5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40

Chapter 2

The origin of the social approach in language and cognitive research exemplified by studies into the origin of language

Nathalie Gontier

1. Introduction

During the last years, an increasing interest can be detected in social cognition and the latter's relation to language, as well as the origin of language. In this introductory chapter, we trace the origin of this social approach.

It will be demonstrated that the overall social approach in cognitive and linguistic sciences stems from the shift in philosophy from the "referential approach" to the "social turn". Both paradigms endorse completely different ideas on what cognition is and what role language plays in general cognizing.

This paradigm shift will be exemplified by an analysis of past and current research into the origin of language. Origins of language studies carry in their theoretical assumptions the shift from a transcendental to a secular world view. In the former, it is argued that language is referential for it bears true, factual knowledge of the outer, transcendental or physical world. In the latter, it is argued that language is social, and rather than provide truth about the world, it provides meaning to members of a certain linguistic community.

In the referential approach, language and cognition become intertwined. And with the social turn, social cognition and language become related to one another. How exactly this happened is exemplified by studies into the origin of language.

2. The referential approach to language and cognition

That cognition and language are two intertwined capacities is nowadays an unquestioned truism. However, this has not always been the case. Why then, and

P-Anfang: 26.11.2008

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 since when, did the study of cognition become related to the study of language? In this section the answer to this question is provided.

The term "cognition" is nowadays by and large a container term that is used to denote the various (thought) processes of the mind. The mind, in turn, is a concept that is used to refer to the workings of the neurons in the brain. And "cognizing" has traditionally been a synonym for thinking rationally, i.e. for understanding something by making use of human reason or the rational intellect. Throughout Western history, the human *ratio* has always been interpreted to be of a linguistic nature. For many ages, both our thought processes as well as our mental concepts have been assumed to be structured linguistically. In fact, neurology (Damasio 1999, Ledoux 1996) only recently demonstrated that our thinking or cognizing can occur silently, and that mental categories cannot straightforwardly be associated with lexical categories.

Historically, the goal of the *ratio* or of thinking was argued to be the acquisition of knowledge, more specifically, knowledge of the physical world.

Cognition, language and knowledge have thus traditionally formed a tripartite and this tripartite forms the foundation of the referential approach. The referential approach to cognition, language and knowledge is as old as written history and can thus be traced to at least 7,000 years ago. The basic tenet of this paradigm is that human cognition is understood as a neutral knowledge-retrieving device. Human cognition enables the retrieval of factual knowledge about the physical world. Moreover, this factual knowledge is assumed to always be of a linguistic nature because thoughts are assumed to be structured linguistically. Language therefore is understood to objectively refer to the outer world.

For example, the word "cat", is argued to be the verbal expression of a mental representation of a certain animal in the world. In other words, the word "cat" refers to the animal cat, as well as to the mental concept (image or sensation) of a cat. All three, the mental concept, the word and the animal are traditionally assumed to share some basic properties. Stated differently, in ancient times it was assumed that there existed a 1-to-1 correspondence between thoughts, words and objects in the world. This position is called realism. Words were argued not to be arbitrary signs of mental categories or physical objects, rather, it was assumed that words actually provide objective knowledge of the objects they refer to. Exactly because of this idea, such an isomorphism between words and things could be endorsed.

To understand this view more fully, an overview is given on how language, cognition and knowledge became related during the course of human history.

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40

2.1. Ancient Eurasian cultures

From at least 7,000 years ago onwards, we can find traces in written history of the existence of cultures that develop explanations for the presence of language. From this time onwards, there is evidence that people believed that spoken and written languages have sacred or divine characteristics because they bring knowledge in and of the life of men, if not the whole of the universe.

A Mesopotamian religion called Zoroastrianism would introduce the idea of a Sun-God. This is a creating god that stands above and outside of the world. And in India, the idea would develop that Sanskrit, the language of the Rig-Veda, is a perfect, sacred and divine language, as well as that it is the "language of the cosmos" (Hewes 1999: 573). The idea of a Sun-God as well as the idea of a sacred language of the cosmos would set the stage for all future theorizing on language in (at least) Indo-European countries up until the present. Descendents of these first scriptural cultures would populate the Middle East, ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, Rome and eventually they would colonize all of Europe, and later on also Asia, America, Australia and their original human populations. The cultural intuitions underlying these original cultures would give way to Ancient Egyptian mythology, Milethic (Ionic) and Hellenic philosophical thought, the three Semitic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam), Western secularism, humanist ideology and western science.

More specifically, the cultural intuition (Pinxten 1997: 87) developed that the world we live in is an ordered rather than a chaotic one, and that this order is of a linguistic nature.

In ancient Egyptian mythology, the order in the world is assumed to be the result of the "living creator of the life of the world" (Derrida 1981: 87), namely, the "enlightened" Sun-God Ra. The latter is also called Re or Ammon-Ra, Ammon stands for "hidden". His firstborn son is the god Theut or Thoth. Thoth is the most powerful god in ancient Egyptian religion for he is acknowledged as "the master of divine words" (Derrida 1981: 91). More specifically, he is associated with the thoughts of his father, Ra. Ra's thoughts are "hidden". Thoth is the one who is able to speak his father's thoughts and thereby bring them into the light (the light in turn is again associated with Ra). He can do this because Thoth is the god of speech, and through speech he can make the hidden truth and wisdom clairvoyant. Because of this, he is also the god of wisdom, and knowledge is understood to be of a linguistic nature. It is thus in ancient Egyptian times that the cultural intuition emerges that speech is both a vehicle for thoughts as well as an instrument to refer to (the truth about) the world. Both thought and knowledge are therefore language-based.

P-Anfang: 26.11.2008

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40

2.2. The origin of the *logos*-theory

Zoroastrianism and ancient Egyptian mythology inspired Milethic (Ionic) and Hellenic philosophical thought.

