

*Blackwell  
Companions to  
Philosophy*

A COMPANION TO THE  
PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE  
VOLUME II  
*Second Edition*



*Edited by*  
BOB HALE, CRISPIN WRIGHT,  
and ALEXANDER MILLER

WILEY Blackwell

# A COMPANION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE

SECOND EDITION

Volume II

*Edited by*

Bob Hale, Crispin Wright,  
and Alexander Miller

WILEY Blackwell

This second edition first published 2017  
© 2017 John Wiley & Sons Ltd

Edition history: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. (1e, 1997)

*Registered Office*

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

*Editorial Offices*

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at [www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell](http://www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell).

The right of Bob Hale, Crispin Wright, and Alexander Miller to be identified as the authors of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks, or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book.

**Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty:** While the publisher and authors have used their best efforts in preparing this book, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this book and specifically disclaim any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services and neither the publisher nor the author shall be liable for damages arising herefrom. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data is available for this title*

Hardback ISBN: 9781118974711

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: *The Chateau of Medan*, by Paul Cezanne (1839–1906) /

© CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collections

Set in 10/12.5pt Minion by SPi Global, Pondicherry, India

Printed in Singapore by C.O.S. Printers Pte Ltd

1 2017

# A Companion to the Philosophy of Language

# Blackwell Companions to Philosophy

This outstanding student reference series offers a comprehensive and authoritative survey of philosophy as a whole. Written by today's leading philosophers, each volume provides lucid and engaging coverage of

the key figures, terms, topics, and problems of the field. Taken together, the volumes provide the ideal basis for course use, representing an unparalleled work of reference for students and specialists alike.

