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**Contributions to a neurophysiology of meaning: The interpretation of written messages could be an automatic stimulus-reaction mechanism before becoming conscious processing of information.**

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**Abstract**

**Background.** Interpretation is the process through which humans attribute meanings to every input they grasp from their natural or social environment. Formulation and exchange of meanings through natural language are basic aspects of human behaviour and important neuroscience subjects; from long ago, they are the object of dedicated scientific research. Two main theoretical positions (cognitivism and embodied cognition) are at present confronting each other; however, available data is not conclusive and scientific knowledge of the interpretation process is still unsatisfactory. Our work proposes some contributions aimed to improve it.

23 **Methodology**. Our field research involved a random sample of 102 adults. We presented  
24 them a real world-like case of written communication using unabridged message texts.  
25 We collected data (written accounts by participants about their interpretations) in  
26 controlled conditions through a specially designed questionnaire (closed and opened  
27 answers). Finally, we carried out qualitative and quantitative analyses through some  
28 fundamental statistics.

29 **Principal Findings**. While readers are expected to concentrate on the text's content, they  
30 rather report focusing on the most varied and unpredictable components: certain physical  
31 features of the message (e.g. the message's period lengths) as well as meta-information  
32 like the position of a statement or even the lack of some content. Just about 12% of the  
33 participants' indications point directly at the text's content. Our data converge on the  
34 hypothesis that the components of a message work at first like physical stimuli, causing  
35 readers' automatic (body level) reactions independent of the conscious attribution of  
36 meaning. So, interpretation would be a (learned) stimulus-reaction mechanism, before  
37 switching to information processing, and the basis of meaning could be  
38 perceptual/analogical, before propositional/digital. We carried out a first check of our  
39 hypothesis: the employed case contained the emerging of a conflict and two versions  
40 ("H" and "S", same content, different forms) of a reply to be sent at a crucial point. We  
41 collected the participants' (independent) interpretations of the two versions; then, we  
42 asked them to choose which one could solve the conflict; finally, we assessed the  
43 coherence between interpretations and choice on a 4-level scale. The analysis of the  
44 coherence levels' distribution returned that, with regards to our expectations, incoherence

45 levels are over-represented; such imbalance is totally ascribable to “H” choosers. “H”  
46 and “S” choosers show significant differences ( $p \ll 0.01$ ) in the distributions of  
47 coherence levels, what is inconsistent with the traditional hypothesis of a linear  
48 information processing resulting in the final choice. In the end, with respect to the  
49 currently opposing theories, we found out that our hypothesis has either important  
50 convergences or at least one critical divergence, joined with the capacity to encompass  
51 they both.

52

### 53 Introduction

54 Human-environment interactions have something special, with regards to the  
55 other animals' interactions: human behaviour is not restricted to appropriate reactions; it  
56 encompasses also conscious knowledge, which entails the attribution of meanings  
57 (semantic aspect) to the incoming signals and stimuli. The other animals can perform  
58 sophisticated reactions to the environmental inputs; however, it seems they do not  
59 "understand" them ([Gruber et al., 2015](#)), even though they certainly can socially  
60 exchange some learnings through imitation (about this, a classic study in [Mainardi, 1988](#)  
61 and some recent examples of research in [Baciadonna, McElligott & Briefer, 2013](#);  
62 [Carter et al., 2014](#); [Suchak et al., 2014](#)).

63 Interpretation, namely the operation through which the meaning is attributed, is a  
64 still widely unknown process. A specific difficulty is represented by natural language, i.e.  
65 the main instrument through which human species (the only one endowed with such  
66 capability in Nature) formulates and exchanges meanings and consciously understands  
67 things. Natural language and its use have been studied almost since the dawn of  
68 humankind, with researches ranging from the ancient rhetoric (for example, [Geymonat,](#)  
69 [1970](#); [Barthes, 1970](#); [Perelman, 1977](#)) to the most recent approaches integrating  
70 linguistics with biology and neurosciences (for example [Zuberbühler, 2005](#); [Locke, 2009](#);  
71 [Stekelenburg & Vroomen, 2012](#)). Nevertheless, none of the hypotheses proposed up until  
72 the present times can be considered capable to exhaustively solve the problem of  
73 interpretation (some general reflections on this subject's complexity in [Deacon, 2012](#)).  
74 Even though natural language has been traditionally approached under its profile of

75 symbol-based system, the way it works cannot be reduced to a simple coding-decoding  
 76 procedure. By one hand, a one-to-one correspondence among written signs (or spoken  
 77 sounds) and words does exist; by the other hand, no such correspondence can be found  
 78 between any word/expression and the meaning attributed to it. This led a famous Italian  
 79 linguist to label natural language as structurally “equivocal” ([De Mauro, 2003](#))<sup>1</sup>.

80 Messages are (or, at least, they appear) made up just of words; however, understanding a  
 81 message always goes far beyond the message’s words<sup>2</sup>. The available data does not give  
 82 definite answers to the researchers’ questions; in fact, interpreting the interpretation  
 83 process is a challenge that modern science has not yet won. Our field research brings  
 84 some contributions to such endeavour.

85 Research lines and ideas: a synthetic overview. The available scientific literature  
 86 is so wide to make it impossible, inside the boundaries of our work, an exhaustive  
 87 analysis. However, a rapid survey is sufficient to reveal some trends, the first of which is  
 88 the accelerating extension of these studies from the pure humanistic disciplines to science  
 89 field; recently, even a “hard” natural science like physics has generated a  
 90 “psychophysics” branch, specifically oriented to deepen the knowledge problem through  
 91 the instruments of that discipline. Another trend, thanks to the extraordinary development  
 92 of technology and informatics, is the enhancement of the studies that explore

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10 <sup>1</sup> [De Mauro, 2003](#) states that natural language is “equivocal” in etymological sense: from Latin *aeque*  
 11 *vocare* (to name [different things] in the same way). That means: a same word can be used to refer to  
 12 different meanings and different words can be used to indicate the same meaning.

13 <sup>2</sup> Material regarding the attempts to explain human communication and the questions of meaning and  
 14 interpretation is really countless. Specific works will be indicated within the manuscript. Taking  
 15 linguistics apart, we make reference to [Pettigiani & Sica, 2003](#) for a review (in Italian) of  
 16 psychological main approaches; [Krauss & Fussell, 1996](#) for a wide survey from the perspective of  
 17 social psychology.

93 interpretation inside the neural processes of the brain cortex; the neuron-level research  
 94 and the wide use of advanced imaging techniques witness for this. All this considered,  
 95 we can roughly outline a picture with two main scientific research lines:

- 96     ▪ **Mind-centred approaches** – Understanding/interpretation is totally based on  
 97         abstract (conceptual) knowledge. Information feeds are provided through the  
 98         body (perception) but the “mind”<sup>3</sup> processes stimuli and incoming signals at  
 99         symbolic level, transforming them in propositional representations in the brain  
 100         cortex and understanding them in terms of concepts. The answer to the inputs  
 101         (reaction) is based on such comprehension and is shaped as a command to  
 102         some effectors (typically the motor system). Knowledge is the result of a sort  
 103         of computation; the mind is separated from the body and rules it. The role of  
 104         the motor system is totally passive.
- 105     ▪ **Body-centred approaches** – Understanding/interpretation is attained through  
 106         a motor reaction of the body that can, at maximum, co-exist with conceptual  
 107         knowledge. When an external stimulus/signal is perceived, it is firstly “under-  
 108         stood” through a motor reaction which is automatic, involuntary and based on  
 109         “mental maps” that are motorial, not (or not only) propositional. Understand-  
 110         ing is a sort of motor experience that goes along with conscious (rational) in-

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20 <sup>3</sup> We will not enter the disputed question of mind, its existence, its nature and its relationships with  
 21 the body in general and the brain in particular. For a first level of delving further into the subject: by  
 22 one hand, the early survey of [Sperry, 1952](#); by the other hand, the more recent works of [Marcus,](#)  
 23 [2004](#); [Rose, 2005](#); [Zeki, 2010](#). In the context of this introduction, the “mind” is simply intended as a  
 24 factor which, by following some theoretical positions, totally controls body through different  
 25 functions with respect to biological processes.

111 formation processing; the body is not detachable from the mind and can drive  
 112 it. The role of the motor system is active and decisive for understanding.

113 The first group theories' main features are synthesized in some recent works like,  
 114 for example, [Zipoli Caiani, 2013](#) (Chapters 1 and 2); [Ferrari & Rizzolatti, 2014](#) (specially  
 115 Pag. 2); [Gallese, 2014](#) (specially Pag. 2, with the concept of ontological reductionism);  
 116 [Pulvermüller et al., 2014](#) (specially Introduction and Fig. 1). In addition to this, a  
 117 browsing of the literature unveils a wide series of theories that, even if they differ in  
 118 many details, consider the mind (see [Footnote 3](#)) through the metaphor of the computer,  
 119 or even of simpler mechanisms. The range goes from the merely mechanical (and naïve)  
 120 theories of psychoneural isomorphism ([Sperry, 1952](#), pp. 293-294) and those inspired by  
 121 the first electronic computers ([Newell, Shaw & Simon, 1958](#)), to the various I.P.  
 122 (information processing) models ([Massaro & Cowan, 1993](#)) and current cognitive  
 123 science positions ([Negri et al., 2007](#); [Mahon & Caramazza, 2008](#); [Mahon & Caramazza,](#)  
 124 [2009](#)). The shared concept is that information is essentially processed in a linear and  
 125 unidirectional sequence, based upon a functional (besides the anatomical) separation  
 126 among sensory, associative and motor areas of the brain cortex (for a general  
 127 presentation and discussion see also [Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#), Chapter 1, specially  
 128 pages 20-22; for a synthesis of the cognitivism paradigm see [Gallese, 2000](#), page 27).

129 The motor system is conceived as a merely operative instrument, totally dependent on the  
 130 output from associative areas. For precision's sake, we must add that our description is a  
 131 simplification: there are theories and ongoing research lines that can be included in this  
 132 first group while they, nonetheless, take motor processes into a special account. For



example, the current formulations of Common Coding principle ([Prinz, 1997](#); [Hommel et al., 2001](#)) and Ideomotor principle ([Pezzulo et al., 2006](#); [Sauser & Billard, 2006](#); [Melcher et al., 2008](#)).

The second group of theories (the body-centred ones) can be traced back, at least, to XIX<sup>th</sup> Century, up to the works of [Lotze, 1852](#) (cited in [Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#)) and [James, 1890](#), which present reflections on the relationships between perception and action. Other philosophers followed<sup>4</sup>, up until a new series of neurophysiological studies appeared, in the second part of XX<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>5</sup>. Such researches gathered evidence that the sequential processing theory and the supposed totally passive role of motor system are untenable. In addition, a leap ahead has probably been accomplished with the discovery of mirror neurons ([di Pellegrino et al., 1992](#)) and the following studies on them (for example [Gallese, 2000](#); [Rizzolatti & Craighero, 2004](#); [Iacoboni et al., 2005](#); [Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#)). According to this theory, understanding (at least, understanding of motor acts) would be firstly attained through a motor reaction of the body, “immediately and automatically”<sup>6</sup>. Cognition would be “embodied”.

<sup>4</sup> Some special mentions about the philosophers: [Mach, 1897](#), in particular pages 1-8 (on the relationship between scientific knowledge and perceptual experience of physic world), pages 15-17 (a famous example on subjectivity of perspective) and pages 93-95 (sense organs as active elements of perception, fine-tuned through experience, rather than as passive receptors); [Poincaré, 1902 \[2003\]](#), especially Chapter 4 (on the relations between geometrical space and “representative”, i.e. perceptual, space); [Poincaré, 1908 \[1997\]](#), Part I, specially pages 52-63 (phenomenology of a mathematical discovery and the role of sensitivity and aesthetic feeling); [Merleau-Ponty, 1965](#), particularly Part II (with special regards to introduction chapter, on the impossibility to have a knowledge of the environment that is independent of the body experience).

<sup>5</sup> Some special mentions about the neurophysiological studies: [Sperry, 1952](#), especially pages 299-300 about the relationships between perceptions and ideas; [Jeannerod et al., 1995](#); [Liberman & Wahlen, 2000](#); [Fowler, Galantucci & Saltzman, 2003](#).

<sup>6</sup> We are intentionally employing the words “immediately and automatically”: they are typically used in describing the mirror-systems’ working.

148 Embodiment of cognition, and its consequences on knowledge and interpretation  
149 process, are the object of a heated scientific dispute. Some parts of our work will touch  
150 such question; then, it is worth referring to an example, in order to clarify out the  
151 different positions. In a review that critically examines the mirror neuron-based approach  
152 to cognition ([Hickok, 2009](#)) the author proposes an example, aimed to dispute the  
153 embodied cognition hypothesis (direct reference to [Rizzolatti, 2001](#)). He invites to  
154 imagine someone pouring a liquid from a bottle into a glass. Then, he continues arguing  
155 that, by following that hypothesis, an observer can “embodily” understand such action  
156 since, thanks to his mirror neurons, he undergoes a motor reaction “as if” himself was  
157 actually pouring (by the way, such reaction does not turn into any actual movement, it  
158 remains virtual). This said, the author replies that pouring “could be understood as  
159 *pouring, filling, emptying, tipping, rotating, inverting, spilling* (if the liquid missed its  
160 mark) or *defying/ignoring/rebelling* (if the pourer was instructed not to pour)...” (see  
161 [Hickok, 2009](#), page 1240, italic by the author).

162 The contrast between these two positions has not yet been solved even though,  
163 with respect to its beginning, the debate has grown up far further. In particular, the  
164 hypotheses based on the mirror neurons discovery have been refined, for example  
165 through the concepts of Mirroring mechanisms (MM) and Embodied simulation (ES)  
166 ([Gallese, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009a; Gallese et al., 2009; Gallese & Sinigaglia,](#)  
167 [2011a; Ferri, Gallese & Costantini, 2011; Marino et al., 2011; Gallese & Sinigaglia,](#)  
168 [2012; Ferrari & Rizzolatti, 2014; Gallese, 2014](#)). About this ongoing dispute, a summary  
169 and a state-of-the-art outline can be found in [Zipoli Caiani, 2013](#); apart from this, one of

the most interesting documents is a forum ([Gallese et al., 2011](#)) inside which the most delicate and controversial questions are widely debated. The main ones, with regards to the subject of our work, are the following four: goal-dependency of mirror reactions, with references provided by upholders ([Umiltà et al., 2008](#); [Cattaneo et al., 2009](#); [Rochat et al., 2010](#)) and detractors ([Range, Viranyi & Huber, 2007](#); [Hickok, 2009](#); [Hickok & Hauser, 2010](#); [Muller & Cant, 2010](#)); the nature of motor representations in the brain cortex and the hypothesis that action understanding obtained through mirror neurons would be a form of knowledge qualitatively different from the propositional and abstract ones (widely discussed in [Gallese et al., 2011](#)); the interpretation of the human ability to understand actions that cannot be performed, like the barking of a dog ([Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#); [Hickok, 2009](#); [Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2010](#)); the interpretation of neuropsychological evidence about the relationship among motor impairments and action recognition underperformances (with works that uphold one position, for example [Moro et al., 2008](#); [Pazzaglia et al., 2008](#), or the other, for example [Negri et al., 2007](#); [Hickok, 2009](#)).

In the end, it is worth dedicating a special mention to the sector of psychophysics, in which researchers investigate cognition and semiosis through probabilistic models ([Chater, Tenenbaum & Yuille, 2006](#); [Ingram et al., 2008](#); [Tenenbaum et al., 2011](#)), in particular applying the Bayesian inference to reproduce mental processes and describe it through algorithms ([Griffiths, Kemp & Tenenbaum, 2008](#); [Bobrowsky, Meir & Eldar, 2009](#); [Perfors et al., 2011](#); [Fox & Stafford, 2012](#)). Such concepts are currently in use also

191 in the Artificial Intelligence (AI) studies<sup>7</sup>. Inside psychophysics, a specific sector  
 192 concentrates on what follows interpretation, that is confrontation among different  
 193 “apprehensions” (conscious perceptions); the result of such confrontation is a  
 194 “judgement”, that is decision and conceptualization ([Arecchi, 2010a](#); [2010b](#); [2010c](#);  
 195 [2011a](#)). New concepts are introduced to investigate semiosis: semantic and non-semantic  
 196 complexity ([Arecchi, 2008](#)), deterministic chaos ([Guastello, 2002](#); [Arecchi, 2011b](#)),  
 197 inverse Bayesian inference ([Arecchi, 2010d](#)), creativity as NON-bayesian process  
 198 ([Arecchi, 2010e](#)), quantum dynamics ([Arecchi & Kurths, 2009](#); [Nathan et al., 2012](#)) and  
 199 the reference to Gödel’s incompleteness theorem as a limit to the possibility of  
 200 understanding cognition “from inside” (since that, while studying cognition, we become  
 201 a system that investigates itself)<sup>8</sup>.

202

## 203 Method

204 All this matter has not yet been adequately cleared; one reason is that there are  
 205 still structural obstacles of technical and ethical nature<sup>9</sup>. Another difficulty is the

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50 <sup>7</sup> The origins of Artificial Intelligence (AI) studies can be traced back to the Thirties and the works of  
 51 Turing on a possible “intelligent machine”. About the origins see [Leavitt, 2007](#), chapters 6 and 7,  
 52 and [Turing, 1950](#) (the original work of Alan Turing). About the “Turing test” (testing the ability of  
 53 distinguishing humans from computers through written messages exchanges) see a journalist’s  
 54 account in [Christian, 2012](#). Some materials about recent research threads, closer to our article’s  
 55 topics (like machine learning and natural language or image interpretation), can be found in  
 56 [Mitchell, 1997](#); [Menchetti et al., 2005](#); [Mitchell, 2009](#); [Khosravi & Bina, 2010](#); [Verbeke et al., 2012](#).