In Egyptian mythology, the sun shined upon the whole of its creation, thereby emanating a hidden truth or order which was made linguistic and thus literally audible and comprehensible by Thoth. This order, and eventually the capacities associated with the god Thoth, would be called the *logos* by the ancient Greek philosophers.

In the 6th century BC, pre-Socratic philosophers, such as Heraclites and Parmenides who lived in the Ionian city of Milethe (presently in Turkey), would start a philosophical search for this hidden *logos* or world-order (later also interpreted as world-soul). *Logos* is a concept that translates as order, language, reason, thought, doctrine, account, statement, and the laying open of a relation (Held and Kirkland 2002: 83; Hillar 1998: 22). All these concepts are thus assumed to be synonymous (Coseriu 2003: 24–25).

Steadily, the following cultural intuition would grow: since the *logos* is linguistic (*logos* is synonymous for thinking, knowing and speaking), and since humans are linguistic creatures, humans carry a part of the *logos* in themselves. Humans are thus actually part of the *logos*. This is also one of the reasons that humans can get to know the *logos* in the first place, as well as that they can lay open the relation between the words and the things.

The nature of the relation between thinking, speech and knowledge would also remain the main topic of investigation in Hellenistic philosophy of the 4th century BC. Hellenistic philosophers raised the following discussion: since names are given to true and existing things in the world, are the names themselves also true and correct names that connote these things? Associated with this query is whether the names are given with insight into the true nature or essence of these things, and whether it are humans or gods that give the things their proper names.

This discussion can especially be found in Plato's dialogue entitled *Cratylus* (Plato 1921: 383–440) that was written in 360 BC. In the text, Hermogenes, Cratylus and Socrates discuss the origin and nature of words as well as their relation to the things in the world.

The dialogue begins with Hermogenes who summarizes the views defended by Cratylus so that Socrates can join the debate. Cratylus is said to argue that names are "natural" rather than "conventional", which means that they have an inherent rightness and correctness or truth in them. Moreover, all things have but one true name and these true names are the same for all humans, Hellenes or foreigners.

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39

40

Hermogenes (Plato's Cratylus 1921: 384c–5a) on the other hand, argues that the correctness of names, or the truth-value of names, lies in their conventional use. Rather than a divine entity or a certain class of humans, all humans agree on the words they give to certain things. Therefore, the given name is always true and correct, even if one would choose to give the same thing a different name in the future. As such, there is no naturalness of names, for names are the result of human habits and customs

Having heard the two positions, Socrates (Plato's *Cratylus* 1921: 385b–d) takes over the dialogue. He reasons as follows. Suppose I would give the name "human" to a horse and the name "horse" to a human. In this case, in my private language, horses would be called humans and humans would be called horses. However, if one accepts that one can speak the truth as well as that one can lie, then there must exists a true and a false language. The true language says it like it is – that horses (the name) are horses (the thing) – and speaks of the things as they are. The false language, on the contrary, does not say things like they are – but argues that a human (the name) is a horse (the thing). Agreeing with this line of reasoning, according to Socrates, equals agreeing that with language one can say what is the case (the truth) as well as what is not the case (falsity).

If a language is true, so are the names that make up the language. Therefore, a thing can only have one true name. All the other names that are used to talk about the same thing are false.

That a particular thing can only have one true name is explained by Socrates by arguing that the true name says something about the essence of the thing involved. More specifically, the essence of a thing is fixed, and since the name says something about this unchanging essence, the thing can similarly only have one fixed, true name. The word horse, for example, says something about the what-ness or essence of a horse: it defines what a horse is. Moreover, this definition remains equal for all the horses that have ever existed or shall exist in the future.

Now the true name of a thing can only be given in agreement with the essence of that thing if the name-giver has named the thing with insight and knowledge into its true essence. Who then is this name-giver that can name with insight, and how is he able to do this?

Not just any man can name the things by their right name. Only trained humans (especially philosophers) and gods can name the things correctly. They can name the things by their correct names because they are lawgivers who are able to contemplate on, or actually see the true (Platonic) model of both the name and the thing. When the name given to a certain thing is the true name, the name gives knowledge (epistème) of the thing. If the name is not true and thus not given in accordance to the essence of a thing, the name is false, or in

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38

39 40 accordance with the mere opinion (*doxa*) of the human name-giver. Gods are assumed to always use the right names because they naturally name with insight and knowledge. Humans however, more often than not, name according to their opinion (Plato's Cratylus 1921: 400d, 401a–b), without caring for the truth.

Thus, Socrates argues that the name can differ from the thing it names, because humans often have false opinions on the essence of things. The true name is that name that resembles the thing, in the same sense as a painting of a man, for example, resembles that man, although the painting is not the same as the man. An untrue, false name is that name that does not resemble the thing, in the same sense that one would argue that the portrait of a female is the portrait of the man. As such, names can be untrue and the result of mere opinions, rather than that names are always true (Cratylus' idea). Socrates (Plato's Cratylus 1921: 430d): "I call that kind of assignment in the case of both imitations paintings and names – correct, and in the case of names not only correct, but true; and the other kind, which gives and applies the unlike imitation, I call incorrect and, in the case of names, false."

Socrates concludes that there is still room for convention, since the name and the thing do not immediately coincide and false opinions can blur the true essence of a thing that is normally part of its name.

In sum, it is in Plato's dialogue that one can find the origin of realism as well as nominalism. Within a realistic doctrine one argues that language can provide knowledge about the world because words form a one-to-one correspondence with the essence of the things. In an ultra-realistic position, the study of language therefore suffices to study the world. Within a nominalist doctrine one argues that names do not provide insight into the nature of the world or the essence of things. Rather things receive their names by convention. This position does not exclude the possibility that knowledge about the world is nonetheless expressed linguistically. Rather, words arbitrarily refer to certain things of the world rather than that the words coincide with these things in the world and their essence.

