

**КАЗАНСКИЙ ФЕДЕРАЛЬНЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ**

**MODERN LINGUISTICS:  
LANGUAGE IN THEORY AND PRACTICE  
СОВРЕМЕННАЯ ЛИНГВИСТИКА:  
ЯЗЫК В ТЕОРИИ И НА ПРАКТИКЕ**

*Учебное пособие  
по курсу “Современные направления в лингвистике»*

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Учебное пособие адресовано студентам языковых ВУЗов, обучающихся по специальностям «Лингвистика. Перевод и переводоведение». Учебное пособие посвящено вопросам современного языкознания и содержит теоретический материал по некоторым аспектам генеративной лингвистики, прикладной лингвистики и социолингвистики. Теоретические положения сопровождаются практическими заданиями, нацеленными на развитие и формирование навыков критического подхода в научной дискуссии.

Для студентов, аспирантов, преподавателей филологических и других факультетов вузов, начинающих языковедов и переводчиков и всех, кто интересуется вопросами лингвистики.

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## FOREWORD

Настоящее учебное пособие предназначено для студентов 2-4 курсов, обучающихся по специальности «Лингвистика. Перевод и переводоведение», а также всех заинтересованных в изучении современных вопросов языкознания. Пособие разработано в соответствии с требованиями Федерального государственного образовательного стандарта, а также в соответствии с учебной программой по дисциплине «Современные направления в лингвистике».

Учебное пособие имеет целью формирование у студентов критического подхода в научной дискуссии. С этой целью в пособии применяется принцип единства теории и практики. Теоретическая часть освещает некоторые вопросы современного языкознания, в частности, генеративной лингвистики, прикладной лингвистики, социолингвистики, их базовые понятия, положения и направления. Весь теоретический материал сопровождается вопросами для контроля полученных знаний. Практическая часть содержит вопросы и задания, построенные на конкретном языковом материале и предназначенные для практической работы, а также отрывки из работ (статьи, диссертации) ученых-лингвистов современности, нацеленные на критический анализ изложенного теоретического материала.

Пособие сопровождается библиографическим списком литературы, который может применяться студентами для дальнейшей самостоятельной работы в области современной лингвистики.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERATIVE LINGUISTICS

#### *PART ONE: THEORETICAL ASPECTS*

#### WHAT IS GENERATIVE LINGUISTICS?

Generative linguistics is the branch of linguistics resting on the idea of a generative grammar. Generative grammar is based on a set of rules that generates an endless variety of sentences that are considered grammatically correct and no sentences that aren't.

The set of assumptions underpinning the philosophy of generative linguistics includes two important ideas.

1. the human ability for language is innate

2. human language is based on a set of logical rules that allow a speaker to produce novel sentences that can be understood by others who speak the same language.

The idea that a set of formal rules could be used as a model of the human cognitive ability to create language is said to be structure-dependent.

There are now many different models of generative grammar that attempt to explain how the human mind processes language.

The first technical use of the term *generative* within the discipline of linguistics occurred in 1957 when Noam Chomsky published a book entitled *Syntactic Structures*. In the book, Chomsky proposed a theory of generative grammar that he called “transformational grammar.” Many consider the publication of *Syntactic Structures* to be the birth of generative linguistics as a subfield of linguistics.

The rise of generative linguistics, associated with the name of Noam Chomsky, represented a radical shift from ‘behavior or the products of behavior to states of the mind / brain that enter into behavior’ (Chomsky 1986:3), a change of perspective from behaviourism, which dominated the social sciences in the 1950s, to mentalism, which understands ‘talk about the mind to be talk about the brain at an abstract level at which [...] principles can be formulated that enter into successful and insightful

explanation of linguistic (and other) phenomena that are provided by observation and experiment' (Chomsky 1987).

In his book Skinner explains this phenomenon as following (Skinner, 1957, *Verbal Behavior*): How do children create new sentences? Sentences are defined as strings of words, organised in linear order. Within the behaviourist approach, language is thus acquired by habit-formation, via positive / negative reinforcement. Language is perceived as a set of habits, dispositions and abilities. When acquiring language, defined as a set of habits, gradually built over the years, the child must solely rely on environment. The study of language acquisition is reduced to the study of observables, i.e. of input-output relations, without resorting to any study of the internal structure of the organism.

In 1959, Noam Chomsky, in his famous critical review of Skinner's book, argued that the stimulus-response model is completely untenable for language behaviour. Such a system cannot account for the production and comprehension of entirely new sequences of words. We can understand / utter sentences which we have never heard before.

