

## Philosophical Foundations Of The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

### Sapir-Whorf Hipotezinin Felsefi Temelleri

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#### Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı tartışmalı Sapir-Whorf Hipotezinin felsefi alt yapısını ortaya koymaktır. Antik Çağ düşünce dünyasından günümüze değin insanın iki özgül yetisi olarak ele alınan dil ve düşünce arasındaki bağlantı, üzerinde birçok görüş ortaya atılan felsefi bir sorundur. Günümüzde Benjamin Lee Whorf ve hocası Edward Sapir tarafından ortaya koyulan Sapir-Whorf Hipotezi olarak bilinen görüş - yaygın bilinenin aksinelerinin felsefi alt yapısı olan disiplinler arası bir varsayımdır. İlk kez Herodot, Mısırlıların yazım sistemlerinin Yunanlılardan farklı olmasından dolayı farklı davranış tarzları sergilediklerini iddia etmiş, böylece dilsel görelilik ilkesinin temelini atmıştır. Sonraki yüzyıllarda Francis Bacon, dilsel yapılarıdaki farklılıkların bilim ve sanatta farklı gelişmelere neden olduğunu öne sürerek dilsel görelilik ilkesine değinmiştir. Descartes rasyonalizmine karşı Locke; Kant'ın doğuştancı görüşüne karşı ise Hamann dilsel göreliliği savunmuştur. Hamann'ın ardından Herder tarafından geliştirilen dilsel görelilik ilkesi Humboldt'la daha sistemli hale getirilmiştir. Dilsel görelilik ilkesi, bir dilin dil bilimsel yapısı ile kelime dağarcığının o dili konuşanların dış dünyaya ilişkin algı ve düşüncelerini etkilediğini ya da belirlediğini temel alan Sapir-Whorf Hipotezine dönüşmüştür. Bu çalışmada, günümüzde çok tartışılan ve kısmen kabul gören bu hipotezin derin bir felsefi alt yapısı olduğu ortaya konulmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Dil-Düşünce İlişkisi, Dilsel Görelilik, Sapir-Whorf Hipotezi, Doğuştancılık, Ampirizm.

#### Abstract

The aim of this study is to reveal the philosophical background of the controversial Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. The connection between language and thought, which have been considered as two specific human faculties from the ancient world of thought to the present day, is a philosophical problem on which many opinions have been put forward. Today the view known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, put forward by Benjamin Lee Whorf and his teacher Edward Sapir, is- contrary to popular belief- an interdisciplinary assumption with a deep philosophical basis. Herodotus was the first to claim that the Egyptians exhibited different behavioral styles because their writing system was different from the Greeks, thus laying the foundation for the principle of linguistic relativity. In the following centuries, Francis Bacon referred to the principle of linguistic relativity, arguing that differences in linguistic structures led to different developments in science and art. Locke defended linguistic relativity against Descartes's rationalism, and Hamann defended linguistic relativity against Kant's innate view. The principle of linguistic relativity, developed by Herder after Hamann, was made more systematic by Humboldt. The principle of linguistic relativity transformed into the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which is based on the idea that the grammatical structure and vocabulary of a language affect or determine the perceptions and thoughts of its speakers about the outside world. In this study, it has been revealed that this hypothesis, which is much debated and partially accepted today, has a deep philosophical substructure.

**Keywords:** Language-Thought Relationship, Linguistic Relativity, Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, Nativism, Empiricism.

## Introduction

Language, which enables communication among people, is similar to the communication systems in other living things in this respect. Language also differs radically from other communication systems in its relationship to thought processes. As a matter of fact, language is accepted as a human ability that has functions beyond communication. Whorf, together with Saussure, demonstrated that language exists independently of the communicative situations of individuals (Pable, 2020, p. 94). In this respect, language is more than just a means of communication; it is in connection with the human ability to think. The relationship between language and thought emerges in different ways. For example, it is argued that language is an important tool for thought in terms of facilitating the understanding of the knowledge and beliefs of others (Pae, 2012, p. 50). Structurally, it is accepted as the inner part of language and thought (Li, 2022, p. 35). In recent years, many theories have been developed and discussed about the relationship between language and thought. These theories are generally considered within the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (Michael, 2002, p. 107). This hypothesis has been discussed since it was put forward and has been the subject of research in many disciplines including linguistics, psychology, philosophy, anthropology and education (Umoh and Udoh, 2011, p. 8; Li, 2022, p. 32).