2.3. The Word in Judeo-Christian traditions

From at least the 3^{rd} if not the 6^{th} century BC onwards, the polytheistic religions of Egypt, Greece and Rome were countered by Middle Eastern, monotheistic belief systems such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In all three traditions, God created the universe as well as mankind and language becomes a gift from God.

The first book of the Torah, *Genesis*, describes YHWH's creation of the world. Out of nothing, this eternal entity creates through speaking. The first

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 thing he says is "Let there be light" (*Genesis*, I, 1–3). This verse shows that in this monotheistic religion also the sun (Ra) becomes subjected to God's powers, because now the light is created as well. But most of all, this passage demonstrates that creation becomes understood as a speech act.

Moreover, *Genesis* describes how God creates man out of clay (in parallel with Plato's *Demiurge*), according to his image. He blows Adam's soul into his nose (*Genesis* 1–2) and this is what brings him to live. Besides God's speech, God's breath can therefore also create.

Having been moulded out of clay in God's image, man becomes physically similar to God and man too can speak, name and thus rule over creation. This ruling over creation involves subordinating and naming it. "Naming is knowing and subjecting" (Pombo 1987: 39). In *Genesis*, II: 19–20, it is told how God brought all the animals and birds that he had created to Adam to see how the latter would name them. In this regard Adam is similar to Plato's *onomatourgou* or name-giver (see also Ecco 1995: 7–8 and Pombo 1987: 34–40). "Adam comes close, then, to the wise legislator and *onomaturge* of Plato's *Cratylus*, who likewise [...] determines the name on the basis of his knowledge of the essential nature of the object." (Pombo 1987: 39). In fact, Adam becomes as God in this respect.

As shall become obvious in what follows, this part of *Genesis* would become one of the most important texts in Western thinking, including the Western study of language. In general, it would become interpreted as follows: man received his language, which is a part of the soul, from God when he breathed life into Adam. The language spoken by Adam is the language that God speaks. This is why Adam (and all subsequent humans such as Moses, Job, etc.) can have actual conversations with God to begin with. In later writings, this language would be called the Adamic language. Jewish scholars as well as Christians would, in agreement with the story of *Genesis*, argue that at least until the flood (the story of *Noah's ark*), the language shared by God and his creatures was one. Moreover, it was assessed that this language was invariant until the confusion of tongues that occurred at Babel.

Regarding the Christian *New Testament*, especially the *Gospel of John* (1,2–1,5) is interesting to place cultural intuitions about language (origin studies), for it begins with the verses:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in the darkness; and the darkness apprehended it not. (King James Version 1997)

P-Anfang: 26.11.2008

5

1

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 In this passage, the "Word" is to be interpreted as Jesus, the son of God (see also *Apocalypse* 19,13 where Jesus is again called the word of God). In the *Gospel of John*, Jesus thus bears striking resemblances with Thoth who is both the word of Ra as well as Ra's substitute. Moreover, in the early Greek versions, this Word and thus also Jesus, is called the *logos*. John can therefore also be read as follows: "In the beginning was the *logos*, and the *logos* was with God and the *logos* was God." As the speaking representative of God, Jesus has an important linguistic message for God's creation: namely that they are freed from their sins if they believe in God's name (John, 1, 12). Believing in God's name needs to be interpreted from within Platonic tradition: if they belief in the truth and correctness of his name, then they believe that God exists (and this name also says something about God's essence). Moreover, the freeing of the sins is, just as creation was, a speech act or a linguistic event. Speaking therefore equals enacting and creating.

God as well as his (linguistic) thinking are placed outside this earthly world, in analogy to the sun. Human beings, created in the image of God, are able to transcend their earthly body (language is considered to be part of the soul) as well as the world. They are able to see the whole and name and thereby structure its parts in an orderly fashion from a "God's eye view". Men can, in other words, become as God. With language, humans can be "objective" about the world which means that they can obtain and posses true knowledge of the world, as well as "objectify" the world, i.e. take and outsider position and look at the world as a whole that can be divided and ordered into different parts. This line of thought would found the correspondence idea that is typical of realism.

More than anything, language would therefore become understood as a knowledge device, an objective instrument that orders our thoughts and refers to the outer world as well as structures this world. That language is a communicative device amongst human beings was secondary and at best understood as an act of charity by God. Language is understood to be primarily referential rather than social or cultural.

A result of this intuition was the Medieval *universalia* debate. This is a debate wherein the ontological status of particular and universal (general) names is investigated (Coseriu 2003: 148–169; De Libera 1995: 319–339). Besides realistic positions, also nominalist positions would be endorsed.

Realists would argue that universal terms, e.g. general terms such as 'human', 'cat', etc., are truly existing entities. They exist in a transcendental, ideational world and bring forward the particular, e.g. the 'specific human' named 'Socrates'. Moreover, that Socrates is human says something about his essence. Universal terms are a precondition for particular terms and for the objects and

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 subjects that correspond to them. In this line of thought, the word creates once more. Realists therefore assume that there is a direct isomorphism between *universalia*, particulars and the things they *connote*.

Nominalists on the contrary would argue that only particular things truly exist and that these things exist independently of the words that *denote* them. Both particular (e.g. 'Socrates') as well as universal names (e.g. 'human') are abstractions of the mind. The shared essence that is presumed to be common to all human beings is again an abstraction of the mind. *Universalia* therefore do not have an existence beyond the human intellect.

Besides an objective instrument, language would also become an occult instrument whereby one can, through language, invoke or call on God (e.g. by saying a prayer) or become God (by saying magical spells such as Abracadabra which literally means "I create as I speak").

