

## ON LOCALISM IN THE HISTORY OF LINGUISTICS

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### 1. WHAT IS LOCALISM?

Localism was defined by Lyons as “the hypothesis that spatial expressions are more basic, grammatically and semantically, than various kinds of non spatial expressions (...). Spatial expressions are linguistically more basic, according to the localists, in that they serve as structural templates, as it were, for other expressions ; and the reason why this should be so, it is plausibly suggested by psychologists, is that spatial organization is of central importance in human cognition” (1977: 718).

Localism, therefore, is the view that the conceptualization of spatial relations or motion events underlies (at least part of) grammatical structure. Grammatical structure refers esp. to diathesis and transitivity, grammat. relations (subject / object), cases. Localism may also extend to lexical semantics, in which case spatial relations are considered to be of central importance in analyzing the meaning of a lexical item.

### 2. WHEN DID LOCALISM APPEAR?

In the field of case theory, the traditional view is that localist ideas are first attested in treatises of Byzantine grammarians, notably Maximus Planudes (c.1260-c.1305). This view can be found in Curtius 1864, who apparently holds it from a slightly earlier and unknown source; it is repeated in Steinthal’s *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. of 1891 and Hjelmslev 1935, who refers back to Steinthal. Chanet (1985) argues convincingly that this interpretation of Planudes is doubtful.

Beyond the question of cases, modist grammarians (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> cent.) have defended localist (or better: physicalist) views on grammatical structure (grammatical structure mirrors motion events, for ex. the subject is described as a *principium motus*; cf. Kelly 1977). Earlier still, the notion of transitivity has been sometimes analyzed in physicalist terms (for ex. ap. Apollonius Dyscolus, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD, who considered that canonical transitivity involves the *transfer of activity (energeia)* from a person to another; Colombat 2009).

The rise of empiricism (esp. after Locke)<sup>1</sup>, which results in a new interest in the relation of language to thought, brings to attention words which express connections between ideas, and which Locke calls “particles”. Leibniz was impressed by Locke’s observations on particles (*Nouveaux Essais* III.7), and explicitly endorses localist ideas about the core meaning of a class of particles, namely prepositions:

Circa praepositiones observandum videtur omnes in nostris linguis usitatis originarie significare respectum ad situm, et inde transferri tropo quodam ad notiones quasdam metaphysicas minus imaginationi subjectas. Quod mirum non est, quia homines etiam ea quae imaginari non possunt per res imaginationi subjectas explicare conantur (Leibniz, *Analysis Particularum*, 1685-6 : 647).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of course, empiricism was not born with Locke. Its origin can be traced back to Aristotle (cf. *De Anima* 432a5s). The presence of the famous motto *nihil est intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu* in authors like Thomas Aquinas, Gassendi and Locke (Cranefield 1970) shows that it had remained on the philosophical horizon.

<sup>2</sup> The idea that “spiritual things” or abstract notions are known and designated by words denoting “bodily things”, for ex. through metaphors, is widespread in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, that is, before Locke. Thus, neither Locke nor a fortiori Leibniz are the first authors who associate a cognitive theory of metaphor with a semantic analysis of

Harris, in his *Hermes* (1765), draws a parallel between prepositions and cases, considers that the primary meaning of prepositions is spatial, and analyzes the genitive and dative cases in localist terms (resp. as spatial *from-* and *to-cases*; 1765: 284s). Like Harris, Condillac (1765, vol. II, chap. 13) claims that the primary meaning of prep. is spatial.

But the glory days of localist case theories begin around 1815-1830 in Germany. One of the initiators of this trend might be Doeleke 1814 (also spelled Döleke or Dölecke), who refers to Harris. Other localist studies will follow suit. Supporters of localism, radical or less so, and their opponents will engage in a controversy that will last a good 80 years. German 19<sup>th</sup> century is therefore a very important period in the history of localism. Hjelmslev (1935) is still the most thorough survey to date.

I will now turn to the German domain, and move on next to localist ideas in contemporary linguistics. Finally, I will ask whether a connection or a common ground unites these two periods.