Although Whorf and Sapir were the ones who systematically put forward the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, Boas influenced this hypothesis as Sapir's teacher (Kay and Kempton, 1984, p. 65). With Boas, who first defended the view that people are prejudiced against different cultures in an ethnocentric manner, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, that is, the belief that the languages people use can have a great effect on the way they perceive reality, began to emerge step by step (Brysbaert, Fias and Noel, 1998, p. 52). Since Whorf, as Sapir's student (Kay and Kempton, 1984, p. 65), played a leading role in the emergence of this hypothesis, it is also known as the Whorfian Hypothesis. As a matter of fact, as will be seen in this study, Whorf was the most prominent figure in the emergence of this hypothesis with his studies and the ideas he put forward.

Sapir and Whorf, whose names were given to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, conducted research on the idea that the language people speak affects their way of thinking (Perlovsky, 2009, p. 518). The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis suggests that the structure of the native language determines the way a person analyzes raw data from sensory experience and affects thought processes (Crawford, 1982, p. 217). Accordingly, a person's native language affects the way they perceive the world and their thoughts about it (Sawin, 1987, p. 293). In general, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis puts forward ideas ranging from the fact that language is closely related to thought, and that this determines thought to the fact that language has partial effects on thought (Jinandi Chathurya, 2019, p. 73). According to the hypothesis, there is a causal relationship between language and thought (Latkowska, 2015, p. 7). Sapir (1949, p. 218) even sees language as a special form of thought.

According to Whorf, languages are ways of thinking (Pavlenko, 2016, p. 581). A person thinks according to his language and sees reality under its influence (Whorf, 1952, p. 173). Therefore, according to him, a person thinks in a language such as English, Sanskrit or Chinese (Whorf 1952, p. 177). With this view, Whorf does not agree with the widespread view that human thought processes have a common logical structure, which he describes as "innate logic". To him, different language patterns in people determine their views of the world. From this perspective, language does not only convey thoughts, but also shapes them (Currie, 1966, pp. 14-15). Similarly, Sapir (1949, p. 207)

contended that language cannot be considered separately from culture, which determines the structure of human life. He said that a community that has no knowledge of *theosophy* will not have a name for it (Sapir, 1949, p. 219). Thus, according to Sapir and Whorf, language has effects on the culture people live within and people see the outside world in accordance with the culture shaped by a particular language.

Whorf (1952, p. 173) stated that human thought forms are controlled by the laws of unconscious patterns, and that these patterns are systematizations of the language spoken by the person. Similar to Whorf, Sapir also assumed that language, which places thinking in *a priori* linguistic categories, serves as a template for thought (van Troyer, 1994, p. 164). Based on this, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is a view that emerges as a result of the mother tongue acquired through the influence of culture and society, affecting people in different ways intellectually, as opposed to the idea of a universal grammar in the human mind. Accordingly, the hypothesis opposes a Cartesian understanding of language and suggests that there cannot be a common language form. Therefore, this hypothesis has developed statements that are the exact opposite of the nativist language hypothesis, which began with Plato, continued with Descartes and reached its peak with Chomsky. Since the philosophical background of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is discussed in detail in the study, the hypothesis will be discussed in general terms in this section.

First of all, Whorf, the most important figure of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, defines language as follows: "...every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which is culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationships and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness" (Whorf, 1952, p. 173). According to this definition, every language is a system of patterns that produce different mental categories in humans. Accordingly, language forms the perception and views of humans towards the external world. Starting from it, Whorf made three basic claims regarding language: Language affects perception that emerges directly from experience; it produces non-perceptual categories that affect worldview; and it directs social perception (Currie, 1966, p. 28). Whorf (1952, p. 182), who exemplified this view of language with the structure of the Hopi language, claimed that the fact that Hopi has subjectless verbs gives that language the power to understand the universe. According to him, changing the language means changing the understanding of the universe.

