



Edusemiotics and Confucius: A Cultural Semiotic Analysis of the Triadic Model, the Included Middle, and the Process-Ontology

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Abstract This study briefly introduces some of the core features of edusemiotics, and combines them with the thought of Confucius embodied in the *Analects* – a book recording the words and deeds of Confucius and his students, thus discovering that the triadic model of semiotics and edusemiotics fits well with the core of Confucius’s educational thought of “Ren (仁)”. At the same time, edusemiotics finds a theoretical and practical fit with the *Analects*, both in terms of structural features of the included middle and in terms of the functioning logic of process-ontology. It proves that although Confucius’s classical educational thought has existed and been inherited for more than two thousand years, some of its educational concepts and methods stand at the forefront of the times from the perspective of edusemiotics today, and still remain an important guide and reference to the field of human education in this day and age.

Keywords: Culture, Semiotics, Edusemiotics, The *Analects*, Triadic education model

1. Introduction

The connection between semiotics (the study of signs) and education (the study on teaching and learning) is that learning concerns either things or signs, but it is through signs that we learn what things are (Augustine, 2009). The fundamental element of human beings’ memory is that people actively remember things with the aid of signs (Vygotsky, 1978). Human experience, with no one indicating any exception, is an interpretive framework that is supported and mediated by signs (Deely, 1990). However, according to Marcel Danesi (2010), the novel concept of combining signs with education and learning theory to develop an emerging area, which can be dubbed edusemiotics, has never completely crystallized until lately. The term “edusemiotics”, as a new field of inquiry, was first coined here. Later in 2014, edusemiotics, the emerging discipline, was formally introduced at the 12th World Congress of the International Association for Semiotic Studies (IASS) in Sofia, Bulgaria.

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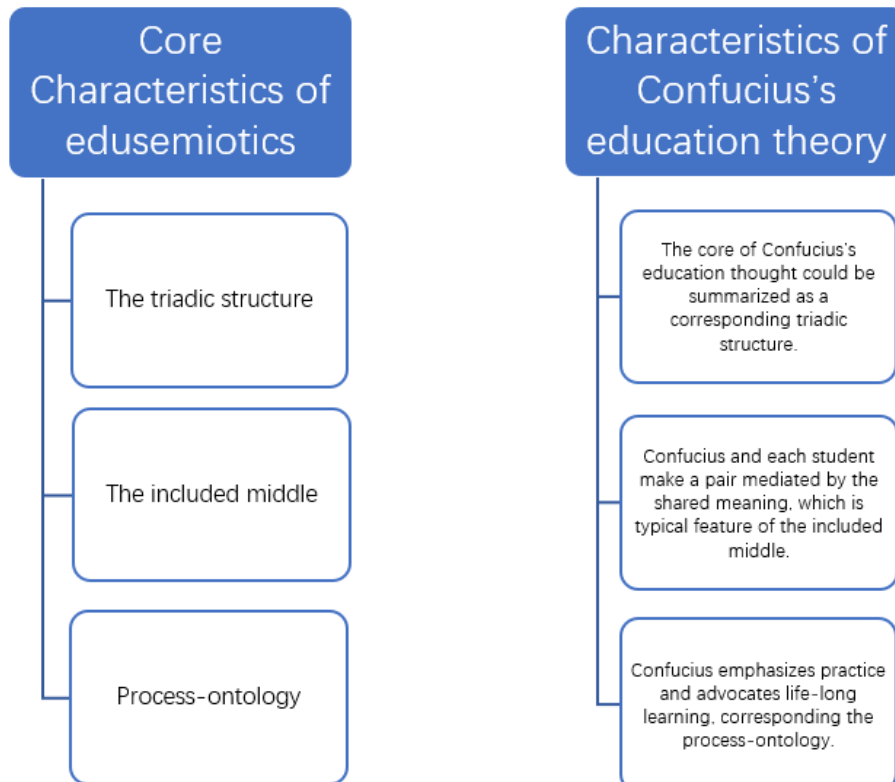
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Edusemiotics is a unique topic of study that combines educational theory and education philosophy with semiotics (Semetsky, 2017). As the foundation of both theory and practice in education, semiotics is based on process-ontology, of which Charles Sanders Peirce is a significant exponent. As a result, Peirce's triadic theory—which is inherently at odds with Cartesian dualism—is inherited by edusemiotics. Mainstream Western philosophy experienced a difficult time because of the “great bifurcation” (Merrell, 2002) between body and mind; as a consequence, integrative techniques are either completely absent or just briefly mentioned in Western educational systems, or they refer in passing to Eastern philosophies, whose thought proclaims the polar relationship of all opposites (Capra, 1975). Semetsky (2015) believes that the paradoxical statement of Taoism – the include Third – is the most important distinguishing feature of edusemiotics. To support her idea, *I Ching* (the Chinese Book of Changes), Taoism, Chuang Tzu, and yin and yang were mentioned.

