

1 Agent, Behaviour, Trace, Repeat: Understanding the Cognitive Processes Involved in  
2 Human Stigmergic Coordination.

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## Abstract

15

16 Stigmergy refers to the coordination of agents via artifacts of behaviours (behavioural  
17 traces) in the shared environment. Whilst primarily studied in biology and computer  
18 science/robotics, stigmergy underlies many human indirect interactions, both offline (e.g.,  
19 trail building) and online (e.g., development of open-source software). In this review, we  
20 provide an introduction to stigmergy and emphasise how and where human stigmergy is  
21 distinct from animal or robot stigmergy, such as intentional communication via traces and  
22 causal inferences from the traces to the causing behaviour. Cognitive processes discussed  
23 on the agent level include attention, motivation, meaning and meta-cognition, as well as  
24 emergence/immergence, iterative learning and exploration/exploitation at the interface of  
25 individual agent and multi-agent systems. Characteristics of one-agent, two-agent and  
26 multi-agent systems are discussed and areas for future research highlighted.

27 *Keywords:* stigmergy; behavioural traces; indirect communication; cognition; complex  
28 social systems; multi-agent systems

29 Word count: 9552

30 Agent, Behaviour, Trace, Repeat: Understanding the Cognitive Processes Involved in  
31 Human Stigmergic Coordination.

32 In the absence of synchronous communication or direct observation, the physical  
33 world helps us coordinate our actions with those of other agents in a common environment.  
34 Obvious examples are intentional messages delivered indirectly via the environment:  
35 “post-it” notes, printed signs and other labels. But there are more subtle forms:  
36 behavioural traces as unintentional by-products of actions taken also carry information  
37 that can be used by others. This includes information about social norms (all standby  
38 lights of unused PCs being off are traces of what is commonly done), categorisation (items  
39 placed in certain containers inform about correct placement), next steps to be taken (a  
40 nurse leaving instruments on the table that signal which examinations have yet to be  
41 carried out), temporary ownership (a coat placed on a chair), or successful courses of  
42 action (paths emerging from frequent use). Agents who make use of these traces will  
43 subsequently add their own traces in turn. An agent exploring a path, for instance, will  
44 reinforce it doing so. This feedback loop of environment-mediated, indirect coordination  
45 between agents using behavioural traces is called stigmergy. First coined by Grassé in 1959  
46 (Bonabeau, 1999), the term is a composite of the Greek *stigma*, meaning “mark” or “sign”,  
47 and *ergon*, for “work” or “action”. Stigmergy originally meant to explain the paradox of  
48 how termites coordinate complex tasks such as building a nest despite the lack of direct  
49 communication between individual animals. In its most basic form, stigmergic coordination  
50 requires an *agent* performing an *action*, and a *medium* that “stores” or “remembers” the  
51 result of the action (i.e., the *behavioural trace*; Heylighen, 2016a).

52 Although often unrecognised, stigmergic coordination is ubiquitous in human  
53 interactions and can be more efficient than other, more prominent forms of coordination  
54 such as verbal communication or direct observation (Parunak, 2005). First, stigmergy  
55 allows for successful coordination between cognitively limited agents. Each agent requires

56 only a limited set of simple rules to collectively produce results that they could not achieve  
57 on their own, such as termites' cathedral mounds several metres high (Theraulaz &  
58 Bonabeau, 1999). Since agents interact primarily locally, their processing capabilities are  
59 not overwhelmed by information from all other agents (Parunak, 2005). In theory this also  
60 applies to agents who are temporarily limited in their cognitive capacity, for instance  
61 because of distraction or competing task requirements — although this remains to be  
62 tested. Second, because traces can remain in the shared environment after the agent  
63 finished the behaviour, and sometimes long before another agent reacts to it, coordination  
64 can be asynchronous. Consequently, a trace can be observed by many other agents, usually  
65 a much larger number than could potentially observe the behaviour itself. This is especially  
66 the case for actions that tend to be private and/or fleeting. For example, recycling is  
67 usually done in the privacy of one's home; however, evidence of that behaviour, such as  
68 bins set-out on collection days, is observable in public. Third, no central controlling  
69 mechanism is necessary for coordination to be successful. Because stigmergic coordination  
70 does not rely on a specific order in which information is transmitted from one agent to the  
71 next, stigmergic coordination can be very resilient to adversarial agents obstructing parts  
72 of the system or hindering certain agents (Heylighen, 2016a). Fourth, free riders are less of  
73 an issue in stigmergic environments: Because behavioural traces usually persist after their  
74 informational value has been used by a single agent, they can be used by many others  
75 without them making further contributions. This can be observed in open-source software  
76 development (Besten, Dalle, & Galia, 2008; Bolici, Howison, & Crowston, 2016) and the  
77 creation of Wikipedia (Loveland & Reagle, 2013), where users who never contribute do not  
78 disrupt the system.

79 Stigmergy can be an efficient way to coordinate or distribute information about  
80 advantageous behaviours. Indeed, people use behavioural traces to inform their own  
81 behaviours in various contexts, such as path creation (Helbing et al., 1997a, 1997b),  
82 installation of solar panels (Baranzini, Carattini, & Péclat, 2017; Bollinger & Gillingham,

83 2012; Carattini, Levin, & Tavoni, 2019), donations (Jacob, Guéguen, & Boulbry, 2018;  
84 Kubo, Shoji, Tsuge, & Kuriyama, 2018; Martin & Randal, 2008; Reingen, 1982), littering  
85 (Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990), and whether to switch lights off or on (Bergquist &  
86 Nilsson, 2016; Dwyer, Maki, & Rothman, 2015; Oceja & Berenguer, 2009). However, the  
87 cognitive mechanisms of human stigmergy have received relatively little attention.  
88 Stigmergy has been mainly addressed in the context of biology and robotics, and the ideas  
89 may be difficult to apply to human cognition, due to different terminology and theoretical  
90 frameworks. The aims of this paper are therefore to (a) introduce the basic elements of  
91 stigmergy, i.e., agents, actions, medium and traces, to an audience primarily interested in  
92 human cognition, and to illustrate them with examples from human experience; (b)  
93 delineate human stigmergy with regards to other forms of direct and indirect coordination;  
94 and finally (c) provide an overview of the cognitive processes involved on the agent and  
95 system levels, respectively.

### 96 **The Basic Relationships of Medium, Agent and Trace**

97 Agents create traces through their behaviours; in turn traces trigger new behaviours  
98 by the same or a different agent in a stochastic feedback loop (see *Figure 1* adapted from  
99 Heylighen, 2016a). The shared environment provides the medium which moderates  
100 whether a behavioural trace is possible at all and defines the range of potential  
101 characteristics of the trace. For instance, while repeatedly walking the same route on grass  
102 will naturally create a path, the same behaviour may not leave a trace on asphalt.