57 <sup>8</sup> See [Goldstein, 2006](#) for a popular-scientific coverage about Gödel and his theorem; [Leavitt, 2007](#),  
 58 chapters 2 and 3, for a particularly clear synthesis of the theorem and its genesis (in connection with  
 59 the *Entscheidungsproblem*, i.e. the “decision problem”).

60 <sup>9</sup> About the technical difficulties of data collecting: experimental techniques used on macaque  
 61 monkeys (electrodes direct insertion inside single neurons) return very accurate measuring, but on  
 62 small brain cortex surfaces. About the ethic difficulties: these techniques are almost impossible to be  
 63 used on humans, and only indirect techniques as fMRI (functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging),  
 64 MEG (Magnetoencephalography), PET (Positron Emission Tomography) or TMS (Transcranial

206 complexity of natural language (its “equivocal” nature, see [De Mauro, 2003](#) and [Footnote](#)  
 207 [1](#)), usually overcome through a laboratory approach, i.e. studying interpretation isolated  
 208 from the interpreting organism and employing simple stimuli (single words, simple and  
 209 very short phrases; for instance [Bedny & Caramazza, 2011](#)). Such approach entails  
 210 limitations (underlined, for example, in [Pulvermüller et al., 2014](#), specifically Pag. 80,  
 211 Chapter 7) that might undermine the research conclusions. In short: a message is not just  
 212 a bunch of words, and the the question of interpreting a message cannot be considered as  
 213 satisfactorily cleared through adding up the interpretations of isolated words. On the  
 214 contrary, studying interpretation in the actual conditions it is usually performed  
 215 (interpretation of messages) could bring something new to our knowledge.

216       The methodological aspect is crucial, and we delved a little further into it. Some  
 217 of the mirror neurons discoverers and theorists have expressly tackled such aspect and  
 218 highlighted that one strong point of the neurophysiological research that led to such  
 219 discovery is the researchers’ preference for a naturalistic-like approach: they let observed  
 220 macaque monkeys freely interact with available objects, rather than stimulate them with  
 221 selected artificial stimuli only ([Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#), p. 3). About the  
 222 reductionism question, and the distinction between methodological and ontological  
 223 reductionism, see [Gallese, 2000](#), p. 26, and [Gallese, 2009b](#); [Gallese, 2010](#). Opposite to

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67 Magnetic Stimulation) are systematically employed. They cover wider brain cortex surfaces but with  
 68 inferior accuracy; moreover, they present difficulties with regards to instrument positioning and  
 69 image interpreting. For a survey of these difficulties see [Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#), chapters 2, 6,  
 70 7, and [Rizzolatti & Voza, 2008](#), *passim*. A recent thread of research is investigating the connections  
 71 among single neurons activity and the total effects detectable through indirect techniques (see  
 72 [Iacoboni, 2008](#), chapter 7). In addition to all this, data interpretation and comparing are intrinsically  
 73 difficult, given the differences in macaque and human brain cortex and the associated problem to  
 74 check reliable correspondences.

224 these stances, [Pascolo & Budai, 2013](#), which disputes the monkeys' actual freedom in the  
225 experiments and the same existence of mirror neurons in humans.

226       From our point of view, we had in our background two works about interactions  
227 inside online collaborative groups ([Maffei, 2006](#); [Maffei, Cavari & Ranieri, 2007](#)) which  
228 let us appreciate the potential of scientific observation on real-world communication  
229 cases. Thus, for our research, we tried a naturalistic approach, designing observations in  
230 conditions the closest as possible to the natural ones. On these bases, we designed field  
231 research on a random 102 adult sample, challenging them with a real world-like written  
232 communication case, using complete and unabridged message texts and collecting the  
233 participants' interpretations through a specially designed questionnaire. Further details  
234 about method in the Supporting Information, Section 0; a full documentation of the  
235 survey process, containing research guide-lines, case description and research protocol,  
236 as well as the questionnaire, in the Supporting Information (SI) Sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and  
237 Section 5 with Tables S1, S2. In addition: a description of the sample and of the sub-  
238 samples drawn from it for control purposes in SI Section 6 with Tables S3-S5; some  
239 quantitative aspects of collected data in SI Section 7; quality check of the collected data,  
240 their compliance with the research necessities and their suitability in SI Sections 8 and 9  
241 with Tables S6, S7 and Fig. S1-S3.

242       It is worth specifying that the study of meaning and interpretation at behavioural  
243 as well as neuronal level implies the use of indirect techniques: the meaning is not  
244 something that can be directly measured and interpretation is a process that occurs inside  
245 the brain and/or the body in ways that cannot be directly observed; for this, just indirect

246 approaches are available. Our research represents no exception; our indirect approach has  
247 been based on the participants' accounts for their own interpretations immediately after  
248 they had read the submitted messages. Naturally, such conscious accounts cannot be  
249 considered an exact report of the actual interpretation process, given the possibility that  
250 they are unconsciously biased. Indeed, by one hand, we have employed these data to  
251 investigate correlated but different aspects; by the other hand, we have checked them  
252 with other data and analyses in order to verify their real contribute to the research's goals.

253       Our work is not a clinical trial and no experimentations on the participants took  
254 place. Our sample was not recruited in hospitals or any other institution; we gathered it  
255 through the conductors' personal relationship network (details on sampling and survey  
256 modalities in SI Section 3, particularly points 10.-13.). In addition, no personal data was  
257 collected or anyhow involved in the survey. Through our questionnaire, we just  
258 collected, in a strictly anonymous way (details here below and in SI Section 3), the  
259 participants' opinions about an exchange of written messages, in order to investigate the  
260 process of message interpretation. The submitted case was a fiction closely resembling  
261 some real cases the authors had dealt with in their professional activities; its contents  
262 were totally neutral with regards to the participants' lives and environments and did not  
263 touch any sensitive subject. For these reasons, our research did not involve any critical  
264 issue related to ethics; we anyway requested, and obtained, the approval of the Ethics  
265 Committee for Scientific Research of the Association ARPA-Firenze. The Committee  
266 held a dedicated session to our research (in 2012, april 2d) and its approval was given

267 through a formal decision documented by the session's official report, signed by all the  
268 Committee's members and filed in the Association's archives.

269       About the **informed consent** of participants, it was necessary not only for ethical,  
270 but also for technical reasons: since the answers to the questionnaire's questions were  
271 handwritten by participants (directly on the submitted forms), the research should have  
272 been impossible without a conscious, voluntary participation to the survey. Participants  
273 (all of them were adult) received written information about the research through the title-  
274 page of the questionnaire (SI Section 4), being invited by the conductors to carefully read  
275 it. After such reading, their consent was requested and obtained verbally. The reasons  
276 why we did not collect written consent lie on the sampling and data collection procedure,  
277 designed to fully guarantee the participants' anonymity (see also the research protocol in  
278 SI, Section 3). By one hand, the technical features of data collection and the personal  
279 relations among participants and conductors prevented any possibility of unwilling  
280 contribution. By the other hand, a written consent would have implied a general database,  
281 whose creation and management would have increased the risks of an accidental  
282 information diffusion. Instead, our procedures made it impossible for everyone, all along  
283 the research work (and the same is at present and will be in the future), either to trace  
284 back participants by starting from the filled questionnaires or to recreate the participants'  
285 database. Along with its approval of the research guide-lines, the Ethics Committee for  
286 Scientific Research of the Association ARPA-Firenze approved also this informed  
287 consent procedure.



288 We set two objectives for our research: (1) To understand the process of  
289 interpretation (i.e. how messages in natural language are turned into meanings by  
290 receivers) as it works in real conditions and design a structural model in order to  
291 adequately represent it; (2) To produce a first check of the formulated hypothesis.  
292 Consequently, we have divided our research into two parts: the first one is referred to  
293 Messages #1, #2 and #3 of the case and to Questions #1 and #2 of the questionnaire; it is  
294 mainly (even though not only) qualitative, investigates the process of taking into account  
295 a message and turns into a hypothesis (a model of the interpretation process). The second  
296 part is referred to Messages #4/H, #4/S and #5 of the case and to Questions #3, #4 and  
297 Final of the questionnaire; it is quantitative, focused on a decision to be taken about a  
298 reply to send, and represents a first check about our hypothesis. See SI Section 4 for the  
299 messages' and the questions' texts.

300

### 301 **The first part of the research: observing and hypothesizing**

302 The first level of our analysis regarded our research's first part and yielded  
303 something expected and something unexpected. We remind that each questionnaire's  
304 question sent two inputs to the respondents: at first, they were requested to freely  
305 interpret some aspects of the submitted messages; then, they were requested to account  
306 for their own interpretations through indicating the “concrete elements” on which these  
307 were founded. Data related to the first input provided, through a qualitative analysis, the  
308 main expected outcome: the scatter of the participants' interpretations. Data from the  
309 second input provided, through a quali-quantitative analysis, the main unexpected

310 outcome: the possibility of an intermediate, unpredicted step following text decoding and  
 311 preceding text content processing.

312 *Answers to the questions' first input: qualitative analysis.* These answers have  
 313 fully confirmed the expected wide scatter of the respondents' interpretations. About  
 314 interpretation scatter, we have quoted an example (taken from [Hickok, 2009](#)) in our  
 315 Introduction. In addition, some descriptions, referred to special cases and entailing  
 316 divergence of interpretations, can be found in [Bara & Tirassa, 1999](#); [Sclavi, 2003](#);  
 317 [Campos, 2007](#)<sup>10</sup>. Inside our research, the answers to Question #2 provide us a specific  
 318 example. Firstly, we asked participants if, through comparing Message #3 to Message #1,  
 319 they found the attitude of XX (the sender) toward YY (the receiver) being changed (SI  
 320 Section 4 for the messages' and questions' texts). Then, to the 61 who answered “YES”  
 321 (60% of the sample), we asked to specify how they would define the new XX's attitude.  
 322 They provided 83 specifications: 64 stated XX's position as strengthened, 12 as  
 323 weakened and 7 unchanged (although these seven, too, had answered “YES” to the first  
 324 part of Question #2). In addition, we can find completely opposing statements in these  
 325 specifications and we can see that scattering covers very different aspects of the XX-YY  
 326 interaction (behaviours, emotions and so on, [Table 1](#)).

327 Such a phenomenon can be observed for all the messages and for any part of  
 328 them, even if accurately selected: it is impossible to find parts of a message that are  
 329 interpreted in the same way by all the participants. The observed interpretation scatter

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85 <sup>10</sup> Specifically: [Bara & Tirassa, 1999](#), pp. 4-6 (communicative meanings as joined constructions);  
 86 [Sclavi, 2003](#), pp. 93-98 (the “cumulex” play); [Campos, 2007](#), pp. 390-394 (analysis of a real  
 87 communication event).

330 can be represented through a “megaphone-shape” picture ([Fig. 1](#)): receivers take into  
 331 account the same information but their final interpretations diverge<sup>11</sup>. We named this  
 332 phenomenon “classic interpretation scatter” and tried to delve further into it. We made a  
 333 first attempt using a semantic approach: we considered the respondents’ answer texts like  
 334 semantic sets to be investigated through pre-defined categories of meaning. After several  
 335 tries, we abandoned such approach realizing that, whatever category set we used, too  
 336 many exceptions, not-decidable cases and ambivalences we found (what confirms the  
 337 “equivocal nature” of human language, see [Footnote 1](#)).

338 *Answers to the questions’ second input: quali-quantitative analysis.* These  
 339 answers contain the “concrete elements” respondents have indicated as the basis of their  
 340 interpretations. We found the following categories of concrete elements:

- 341       ▪ Summaries of the message texts and syntheses of their information content,  
 342           presented through respondent’s own words.
- 343       ▪ Quotations between double quotes, referred to selected words, full phrases (or  
 344           parts of them) or periods. Such kind of indications have been provided also  
 345           through pointing the beginning and the ending word of the quoted strings  
 346           (“from... to...”). The string length could cover up to a whole paragraph of the  
 347           message (from a keyboard “Enter” to the following).

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90 <sup>11</sup> In the exact same way of the example drawn from [Hickok, 2009](#) and presented in Introduction: in  
 91 that case a physical action is described as interpretable in very different ways (by different observers  
 92 as well as by only one who is observing from different points of view). However, there is no  
 93 question about the action *per se*. In our case, the reading of the same message by different people  
 94 evokes very different interpretations; however, the message information content cannot be under  
 95 question (being the message typed and having a unique editing).

- 348       ▪ Incidental strings, meaningless *per se*. Such strings were extracted from ori-  
349       ginal full phrases and quoted isolated from the rest.
- 350       ▪ Complement/accessory parts of the text: punctuation marks<sup>12</sup>, personal or pro-  
351       fessional titles used in the opening, the salutes used in the closing etc.
- 352       ▪ Items unrelated to the text semantics or to the message content; a tight selec-  
353       tion is presented in [Table 2](#). The list is indefinite, given that each item gener-  
354       ally appears at low frequency while the range of possible items is extremely  
355       widespread. Items of this kind are actually unpredictable; even the **lack of**  
356       **some content** can be focused and reported as a source of meaning ([Table 2](#),  
357       final row).
- 358       ▪ References to some overall effects produced by the message on the respondent  
359       (see SI Section 8.a, final part, for details). In fact, in this kind of answers re-  
360       spondents state they cannot indicate any “concrete element”; the meaning they  
361       have attributed derives from a “general impression” received from the mes-  
362       sage, from the message's “general tone”.

363       In such analysis we have tackled the answers like something *physical*, rather than  
364 semantic, and have treated their texts independently of their content and meaning. Doing  
365 so, we have seen that the meaning can spring from parts of the message bereft of any  
366 intrinsic content, from aspects external to the text and even from the lack of content  
367 itself. In short: whichever the message, the source of its meaning can lie anywhere; this

98 <sup>12</sup> In one of the two pilot-sessions of the survey, one message contained an exclamation mark; it was  
99 specifically identified, and noted as a meaningful component *per se*, by one of the participants. For  
100 this reason, it was removed in order to limit influencing respondents. In fact, other respondents  
101 successively picked up, from questionnaires now bereft of that exclamation mark, quotation marks  
102 (used in certain passages of the submitted messages) as a meaningful component *per se*.

368 was unexpected. In truth, the idea that the interpretation of a message is a question far  
369 overtaking its pure words is widely investigated with regards to spoken communications;  
370 this is reasonable if we consider the possible added signals, like non-verbal language and  
371 context stimuli, in such situation (see, for example, [Horchak et al., 2014](#), specially the  
372 concept of “situated cognition”, and [Gibson, Bergen & Piantadosi, 2013](#)). It has been  
373 quite surprising to discover it in written communications, that are totally bereft of such  
374 added signals; there was something else, in this matter, and it did not seem a simple  
375 question of added information. Indeed, our impression that the meaning attributed to a  
376 message can lie “anywhere” should be taken into a literal account: it seems impossible to  
377 previously write up a “complete” list of the features that could become sources of  
378 meaning, given that any new reader can introduce new subjective criteria and detect new  
379 sources, totally unpredictable for the other readers. The question now is: how does all  
380 this work? How can we describe, and model, the process of interpretation, subjected to  
381 such uncertainty?

382       In order to answer these questions, we named “components” the items indicated  
383 in the answers to the questions’ second input and went back to the questionnaires in order  
384 to tally the components present in our survey. We have tallied a total of 1,319  
385 components clearly indicated by participants and we have displayed in [Table 3](#) their  
386 absolute and relative amounts. Indications that clearly focus on the information content  
387 constitute only a small minority (around 12%, see [Table 3](#), “%” row, “Cont.” column)  
388 while references to different text components reach, on the whole, about 65% ([Table 3](#),  
389 “%” row, sum of the first five column totals). The indications referred to some overall

390 effects of the message represent about 15% of the total. About the meaningless  
391 components (void of content *per se*, mere “form” components), their relative amount can  
392 be estimated in at least 35% (holding together symbols, incidental passages, other  
393 components and grammatical notations).

394       In order to verify our statement, we firstly carried out some distribution analyses  
395 about the components. Such analyses return a picture without any significant imbalance:  
396 by one hand, the distribution of the provided indications results uniform with respect to  
397 the different questionnaire's questions ([Fig. 2](#)) and almost regularly shaped with respect  
398 to the types of the components ([Fig. 3](#)). By the other hand, the sample distributions with  
399 respect to the amount of the component types employed ([Fig. 4](#)) and with respect to the  
400 total indications provided by each respondent ([Fig. 5](#)) result in “bell curve” shapes.  
401 Secondly, we have further checked our quantitative analysis; we considered that  
402 references to full sentences or periods (20.9% in the total) could be another way used by  
403 participants for indicating contained information. However, even in such case the sum of  
404 the two components would occupy just one third (exactly, 33.1%) of the total indicated  
405 components. Still unsatisfied, we carefully re-examined the filled questionnaires about  
406 the information content component. We found ([Table 4](#)) that one half of the sample (51  
407 people) expresses, among the others, at least 1 reference to such component (no  
408 recordable similar hint by the other half). However, only 7 respondents provide a  
409 balanced or prevalent amount of indications (50%, or more, of the personal total) about  
410 information content. Among them, only one reaches 100%. In fact, references to the  
411 information content are a definite minority in participants' indications.