However, a great name that should never be ignored when discussing Eastern education is obviously missing: Confucius – the great master who is usually seen as one of the most important educators in ancient China. The omission of Confucius from the reference to Eastern educational philosophy is a great pity. Since Confucius's educational thought, especially the concept of “Ren”, is an influential thinking model or framework which has influenced Chinese thinking for thousands of years but is yet to be discussed by edusemioticians, it is essential for edusemiotics to involve Confucius's educational thought if edusemiotics, as it claims, derives part of its comprehensive techniques from Eastern thinkers. So, this research tries to fill this gap by establishing a connection between edusemiotics and Confucius's educational thought and practice, based on the context of the *Analects*, to provide some new possibilities for edusemiotics as a novel interdisciplinary field since the absence of Confucius in the previous research.

This study first summarizes several core features of edusemiotics, and in this way, constructs a theoretical framework of edusemiotics, which is illustrated in the left part of Figure 1. Then, a comparative analysis of the text of the *Analects* is conducted with the perspective of edusemiotics. Based on this analysis, the right part of the figure 1 is shaped. Finally, conclusions are drawn based on the comparisons of the two parts in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Characteristics of Edusemiotics and Confucius's Education Theory



In the following sections, Section 3 explains the left part in detail. Section 4 applies the edusemiotic theory mentioned in Section 3 to analyze the related contents in the *Analects* and generate and explain the right part in the figure. Finally, the conclusion is drawn in Section 5.

2. The Defining Features of Edusemiotics

2.1. The Triadic Structure

The foundation of modern semiotics, as widely accepted, is ascribed to two pioneers: Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles S. Peirce (Deely, 2017). Inheriting the semiotic theory represented by Peirce, the main characteristics of edusemiotics are imprinted with its thought.

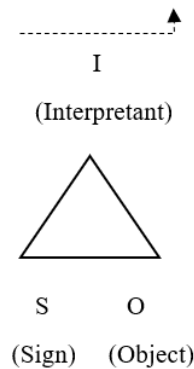
Overcoming habitual dualism is one of the most distinguishing features of edusemiotics. Peirce's semiotic theory posited a genuine sign as a tri-relative entity, referring to something other than itself indirectly, via a third category (Semetsky, 2017). Therefore, it is inherently on the opposite side of Cartesian dualism that emphasizes the isolated substances such as subject and object, body and mind, etc. Peirce defined the concept of semiosis as the evolutionary process of the growth and change of signs:

But by 'semiosis' I mean, ..., an action, or influence, which is, or involves, a cooperation of three subjects, such as a sign, its object, and its interpretant, this tri-relative influence not being in any way resolvable into actions between pairs. ..., my definition confers on anything that so acts the title of a sign. (CP 5.484)

According to Stables and Semetsky (Stables & Semetsky, 2015), Peirce's sign (Figure 2) can be anything that denotes another item or its object, in such a way as to produce another sign. A sign only has meaning and importance when an interpretant is present.