Chomsky's famous sentence '*Colorless green ideas sleep furiously*' clearly proves that any sequence of words which has not been heard before can, however, be recognised as a grammatical sentence.

A stimulus-response model cannot possibly explain the fact that every sentence which a person might understand or utter can be a novel combination of words or that children can acquire language rapidly, without any formal instruction, growing to correctly interpret constructions they have never heard before.

Language cannot be described as a repertoire of responses nor can language acquisition be defined as the process of learning this repertoire. The central problems of the study of language are, within generative grammar what is the system of knowledge called 'language'? How does the child acquire this system of knowledge on the basis of a deficient linguistic input?

Language is no longer interpreted as a system of habits, dispositions and abilities but as a computational system of rules and constraints, specific to humans.

Generative grammar adopts certain approaches to language. First, it deals with sentences independent of discourse and context, despite the fact that we typically use our language in context. In fact, it is usually impossible to understand the intention of a speaker without any reference to the context. However, this does not mean sentences have to be studied in context. Why are such interpretations possible in the first place? The answer is because the sentence is grammatical and meaningful. Furthermore, even when a sentence is not ‘meaningful’, it can be grammatical. Speakers of a language can distinguish grammatical sentences in their language from those that are not, independent of what they mean. This leads us to conclude that certain context-free rules distinguish grammatical sentences from ungrammatical ones. What makes this possible should be the knowledge of language as represented in a native speaker’s brain. ‘What is knowledge of language?’ is one of the questions that generative linguists try to answer.

Human languages are unique in many respects. One of their most striking characteristics is productivity. Every day we use sentences that we have never encountered. The innovation of generative grammar in Chomsky (1955, 1957) was its emphasis on trying to develop an explicit theory of how language learners can, on the basis of encountering finite examples of language, come to understand and produce novel combinations in a potentially infinite number of sentences. This system not only allows for the production of grammatical sentences but also disallows ungrammatical sentences.

Every human being acquires a mother tongue. The acquisition of the system despite limited input is known as the issue of the poverty of the stimulus (or the logical problem of language acquisition, or Plato’s problem). Now consider the following sentences:

- (1a) *Jack dislikes himself.*
- (1b) *Jack admires a picture of himself.*
- (1c) *\*Himself dislikes Jack.*

In (1a), (1b), the referent of himself is Jack, while it is not so in (1c), which is in fact ungrammatical. The reason for the difference appears to be the differences in

word order: Jack precedes himself in (1a), (1b) but himself precedes Jack in (1c). If this is correct, all sentences in which himself comes before Jack should be ungrammatical, but this is not the case, as shown in (2):

(2) *That picture of himself surprised Jack.*

How do we know that himself can refer to Jack in (2) but not in (1c)?

It is unlikely that we have received any instruction from someone around us. In fact, it is very unlikely that we gained the rule by external means. Instead, the source must, logically speaking, come from inside ourselves. That is, we know this contrast because the rule exists tacitly in our mind. This tacit knowledge is likely to be derived from the psychological device used for first language acquisition (L1A). If such a system exists, it should be used in L1A regardless of the language to be acquired. In other words, this device – the Language Acquisition Device (for grammar), or Universal Grammar (UG) – is universal. In fact, Chomsky considered human languages (e.g. English, Japanese, etc.) to be variations of one human language UG. The main inquiry of generative grammar is to describe what UG is.

In generative grammar, linguistic knowledge is considered to be independent of other cognitive systems. This is supported by physiological data (Oblor and Gjerlow 1999), especially by the existence of developmental and pathological cases where linguistic knowledge is dissociated from other cognitive capacities. On the one hand there are people whose linguistic abilities are normal or even enhanced, while their non-linguistic capacities are impaired. On the other hand, there are people whose linguistic knowledge is deviant but other cognitive abilities are normal (e.g. people suffering from aphasia).

As illustrated above, the grammaticality of a sentence is usually independent of its meaning. This implies that the grammar consists of a ‘syntactic module’ which is independent of meaning (the ‘semantic module’). Traditionally, linguistics is divided into subfields, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, each of which can be considered to constitute a module, with the rules of each field existing independently of the others. Modules are connected with one another through interfaces.



When a speaker produces non-target-like linguistic output, the causes are likely to lie in this ‘connecting’ system. Positing a multi-layered system makes it possible to investigate the cause of deviance. Hence, it is possible to suggest that, for example, second language learners’ syntactic knowledge is native-like but their morphophonological system is not (Hazneder and Schwartz 1997; Prévost and White 2000).