412 In synthesis: our observations do not match the concept of interpretation like a  
413 sequential taking into account of the message's content along with its conscious  
414 processing. Rather, the emerging picture is the following:

- 415     ▪ The interpretation process looks to be starting like a selective and subjective  
416         picking up of (or focusing on) the most different components, rather than be-  
417         ing a systematic, conscious scanning of the text's content. Such behaviour is  
418         widely scattered: in the whole research, with regards to each specific message,  
419         it is impossible to find two identical combinations of focused on components.
- 420     ▪ Readers seem to interpret a message indifferently picking up meaningful and  
421         meaningless components and subjectively combining them. While reading and  
422         text decoding go ahead sequentially, readers go on freely (randomly, from an  
423         external observer's point of view) isolating "chunks" of the text (as well as  
424         other components and even external context aspects) and selecting them as the  
425         foundation of the message's meaning.
- 426     ▪ While the final meaning attributed to the message is justified through the se-  
427         lected components, no reason (at all, in any cases) is provided for that selec-  
428         tion: in the respondents' accounts, the focused components suddenly appear;  
429         they are presented just as "given", and without any doubt<sup>13</sup>.

430 At this point, we named "disassembling" the observed selective focusing and took  
431 two measures. At first, we hypothesized a new image for the interpretation process,

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109 <sup>13</sup> The unique doubt expressed in the whole research is the following: 1 participant (out of 102)  
110 declares uncertainties in his final choice writing that the final effect could be obtained with both the  
111 messages under choice. It must be noted that, with regards to the other questions, also this special  
112 participant's answers are totally doubt-free, like the rest of the participants' ones.

432 inverted with respect to the “megaphone-shape” ([Fig. 1](#)) one. Our argument was that, if  
 433 scatter manifests itself in the beginning (scattering of focus), a “funnel-shape” picture  
 434 ([Fig. 6](#)) could be more suitable: people that select one same component are expected to  
 435 interpret it in very similar ways. Secondly, we picked up from our data an example of  
 436 disassembling and decided to carry out an in-depth analysis of it.

437 *A disassembling example in detail and a perceptual hypothesis.* Question #1  
 438 requests evaluations with regards to sender-receiver positions and to the relationship  
 439 between them, on the basis of Messages #1 and #2 (SI Section 4 for the messages' texts).  
 440 We found that 53 people (52% of the sample) had quoted an expression the sender (XX,  
 441 see SI Sections 2, 4) used in Message #1<sup>14</sup>: she premised her request of a technician  
 442 inspection with the words “we would be pleased if at least once...”. This simple  
 443 expression, apparently trivial (also short, 8 words in a 67 word message, and in no way  
 444 highlighted in comparison to the rest of the text), has collected 68 quotations (15 people  
 445 expressed two, see [Footnote 14](#)). Then, respondents have given such specific passage at  
 446 least 22 divergent interpretations, summarized in [Table 5](#).

447 This means that focusing on the same component does not imply convergent  
 448 interpretations. As much as to say that the interpretation scatter manifests at both levels:  
 449 the disassembling (scattering of focusing on components) and the following attribution of  
 450 meaning (each sub-group, focused on a same component, provides scattered conscious  
 451 interpretations). This means also that the “funnel-shape” picture, too, must be revised:  
 452 what we observed could be better expressed through an “hourglass-shape” picture ([Fig.](#)

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115 <sup>14</sup> The 53 people have expressed their interpretations answering Question #1-a (23), #1-b (15) or both  
 116 the questions (15). See SI Section 4 for the questions' full texts.



453 7). In fact, disassembling and classic interpretation scatter would co-exist and manifest  
454 themselves **in sequence**. We notice that the expression we are considering appears to be  
455 a minor element in Message #1 text, something incidentally expressed; it is composed  
456 using common words and bears no inherent information content (once the passage gets  
457 isolated from the rest of the message, it is impossible to attribute it a definite meaning).  
458 In short: it is a mere form component. So, how could respondents select such incidental  
459 passage? And what did they, exactly, grasp in it? What is more, given that the following  
460 interpretations are scattered, what did respondents, exactly, interpret, having started from  
461 an identical, spontaneous selection?

462       Now, the message we have used in our research was always the same, invariable  
463 with regards to written form as well as to information content. Thus, if the interpretations  
464 of the readers are so scattered, this cannot depend on the message itself, it must depend  
465 on the readers: they evidently give an active contribution in attributing meanings, they  
466 are not passive symbol decoders. Nothing new, so far: our observations confirm old  
467 ideas, for example the ones that the constructivist hypothesis proposed many years ago  
468 ([Watzlawick, 1984](#)). The question is: how can this happen? By one hand, respondents  
469 explain through the outcomes of “disassembling” the conscious attribution of meaning  
470 that follows; by the other hand, no accounts report about the source of disassembling.  
471 The selective focusing manifests “immediately and automatically”, apparently preceding  
472 and feeding the conscious processing that follows, and that is all.

473       At this point we felt we had elements enough to draw a conclusion and propose a  
474 hypothesis. The first part of the observed process (“disassembling”) does not resemble

any information processing, symbol treatment or sign decoding; it rather looks like a **perceptual scheme**. We mean that, if we hypothesize that the components are focused because they firstly act like “physical” **stimuli**, triggering automatic reactions off (“body” level) in the receivers, then the observed phenomena will become comprehensible. The main points of our hypothesis are the following:

- Considering interpretation as a process, decoding of written signs must be its first step, for turning them into words. Decoding is the “technical” aspect of reading, not directly linked to meanings and just feeding the following steps.
- Along with the sequential decoding, words and the other message components would immediately act like stimuli, triggering a receiver’s automatic reaction off (“body” level). This would be the second step, i.e. disassembling. Its results would be different from a person to another given that the capacity of a component to act like a stimulus depends on the subjective reactivity of each receiver.
- Then, the conscious processing of the collected inputs would start. Being the steps set in a cascade, the “input” on which this third step would be carried out should (mainly, at least) consist of the automatic reaction’s outcomes, not of the source message’s content.

Our hypothesis is that the interpretation process structure can be represented with a three-step (three sub-processes) model like the one in [Fig. 8](#). It gives account of how respondents focused on the incidental passage and what they grasped from it: they automatically reacted to a stimulus (presumably through some unconscious connections

497 with previous experiences that had involved something similar) and such stimulus  
 498 oriented the following conscious process. One more question remains: exactly, how can  
 499 we precisely identify what a reader picks up when he/she selectively focuses on  
 500 meaningless/contentless components? We think we can label it as **the fact that** one of  
 501 these components is present in the message; it can be considered some meta-information  
 502 to which readers can automatically react even though it is not embedded inside the  
 503 message words ([Table 6](#)). This clarifies which aspect of the incidental passage (“we  
 504 would be pleased if at least once...” ) has triggered the participants’ reaction off: the fact  
 505 that XX had (redundantly) placed it in a certain point of the message<sup>15</sup>.

506         In synthesis: interpretation process would firstly consist in a re-experiencing of  
 507 past situations through an analogical resounding at body-level, thanks to a stimulus-  
 508 reaction mechanism triggered off through perception. Such reaction would feed forward  
 509 (presumably through proprioception) the following attribution of conscious meaning to  
 510 the subjective experience (rather than to the source message).

511

## 512 **The second part of the research: checking the hypothesis**

513         Our research’s second part represents a first check about our hypothesis. We  
 514 started submitting to participants two alternative versions (Messages #4/H and #4/S) of a  
 515 possible reply to Message #3. Then we asked them to, firstly, interpret (independently)  
 516 the two versions (Questions #3 and #4) in terms of their effects on XX; secondly, to

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123 <sup>15</sup> It is particularly interesting to note that the expression “the fact that...” is spontaneously used by  
 124 several respondents in their answers. For example, in the collected questionnaires we can find  
 125 expression like the following: “the fact that the arguments are presented through a dotted list”; “the  
 126 fact that XX is referring to public money”.

517 choose between them (Final question) the one suitable, in their opinion, to origin the final  
 518 XX's answer (Message #5, that seals the positive ending of the case; see SI Section 4 for  
 519 messages' and questions' full texts; Section 5 and Tables S1, S2 for details about the  
 520 reasons of the alternative). Our rationale was the following: the participant's choice could  
 521 come as a result of the text information's conscious processing (cognitivism stance) or as  
 522 an automatic reaction independent of every conscious processing (embodied cognition  
 523 stance). In the first case (our "Hypothesis 0"), the final choices should be outcomes of  
 524 the interpretations given to the messages; thus, they should result somehow correlated  
 525 with them. In the second case, no correlation, or a different kind of correlation, should be  
 526 found (our "Hypothesis 1"). The problem emerged of measuring such correlation.

527        *The coherence between interpretation and choice.* Firstly, we displayed ([Table 7](#))  
 528 the choices indicated by the sample members (SI Section 6 and Tables S3-S5 for the sub-  
 529 samples description) and found out a strong imbalance between "S" and "H" indications.  
 530 Secondly, we compared the interpretations of Message #4/H with those of Message #4/S  
 531 (SI Section 4 for messages' full texts ). Source data (opened answers) was purely  
 532 qualitative. However, answers were easily classifiable into two main categories:  
 533 predictions for the message inducing a solution of the case (easing or solving the  
 534 emerging conflict between the interlocutors); predictions for the message inducing a  
 535 surge, or escalation, in the conflict. We created the dummy variable "Expected effects"  
 536 and assigned it two values: "+" in the first condition; "-" in the second one. Then, we  
 537 labelled each questionnaire with two new symbols: one referred to Message #4/H (H+ or  
 538 H-) and one to Message #4/S (S+ or S-). The combination of the two symbols indicates

539 the combined predictions each participant expressed about the effects: H+/S+ (both the  
540 messages solving the conflict), H+/S- (Message #4/H easing the conflict while Message  
541 #4/S escalating it), H-/S+ (the opposite), H-/S- (both escalating). Finally, we arranged the  
542 symbols into a dichotomous table ([Table 8](#)). There is a clear convergence on combined  
543 prediction “H-/S+”; the Chi-squared test highlights, at this first stage, that some  
544 correlations between “H” and “S” interpretations could exist ( $p = 0.001988$ , total sample;  
545  $p = 0.015600$ , sub-sample “AGE”;  $p = 0.003861$ , sub-sample “EMPLOYMENT”). Given  
546 that the messages' presentation sequence was counterbalanced (see SI, Section 3, Point  
547 9), it is unlikely that the respondent's first interpretation can drive the second; probably,  
548 some other factor drives both of them.

549       Then, we cross-checked the combined predictions with the final choices ([Table](#)  
550 [9](#)). The most frequent combined prediction (H-/S+) appears to be strongly associated to  
551 “S” choice; indeed, the significance tests (Chi-squared) show that some further relations  
552 do exist between combined predictions and choice ( $p = 0.000017$ , total sample;  
553  $p = 0.001174$ , sub-sample “AGE”;  $p = 0.000383$ , sub-sample “EMPLOYMENT”). Such  
554 results led us facing the core-question related to our hypothesis: given the existence of  
555 some correlations between choice and combined predictions, which is its direction? We  
556 mean: do the interpretations (the predictions) drive the choice (cognitivism stance) or,  
557 oppositely, does the choice precede and somehow drive, or overcome, the interpretations  
558 (embodied cognition stance)? To delve further into such subject, we created a “coherence  
559 indicator” starting from the following premises (SI Section 4 for messages' full texts):

- 560       ▪ The final Message #5 clearly indicates XX's satisfaction; therefore, the con-
- 561       flict has come to its end.
- 562       ▪ Now, let us figure a respondent whose answers to Questions #3 and #4, for ex-
- 563       ample, return a combined prediction H+/S- (Message #4/H solving the con-
- 564       flict, Message #4/S escalating it). Then we expect that this respondent indic-
- 565       ates Message #4/H in his final choice (answer to Final question). Such com-
- 566       bination (H+/S- & “H” choice) would represent the maximum coherence
- 567       level.
- 568       ▪ If another respondent provides the same combined prediction but indicates
- 569       Message #4/S in his final choice (combination H+/S- & “S” choice), this
- 570       would represent the minimum coherence level.
- 571       ▪ Given the natural variability always recorded in human samples, we expected
- 572       to find also intermediate coherence levels, based on the other possible com-
- 573       binations (H+/S+ and H-/S-). These could be also due to the predictable scat-
- 574       tering of interpretations about the final Message #5: someone could interpret it
- 575       as something different from the sign of the conflict’s ending (what happened
- 576       in a fistful of cases).

577       We defined four coherence levels, increasing from L (low) to LM (low-medium),  
 578 MG (medium-great) and G (great); the scale is fully presented in [Table 10](#). In this way, it  
 579 has been possible to study the final choice with respect to the coherence levels ([Table](#)  
 580 [11](#)). The percent distribution histogram of the whole sample ([Figure 9](#), data from [Table](#)  
 581 [11](#)) shows that the distribution is the expected one except for the frequency of the low

582 coherence bin, over-represented. Actually, we expected L frequency to be null or very  
583 close to null; anyway, it should show the lowest frequency of all. On the contrary, we  
584 found L values higher than the LM ones and representing 11% of the sample.

585       At this point, we refined our analysis through separately analysing distributions  
586 of “H” and “S” choosers; for the reliability of comparison, we excluded data referred to  
587 the respondents having just primary education levels (only 4 out of 102 in our sample).  
588 Data is displayed in [Table 12](#), [13](#), [14](#), which show a surprising asymmetry whose  
589 significance is confirmed by Chi-squared tests (always  $p < 0.01$ ). Graphic representations  
590 render even better such asymmetry: the total sample histograms ([Fig. 10](#), percent  
591 distributions from [Table 12](#)) show that the percent frequency of “S” choosers (white  
592 bins) increases regularly from L category to G, reminding (as expected) of certain power,  
593 or exponential, curves. At the opposite, the percent frequency of “H” choosers (grey  
594 bins) is arranged in an irregular, almost bimodal shape. We checked these distribution  
595 shapes by using many different sub-samples (selection displayed in [Fig. 11-16](#)), included  
596 the already mentioned “Age” ([Fig. 15](#), data from [Table 13](#)) and “Employment” ([Fig. 16](#),  
597 data from [Table 14](#)) sub-samples. We always obtained the same significant imbalance.

598       Now, Chi-squared tests and graphic representations clearly indicate the existence  
599 of a correlation between the participants' choice and the coherence level; but what about  
600 its strength and its direction? In order to investigate the strength, we calculated the odds  
601 ratio. Our success item was the L level, our failure items all the other levels of coherence.  
602 Using data from [Table 12](#), we can find  $ODDS1 = 0.346$  (“H” choosers, 1 success every  
603 about 2 failures) and  $ODDS2 = 0.028$  (“S” choosers, 1 success every about 36 failures).

604 The final result is ODDS RATIO = 18,9 which highlights a strong correlation between  
605 the “H” choice and the L coherence level. As much as to say that, if you choose message  
606 #4/H, it is much more likely (with respect to message #4/S choosers) that your choice is  
607 inconsistent with your interpretations of the two messages. About the direction of such  
608 correlation (the interpretations precede and drive the choice or the choice is independent  
609 of interpretations), we think the first position is not tenable; indeed, it could be confirmed  
610 just in case of general consistence between interpretations and choice.

611 All this contrasts our “hypothesis 0”: the participants' choice does not seem to  
612 come as a result of the text information's conscious processing. Then, the choice should  
613 be independent of the previous interpretations, what upholds our “hypothesis 1”. After  
614 this first conclusion, we set up a second indicator (“block preference” indicator) to  
615 further check our hypothesis. For text length reasons, we present details about the  
616 indicator, its employment and relative analysis in SI, Section 10 with Tables S8-S11. No  
617 contradiction has been found with the previous results.

618

## 619 Discussion

620 We will start our discussion summarizing our main findings. Then, we will  
621 situate our work in the current scenario of scientific research; finally, we will discuss  
622 some possible consequences of our results and indicate the possible directions in which  
623 this study could be developed.



624 Summary of the research's main findings. The following points synthesize our  
625 interpretation of the interpretation process, upheld by our work's experimental outcomes  
626 (specified in italic).

- 627 ➤ In all circumstances, the interpretation of natural language is a complex,  
628 global experience not reducible to the interpretation of isolated spoken or  
629 written words. *Reference to our qualitative analysis of the participants' answers to the first input of the questionnaire's first part questions (specifically: description of the message non-word and meta-information components, that prevail over verbal components and firstly orient the reader's interpretation).*
- 634 ➤ After decoding, a random, selective focusing on the most various and  
635 unpredictable components of the message ("disassembling") starts, preceding  
636 the conscious processing of the information content. *Reference to our qualitative analysis of the participants' answers to the first input of the questionnaire's first part questions (specifically: observations about the sudden appearance, extreme subjectivity and unexplained origin of the widely divergent and unpredictable selected components).*
- 641 ➤ "Disassembling" looks like a stimulus-reaction mechanism, rather than an  
642 information treating process. *Reference to our quali-quantitative statistical analysis of a disassembling example (the case "we would pleased if at least once..." ) drawn from the participants' answers to the second input of the questionnaire's first part questions.*

- 646 ➤ Each message component would at first work like a physical stimulus, rather  
 647 than an information carrier; in other words, it would trigger an automatic  
 648 reaction off (body level) before the conscious processing of information  
 649 content starts. *Our hypothesis, consistent with the data we collected, suitable*  
 650 *to give account for our observations and compatible with the current research*  
 651 *scenario.*
- 652 ➤ Since “disassembling” feeds forward the following step (conscious  
 653 processing), it orients the attribution of meaning: conscious interpretation  
 654 would be carried out on the body's reaction, rather than on the source  
 655 information. *Reference to our quantitative statistical analysis of the*  
 656 *participants' answers to the questionnaire's second part questions (coherence*  
 657 *indicator, coherence level distributions and related significance checks; block*  
 658 *preference indicator and related analysis).*
- 659 ➤ After disassembling, the receiver's contact with the original message would be  
 660 lost<sup>16</sup>. *Consequence of the “in a cascade” setting of our model's three steps*  
 661 *(further details, with direct references to recent scientific paper consistent*

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141 <sup>16</sup> Our data led us to conclude that such contact can be recovered (like a sort of “fourth step” after the  
 142 basic three of our model) only later and just in peculiar conditions; however, this is another story  
 143 and, in this article, we will not delve further into it. In our research, one example of this can be the  
 144 intervention of XX's colleague in the case. Even though the used case is a fiction, it is very close to  
 145 observed real cases, in which the process can be described as follows: an expert, after **text decoding**  
 146 (first step), detects an issue through **becoming alarmed** (automatic reaction, second step). Then,  
 147 his/her feelings come to conscience and lead him/her to **consciously attribute** that text a negative  
 148 assessment (third step). At this point, he/she starts the **in-depth analysis** of the case (our presumed  
 149 “fourth step”) through recovering the source message and studying it from a different point of view  
 150 and through a different approach. The final result is the expert's solution of the case.