Whorf's professional work has great influence on his development of this language theory. While he was working at a fire insurance company to analyze the conditions of how fires and explosions start, he thought that these events could be affected not only by physical conditions but also by human behavior. For example, he observed that while people were more careful around a tank marked "fuel can," they were less careful around a tank marked "empty fuel can." However, "empty" cans can be more dangerous because they contain vapors that are ready to explode. The word "empty", contrary to its physical meaning, means "ineffective", "non-existent" or "invalid" linguistically. This situation is an example of behavior taking on dangerous forms linguistically. As a second example, the metal stills in a lumber distillery were insulated with a composition prepared from limestone called "twisted limestone". This coating, which was thought to need no protection from heat or fire, was seen to catch fire and burn, to everyone's surprise. Since "limestone", which ends with "stone" linguistically, means fireproof, the behavior of bringing the coating close to the fire was tolerated. As a third example, a large iron kettle filled with boiling varnish was observed to be heated to a point close to ignition. The varnish inside the kettle, which was removed from the fire by a technician

but not covered, caught fire after one minute. Linguistically, the varnish inside the kettle, which was taken “above” the fire and “away” from it, continued to spread heat in the intensely heated kettle, even though it was removed from the fire. In the fourth example, a worker used a rarely used wall-mounted electric heater to hang his coat. A guard who entered at night flipped the switch, which he perceived as “turning on the light.” The guard did not see the glow of the heater because there was a coat hanging on it. The coat soon caught fire, causing the entire building to burn down. In the fifth example, a tannery discharged wastewater containing animal manure into a settling basin, partly lined with wood and partly open. This situation is normally described as a “pool full of water.” A worker lit a blowtorch nearby and threw a match into the water. However, the formation was actually the opposite of water, as the decomposed waste material began to turn into gas under the wooden lining. A spark ignited the wooden structure and the fire quickly spread to the adjacent building. In the sixth example, a drying room was prepared with a fan that caused an air current that would circulate throughout the room and exit through a hole at the other end for the hides. The heated part of the fan caught fire, the sprayed sparks directly ignited the hides and the entire stock was destroyed. The linguistic dimension of this dangerous situation was that the function of the fan was thought to be “to cause a breeze” due to the meaning of the word “fan” as “making a breeze”. Its function of causing a breeze for flames and sparks was ignored. In the last example, “scrap lead” was piled up next to a coal melting pot for lead recovery. However, this statement is misleading since this pile also contained old radio condensers containing paraffin. Indeed, the paraffin caught fire in a short time, the fire spread to the roof and half of the roof was burned. Based on such examples, Whorf demonstrated that language shapes certain behaviors and that language analyses are related to reality (Whorf, 1944, pp. 198-200).

### **1. The Two Versions of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis**

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which emerged with the contributions of his teacher Sapir and the examination of many events based on the ways fires started, has two versions: “strong” (linguistic determinism) and “moderate” (linguistic relativity). According to the strong version, the mother tongue determines the way we perceive and think about the outside world. Accordingly, language acts as a filter on reality. One of Whorf’s most well-known claims supporting this is the difference in time perception between Hopi Indians and English speakers. For example, Hopi does not make a grammatical distinction for time like English. The moderate version of this hypothesis claims that different languages encode different categories and thus speakers of different languages think about the outside world differently. For example, different languages divide the color spectrum at different points. While the Navajo language has a single word for blue and green, Russian has different words for dark blue and sky blue. The Zuni language of the Native Americans calls yellow and orange the same color. Perhaps the most well-known Whorfian claim is that the Eskimo language has more words for “snow” than English, thus influencing the Eskimo worldview (Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams, 2007, p. 26; Li, 2022, p. 36; Yule, 2020, p. 314). Similarly, unlike European languages, some African languages have only words for colors such as “black” and “white,” and thus their ability to recognize and distinguish between different colors is more limited than Europeans. Again, while languages such as English, Chinese and Japanese have four seasons a year, Tagalog only has rainy and dry seasons. In this case, while the English, Chinese and Japanese have a more colorful and lively perception of the year, the Tagalog people have a monotonous and unlively perception of the year. This means that languages influence the worldview and intellectual perspectives (Li, 2022, pp. 34-36). In Hopi grammar, clouds and stones are considered alive. Therefore, Whorf claims that the