In generative grammar, what is directly observable is referred to as E-language (performance: E stands for External). Linguistic knowledge (I-language, i.e. competence: I stands for Internal) is the object of research (Chomsky 1965, 1986, 1995). In order to investigate I-language, we need to use E-language data.

There have been several radical changes in the framework of generative grammar:

the Standard Theory (Chomsky 1955, 1957),

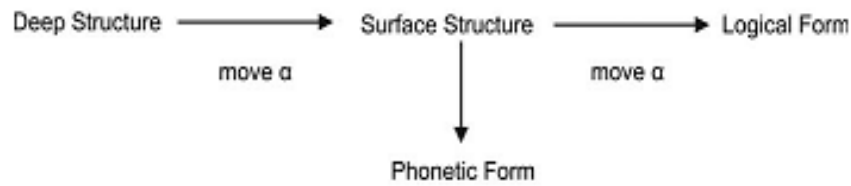
the Extended Standard Theory (Chomsky 1965),

the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986a) and

the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, 1999), (Lasnik 2005).

The earliest model (Chomsky 1955) offered a phrase structure grammar, where the structure of a sentence can be depicted in tree diagrams, which consist of sets of strings. An important assumption in this model, as well as subsequently, is that any sentence has more than one structure, each at a different level: the structure that reflects almost completely the way the sentence is pronounced, as well as an additional abstract structure, and intermediate structures between the two. In the Extended Standard Model (Chomsky 1965), by inserting items from the lexicon into the structure, a ‘deep structure’ is constructed, and then transformations apply. When all transformations have been applied, the ‘surface structure’ is constructed. Chomsky (1973) introduced the notion of a ‘trace’, which an item leaves behind when it moves. This allows the deep structure to be represented in the surface structure and indicates where an item should be interpreted. So, semantic interpretation does not have to be associated with deep structure. Later, it was assumed that additional transformations

take place between surface structure and logical form (May 1977). All transformations were subsequently reduced to only one operation.



*Figure 1*

This theory is called Government and Binding Theory or the Principles and Parameters framework.

### **Government and Binding Theory or the Principles and Parameters framework.**

Before the Principles and Parameters approach, researchers were mainly interested in finding new ‘facts’ of this kind, by investigating natural languages intensively and deeply, to find relevant evidence for discussing the human mind (Reibel and Schane 1969). If a rule is too abstract to be learned from input, it is inferred to be present innately as part of UG.

The Principles and Parameters (Chomsky 1981, 1986a) provided researchers with a theoretical framework to account for similarities and differences among languages. Given this framework, generative linguists try to account for the differences among adult languages (e.g. Haegeman 1997), historical changes (e.g. Roberts 1993), L1A, and SLA.

Parameters tell us not only that languages may vary in accordance with their values but also that no other possibilities are allowed. A large number of phenomena were described and explained in the Principles and Parameters framework.

Parameters are offered to capture variation among languages.

For example, the ‘wh-parameter’ says that wh-phrases have to move to the specifier position of CP between deep and surface structures in some languages (e.g. English), while they may stay in the original position in other languages (e.g. Japanese). This difference is determined by parametric values: English has the value [+wh-movement] and Japanese has the value [-wh-movement].

Other parameters include the Bounding Node Parameter, the Null Subject Parameter (whether a sentential subject without sound [i.e. null subject] is allowed or not), and so on. Parameters tell us not only that languages may vary in accordance with their values but also that no other possibilities are allowed.

Subsequently, Chomsky (1995) advanced a new approach, the Minimalist Program, where cross-linguistic differences are attributed to formal features associated with functional categories.

Every day we use new sentences. Our knowledge of language is the system that makes it possible for us to produce and interpret sentences that we have never come across in our life.

This system is constrained in a certain way. The sentences we produce and interpret are not merely strings of words, but they have structures.

Learners' behaviour shows that their use of language reflects what is (far) beyond memorization of chunks; rather, what they have is a system which generates target-like and non-target-like linguistic behaviours and which is sanctioned by the constraints common to all human languages, that is, Universal Grammar.

All natural languages have common abstract rules, called Principles, and vary along a limited number of choices among values (mostly binary) associated with parameters.

### **The Minimalist Program**

In the mid-1990s, a new framework called the **Minimalist Program** was proposed (Chomsky 1995), where the concepts of deep and surface structure were abandoned. Instead, all operations are based on the demands at the interfaces where 'sounds' and 'meaning' are interpreted.

Constructing a syntactic object starts from the Lexicon, where all lexical items are taken into a lexical array called Numeration. A structure is constructed by Merge, which merges one object with another, and other operations, such as Agree, take place where necessary.