662 *with such conclusion, in next paragraph, which situates our work in the*  
663 *current scientific research scenario).*

664 ➤ The final outcome of the whole 3-step process is the meaning consciously  
665 attributed to the incoming message and expressed by the receiver through  
666 natural language.

667 *Situating our work in the current research scenario.* Scientific research of present  
668 times is, naturally, swayed by the confrontation between cognitive and embodied  
669 hypotheses. The “cognitive field” frequently engages the noun-verbs dissociation  
670 problem, studying it through researches on cortically damaged, selectively impaired  
671 patients; such studies are mainly aimed to define the nature of the concepts'  
672 representations in the brain cortex (lexical or semantic, lexico-semantic dissociation  
673 issue), and to cortically map it (for example [Crepaldi et al., 2006](#); [Arévalo et al., 2007](#);  
674 [Moseley & Pulvermüller, 2014](#); [Gallese, 2014](#)). Conversely, the “embodied cognition  
675 field” mainly go searching for the connections between language and its motor  
676 correlates, one well-known of which is the ACE (Action-sentence Compatibility Effect),  
677 often checked through measuring and comparing the reaction times collected during  
678 language-and-action combined match-advantage experiments (see for example [Vitevitch](#)  
679 [et al. 2013](#); [Horchak et al., 2014](#)). Such studies are frequently carried out through  
680 neuroimaging works (for example [Tettamanti et al., 2005](#); [Aziz-Zadeh et al., 2006](#); [Speer](#)  
681 [et al., 2008](#); [Aziz-Zadeh & Damasio, 2008](#)).

682 We have already reminded, in the Method section, the methodological aspect we  
683 consider common to the two research lines: they both use, during the experiments, words

684 and short phrases isolated from every context (see, for example, [Bedny et al., 2008](#);  
 685 [Bedny et al., 2012](#), especially the Method sections; and, for some critical reflections  
 686 about the question, the already cited [Pulvermüller et al., 2014](#), specifically Pag. 80,  
 687 Chapter 7). Such methodological aspect elicits a further consideration: there is a cross-  
 688 concept widely and implicitly shared by cognitivism and embodied theories, namely the  
 689 idea that the meaning is something embedded inside words. These would work somehow  
 690 like “carriers” of meaning and interpretation would consist in the “extraction” of  
 691 meaning from words (actually, the verb “to extract” is overtly used in scientific  
 692 publications, for instance [Mahon & Caramazza, 2011](#)).

693       The divergence between the two approaches can be synthesized as follows (for  
 694 further reference see, for example, [Bedny et al., 2008](#); [Rizzolatti & Fabbri-Destro, 2008](#);  
 695 [Goldman & de Vignemont, 2009](#); [Gallese, 2011](#); [Gallese & Sinigaglia, 2011b](#); [Bedny et](#)  
 696 [al., 2012](#)): cognitivism upholds the sequential processing idea, i.e. cognition being  
 697 conceptual and resulting from a sequence of perception / symbolic processing of the  
 698 incoming information / (motor) reaction. Oppositely, the embodiment theories uphold the  
 699 concept of direct connections among cortical sensorial and motor areas (“sensorimotor  
 700 grounding” of cognition, [Guan et al., 2013](#)). In this sense, cognition would be  
 701 embodied<sup>17</sup>. Now, how could our work be positioned in such picture? In a third position,  
 702 we would say. In fact, both theories are based on the implicit idea that human  
 703 communication is a continuous, homogeneous process. On the contrary, we hypothesize

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155 <sup>17</sup> Such embodiment, inside the same embodied cognition field, can be conceived in different ways: it can  
 156 stand alone, *per se* resolving the problem of knowledge (“sensorimotor processing underlies and  
 157 constitutes cognition”, [Guan et al., 2013](#)), or can be a “motor representation” that accompanies conscious  
 158 knowledge processes (the two kinds of knowledge proposed by Gallese, for example in [Gallese et al.,](#)  
 159 [2011](#); see also [Gallese, 2014](#)).

704 discontinuity, with the interpretation process made-up of three discrete, in-a-cascade  
705 steps which can result compatible with both ideas.

706       Actually, in our opinion, the embodied concept's features are clearly akin to our  
707 second step (“disassembling”, see [Fig. 8](#)): an immediate and automatic reaction that  
708 precedes conscious processing of information. This last (our third step, [Fig. 8](#)) is clearly  
709 akin to the cognitivist hypothesis, that refers to a conscious processing of the inputs with  
710 subsequent conceptual output. We must add that such overlapping is just one aspect of  
711 the question; our proposal entails at least one important difference with respect to the two  
712 theories: the discrete, in-a-cascade structure of our process implies a feeding chain, with  
713 the first step (decoding) that feeds the second (disassembling) which, in turn, feeds the  
714 final one. This results, after “disassembling”, in the loss of the contact with the source  
715 message and in the conscious processing performed on the body-reaction signals  
716 (presumably received through proprioception). The real object of our (first level, see  
717 [Footnote 16](#)) knowledge would not directly be the outer world; rather, it would be our  
718 instinctive reactions to it (the outer inputs combined with our inner world). This is a  
719 relevant point, and we have selectively examined some of the available literature for a  
720 first check of it.

721       Conscious thinking following (rather than preceding) “body” reaction can be  
722 traced back up to the hypotheses of Nineteenth Century philosopher and psychologist  
723 William James. In one of his examples (the “James’s bear”, see [James, 1890](#), Chapter  
724 XXV), James explains his theory of emotions suggesting that, for example (our  
725 synthesis), we do not run away from a bear because we see it, we know it is very

726 dangerous, so we are scared of it and, consequently, we consciously decide to run away  
727 (as common sense would sustain). Conversely, we feel like we are afraid because  
728 (consciously and successively) we discover our body having started a desperate run. In  
729 other words: what we call “emotion” is usually intended as a body reaction consequent to  
730 the rational processing of consciously perceived environmental stimuli; James suggests  
731 that the body reaction follows perception immediately and what we call “emotion” is the  
732 consciousness of the new body state (a form of self-consciousness). We are aware that  
733 James's theory (exactly: James-Lange theory) has been criticized and opposed through  
734 several alternative theories (for example [Cannon, 1927](#); [Schachter & Singer, 1962](#));  
735 nevertheless, we do refer to it because recent scientific research and reviews seem to  
736 suggest some re-consideration of the matter (for example, [Friedman, 2010](#)). We will not  
737 deepen the question here; however, we feel that James-Lange's intuitions could deserve  
738 another chance.

739       In Twentieth Century, we can find the Gregory Bateson's approach to human  
740 communication as a system and to the question of the receiver's active role; he uses a  
741 strictly formal presentation (see [Bateson, 1972](#), in particular Chapter 4.8 on the logical  
742 categories of communication, founded on Russel and Whitehead's theory of logical  
743 types). In addition, we remind of a group of theories and models (which repeatedly refer  
744 to Bateson's studies) that tackle the question mainly from a pragmatic slant: the so called  
745 “pragmatic models” ([Berne, 1961](#); [Watzlawick, Beavin Bavelas & Jackson, 1967](#);  
746 [Bandler & Grinder, 1975](#)). Conceived inside a psychoanalytic context, they all put  
747 perception and stimuli at the centre of their attention and reverse the relationship between

748 action and thought using action (rather than thought) to induce training and therapeutic  
 749 effects<sup>18</sup>. We find no important contradictions among our hypotheses and such models;  
 750 rather, we find complementarity: they show how physical stimuli can act like messages;  
 751 our results tell that words (even if only written) can act like physical stimuli. In addition,  
 752 we can propose an explication of an unsolved point related to them: the biological  
 753 foundations of the “aspect of relation” in human communication ([Watzlawick, Beavin](#)  
 754 [Bavelas & Jackson, 1967](#)). On the basis of our results, this aspect could be exactly the  
 755 body-level automatic reaction which precedes the conscious information processing.

756       About the relevance of unconscious processes in human behaviour, some  
 757 fundamental clarification is provided by [Custers & Aarts, 2010](#) through a review of  
 758 experimental works that re-examines the disputed question of the passage from  
 759 perception to action. The authors compare the traditional positions of Sensory-motor  
 760 Principle (SMP, for example [Massaro & Cowan, 1993](#); and, for a presentation and  
 761 discussion about the sequential processing of stimuli conceived as the foundation of  
 762 human/environment interactions see also [Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006](#), chapters 1, 2)  
 763 and Ideomotor Principle (IMP, [Stöcker & Hoffmann, 2004](#); [Pezzulo et al., 2006](#); [Melcher](#)  
 764 [et al., 2008](#); and, for a synthesis, [Iacoboni, 2008](#), Chapter 2, pp. 56-57 of Italian edition).  
 765 In so doing, they show how certain stimuli (images, solid objects or even written words),

166 <sup>18</sup> By one hand, it is worth mentioning a special work coming from NLP founders ([Grinder & Bandler,](#)  
 167 [1979](#)): it appears different from the work that founded this theory ([Bandler & Grinder, 1975](#)) and  
 168 that has successively been developed by NLP specialists (for example [Dilts, 1998](#)). As a matter of  
 169 fact, that work gives a central role to perception and to physical stimuli (not mediated by language)  
 170 as a possible communication and therapeutic instrument (see, in particular, the concept of “sensorial  
 171 anchors” in [Grinder & Bandler, 1979](#)). By the other hand, we should remind a Watzlawick’s work  
 172 on the modern evolution of psychotherapy ([Watzlawick, 1987](#)) that represents a severe critic to the  
 173 classic approach and reverses the relation between action and thought (an Italian translation is  
 174 retrievable in [Nardone & Watzlawick, 1990](#), Chapter 1). In the same [Nardone & Watzlawick, 1990](#),  
 175 see also chapter 2 on perception as one main source of psychopathology.

766 intentionally added to an experimental setting, can alter the sample behaviours, even if  
767 such stimuli are not consciously detected: “under certain conditions, actions are initiated  
768 even though we are unconscious of the goals to attain... [and] goal pursuit can... operate  
769 unconsciously” ([Custers & Aarts, 2010](#)). They also sustain that arguments frequently  
770 presented as rational motivations for action are, actually, *ex-post* justifications of  
771 unconsciously performed behaviours.

772       The role of physical stimuli in swaying communication through natural language  
773 is confirmed by a series of recent works (for example [Zhong, Bohns & Gino, 2010](#); [Tsay,](#)  
774 [2013](#); and, for a popular-scientific coverage, [Lobel, 2014](#)). Further, quite unpredictable  
775 factors that can sway message interpretation can be the specific national languages used  
776 (for example [Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2005](#); [Costa et al., 2014](#)) or the metaphors used to  
777 express concepts ([Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011](#); [Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2013](#)). Our  
778 data is consistent with all this in that it confirms precedence of perception-reaction with  
779 regards to conscious processing.

780       In the end of this rapid survey, we think it is worth re-examining the example  
781 ([Hickok, 2009](#), for the opposing point of view see [Gallese et al., 2011](#)) presented in our  
782 Introduction in order to check our proposal in a concrete case. About the capacity of an  
783 observer to understand the action of pouring performed by someone, the author  
784 highlights that the “embodied cognition” hypothesis cannot explain the fact that the  
785 observer can interpret such action “as *pouring, filling, emptying, tipping, rotating,*  
786 *inverting, spilling* (if the liquid missed its mark) or *defying/ignoring/rebelling* (if the  
787 pourer was instructed not to pour)...” (see [Hickok, 2009](#), page 1240, italic by the



788 author). The author also anticipates the counter-argument of a supposed mirror neuron  
789 theorist, i.e. that mirror neurons codify the goals, or intentions, of the actor: “But a goal,  
790 say to fill a glass with water, can be accomplished with any number of individual actions  
791 or sequence of actions: pouring from a pitcher, turning a spigot, dipping a glass in a lake,  
792 setting the glass in the rain...” (*ibidem*).

793         In our opinion, embodied cognition hypothesis looks at the act of pouring in its  
794 **purely motor** nature; conversely, understanding it, for example, as “pouring” or  
795 “filling”, requires the interpretation of a **situation** which is not limited to the act for  
796 itself. In order to attribute the “pouring” meaning, one must focus on the liquid flow  
797 direction (inside to outside, from the bottle); for the “filling” meaning, one must focus on  
798 the glass receiving the liquid; for the “emptying” meaning, one must focus on the bottle  
799 content's amount. An operation must be preceding the attribution of a conscious  
800 meaning: the previous, unconscious selection of a specific point of view, which is  
801 something closely resembling our “disassembling” step.

802         Some possible consequences. One main consequence of our results, once they  
803 will be confirmed, would concern the nature of words. We are used to consider words  
804 almost exclusively in their symbolic nature; however, our research shows that they could  
805 have a double nature: they could work like symbols as well as physical stimuli. In a  
806 specific circumstance, which of the two natures will be active depends on the subjective  
807 “disassembling” performed by the receiver, rather than on the sender’s intentions. This  
808 implies that which nature is in action will become observable only at the moment of the  
809 receiver’s interaction with the message. This is very similar to what happens in certain

810 physics phenomena, for example the double nature of light (waves/particles) or the  
811 uncertainty about some features of many atomic particles: the ambivalence is solved just  
812 in the process of measuring the phenomena ([Zeilinger, 2010](#), for a discussion about the  
813 case of photons, and [von Baeyer, 2013](#) for a recent point of view about such  
814 ambivalence). All this entails what follows:

- 815       ➤ There is a structural uncertainty in the human communication process: when  
816       a sender prepares a message (message production sub-process), he/she has the  
817       intention to produce some effects on the receiver (his/her communication has  
818       a goal, this is the pragmatic aspect); however, the actual effects the message  
819       will produce will depend on another sub-process (interpretation) that is under  
820       control by the receiver, not by the sender. Uncertainty is linked to the  
821       irreducible subjectivity of the receiver's "disassembling"<sup>19</sup>.
- 822       ➤ Such subjectivity is not just a question of statistical scatter, with regards to  
823       presumed pre-definable message components; the question is that it is  
824       impossible to foresee what components, exactly, will trigger the receiver's  
825       automatic reaction off (receiver's reactivity is an absolutely individual  
826       feature).
- 827       ➤ What is more, the selective focusing, by the receiver, on specific message  
828       components, seems to be a creative act, rather than a simple recognition of  
829       something contained inside the message. So, it would be impossible to

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182 <sup>19</sup> Another way to express such concept is considering the sender-receiver couple as a complex  
183 system, and the meaning like an emergent phenomenon which characterizes it (about this specific  
184 matter see, for example, [Guastello, 2002](#)).

830 previously detect and list, in a laboratory condition, “all” the components of a  
831 message. In fact, whatever the message, the concept of an inherent message’s  
832 measurable information content fades. Human communication seems to be a  
833 process having a different nature from computer communication.

834 In the end, communication and knowledge processes would be firstly analogical,  
835 rather than digital. Meaning would be established starting from the body automatic  
836 reaction in the “disassembling step”, analogically triggered through individual reaction  
837 schemes probably based on similar, previous personal experiences. The final meaning,  
838 expressed through natural language, would be the result of the following step, i.e.  
839 conscious taking into account of the outcomes of such analogical process. This final  
840 meaning would not be directly based on the source message; rather, it will be based on  
841 the body reaction. Indeed, all this could lead us to approach natural language like a  
842 system of acquired reflexes and such feature could heavily affect the possibility to  
843 reproduce human interpretation process on digital computers, regardless of their  
844 processing power and data storage capacity. The two systems could result not only  
845 different, rather incompatible. We are not the first to propose such observation (for  
846 example [Arecchi, 2008](#); [Arecchi, 2010b](#); [Arecchi, 2010c](#) on the non-algorithmic nature  
847 of knowledge and intelligence). In the end, all this could lead to an operative definition  
848 of “meaning” (expressing the meaning of “meaning”), beyond the possible abstract ones:  
849 *The meaning attributed to a message is the receiver’s synthetic conscious report on the*  
850 *final state of his/her organism after experiencing the interaction with the message.*

851 Other possible consequences of our results are the following:

➤ The distinction between content and form of a message would lose its sense, given that the apparently most insignificant (from the sender's point of view) variation of the form can completely change the message's meaning (from the receiver's point of view). Given a message, we simply could not distinguish what is "content" and what is "form", before the receiver interacts with it.

➤ Human beings do not interpret data or single signals/stimuli; rather they interpret *situations*. Again, the human approach to a message, as well as to the surrounding environment (natural or social), would work analogically, through the organism's resounding to a recognizable situation, rather than digitally, through a rational scanning of the available incoming information.