Figure 2

Peirce's Triadic Sign



The triadic structure of signs, which are constantly transformed into other signs, ensures the dynamics of semiosis. A long list of infinite interpretants (the dotted line in Figure 2) that guarantee the growth, modification, and evolution of signs enable such dynamics (Semetsky, 2015).

Edusemiotics is a comprehensive conceptual framework derived from this triadic model of Peirce. Based on this model, edusemiotics argues that human beings are also signs and that human beings acquire the ability to learn and develop through the dynamic process of semiosis by using and interpreting signs, which is the basic educational view of edusemiotics (Semetsky, 2017). Based on Figure 2, some subordinative characteristics of edusemiotics could be illustrated.

2.2. The Included Middle

It is the characteristics of structural logic of edusemiotics, showing that the basic structure of a genuine sign is a ternary structure mediated by the third rather than the traditional binary structure. In order to facilitate mutual understanding and the development of values and meanings that are eventually shared,

edusemiotics tries to organize a sense of the relational self that incorporates a generic other (Semetsky, 2017). The logic of the included middle can ensure the achievement of this target, based on which the relationship between teachers and students is a ternary, instead of dualistic, whole searching for shared ideas through mediation. Furthermore, under the guidance of this ternary structure, edusemiotics attaches importance to the relationship between people, that is, to moral education, since ethics is the common principle observed by people in social activities.

Edusemiotics' unmistakable defining characteristic is the semiotic logic of the included middle. Due to this distinguishing feature, edusemiotics can also be referred to as the Tao of education, often known as "the Way" in Chinese (Semetsky, 2015). As Olteanu and Campbell (2018) claimed, "the strength in Peirce's semiotics is precisely that it is triadic and thus non-dualist, that is, it purports to explain relation itself as an ontological modality" (p. 249). To reiterate, a perspective of edusemiotics leads to different ethics that are focused on building amicable relationships with people that might result in mutual understanding and sharing of values, compared with the traditional learning philosophy (Semetsky, 2017).

2.3. The Process-Ontology

It is the characteristics of the functioning logic of edusemiotics, indicating that the basic operating mode of a genuine sign emphasizes the dynamic growth and evolution of the sign itself rather than sustaining a static meaning. Edusemiotics incorporates process-ontology, which has a number of Hermetic, Neoplatonic, and Eastern philosophers as well as Charles Sanders Peirce and other intellectuals, including Plato, Leibniz, James, Dewey, and Whitehead as philosophical forebears (Semetsky, 2015, 2017). Process can be defined as a "coordinated group of changes in the complexion of reality, and organized family of occurrences that are systematically linked to one another either causally or functionally" (Rescher, 1996). Based on the process-ontology, edusemiotics underlines the learning experience rather than a fixed learning product. The process in which something functions as a sign may be called, by Morris (1938), semiosis. The study on education processes is a component of and a contribution to the study of the ontogeny of signs as well as the problem of their communication and meaning. Teaching and learning are intertwined with semiosis (Nöth, 2010).

According to the process-ontology, the fixed answers focusing on right or wrong—binary opposites that traditional teachers often use to evaluate their students—are not the focus of edusemiotics. Instead of reducing teaching or learning activities to a simple "Let's get more scores in the texts" game, the education guided by process-ontology emphasizes the participatory educational experience through which students are exploring and seeking for meaning. Under this type of education structure, teachers' work is to prepare the proper environment for the students to evolve in. In terms of semiotics, education is a relational process of development that results from interacting with signs located in daily life as experience, and it defies the rigid division between formal education and cultural education. Since edusemiotics modifies how standards are perceived, they alter the established guidelines for testing, assessing, and determining academic success or failure. According to the process through which signs become other signs, failure can become its own opposite and have a positive value because it is a teaching opportunity (Semetsky, 2017).

