1	Evolution of the speech code:
2	higher-order symbolism and the linguistic Big Bang
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5	Abstract: As our ancestors innovatively juxtaposed one
6	meaning-bearing sound to another, a huge increase in the
7	inventory of speech sounds was triggered. Still, sporadic
8	semantic ambiguity required deeper structural analyses in
9	order for listeners to extract intended meanings, culminating
10	in the emergence of compositional, post-compositional, and
11	ultimately hierarchically-arranged and recursive constituent
12	structures. These primordial pressures and their yielded
13	structures, in remarkably similar function and form, continue
14	to constrain, shape, and change the speech code to this very
15	day. The early juxtaposition of two meaning-bearing sounds
16	was thus both necessary and sufficient for full-blown
17	linguistic complexity to evolve, triggering a linguistic "Big
18	Bang".

- *First-order symbolism*: one-to-one correspondence between (arbitrary)
 symbol and meaning, a consequence of single vocal symbols produced in
 isolation.
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- Second order symbolism: evolves from first-order symbolism as two vocal
 symbols are juxtaposed to each other. It triggers a breakdown of a one-to one symbol-meaning correspondence, culminating in many-to-one and
 one-to-many correspondences between symbol and meaning.
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- Third-order symbolism: evolves from second-order symbolism, as a
 consequence of string-medial phonetic content being of sporadically
 ambiguous affiliation between our two juxtaposed symbols, thus triggering
 this ordered string's analysis into a hierarchical constituent structure, and
 paving the way for recursion.

1. *Zero-order symbolism*: the iconic manual gesture

36 2. *First-order symbolism* in the speech code: one-to-one correspondence 37 between sound and meaning

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• The four "A"s: Articulation, Aerodynamics, Acoustics, Audition



- 41 42
 - pu, ti, ka



"Run!", "Kill!", "Sex!"

- Despite this move toward a speech-based semiotic system, this one-to-one
- 45 correspondence between event and meaning is perhaps characteristic of
- ⁴⁶ almost all animal sound communication systems.
- We are far from language.

- 3. Second-order symbolism in the speech code: one-to-many and many-to one correspondence between sound and meaning
- ⁵⁰ pu-pu, pu-ti, pu-ka, ti-pu, ti-ti, ti-ka, ka-pu, ka-ti, ka-ka.



- pu-ti: the end of the first sound is systematically modified by the
 immediate succession of the second, and likewise, the second sound is
 systematically modified by the immediate precedence of the first.
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- Now it is *two* sounds that correspond to one meaning:
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- pu- when immediately followed by -ti is systematically phonetically distinct
 (though semantically non-distinct) from pu in isolation.
- 64
- -ti when immediately preceded by pu- is systematically phonetically
 distinct—though semantically non-distinct—from ti in isolation.
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- The juxtaposition of one sound to another thus opens the floodgates of
 second-order symbolism.
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- real-world contexts, *new* sounds inevitably arise.
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- The medial closure in our pu-ti example may eventually undergo a process
 of voicing, becoming pu-di.
- 76
- Both ti- and -di correspond to a single meaning: every time ti (with a voiceless closure) is immediately preceded by another sound, it is replaced by di (with a voiced closure).
- 80
- -di may now be assigned an additional meaning, and thus becomes free to
 appear as the first element of a complex, for example, di-bu (as opposed to
 a different complex, ti-bu).
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- Two different meanings are now cued by the same sounds in comparable or even identical contexts. We may have bu-di in which -di means one thing, but also bu-di in which -di means something else.
 This establishes a *one-to-many relationship between sound and meaning*, a development also found in all languages.
- 91
- The mere juxtaposition of two simple sounds triggers remarkable growth
 and complexity of both the phonetic and the semantic inventories.
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- Both one-to-many and many-to-one correspondences between sound and
 meaning naturally evolve and potentially flourish.
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- This is **second-order symbolism**.
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3.2 More examples, more complexity 100

pu- ti- ka- \rightarrow p^hu- t^hi- k^habu- di- ga- \rightarrow pu- ti- ka-

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bu- di- ga- \rightarrow mbu- ndi- ŋga- bu- di- ga- \rightarrow pù- tì- kà-









Modern-day pressures on sound patterning are not merely characteristic
 of the modern-day linguistic system. Rather, they were in place long before
 the linguistic system came into existence, acting as a driving and inertial
 pressure on the very development of language itself.

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- Systematic phonetic changes are not a *result* of linguistic complexity.
- Rather, they are a very *cause* of this complexity.

