expressing it in words, both in Grades 8 and 9, although, of course, there was some progress from one year to the next. The results mentioned in the previous section shed some light on the nature of these difficulties: previously, the students could resort to a range of semiotic resources, like pointing and iconic gestures, deictics, adverbs, etc. Those

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4 It still supposes a spatially situated relationship between the individual and the object of knowledge that gives sense to expressions like “top” and “bottom”.

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rich semiotic resources do not have a place in the alphanumeric based algebraic formulas. In short, there is a drastic change in the mode of designation of the objects of discourse.

How then to designate the number of circles in a figure, in the highly condensed semiotic system of alphanumeric signs? From an ontogenetic viewpoint, direct “translation” is not something on which we can count, as we cannot count on direct translation from our native language to a new one we are just starting to learn. Direct translation presupposes that you already know the target language. In the case of the standard alphanumeric algebraic language, the situation is even worse, as this language is not even “natural.” Our standard algebraic language is artificial. Historical analysis shows that its construction was preceded by a good deal of efforts that ended up in dead ends and failures (Høyrup, 2008; Serfati, 2006).

In Grade 8, the students often resorted to particular examples. Thus, dealing with the sequence shown in Figure III, Dan and his group (in Grade 8, the group was formed by Dan, Frank and Sara), illustrated the formula through the case of Figure 100:

1. Dan: You add 3 on top, and 1 at the bottom.
2. Sara: That’s true if you go by the [form of the] figure.
3. Dan: You add 3 on top, and 1 at the bottom. Let’s say that n equals 100. It would be 100… you add 1, it would be 101 [on the bottom row]…
4. Frank: (Interrupting) and 103 [on the top row].

![Figure III](image)

*Figure III.* One of the sequences the students investigated in Grade 8.

In other cases, the students often resorted to formulas that, superficially, look to be algebraic, in particular because they contain letters. Thus, in the sequence shown in Figure III, several students in Grade 8 produced the formula $n \times 2 + 4$. However, despite its appearance, the formula is not algebraic. It was instead obtained by trial and error. Dan and his group first tried $n \times 2 + 1$, then $n \times 2 + 2$, etc. until they obtained $n \times 2 + 4$, which seemed to work in the few cases in which they tested it. This procedure is not based on an analytic way of thinking about indeterminate quantities — the chief characteristic of algebraic thinking. This procedure does not even reach the sophistication of pre-algebraic arithmetic methods such as “false position.” It is rather a kind of arithmetic naïve induction.

To counter these inductive arithmetic procedures, in the designing of the classroom activity, we added a question in which the students were asked to provide a formula for the

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5 I do not have the space here to go into the details of the delicate distinction between algebraic and arithmetic formulas. For a detailed discussion, see (Radford, 2006, 2008).
number of circles on the top row of Figure n, followed by the question of finding a formula for the total of circles in Figure n. Establishing a functional relationship between the number of the figure and the number of circles on top of the figure proved very difficult. Dan and his group suggested using two letters:

Dan: (Noticing that each figure has two more circles than the previous one) It’s plus 2 [to obtain the number of circles in the next figure], plus 2 [to obtain the number of circles in the next figure], plus 2…Unless we put 2 letters… What we would do is … the top row would be n, and the top row would be like b. After that, you do n + b + 2.

In this case, the letters n and b do not designate the number of circles in the top and bottom rows of Figure n. Actually, the number of the figure is not even taken into account. The formula, rather, expresses a vague recursive relationship.

Another Grade 8 group suggested the “cascading formula” shown in Figure IV.

![Figure IV](image)

*Figure IV. A Grade 8 student’s formula using two letters.*

The first line corresponds to the number of circles on the bottom row. The result is called “w”. This is expressed in the second line, where it is also said that you still have to add 2 to get the number of circles on the top row. This last number is called “x”, as indicated in the third line of the formula. Finally, in the last line, the students are saying that you still have to add the numbers represented by “w” and “x” to obtain the total of circles in Figure n. Not bad, although still a bit far away from the standard way to write formulas within the alphanumeric semiotic system of algebra. Not bad, even if the use of several letters and their inter-connected meanings is not fully clear for the students. As one of the students from this group said to the other two members, “You mix me up with all your letters!”

The first example (Dan’s) is interesting in that it shows that, although these students were able to produce an inductive formula that looked like an algebraic one (i.e., “nx2+4”), they did not produce the expected algebraic formula “n+3” for the top row of Figure n—even if the formula “nx2+4” seems much more complex. The complexity of the formulas cannot be judged by the number of involved terms only; the complexity of the formula should also be judged in terms of the mode of designation of the objects of discourse.