2.4. The Renaissance and the shift in cultural intuitions concerning the nature of language

By the onset of the Renaissance it had become a given that God and Adam spoke the same, *divine* language during their communications. This "Adamic language" was regarded as transparent, perfect, unique and also as universal (Pombo 1987: 38–9). That is, the Adamic language was understood to be a perfect instrument of knowledge as well as a universal means of communication. It was also endorsed that this language got lost after Babel.

The encounter of different cultures and different knowledge systems through trade and colonization would make Christian scholars realize that, contrary to the Adamic language, their many *natural* languages are all but perfect instruments to either obtain objective knowledge or to communicate fluently. This situation would become an impulse for the utopian thinkers of the late Medieval and Renaissance times to create a sense of *nostalgia* towards the period that existed prior to Babel, namely paradise where all men were united into one folk with one language.

In this regard, the search for the Adamic language would eventually become redefined into two distinct problems: (1) the search for a universal language of knowledge understood to be of the highest cultural value; and (2) the search for the original mother tongue as well as the natural, primordial condition of man.

A rupture would thus emerge between the scholars involved in the search for the original language. On the one hand, philosophers emphasized the heuristic value of the Adamic language. The Adamic language provides insight into the true nature of things. Language, in their account, can be defined primarily as

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 an a-historic, a-social, objective instrument of knowledge. Its communicative value is only secondary. In so far as the Adamic language was lost, rationalist philosophers would engage in three things: they would search for natural languages that could take on the role of the Adamic language (e.g. Greek or Latin); they would try and "purify" natural languages (especially German) so that these languages could function as universal languages of knowledge; and they would construct artificial, logical languages that would enable to gain objective knowledge (Pombo 1987: 23). Especially the latter two rationalist endeavours would result in the onset of research into the grammatical structure of language as well as mental (equalled with lexical) categories of the mind.

On the other hand, philosophers of law, philosophers of economics and eventually also philologists would understand the Adamic language to be a means to establish a social bond between all of mankind. They therefore defined language as a social, historical means of communication between men. This would eventually give rise to the social turn.

3. The social turn

During the past 200 years, the validity of the referential approach to knowledge and cognition has been called into question by "the social turn". Within the social turn, human cognition is not understood to be a neutral, linguistic device that is fine-tuned to retrieve factual knowledge of the physical world. Rather, both language and human cognition are understood to be an outcome of biological and social enculturation processes. Biologically, many aspects of cognition are currently recognized as "silent" or non-linguistically structured, and thus cognizing does not always make use of the linguistic medium. Socioculturally, a large part of cognition is currently recognized as the outcome of social enculturation. Moreover, it is endorsed that linguistic signs are arbitrary and that they find their origin in society through human convention.

Why then, and since when, did the study of cognition and language become related to the study of social life? In this section the answer to this question is provided.

Ideas on the arbitrariness of the sign can be traced back as early as the 5th century BC, especially in the works of Aristotle. These ideas would mainly be reintroduced in Humanist circles by (crypto-)Jewish scholars. But it is especially during the Enlightenment that one can find the foundations of the social turn that would characterize the theorizing on language in the 19th and 20th century.

We now turn to these positions one by one and investigate how language became associated with social cognition.

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40

3.1. The arbitrariness of the sign

The idea that the words or verbs are signs that arbitrarily denote different things or events, and that these signs are invented by men and agreed upon by convention is not merely a modern, Saussurian discovery. Earlier versions of this idea can already be found in ancient philosophical texts. As explained above, this idea was already partly discussed by Hermogenes in Plato's *Cratylus*. But especially Aristotle, a student of Plato, elaborated more fully upon the idea. In his *De Interpretatione*, Aristotle (1995: 16a) writes that the alphabet consists of written symbols of spoken sounds, i.e. letters, while the spoken sounds are symbols of affections of the soul. They do not correspond to the affections, rather, they symbolize them. Both the written as well as the spoken symbols can differ in mankind, but the affections of the soul are the same.

The idea that the affections of the soul are similar to all humans is essential to empiricist ideas as well as the idea of a psychic unity. The latter doctrine says that all men are equipped with the same sense apparatus, and when they are put in the same environment and stimulated by the same things, they will feel the same sensations. Taken on their own, these sensations are neither true nor false, they just are.

Subsequently, these sensations and mental images are labelled verbally by convention (which explains why symbolic signs differ within different communities). "A name is a spoken sound significant by convention, without time, none of whose parts is significant in separation" (Aristotle 1995: 16a).

Verbs are conventional signs that, additionally to words, also signify time. Similar to sensations, both words and verbs are, taken on their own, neither true nor false. They are a communal given. Words and verbs are only true or false in combination, for example in sentences such as "All cats are Persian" which is false and "Not all cats are Persian", which is true. The endorsement that signs are arbitrary therefore does not necessarily question the possibility to obtain true and objective knowledge of the world. Rather, truth claims result from the combination of words and verbs into sentences.

During the Christian Middle Ages many ideas of Aristotle were condemned by the Catholic Church in favour of Plato's teachings. As a consequence, realism gained more foothold than nominalism. In Jewish traditions as well as in Arabic milieus, on the contrary, Aristotle's work remained influential. Eventually, it were mainly Jewish scholars that reintroduced Aristotle's ideas into Humanist, Protestant and eventually Catholic environments.

An interested figure in this regard is Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540). Vives (Coseriu, 2003: 170–171) is famous for countering scholastic (Platonic) thoughts and (re)introducing Aristotelian ideas on language. Vives was one of the pio-

2

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 neering scholars in semiotics and grammar. But most importantly, he argued against universalism in favour of historic particularism, and against language as an objective tool in favour of it being of an inter-subjective nature (Coseriu, 2003: 174–176).