## Already published in the series:

1. The Blackwell Companion to Philosophy, Second Edition  
*Edited by Nicholas Bunnin and Eric Tsui-James*
2. A Companion to Ethics  
*Edited by Peter Singer*
3. A Companion to Aesthetics, Second Edition  
*Edited by Stephen Davies, Kathleen Marie Higgins, Robert Hopkins, Robert Stecker, and David E. Cooper*
4. A Companion to Epistemology, Second Edition  
*Edited by Jonathan Dancy, Ernest Sosa, and Matthias Steup*
5. A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy (two-volume set), Second Edition  
*Edited by Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit*
6. A Companion to Philosophy of Mind  
*Edited by Samuel Guttenplan*
7. A Companion to Metaphysics, Second Edition  
*Edited by Jaegwon Kim, Ernest Sosa, and Gary S. Rosenkrantz*
8. A Companion to Philosophy of Law and Legal Theory, Second Edition  
*Edited by Dennis Patterson*
9. A Companion to Philosophy of Religion, Second Edition  
*Edited by Charles Taliaferro, Paul Draper, and Philip L. Quinn*
10. A Companion to the Philosophy of Language  
*Edited by Bob Hale and Crispin Wright*
11. A Companion to World Philosophies  
*Edited by Eliot Deutsch and Ron Bontekoe*
12. A Companion to Continental Philosophy  
*Edited by Simon Critchley and William Schroeder*
13. A Companion to Feminist Philosophy  
*Edited by Alison M. Jaggar and Iris Marion Young*
14. A Companion to Cognitive Science  
*Edited by William Bechtel and George Graham*
15. A Companion to Bioethics, Second Edition  
*Edited by Helga Kuhse and Peter Singer*
16. A Companion to the Philosophers  
*Edited by Robert L. Arrington*
17. A Companion to Business Ethics  
*Edited by Robert E. Frederick*
18. A Companion to the Philosophy of Science  
*Edited by W. H. Newton-Smith*
19. A Companion to Environmental Philosophy  
*Edited by Dale Jamieson*
20. A Companion to Analytic Philosophy  
*Edited by A. P. Martinich and David Sosa*
21. A Companion to Genetics  
*Edited by Justine Burley and John Harris*
22. A Companion to Philosophical Logic  
*Edited by Dale Jacquette*
23. A Companion to Early Modern Philosophy  
*Edited by Steven Nadler*
24. A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages  
*Edited by Jorge J. E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone*
25. A Companion to African-American Philosophy  
*Edited by Tommy L. Lott and John P. Pittman*
26. A Companion to Applied Ethics  
*Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher Heath Wellman*
27. A Companion to the Philosophy of Education  
*Edited by Randall Curran*
28. A Companion to African Philosophy  
*Edited by Kwasi Wiredu*
29. A Companion to Heidegger  
*Edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Mark A. Wrathall*
30. A Companion to Rationalism  
*Edited by Alan Nelson*
31. A Companion to Pragmatism  
*Edited by John R. Shook and Joseph Margolis*
32. A Companion to Ancient Philosophy  
*Edited by Mary Louise Gill and Pierre Pellegrin*
33. A Companion to Nietzsche  
*Edited by Keith Ansell Pearson*
34. A Companion to Socrates  
*Edited by Sara Ahbel-Rappe and Rachana Kamtekar*
35. A Companion to Phenomenology and Existentialism  
*Edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Mark A. Wrathall*
36. A Companion to Kant  
*Edited by Graham Bird*
37. A Companion to Plato  
*Edited by Hugh H. Benson*
38. A Companion to Descartes  
*Edited by Janet Broughton and John Carriero*
39. A Companion to the Philosophy of Biology  
*Edited by Sahotra Sarkar and Anya Plutynski*
40. A Companion to Hume  
*Edited by Elizabeth S. Radcliffe*
41. A Companion to the Philosophy of History and Historiography  
*Edited by Aviezer Tucker*
42. A Companion to Aristotle  
*Edited by Georgios Anagnostopoulos*
43. A Companion to the Philosophy of Technology  
*Edited by Jan-Kyrre Berg Olsen, Stig Andur Pedersen, and Vincent F. Hendricks*
44. A Companion to Latin American Philosophy  
*Edited by Susana Nuccetelli, Ofelia Schutte, and Otávio Bueno*
45. A Companion to the Philosophy of Literature  
*Edited by Garry L. Hagberg and Walter Jost*
46. A Companion to the Philosophy of Action  
*Edited by Timothy O'Connor and Constantine Sandis*
47. A Companion to Relativism  
*Edited by Steven D. Hales*
48. A Companion to Hegel  
*Edited by Stephen Houlgate and Michael Baur*
49. A Companion to Schopenhauer  
*Edited by Bart Vandenabeele*
50. A Companion to Buddhist Philosophy  
*Edited by Steven M. Emmanuel*
51. A Companion to Foucault  
*Edited by Christopher Falzon, Timothy O'Leary, and Jana Sawicki*
52. A Companion to the Philosophy of Time  
*Edited by Heather Dyke and Adrian Bardon*
53. A Companion to Donald Davidson  
*Edited by Ernest Lepore and Kirk Ludwig*
54. A Companion to Rawls  
*Edited by Jon Mandle and David Reidy*
55. A Companion to W.V.O. Quine  
*Edited by Gilbert Harman and Ernest Lepore*
56. A Companion to Derrida  
*Edited by Zeynep Direk and Leonard Lawlor*
57. A Companion to David Lewis  
*Edited by Barry Loewer and Jonathan Schaffer*
58. A Companion to Kierkegaard  
*Edited by Jon Stewart*
59. A Companion to Locke  
*Edited by Matthew Stuart*
60. The Blackwell Companion to Hermeneutics  
*Edited by Niall Keane and Chris Lawn*
61. A Companion to Ayn Rand  
*Edited by Allan Gotthelf and Gregory Salmieri*
62. The Blackwell Companion to Naturalism  
*Edited by Kelly James Clark*

## Forthcoming:

A Companion to Mill

*Edited by Christopher Macleod and Dale E. Miller*

# Contents

## VOLUME I

<i>List of Contributors</i>	viii
<i>Preface to the Second Edition</i>	xv
<i>Preface to the First Edition</i>	xvi