*Which book will the student buy?*

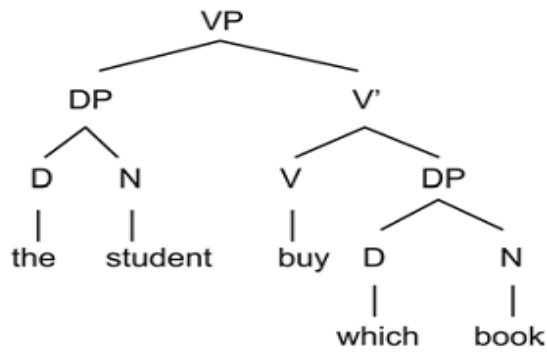


Figure 2 a syntactic computation in the Minimalist Program

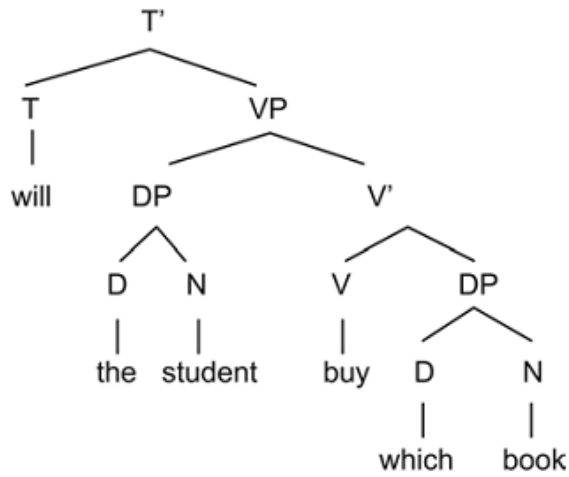


Figure 3 The argument structure is constructed, and the syntactic object has propositional content.

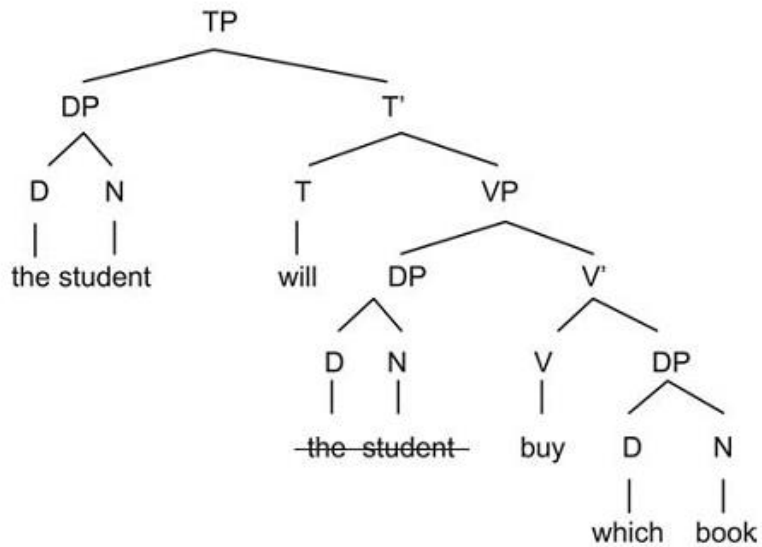


Figure 4 T(ense) merges with this object.

English T has a feature (EPP: Extended Projection Principle), which requires its specifier position to be filled by a DP. So, the DP closest to this position is attracted and moved into the position.

Then, C merges with TP, and the affix feature attracts and moves the tense feature associated with T. The auxiliary “will” is moved as a whole to C.