To restate, applying the philosophy of sign-relations as processes and events instead of the Cartesian ontology of stable substances, the process-ontology, focusing on the dynamic process of semiosis is another defining characteristic of how edusemiotics opposes Cartesian dualism. In summary, the main defining feature of edusemiotics, based on a triadic structure, is overcoming Cartesian dualism, which is supported by the characteristics of the included middle and the process-ontology. In Section 3, Confucius's educational theory and practice will be discussed with a baseline of edusemiotics.

3. Characteristics of Confucius's Education from the Perspective of Edusemiotics

3.1. Confucius's Triadic Edusemiotic Model/Practice

Confucius (551–479 BCE) was a Chinese philosopher, educator and politician. His thoughts have influenced Chinese culture for thousands of years. He created a new era of the development of Chinese traditional education and influenced the main development course of traditional educational thought

(Wang, 2022). Throughout the history of Chinese education, many educational thoughts, opinions, and practices put forward by Confucius are highly innovative in the process of cultural integration. His advanced educational concepts, such as popularization of education, socialization of education, privatization of education, systematization of education, and dereligionization of education, not only produced a huge social effect at that time, but also had a profound influence on the development of education in later generations (Han, 2014).

To explore Confucius's spirit world, the most reliable documentation of the ideas of Confucius is considered to be the *Analects*, a book recording the words and deeds of Confucius and his students, which was collected and compiled by the latter (Cartwright, 2012). In the *Analects*, the enlightening words from Confucius's own mouth, focusing on practical issues, are recorded (Wei & Wei, 2022), and all the content of discussion, debate, analysis, and induction between Confucius and his students is from the fundamental thoughts of Confucius (Wang & Wang, 2011). Therefore, the *Analects* is the most basic material to study Confucius's thought and understand the true spirit of Confucianism (Liu, 2022).

The *Analects* consists of 20 chapters (or 'books' in some versions), including 492 sections in total. Generally, each section contains only a few words, while few sections are relatively long. By comparing the theoretical characteristics of the *Analects* and edusemiotics mentioned above, the correspondence between edusemiotics and Confucius's educational thought reflected in the *Analects* could be found.

The thought of Confucius contained in the *Analects* covers many aspects, including ethics, politics, education, sociology and so on. Although it involves a wide range of topics, it could be seen that they all relate to the relationship between "I" and "others" and how "I" should deal with them properly. The "other" in this case, refers both to the "other" as opposed to the "I" and to the wider human beings as a whole (Shi, 2014).

According to the *Analects*, Confucius summarized his thought on several occasions, telling his students about the core of his thinking, namely "仁 (the approximate pronunciation of this word is Ren)"—the perfect virtue defined by Confucius. For example, The Master (Confucius) said, "... Now the man of 'Ren', wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others" (6.30). This citing format A.B here is used in this article for locating the content of the *Analects*: A is the number of the chapter, and B is the number of the section in this chapter. For example, 6.30 means this section is the 30th section of Chapter 6 in the *Analects*. The translation and interpretation of the *Analects* mentioned in this paper refer to the views of Yang Bojun (1980) and James Legge (2016).

In this section, Confucius explains his idea about "Ren": the man of "Ren" is not only concerned for himself, but he also helps others to be good while he builds himself a good man. He not only tries to improve himself alone but also helps others to improve. The Master said, "Shen (a student), my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity". Zeng Shen said, "The doctrine of our master is 'Zhong' and 'Shu', this and nothing more" (4.15).

In this section, Confucius summarizes his thought to his student Zeng Shen: "Zhong" and "Shu", which is the two aspects of "Ren". Zi Gong asked, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not 'Shu' such a word? What you do not want to be done to yourself, do not do to others" (15.24).

In this section, Confucius's student Zi Gong asks him for a core idea to practice during the whole life. Confucius tells him, "Shu". It is the absolute essence and core of Confucius's thoughts, which is not a fixed doctrine but a dynamic thinking model for everyone to reflect on themselves. Things you do not want, others may refuse, too. If everyone could think like this, the world could be more peaceful. That is the reason why reading Confucius's words was arranged in the opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games.