### 3. XIX<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY GERMAN LOCALISM: ITS BACKGROUND

#### 3.1. Context in linguistics

Several factors contribute to the emergence of comparative work on case:

- Multiplication of school and higher-level grammars of Latin and Greek, with conceptual presentations of cases (two problems: find logic in the various uses of a case, esp. the genitive and dative, and explain discrepancies between Latin and Greek).
- Discussions on the typology of languages inherited from French *Grammaire Générale* (cf. the distinction between *langues analogues / transpositives*, which prompted reflections on the role of inflexions in *langues transpositives*).
- Growing emphasis on the cross-linguistic comparison of *grammatical* forms (esp. inflexions).
- Discovery of Sanskrit, a richly inflected language and rise of comparative studies which ensues (esp. Bopp).

#### 3.2. Context in epistemology

At this juncture (end of 18<sup>th</sup> and beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> cent.), German theories of knowledge are under the influence of several major trends:

- Empiricist views (with occasional rants against overly “logical” views of general grammar), i.e. thinking proceeds from concrete experience to abstract notions, some of the latter having an element of arbitrariness (Locke’s *mixed modes* for ex.<sup>3</sup>) reflected in language (hence the importance of language as a window on thought).
- In Germany, importance of Kant’s ideas, esp. *Anschauung* ‘intuition’ as mediating the understanding of concepts through experience :

“It is, therefore, just as necessary to make the mind’s concepts sensible — that is, to add an object to them in intuition — as to make our intuitions understandable — that is, to bring them under concepts. These two powers [*Verstand* ‘understanding’ and *Anschauung* ‘intuition’], or capacities, cannot exchange their functions. The understanding can intuit

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linguistic forms. The same view is advocated by Clauberg and Lamy (Formigari 1988a: 112sq). Clauberg is identified by Aarsleff as a possible source of Locke (Aarsleff 1982: 66-7).

<sup>3</sup> Mixed modes are composed by men from simple ideas (*Essay* ch. XXII). Examples are *obligation, lie, sacrilege*... The distinction between real and nominal essence also underlines the relevance of language for understanding our concepts, and the distance that may separate nominal definitions from the real constitution of things.

nothing, the senses can think nothing. Only from their unification can cognition arise.” (Kant, *CPR*, A50-51/B74-76)

Kant did exert an influence on German linguistics (Kant’s system was the newest thing in “logic”, and the relation of “logical judgment” to forms was an important concern). We shall see that some basic Kantian notions seem to be taken for granted by some linguists, esp. Wüllner (Parret 1989).

- Finally, language itself is sometimes conceived of as the repository of the conditions of thought (a sort of linguistic twisting of Kantian philosophy), with an insistence on human spontaneity and freedom in the creation of linguistic forms. W. v. Humboldt exemplifies this shift. “Humboldt’s philosophy of language could be summarized by saying that he carries the notion of transcendental from thought to language” (Formigari 1988b: 63).<sup>4</sup>

#### *Consequence on the research agenda*

The comparative study of grammatical forms is associated with the view that thinking is conditioned by language, and the empiricist (and post-kantian) view that thought proceeds from concrete to abstract, or is shaped by intuition and categories of experience.

## **4. LOCALISM**

The first two extensive localist case theories are due to Wüllner and Hartung, who worked independently from each other. Wüllner offers a particularly interesting illustration.