Vives endorsed the view that every language follows its own grammatical rules and that words receive their content by convention rather than in accordance with the essence of a thing. Moreover, he primarily understood language to be a means to establish or deter social cohesion. In fact, it was language that turned humans into social and cultivated beings, and in this respect they also differ from other animals (Coseriu 2003: 175). Language enables reason and since animals lack language, they are argued to lack reason as well.

Although language is still an instrument *for* knowledge, it is not exclusively understood to be an instrument *of* knowledge. Rather, in humanist thought language becomes associated with the highest form of culture. It is a tool that enables general cultivation. According to humanists, language is what makes humans educated and therefore civilized creatures rather than beasts (Coseriu 2003: 292).

3.2. The rise of philology

As already described, during the Renaissance, trade and colonisation resulted in the encounter of different unchristian cultures. These cultures as well as their languages often outdated the European Christian culture.

A first consequence was that other cultures became understood as pre-Adamic or, in other words, as "primitive" or even "primordial". As such, they differed from the Europeans who had become "civilized" by the word of God, written down in *The Bible*. Other cultures and their members therefore became understood as "uneducated" "children", "barbaric" "uncivilized" creatures, or plain "beasts" that lacked reason altogether. In sum, they were considered to live in a "natural" state rather than a "cultural" one.

Secondly, the encounter of other cultures made utopian scholars wonder about a "natural" condition of man and how it differed from a "cultural" state. Is a "savage" man in a "natural", "uncivilized" condition, and thus without the word of God, capable of distinguishing between good and evil? Is such a man capable of reason? Can his knowledge be used to gain truths about the world? And is the "cultural" state that "civilized" men find themselves in the best state to live in? Are there cultural alternatives? Can one reach a "higher" "civilized" form?

Thirdly, many Protestant as well as utopian scholars would argue that paradise does not lie at the beginning of time, but at the end. Man can "perfect"

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38

39 40 himself through education. This first of all entailed learning to read and write so one can learn (about) the word of God.

These changes in cultural intuitions would set the following cascade of events in motion.

First, Europeans started to wonder whether all these creatures are the children of God and thus whether all the world's languages can be united into one single mother tongue that was lost at Babel. Those in favour of a unity of mankind would argue that there is a universal reason (the rationalists) or a common sense (the empiricists) that unites all men. They would therefore also endorse single origin theories of language. Those against such a unity would pave the way for racism and multiple origin theories of language.

Secondly, the thought-experiments laid open by the utopian scholars concerning "natural" and "civilized" conditions, as well as the Christian ideas of the existence of "primordial", "savage" people would introduce the nature/culture divide. The mind/body divide had already been a cultural intuition of many ages. The mind was rational and the body passionate. The extension of this dichotomy to the whole of nature and the whole of human culture only emerged from the Renaissance onwards. Not just language and reason, but the whole of culture (religion, rituals, customs, law, economics, education, etc.) were interpreted as completely different from nature. Culture was argued to separate white European men from "beasts" (to be interpreted as animals as well as members of different cultures).

Finally, Protestant theologians would argue that the Adamic language is lost. It is the God-given human condition if not plain punishment that there exists a confusion of tongues. Thus, it is contra God's will to search for the unifying Adamic language. In this regard, the translation of the Bible into many different languages by Protestant theologians such as Martin Luther (1483–1546) and Jean Cauvin (1509–1564) is to be considered as a pure act of charity (Pombo 1987: 36–37). The many languages became considered as the main obstacle that prevented an individual's salvation. The Biblical translations enabled to evangelize all humans and their belief in God might allow the latter to have mercy on their souls.

Evidently, to adequately translate the Bible into many tongues one must speak several of them fluently, as well as have sufficient knowledge of the Biblical textures. It were therefore mostly Protestant theologians that would engage in the effort to understand other languages as well as to translate the Bible into many tongues. It is in this tradition that textual philology would originate (textual analyses of different versions of the Biblical text in order to reconstruct the original version) as well as comparative philology (the study of the structure and relation of different languages). Especially the lat-

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 ter would emancipate from Protestant beliefs and evolve into comparative linguistics.

Moreover, Protestant scholars, again inspired by utopian thinkers (in turn inspired by the Bible its eschatological texts), endorsed that perfection did not lie at the beginning of time but at the end of time. And this perfection was argued to be reachable through civilization. This intuition would eventually enable historicist progressive ideas and evolutionary thought altogether.

Regarding language, the Bible says that God brought the animals to Adam to see how Adam named them. According to Richard Simon and Grotius (both of the 17th century) language was thus an imperfect, autonomous human invention (Ecco 1995: 86). In the 18th century, Court de Gébelin would therefore argue that God, when speaking to his creatures, adapted himself to the imperfect language that this creature spoke.

If perfection of mankind lies at the end of time, it follows that the beginning of time can be characterized as imperfect. How then can one reach perfection? It would especially be philosophers of law and economics that would tackle this question.

These intuitions would eventually give rise to the many different academic fields that exist today: politics, economics, biology, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. It would be these, at first philosophical scholars, that would introduce the idea that language first and foremost is an instrument of social life, rather than that it is an instrument of knowledge.

3.3. The search for the social origin of language

Currently, scholars are inclined to understand language as an instrument that facilitates social cohesion. This modern notion on language first arises in the works of social contract theoreticians such as Hobbes, Locke, de Condillac, Rousseau, Smith and Herder. These philosophers are famous for their political and moral theories wherein they distinguish between a natural condition of man and an artificial, cultural one. This distinction related to the onset of the nature/culture divide.

In the natural condition, human beings are considered to be a-moral: they are neither immoral nor moral, rather they live according to their natural instincts. The main point of discussion was whether humans are good or bad natured. Hobbes, for example, would argue that in a natural condition men do not socially enjoy each others company. Rather, they "[...] are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every man, against every man" (Hobbes 1902: 96, p. 63 in the original).