Hopi see clouds and stones as alive in the outside world. On the other hand, since clouds and stones are considered inanimate in English, it can be said that English speakers perceive the outside world differently than the Hopi people (Yule, 2020, p. 314). In addition, the use of time-related words in the Hopi language grammar is different from English. According to Whorf, this causes a difference in the perception of "time" between the Hopi people and the English (Lucy, 1997, p. 297). To provide a clearer example, the difference in the use of the second person singular pronoun in English and French indicates a difference in the perceptions of "sincerity" and "formality" in a narrative. Indeed, while the relationship between the speaker and the interlocutor is unclear in English, this relationship is clearer in French, which has two different pronouns for this relationship, "tu" and "vous" (Fee, 2003, p. 202). The conclusion from these examples is that, according to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, each language interprets the outside world differently (Koparan, 2020, p. 17).

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis suggests that human thinking is shaped by the native language and that speakers of different languages think about the external world in different ways. This assumption is controversial for two reasons. First, it seems to undermine the possibility of a universal basis for human cognition. This idea is at odds with the finding that color naming differences across languages are limited, with certain color naming patterns common across languages. Second, the evidence supporting this hypothesis does not always replicate it reliably (Cibelli, Xu, Austerweil, Griffiths and Regier 2016, pp. 1-2). Still, the moderate version of it is partially supported by empirical studies, as opposed to the view that language completely determines thought.

## **2. Philosophical Background of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis**

The language-thought relationship, which was discussed around "logos" in ancient Greek philosophy and has recently become one of the fundamental problems of philosophy of language, continues to be a philosophical issue that maintains its importance. It is accepted that language, which enables communication among people, is not only a simple means of communication but also a prerequisite for intellectual activities. In this sense, language differs significantly from the communication systems seen in other living beings in terms of its close relationship with thought. This aspect of language causes it to be positioned superficially as a means of communication, but when viewed in depth, it is characterized as an extremely complex and mental set of activities. This dualistic structure of language has been one of the main issues that have attracted the attention of philosophers for centuries.

The language-thought relationship, which has been discussed among scientists since ancient times (Li, 2022, p. 36), attracted the attention of Indian grammarians in ancient India, Plato and Aristotle in ancient Greece, the Stoics and Epicureans in the later period, and philosophers such as Descartes, Locke, and Leibniz in the 17th century (Vendryes, 2001, pp. 49-50). In the following century, as a result of relatively versatile linguistic research, the first steps were taken to partially separate language from philosophy; the language-thought relationship began to be addressed in the context of the effects of individual languages on perception and cognition of the outside world. While the philosophy of producing ideas on language ability continued in the previous century, the roles of individual languages such as Turkish, Arabic, and English in shaping people's worldviews were investigated.

As said before, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is a view of language put forward jointly by American businessman and amateur linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf, who was active in the 1920s and 1930s, and anthropologist Edward Sapir. Sapir and Whorf were contemporary representatives of this tradition founded by the German Romantic philosophers

of the 19th century. The predecessors of the German philosophers go back to the time of Herodotus (Hunt and Agnoli, 1991, p. 377). Herodotus thought that the general behavior of the Egyptians, who wrote from right to left, was completely opposite to that of the Greeks, who wrote from left to right. This idea can be seen as the earliest inspiration for the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (Fishman, 1980, p. 25). Similarly, Plato, who argued that thought was different from language, put forward the view that language affects thought, which also provided a source for this hypothesis. The fact that Aristotle, similar to Plato, indirectly agreed with this view shows that he also indirectly provided the basis for this hypothesis (Penn, 1972, pp. 42-44).