### **4.1. An example: Wüllner’s theory**

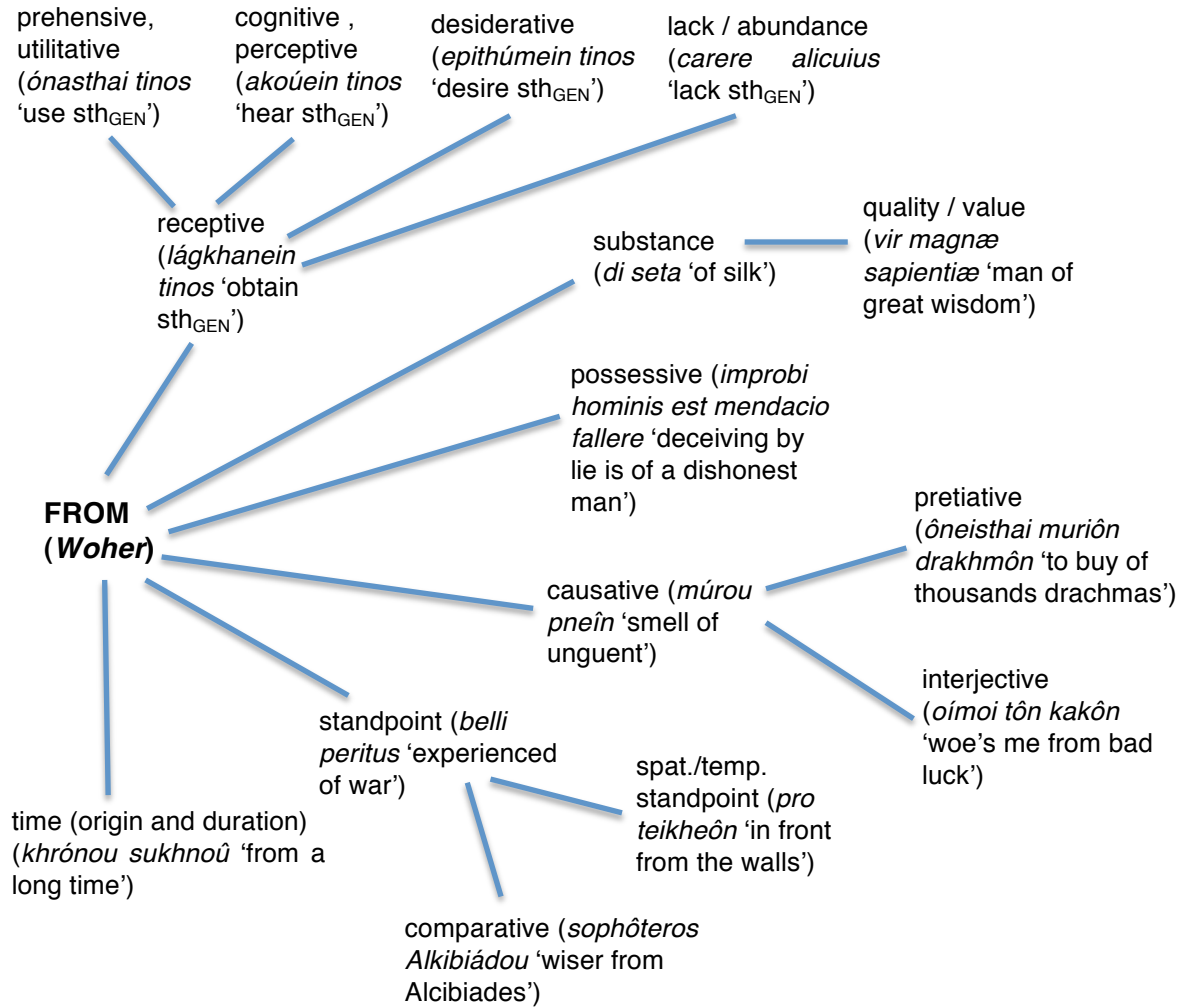
Wüllner’s analysis essentially bears on Latin and Greek (1827) and later on Sanskrit as well (1831), with frequent references to German, and occasional mentions of English, Italian, French, Modern Greek, Hebrew. Wüllner was Bopp’s student, and etymological research on Indo-european roots is therefore an important aspect of his work.

According to Wüllner, the basic meanings (*Grundbedeutungen*) of the genitive, accusative and dative cases are spatial intuitions (*Anschauungen*), resp. of a starting point (*woher* ‘where from’), of a goal (*wohin* ‘where to’) and a localization (*wo* ‘where’). Intuitions reflect the *subjective* (vs *objective*) nature of language, and the fact that the conception of abstract relations is always rooted in sensuous experience.

The various acceptations of a case are derived from the basic meaning, just like in a radiating network. By way of illustration, the following network sums up the various uses of the genitive case and their connections in Wüllner’s account (the labels are my own, the examples are taken from Wüllner, the translations are literal):

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<sup>4</sup> I note in passing that W. v. Humboldt also holds localist views in his (1830) *Die Verwandtschaft der Ortsadverbien mit dem Pronomen in einigen Sprachen* (pronouns are derived from locative adverbs: spatial intuition mediates the conception underlying forms which, like pronouns, abstract away from qualitative determinations). Humboldt’s data do not come from the usual classical languages, but from Armenian, Chinese, Tongian, Maori and Japanese.



Wüllner cites as evidence for his account the fact that cases can be substituted with or further determined by prepositions which clearly have a basic spatial meaning; further, the verbs (or adj., or nouns) used with a particular case fit into the same basic spatial conceptualization as the one supposed to underlie the case itself.

Nominative and vocative are left out of the picture (they are not real cases, being used for objects conceptualized as independent). The ablative was originally identical with the dative, and the instrumental / locative uses of this dative-ablative can be derived from its basic spatial meaning.