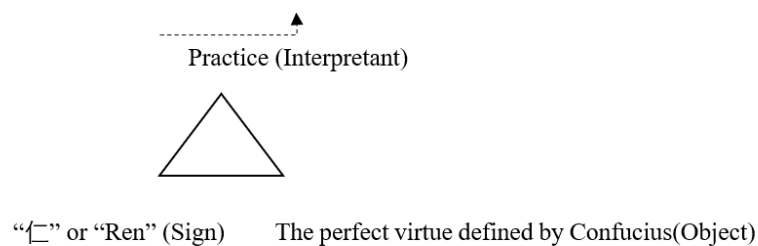
From the above examples, it can be seen that the core of Confucius's thought could be summed up as the perfect virtue, "Ren", which is divided into two aspects: "Zhong (忠)" and "Shu (恕)". Shu is expressed in a passive or negative way, i.e., "What you do not want to be done to yourself, do not do to

other”, whereas “Zhong” is expressed in a positive way, i.e., “A man wishing to be established by himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he also seeks to enlarge others”.

How do people achieve “Ren”? In 12.1 of the *Analects*, Yan Yuan (A student) asked about ‘Ren’. The Master said, “To subdue one’s self and return to propriety is ‘Ren’. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe ‘Ren’ to him. Is the practice of ‘Ren’ from a man himself, or is it from others?” Here, Confucius stated the key: the practice of “Ren” should be the aspiration of every individual, and it is, of course, something that one can achieve through constant practice. After all, when asking about “Ren”, the student’s question is supposed to be a search for a creed that can be “practiced for all one’s life”. Therefore, from the above content of “Ren” as recorded in the *Analects*, combined with the theories of edusemiotics, a model of “Ren” with a triadic structure could be obtained as follow (Figure 3).

Figure 3

A model of “Ren” with a Triadic Structure



In this genuine sign of “Ren”, the Chinese character “仁” or its pronunciation “Ren” is a sign, referring to the Object of the perfect virtue defined by Confucius, which could be seen as an ethical object or a harmonious social relationship. The interpretant of this object is dynamic because for each person, “what he wants” and “what he doesn’t want” are different, so what he imposes or avoids imposing on others is also different in practice. Meanwhile, for each person, “what he wants” and “what he doesn’t want” also change all the time. Therefore, people, as “signs among signs”, constantly grow and evolve toward the object of “Ren” in continuous practice, during which people are searching for shared ideas through the mediation of the genuine sign of “Ren” and finally reaching for a harmonious social relationship.

The process of semiosis is in accord with Confucius’s thought of “Ren” and vice versa. “Ren”, as a dynamic model of ethics and education, reflects the fact that Confucius’s philosophy of education ultimately emphasizes ethics and the relationship between human beings. There is no evidence until now to prove whether Peirce had been influenced by Confucian thought, but the dynamic triadic model of “Ren” conforms to the basic philosophical logic of edusemiotics and could be seen as the embodiment and support of the idea of edusemiotics in Confucius’s educational thought and practice.

3.2. The Included Middle in the *Analects*

Based on the ternary model of “Ren”, Confucius’s teacher-student relationship embodied in the *Analects* is also not a traditional one-way output model of teaching, but rather a relational group with interaction, which formed in the mediation of shared meaning between teacher and student. For instance, Confucius said, “In teaching, there should be no distinction of classes” (15.39). It means that for The Master, all students are entitled to education and receive it equally. This does not mean that all students receive the fixed content from a teacher they do not know much about, which is guided by Cartesian dualism. On the contrary, Confucius was very concerned with the individuality of his students, and he knew each one. “Gao Chai is simple. Zeng Shen is dull. Zhuansui Shi is specious. Zhong You is coarse” (11.18). Also,

Distinguished for their virtuous principles and practice, there were Yan Yuan, Min Ziqian, Ran Boniu, and Zhong Gong; for their ability in speech, Zai Wo and Zi Gong; for their administrative talents, Ran You and Ji Lu; for their literary acquirements, Zi You and Zi Xia. (11.3)