Opened questions. We have provided some data upholding our hypothesis and our discussion; at the same time, we are conscious that our results and our conclusions need to be confirmed. Among the undoubtedly several points to be checked, we highlight two main questions. The first one is linked to the matter of analogical vs. digital nature of the processes that contribute to meaning and knowledge building. Following our hypothesis, both the natures would be playing a role, each in a specific step of the interpretation process: "disassembling" has an analogical nature while the conscious processing has a digital one. The main question is the timing of these two steps: if conscious processing precedes, then some current models would be confirmed; if disassembling precedes, then our hypothesis would be confirmed. The problem is just to find a way in order to definitely answer such question, what does not seem easy.

873 The second point to be checked regards the reasons of the observed radical  
874 difference between the “H” choosers and “S” choosers group behaviours in terms of  
875 interpretation/choice coherence; about this, we think there are two possible hypotheses:  
876 (1) The two subsamples follow different paths in interpreting natural language messages  
877 (“S” choosers would base their choices on rational information processing, which would  
878 precede action, while “H” choosers would react instinctively and choose before analysing  
879 the available information); (2) The two subsamples actually follow the same path  
880 (automatic reaction preceding conscious information processing, in our opinion) and the  
881 difference they show is linked to the differences in their automatic reaction schemes (“S”  
882 choosers’ reaction would privilege the attention to the relational aspects while “H”  
883 choosers’ reaction would privilege the content aspects). We consider relevant such matter  
884 and we will not engage ourselves in extemporaneous considerations about it; rather, we  
885 have already begun to think to a dedicated specific research.

886

## 887 **Conclusion**

888 Human behaviour (communication through natural language and “understanding”  
889 included) must be rooted into biology. We consider established and thoroughly share this  
890 idea; for this, our results have to pass the crucial test: valid compliance with the evolution  
891 theory. Specifically, we must ask ourselves if a conscious organism that reacts before

892 rationally thinking (what our work seems to confirm) could be a valid outcome of the  
893 evolution process.

894         At present times, human beings live inside sophisticated societies; however, their  
895 biology is the result of natural selection and represents the best fitting in a **natural**  
896 **hostile environment**. Biologically, we are “still the ones of the stone and of the sling”<sup>20</sup>  
897 even though, from a cultural slant, we can account for ourselves in different ways.  
898 Rational thinking is, undoubtedly, much slower in comparison to intuitive reactions; at  
899 the same time, in a natural environment, fast reaction capacities are a critical surviving  
900 factor. Thus, reaction preceding reflection appears to be consistent with the evolution  
901 theory. Human communication and culture could have begun by employing the new  
902 feature of language through such general rule: at first, perception would not start  
903 complex (and slow) information treatment; rather, the entire organism automatically  
904 would change its state and, “resounding” similar situations, would be primed for  
905 immediate action. Then, rational thinking would follow. Another possible example of the  
906 “exaptation” process ([Gould & Vrba, 1982](#)).

907         Summing up all the data, literature and considerations we have presented, two  
908 things remain to be said. The first is that, now, we have at least a hypothesis to describe  
909 how human beings understand or do not understand one another and their environment: it  
910 depends on the way they firstly react (biological level) to the inputs and then can manage  
911 (cultural level) their own reactions. The second is that, if there is any possibility to

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193 <sup>20</sup> From the poem *Uomo del mio tempo* (Man of my age), of Italian poet (1959 Nobel Prize) [Salvatore](#)  
194 [Quasimodo, 1947](#): *Sei ancora quello della pietra e della fionda, / uomo del mio tempo...* [You are  
195 still the one of the stone and of the sling, / Man of my Age...]. A complete text of the poem (original  
196 language) is available at [http://www.incontroallapoesia.it/poesie%20salvatore\\_quasimodo.htm](http://www.incontroallapoesia.it/poesie%20salvatore_quasimodo.htm)  
197 (accessed 1 Sept 2014).

912 represent human semantic approach to the surrounding environment through a  
913 computational device, then its model should be the whole human being, not the sole brain  
914 cortex. As a consequence, what really can prevent present times computers from  
915 imitating human thought is not insufficient data processing power or data storage  
916 capacity; rather, it is the lack of a special peripheral unit: a human body.

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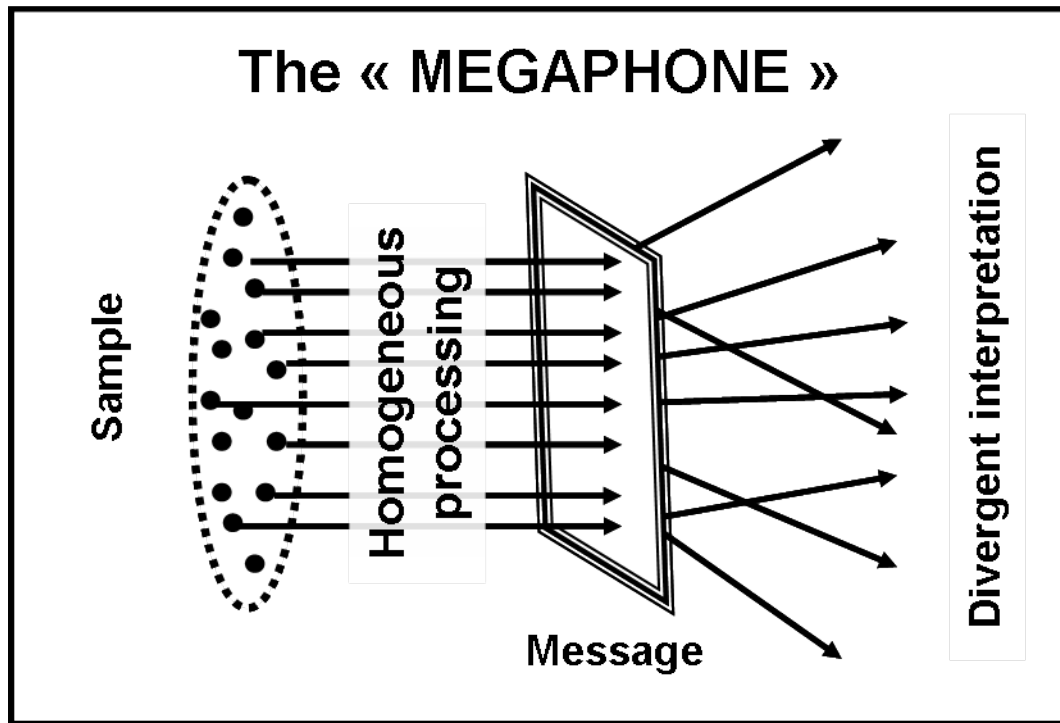
1315 DOI: 10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00357.x.

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1317 **Figures**

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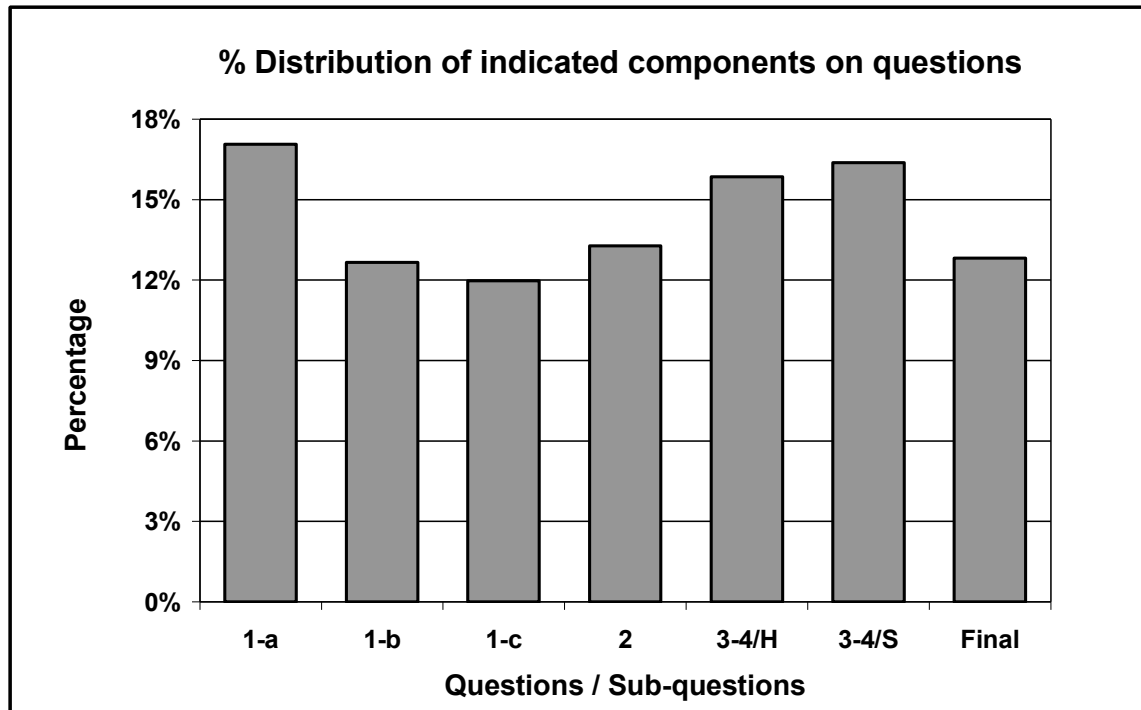
1319

1321 **Figure 1: The “megaphone-shape” model.**

1322 If the interpretation of a message should be linked only to the processing of its  
 1323 information content, then we would expect a uniform interpretation, given that the source  
 1324 information is absolutely identical for all the participants. On the contrary, a wide scatter  
 1325 is always observed and its process can be represented with a “megaphone-shape” model:  
 1326 information would be homogeneously processed but differently interpreted.

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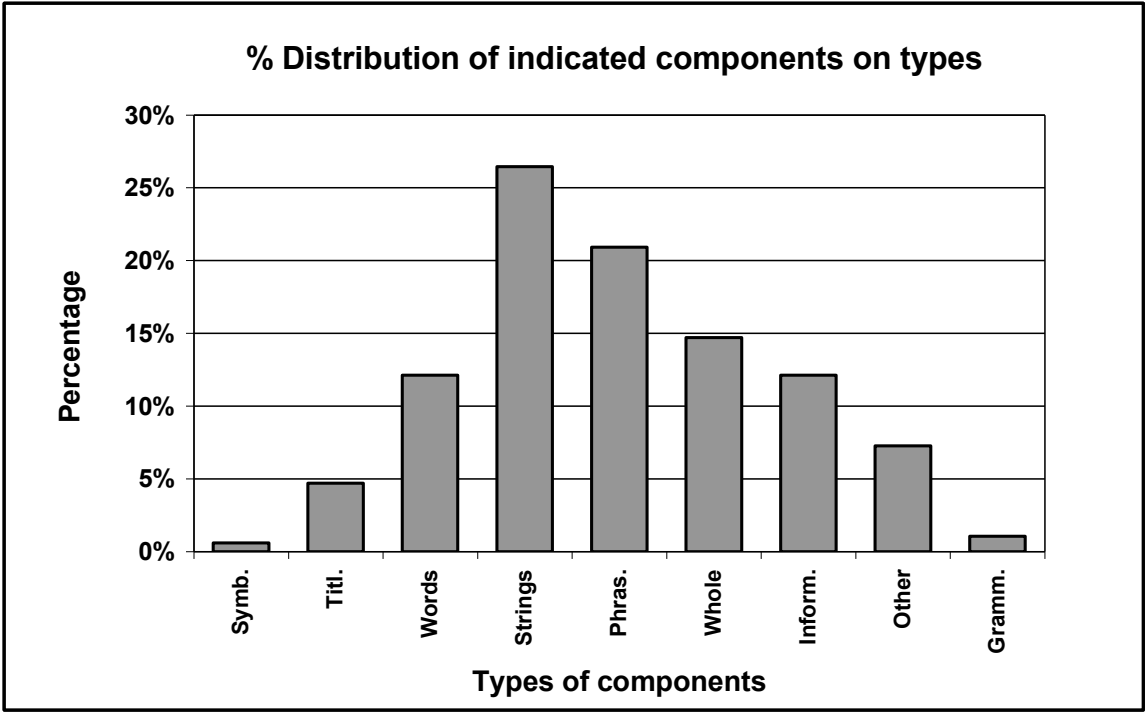


1330

1331 **Figure 2: Percent distribution of total indications with respect to questions/sub-**  
 1332 **questions.**

1333 With respect to questions, the respondents' total indications about the focused  
 1334 components present a flat-like percent distribution (differences in a range around 5%,  
 1335 from 12% to 17% about, source data from [Table 3](#), “%” column). The range reduces to  
 1336 around 3.6% (from 12.8% to 16.4% about) if we group together the three sub-questions  
 1337 of Question #1 and consider their mean (the reason is that the answers to Questions #1-b  
 1338 and #1-c are often given in short, indicating reference to the already provided answer to  
 1339 Question #1-a). The indications are distributed without any significant imbalance among  
 1340 the different questions of the questionnaire. The approach through subjective selective  
 1341 focusing does not definitely advantage any question or item.

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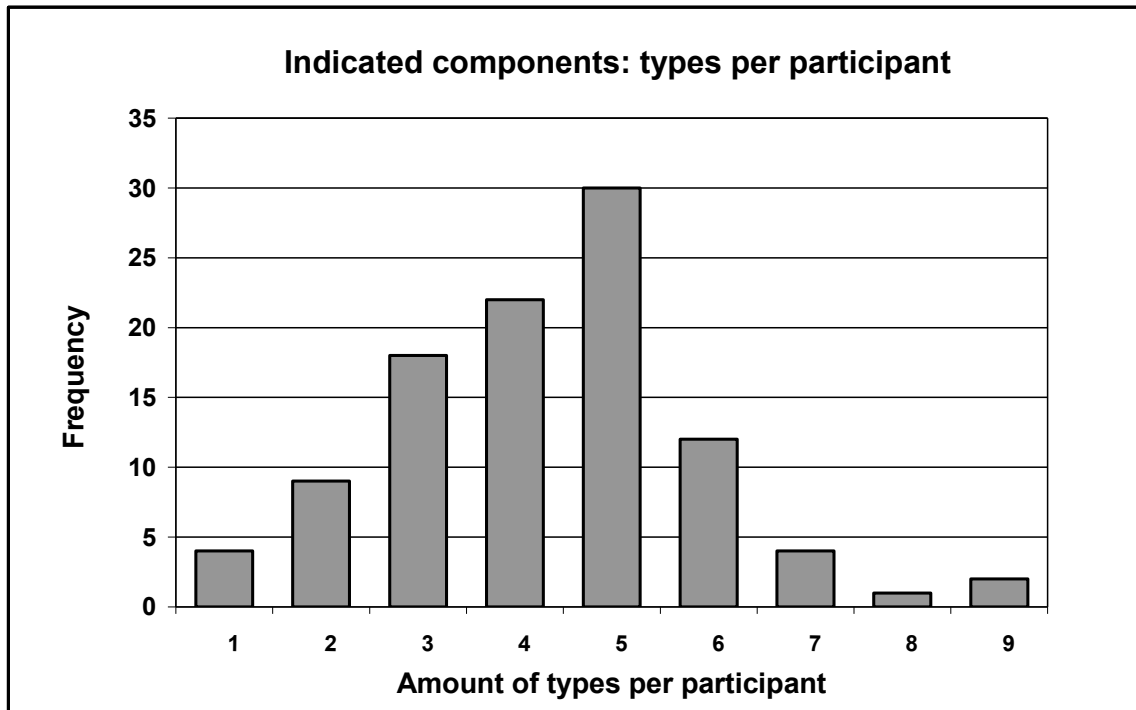
1345 **Figure 3: Percent distribution of total indications with respect to types of**  
1346 **components.**

1347 [Legend: Symb. = Punctuation marks; Titl. = Title/salutes (opening and closing  
1348 expressions); Phras. = Complete phrases/periods; Whole = References to the message as  
1349 a whole; Inform. = Information content; Gramm. = Grammar notations (verb tense etc.)]  
1350

1351 The respondents' indications have been grouped in bins by type. The presented percent  
1352 distribution (source data from [Table 3](#), “%” row) has been built through the ranking of  
1353 the first six types (from “Symbols” to “Whole”) by increasing size of the text “chunks”  
1354 considered. The remaining three types (Information content, Other components and  
1355 Grammar notations) have been added ranking them by decreasing values. The highest  
1356 frequencies correspond to middle-sized “chunks” of the messages.