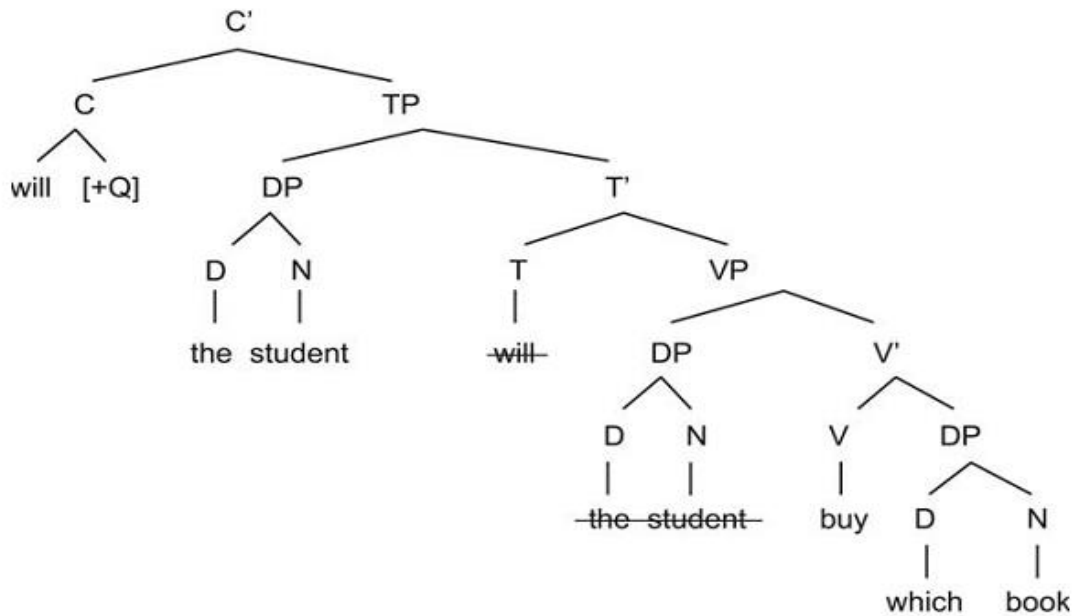


Figure 5 C merges with TP

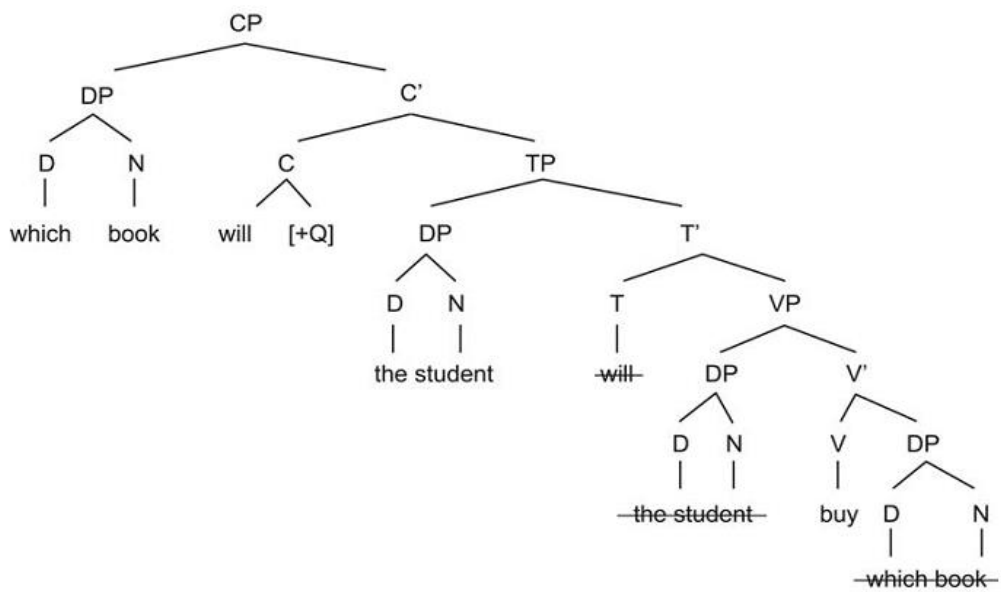


Figure 6 The DP which book is moved to the specifier position of CP

Certain research strategies have been adopted in different frameworks within generative grammar. From the beginning, unlike traditional grammars, generative grammar tried to explain why certain structures are not allowed in a grammar as well as why others are allowed (Smith 2005).

### **Observations that support the Chomskyian view of language**

Until Chomsky propounded his theory of universal grammar in the 1960s, the empiricist school that had dominated thinking about language since the Enlightenment held that when children came into the world, their minds were like a blank slate. Chomsky's theory had the impact of a large rock thrown into this previously tranquil, undisturbed pond of empiricism.

Subsequent research in the cognitive sciences, which combined the tools of psychology, linguistics, computer science, and philosophy, soon lent further support to the theory of universal grammar. For example, researchers found that babies only a few days old could distinguish the phonemes of any language and seemed to have an innate mechanism for processing the sounds of the human voice.

Thus, from birth, children would appear to have certain linguistic abilities that predispose them not only to acquire a complex language, but even to create one from whole cloth if the situation requires. One example of such a situation dates back to the time of plantations and slavery. On many plantations, the slaves came from many different places and so had different mother tongues. They therefore developed what are known as pidgin languages to communicate with one another. Pidgin languages are not languages in the true sense, because they employ words so chaotically—there is tremendous variation in word order, and very little grammar. But these slaves' children, though exposed to these pidgins at the age when children normally acquire their first language, were not content to merely imitate them. Instead, the children spontaneously introduced grammatical complexity into their speech, thus in the space of one generation creating new languages, known as creoles.