<b>Part I    Meaning and Theories of Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>
1    Metaphysics, Philosophy, and the Philosophy of Language Michael Morris	3
2    Meaning and Truth-Conditions: From Frege's Grand Design to Davidson's David Wiggins	27
3    Intention and Convention in the Theory of Meaning Stephen Schiffer	49
4    Meaning, Use, Verification John Skorupski <i>Postscript: Bernhard Weiss</i>	73
5    Semantics and Pragmatics Guy Longworth	107
6    Pragmatics Charles Travis <i>Postscript: Charles Travis</i>	127
7    On the Linguistic Status of Context Sensitivity John Collins	151
8    A Guide to Naturalizing Semantics Barry Loewer <i>Postscript: Peter Schulte</i>	174
9    Inferentialism Julien Murzi and Florian Steinberger	197
10    Against Harmony Ian Rumfitt	225

11	Meaning and Privacy	250
	Edward Craig	
	<i>Postscript: Guy Longworth</i>	
12	Tacit Knowledge	272
	Alexander Miller	
13	Radical Interpretation	299
	Jane Heal	
	<i>Postscript: Alexander Miller</i>	
14	Propositional Attitudes	324
	Mark Richard	
15	Holism	357
	Christopher Peacocke	
16	Metaphor	375
	Richard Moran	
	<i>Postscript: Andrew McGonigal</i>	
17	Conditionals	401
	Anthony S. Gillies	
18	Generics	437
	Bernhard Nickel	
19	Deflationist Theories of Truth, Meaning, and Content	463
	Stephen Schiffer	

## VOLUME II

<b>Part I</b>	<b>Language, Truth, and Reality</b>	<b>491</b>
20	Realism and its Oppositions	493
	Bob Hale	
	<i>Postscript: Bernhard Weiss</i>	
21	Theories of Truth	532
	Ralph C. S. Walker	
	<i>Postscript: Michael P. Lynch</i>	
22	Truthmaker Semantics	556
	Kit Fine	
23	Analyticity	578
	Paul Artin Boghossian	
	<i>Postscript: Paul Artin Boghossian</i>	
24	Rule-Following, Objectivity, and Meaning	619
	Bob Hale	
	<i>Postscript: Daniel Wee</i>	
25	The Normativity of Meaning	649
	Anandi Hattiangadi	
26	Indeterminacy of Translation	670
	Crispin Wright	
	<i>Postscript: Alexander Miller</i>	

27	Putnam's Model-Theoretic Argument against Metaphysical Realism Bob Hale and Crispin Wright <i>Postscript: Jussi Haukioja</i>	703
28	Sorites Mark Sainsbury and Timothy Williamson <i>Postscript: Aidan McGlynn</i>	734
29	Time and Tense Berit Brogaard	765
30	Relativism Patrick Shirreff and Brian Weatherson	787
<b>Part II Reference, Identity, and Necessity</b>		<b>805</b>
31	Modality Bob Hale <i>Postscript: Bob Hale</i>	807
32	Relativism about Epistemic Modals Andy Egan	843
33	Internalism and Externalism Jussi Haukioja	865
34	Essentialism Graeme Forbes <i>Postscript: Penelope Mackie</i>	881
35	Reference and Necessity Robert Stalnaker	902
36	Names and Rigid Designation Jason Stanley	920
37	Two-Dimensional Semantics Christian Nimtz	948
38	The Semantics and Pragmatics of Indexicals John Perry	970
39	Objects and Criteria of Identity E. J. Lowe <i>Postscript: Harold Noonan</i>	990
40	Relative Identity Harold Noonan	1013
41	<i>De Jure</i> Codesignation James Pryor	1033
	<i>Glossary</i>	1080
	<i>Index</i>	1117