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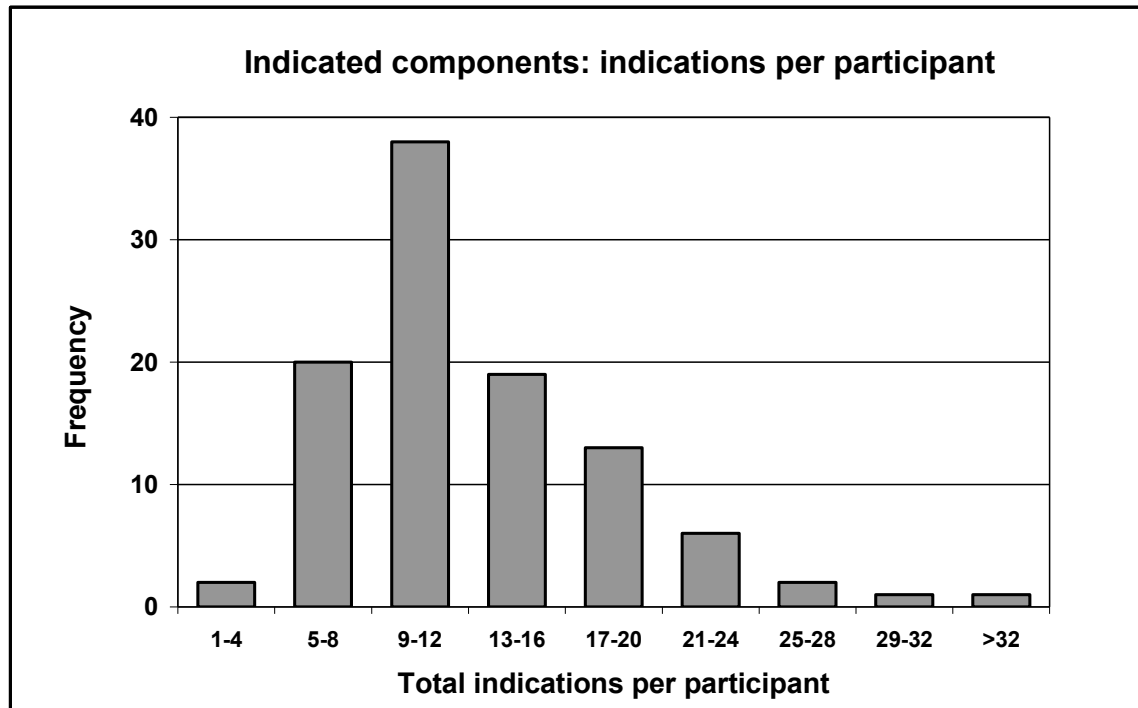
1360 **Figure 4: Sample distribution with respect to the amount of component types**1361 **indicated by participants.**

1362 Respondents have been grouped in bins by the amount of types they indicated. The  
 1363 histogram shows the sample's distribution; it presents the highest frequencies on the 3-4-  
 1364 5 types-per-participant bins and has an almost "bell curve" shape. The main statistical  
 1365 indexes of the distribution are the following:

1366 **Mean = 4.3; SD = 1.6; Skewness = 0.25; Kurtosis = 0,49.**

1367

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1371 **Figure 5: Sample distribution with respect to the total indications provided by**1372 **participants.**

1373 Respondents have been grouped in bins by the amount of total provided indications. The

1374 histogram shows the sample's distribution; it presents the highest frequencies on the

1375 second, third and fourth bins and has an almost "bell curve" shape (even if it is clearly

1376 shifted towards the left side). The main statistical indexes of the distribution are the

1377 following:

1378 **Mean = 12.9; SD = 6.2; Skewness = 1.93; Kurtosis = 7.18.**

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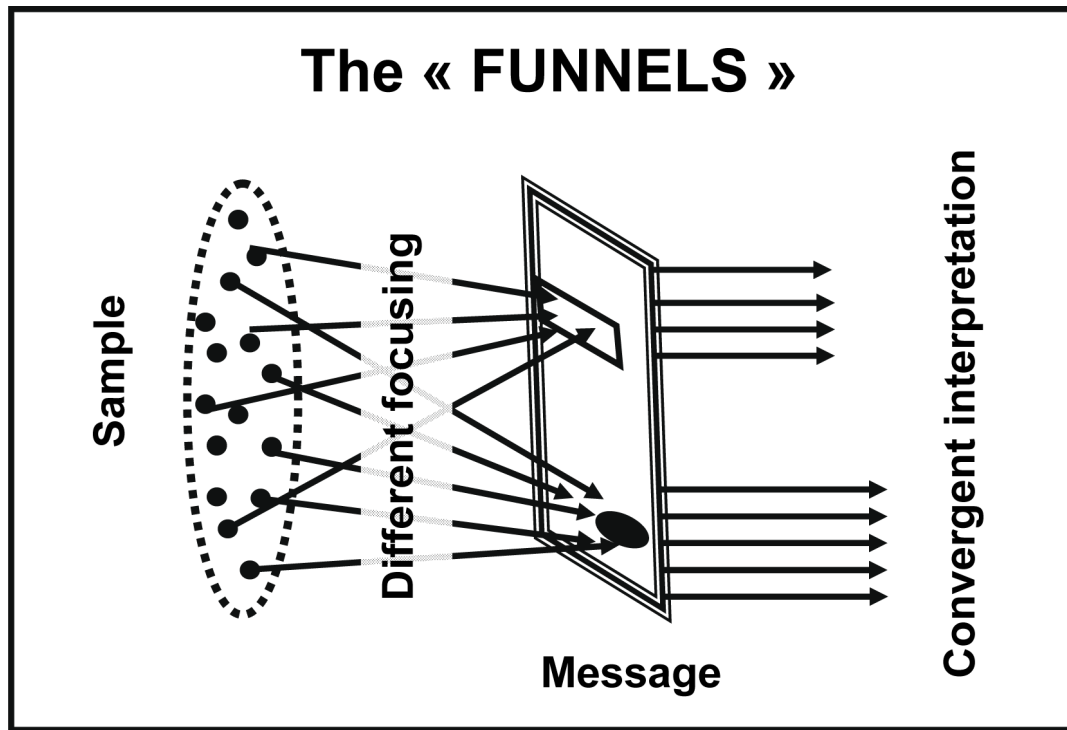
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**Figure 6: The “funnel-shape” model.**

1405 If the always observed “classic” interpretation scatter should be based on the scattering

1406 detected in “disassembling” operation, we could expect that the focusing on one same

1407 component would be followed by a convergent interpretation of it, as shown in this

1408 figure. This kind of process would prove itself as the opposite of the “megaphone-shape”

1409 model shown in [Fig. 1](#).

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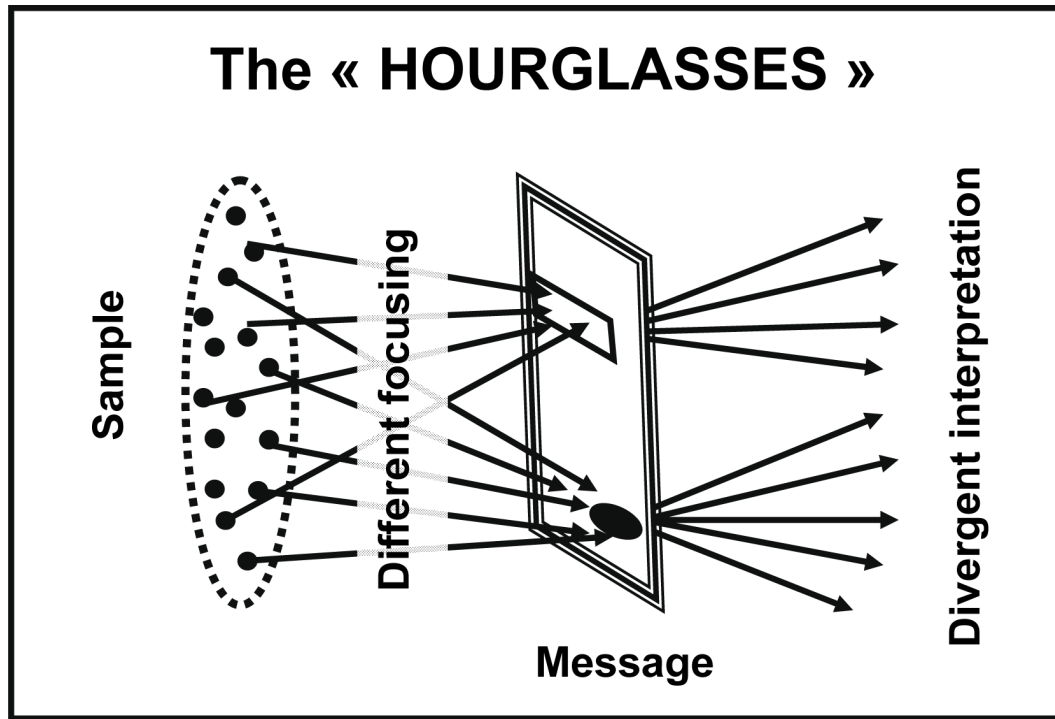


Figure 7: The “hourglass-shape” model.

This figure is a possible representation of the observed process of message interpretation.

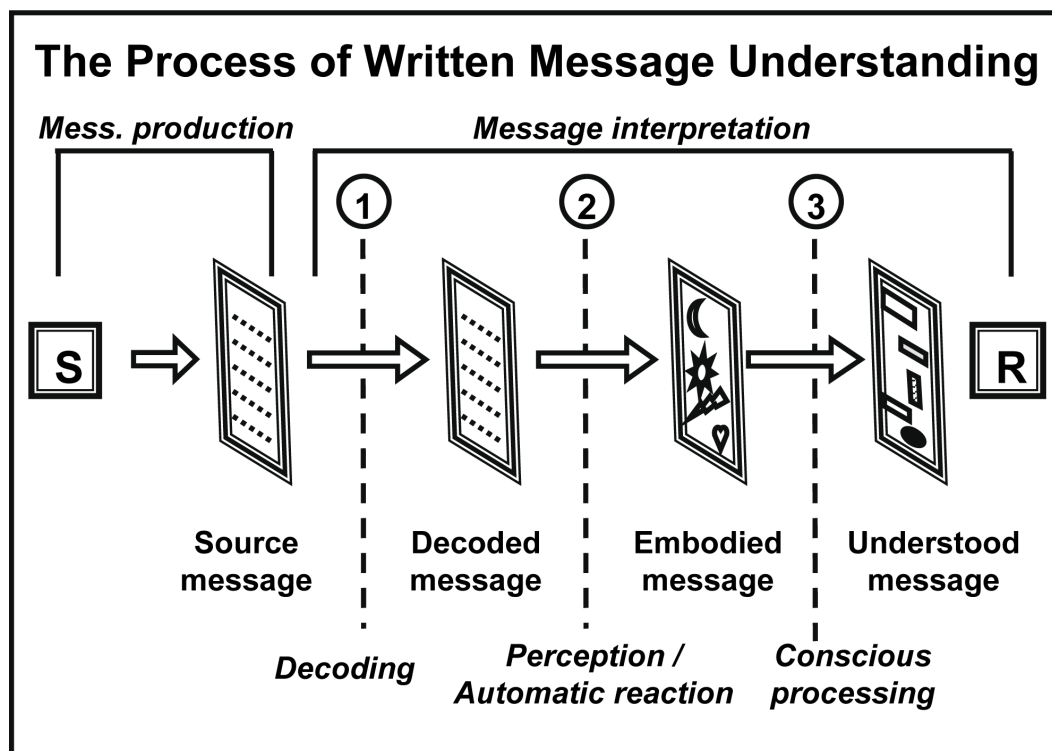
Two kinds of scatter co-exist, manifesting themselves in sequence: the first one regards

dispersion during the focusing on the components (“disassembling” operation) and the

second one regards the interpretation of the focused components (“classic” interpretation

scatter).

1441



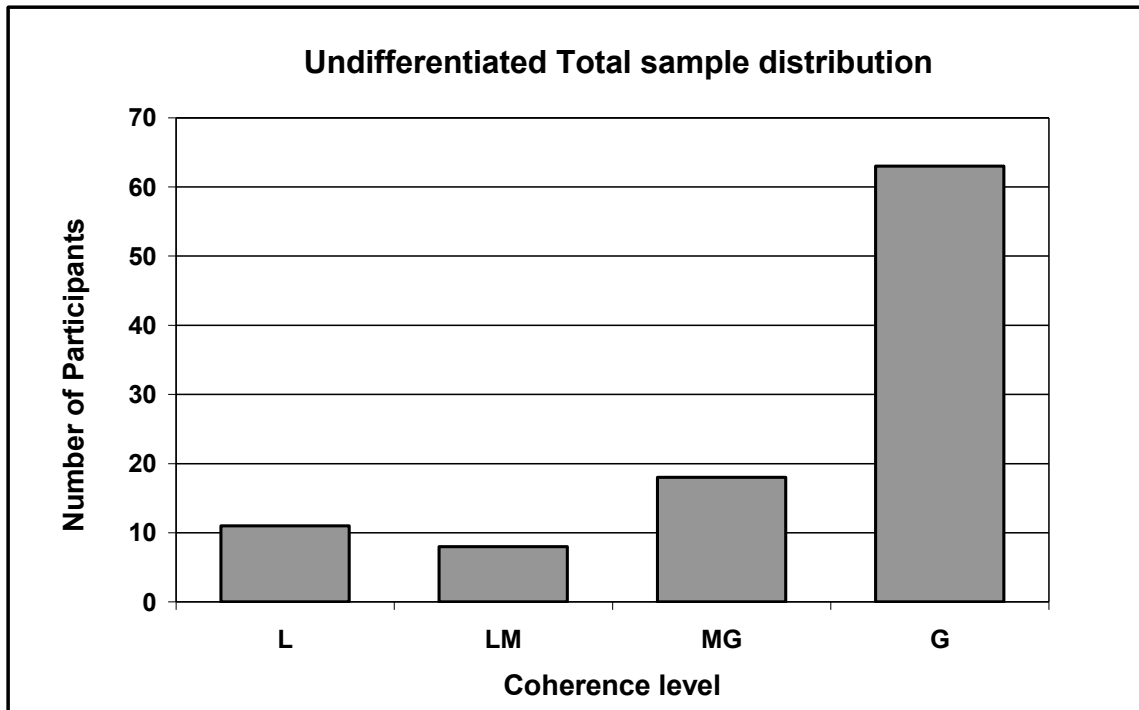
**Figure 8: Scheme of the process of written message interpretation (how messages are understood).**

[Legend: S = Sender; R = Receiver; 1-2-3 = Progressive steps of the process]

This figure presents our hypothesis to answer the question: “How is a written message understood by the receiver?”. Message production (performed by the sender) is not deepened. The process of interpretation is made up by three sub-processes, in a cascade.

The automatic reaction on perceptual basis (step #2) is followed by the conscious information processing (step #3). The step #1 is decoding, given that the words must be recognized, at first, in order to be interpreted.

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1477 **Figure 9: Sample distribution with respect to coherence levels / Undifferentiated**

1478

**Total Sample**

1479

[Legend / Coherence indicator:

1480 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

1481

1482 This histogram shows the distribution of ALL respondents according to the coherence

1483 (expressed through the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their interpretations of

1484 Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is shown for the

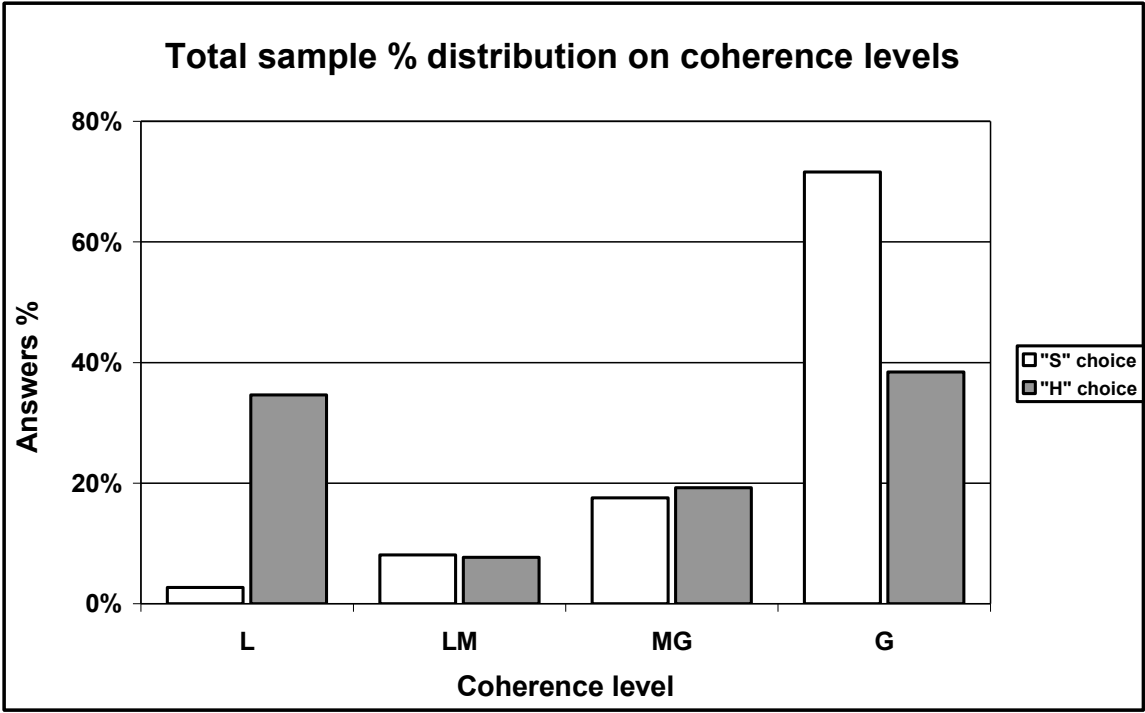
1485 undifferentiated total sample. The L level results over-represented with respect to what

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expected.