#### 4.2. Diachrony

The second major opus of Wüllner (1831) is an exercise in comparative grammar, rife with data from Sanskrit, in addition to Latin and Greek (Sanskrit is nearly absent from his 1827 book). In this study, Wüllner professes an extreme kind of localism: "Our mind embodies [verkörpert] everything to which it confers existence, and, by the same move, thinks this existent as existing in space" (1831: 272).

Wüllner (1831) tries to show that forms expressing motion, deixis and spatial relations are the major source of lexicalization of all linguistic forms. Bopp's influence is perceptible. Indeed, Bopp had shown that some endings of Sanskrit, Latin and Greek declensions came from demonstratives or prepositions with an "originally" spatial meaning, and that at least some

prepositions were closely related to demonstratives (Bopp 1826). There is no doubt that Bopp entertained localist ideas, and envisaged the development of language as the lexicalization / grammaticalization of forms originally related to sensuous and spatial experience.<sup>5</sup>

According to Wüllner roots of “original” (*ursprüngliche*) motion verbs can be found in a number of verbs and verbal suffixes. An example is his analysis of inchoative verbs like Latin *matur-es-c-o* = ‘ripe-to.be-go-1P’, where *es-* is found in Latin *esse*, and *c-* is akin to a Sanskrit form *gâ*, also found in Eng. *go* and Germ. *gehen* (Wüllner 1831 : 72).

Pronouns, some case forms and verbal endings, some adverbs are derived from the three “most original” (*ursprünglichste*) demonstrative adverbs *i / a / u* (resp. proximal / distal / proximal and below, hidden from view).

Substantives and adjectives are hypothesized to have pronominal (and ultimately, demonstrative) endings, on the ground that pronouns serve to anchor a referent in space (1831: 272-3). For ex. Latin *frag-i-li-s* is analyzed as a substantification of the breaking action, with locativization by *-i-*, and pronominalization by *-li-*, with the resulting meaning ‘breaking-in-the one’ or ‘the one involved in a breaking action’ (1831 : 318).

### 4.3. Hjelmslev (1935-7)

A hundred years after its formulation, Hjelmslev still regards Wüllner’s theory as the best account of cases. The reasons why Hjelmslev sides with the localists have been exposed in Parret (1995), and limitations of space prevent me from going into the details of Hjelmslev’s theory.

Hjelmslev remains faithful to the localist idea that direction is a basic dimension of case systems, but he takes direction in a very abstract sense which subsumes the various acceptations that Wüllner derives from each basic meaning (in this, I think he distorts Wüllner’s ideas). Further, Hjelmslev points out that case systems cannot be reduced to the dimension of direction. More complex systems than the ones found in Indoeuropean languages show that more than direction is involved. In fact, the simplicity of Indoeuropean systems is likely to conceal possible syncretisms. More complex systems would therefore be better suited to telling apart the semantic dimensions of case. Taking into account more complex case systems leads Hjelmslev to distinguish 3 dimensions of contrast:

The first dimension of contrast is that of *direction*, like in localist accounts. The second dimension pertains to the “intimacy” of the locative relationship (i.e. *in* vs *on*, *on* vs *above*), or, in Hjelmslev’s words, to the *coherence / incoherence* of the relation which associates two entities. Finally, the third dimension involves an opposition between subjectively construed relations and objective ones (depending on whether a situation is conceptualized in a relative frame or not).<sup>6</sup>

## 5. HALF-HEARTED LOCALISTS AND LOCALISTOPHOBICS

Though I cannot provide first-hand confirmation of this, repeated statements made by protagonists like Holzweissig, Curtius or Rumpel point to the fact that localism had gained wide acceptance, especially among teachers of classical languages.

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<sup>5</sup> For ex. he says that “causality and instrumentality, because they are not spatial, external nor sensuous, are necessarily conceptualized spatially in order to be expressed” (1826: 78). His justification for assigning the ablative to an early linguistic stage is also very revealing: “if external, spatial relations are the first for which a language must find a designation, it follows that the ablative, in the sense in which it is used in Sanskrit, can be justifiably regarded as one of the oldest and most natural cases” (Bopp 1826 : 87-8).

<sup>6</sup> I wonder whether Hjelmslev could have influenced Langacker on this point and suggested to him the term, if not the concept, of *subjectivity*.