### 103 **Medium and Agent**

104 The medium needs to be accessible to the agents involved, and both *controllable* and  
105 *perceivable* (Heylighen, 2016a). The more affordances, that is opportunities for change or  
106 influence, the elements of a medium provide the more controllable it is (Dawson, 2014).  
107 For instance, most people would not be able to change the layout of an asphalt road, but

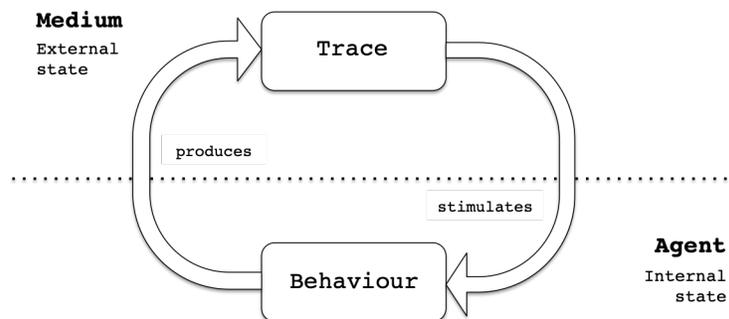


Figure 1. The basic stigmergic behaviour-trace loop, adapted from Heylighen (2016a)

108 could draw chalk directions on it. How perceivable a medium is will depend on a number of  
 109 factors (Dipple, Raymond, & Docherty, 2014): First, its *topography* influences whether the  
 110 medium is exclusive to local agents or available to a wider audience. This could be literally  
 111 the topography of the environment such as steep mountains making a valley less accessible  
 112 to outsiders, or the virtual topography of documents hidden behind paywalls or passwords.  
 113 Second, in a more complex medium the sheer number or higher variety of elements will  
 114 make each single element harder to distinguish. In other words, the medium's level of  
 115 *entropy* affects perceivability. It is much easier to detect a specific item in an otherwise  
 116 empty warehouse, compared to a store full of various products stacked in no particular  
 117 order. Finally, the strength and number of various forces characteristic of a medium also  
 118 influence its perceivability. Summarised under the term *dynamics*, this includes processes  
 119 such as signal diffusion or erosion. The more forces come into play and the more complex  
 120 their interactions, the harder it is to distinguish relevant features. Where fast vegetation  
 121 growth, rain and frost interact, a path is much harder to distinguish from other path-like  
 122 formations that lead nowhere in particular.

## 123 Medium and Trace

124 Entropy and dynamics of a medium result in a signal-to-noise ratio that determines  
 125 whether a specific trace will be perceived: A chaotic environment with frequent changes

126 will make detection of a trace much harder for the agent, compared to an orderly, static, or  
127 otherwise predictable environment. One important characteristic of a behavioural trace is  
128 its temporal duration—another consequence of the medium’s dynamics. This is referred to  
129 as its *decay rate*, and determined through mechanisms such as diffusion and erosion. For  
130 instance, grass will grow back on a path that has not been used for some time. The decay  
131 rate varies on a continuum from highly transient (e.g., a scent or a sound) to more  
132 persistent (e.g., a building; Heylighen, 2016b). Although every trace will deteriorate over  
133 time, an agent may perceive a trace as persistent if it exceeds her lifetime, such as the  
134 Egyptian pyramids. Decay rates can be deterministic where traces expire after a fixed time  
135 interval, for instance when the streets are cleaned of litter on a particular weekday. More  
136 likely, decay rates vary according to some distribution: some items of litter are picked up  
137 by conscientious people, others are removed by the wind, whilst some escape the city’s  
138 street sweepers (Marshall et al., 2011). Behavioural traces have to persist long enough to  
139 allow for them to be detected (Mittal, 2013), but should deteriorate when no longer  
140 relevant so that they are not deceptive (Heylighen, 2016b). Research into optimal decay  
141 rates is sparse and the optimal rate is likely dependent on the specifics of the environment,  
142 the agents, and the behaviour. For instance, consider the example of path creation in a  
143 meadow. For simplicity, suppose there are two potential points on the other side of the  
144 meadow which are worthy of visit, which one varies over time. If the decay rate is low, then  
145 there will likely be two indistinguishable paths. If the decay rate is very high, there may be  
146 no path visible at all. In this case, the optimal rate of decay will depend on the volatility of  
147 the environment (how quickly the goal changes) and the rate at which new agents enter the  
148 meadow, who can follow a trace and refresh or strengthen it. An additional factor will be  
149 how well agents can perceive small differences in trace strength. An analysis of the optimal  
150 decay rate might proceed in an analogous manner to the the rational analysis of memory  
151 (Anderson & Milson, 1989).

152 **Agent and Trace**

153 As agents create traces, they trigger behaviours in other agents who subsequently  
154 create more traces themselves. For instance, more people using an emerging path will make  
155 this path more usable, thus more people will choose the same path over less developed  
156 paths in the future (Helbing et al., 1997a, 1997b). The action triggered by a trace can be  
157 the same that created the trace in the first place or a different action. The trace can make  
158 the action more likely (positive feedback) but also less likely (negative feedback). For  
159 instance, traces of a resource being overused, such as cars on a particular route, may lead  
160 agents to balance this by using a different route, a different mode of transport, or not  
161 travel at all at certain times. These feedback loops have also been described as *herding* and  
162 *dispersing behaviours*, respectively—adopting the same or opposite behaviour (Banerjee,  
163 1992), but have not been looked at explicitly for behavioural traces.

164 The stigmergy literature additionally distinguishes between two types of traces. The  
165 first type is *quantitative*, where an increase in the number of traces makes the subsequent  
166 action more (positive feedback) or less likely (negative feedback). Quantitative traces are  
167 illustrated by more people using a path hence making it more passable; or more citations of  
168 an article making it more likely to be cited again. The second type of traces is *qualitative*.  
169 Depending on the source, this means that either different types of traces or their  
170 combinations stimulate different actions (Dipple et al., 2014; Huang, Ren, & Jin, 2008) or  
171 the same trace stimulates different actions depending on agent or context characteristics  
172 (Heylighen, 2016b; Marsh & Onof, 2008). Regardless of which of these definitions one  
173 might adhere to, it is not obvious how qualitative traces differ substantially from  
174 quantitative traces. Quantitative traces can also stimulate different behaviours depending  
175 on characteristics of the trace, agent and context. A path that has been walked frequently  
176 may make it more likely that a cautious agent walks it, but a more adventurous agent may  
177 prefer the less travelled alternative—does this make the path a quantitative or qualitative

178 trace? Rather than categorizing traces as quantitative or qualitative, we suggest that it is  
179 more sensible—at least in the human context—to determine the form of the relation  
180 between the number of traces and subsequent behaviour. The effect of traces on behaviour  
181 is not necessarily linear. For some traces a threshold may need to be reached, after which  
182 each additional trace makes the behaviour more likely. For other traces a saturation point  
183 may mean that any additional trace after that has less, no, or the opposite effect (Dipple et  
184 al., 2014; Huang et al., 2008). In some contexts one trace (compared to none or many) has  
185 a special status, perhaps because it draws attention towards certain attributes of the  
186 environment. For instance, while more pieces of litter make it more likely that subsequent  
187 people litter themselves, a single piece of litter makes it less likely (even less so than with  
188 no litter)—possibly because this single item highlights the overall cleanliness of the  
189 environment (Cialdini et al., 1990).

190 Agents can also wilfully *remove* traces, which underlines the communicative aspect of  
191 traces—something we will take up again in the following sections. Figure 2 summarises  
192 important external (dependent on the characteristics of the medium) and internal processes  
193 (dependent on the characteristics of the agents) involved in the creation and perception of  
194 a trace.

### 195 **Delineating Stigmergy**

196 Without further restrictions, each and every interaction would qualify as stigmergic.  
197 Speech is mediated through the environment as soundwaves and would thus qualify as  
198 stigmergic. Yet a direct conversation allows the speaker to adapt his speech to the listener  
199 in real-time in a way that is qualitatively different from a letter or post-it note. For the  
200 concept of stigmergy to be meaningful it needs better defined boundaries. Here, we take  
201 the view that the behavioural traces involved in meaningful stigmergy should minimally (1)  
202 outlive their constituting behaviour and (2) not be influenced by direct observation of the  
203 receiving agent's reaction.