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 It is only when humans are united into an artificial society wherein they give up part of their natural freedom in order to live according to the law of the Common Wealth that they become moral and civilized. The origin of such a society wherein man becomes civilized and moral is characterized by Rousseau (1972) as a situation wherein men engage in a social contract.

What is interesting, but unfortunately for a large part neglected by current evolutionary linguists, is that all these political and moral philosophers also developed theories on the origin of language that were associated with their ideas on the rise of a political society. In the same fashion as they emancipated laws and ethics from religious thought, they emancipated the origin of language. That is, no longer was language understood to be a present from God, rather, language became characterized as a human and social (rather than natural) invention as well as convention.

In his *Leviathan*, Hobbes (1902) would write that language is a human invention rather than a divine gift. Language enables social life. Without language "[...]there had been amongst men, neither Common-wealth, nor Society, nor Contract, nor Peace, no more than amongst Lyons, Bears, and Wolves." (Hobbes 1902: 24, p. 12 in the original). The cultural intuition of this era is that, more than anything, language enables and facilitates culture. As a consequence, language is not understood as part of the domain of nature. Rather, language is what enables social cohesion within the common wealth. In other words, language is something whereby the common wealth can "[...] signific to another, what he thinks expedient for the common benefit" (Hobbes 1902: 130, p. 88 in the original).

This theme would also be repeated by Locke and Rousseau. In his *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, the empiricist Locke (1942: 201) would argue that "GOD, having designed man for a sociable creature, made him not only with an inclination and under a necessity to have fellowship with those of his own kind, but furnished him also with language, which was to be the great instrument and common tie of society." And in his posthumously published *Essai sur l'origine des Langues*, Rousseau would declare that "[...] la parole étant la prémiére institution sociale [...] [Language was the first social institution]." (Rousseau 1970: 27, p. 1 in the original).

Language thus becomes a social and political instrument. It is a communicative device that bonds humans in social life, rather than that it provides true and objective knowledge of the physical world.

Language also remained associated with thoughts, especially moral thoughts that distinguish man from other animals. That is also the reason why language cultivates and civilizes. It brings humans outside of the natural domain and into the cultural realm. Although languages originate as natural human inventions,

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 the subsequent development of languages is first and foremost interpreted as a social and cultural event rather than a biological one.

De Condillac, for example, would argue that language originated in a natural condition as well as from a natural condition. More specifically, language originated with the beginning of our species. In the natural condition, all men would share a same "language of actions". This is a communication system that is based upon emotional states such as "cries of passion" as Condillac (1746: part II, 5–6) calls them. The more language "progresses" and "cultivates", the more such cries are replaced by arbitrary spoken signs. Because of this, language is argued to become more abstract and artificial and as such, it becomes a representative of culture. In other words, it becomes an instrument to measure the "level of civilization" one is in.

And also Rousseau (1970: 29 p. 3 in the original) would argue that language "progressed" (the word *evolution* was only introduced later in time) from a more natural and "simple, unlearned" state to a more artificial and "complex, educated" state. The original, natural languages were therefore assumed to be gestural and iconic, while the later emerging, social languages were vocal and abstract.

Rousseau argued that in a natural condition, this unlearned pantomimic language would suffice for the whole of mankind. In a natural condition, all humans express their physical needs in the same, universal gestural language. It is our social (second) nature that requires the origin of vocal languages. Moreover, it is this social nature of human beings that makes vocal languages differ in the first place (because of the convention of the sign), rather than that vocal languages too are spoken universally.

3.4. Language and historicism, evolutionism, anthropology and linguistics

By the 19th century, it had become a truism that vocal languages are learned through enculturation in a social community. This idea had two consequences. To begin with, it became custom to assume that languages can be used as instruments to measure the level of cultivation the nation finds itself in. Secondly, it would be argued that the state of the nation can be changed by the apprenticeship of a different language and its accompanying governmental organization. Here lies the beginning of the cultural intuitions that there exists a close interrelation between nations (*ethnié*), languages and a governmental style of organization. This tripartite would be poured into a developmental, historicist and evolutionist "scale of progress". The latter would ground nationalism and racism, imperialism and western hegemony, but also linguistic determinism and linguistic relativism.

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 Within historicism and evolutionism, human history was presumed to run through certain qualitatively distinct phases and to "develop" according to well-defined historical and evolutionist laws. In practice, this meant that certain languages or cultural groups were falsely classified as "degenerated", "less evolved", or "underdeveloped" in comparison to "enlightened" and "civilized" westerners. In other words, these historicist and evolutionist scholars used culture and biology to argue against a psychic unity of mankind, and in favour of a division of mankind into different "races".

Anthropologists, on the other hand, would argue in favour of a psychic unity. Beginning with Herder, it was argued that language is a universally shared human trait that distinguishes us from other animals, while on the other hand, language also allows for cultural particularism and as such causes for differentiation amongst human beings.

As Pan (2004: 14) points out, Herder's ideas imply that different languages will result in different forms of reasoning. Eventually, this idea also allows for the assumption that language actually creates a world. Although the idea of linguistic determinism (the view that language creates a worldview) is generally subscribed to Wilhelm von Humboldt, it was actually formulated 50 years earlier in time by Herder.

Anthropologists such as Boas would combine the social approach to language with non-racial evolutionary biology. Boas distinguished between habits that are learned and that become automated, and instincts that are innate (and therefore part of the organic). According to Boas (1962: 139), a particular language is learned as a habit, while the faculty of language is innate (instinctive) and thus the result of our biological endowment. Namely, a habit (or faculty, e.g. the language faculty) is biologically (organically, instinctively) determined, but the specific content of the habit (or faculty) is acquired. More specifically, the content is acquired from society. The habitual use of a particular language subsequently becomes automated.