## PART I

# Language, Truth, and Reality



# Realism and its Oppositions

BOB HALE

In many branches of philosophy, dealing with very different areas of our thought and talk, there occur disputes centered on the tenability of positions described as 'realist.' In the philosophy of science, realism stands opposed to various forms of instrumentalism; mathematical realists, often known as Platonists, are opposed in one way by nominalists, in another by constructivists; moral realists contend with subjectivist tendencies, such as expressivism and projectivism, as well as with error theories; in the theory of meaning itself, realism is under attack from positions which hold that meaning must be explained in terms which preserve an essential link between what we mean and evidence, as well as from meaning-skeptical arguments advanced by Quine, Kripke, and others (see Chapter 26, INDETERMINACY OF TRANSLATION; Chapter 23, ANALYTICITY; Chapter 31, MODALITY, §2; Chapter 24, RULE-FOLLOWING, OBJECTIVITY, AND MEANING; and Chapter 27, PUTNAM'S MODEL-THEORETIC ARGUMENT AGAINST METAPHYSICAL REALISM). It is scarcely obvious that there is some single type of issue at stake in these disputes (henceforth R/AR disputes), or that there is at least some significant continuity between them. The very diversity of the positions set against realism in these different areas might of itself be thought to point towards the opposite conclusion: that realism amounts to different things in the different cases, so that any attempt at general discussion is doomed to failure. It is not obvious, either, that the various disputes have anything much to do with the philosophy of language, or that there is any reason to expect arguments in the philosophy of language to play a significant part in their resolution.

Against these dampening thoughts may be set – besides the feeling that it is unlikely to be sheer coincidence that the same label is applied to completely disparate positions with no significant similarities whatever – at least two reasons why philosophers of language may properly take an interest in general questions about realism and the forms which opposition to it may assume. First, and most obviously, there is an R/AR dispute (or disputes) within the philosophy of language itself, centered on the tenability of realist theories of meaning. At the very least, it might be expected that scrutiny of R/AR disputes in other areas may

illuminate the issues here, if only through contrasts rather than parallels. But second, and more importantly, the notion that debates about other realisms – in science, mathematics, or other areas – may proceed unaffected by arguments in the philosophy of language overlooks the possibility that a successful anti-realist argument in the theory of meaning may ramify into other disputed areas (see Chapter 24, *RULE-FOLLOWING, OBJECTIVITY, AND MEANING*, §3).

We begin (§1) with an examination of Michael Dummett's influential treatment of these issues, which couples an attempt to identify a common form exemplified by a large, if not exhaustive, range of R/AR disputes with important arguments against a realist position about meaning which – if they are sound, and Dummett's diagnosis of what is at stake in those disputes is correct – promise to resolve the issue in the anti-realist's favor, not only in the theory of meaning itself, but across the board.<sup>1</sup> We then (§2) survey the principal negative arguments, advanced by Dummett and others, for semantic anti-realism. In §3, we turn to the wider question of the bearing of these arguments on R/AR disputes more generally, and review doubts about the adequacy of Dummett's general conception of their common form. Other ways in which the anti-realist case may be prosecuted are reviewed in §4: classical reductionist positions; error theories; expressivist/projectivist options and quasi-realism; and we conclude (§5) with a brief examination of the new perspective on R/AR disputes advocated in recent work by Wright.

## 1 Dummett's General Account of R/AR Disputes

Many traditional, and at least some currently active, R/AR disputes appear primarily to concern the existence of entities of some sort – objects of some general type, or perhaps entities which, if there are such, should be taken as belonging to some other category. Medieval realists and their nominalist adversaries, for example, were disagreed over the existence of universals – abstract entities conceived as objective worldly correlates of general terms like 'red' and 'honest' and denoted by corresponding abstract nouns like 'redness' and 'honesty'. The cardinal negative thesis of many modern nominalists has likewise been the denial that there exist any abstract entities – by which they chiefly understood properties or attributes, as opposed to the particular concrete entities they characterize, together with sets or classes. One kind of realism or platonism about mathematics is distinguished by its acceptance of numbers and sets as genuine objects, lying outside space and time but nonetheless existing independently of our thought. At least part of what is in dispute between scientific realists and their opponents is whether a satisfactory account of theoretical science requires us to see it as describing the properties of unobservable or theoretical entities such as particles, forces, and fields. Modal realists of one sort insist that there are possible worlds, distinct from but no less real than the actual world. (See Chapter 31, *MODALITY*, §3.)

