

**Neural Representation Observed<sup>1</sup>**  
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**Abstract:** The historical debate on representation in cognitive science and neuroscience construes representations as theoretical posits and discusses the degree to which we have reason to posit them. We reject the premise of that debate—that representations are mere theoretical posits. We argue that experimental neuroscientists routinely observe and manipulate neural representations in their laboratory. If a type of entity is observable or manipulable, then it exists. Therefore, neural representations are as real as neurons, action potentials, or any other experimentally established entities in our ontology.

### **1. From Theoretical Posits to Observables**

Representations are internal states that “stand in” for X and can guide behavior with respect to X (e.g., Haugeland 1991, Perner 1991). For example, a representation of yogurt in your refrigerator “stands in” for the yogurt and can guide your behavior with respect to the yogurt. In other words, representations are entities that have both a semantic content—e.g., “there is yogurt in the refrigerator”—and an appropriate functional role (W. Ramsey 2016), and the specific functional role they play depends on their semantic content.

Representations are traditionally construed as unobservable entities posited by a theory or model to explain and predict behavior. The theory may be either folk psychology (e.g., Sellars 1956) or scientific psychology (e.g., Fodor 1975, 1981). The debate centers on whether the representations posited by some theory or model are real, whether they have semantic content, and whether their semantic content plays a functional role.

Several grades of antirealism about representation have been proposed. Some argue that representations are real entities that play a functional role but their semantic content is merely a matter of interpretation—it is not a real property and plays no functional role (e.g., Dennett 1987, Cummins 1983, 1989). A closely related view is that representations are real in the sense that there are internal states individuated by what we take them to represent, but the internal states themselves have no semantic content (Chomsky 1995). Finally, there is full-blown representational eliminativism:

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