However, localist theories were facing serious difficulties (Curtius 1864). They had nothing to say about the nominative (and voc.) cases. Similarities between nominative and accusative forms was troublesome, since nominative could not be regarded as a local case. Further, if accusative had a spatial basic meaning, why was it hardly ever replaced by a preposition in modern languages? Also, the genitive could be seen to be strongly associated with nominal determination, and its spatial uses seemed to be marginal at best.

### 5.1. Half-hearted localists

*Semi-localism* was a way out of these difficulties. For ex., Holzweissig (1877) makes the following distinction:

Grammatical cases	Local cases
nominative	dative
vocative	ablative
accusative	locative
genitive	instr.-sociat.

Local cases result from the splitting of an adverbial case during an early period of Common Indogermanic. From “Common Indogermanic” to Sanskrit to Greek and Latin, the values of local cases get “reshuffled”:

Latin	Greek	Sanskrit	Basic meaning ( <i>Grundbedeutung</i> )
<i>abl. separat.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>abl.</i>	From-case ( <i>Wohercasus</i> )
<i>abl. loci / temp.</i>	<i>dat. loci / temp.</i>	<i>loc.</i>	Where-case ( <i>Wocausus</i> )
<i>abl. comit. / mod. / instr.</i>	<i>dat. comit. / mod. / instr.</i>	<i>instr.-sociat.</i>	With-case ( <i>Mitcasus</i> )
<i>dat.</i>	<i>dat.</i>	<i>dat.</i>	To-case ( <i>Wohincasus</i> )

Diachronic alterations of forms and meanings solved further problems. For ex., why is accusative overriding dative for the expression of goal? Holzweissig claims that dative (or ablative), after having absorbed the locative case, came to be associated with stasis, while the meaning of the accusative was extended to goals.

Holzweissig’s views are relatively close to Ahrens division between “logical” and “topical cases”, and to Steinthal’s distinction between “real cases”, and “expressions of spatial relations”, himself in line with Wundt (1912). The latter two, however, do not consider spatial cases as genuine cases.

### 5.2. Localistophobics

Rumpel (1845, 1866) is one of the most prominent adversaries of localism. His main objections are that

- (1) localists read contextual and extra-linguistic meaning into cases;
- (2) their definitions are vague and may fit more than one case;
- (3) conversely, a basic meaning may be represented in more than one case;
- (4) they simply ignore the most important “logical” fact of all languages, namely that language reflects thought, hence inherits from *judgment* the *subject-predicate* structure, which

conditions the nominative-verb structure.

He insists that the meanings of cases are much more abstract than what localists take them to be. His definitions are still conceptual, yet are merely a redescription of formal relations. For ex. “the meaning of the object accusative is to establish an immediate bond between a substantive and a verb, that is, a bond which requires no specific mediation in thought” (1866: 16).

Rumpel illustrates a growing emphasis on *formal* analysis of cases, an emphasis also found, for ex. in a neo-grammarians like Delbrück (according to Serbat 1981).

## 6. LOCALISM IN COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

### 6.1. Anderson (1971)

Localist case theory was revived in the 70s by Anderson (1971), who was well aware of the history of localism. Anderson’s own theory was however distinctly modern, since it was a generative-like approach, and aimed at a grammar of greater simplicity by reducing the number of “deep” cases. Its data essentially come from English.

Initially, Anderson recognizes 4 cases: nominative, ergative, locative, ablative, but these are “deep” cases and many structures are given a localist interpretation, for ex. some surface nominatives are analyzed as deep locatives<sup>7</sup>; he then goes on to hypothesize that erg and nom might reduce to abl and loc.

It is unclear whether Anderson did exert a significant influence on early cognitive linguistics. Langacker wrote a review of Anderson’s *Grammar of Case* in which he says that his “basically sympathetic” to the localist hypothesis (Langacker 1973: 321); at the time, however, Langacker’s own approach was generative semantics and focused on other matters (Fillmore is probably a more direct influence; Fortis 2010b).