In sum, Boas assesses that a distinction needs to be made between, on the one hand, the faculty of language that is innate and biologically determined, and on the other hand, a particular language, that is learned in society and that subsequently becomes habitually used and automated.

This would inspire Kroeber (1963: $3 - \S 2$), who argued that culture and language need to be interpreted as extra-individual entities that take on the form of "more-than-organic phenomena". The latter is alternatively called a superorganic structure. The existence of a superorganic structure would again be countered by Sapir (1917). Nonetheless, the latter, together with one of his students, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956), would argue that language is influenced by culture and vice versa, culture by language, in such a manner that language

P-Anfang: 26.11.2008

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 determines an individual's and a society's thinking. Both cognition and language are therefore immediately social.

Moreover, the distinction between a universal biological faculty of language on the one hand, and on the other hand, the existence of particular languages that are interpreted as social institutions would remain a recurrent theme in linguistics, from de Saussure (1972) to Chomsky (1965) to the present.

Eventually, the social turn would also enter the philosophical realm (Gontier 2006). Wittgenstein (1989) would argue that one cannot demonstrate that language refers to an outer world. Rather, language originates in the social realm. Similar to the case of language, knowledge is subsequently first and foremost interpreted as a social endeavour, and scientific theories become "languages" of society. In the same manner as language is the result of a social contract, so scientists endorse in a social contract that determines the rules and politics of science. In this post-modern account, convention rather than truth unites scientific scholars.

3.5. Evolutionary linguistics

The shift from the referential to the social turn eventually also entered evolutionary linguistics. Not only is it customary to explain language as a social phenomenon, nowadays also its evolutionary biological origin is explained from within social selection pressures. That language arose for social reasons is subscribed to by scholars working within artificial intelligence, primatology, psychology, anthropology, neurology, palaeo-anthropology and archaeology (see Gontier, 2007 for an overview). Hurford, Studdert-Kennedy and Knight (1998), for example, note on the back cover of their 1998 volume:

For the past two centuries, scientists, as children of societies preoccupied with technology, have tended to see language function as largely concerned with the exchange of practical information about the mechanisms of the physical world: tool making, hunting, and so forth. By contrast, this volume (a product of the age of mass democracies) takes as its starting point the view of human intelligence as social, concerned with one's own and others' desires and motives, and of language as a device for forming alliances, making friends, and thus achieving successful feeding and mating through a complex social network.

Evolutionary linguists however are scarcely aware that a 7–8,000 year old history precedes their current theorizing on the origin and evolution of language. This history nonetheless needs to be taken into account because it explains why questions are framed the way they are and why we examine the evolution of language the way we do today. Put negatively, because scholars are largely

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38 39 40 unaware that the social approach emerged to counter the referential approach, potential biases or cultural intuitions such as the nature/culture divide remain largely undetected. Moreover, certain intuitions, although they have lead to new avenues of research, currently remain ungrounded. That words for example arise as a result of social convention rather than that they are the outcome of private thought, is an intuition that has become such a truism that scholars mostly do not focus on grounding this intuition scientifically.

With this article some of these historical biases have been exposed and the hope is cherished that in the future, the social approach will become the subject of reflexivity as well as firmer scientific grounding.

4. Conclusion

As far as we can trace written history of certain cultural ideas back in time, language has been the subject of investigation from at least 7,000 BP onwards. Language has traditionally been understood as a trait of a divine entity, a divine entity tout court (e.g. in the idea that the word has become flesh), or a gift from God to humans. It is a shared device that allows God and men to abstract hidden knowledge (i.e. the underlying structure of the physical or transcendental world) and as such create order.

Since language leads to the eternal truth, and truth is one, there can only be one true language that says it like it is. It follows that all other languages are false derivatives of the first, true language. The origin of ideas on purification of existing languages, the search for the Adamic language, or the creation of universal languages is not that hard to understand from within this cultural background.

It additionally explains why thoughts are associated with language, why language is reduced to the study of the word, why words and thoughts are argued to be re-presentations of things, and why language is only secondarily a communicative device. If it is the goal to reach individual salvation or happiness, it is merely an act of charity to instruct others in the true word.

The search for the universal divine language actually triggered the idea that there was a primordial, natural condition. The latter, so it is argued, is distinct form the current, cultural "perverted" condition. Beginning from the Renaissance onwards, language becomes primarily understood as a communicative device. Rather than transmit knowledge, language enables the transmission of social information between members of the same community. Language enables the creation of a political community because it facilitates social coherence.

42 Nathalie Gontier

1

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

38

39

40

In this regard, language becomes a representative of all that is cultural which in turn becomes opposed to all that is natural. Language becomes a measure as well as a representative, not of truth (as e.g. Thoth or Jesus are), but of social life, political coherence, and culture altogether. Besides being a measurement of the degree of civilization one is in, it enables education and language can therefore lead to patriotism or nationalism. Language enables cultivation into social, political and cultural life. Rather than being a device of knowledge, it becomes a device for the transmission of culture.

It is in this climate that the emphasis on the word is loosened to include the study of syntax, and that the question on the biological origin of language is first posed. Originally, language is argued to have originated out of moral needs, a characteristic that enables men to be lifted up from the condition of animals. Passionate cries and gestures are argued to become combined into a pantomimic language and eventually spoken language emerged.

Language, in this view, not only enables social cohesion and the possibility to transcend a natural state, language actually influences the type of cultural environment one creates and vice versa, the cultural environment influences the language that is spoken.

These ideas paved the way for the doctrine that language creates an idiosyncratic worldview rather than that it objectively lends insight into the outer world that exists independently of human beings. Moreover, in post-modern times, politics, science, culture etc. become nothing more than languages or regimes that determine from within, the rules according to which one has to play to be political, scientific, etc.