Historically, researchers have been drawn to the fact that different languages use different semantics for colors. While English speakers have separate names for green and yellow, ancient Hebrew has a single name. Classical Greek has the same names for blue and black, while Italian uses four different words for blue. The Japanese word *awo* can mean either green or blue, depending on the context (Hunt and Agnoli, 1991, p. 380). The fact that languages have different semantics for color was seen as an important starting point for Sapir and Whorf. Discussions about the influence of language on thought have also continued in later periods, originating from Herodotus, Plato and even Aristotle.

It can be said that the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis founded its philosophy as a reaction to the rationalist view that began with Plato's views of the world of ideas and innate knowledge and peaked with Descartes. As a result, this hypothesis tried to base itself on an empiricist understanding of knowledge. Accordingly, knowledge of the external world is not the same for every person from birth, but has an *a posteriori* feature that changes according to the language the individual has. It brings to mind the Sophists in the Ancient Greek world of thought who evaluated the external world with their relativist understanding of knowledge. According to them, knowledge varies from person to person. Therefore, there has not to be a truth that everyone agrees on. Similar to this idea, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis defends the thesis that each language reveals its own truth.

Francis Bacon said that the Greeks were more inclined towards science and art than the Romans, and that this was because Greek combined words more freely than Latin. In this sense, the philosopher approached the hypothesis of linguistic relativity and examined the relationship between language and thought; he inspired Herder with his idea that language is related to a people's character. Accordingly, Bacon explained the effect of language on a people's collective non-linguistic behavior with the "moderate" version of this hypothesis (Penn, 1972, pp. 42-43). On the other hand, Locke is seen as the first advocate of the Whorfian view, which argues that the way people name situations affects their behaviors regarding situations. With this view, the philosopher took a stance against Descartes's view of innate ideas (Penn, 1972, pp. 43-45). In addition, Locke pointed to linguistic relativity with his observation that a complete translation between languages was not possible (Aarsleff, 1982, p. 376). It can be said that the principle of linguistic relativity, which is based on a subjective basis, is a result of the epistemology that Condillac inherited from Locke (Aarsleff, 1982, p. 346). The philosopher tried to establish the principle of linguistic relativity by presenting the philosophical basis of the concept of *Volksgeist*, which emphasizes the relationship of languages with culture (Aarsleff, 1982, p. 31).

As can be seen, linguistic relativity was put forward in different ways before the 18th century. However, the claim that a language affects the thoughts of its speakers is first clearly seen in Hamann (Penn, 1972, p. 41). Hamann -later Herder and partly Humboldt- put forward ideas that were against the "innate ideas", that is, categories, put forward

by Kant in his linguistic relativity thoughts. The reason for this is that Hamann's idea that a people's thoughts are related to the language they speak was opposed to the close similarity between languages brought about by Kant's rationalist innate ideas view (Penn, 1972, pp. 45, 47, 53). Accordingly, the emergence of the linguistic relativity thesis occurred when Locke developed ideas against Descartes's rationalist views and Hamann developed ideas against Kant's innate views. Although the principle of linguistic relativity is generally attributed to Humboldt and partly to Herder (Aarsleff, 1982, p. 335), it is known that Hamann's ideas were of great importance in its emergence.

The principle of linguistic relativity, which Hamann clearly put forward, was developed by Herder, and based on the doctrine he put forward, he argued that thought is fundamentally dependent on language and limited by language (Forster, 2011, p. 88). Arguing that thought is dependent on language and limited by it, Herder argued that a person can only think if he has a language and that he can think about things that a person can express linguistically (Forster, 2011, p. 109). Following Herder, Humboldt further developed the principle of linguistic relativity. In this respect, Humboldt was one of the first founding fathers of the linguistic relativity hypothesis developed by Whorf and Sapir in the 20th century (Freund, 2017, p. 963; Koerner, 1992, p. 174). Humboldt, along with Herder (Wang, 2017, p. 21), argued that how a nation thinks determines how it speaks, and how it speaks determines how it thinks (Humboldt, 1988, p. 46). Hamann and Herder, who focused on the differences between languages and were among the first sources of the principle of linguistic relativity, were the first inspirations leading to the formulation of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (Stam, 1977, pp. 308-309).