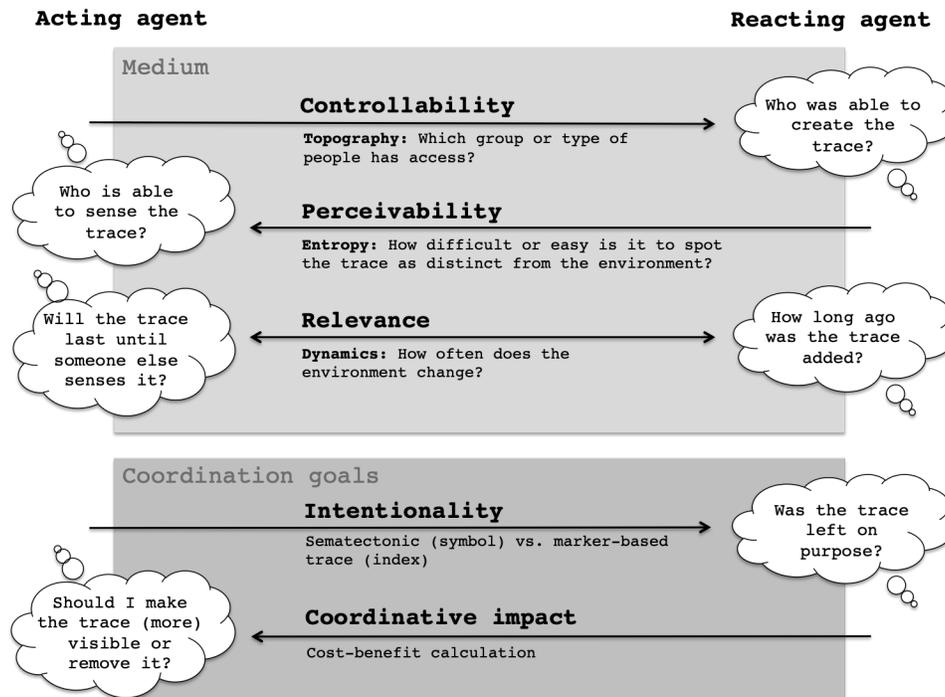


Figure 2. External and internal processes involved in the creation and perception of traces and the questions acting and reacting agents may ask of the trace (implicitly or explicitly).

204 Direct speech is a case where two grey areas of stigmergy align: *highly transient*  
 205 *traces* and *conflation with direct observation*. With regards to the former, some have  
 206 argued that a physical occurrence only counts as a trace if it can be later reviewed, such as  
 207 a letter (Clark & Brennan, 1991). This, however, does not define how persistent a trace  
 208 needs to be or for how long it needs to be reviewable. Minimally, the trace needs to remain  
 209 available for longer than the behaviour that produces it, so that asynchronous coordination  
 210 is at least in theory possible. Direct speech should therefore be excluded in this definition  
 211 of stigmergy on account of it being too transient. Moreover, direct speech is also observed  
 212 directly, and the trace itself may be influenced by the reaction of the observer. For  
 213 example, the speaker may use different words or choose another topic altogether in  
 214 response to a puzzled look or raised eyebrow. An online chat (whether written or via video  
 215 conference application) is more obviously mediated by objects in the environment. Yet  
 216 even though it may be reviewable later through a recording, it does not qualify as

217 stigmergic either since—just as with offline, direct speech the next action by one agent is  
218 not independent of the receiver’s presence. In contrast, comments on a shared electronic  
219 document qualify as stigmergic in this definition since they are independent of the agent’s  
220 direct observation of the recipient’s reaction. Of course, the creation of a trace may be  
221 influenced by the agent’s *anticipation* of the recipient’s reaction. This is fine, as this is  
222 entirely dependent on the producing agent’s a priori beliefs about the receiving agent, and  
223 the receiving agent’s actual behaviour plays no unique role in the creation of the trace.  
224 Some authors argue that something is stigmergic only if the behaviour does not have a  
225 predefined recipient (Consiglio, 2019). Yet this definition would exclude traces such as  
226 emails and post-its on a specific colleague’s desk as well as self-stigmergy—unless one is  
227 willing to say that the recipient is not necessarily one’s Thursday-self but could just as well  
228 be one’s Friday- or weekend-self, a line of argument that would also apply to the colleague  
229 and thus reintroduce emails and post-its. We suggest that while traces directed at a  
230 specific person, self or other, is part of stigmergy, it is a special case that implies specific  
231 insight into the other agent’s cognition and generalisations from this specific case to other  
232 areas of stigmergy should be made cautiously, if at all.

233         Nevertheless, direct observation can take place simultaneously to the creation of the  
234 trace, as long as it is not a constituent factor: People can be traces when queuing for a  
235 shop or event. This can in fact be a valuable source of information about the quality of a  
236 place or its services and products. Here the creation of the trace is not conflated with  
237 direct observation as long as the queuing is independent of being observed. In other words,  
238 if an agent wants to make a purchase and is thus queuing to be served, *and* her queuing is  
239 not substantially changed by whether other people can observe her, this action and its  
240 trace are stigmergic. If the same agent is queuing outside a club with the sole purpose of  
241 being seen (and thus would not queue if the agent did not expect to be observed), this is  
242 not stigmergic but a form of non-verbal direct communication.

243         In summary, we suggest that as the transience of traces is a continuum, *highly*

244 *transient traces* should be considered stigmergic as long as they outlive the causing  
245 behaviour. For instance, the smell of a pizza may linger in a train carriage long after it has  
246 been eaten or the smell of fire can alert people long after it has been lit. In contrast, traces  
247 created in situations where *direct observation* is a constituent factor of the interaction  
248 should not be considered stigmergic for reasons outlined above.

### 249 **Cognitive Mechanisms on the Agent Level**

250 Which mechanisms enable stigmergic coordination on the agent level?<sup>1</sup>. For this, we  
251 will differentiate between mechanisms affecting agents who (a) create or remove a trace and  
252 (b) perceive the trace (see also *Figure 3*). One focus will be on the differences between the  
253 animal and robotics origins of stigmergy on the one hand and human stigmergy on the  
254 other hand, bearing in mind that there may be no traits unique to human cognition, only  
255 areas in which humans excel (e.g., tool use and social cognition) likely because higher  
256 interconnectivity between and flexibility of cognitive domains (Laland & Seed, 2021).

### 257 **Acting Agent**

258 Depending on the acting agent's goal with respect to coordination, behavioural traces  
259 can be differentiated as (a) *sematectonic*, where traces are unintentional by-products of the  
260 action and (b) *marker-based*, where traces are left intentionally as a signals to others  
261 (Dipple et al., 2014; Heylighen, 2016b; Wilson, 1975). These are sometimes also

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<sup>1</sup> Although some authors have used stigmergic processes to explain, for example, brain activity through neurotransmitters (Correia, Sebastião, & Santana, 2017) and organs communicating via hormones (Heylighen, 2016a), for our purposes the agent will be the smallest unit. Note also that some authors have differentiated “classic” from “virtual” (i.e., web-based or online) and “cognitive” stigmergy (i.e., transmission and evolution of ideas). Since both “virtual” and “cognitive” stigmergy relate to physical entities (e.g., a server structure, cables and other signal transmitters; books and other documents), we do not see a need to emphasise this distinction.

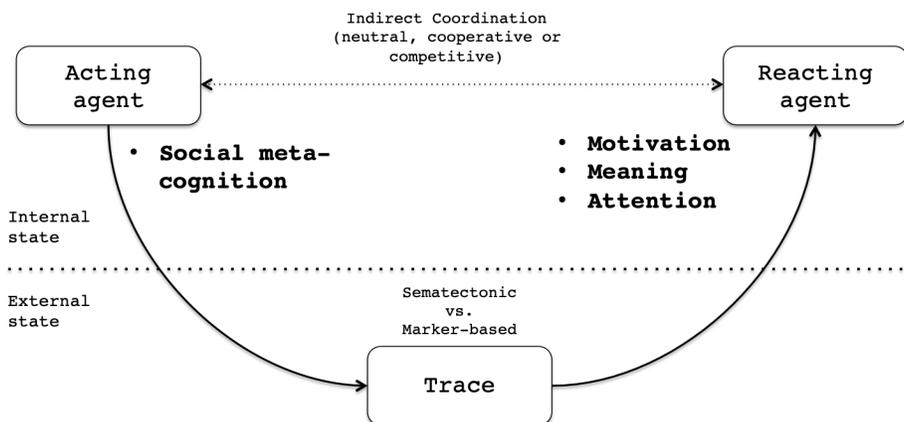


Figure 3. Key cognitive processes involved for acting and reacting agents.