The second example is interesting in that it unveils some of the tremendous difficulties that the students have to face when using letters to intend to say what they perfectly know how to express in natural language. This problem is much more complex than a simple translation. As Glaeser remarked, the need to give an immediate meaning to every intermediate result has to be refrained (1999, p. 154). Meaning, indeed, has to be put in abeyance.
In Grade 9 we still found some formulas that resembled the formulas produced in Grade 8. But more typical of Grade 9 were the formulas shown in Figure V (these formulas correspond to the sequence shown in Figure I).

![Figure V](image)

*Figure V. Left, the formula produced by Dan’s group in Grade 9. Right, a variant of it produced by another Grade 9 group.*

Although much better than the formulas found in Grade 8, the signs in these formulas still keep the embodied and perspectival experience of the objectification process. We easily recognize in the term “n+1” the reference to the top row, as we recognize in the term “n+2” the reference to the bottom row. In Dan’s group, for instance, this embodied manner of symbolizing was made very clear:

1. Dan: No, no, well, it’s that… n + 1 is the top row…  
2. Frank: (Interrupting) Yes, I know.  
3. Dan : n + 2 is the bottom row.

As is clear from Figure V, the students add brackets to carefully distinguish between the rows. This is why, I want to suggest, the formula is an *icon*, a kind of *geometric description* of the figure. In other terms, the formula is not an abstract symbolic calculating artifact but rather a *story* that narrates, in a highly condensed manner, the students’ mathematical experience. In other words, the formula is a *narrative*. And it is the narrative dimension of the students’ iconic formulas that very often makes it possible to infer from the formula the sequence to which it corresponds (see figure VI).

That which previously was distinguished through pointing gestures and linguistic deictics is now distinguished through the effect of signs and brackets. It is precisely this “perspectival” nature of the formula that leads many students to argue that brackets cannot be removed. Otherwise, they argue, it would be impossible to know what the terms of the formula mean. Yet, this is precisely what constitutes the force of algebra—the detachment from the context in order to signify things in an abstract way. The mode of designation has to move to a different layer where signs borrow their meaning not from the things they denote but from the *relational* way they mean within the context of other signs.
Formulas as narratives. Instead of decontextualized calculations, the formulas narrate the manner in which calculations have to be carried out in close relationship to the geometry of the figures and position of their parts.

The narrative meaning of iconic symbolic formulas became even clearer when a fifth class was added to our project. As our project progressed, other teachers became interested in it and, to the extent that we could, we included new classes. The fifth class regrouped Grade 8 students who were recognized as having difficulties in following the rhythm of “regular” math classes. Dealing with the pattern shown in Figure VII (left) one group of students produced the formula shown in Figure VII (right).

The formula does not have the usual linear organization of standard algebraic formulas. Rather, signs signify in a spatial manner: as the students explained to us, the top “R” means that there are as many toothpicks on the top of the figure as the number of the figure. The “R” placed on the bottom of the formula means that there are as many toothpicks on the bottom of the figure as the number of the figure. The lateral “R” means that there are as many vertical toothpicks on the top of the figure as the number of the figure, but not really. There is an extra toothpick to be accounted for, placed at the right end, signified by the lateral sign “1.” The “+” signs mean that you have to add all of those things.

FROM ICONIC FORMULAS TO SYMBOLIC ONES

One of the important didactic problems is to implement classroom activities that will allow the students to endow their formulas with new abstract meanings. In more precise terms, the problem is to transform the iconic meaning of formulas into something that no longer designates concrete objects. For instance, the formula \((n+1) + (n+2)\) mentioned previously (Figure V), has to be seen in a new light. The narrative dimension of formulas has to collapse (Radford, 2002c). The embodied meaning of the formulas does not disappear. It rather gives rise to a more abstract one. Thus, in addition to signifying the sum of circles in the top and bottom rows, the terms of the formula have to be considered in relation to the signs that they contain. Resemblances and differences—these key aspects of signification in general (Radford, 2008b)—must no longer be exclusively based on spatial and
contextual considerations (such as “top” and “bottom”). In the new form of signifying, there is a shift in focus: attention has to be directed now to morphological differences, i.e., differences in terms of letters versus numbers. In short, meaning must become relational.

The search for the pedagogical actions allowing the students to objectify this abstract form of signifying became one of our goals, both from a theoretical and a practical viewpoint. Our strategy was based on comparing and simplifying formulas. Here is an example that deals with the sequence of squares shown in Figure VII.

The previous day, the students produced several formulas. At the beginning of the class, the teacher asked for some examples. The students mentioned two, that were written as

\[ r \cdot 3 + 1 \quad \text{and} \quad (r+1) + r \cdot 2, \]

where \( r \) stands for the rank or number of the figure.