Dummett's conception of R/AR disputes stands in sharp contrast with the model suggested by such examples. Issues between realists and their opponents are, he contends, usually best characterized *not* as disputes about the *existence of entities* of some problematic sort, but in terms of a certain *class of statements* – those distinctive of the area of thought and talk in question – which he usually labels the 'disputed' class. Further, the disagreement is not – or not primarily – over whether statements of the disputed class are true, since the anti-realist will agree that in many cases they are so; it concerns, rather, the nature or

character of the notion of truth which may be applied to them. This last point merits both emphasis and comment. A preference for formulating R/AR disputes in terms of problematic statements rather than problematic entities need, by itself, involve no significant break with the idea that those disputes centrally concern the existence of entities of certain kinds. It need not do so, because the preference might be grounded in the plausible view that general ontological questions (Do there exist so-and-sos?) reduce to, or are at least best approached as, questions partly about the logical form of some appropriate range of statements and partly about their truth-values. Thus one question at issue between mathematical Platonists on the one side and, on the other, nominalists and others is whether numbers, sets, and so on exist. Precisely because we are obviously not concerned with entities which might conceivably be objects of ostension or of any sort of perceptual encounter, or which might announce their presence indirectly through their effects, it is difficult to see how the question of their existence can be non-prejudicially approached, save by equating it with a question about truth and logical form: Are there true statements whose proper analysis discloses expressions purporting reference to numbers? General endorsement of this approach to questions of ontology is tantamount to acceptance of Frege's celebrated 'Context Principle' which, construed as a principle about reference, warns against asking after the reference of sub-sentential expressions outside the context of complete sentences (Frege, 1884, p. x and §62; Dummett, 1973a, pp. 192–196, 494–500; 1982, p. 239; 1991, chs 16 and 17; Wright, 1983, §§2, 3, 5, 8; Hale, 1987, pp. 10–14, 152–162, 228–230). Dummett is sympathetic to it. But his insistence upon treating R/AR disputes as centered on a class of statements is prelude to a quite different claim about their character. He writes:

Realism I characterise as the belief that statements of the disputed class possess an objective truth-value, independently of our means of knowing it: they are true or false in virtue of a reality existing independently of us. The anti-realist opposes to this the view that statements of the disputed class are to be understood only by reference to the sort of thing which we count as evidence for a statement of that class ... The dispute thus concerns the notion of truth appropriate for statements of the disputed class; and this means that it is a dispute concerning the kind of *meaning* which these statements have. (Dummett, 1963, p. 146)

As Dummett goes on to make clear, he thinks that the notion of a statement's having an 'objective truth-value, independently of our means of knowing it ... in virtue of a reality existing independently of us' is to be understood in a very strong sense. The realist is to be understood as holding not merely that a statement may be true or false without our actually knowing its truth-value, nor even that a statement may be true or false even though we are in fact or in practice unable to tell which, but that there can be a much more radical dislocation of truth-value and our capacity for its recognition – a statement may possess a determinate truth-value without its being possible, even in principle, for us to come to know it (Dummett, 1963, p. 146; 1969, p. 358; 1973b, p. 224; 1982, p. 230). It is for this reason that realism, as Dummett conceives it, amounts to – or at least crucially involves – a thesis about meaning: to adopt a realist view of any area of thought and talk is to conceive of its distinctive statements as endowed with meaning through being associated with evidentially unconstrained truth-conditions, that is, conditions whose satisfaction bears no essential connection, however attenuated, with the possibility of its being recognized by us.