262 respectively referred to as “index” and “symbol” traces (Consiglio, 2019). An example of a  
 263 sematectonic trace is a path formed after repeated use, where the path is the by-product of  
 264 someone traversing between two places. A marker-based trace would be the path created  
 265 by someone specifically trampling the grass to mark where the agent wants others to  
 266 follow. There are three distinct stigmergic scenarios to consider: Firstly, the behaviour  
 267 automatically creates a trace at no extra cost and the trace can not, or at least not easily,  
 268 be removed, such as in the path example. Secondly, the behaviour does not create a trace  
 269 unless extra effort is invested, for instance keeping track of tasks in a separate spreadsheet.  
 270 Thirdly, a trace is automatically created but the agent can remove it at an additional cost,  
 271 such as committing a crime and then wiping all surfaces to remove finger prints. The  
 272 fourth possible scenario that no trace is created and it is not possible to add a trace is  
 273 obviously not stigmergic due to the lack of any traces. Scenario 1 is sematectonic since the  
 274 trace is a by-product without any additional effort to add or remove a trace; scenarios 2  
 275 and 3 are marker-based and the acting agent will want to balance the costs of  
 276 creating/removing the trace with the potential benefit of revealing/hiding her behaviour.  
 277 Although this distinction between sematectonic and marker-based traces can be helpful, a  
 278 behavioural trace can also be partly intended (Castelfranchi, 2009). When two behaviours  
 279 provide the same outcome but produce different traces, the intention to *also* signal can be

280 a deciding factor, for instance in consumer choices (Heffetz, 2011). A trace may thus be  
281 better thought of as a continuum from sematectonic to marker-based.

282 In order to influence other agents with marker-based traces, the agent will need to  
283 know that her behaviour produces a trace as well as have some understanding of her  
284 audience’s knowledge of the meaning of that trace. In other words, the agent needs *social*  
285 *meta-cognition* (Chiu & Kuo, 2009) to know whether others can (a) access, (b) perceive,  
286 (c) understand and (d) agree with a trace or the underlying behaviour (Dillenbourg &  
287 Traum, 2006). Especially in competitive coordination the agent would not want to leak  
288 information to adversarial others. In this case they need higher-order social reasoning in  
289 the format of “I know that you know that I know...” to understand which traces mislead  
290 or give the opponent advantages (Verbrugge, 2009). This ability develops in childhood and,  
291 although prone to errors (Wimmer & Perner, 1983) is likely more sophisticated in humans  
292 than animals—most animals, for instance, do not reason beyond first-level meta-cognition  
293 (Carruthers, 2008)—, but potentially less in humans compared with AI/robots.

## 294 **Reacting Agent**

295 While animals can “read” traces to indirectly coordinate when they are of practical  
296 use or hard-wired (such as pheromones), yet humans are unique in their ability to generate  
297 and interpret abstract symbols, especially combinations of symbols (Laland & Seed, 2021).  
298 Marker-based traces, for instance, may be placed by the acting agent in a specific way to  
299 communicate additional information such as tools laid out from left to right to indicate  
300 tasks should be completed in a specific order. Combinations of marker-based traces may  
301 have a different meaning than each trace on its own. For instance a letter with some money  
302 by the front of the door meaning “please buy a stamp and post this letter”, while a letter  
303 or money each on their own have many alternative meanings. Also, inferences that can be  
304 made from sematectonic traces (beyond the fact that these alterations to the environment  
305 in themselves may ease or complicate the task of a subsequent agent), can require a level of

306 causal and social reasoning not likely found in other species.

307 In addition to the mere presence of traces, Dipple et al. (2014) argue that successful  
308 human stigmergy depends on the agent's *motivation* and her understanding of the *meaning*  
309 of traces.

310 **Motivation.** Motivation can refer to wanting to coordinate or wanting to engage in  
311 the behaviour. In contrast to Dipple et al. (2014), we argue that neither is necessary for  
312 stigmergy. First, there is no need for a specific motivation to coordinate. Consider an agent  
313 crossing a meadow who in the course of doing so tramples the grass to the ground. The  
314 agent does this frequently so that the grass is shorter where the agent has walked more.  
315 This will facilitate future crossings by her as well as other agents. Neither the first nor any  
316 following agents require motivation to coordinate. The motivation to cross the meadow is  
317 enough for the path to emerge. Nevertheless, a trace can offer information to the reacting  
318 agent at a cost lower than information gained from trial-and-error learning (Danchin,  
319 Giraldeau, Valone, & Wagner, 2004). For instance a well trodden path may be the best  
320 route established by many other walkers so the agent does not have to try all possible  
321 routes themselves. Hence, an agent may be motivated to attend to traces. Second, an  
322 agent does not need any prior motivation to engage in the behaviour that created the  
323 trace. On the contrary, seeing a well-used path may instil a desire to see what is on the  
324 other end—after all, if other agents went through the trouble of walking the route often  
325 enough to create a path, surely there must be something desirable at the other end (Marsh  
326 & Onof, 2008).

327 **Meaning.** Stigmergic coordination is aided by knowledge about the meaning of the  
328 trace (Dipple et al., 2014): Whether an agent is likely to follow a well-used path may  
329 depend on her understanding that the trace was created by an intentional behaviour and is  
330 not just a random occurrence. Apart from knowledge about a trace's *representation* (how  
331 the trace is supported by the environment and how it is transmitted to the agent's senses),  
332 *denotation* (how the trace was created) and *connotation* (previous experience with the

333 context of a trace which enables causal inference) can help distinguish between helpful and  
334 misleading traces (Huang et al., 2008). Any additional knowledge such as whether a  
335 behavioural trace is likely marker-based or sematectonic and whether it was created by a  
336 specific group of agents will help an individual establish whether the behavioural trace is  
337 relevant and beneficial to her. This is different from animals and robots where the meaning  
338 of a trace is more likely to be hard-wired.

339         Establishing the meaning of a trace is not always straightforward: If a trace is the  
340 by-product of a behaviour (sematectonic) it is easier to decode, provided the most likely  
341 causing behaviour can be inferred. Marker-based traces depend more on context-specific  
342 knowledge such as whether it was left by a collaborator or competitor. In a cooperative  
343 scenario the trace was likely created to aid the reacting agent, for instance through tools  
344 left in places where they are next needed. In a competitive scenario the trace may have  
345 been created to confuse the reacting agent, akin to misleading evidence in a crime scene.  
346 Differentiating between sematectonic and marker-based traces is a non-trivial task that  
347 requires inference from objects to invisible causes, but one that humans are much better  
348 adapted to solve than most animals (Laland & Seed, 2021).

349         The inference from a trace to its probable cause is referred to as abductive reasoning  
350 (Consiglio, 2019). Unlike deductive reasoning where following logical steps leads to a single  
351 valid conclusion, abductive reasoning provides likely but uncertain explanations. Indeed,  
352 human agents tend to spontaneously generate possible purposes of unknown objects from  
353 an early age (Kelemen, 2000). A number of causal inferences can be made from traces,  
354 including (a) the *presence/absence* of an agent can be signalled by lights in a window  
355 visible from outside and may deter thieves; (b) *intention/commitment/goals* of an agent,  
356 for instance laying out certain tools may signal an agent is committed to repairing an item;  
357 (c) *ability/opportunity* such as a path up a steep mountain slope suggests that the ascent  
358 has been done before and is therefore possible; (d) *completion* as in the presence of a  
359 finished object signalling this work does not need to be done again; (e) *qualities of objects*

360 *or relationships*, for example a machine in a waiting room dispensing paper slips with  
361 numbers inform a newcomer of the calling process, thus the newcomer obtains a number  
362 herself and waits (shortened from Tummolini & Castelfranchi, 2006).