Excerpts 11.18 and 11.3 look like Confucius's teaching notes that record the personalities of the students as well as their strengths and weaknesses. Having known each student, Confucius was able to give tailored guidance in his teaching practice according to their different individual characteristics. The 11.22 of the *Analects* records a story illustrating it: one day, Zi Lu and Ran You asked The Master the same question respectively, "Shall I carry into practice what I heard immediately?" Confucius told Zi Lu, "There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted; why should you act on that principle of immediately carrying into practice what you hear?" Zi Lu has more than his own share of energy, so The Master kept him back. But to the same question, Confucius told Ran You, "Immediately carry into practice what you hear". Ran You is retiring and slow, so The Master tried to urge him forward.

Confucius and each student are reconciled by shared meaning, inspiring students to reach individuality in their teaching practice and to teach according to their abilities. This teaching process is clearly not one-way since the meaning is shared. Confucius, as a teacher, helps his students to find meaning and grow into better signs, while Confucius himself grows and evolves in a dynamic relationship with his students. The Master said, "Hui gives me no assistance. There is nothing that I say in which he does not delight" (11.4).

Here, Confucius criticizes his disciple Yan Hui for having no rebuttal to the teacher's words, which is not helpful to the teacher. This proves that Confucius wanted his students not to follow his own words, but to learn to think independently and to put forward their own opinions for discussion with the teacher so that the teacher and the student could make progress together. At the same time, Confucius criticizes his students while reflecting on himself, improving his own behavior, and acquiring new meaning in his teaching practice or in his life in the light of his students' performance. Heard that Zai Yu was asleep during the daytime, Confucius was very angry and described him as "Rotten wood cannot be carved (5.10)" and "a wall of dirty earth will not receive the trowel". And then The Master said,

At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now, my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct. It is from Zai Yu that I have learned to make this change. (5.10)

In summary, it can be seen that Confucius's educational theory and practice coincide with the theoretical features of the edusemiotics - the logic of the included middle. He cares for and respects each students' personality and, therefore, could inspire each of them in a proper way based on their unique characteristics. That means Confucius and each student make a pair mediated by the shared meaning, the included middle. In each unique relationship, Confucius and the student evolve and grow into more developed signs.

3.3. The Process-Ontology in the *Analects*

The application of the process-ontology corresponds to a pedagogy that values learning from experience rather than learning fixed content while embedding the idea of lifelong learning. Confucius attached great importance to practice. In the *Analects*, much of Confucius's comments and guidance to his disciples are based on specific behavioral issues. Emphasizing the innovative application of theories instead of merely gaining theoretical knowledge, Confucius said,

Though a man may be able to recite the three hundred odes, yet if, when entrusted with a governmental charge, he knows not how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it? (13.5)

Clearly, Confucius believed that learning must be in practice for it to have a positive effect. Lifelong learning is also repeatedly emphasized by Confucius in the *Analects*: The Master said,

At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right. (2.4)

The Master said, “If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others” (2.11). Moreover, The Master said, “The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied: which one of these things belongs to me?” (7.2). The Master said,

Why did you not say to him (the man who wants to know more about Confucius), - He is simply a man, who in his eager pursuit (of knowledge) forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on? (7.19)

2.4 is a summary of Confucius’s own studies and statues during his whole life. He describes his different mindsets and perceptions of life as he pursued his education at the ages of 15, 30, 40, 50, 60, and 70, and exemplifies the process of growth and advancement through the decades of his life, from youth to old age, as he continues to learn, physically putting into practice the credo of living and learning until one is old. 2.11 and 7.2 reveal Confucius’s understanding of the role of the teacher, emphasizing that even teachers are no different from students in that they all need to make constant progress. Confucius believed that if a person is able to enrich himself by constantly learning new knowledge while skillfully mastering what he had already learned, and at the same time is eager to answer other people’s questions and solve their puzzles, then he is qualified to be a teacher. 7.19 reflects that Confucius not only emphasized his constant learning throughout his life but also that he loved learning to the point of forgetting the passage of time.