Although the foregoing characterization may be taken as definitive, Dummett very frequently depicts the issue between realists and their opponents in other, ostensibly quite

different terms, as concerning the principle of bivalence, according to which every statement is either true or false.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that in taking endorsement of unrestricted bivalence as 'a touchstone for a realistic interpretation of the statements of some given class,' Dummett intends no departure from his official characterization. The relations between the two are, however, by no means straightforward. It is, certainly, very plausible to regard unqualified endorsement of bivalence as *sufficient* for realism. For it is a plain fact that our language affords the means of framing various kinds of statement which are not effectively decidable – that is, statements for which there exists no procedure guaranteed to issue, after finitely many steps, in a correct verdict on their truth-values. To insist that such statements are, nevertheless, determinately either true or false would, it seems, require thinking of them as capable of being true, or false, in the absence of evidence either way, and thus as possessed of potentially evidence-transcendent truth-conditions. But realism does not obviously entail a commitment to unrestricted bivalence. It seems that one might decline to endorse bivalence for reasons which appear quite consistent with holding that certain statements may have their truth-values undetectably, say because one took failure of reference on the part of ingredient singular terms to deprive statements of truth-value.<sup>3</sup> A further complication concerns vagueness, which is commonly – though not invariably – taken to cause certain statements to lack determinate truth-value (see Chapter 28, *SORITES*). These considerations indicate that refusal to endorse bivalence may or may not signal adoption of an anti-realist view, depending upon the specific reasons for that refusal. If realism does involve a commitment to bivalence, it would seem that it can be at most a conditional one, to the effect that any statement is true or false whose ingredient terms are not subject to vagueness or reference-failure. Whether and how this qualified claim can be established, and, in particular, how it might be shown that vagueness and reference-failure are the only grounds on which a realist may properly refuse to endorse bivalence, are hard questions to which, so far as I know, we still want answers. Here they must be left open.

There are, as we have observed, many different areas in which what seems aptly described as a realist position may be defended or opposed. There is no clear presumption that one must be committed to realism across the board, if one seeks to uphold a realist position in any quarter of it. On the contrary, it appears that realism in one area might consist perfectly well with opposition to it in another – that one might, for instance, defend a realist view about theoretical science whilst rejecting realism about ethics, or values generally, or, even more selectively, combine a realist attitude towards some parts of scientific theory (such as classical physics) with anti-realism about other parts (such as quantum mechanics). Certainly there appears little prospect of a quite general argument enforcing adoption of a globally realist stance. A considerable part of the interest and importance of Dummett's configuration of R/AR disputes undoubtedly lies in the fact that it opens up the possibility – which might otherwise appear no less remote – of a quite general argument of the opposing tendency, enforcing global anti-realism across all the disputed areas. For if Dummett is right, realism everywhere depends upon the viability of a realist conception of meaning in terms of potentially evidence-transcendent truth-conditions (hereafter, 'realist truth-conditions' for brevity). Thus any argument against semantic realism as such is potentially quite generally destructive of realist options. There are, accordingly, two main questions requiring attention: (1) Are there compelling arguments – perhaps ones advanced by Dummett himself – against a realist conception of meaning? (2) Has Dummett provided an adequate general characterization of R/AR disputes? In the 50 or so years since Dummett's

earliest publications that bear on them, both questions have generated a very considerable amount of critical discussion, of which only the briefest overview can be given here.

## 2 Arguments against Semantic Realism

Dummett himself advances two main arguments against the idea that our understanding of disputed statements could consist in our associating them with realist truth-conditions, one focused on the difficulty of seeing how we could *acquire* such an understanding, and the other on the difficulty of seeing how we could *manifest* it. As will quickly become apparent, neither argument purports to be conclusive: each is, rather, to be seen as presenting the realist with a challenge which she appears unable to meet.