363 Although understanding the meaning of a trace can help make use of it, this is not as  
364 essential as previously argued (e.g., Dipple et al., 2014). A path will be easier to walk than  
365 a field with tall grass, even though it may be unknown whether the cause is other walkers,  
366 animals, or geological peculiarities. Moreover, in human stigmergy cooperating agents tend  
367 to deliver the meaning of a trace through labels and legends (Susi, 2016), for instance as  
368 headers or extra columns in shared spreadsheets. Otherwise, the meaning of a trace has to  
369 be learnt just as any other cultural reference—through experience or direct communication.

370 **Noticing a trace: Attention, Salience and Familiarity.** A trace must be  
371 accessible to the agent’s senses (*perceivable*; Heylighen, 2016a), but it must also be actually  
372 perceived. This includes being able to distinguish an object from its environment,  
373 something that is not trivial in itself (see further Fields & Levin, 2020). If motivation is  
374 given, attention will likely be directed top-down (*relevance* in Susi, 2016). Agent actively  
375 search for a trace they deem helpful (meaning of traces known) or explore the environment  
376 for anything that may be relevant (meaning of traces unknown). If motivation is missing,  
377 attention will likely be bottom up: A salient trace may create the motivation to use the  
378 trace (meaning known). Intuitively, there may be a reason why post-it notes are generally  
379 traded in signal colours. Especially when the meaning is not known, the trace must be  
380 salient enough to stand out, since unfamiliar (features of) objects tend to be overlooked  
381 unless explicitly pointed out (Modigliani, Loverock, & Kirson, 1998). This likely depends  
382 on features of the trace, e.g., its intensity with respect to size, colour, luminance, etc. (Itti  
383 & Koch, 2000; see *intrusiveness* in Susi, 2016) but also the number and frequency of similar  
384 traces as well as the trace’s contrast with the environment (see also *entropy of the medium*  
385 above; Tatler, Baddeley, & Gilchrist, 2005). Indeed, larger and more visible solar panels are  
386 more likely to trigger more installations of solar panels in the neighbourhood (Baranzini et

387 al., 2017; Bollinger & Gillingham, 2012; Carattini et al., 2019).

388 In addition, if an agent has memory of the environment's last state, any changes will  
389 be more salient. If the agent expects the environment to be in a certain state (which need  
390 not be the state the agent remembers), but it appears in an unexpected way, this will draw  
391 her attention to the changes (*prediction error*; Clark, 2013). Although some claim that  
392 agents must remember the state of the environment for stigmergic coordination to occur  
393 (Mittal, 2013), this is not the case. If agents put an item on their to-do list, follow it when  
394 they next see it and tick it as done, they do not need to know how many items were on the  
395 list previously. If anything, using the environment as external memory reduces the need for  
396 the agent to remember (see self-stigmergy below). The agent however does need some  
397 memory to make sense of the removal of a trace. Removal of a trace is potentially more  
398 relevant in adversarial or competitive stigmergy so as to not provide the other party with  
399 an information advantage (Nieto-Gomez, 2016).

#### 400 **Acting Agent = Reacting Agent (Self-Stigmergy)**

401 A special case of human stigmergy is when the acting and reacting agent are one and  
402 the same person. As computationally limited entities (Simon, 1956), the environment  
403 affords opportunities “to offload the epistemic burden with a reciprocal and cybernetic  
404 relation between our conceptual creativity and the environment, to intimate, regulate and  
405 inform concepts and action” (Marsh & Onof, 2008, p. 142). These offloaded artefacts are  
406 sometimes called *exograms*, in analogy to *engrams*, the memory records in the nervous  
407 system (Consiglio, 2019). Externalising tasks, especially those taxing working memory, can  
408 increase efficiency (Heylighen & Vidal, 2008). For instance, multiplying  $234 \times 8$  on paper  
409 means that only those numbers currently operated on need to be held in working memory  
410 (e.g.,  $8 \times 4$  in the first step). Not only that, but once the agent has noted down “32”, the  
411 structure of the task will prompt her to do  $8 \times 3$  next. Other every-day examples are to-do  
412 lists, calendars, and notes, but also objects placed in locations to trigger a necessary action,

413 such as a letter placed under the house keys so it will be posted the next time the person  
414 leaves the house. The environment not only scaffolds cognition as in the examples above, it  
415 can also augment it (Clark, 1997). Interaction with objects in the environment can increase  
416 performance in insight problems above the use of pen and paper (Henok,  
417 Vallée-Tourangeau, & Vallée-Tourangeau, 2020; Vallée-Tourangeau, Steffensen,  
418 Vallée-Tourangeau, & Sirota, 2016). Niche-creation, namely adapting the environment to  
419 make it more suitable to the individual (rather than the individual adapting to the  
420 environment) is not unique to but especially pronounced in humans (Kirsh, 1996).

### 421 **Key Characteristics of Stigmergy in Multi-Agent Systems**

422 Group performance can outperform the sum of individual contributions (“assembly  
423 bonus effect”; Collins & Guetzkow, 1964). This also applies to environment-mediated  
424 interactions of agents in a stigmergic system (Parunak, 2006). In this section we focus on  
425 two key aspects of stigmergic multi-agent systems that can give them a performance  
426 advantage: scalability and self-organisation (*Figure 4*).

#### 427 **Scalability**

428 Increasing the number of agents in a system will increase overall power to complete a  
429 task, as long as they do not get in each other’s way (Heylighen, 2016b). Multi-agent  
430 stigmergy likely evolved from self-stigmergy, starting with genetically near-identical  
431 individuals such as termites who use the environment in comparable ways (Theraulaz &  
432 Bonabeau, 1999).

433 “Offloading” happens not just on individual level. The environment acts as a  
434 collective memory system that agents can access and update not unlike a personal  
435 calendar, just on a bigger scale (Correia et al., 2017; Doyle & Marsh, 2013; Marsh & Onof,  
436 2008). However, more agents also require more coordination. In traditional theories about

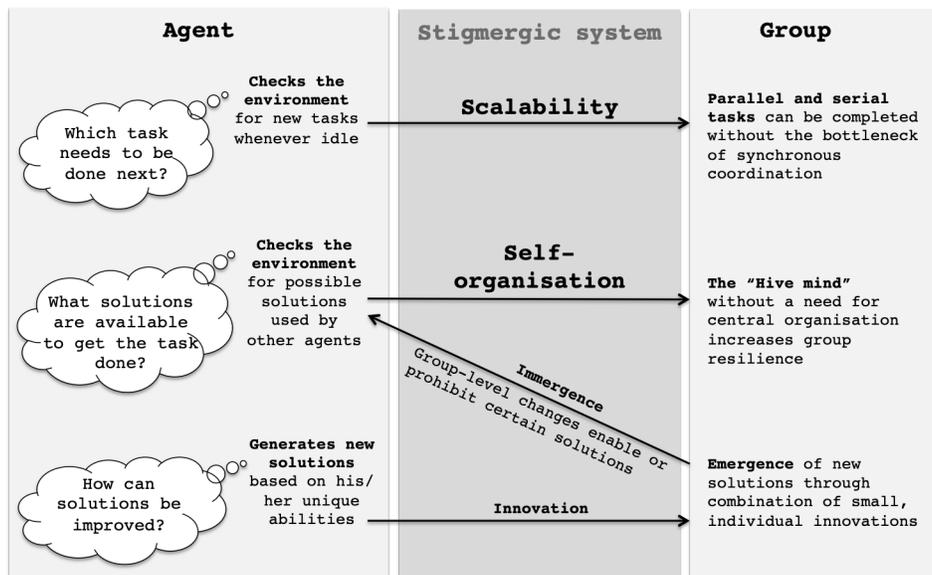


Figure 4. Key characteristics of a stigmergic multi-agent system and the dynamics on agent as well as group levels.