1. Teacher: I would like to compare these formulas and to see where they come from. Brian, do you want to explain the first formula to us?

2. Brian: (Going to the blackboard). Ok, yesterday we saw that the first figure only has 1 toothpick at the bottom (he points to the bottom of Figure 1 on the blackboard) and the second figure, there were 2, third figure, there were 3. So, we added the bottom and the top, and then we saw that, in the first term, there were 2 [vertical toothpicks] (points to the vertical toothpicks of Figure 1) and Figure 2 has 3 (points to the vertical toothpicks of Figure 2) therefore, it’s always [the rank or number of the figure] plus 1. So we did the bottom plus the top plus the rank plus 1. And then we saw that... Well, we discussed a lot, and we saw that ... it was the rank, rank times 3 (points towards the first term of the formula) because it has the bottom, the top and the vertical. There was, there was, plus [one]...

3. Teacher: So you say that this (pointing to the bottom row of the first square and colouring it with blue chalk; see Figure VIII, pic. 1) is one \( r \); this is another \( r \) (pointing to the top row of the first square and colouring it with blue chalk; see pic. 2); and this is the third \( r \) (pointing to the left vertical side of the first square and colouring it with blue chalk; see pic. 3) and there remains another one [toothpick] (pointing to the second vertical line of the first square; pic. 4). So, (pointing to the formula) \( r \) times 3... I have three \( r \) here (pointing successively to the coloured sides of the first square) plus another one in each term (pointing the uncoloured right vertical side of the first square). (Then, the teacher repeated the same set of sequence of pointing gestures on Figure 2, see Figure VIII, pics. 5-8). This is the explanation of the formula. Now, Ron, would you please explain the second formula?
Ron went to the blackboard and explained the various elements of \((r+1) + r \cdot 2\). After that, the teacher encouraged a discussion about the formulas. Sandra—a student sitting at the end of the classroom—argued that both equations work but the first one was simpler. The teacher summarized the difference as follows:

1. Teacher: the difference is that here (pointing to the formula \(r \cdot 3 + 1\)) we put together the terms that were the same and we simplified. Since I am calculating the total number of toothpicks, I can put all together (while talking, she emphasized the words “same”, “simplified” and “total”). It is exactly this that the first formula does. (Smiling to the class, she says) I think that you are ready for the next activity.

The previous formula \(r \cdot 3 + 1\) looks much like Dan’s formula \(n \times 2 + 4\) discussed earlier. Yet, the difference is considerable. Brian’s formula was not produced by trial and error. It was the result of an algebraic generalizing process where general functional relationships were first identified (e.g., the number of toothpicks on top vis-à-vis the rank or number of the figure), then simplified. As Brian put it, “… it was the rank, rank times 3 because it has the bottom, the top and the vertical.” The teacher capitalized on Brian’s idea and, through a feast of clear and consecutive gestures that echoed Brian’s timid gestures, coloured parts of the first two figures to make clear for all the students the relationship between the spatial-geometric parts of the terms and their corresponding rank (Figure VIII, pic. 1-8). After showing each one of the tree \(r\) on Figure 1, she linked the first part of the formula \((r \cdot 3)\) to the three parts she had just coloured. She said: “\(r\) times 3… I have three \(r\) here,” followed by the crucial remark that there is still “another one in each term” (which corresponds to the constant term of the formula). Her coordinated gestures and words related very well the spatial elements of the figures with the corresponding parts of the formula. The idea of putting together the toothpicks on the bottom, the top and the vertical ones, led to adding the number of the figure several times.
That day, after the general discussion, the students dealt with a sequence of houses (Figure IX). The students identified the relationship between clue elements of the figures and their rank or number:

1. Raymond: the number of toothpicks in the roof is twice the number of the figure. For the walls [which included the floor], it is twice, and another wall …
2. Joyce: (Interrupting) to close the space…
3. Raymond: So, the formula is rank times 4 plus 1.

In so doing, the students entered into a new form of algebraic understanding and moved into a deep region of the zone of emergence of algebraic thinking. They moved from a referential understanding of signs (signs as referring to particular objects, like the number of toothpicks in the roof) to a morphological one —the beginning perhaps of what Kieran (1990) Kirshner (2001), Hoch & Dreyfus (2006) and others have called the structural dimension of algebra.