According to the *Acquisition Challenge*, our training in the use of language consists in our being taught to accept statements as true in circumstances of such-and-such a sort, and to reject them as false in circumstances of other sorts. This training *necessarily* proceeds in terms of states of affairs which we can *recognize* as obtaining. But how, in that case, are we supposed to come by the conception of evidence-transcendent truth-conditions which the realist postulates? How are we to come to know what it is for a statement of that kind to be true, or false, in virtue of the obtaining of some state of affairs which obtains *undetectably*? The challenge is to explain how we come to assign to statements truth-conditions involving states of affairs which, by their very nature, *can have played no part* in the process by which the meanings of those statements are learned or communicated. If it is conceded that there can indeed be no *ostensive* training that enables us to form such a conception, but suggested that we can nevertheless acquire it through *verbal explanation*, the counter may be given that this merely postpones the problem, since presumably no verbal explanation can be adequate that does not itself employ sentences already understood as having evidence-transcendent truth-conditions – but in that case, how is the proposed explanation to get off the ground?<sup>4</sup>

The *Manifestation Challenge* runs thus: If the meaning of a statement consists in its having certain (possibly evidence-transcendent) truth-conditions, then understanding it (knowing its meaning) is possessing knowledge of such. But knowledge of a statement's meaning cannot, in general, consist in the ability to provide an informative statement, in other words, of what it means (and obviously it can't consist in the ability to state *uninformatively* what it means, just by disquoting it). We may concentrate on the case where knowledge of meaning does not consist in the capacity to give a verbal explanation of meaning, since no such explanation can introduce the possibility of evidence-transcendence. When knowledge of meaning is not verbalizable but implicit knowledge, it must be knowledge of how to use the sentence, and must therefore consist in the speaker's possession of certain practical abilities. But now, by just what practical abilities is an alleged grasp of evidence-transcendent truth-conditions supposed to be manifested? In the case of effectively decidable statements, or of statements which, whenever they are true, are recognizably so, a speaker's implicit knowledge can be identified with his capacity to discriminate between circumstances in which the statement is true and those in which it is not. But it clearly cannot do so in the case of any statement possessed of evidence-transcendent truth-conditions – in this case, there is nothing a speaker can do which fully manifests his supposed grasp of those conditions. Realism thus clashes head-on with the Wittgensteinian equation of meaning with use and of understanding with capacity for correct use.<sup>5</sup>



## *Attempts to Answer the Acquisition Challenge*

### *Truth-Value Links*

Among the types of statement that are problematic, in view of the anti-realist challenge, are statements about the past and about other minds. The realist conception has it that such statements can be determinately true or false in virtue of past states of affairs, or states of mind of others, to which we have no direct access, and for which adequate evidence may be quite simply unavailable. And the challenge is then to explain how we come by this conception. One suggestion is that the truth-values of statements of these problematic kinds are systematically connected with those of statements lying outside the anti-realistically problematic class – in these cases, present-tensed statements and first-person psychological statements. Thus there is a systematic link between the truth-value of a past-tensed statement made at one time, say now, and various corresponding present-tensed statements which were, or could have been, made at earlier times; for example:

The statement: 'One million years ago, this place *was* covered with ice' is true now if and only if the statement 'This spot *is* covered with ice,' made a million years ago, was (or at least would have been) true.

The thought, then, is that understanding this truth-value link is an uncontroversial component in our mastery of tensed discourse. But present-tensed statements are not, as such, anti-realistically problematic, since they relate to conditions which obtain (or don't, as may be) detectably or recognizably. By our grasp of these two things, it is claimed, we can come to understand what it is for past-tensed statements to be true in virtue of states of affairs which are no longer accessible to us.<sup>6</sup>

This response fairly obviously fails to provide a *general* answer to the acquisition challenge, since no such maneuver appears feasible in the case of other types of problematic statement, such as unrestricted quantifications over an infinite, or otherwise unsurveyable, totality of objects, such as the natural numbers. Of course, ' $\forall n Pn$ ' is true iff all its instances are true. But this is clearly no advance, since whilst the truth-value of each ' $Pn$ ' may be unproblematically recognizable, if ' $P$ ' is a decidable arithmetic predicate, we enjoy no unproblematic access to the fact, if it is one, that *all* of them are true.<sup>7</sup> But even in cases where the truth-value link gambit appears available, it does not really work. The trouble is that present-tensed statements have unproblematic (detectable) truth-conditions *only in the context of present use*. But the link only helps if we understand what it means to say, for example, 'This spot is covered with ice' *was* true; that is, what is *ceteris paribus* unproblematic is what it is for a present-tensed statement to be *true now*, but what we need, to move from right to left across the truth-value link to knowledge of what it is for a past-tensed statement to be now, but undetectably, true, is understanding of what it is for a present-tensed statement to *have been true* – and this is no less problematic than what we are seeking to explain.<sup>8</sup>