### 6.2. Gruber and Talmy

In the U.S., the first modern localist theory is due to Gruber (1965), but it does not seem to owe anything to previous work (it contains no references). Its first focus is on patterns of deletion of PP and adverbs in the context of verbal heads (for ex. *climb (up)*, or *jump (over)*), and its lexical rules attempt to capture the optionality / obligatoriness of deletions. Gruber notes that “positional” notions carry over to “identificational”, “possessional”, “class-membership” or communicational contexts. The descriptive apparatus can thus be applied to verbs which are not related to motion or space. For ex., *the coach turned into a pumpkin* (identificational), *John gave a book to Bill* (possessional), *John translated the letter from Russian to English* (class membership), *John reported to Mary that* (abstract transferred entity)... (1965: 47s). This is called *abstract motion* (a term that will be re-used by Langacker). He handles “deep” cases by positing the incorporation of prepositions (for ex. *obtain* incorporates a deep TO; in his notation, TOV means that TO is obligatorily incorporated, i.e. that the subject must be a goal). He also submits an analysis of prepositions and of interactions between prepositions and themes which is reminiscent of Talmy’s later analyses. Jackendoff (1983) discovered localism through Gruber, and acknowledges Gruber’s influence on his own *Thematic Relations Hypothesis*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For ex., in *many people know part of the truth*, *many people* is a deep locative.

<sup>8</sup> “In any semantic field of [EVENTS] and [STATES], the principal event-, state-, path- and place-functions are a subset of those used for the analysis of spatial location and motion” (1983: 188).

Ex. field: Possession

BE<sub>POSS</sub> AT<sub>POSS</sub> = ‘belong to’

GO<sub>POSS</sub> TO<sub>POSS</sub> = ‘receive’

CAUSE STAY<sub>POSS</sub> AT<sub>POSS</sub> = ‘keep’ etc.

Talmy's dissertation (1972) is chronologically the second American study with a localist inspiration. It is close in spirit to generative semantics. Like Gruber's dissertation, it makes no mention of previous studies, though Whorf may have been inspirational (Whorf also used the notions of figure and ground in linguistic description, but in a different way).

Talmy's objective is to compare the structure of English with a polysynthetic language of California, Atsugewi. Perhaps because deep syntactic structures in the generative style are not well-suited for this purpose, Talmy goes to a deeper, semantic, level.

Talmy's point of departure is the notion of *translatory situation*. A *translatory situation* (an event in which a Figure moves along a path or is in a spatial relation to a Ground) is decomposed into a fixed structure (*translatory structure*) of 4 components :

Figure : "the object which is considered as moving or located with respect to another object." (F)

Ground : "the object with respect to which a 1<sup>st</sup> is considered as moving or located." (G)

Directional : "the respect with which one object is considered as moving or located to another object." (D)

Motive : "the moving or located state which one object is considered to be in with respect to another object" (M).

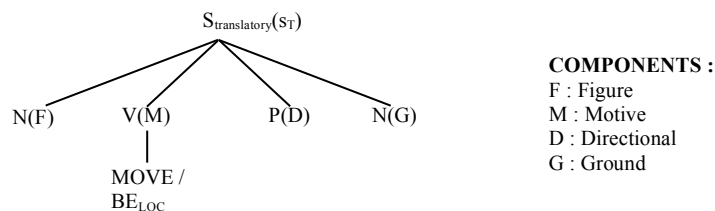


FIG. 1: The *translatory structure* ap. Talmy (1972 : 13)

Some components internal to the translatory structure or external to it may merge with components of this structure, by an operation of *conflation*, defined as "any syntactic process — whether a long derivation involving many deletions and insertions, or just a single lexical insertion — whereby a more complex construction turns into a simpler one" (Tamy 1972: 257). For ex. resulting from *adjunction*:

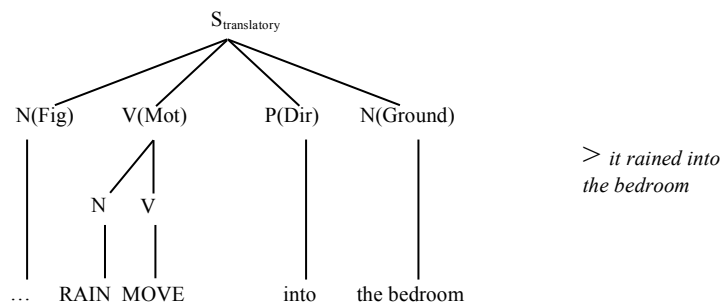


FIG. 2: an example of an *adjunction* (conflation)

What is distinctly localist in Talmy's framework is that it is extended to non-spatial situations, esp. causative contexts. For ex., *the soot blew into the creek from the wind* is derived from [the soot<sub>F</sub> fell<sub>FM</sub> into<sub>D</sub> the creek<sub>G</sub>]<sub>φ</sub> [followed]<sub>ρ</sub> [from]<sub>δ</sub> [the wind blowing on it]<sub>γ</sub>, where φ-ρ-δ-γ (Figurid-Relator-Director-Groundid) are extensions in nonspatial fields of F-M-D-G.