### **Criticisms of Chomsky's theories**

Chomsky thus continues to believe that language is "pre-organized" in some way or other within the neuronal structure of the human brain, and that the

environment only shapes the contours of this network into a particular language. His approach thus remains radically opposed to that of Skinner or Piaget, for whom language is constructed solely through simple interaction with the environment. This latter, behaviourist model, in which the acquisition of language is nothing but a by-product of general cognitive development based on sensorimotor interaction with the world, would appear to have been abandoned as the result of Chomsky's theories.

Since Chomsky first advanced these theories, however, evolutionary biologists have undermined them with the proposition that it may be only the brain's general abilities that are "pre-organized". These biologists believe that to try to understand language, we must approach it not from the standpoint of syntax, but rather from that of evolution and the biological structures that have resulted from it. According to Philip Lieberman, for example, language is not an instinct encoded in the cortical networks of a "language organ", but rather a learned skill based on a "functional language system" distributed across numerous cortical and subcortical structures.

Though Lieberman does recognize that human language is by far the most sophisticated form of animal communication, he does not believe that it is a qualitatively different form, as Chomsky claims. Lieberman sees no need to posit a quantum leap in evolution or a specific area of the brain that would have been the seat of this innovation. On the contrary, he says that language can be described as a neurological system composed of several separate functional abilities.

For Lieberman and other authors, such as Terrence Deacon, it is the neural circuits of this system, and not some "language organ", that constitute a genetically predetermined set that limits the possible characteristics of a language. In other words, these authors believe that our ancestors invented modes of communication that were compatible with the brain's natural abilities. And the constraints inherent in these natural abilities would then have manifested themselves in the universal structures of language.

Another approach that offers an alternative to Chomsky's universal grammar is generative semantics, developed by linguist George Lakoff of the University of California at Berkeley. In contrast to Chomsky, for whom syntax is independent of

such things as meaning, context, knowledge, and memory, Lakoff shows that semantics, context, and other factors can come into play in the rules that govern syntax. In addition, metaphor, which earlier authors saw as a simple linguistic device, becomes for Lakoff a conceptual construct that is essential and central to the development of thought.

Lastly, even among those authors who embrace Chomsky's universal grammar, there are various conflicting positions, in particular about how this universal grammar may have emerged. Steven Pinker, for instance, takes an adaptationist position that departs considerably from the exaptation thesis proposed by Chomsky.



**? Answer the questions and comment on the following:**

1. What is generative grammar?
2. What are the main ideas which the philosophy of generative linguistics is based on?
3. What is the aim of generative grammar models?
4. Whose ideas are the foundation of generative grammar?
5. Explain the difference between behaviourism and mentalism.
6. What did N.Chomsky criticise in the book "Verbal Behaviour" by Skinner (1957)?
7. What is stimulus-response model?
8. How is language observed according to generative grammar principles?
9. Explain what E-language and I-language stand for?
10. Outline the framework of generative grammar. Describe Government and Binding Theory or Principles and Parameters and Minimalist Program.
11. What is UG?
12. Give arguments for and against the theory of generative grammar?





## **PART TWO: PRACTICAL TASKS**

**Task One.** *Analyse the following:*

1) A generative grammar is a set of rules that tries to include all examples of correct language and predict how these will be formed.

*E.g.* The tree structure is important in the context-free generative grammar model. It describes phrases in terms of constituent grammatical parts.

Generative grammars are of limited use to learners and are not meant to be a guide to how to use language. Learners looking for more information about grammar can be supported by grammar usage books, which show how structures are used in language, and by prescriptive grammars, which describe rules.

*(after <https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/article/generative-grammar>)*

*Key words and phrases:*

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**Task Two.** *Read the following extract and present the problem in your own way:*

**a) *The Future of Generative Grammar***

Despite the variety of generative theories of grammar that have been put forward, the field has been dominated throughout its history by the work of one individual, Noam Chomsky. He was its founder; he has been its most prolific innovator; and the mainstream of generative research has always followed his lead. Even the proponents of alternative theories (such as the nontransformational approach sketched in the previous section) generally take work of Chomsky's as the point of departure for their proposals. In the early years of generative grammar, the field was constituted largely by Chomsky and his students and collaborators. Over the decades, however, the number of generative grammarians has grown exponentially. Under these circumstances, it is remarkable that Chomsky has retained his dominant position. It seems likely that this will eventually change. Given a saturated academic job market, increasing numbers of linguists are seeking employment in industry. This puts pressure on the field to give more attention to potential applications of its theories. The most obvious type of application for work in generative grammar would be in the development of natural language technologies – that is, computer programs that deal with human languages, e.g., doing machine translation, information retrieval from text files, summarization of texts, and the like. To the extent that such