- The juxtaposition of two simple speech gestures may evolve to convey
- increasingly complex meanings.
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- Such juxtapositions necessarily change the phonetic character of both
 gestures in systematic ways.
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- The consequent sound complexes now achieve second-order symbolic
 status: both many-to-one and one-to-many sound-meaning
 correspondences come to be present in the speech code.
- 123
- These sound complexes may also be harnessed to encode new meanings, thus precipitating an explosive growth in the complexity of both the phonetic and the semantic inventories, but yet may, on occasion, result in semantic ambiguity, hence listener confusion and communicative failure.

3.3 Entrenching the juxtaposition of two symbols, and the rise of post compositionality



1	2	1
т	Э	Τ.

¹³² pu-ti → puti? pudi? p^huzi? pútì?

- Earlier, the juxtaposition of one sound to another involved only two
 mouth-opening gestures.
- Now such juxtapositions may involve three or four opening gestures, for
 example, puti-ka, puti-kati, etc.
- We are moving closer to language.

Third-order symbolism in the speech code: the ambiguous affiliation of
 string-medial content, and the triggering of hierarchical constituent
 structure and recursion

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Semantic ambiguity of structural origin feeds a hierarchical constituent structural analysis, which in turn feeds recursion.

146 **4.1** The tug-of-war between first-order and second-order symbolism

There are now pressures *towards*, and pressures *against* the development
 of third-order symbolism. We first consider a passive *resistance to* the
 triggering of third-order symbolism.

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• pu-ti \rightarrow pu-di, -di \rightarrow di-



putika



pu-tika puti-ka





putiga



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pudika



pu-tiga



pudi-ka

Oral closure voicing now acts to cue the compositionality of the forms:
 "boundary signals".



putika



pu-tika puti-ka



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'pu'tika



'pu-'tika

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167		'puti'ka	'puti-'ka
168 169 170 171 172	•	The juxtaposition of a very small inventory of simple meaning-imbued sounds inevitably leads to an explosion of phonetic and semantic complexity, rife with cues to structure and meaning, of the sort possessed by all languages.	
173	•	This complexity now se	ts the stage for full-blown language to emerge, as

second-order symbolism gives way to symbolism of the third order.

4.2 The ambiguous affiliation of string-medial content, and the rise of
 hierarchical constituent structure





179 putika

pu-tika OR puti-ka

- Listeners' conditioned expectation of binarity, coupled with the string's
 semantic ambiguity, triggers its deeper, higher-order analysis.
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Structural ambiguity opens the gateway to third-order symbolism, by
 requiring listeners to perform a deeper analysis of the sounds than had
 been heretofore required.

The ambiguous affiliation of the middle term thus opens the gates to
 hierarchical structure.

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- (1) sound-sequencing cues
- (2) meaning-sequencing cues
- (3) pragmatic cues to the intended meaning and structure of the string.

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It is exactly those rarely-encountered ambiguous forms that are most
 important for the development of the system toward third-order symbolic
 status.

4.3 Hierarchical constituent structure, and the rise of recursion





199	putikakatipu	putika-katipu OR
200		putikaka-tipu OR
201		[[pu-ti]-kaka]-tipu OR
202		puti-[kaka-[ti-pu]] OR
203		[[puti]-ka]-[[kati]-pu], etc.

It is the listener's expectation of binarity, coupled with the semantic
 ambiguity of the string, that triggers deeper structural analyses by the
 listener, analyses that quickly culminate in both hierarchical and now
 recursive structures, when embedding involves elements of the same type.

• Semantic ambiguity drives linguistic complexity.

- The phonetic product of two juxtaposed sounds of increased length may
 lack semantic clarity, due to an ambiguous affiliation of its middle span.
 The resulting string is thus ambiguous between (at least) two different
 structures, each involving these sounds' hierarchical structuring, and thus
 opening the floodgates of recursion.
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- All the major structural components of language are now in place: a
 lexicon, a phonology, a morphology, a syntax, a semantics.
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- We have now arrived at language.

5. Conclusion: the linguistic Big Bang

- The humble origins of the speech code likely consisted of extremely short,
 meaning-imbued sounds uttered in isolation that first accompanied, and
 then replaced our manual iconic communication system.
- These sounds' yielding to their juxtaposition in pairs may indeed have
 triggered a sort of linguistic "Big Bang".
- Phonetic and semantic pressures came to interact in a way that inexorably,
 and perhaps rather suddenly, led to genuine linguistic complexity.
- Listeners' conditioned expectation of binarity, coupled with the sporadic
 semantic ambiguity of these increasingly long structures, required deeper
 cognitive analyses in order to extract their meaning, which in turn
 triggered the emergence of hierarchical and recursive linguistic structures.
- Semantic ambiguity drives linguistic complexity.
- These primordial pressures and their yielded structures, in remarkably
 similar function and form, continue to constrain, shape, and change the
 speech code, even unto to this very day.

²³⁷ Thank you.

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