It is clear from these examples that Confucius did not limit education to a particular time and place but rather emphasized the need to learn at different stages of life and never stopped as a teacher himself, reflecting his educational concept of lifelong learning. And there is a point in the *Analects* that requires particular attention. The Master said, “When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them” (7.22).

This is a common phrase in the Chinese language that is often cited by Chinese people to exhort others to keep learning and hold an open mind to study since everyone around them can be their teacher. The phrase is a comprehensive manifestation of the process-ontology: Firstly, it is applicable to any situation in life and does not limit the time and place of teaching, breaking the barrier between formal/informal education and embodying the idea of lifelong learning. Secondly, it does not emphasize the mastery of specific theory or knowledge but rather urges people to always learn in life and to learn in practice since everyone has different practical experiences, so they all have different experiences to share and learn from. In addition, the phrase does not deny failure but focuses on the need to find meaning from the failures of others so as to transform them into one’s own experience and make oneself a more developed sign.

4. Concluding Remarks

This study, taking edusemiotics as the theoretical basis and analyzing the educational thought and teaching theory of Confucius as embodied in the *Analects*, has found that the core of Confucius’s educational thought is in line with the triadic model of semiotics and edusemiotics. Furthermore, edusemiotics finds theoretical and practical support in the *Analects*, both in the structural characteristic of the included middle and in the characteristic of functioning logic of the process-ontology. Although there is no clear evidence to prove whether Peirce or any researchers studying edusemiotics had been influenced by Confucian thought, the basic philosophical logic of edusemiotics seems to be affected by the dynamic triadic model of “Ren” and could be seen as the embodiment and support of the idea. These findings prove that although Confucius’s classical educational thought has existed for a thousand years, some of its educational concepts and methods stand at the forefront of the times from the perspective of edusemiotics today and still remain an important guide and reference to the field of human education. They also provide classic examples of practice for the emerging interdisciplinary theoretical structure

of edusemiotics. Confucius is no longer with us; he himself, or his great mind, however, has continued to grow and evolve as a sign, acquiring more and more new meanings over the centuries. This is best evidenced by the combination of his ideas and the emerging theory of edusemiotics, which is now bursting with new vitality.

Through this study, it can be seen that under the modern education system, the educational ideas inherited in China for thousands of years still have similarities with the current emerging educational theories, proving the enduring value of a country's or nation's traditional culture, which also shows the potential of semiotics, as well as the field of edusemiotics, in the inheritance and dissemination of human culture. A number of scholars have developed concerns in this regard. For example, Tian et al. (2023) analyze the cultural transmission pathways between China and the "Belt and Road" Countries from the perspective of cultural semiotics. In their review study, Ivenz and Klimova (2022) emphasized the development of intercultural communication skills in foreign language teaching. Razali et al.'s (in press) study suggests that when developing the syllabus in schools should be adapted to local cultures and religions so as to not only disseminate knowledge, but also to develop cultural identity and respect and to pass on the local traditional culture. These studies fit well with the theoretical spirit of edusemiotics because, as mentioned, edusemiotics is a comprehensive conceptual framework that emphasizes relationship building and consensus building, and countries, regions, and even cities around the world have their own unique cultural connotations. So, if we want to pass on the excellent and unique cultures, a more inclusive and dynamically adjustable approach to education is necessary. A more inclusive and dynamic approach to education is necessary if we are to pass on our outstanding and unique culture, rather than rigidly inculcating all learners with fixed content that is universally applicable and evaluated by fixed standards under the erosion of dualism. Therefore, both the edusemiotics and the core of Confucius' educational thought of "Ren" recognize and promote a pluralistic, comprehensive, and at the same time reconciliatory conceptual framework, which has great potential and deserves to be explored by educators and culture bearers around the world in the light of their own cultures.

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