### *Partial Accessibility*

We can distinguish between *chronically e-transcendent* statements – such as 'Everything in the universe has doubled in size' and 'The entire universe sprang into existence just five minutes ago, replete with traces of a long and complex past, etc.' – which by their very nature could in no possible circumstances be recognized as true, and statements which,



though not *guaranteed* to be so, are, *in favorable cases*, *detectably* true. Realists may concede that there is no hope of defending their distinctive conception of truth for the former, though claiming that this is no loss, since they are beyond the pale anyway; but they may insist that matters stand otherwise with the latter. Here, they may claim, if a statement of this sort is undetectably true, it is at most *contingent* that it is so. Statements of the same kind are, on occasion, recognizably true: that is, we sometimes have access to states of affairs of the kind which confer truth on them. And this, they may claim, is enough – enough to equip us with a conception of what it is for such statements to be true but undetectably so – this is just for there to obtain a state of affairs of the same kind as we have recognized to obtain in other cases. So it is, McDowell claims, with statements about the past and about the psychological states of others. Although we don't always, or even usually, have direct non-inferential access to past states of affairs, we do sometimes, through memory; and we can on occasion simply and literally observe that another is in pain or violent grief – we may see pain or grief in their face and actions, which express or manifest their state.<sup>9</sup>

Like the preceding response, this is of limited application at best. It is doubtfully available in the case of statements about the remote past, beyond the reach of living memory. Further, no response of this sort seems available for spatially or temporally unrestricted contingent generalizations (whether lawlike or accidental), or for quantifications through an infinite domain – in neither case does there appear to be any purchase for the idea of our being sometimes graced with direct access to an appropriate truth-conferring state of affairs. Clearly, too, the idea of occasional direct access to others' psychological states may be challenged. But there is a quite general difficulty with the partial access gambit, even in what might seem favorable cases.

First, and obviously, we should distinguish between the (problematic) case of a statement's being *undetectably* true and the (unproblematic) case of a statement's being true, though not, as it happens, known to be so, simply because we haven't taken steps we could have taken to ascertain its truth-value. We can, plausibly, understand what it is for a statement in the latter case to be true, in terms of there obtaining a state of affairs of the same kind as we have verified to obtain in the case of other statements of that type. But this is not to the point – for it is another, and much stronger, claim that we can come by the notion of undetectable truth by this route.

Second, with this out of the way, we can see that the crucial, but contentious, claim is that statements in respect of which we do *not* enjoy direct access to any truth-conferring state of affairs are *of the same kind* as other statements, such as those about the past, for which we do. Once it is allowed that they *are* of the same kind, it may seem an easy step to the realist's desired conclusion, that we can conceive of the former as true in the same way as the latter, for all that the former are, as it happens, undetectably true. Now they *are* of the same kind in one sense, for they are all statements *about the past*. But this, the anti-realist may protest, is not the point. In another sense, they are *not*: for the former are (allegedly) undetectably true, if true, whereas the latter are, *ex hypothesi*, detectably so. The realist simply *assumes*, but does nothing to show, that this difference *makes no difference*. But that it does make a difference is precisely the content of the acquisition challenge. So the question is begged, not answered.<sup>10</sup>

### *Enhanced Recognitional Capacities*

The idea that underpins the preceding response, that undetectability of truth-value commonly derives from contingencies of our circumstances or contingent limitations upon our recognitional capacities, is sound enough. There may be some temptation to think it can be