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1491 **Figure 10: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**

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**“H”/”S” choosers - Total Sample**

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[Legend / Coherence indicator:

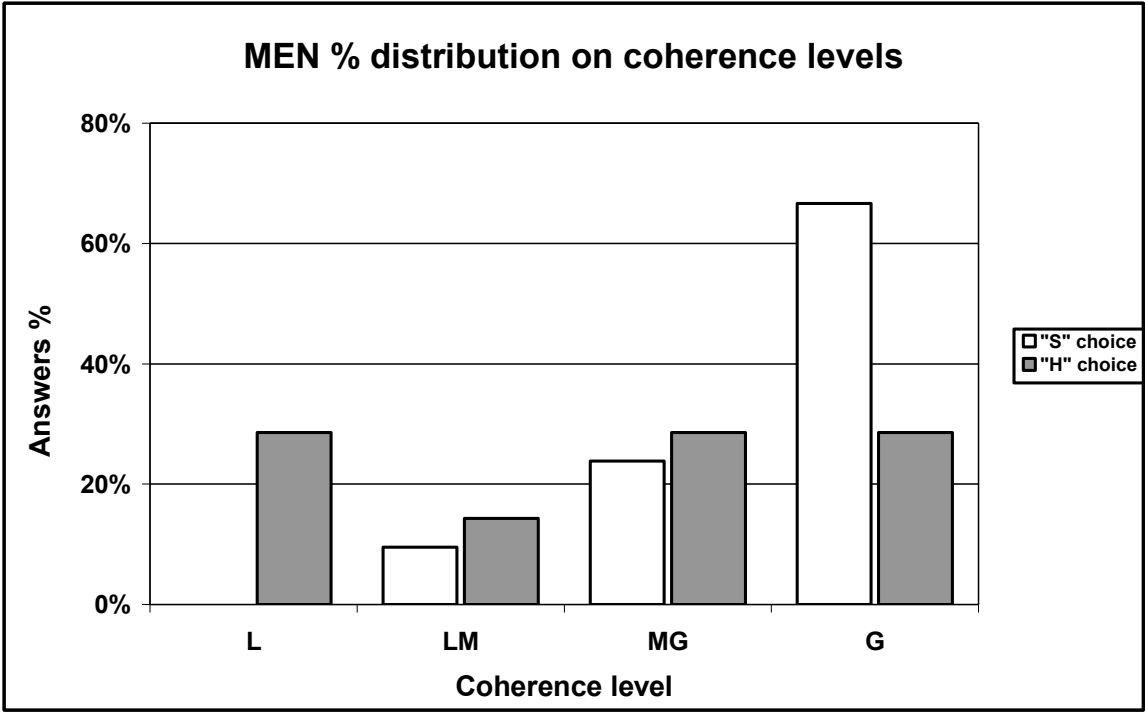
1494 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

1495

1496 This histogram shows the percent distribution of ALL respondents according to the  
1497 coherence (expressed through the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their  
1498 interpretations of Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is  
1499 shown separately for “H” and “S” choosers. Distributions result significantly different  
1500 (Chi-squared test:  $p=0.000095$ ).

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1505 **Figure 11: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**

1506

**“H”/”S” choosers - Subsample MEN**

1507

[Legend / Coherence indicator:

1508 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

1509

1510 This histogram shows the percent distributions of MALE respondents according to the

1511 coherence (expressed through the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their

1512 interpretations of Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is

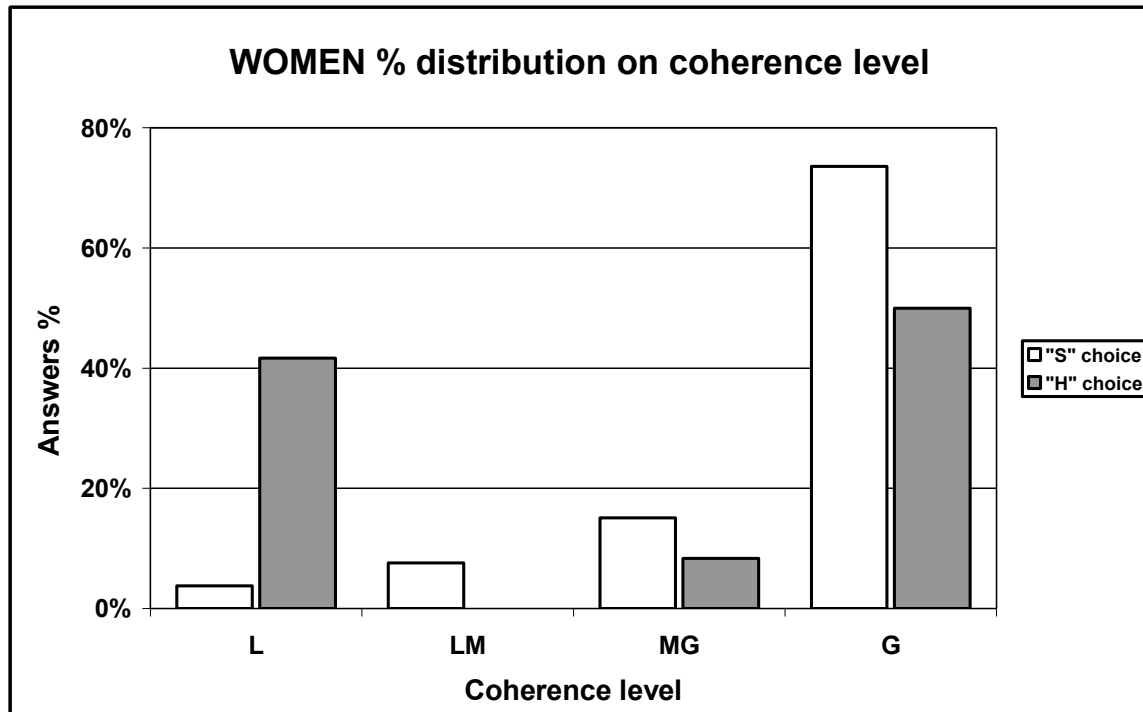
1513 shown separately for “H” and “S” choosers. Chi-squared test unsuitable for the presence

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of a zero value.



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1518 **Figure 12: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**

1519

**“H”/“S” choosers - Subsample WOMEN**

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[Legend / Coherence indicator:

1521 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

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1523 This histogram shows the percent distributions of FEMALE respondents according to the

1524 coherence (expressed through the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their

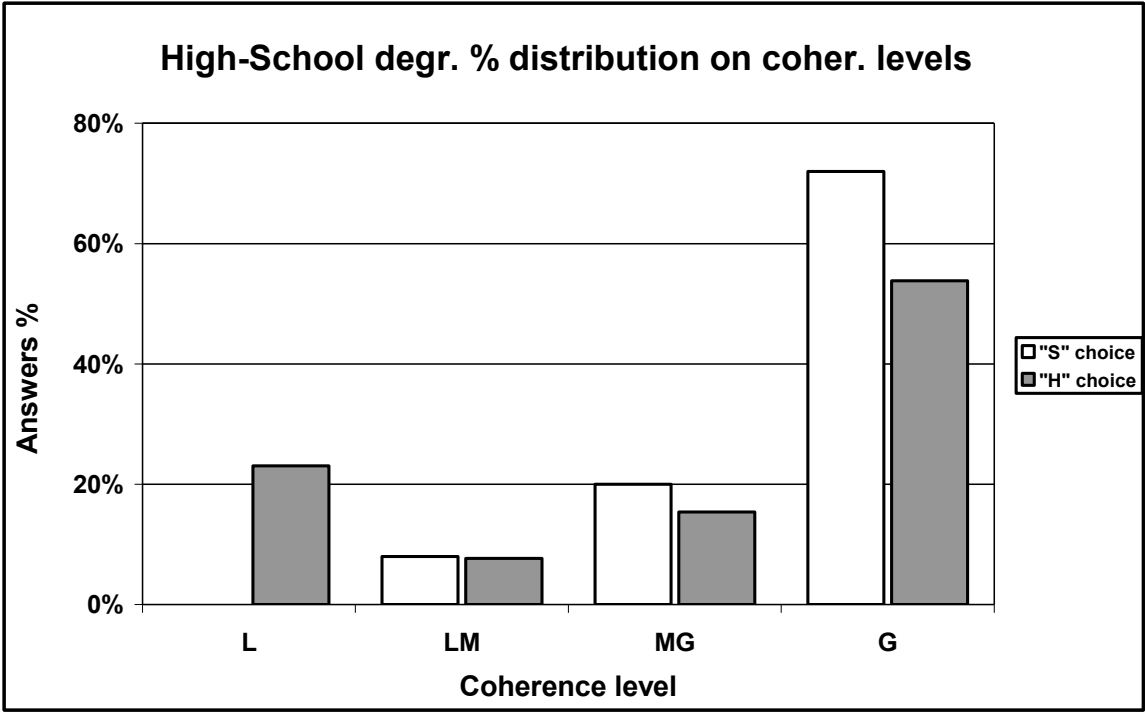
1525 interpretations of Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is

1526 shown separately for “H” and “S” choosers. Chi-squared test unsuitable for the presence

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of a zero value.

1528



1530

1531 **Figure 13: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**

1532

**“H”/”S” choosers - Subsample High School**

1533

[Legend / Coherence indicator:

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L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

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This histogram shows the percent distributions of HIGH-SCHOOL degree granted

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respondents according to the coherence (expressed through the coherence indicator)

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between, by one hand, their interpretations of Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other

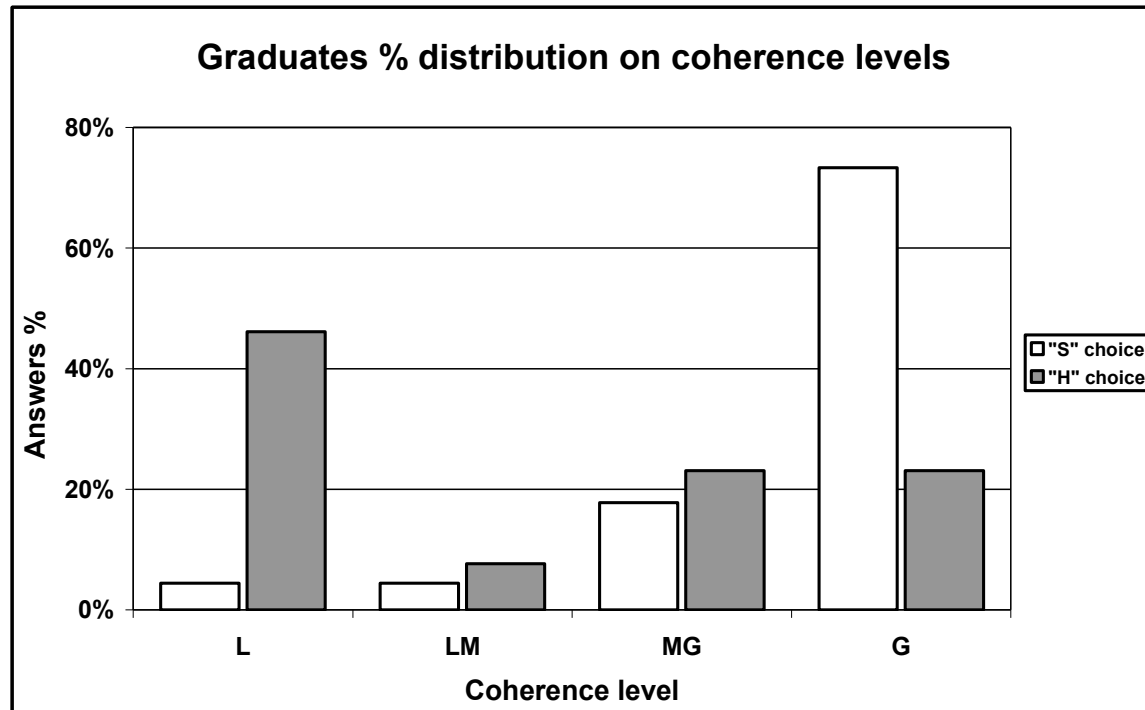
1539

hand, their final choice. Data is shown separately for “H” and “S” choosers. Chi-squared

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test unsuitable for the presence of a zero value.

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1544 **Figure 14: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**1545 **"H"/"S" choosers - Subsample Graduates**

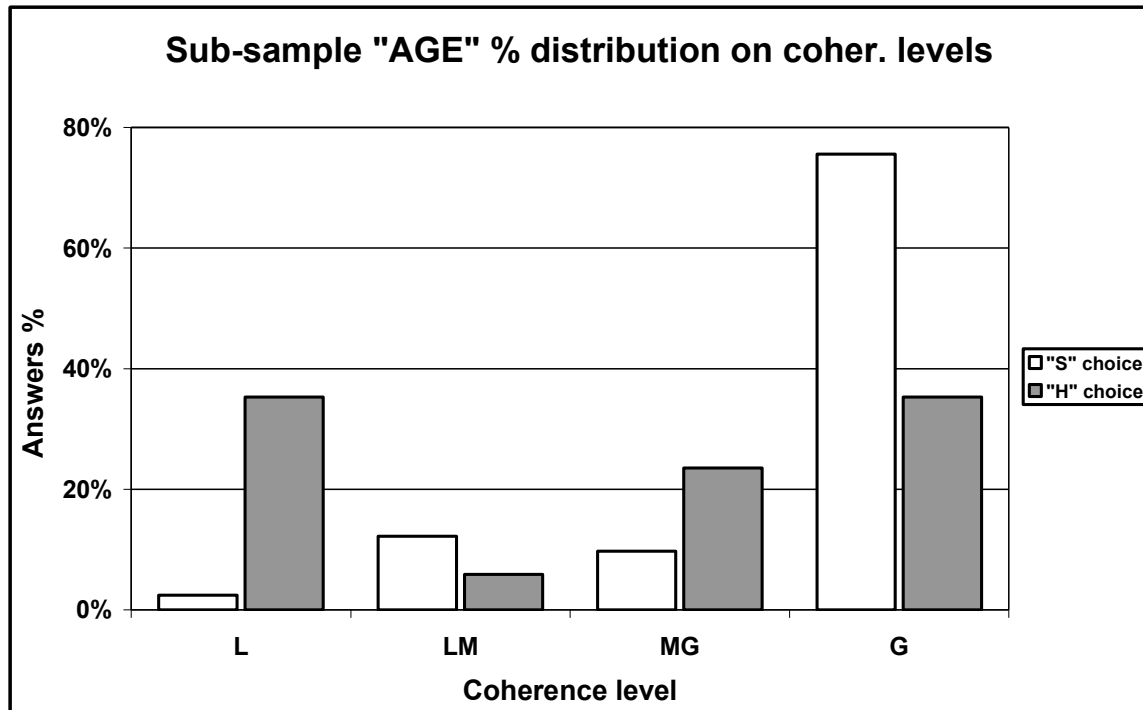
1546 [Legend / Coherence indicator:

1547 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

1548

1549 This histogram shows the percent distribution of GRADUATED respondents according  
 1550 to the coherence (expressed through the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their  
 1551 interpretations of Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is  
 1552 shown separately for "H" and "S" choosers. Distributions result significantly different  
 1553 (Chi-squared test:  $p=0.000649$ ).

1554



1556

1557 **Figure 15: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**1558 **“H”/“S” choosers - Subsample “AGE”**

1559 [Legend / Coherence indicator:

1560 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

1561

1562 This histogram shows the percent distribution of respondents belonging to subsample

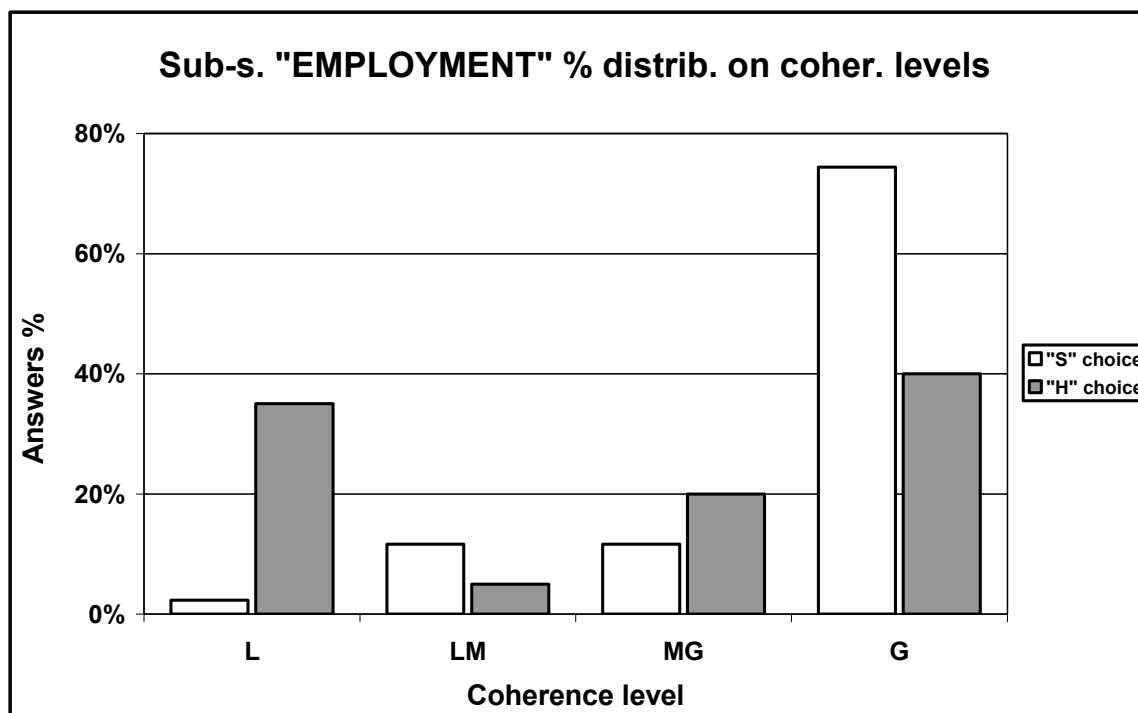
1563 “AGE” (30 years, and over, old persons) according to the coherence (expressed through

1564 the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their interpretations of Messages #4/H

1565 and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is shown separately for “H” and “S”

1566 choosers. Distributions result significantly different (Chi-squared test:  $p=0.001174$ ).

1567



1569

1570 **Figure 16: Sample percent distribution with respect to coherence levels / Comparing**

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**“H”/“S” choosers - Subsample “EMPLOYMENT”**

1572

[Legend / Coherence indicator:

1573 L = Low; LM = Low-Medium; MG = Medium-Great; G = Great level of coherence]

1574

1575 This histogram shows the percent distribution of respondents belonging to sub-sample

1576 “EMPLOYMENT” (workers only, students and unemployed excluded) according to the

1577 coherence (expressed through the coherence indicator) between, by one hand, their

1578 interpretations of Messages #4/H and #4/S; by the other hand, their final choice. Data is

1579 shown separately for “H” and “S” choosers. Distributions result significantly different

1580

(Chi-squared test:  $p=0.001560$ ).