It is clear that the symbolic formula is no longer just iconic. Iconicity is still present, but it has receded to make room for a more concise and abstract form of signification. Naturally, the students have yet to undergo a supplementary lengthy process of objectification to become fluent with the modern form of symbolic algebraic thinking, where symbolic calculations are carried out through formal considerations only. For this to occur, new objects like $x^2$ and $x^2 + x$ will have to enter the universe of discourse and acquire a detached existence. It is not vain to recall here that this process was not easily achieved in the history of algebra. Thus, to distinguish magnitudes, Vieta—one of the founders of our modern algebraic symbolism—was still in the 16th century talking about “length”, “plane”, “solid”, etc.. Our modern way of referring to the now abstract monomials of algebra still reminds us of their embedded concrete beginnings. Indeed, monomials such as $x^2$ or $x^3$ read as “x square”, “x cube”. Our modern language hangs behind the relics of its past revealing thereby the monomials’ original geometric-spatial origin.

Synthesis and Concluding Remarks

In this article, drawing on recent conceptions of thinking offered by anthropology, semiotics and neurosciences, I suggested that thinking is a complex form of reflection mediated by the senses, the body, signs and artifacts. In this view, thinking is not a kind of Cartesian mental activity monitored by a homunculus residing somewhere in a black box of ideas and representations. As the Russian philosopher Elvald Ilyekov put it, “Thinking is not the product of an action but the action itself” (Ilyenkov, 1977, p. 35). To a large extent, thinking is indeed a material process. But thinking is also more than the processes that a sensing body can produce. Thinking is something that is intrinsically historical and
cultural, and the proof is that had we happened to live in Babylonian times, we would have found ourselves with body and brain structures and anatomies indistinguishable from the ones we have today. Yet, we would have been thinking mathematically, aesthetically, politically, etc. in a very different way. It is this distinctive historical and cultural trait of thinking that I want to convey when I say that thinking in general and algebraic thinking in particular is a body-sign-tool mediated cultural historical praxis.

The historical nature of cultural praxes has, as a corollary, the non-transparency of the forms of action, reflection and reasoning they convey. To become fluent in those praxes, we have to undergo lengthy processes of objectification. The creation of the conditions for those processes to occur is an educational problem. In the approach expounded here, the basic premise is that algebraic thinking cannot be confined to activities mediated by the standard alphanumerical semiotic system of algebra. From a semiotic viewpoint, there are several ways in which to analytically reason through, and to reason on, indeterminate quantities. More importantly, the mathematical situation and the semiotic resources that are mobilized to tackle it in analytic ways characterize the form and generality of the algebraic thinking that is thus elicited. Focusing on the context of pattern generalization, I suggested a classification of three forms of algebraic thinking —factual, contextual, and symbolic. As with most classifications, the borders of those categories are not necessarily well defined. Furthermore, those forms of thinking do not necessarily exclude each other. A student, for instance, can very well combine factual and symbolic forms of thinking. The typology is rather an attempt at understanding the processes that the students undergo in their contact with the forms of action, reflection and reasoning conveyed by the historically constituted praxis of school algebra.

The classroom data presented here offers a glimpse of the ontogenetic journey of our students on their route to algebraic thinking. It stresses some of the challenges that they had to overcome when passing from factual to contextual to symbolic thinking. It stresses in particular the changes to be accomplished in modes of signification. While in factual thinking, indeterminacy remains implicit and gestures, words, and rhythm constitute the semiotic substance of the students’ in-action-formulas, in contextual algebraic thinking indeterminacy becomes an explicit object of discourse. Gestures and rhythm are replaced by linguistic deictics, adverbs, etc. Formulas are expressed in a perceptual and “perspectival” manner based on key terms like “top”, “bottom”, etc. Formulas, in short, are based on a particular way of seeing the sequence at hand.

Our discussion about symbolic algebraic thinking sheds some light on the meaning with which the students endow their first alphanumerical formulas. Instead of being an abstract calculating device, formulas often appear as vivid narratives. They are icons in that they offer a kind of spatial description of the figure and the actions to be carried out. What I called the “collapse of narratives” appears as an important step towards more encompassing ways of algebraic signification. The constitution of meaning after such a collapse deserves more research (see also Barallobres, 2007). While Russell (1976) considered the formal manipulations of signs as empty descriptions of reality, Husserl stressed the fact that such a manipulation of signs requires a shift of intention: the focus
becomes the signs themselves, but not as signs per se. And he insisted that the abstract manipulation of signs is supported by new meanings arising from rules resembling the rules of a game (Husserl 1970), which led him to talk about signs having a game signification.

The classroom example discussed in the last section shows how the teacher, through a complex coordination of gestures, alphanumeric formulas, and words, capitalized on the formula of one of the groups to make apparent for the whole class the idea of simplification of formulas. It was a first step, and certainly an important one in the students’ ontogenetic journey.

Although I limited my account to the first two years of the 5-year journey, I hope that such an account is enough to get an idea of the students’ struggles and progresses towards increasingly more encompassing forms of algebraic thinking.

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