And within Post-Neodarwinian traditions, it is argued that language evolved because of this social aspect that language enacts. Given the long historical background, the latter however should become the main topic of scientific investigation rather than that it is taken as a truism that guides current theorizing.

References

ris		

1995 Complete Works of Aristotle, the Revised Oxford Translation, edited

by Jonathan Barnes, Vol. I and II. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

Press.

Boas, Franz

1962 Reprint. Anthropology and Modern life. New York: W.W. Norton and

Company, 1928.

Chomsky, Noam

1965 Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.



Verlag: Walter de Gruyter

P-Nr.: B12-722091

P-Anfang: 26.11.2008

ID: int03 - AGB 1 - 11.08

Printjob: Seiten: 42/44

1	Condillac, E	tienne Bonnett de
3	1746	Essai sur l'Origine des Connoissances Humaines : Ouvrage où l'on Réduit à un Seul Principe Tout ce qui concerne l'Entendement Humain. Institut National de la Langue Française, CNRS: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k87990k.item.
	Coseriu, Eug	
	2003	Geschichte der Sprachphilosophie von der Anfängen bis Rousseau: Neu bearbeitet und erweitert von Jörn Albrecht. Tübingen/Basel: A. Frankce Verlag.
	Damasio, Ar	ntonio
10	1999	The Feeling of What Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.
	De Libera, A	lain
	1995	La Philosophie Médiévale. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
	Derrida, Jean	n Jacques
15	1981	Dissemination. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. [Translated by Johnson, B.]
	de Saussure,	Ferdinand
	1972	Reprint. Cours de Linguistique Générale. Paris: Editions Payot, 1916.
	Ecco, Umber	rto
0	1995	The Search for the Perfect Language. [Ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europa.] Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.
	Gontier, Natl	halie
	2006	Introduction to evolutionary epistemology, language and culture. In Evolutionary Epistemology, Language and Culture, Nathalie Gontier, Jean Paul Van Bendegem and Diederik Aerts (eds.), 1–29. Dordrecht: Springer.
5	2007	The dynamics of language activity: An evolutionary reconstruction. Ph.D. diss., Department of Philosophy, Vrije Universiteit Brussel.
	Held, Klaus,	and Sean Kirkland
	2002	The origin of Europe with the Greek discovery of the world. Epoché 7 (1): 81–105.
-	Hewes, Gord	lon W.
<u> </u>	1999	A history of the study of language origins and the gestural primacy hypothesis. In Handbook of Human Symbolic Evolution, Andrew Lock and Charles Peters (eds.), 571–595. Oregon/New Jersey/Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
	Hillar, Maria	an
5	1998	The Logos and its function in the writings of Philo of Alexandria: Greek interpretation of the Hebrew myth and foundations of Christianity. Part I. A Journal from the Radical Reformation: A Testimony to Biblical Unitarianism 7 (3): 22–37.
18	Hobbes, Tho	• •
9 — 0 —	1989	Leviathan. [Leviathan or the Matter, Form and Power of A Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil.] Antwerpen: Boom, 1651.



44 Nathalie Gontier

Hurford, Jame	es, Michael Studdert-Kennedy, and Chris Knight (eds.)
1998	Approaches to the evolution of language. Cambridge, MA: Cambr
	University Press.
Kroeber, Alfr	red L.
1963	Reprint. Anthropology: Culture Patterns and Processes. New Y
	Harbinger Books, 1923.
Ledoux, Josej	ph
1996	The Emotional Brain: the Mysterious Underpinnings of Emotional I
	New York: Touchstone.
Locke, John	
1942	Reprint. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. London:
	Dent and Sons LTD, 1690.
McKirahan, F	Richard
2003	Presocratic philosophy. In The Blackwell Guide to Ancient Philoso
	Christopher Shields (ed.), 5–25. Oregon/New Jersey/Oxford: Black
	Publishers.
Pan, D.	
2004	J.G. Herder, the origin of language, and the possibility of transcult
	narratives. Language and Intercultural Communication 4 (1–2): 10-
Pinxten, Rik	
1997	When the Day Breaks: Essays in Anthropology and Philosophy. Fr
	furt am Main: Peter Lang.
Plato	
1921	Plato in twelve volumes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
1)21	version of the Persues Digital Library at Tufts University: http://www
	seus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext% 3A1999. 01.0172
Pombo, Olga	seds.tatis.eda/eg/ on/ptext.doc=1 elseds/es/text// 5/11/5/5. 01.01/2
1987	Leibniz and the Problem of a Universal Language. Münster: Nodus l
1707	likationen.
Rousseau, Jea	
1970	Reprint. Essai sur l'Origine des Langues: Ou il le parle de la Mélod
1770	de l'Imitation Musicale. Bordeaux, Ducros, 1781.
1972	Reprint. Du Contrat Social. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1762.
Sapir, Ernst	Reprint. Du Contrat Social. Oxford. Clarendon 11ess, 1702.
1917	Do we need a supergraphic? A marican Anthropologist 10: 441-445
The Bible	Do we need a superorganic? American Anthropologist 19: 441–447
	Anthonical Vinc Issue Vanish and with American Conford Onford
1997	Authorized King James Version with Apocrypha. Oxford: Oxford
Whanf Dania	versity Press.
Whorf, Benja	
1956	Reprint. Language, mind, and reality. In Language, Thought, and F
	ity: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf, John B. Carroll (
****	246–270. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1941.
Wittgenstein,	
1989	Tractatus Logico-philosophicus, Tagebücher 1914–1916, Philosophi Untersuchungen. Frankfurt am Mein: Suhrkamp.
1707	



Verlag: Walter de Gruyter

P-Nr.: B12-722091 P-Anfang: 26.11.2008

ID: int03 - AGB 1 - 11.08 Printjob: Seiten: 44/44