437 coordination of work, to make a system more efficient, one can either increase  
 438 communication or decrease dependencies between agents (Bolici et al., 2016). Both are  
 439 harder (or even impossible) to achieve the larger the system. Increasing communication  
 440 requires at least some synchronicity—otherwise communication will slow down the process.  
 441 Decreased dependencies make agents more autonomous but also reduce the power of  
 442 several agents working on the same problem. Stigmergic coordination offers an alternative  
 443 approach: It works for both actions that are prerequisite for later actions and actions that  
 444 can run in parallel. In both cases the state of the environment will inform the agent of the  
 445 necessary next step without having to increase communication or decrease dependencies.

446 This is not to say that stigmergic coordination is perfect. Bottlenecks exist if agents  
 447 with special skills are required to complete a task (more on qualitative differences between  
 448 agents in the next section). The system can also be inefficient if an agent has to repeatedly  
 449 check the environment for traces before starting her next task (Heylighen, 2016a).  
 450 Nevertheless, stigmergic multi-agent systems are generally more scalable than other forms

451 of coordination. For instance, stigmergically coordinating human players outperform  
452 supercomputers in the search for new protein structures (see the game “Foldit”; Lewis &  
453 Bergin, 2016).

454 More agents can also create more confusion with regards to the meaning of a trace.  
455 There may be a credit assignment problem, when it is unclear whether one person created  
456 many traces, or many people each created few traces. In addition, the behaviour of many  
457 may precede creation of a more persistent trace (cycling lanes are introduced because many  
458 people cycle), but the trace may also precede the behaviour (an architect decides to pave  
459 parts of a development before any actual need arises). This latter issue changes the  
460 informational value of traces in two ways:

461 First, since the causal direction is less clear, it is harder for an agent to make  
462 inferences about the underlying behaviours—do many people cycle (because it is a superior  
463 type of transport) or would a policy-maker like people to cycle (but it is actually very  
464 dangerous)? In architecture, a path that forms next to paved alternatives (a “desire line”;  
465 Throgmorton & Eckstein, 2000) emerges for a reason—usually because the informal path is  
466 shorter. Where an easy option exists, yet traces show that an alternative is preferred, the  
467 persistent structures emphasise the contrasting preferences similar to a single piece of litter  
468 highlighting the overall clean context. Second, when a trace’s life is artificially prolonged, it  
469 may lose its coordination value (Clark, 2013). An unused *trampled* path would normally  
470 disappear after a full growing season. But an unused *paved* path persists much longer. It  
471 hence no longer signals recent activity, and may even become deceptive if the places it  
472 connects have vanished or otherwise become unimportant (Heylighen, 2016b).

### 473 **Self-Organisation, Emergence and Immergence**

474 A stigmergic system can aid self-organised coordination of multiple agents (Lewis &  
475 Marsh, 2016). Since no central control mechanism is necessary, the stigmergic system is  
476 resilient to adversarial forces from outside the system (Lewis, 2013), meaning that agents

477 can continue with their work despite single agents being hampered. In fact, frequent, local  
478 failures help establish more resilient global structures or procedures since only those will  
479 “survive” (i.e., agents are forced to learn and adapt). Where two systems compete, the one  
480 with fewer constraints, for instance due to fewer bureaucratic rules or flat hierarchies, will  
481 be more resilient (Nieto-Gomez, 2016). Stigmergically coordinating autonomous agents  
482 also solve tasks faster than centrally controlled agents, especially if the task is harder  
483 (Yong & Miikkulainen, 2009). In many examples of group-level creativity and innovation,  
484 agents are more likely to make incremental changes to the existing solutions rather than  
485 big leaps (Lewis & Bergin, 2016; Liverpool-Tasie & Winter-Nelson, 2012; Secretan, 2013;  
486 Wisdom & Goldstone, 2011), adding in turn to the resilience of the system as individual  
487 agents expose themselves less to exploitation by free-riders. Stigmergic coordination is also  
488 consistent with the phenomenon that small groups can have a disproportionate weight in  
489 the overall system (Montgomery & Casterline, 1996) if (a) the small group is either very  
490 dedicated and spreads behavioural traces more frequently, making a behaviour seem more  
491 prevalent than it actually is (Marsh & Onof, 2008), or (b) the minority’s behavioural traces  
492 are so different that they attract more attention than those of the majority.

493         So far we have assumed that all agents are identical and only looked at the effect of  
494 increasing numbers in a system. However, more agents can add a qualitative improvement  
495 if they are diverse, i.e., they have different knowledge or skills (Heylighen, 2016b). For  
496 instance, groups of robots with heterogeneous strategies outperform homogeneous groups  
497 in a surveillance task (Tinoco & Oliveira, 2019). The diversity enables a system to produce  
498 novel patterns including new combinations of behaviours. This benefit of diversity, or  
499 “noise”, does not just apply between, but also within agents: Surveillance robots are better  
500 at a task when their next step is chosen stochastically rather than deterministically  
501 (Tinoco & Oliveira, 2019). Since stigmergic coordination is not constrained by temporal  
502 and spatial synchronicity, it leads to more diverse learning opportunities than verbal  
503 communication or direct observation, hence increasing the chance of new, innovative

504 behaviours to develop (Keil & Goldin, 2003). But stigmergy also ensures that not every  
505 new iteration becomes a rule: Only if several similar events happen to occur close in time  
506 or space are they likely to be picked up by other agents because enough traces are  
507 produced to attract attention or reach a decision threshold.

508       The occurrence of new (combinations of) behaviours is termed emergence. While  
509 *weak emergence* is reducible to rules on the agent level (e.g., Conways' *Game of Life*),  
510 *strong emergence* denotes a change in the overall system in a way that exceeds the sum of  
511 its constituents parts (Mittal, 2013). Emergence can thus only be observed on the system  
512 level. In a more stringent definition, strong emergence requires the changes on the system  
513 level to (a) be evolutionarily adaptive and (b) affect the individual (Bersini, 2012). In  
514 other words, the emergent behaviour fulfils some purpose that is independent from the  
515 observer. For instance, a flock of birds flying in a particular formation may be pretty to the  
516 human observer, but "beauty" is a weak and subjective criterion. Instead, the formations  
517 have emerged because they secure best survival chances against predators. Were it up to  
518 the observer to define new behaviours as emergent, it would depend on their ability to  
519 detect rules or patterns. Because emergent behaviours change how a system operates, it  
520 also forces individuals within the system to adapt. Without flock formations, an individual  
521 bird would only have to avoid colliding with other birds (which is not too different from  
522 not colliding with objects in general). Under the emergence of formations, the individual  
523 bird in addition needs to copy neighbours, while keeping a maximum and minimum  
524 distance (Bersini, 2012). The way agents are in turn affected by emergence is termed  
525 *immergence* (Kennedy, Eberhart, & Shi, 2001; Marsh & Onof, 2008). Although emergence  
526 and immergence are inseparable and occur simultaneously (Kennedy et al., 2001), their  
527 effects are distinct.