Talmy's theory was presented in 1975 to a summer school in Berkeley, and in articles which seem to have impressed Lakoff (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibañez 1997) and other linguists (it is likely that Langacker borrowed from him the idea that the figure / ground asymmetry permeates grammar).

### 6.3. Langacker's *Space Grammar*

*Space Grammar* was the first noun of cognitive grammar, and Space Grammar was itself continuing Langacker's own version of generative semantics. One may wonder how a theory close to generative semantics ushered into Space Grammar. I cannot go into the details of Langacker's complex evolution here (see Fortis 2010b for an account). However, two motivations for the terms *Space Grammar* deserve to be noted: at one point, Langacker's generative trees (akin to what was found in generative semantics) give way to a stratal representation which is regarded as *iconic* (strata, as it were, isomorphic to conceptualization); second, Langacker offers a spatial representation of modal auxiliaries, tenses and modalities (Langacker 1978, 1979).

Obviously, this type of localism is different from what we have been accustomed to up to this point. The relation of spatial descriptions (or diagrammatic notation) to what is actually going on in the mind is far from clear.

### 6.4. Localism in Cognitive Linguistics : the post-natal period

Why did spatial cognition become so important in cognitive linguistics?

- After the demise of generative semantics, cognitive linguists wished to bring the new framework in opposition to generative linguistics (emphasis on semantics and cognition, on embodiment vs symbolic computation etc.). The imperative of cognitive plausibility (cf. Lakoff's interview in Huck & Goldsmith 1995) means that mental faculties (memory, imagery, schematism, proprioception etc.) were no longer irrelevant to linguistics.
- The (re)discovery of the relevance of mental faculties for linguistics also stemmed from the fact that semantics was more and more perceived as an open ended task which had to take into account human experience. Initially, use was made of a sort of free and easy psychology (mental faculties) that sounded like true psychology but was in fact partly disconnected from it and was specifically designed for linguistic purpose (see Chafe on memory, Langacker on imagery, the adaptation of Rosch prototype, Gestalt notions everywhere...).
- The new importance of semantics in the U.S., paradoxically encouraged by generative grammar (Fortis, to appear), to a certain extent, prepared the advent of cognitive linguistics. Thus, lexical semantics was again an important field: studies on prepositions multiplied (starting with Miller & Johnson-Laird, Talmy, Brugman and Lakoff on *over*), in part because prepositions were at the interface of language and perception. Further, the "new" treatment of polysemy afforded by prototype theory looked very promising, both because it seemed to rest on firm empirical evidence coming from psychology and neurophysiology, and because the tradition of lexical semantics was ignored (Fortis 2010a).
- Finally, there occurred a junction between metaphor theory and traditional post-empiricist themes (abstract ideas are conceptualized in terms of concrete ones). Note that some localists speak of metaphors too (for ex. Hartung 1831: 4), but the term does not occur frequently. We may surmise that notions coming from the old rhetoric were in disrepute (?). This is not to say that the cognitive theory of metaphors is new (views akin to it can be found in Vico, Mauthner, or Nietzsche).

## **7. CONCLUSION**

I think the two initiators of the form of localism promoted in CL were Gruber and Talmy. But their seminal studies seemed to fall out of nowhere. What is the connection between their approach and traditional localism?

Although it cannot be excluded that Gruber and Talmy were aware of at least some aspects of the localist tradition, my impression is that they, and other cognitive linguists had little knowledge of the past of their own discipline (that is why authors like Lakoff advertise some of their ideas as new and even as breaking away from the bonds of tradition). I believe therefore that the connection with tradition can be found on a very general, epistemological level. Localism really exploded after the advent of empiricism, and when it began to make sense to regard language as a window on thought. My conclusion is that a sort of latent empiricism (reinforced by American pragmatism, recently rediscovered by Mark Johnson, for ex.) provided a fertile ground for the new localism, as part of a reintegration of general cognitive faculties and of bodily experience in linguistics. This new psychologism also served to herald the advent of a linguistics in phase with a “second generation” cognitive science (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 77).

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