It is noteworthy that the principle of linguistic relativity, which began with Hamann, gained momentum with Herder and matured further with Humboldt, was intensively discussed in the German intellectual world. Indeed, the idea that language presents the external world to humans has been seen as a European tradition, especially among German speakers, starting in the 18th century. German thinkers such as Humboldt and Cassirer, and more recently Boas, Sapir and Whorf, adopted this idea (Currie, 1966, p. 14). The reason why the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is based on Humboldt as the main source is that Humboldt is accepted as the first philosopher who saw language as a possibility of making sense of the external world (Humboldt, 1973, pp. 3-5). Hamann and Herder, who were influenced by Locke's anti-Cartesian views, reinforced Humboldt's idea.

When we look at the effects of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis on the world of thought today, the ideas of linguistic relativity, especially put forward by Locke as a reaction to Descartes's rationalist view, are discussed critically in a Cartesian framework with Chomsky as a reaction to the Lockean view. Chomsky's idea of linguistic universals has led to the questioning of the importance of differences between languages (Hunt and Agnoli, 1991, p. 377). The principle of linguistic relativity, developed against Descartes's rationalism, is itself subject to criticism on the basis of the Cartesian view, which Chomsky criticized with his universal grammar theory.

### **Conclusion**

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which claims that the way a person thinks is determined or affected by the language s/he speaks, has philosophical foundations dating back to antiquity. Although this hypothesis, which is being tried to be substantiated by experimental and observational research, is a very new view, its foundations date back to ancient times. This hypothesis began to sprout with an empiricist understanding that is philosophically opposed to rationalism. This hypothesis, which emerged with a philosophical basis, continues to be investigated by different

disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology and psychology.

Some experimental studies show that certain differences in language produce certain differences in thought (Currie, 1966, p. 27). Many studies show that speakers of different languages perceive the world and think about it in relatively different ways. On the other hand, according to the results of a few studies, language shapes the way people think (Pae, 2012, p. 50). While such studies partially support the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, Chomsky's theory of universal grammar has put forward ideas that contradict this principle. In contrast to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, in the theory of universal grammar there is a basic structure to which all languages are subject in a common way.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which is both criticized and partially supported in different disciplines today, suggests that structural and lexical differences in languages lead to differences in people's perceptions and thoughts about the outside world. For example, although the word "gönül" in Turkish is used in the same sense as "heart" in English, it actually has a broader and deeper meaning. Accordingly, when Turkish speakers use this word in interpersonal relationships, they will represent a deeper relationship. Since the English word "heart" has a relatively more superficial meaning, it will relatively affect the depth of the interpersonal relationship. This may be one of the many examples supporting the "mild" version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. On the other hand, the "strong" version of the hypothesis has not found support in the scientific community today.

One of the ways language affects thought is to provide people with new ideas and thoughts through new words. With scientific advances and new technologies, people have new inventions, ideas and lifestyles. Accordingly, new words emerge, especially in scientific and medical fields, and "neologism" adds new ideas to people, thus affecting and changing their thoughts. In this sense, it is seen that language affects thought in the context of vocabulary as well as grammar. (Li, 2022, pp. 34-35). The idea that a language's vocabulary, in addition to its grammar, facilitates scientific and philosophical developments, which is one of the basic principles of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, supports the idea of "neologism".

The principle of linguistic relativity, which emerged with the ideas put forward from Herodotus to Humboldt, reached its peak with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. Recently, D. Suskin's experimental study *Thirty Million Words: Building a Child's Brain*, which revealed that children of the same language have significant differences in their academic success due to the vocabulary they acquire for socio-cultural and economic reasons, partially supports the principles of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (Daşdemir, 2024, p. 115). The 2016 US-made movie *Arrival*, which is about the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, is a direct reflection of the hypothesis in popular culture (Daşdemir, 2024, p. 113). Based on it, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis remains a view whose philosophical basis dates back to the Ancient Age and is still being debated today. Clearly, the deep relationship between language and culture that can be observed suggests that the moderate version of this hypothesis is defensible.



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