528       As an example from human stigmergy, social norms can be described in terms of  
529 emergence/immergence and help to illustrate their distinct effects. The social norm  
530 literature differentiates *descriptive* social norms ("is" norms) and *injunctive* social norms

531 (“ought” norms; Cialdini et al., 1990). Instances of descriptive norms entail both  
532 third-party aggregate information (“70% of people do X”) as well as individuals having  
533 direct access to evidence of that behaviour. However, the literature often subsumes direct  
534 and indirect observation (Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). Descriptive social norms are sometimes  
535 referred to as social proof (Goswami & Urminsky, 2016); other terms are social suggestion/  
536 modelling/ learning/ information/ contagion. Of these, social contagion specifically refers  
537 to a small group of innovators spontaneously trying a new behaviour that a larger group of  
538 imitators later adopts (Bass, 1969). Simple social contagion requires only one exposure,  
539 while complex social contagion requires repeated contact with adopters (Centola, 2015). In  
540 contrast, injunctive norms emerge when they increase coordination efficiency (Voss, 2001)  
541 and may be enforced by both communication and/or incorporated in the shared  
542 environment. For example, if the majority of drivers adopt the behaviour “keep to the left”  
543 of the road, it benefits all other drivers to do the same (coordination efficiency). Traces of  
544 injunctive norms are predominately marker-based, here for instance signage and  
545 crash-barriers. The norm of driving on the left in turn impacts the individual agent by  
546 both making her journey safer. The norm is evolutionarily adaptive. But the norm is also  
547 limiting the agent. For instance, the agent may not be able to make a right turn where it  
548 would be convenient because crash barriers have been installed. The norm thus affects the  
549 individual. Norms can also lock a system into a suboptimal state: When new trail creation  
550 is costly, a system may settle for a path that is not necessarily the optimal solution. As it  
551 would be too costly for a single agent to divert from the existing path, the system limits the  
552 individual agent’s behaviours to the system-wide solution (Gureckis & Goldstone, 2006).

### 553 **Cognitive Mechanisms in Multi-Agent Systems**

554 While the agent in self-stigmergy can have any set of preferred behaviours or beliefs  
555 and stick to those no matter what, these may (need to) be changed or updated by what the  
556 agent learns through others’ traces. Depending on the context, various ways of learning are

557 possible (for a review see Mesoudi, 2008). While associative learning from frequent  
558 observations of a behaviour and its resulting trace may help agents to understand the  
559 meaning of a trace, here we are concerned with learning on the system level that goes  
560 beyond the (most likely) meaning of a trace.

### 561 **Iterated learning**

562 A relatively simple form of knowledge transmission is iterated learning. Iterated  
563 learning occurs when, for instance, lights switched on or off in a room will be a trace for  
564 the next person entering the room, who will leave a trace for the person after that by  
565 switching the lights on or off, and so on. Iterated learning captures how “a behaviour arises  
566 in one individual through induction on the basis of observations of behaviour in another  
567 individual *who acquired that behaviour in the same way.*” (Kirby, Griffiths, & Smith, 2014,  
568 p. 108, italics in original). It is a potential mechanism to formalise the evolution of  
569 behaviours within a system, except not through direct observation but via traces. Given  
570 some traces, learners infer the probability of hypotheses and, based on this, produce traces  
571 themselves. As an example, based on how many instances of an item someone sees in a  
572 recycling and trash bin, the agent makes an inference of the likelihood that the item is  
573 recyclable. The agent then disposes of her item, thereby generating a new trace. It is  
574 noteworthy that initial biases tend to become more pronounced with each transmission  
575 because each agent combines the available evidence of what agents have done before with  
576 their prior beliefs (Griffiths, Christian, & Kalish, 2008), so that if most agents have even a  
577 slight prior preference for one solution, this solution becomes increasingly more likely to be  
578 chosen with each additional agent.

### 579 **Cultural learning in exploration / exploitation scenarios**

580 Cultural learning occurs as imitation, instruction or collaborative learning  
581 (Tomasello, Kruger, Ratner, & Curran, 1993), depending on whether the teacher, learner

582 or both are taking each other's perspective. Although often associated with synchronous  
583 learning including shared attention towards a specific object or situation, cultural learning  
584 can be environment-mediated. This minimally requires perspective-taking by either the  
585 acting or reacting agent, such as trying to understand whether a trace was placed  
586 intentionally. Information gathering on a group level, and how individuals benefit from  
587 this, is of particular interest in foraging and exploration/exploitation scenarios, which we  
588 will use to illustrate environment-mediated cultural learning.

589         The exploration-exploitation dilemma refers to the trade off between using a known  
590 resource (exploitation) versus spending time on finding an even better resource  
591 (exploration). On the group level, each individual has the additional option of learning  
592 from other people's exploration, for instance by knowing which areas have been explored  
593 (some footsteps) and which areas are highly desirable (many footsteps). Cultural learning  
594 combines two advantages for the group. First, it is cost-saving because acquiring  
595 information from others is usually less costly than exploring oneself. Second, the average  
596 accuracy of information increases over time as long as the information is trustworthy—and  
597 more so if individuals provide the information only if it reaches a threshold of certainty.  
598 Group level decisions in social insects are generally more accurate and less prone to  
599 violations of transitivity and independence of irrelevant alternatives (Sasaki & Pratt,  
600 2018). This “wisdom of the crowd” effect has long been documented in humans (Galton,  
601 1907), and has also been shown with indirect coordination via behavioural traces (here:  
602 “swarms”; Rosenberg, Baltaxe, & Pescetelli, 2016).

603         Traces inadvertently provided by agents engaged in efficient performance of their  
604 activities (sematectonic traces) can have different effects on the information provider: From  
605 *parasitism* (involving a cost to the acting agent, for instance because the reacting agent  
606 gains knowledge that provides them with an advantage; competitive stigmergy),  
607 *commensalism* (neutral effect for the acting agent), to *mutualism* (both acting and reacting  
608 agent benefit from the use of this information; cooperative stigmergy; Danchin et al.,

609 2004). Despite the potential cost to some individuals, groups in which agents switch  
610 between individual and cultural learning outperform groups of individual learners in a  
611 dynamic environment (Kameda & Nakanishi, 2003; Mesoudi, 2008).

612 In turn, the question arises under what conditions people want to make their  
613 behaviour available or especially salient to others. Group-level decisions have been  
614 extensively modelled for social insects, for instance when finding new nesting sites. Here,  
615 the decision-making process includes exploration, communication, and quorum sensing  
616 (Marshall et al., 2011). In this process, ants who have found a high quality site recruit  
617 faster than ants who have found a low quality nest site (through so-called tandem-runs or  
618 pheromones). This creates a positive feedback loop for the high quality site as more  
619 individuals are recruited faster and recruit faster themselves in turn. Equally, humans who  
620 are more convinced of their strategy may (a) leave more traces, (b) more visible traces, or  
621 (c) remove opposed traces, thus creating positive feedback loops for the desired behaviour.  
622 In a series of three papers, Hunt and colleagues have shown how Bayesian models of nest  
623 selection, foraging, and externalised memory ( Hunt et al., 2018a, 2018b; Baddeley, Franks,  
624 & Hunt, 2018) capture collective information processing in ants using both direct (tandem  
625 running) and indirect coordination (pheromone and carbohydrate traces). Although  
626 promising, their findings have yet to be tested on human subjects, both with and without  
627 the goal of cooperation/competition.

628 In diverse groups the number of explorers and exploiters will vary. Continued  
629 exploration keeps a stigmergically coordinating system adaptive despite long periods of  
630 stasis (Schoonderwoerd, Holland, Bruten, & Rothkrantz, 1997). That is, even though a  
631 best possible solution exists at that moment, this could become obstructed or obsolete later  
632 in time. Having alternative (albeit currently inefficient) routes readily available helps the  
633 group to adapt more quickly when changes occur. The level of exploration in a group may  
634 also influence the ideal decay rate of traces. In a simulation of garbage collecting robots, a  
635 robot that has collected waste will leave a trail of traces to signal where a lot of waste is

636 currently being produced. Other robots can then follow this trail or explore less travelled  
637 areas and discover other locations with waste. Exploitation rates were set to different  
638 probabilities (all  $> .5$ ) of following the trail with the highest number of traces. Out of three  
639 decay rates tested, the medium rate shows best performance in combination with the  
640 lowest exploitation (thus high exploration) rate (Alfeo et al., 2019). In other words, decay  
641 rate not only needs to correspond with the behaviour, but the characteristics of the agents  
642 and problem as well.