## Tables

Category	Sub-category	Examples of participants' interpretations
<b>Behaviours</b> [7 answers]	---	XX requests for an intervention
		She reports flaws
		She is just sending a duty communication
<b>Emotions</b> [16 answers]	XX is:	Angry, Disturbed, Worried, Aggressive, Discouraged
		Brave, Impatient, Afraid
<b>Relations XX-YY</b> [41 answers]	XX expresses:	Assertiveness, Aggressiveness, Superiority, Subordination
	XX takes a position:	Tough, Technical, Neutral
	XX:	Demands a solution
		Recalls YY to his duty
		Thwarts YY's plans
<b>Message form</b> [19 answers]	Msg #3 is more:	Concrete, Correct, Detailed
		Direct, Effective

**Table 1: An example of interpretation scatter from our research.**

Sixty-one individuals (60% of the sample), after having compared XX's Messages #1 and #3, answered "YES" to Question #2 and provided 83 specifications for the changes they had detected in XX's position toward YY. The table classifies the specifications into 4 main categories and provides some examples for each one of them.

1592

1593

Components	Examples
The POSITION of a statement	<i>XX explains her absence <b>at the beginning</b> of Msg #3 to forestall possible criticism.</i> <i>YY scoffs at XX, expressing a little courtesy <b>just at the end</b> of Msg #4/H.</i>
The LENGTH of a text	<i>Msg #4/H <b>being long</b> / Msg #5 <b>being short</b> have an underlying meaning.</i>
Dotted lists	<i><b>The use of it</b> in Msg #4/H has a meaning.</i>
Type of lexicon	<i>The use of <b>technical words</b> / <b>expressions</b> imply precision, but also suggest the intention to keep one's distance.</i> <i><b>Thanking and reassuring expressions</b> have détente effects.</i>
The relational or social roles of characters	<i>Some interpreted Msg #4/H as an attack to XX <b>being a woman</b>.</i>
The professional roles of characters	<i>XX not being an Account, <b>she would not cheat</b>.</i>
Grammatical observations	<i>The <b>verbs' tense</b> is noted as having an underlying meaning.</i>
LACK of content	<i>YY <b>does NOT wonder</b> why XX requests a control.</i> <i>YY announces a solution <b>NOT clarifying</b> what it will be.</i>

1594

1595 **Table 2: A selection of messages' "other components" that readers may focus on.**

1596 The table displays a tight selection of the messages' "other components" focused by  
 1597 respondents. These components are independent of the information content and, in most  
 1598 cases, of the message text. They are extremely various, indeed unpredictable, and return  
 1599 the impression that the receivers' preferences could be totally rule less.

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Quest.	Sym.	Titl.	Words	Incid.	Phras.	Whole	Cont.	Other	Gram.	TOT	%
1-a	1	7	46	55	53	16	29	14	4	225	17.1%
1-b	1	7	26	53	27	18	20	12	3	167	12.7%
1-c	0	6	22	58	34	13	11	12	2	158	12.0%
2	4	5	22	52	32	17	34	7	2	175	13.3%
3-4/H	0	1	13	49	54	35	31	24	2	209	15.9%
3-4/S	0	22	14	52	48	45	29	5	1	216	16.4%
Final	2	14	17	30	28	50	6	22	0	169	12.8%
TOT	8	62	160	349	276	194	160	96	14	1,319	100%
%	0.6%	4.7%	12.1%	26.4%	20.9%	14.7%	12.1%	7.3%	1.1%	100%	

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Table 3: Statistics on indicated components.

LEGEND	
<u>Sym.</u> = Symbols (punctuation marks)	<u>Whole</u> = General tone of the message / Blocks of text
<u>Titl.</u> = Titles – Salutes (starting/closing expressions)	<u>Cont.</u> = Information content of the message
<u>Words</u> = Meaningful isolated words/expressions	<u>Other</u> = Other components of the message
<u>Incid.</u> = Incidental passages, meaningless <i>per se</i>	<u>Gram.</u> = Grammar notations, like verbs tense and similar
<u>Phras.</u> = Complete phrases/periods	<u>TOT</u> = Totals; <u>%</u> = Percentage on totals

1605

1606 The table displays a descriptive statistical analysis of what the respondents look at inside the messages. The information  
 1607 content is focused by 12.1% of respondents only (“Cont.” column, “%” row). Even if we suppose that reference to complete  
 1608 phrases/periods could actually mean reference to their content, the sum of “Cont.” and “Phras.” column % totals would amount  
 1609 just to 33% of respondents, again a clear minority.



1610

Bins (% on personal total)	N. of respondents	%
0%	51	50,0%
1%-24%	31	30,4%
25%-49%	13	12,7%
50%-99%	6	5,9%
100%	1	1,0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	102	100,0%

1611

1612 **Table 4: Sample distribution with regards to the indicated components referred to**  
 1613 **information content.**

1614 Answering to the second part of the questionnaire's questions (requesting to indicate the  
 1615 "concrete elements" on which the interpretation was based), just the exact half of the  
 1616 sample indicated, at least once, information content components. In this table, the sample  
 1617 is distributed in bins defined through the percentage that the components referred to  
 1618 information content represent on the personal total of the provided indications. Just for 7  
 1619 people out of 102 the indications pointing at information content balance the others or  
 1620 prevail (50% or more); just 1 people among them indicates information content  
 1621 components only.

1622

1623

1624  
1625

Category	Examples of participants' interpretations
<p><i>"... we'd be pleased..."</i> [32 quotations]</p>	Aggressiveness; Office duty expression; Informality; Irony
	Just a request; Sarcasm; Highlighting XX's subordinate role
	Expression of alternative visions
<p><i>"... if at least once..."</i> [17 quotations]</p>	Conflict; Doubt on YY's reliability; Expression of courtesy
	Taunting; Request for attention; Request for information
	A reminder; Stimulus to organization top management
<p><i>"... we'd be pleased..."</i> <i>... if at least once..."</i> [19 quotations]</p>	Expression of XX's fear, because she doesn't feel safe
	Insignificant (just a normal office communication)
	Complaint/claim
	Reprimand/reproach, by XX to YY
	XX's clarification request
	Information exchange

1626

1627 **Table 5: Interpretation scatter referred to one component (the incidental passage of**  
1628 **Message #1).**

1629 The table displays the result of classifying the interpretations given by a subset of 53  
1630 individuals (52% of the sample) to one component of Message #1. These respondents,  
1631 even though focusing on that same component (the incidental passage "...we would be  
1632 pleased if at least once..."), have nonetheless dispersed their interpretations. This means  
1633 that not even the "funnel-shape" model ([Fig. 6](#)) could result acceptable.

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Factors	Examples
Form of address	<i>Using or not titles indicates formality level</i>
Use of idiomatic expressions	<i>Sign of familiarity, informality</i>
Regards / greetings form	<i>Length and presence/absence of thanks are taken into account and interpreted as sign of attention, carelessness, respect, defiance...</i>
Reply quickness	<i>Courtesy / promptness sign</i>
Use of technical terms	<i>Sign of intention to keep a distant role</i>
Amount / level of details provided	<i>Sign of major / minor accuracy or interest</i>
Quantifying information	<i>Sign of quibbling, coldness</i>
Referring to rules / laws	<i>Taken as sign of escalation in formality</i>

1637

1638

**Table 6: Examples of possible stimulus-factors.**

1639 The table displays examples, drawn from the filled questionnaires, of one category of  
 1640 possible stimulus-factors inside the messages. The capability of these factors to work as  
 1641 stimuli is not linked to the information they might contain, but to “the fact that” they are  
 1642 present within the message, in a certain form and/or at a certain point.

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Variable	Total Sample		Sub-sample AGE		Sub-sample EMPLOYMENT	
	Answers	%	Answers	%	Answers	%
<i>"H" choice</i>	26	25.7%	17	28.8%	20	31.2%
<i>"S" choice</i>	75	74.3%	42	71.2%	44	68.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100%</b>

1646

1647 **Table 7: Statistical distribution of the answers to the Final question (H/S choice).**

1648 The table displays (for the total sample and the two control sub-samples) the frequencies

1649 of the answers to the Final question (the choice between Message “H” and Message “S”

1650 as the solution of the case). A strong imbalance is shown, as indications of Message #4/S

1651 overwhelm the Message #4/H ones in all cases.

1652

1653 ...

1654 ...

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1656

	Total sample						Sub-sample "AGE"						Sub-sample "EMPLOYMENT"					
	S+		S-		TOTALS		S+		S-		TOTALS		S+		S-		TOTALS	
<b>H+</b>	18	22.5%	12	57.1%	30	29.7%	8	17.8%	7	50.0%	15	25.4%	9	18.8%	9	56.3%	18	28.1%
<b>H-</b>	62	77.5%	9	42.9%	71	70.3%	37	82.2%	7	50.0%	44	74.6%	39	81.3%	7	43.8%	46	71.9%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
<b>Gen. Total</b>	<b>101</b>						<b>59</b>						<b>64</b>					

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**Table 8: Distribution of predictions about Message #4/H and Message #4/S effects.**

1660 Predictions about Message #4/H and Message #4/S effects are independently expressed, by each member of the sample,  
 1661 through answering to Questions #3 and #4. Answers are classified through the dummy variable “Expected effects” (possible  
 1662 values “+”, if respondents point out that the message will solve the XX-YY contrast, or “-“, in the opposite case). The table  
 1663 shows that all the possible combinations of predictions (for the total sample and the two control sub-samples) are present.  
 1664 Distribution is clearly imbalanced (definite preference on “H-/S+” combination). Significance is checked through Chi-squared  
 1665 test:  $p=0.001988$ , total sample;  $p=0.015600$ , sub-sample “AGE”;  $p=0.003861$ , sub-sample “EMPLOYMENT”.

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	Total sample						Sub-sample "AGE"						Sub-sample "EMPLOYMENT"					
	"H" Choice		"S" Choice		Totals		"H" Choice		"S" Choice		Totals		"H" Choice		"S" Choice		Totals	
<b>H+ / S+</b>	5	19.2%	13	17.6%	18	18.0%	4	23.5%	4	9.8%	8	13.8%	4	20.0%	5	11.6%	9	14.3%
<b>H+ / S-</b>	10	38.5%	2	2.7%	12	12.0%	6	35.3%	1	2.4%	7	12.1%	8	40.0%	1	2.3%	9	14.3%
<b>H- / S+</b>	9	34.6%	53	71.6%	62	62.0%	6	35.3%	31	75.6%	37	63.8%	7	35.0%	32	74.4%	39	61.9%
<b>H- / S-</b>	2	7.7%	6	8.1%	8	8.0%	1	5.9%	5	12.2%	6	10.3%	1	5.0%	5	11.6%	6	9.5%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
<b>Gen. Total</b>	<b>100</b>						<b>58</b>						<b>63</b>					

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1669 **Table 9: Cross-table of combined predictions and final choices between Message #4H and Message #4S.**

1670 In this table the combined predictions of Message #4/H and Message #4/S effects (see [Table 8](#)) are crossed with the final  
 1671 choices of the respondents (all the variables are independent). Data shows the association (for the total sample and the two  
 1672 control sub-samples) between the most frequent combination “H-/S+” and “S” as final choice. In addition, some correlations  
 1673 between the two choices is underlined by Chi-squared test:  $p=0.000017$  (total sample);  $p=0.001174$  (sub-sample “AGE”);  
 1674  $p=0.000383$  (sub-sample “EMPLOYMENT”).

	<b>L</b> ( <i>low coherence</i> )	<b>LM</b> ( <i>low-medium c.</i> )	<b>MG</b> ( <i>med.-great c.</i> )	<b>G</b> ( <i>great coherence</i> )
<b>“H” choice</b>	<b>H-</b> / <b>S+</b>	<b>H-</b> / <b>S-</b>	<b>H+</b> / <b>S+</b>	<b>H+</b> / <b>S-</b>
<b>“S” choice</b>	<b>H+</b> / <b>S-</b>	<b>H-</b> / <b>S-</b>	<b>H+</b> / <b>S+</b>	<b>H-</b> / <b>S+</b>

**Table 10: Plot of the coherence level scale.**

The table shows the scale of the coherence levels expressed through the coherence indicator; four levels of coherence are defined and ranked. The indicator rates the degree of coherence among the predictions one respondent expressed about the “H” and “S” versions effects (answers to Questions #3 and #4) and the final choice he/she made (“H” or “S”, answer to the Final question). All the questions were independent. The predictions are represented through the dummy variable “Expected effects” and labelled “+” if they indicate that the message will ease or solve the contrast between XX and YY, “-” in the opposite case.

Coherence level	Total sample		Sub-sample "AGE"		Sub-sample "Employm."	
	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>L</b>	11	<i>11.0</i>	7	<i>12.1</i>	8	<i>12.7</i>
<b>LM</b>	8	<i>8.0</i>	6	<i>10.3</i>	6	<i>9.5</i>
<b>MG</b>	18	<i>18.0</i>	8	<i>13.8</i>	9	<i>14.3</i>
<b>G</b>	63	<i>63.0</i>	37	<i>63.8</i>	40	<i>63.5</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 11: Sample distribution with respect to coherence levels.**

[Legend: L = Low; LM = Low-medium, MG = Medium-great, G = Great level of coherence between predictions and choice; H/S = Versions of Message #4; +/- = type of predicted effect (resolution or escalation of the conflict) of the messages on XX.]

The table displays, for the total sample and the two subsamples "Age" and "Employment", the distribution of participants with respect to the different levels of coherence (see [Table 10](#)). The L level results over-represented with respect to what expected.



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# Contributions to a NEUROPHYSIOLOGY of MEANING

“H” Choosers			“S” Choosers			Total	
<i>Coherence level</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coherence level</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>L</b> (H-/S+)	9	34.6	<b>L</b> (H+/S-)	2	2.7	11	11.0
<b>LM</b> (H-/S-)	2	7.7	<b>LM</b> (H-/S-)	6	8.1	8	8.0
<b>MG</b> (H+/S+)	5	19.2	<b>MG</b> (H+/S+)	13	17.6	18	18.0
<b>G</b> (H+/S-)	10	38.5	<b>G</b> (H-/S+)	53	71.6	63	63.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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1703 **Table 12: Sample distribution with respect to coherence levels and expressed choice**  
1704 **(total sample).**

1705 [Legend: L = Low; LM = Low-medium, MG = Medium-great, G = Great level of  
1706 coherence between predictions and choice; H/S = Versions of Message #4; +/- = type of  
1707 predicted effect (resolution or escalation of the conflict) of the messages on XX.]

1708

1709 The table displays (for the total sample, and separately for the H and S choosers) the  
1710 distribution of participants with respect to the different levels of coherence. Data  
1711 highlights some correlations between the two variables coherence and choice: Chi-  
1712 squared test returns high significance ( $p<0.01$ ).

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# Contributions to a NEUROPHYSIOLOGY of MEANING

“H” Choosers			“S” Choosers			Total	
<i>Coherence level</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coherence level</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>L</b> (H-/S+)	6	35.3	<b>L</b> (H+/S-)	1	2.4	7	12.1
<b>LM</b> (H-/S-)	1	5.9	<b>LM</b> (H-/S-)	5	12.2	6	10.3
<b>MG</b> (H+/S+)	4	23.5	<b>MG</b> (H+/S+)	4	9.8	8	13.8
<b>G</b> (H+/S-)	6	35.3	<b>G</b> (H-/S+)	31	75.6	37	63.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>100.0</b>

1714

1715 **Table 13: Sample distribution with respect to coherence levels and expressed choice**  
1716 **(Sub-sample “Age”).**

1717 [Legend: L = Low; LM = Low-medium, MG = Medium-great, G = Great level of  
1718 coherence between predictions and choice; H/S = Versions of Message #4; +/- = type of  
1719 predicted effect (resolution or escalation of the conflict) of the messages on XX.]

1720

1721 The table displays (for the sub-sample “Age”, >29yy-old people only, and separately for  
1722 the H and S choosers) the distribution of participants with respect to the different levels  
1723 of coherence. Data highlights some correlations between the two variables coherence and  
1724 choice: Chi-squared test returns high significance ( $p<0.01$ ).

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# Contributions to a NEUROPHYSIOLOGY of MEANING

“H” Choosers			“S” Choosers			Total	
<i>Coherence level</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Coherence level</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>%</i>
<b>L</b> (H-/S+)	7	35.0	<b>L</b> (H+/S-)	1	2.3	8	12.7
<b>LM</b> (H-/S-)	1	5.0	<b>LM</b> (H-/S-)	5	11.6	6	9.5
<b>MG</b> (H+/S+)	4	20.0	<b>MG</b> (H+/S+)	5	11.6	9	14.3
<b>G</b> (H+/S-)	8	40.0	<b>G</b> (H-/S+)	32	74.4	40	63.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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1728 **Table 14: Sample distribution with respect to coherence levels and expressed choice**  
1729 **(Sub-sample “Employment”).**

1730 [Legend: L = Low; LM = Low-medium, MG = Medium-great, G = Great level of  
1731 coherence between predictions and choice; H/S = Versions of Message #4; +/- = type of  
1732 predicted effect (resolution or escalation of the conflict) of the messages on XX.]

1733

1734 The table displays (for the sub-sample “Employment”, people with a regular employment  
1735 only, and separately for the H and S choosers) the distribution of participants with respect  
1736 to the different levels of coherence. Data highlights some correlations between the two  
1737 variables coherence and choice: Chi-squared test returns high significance ( $p<0.01$ ).

1738