applications motivate theoretical work, considerations of computational tractability are likely to play an increasingly important role in theory construction. Likewise, such applications call for looking at how people actually use language, rather than focusing exclusively on what is grammatically possible. The investigation of real usage data is greatly facilitated by the availability of large on-line text files, which can be sampled and analyzed with computational tools that did not exist until quite recently. This is already having a noticeable effect on the sorts of data used by generative grammarians in their theoretical arguments. These potential changes should not be worrisome. The history of generative grammar is one of numerous upheavals, as Chomsky has modified the foundations of the theory. These upheavals have been accompanied by vigorous debates and lively competition from alternative frameworks. The result has been – and promises to continue to be – a robust line of research that has greatly enriched our understanding of human linguistic abilities.

(after Thomas Wasaw, “Generative Grammar” in “Handbook of Linguistics”, 2003)

*Key words and phrases:*

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**b)** Contemporary linguistics faces a similar situation to that of the various paradigm shifts in the history of science. The dominant tradition, or rather specific theories under the programme of generative grammar, is under increased scrutiny and alternative frameworks such as Dynamic Syntax, HPSG, and Construction Grammar abound. Understood in structural realist terms, this does not entail abandoning many of the insights or successes of the former. Linguistics, like the natural sciences, does not begin *de novo* with every theory change, if we maintain the continuity of structure. Seen in this light, the previous sections argued for structural relations or similarity between not only different strains of the generative tradition but also across other frameworks such as DS.<sup>23</sup> The structures in question are the mathematical models of the theories or the grammars.<sup>24</sup> In Weisberg (2013), he describes a third

kind of model besides the concrete and mathematical ones, namely computational models. To a certain extent, it is not clear how distinct computational models are from mathematical models (as Weisberg seems to admit when pressed). Nevertheless, computational models have a distinctive procedural or algorithmic element. This aspect allows them to track or represent the dynamics of systems (in terms of states and transitions between them). The models of generative grammar (and dynamic syntax) are of this variety according to most of its practitioners.

.....  
Linguistics is in a relative scientific adolescence, often lacking a clear unified methodology, theoretical persuasion or direction. The dominance of the generative programme is under increased scrutiny and there is a plenitude of frameworks waiting in the wings to take its place. On the one extreme, divergences are often exaggerated and these frameworks are considered to be incommensurable (in the Kuhnian sense). On the other extreme, genuine differences are overlooked and considered to be mere ‘notational variants’ of one another (in the Chomskyan sense).  
.....

Following a line set by Blutner (2011) and Tomalin (2010), I extended this analysis beyond the standard accounts within generative grammar such as Government and Binding and the Minimalist program, to include Jackendoff’s parallel architecture and optimality theory of Prince and Smolensky. Lastly, I attempted to unite the modelling practices of the generative tradition with a competing approach which lacks the similar theoretical underpinnings of the parallel architecture and OT, namely the dynamic syntax of Kempson et al. (2001). I argued that although the theoretical claims of this latter framework are genuinely distinct from those of the specific generative programmes, they approach the target system of natural language in similar ways via minimalist modelling strategies.

*(after Ryan M. Nefdt “Scientific modelling in generative grammar and the dynamic turn in syntax”, 2016)*

**Task Three.** *Read and analyse the given extract and render the information in English:*

За более чем пятьдесят лет в своих политических статьях Н. Хомский проявил себя как один из наиболее оригинальных, с широким диапазоном политический и общественный критик. Отмечая это, литературное обозрение газеты «Нью-Йорк Таймс» считает его глобальным феноменом, возможно, самым читаемым голосом по внешней политике США на планете. Вероятно, значительно менее среди историков известен тот факт, что наряду с репутацией одного из наиболее выдающихся общественных интеллектуальных деятелей в мире в течение более полувека Ноам Хомский был доминирующей личностью в области лингвистики. Как указывает Нил Смит в предисловии к книге Н. Хомского «Новые горизонты в изучении языка и мышления»: «Его теория генеративной грамматики, известная под разными терминами, была руководством и вдохновляющей силой для многих лингвистов в разных

уголках света и точкой отсчета практически для каждого языковеда. Можно не соглашаться с работами Хомского, но игнорировать их означает проявлять близорукость и не подобающее ученому невежество»

Хомский поставил перед учеными четыре фундаментальных вопроса о способности человека усваивать язык и пользоваться им: «1. Что собой представляет система знаний? Что хранится в сознании/мозгу говорящего на английском, испанском или японском языке? 2. Как возникает эта система знаний в сознании/ мозгу? 3. Как это знание используется в речи (или вторичных системах, таких как письмо)? 4. Каковы физические механизмы, служащие материальной базой для этой системы знаний и для использования этого знания?». По утверждению Хомского, данные вопросы являются классическими.