643

### Summary

644 Stigmergy is a process of indirect coordination via behavioural traces in the shared  
645 environment. It can be a lens to better understand coordination of agents with themselves  
646 and within and across groups. Stigmergy was first described in social insects and has been  
647 predominantly researched in biology and robotics. In applying stigmergy to humans, we  
648 should lack a framework that takes into account the difference between animal and human  
649 stigmergy. This paper focuses on human stigmergy and addresses differences between  
650 animal and human stigmergy by highlighting important cognitive mechanisms involved.

651 Traces can be described along a continuum of sematectonic (by-products) to  
652 marker-based (instructive) traces. Important cognitive mechanisms involved on the agent  
653 level are (a) *attention* to detect a trace, (b) *motivation* to use or ignore the information the  
654 trace holds, (c) various ways of *learning* the meaning of a trace, and (d) processes of  
655 *meta-cognition* when trying to communicate through traces. These mechanisms are not  
656 uniquely human; but they are arguably more complex in humans (Laland & Seed, 2021).  
657 On the group level, stigmergic coordination proves to be more *scalable* compared to  
658 alternatives such as increasing communication and decreasing inter-agent dependencies.  
659 Stigmergy enables *self-organisation* without a central controlling mechanism, and, when  
660 agents are diverse, *emergence* of new behaviours. Agents within these systems may learn  
661 adaptive behaviours (a) through *iterated learning* or (b) through *cultural learning* as

662 illustrated in exploration/exploitation scenarios; agents may further (c) contribute through  
663 innovation and (d) are in turn affected by system-wide changes through *immurgence*.

#### 664 **Future Research**

665         Several relevant research questions follow from the above. First, since the majority of  
666 studies on human stigmergy concern collaboration in the workplace (Christensen, 2007,  
667 2013; Cristancho & Field, 2020; Susi, 2016; Susi & Ziemke, 2001), the focus has been on  
668 marker-based traces in scenarios where there is motivation to coordinate with colleagues  
669 and the meaning of traces is agreed upon. Despite being common, sematectonic traces have  
670 received less attention. This introduces a number of important questions: Do people  
671 understand the meaning of traces, i.e., are they able to infer the behaviour from the trace?  
672 Knowing the meaning of a trace is not essential for its use (as in the example of a well  
673 walked path), yet we would expect opportunities for coordination to be enhanced if the  
674 meaning is understood. Why and how do people learn the meaning of a trace? How salient  
675 or frequent does a trace need to be before someone seeks to understand it (and searches for  
676 additional information, e.g., ask someone who may know; Heylighen & Vidal, 2008)?  
677 Related to this, when are salient and/or frequent traces ignored? A working hypothesis is  
678 that motivation to cooperate or compete will make it more likely that agents will actively  
679 engage to learn the meaning of a trace. Assuming a type of trace is there for a reason, the  
680 agent will likely pay more attention to contexts in which those traces occur (associative  
681 learning), or tap into additional sources of information (cultural learning). However, if  
682 agents have no motivation or navigate an environment randomly, they may still learn the  
683 meaning of traces through associative learning.

684         Second, to what extent do people consider others when creating a trace, especially  
685 when the trace is a by-product of their behaviour? When people can choose whether or not  
686 to leave (or remove) a trace, what influences this cost/benefit analysis? A working  
687 hypothesis is that when the behaviour is in line with norms or otherwise cooperative, they

688 are more likely to reveal it in neutral or cooperative settings. People will be more likely to  
689 hide traces in a competitive setting, especially when the meaning of a trace is well  
690 understood. A related question is whether people who are more convinced of their strategy  
691 leave more or more visible traces, just like social insects recruit faster for a high quality  
692 nest site (Marshall et al., 2011) and in a similar way to how people signal characteristics of  
693 their self such as their wealth (Heffetz, 2011) or how pro-environmental they are (Brick,  
694 Sherman, & Kim, 2017; Griskevicius, Tybur, & Van den Bergh, 2010) through the products  
695 they buy and display.

696 Third, how well can people learn from traces in different settings? When traces of  
697 only of the previous person are accessible, we would expect that, as in iterated learning  
698 scenarios, initial biases will become more pronounced over time. On the other hand, in  
699 settings where traces of all relevant previous behaviours are available, the amount of  
700 information may be overwhelming, and people may rely more on their prior beliefs and less  
701 on available traces where all information is available.

702 Fourth, what trace decay rate is optimal for indirect coordination? This likely  
703 depends on the behaviour in question as well as the wider context, such as how often the  
704 behaviour is performed, how long it takes to create the trace, how visible the trace is, and  
705 how often other agents encounter the traces. Characteristics of the medium and agents  
706 likely also influence the ideal decay rate. If the physical environment or an agents' goals  
707 change quickly, traces should decay more quickly to stay relevant. In a population of  
708 exploiters where exploration would be advantageous, the optimal decay rate should be  
709 relatively higher (faster deterioration) compared with a population of explorers or where  
710 exploitation is the best strategy. In many situations, the optimal decay rate will likely  
711 follow an inverse u-shaped function, where very short and very long decay rates are less  
712 helpful for rates of coordination than intermediate decay rates (Clark, 2013; Heylighen,  
713 2016b; Mittal, 2013; Storm & Patel, 2014; Williams, Hong, Kang, Carlisle, & Woodman,  
714 2013).

715 Fifth, new behaviours emerge from the interaction of diverse individuals within a  
716 system. For instance, cooperation can emerge as a successful strategy in a social dilemma  
717 in the absence of repeated interactions or punishments, as players learn successful  
718 strategies through behavioural traces (Chiong & Kirley, 2012). The simple rule “follow  
719 what others have done right, regardless of who they are” (Chiong & Kirley, 2012, p. 14)  
720 circumvents direct ways of social learning that depend on knowing, trusting or liking the  
721 other person. However, usually these are examples of weak emergence because participants  
722 have a finite number of actions to choose from. In order to model strong emergence (and  
723 immergence) of a system, the parameters on the agent level would need to be free to vary,  
724 at the very least within a pre-determined range. Other ways to investigate emergence are  
725 designs where group members who engage in a common task are replaced over time and  
726 performance is compared with groups where no interchange of members has taken place.  
727 This method could be used to study the effect of diversity in the emergence of novel  
728 behaviours, spread of behaviours between groups within a system and self-selection to  
729 groups, based on behavioural traces.

## 730 **Conclusions**

731 Like animals and robots, humans are embedded in the physical environment and  
732 interact with it through our bodies and the tools we use. Many of our actions leave traces  
733 in the shared environment and can inform others of what has been, could, or should be  
734 done. In contrast to animals and robots, where many of the links between traces and  
735 behaviours are automatic or “hard-wired”, traces in the human sphere have  
736 cultural-specific connotations and the cognitive processes at work are more complex, for  
737 instance second- and third level meta-cognition and theory of mind. Investigating how  
738 behavioural traces are first created and then interpreted, independent of other channels of  
739 communication such as direct observation and speech, contributes to our understanding of  
740 how people learn from and coordinate with each other. Future findings can be used to

741 make coordination more efficient and less error prone. Behavioural traces also lend  
742 themselves to interventions: Traces of beneficial behaviour can be made more, and traces of  
743 undesirable behaviour less visible, either by changing their attributes, decay rates or the  
744 frequency with which they are produced. Although not well investigated as an intervention  
745 strategy, this could increase the prevalence of the desired behaviour with relatively  
746 cost-efficient design changes. This might be especially relevant in politically polarizing  
747 issues such as climate change.

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