Лингвистические труды Хомского оказали, на мой взгляд, большое влияние, совершив революцию во взглядах ученых, вследствие трех важных факторов: 1) постановки перед лингвистической наукой новых целей, кардинально отличающихся от тех, которые ставила лингвистика того времени, и потому по своей сути революционных; 2) ориентации на формализованное описание; 3) отказа от бихейвиоризма и поворота к когнитивным свойствам языка как дифференцирующей черты человеческого вида. Хотя данные вопросы не получили еще такого оформления в первой книге Хомского «Синтаксические структуры», опубликованной в 1957 г., идеи, которые легли в основу их более поздней формулировки, уже просвечивают в данной книге в виде намеченных Хомским целей лингвистики.

Итогом этих исследований должна стать теория структуры языка, в которой описательные средства, используемые в частных грамматиках, представлены и абстрактно описаны без специфической соотнесенности с конкретными языками» и далее «Фундаментальная цель лингвистического анализа языка L заключается в отделении грамматически правильных последовательностей, в качестве которых выступают предложения L (например, He slept peacefully in his bed all night ‘Он спокойно спал в своей кровати всю ночь’), от неграмматических последовательностей, не являющихся предложениями L (типа знаменитого примера Хомского Colourless green ideas sleep furiously ‘Бесцветные зеленые идеи яростно спят’), и изучении структуры грамматических последовательностей». Несколькими строчками ниже Хомский пишет: «Грамматика L будет поэтому средством, порождающим все из грамматических последовательностей L и ни одной из неграмматических последовательностей». При этом термин «грамматический» имеет значение «принимаемый носителем языка». Генеративная грамматика в интерпретации Хомского есть не что иное, как набор (система) абстрактных правил и принципов, настолько абстрактных, что говорящие на языке не осознают их, а сами правила могут быть даже врожденными, заложенными в их генах. Другими словами, генеративная грамматика, по мнению Хомского, предположительно должна объяснять способность слушателя-говорящего породить и понимать бесконечное число высказываний, включая и новые, с

помощью ограниченного числа грамматических правил и конечного набора грамматических средств языка.

Однако следовать пути, намеченному в «Синтаксических структурах», стало делом нелегким. Найти ответы на кажущиеся простыми вопросы, поставленные Н. Хомским, о сущности языка оказалось чрезвычайно трудно. Это в итоге привело к постановке таких весьма загадочных и неоднозначно решаемых проблем: язык как исключительно человеческая способность, его эволюция и устройство, проблема отношений мозга и тела. Хотя ученые еще не нашли убедительных ответов на эти вопросы, сам факт обращения на них внимания научного сообщества создал мощный интеллектуальный стимул, приведший к появлению целого ряда интереснейших работ лингвистов, психологов, нейрофизиологов, специалистов в компьютерной лингвистике и многих других ученых. В качестве примеров назовем: *The Language Instinct* (1994) С. Пинкера и его же *The Stuff of Thought* (2007), *The Articulate Mammal* (1976) Дж. Эйчисон, *The Symbolic Species* (1997) Т. Дикона, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* (1987) Дж. Лакоффа, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 2003) Дж. Лакоффа и М. Джонсона, *Semantics and Cognition* (1983), *Patterns in the Mind: Language and Human Nature* (1994), *The Architecture of the Language Faculty* (1997), *Foundations of Language. Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution* (2002) Р. Джэкендоффа и др.

Не буду вдаваться в технические подробности и детали генеративной грамматики, особенно принимая во внимание тот факт, что ввиду кардинальных изменений, которые данная теория претерпела с годами, сегодня уже говорят о нескольких версиях генеративной грамматики: **Стандартная теория (Standard Theory – 1957)** – первоначальная модель генеративной грамматики, в которой Хомский ввел основополагающие понятия глубинной и поверхностной грамматических структур и трансформаций, которые должны обеспечивать переход от глубинных к поверхностным структурам. **Расширенная стандартная теория (Extended Standard Theory – 1970)**, в которой к ранее принятым составляющим грамматики (фонетическому компоненту, трансформационному компоненту и прежде всего синтаксису) добавляется семантический компонент. **Теория управления и связывания (The Government and Binding Theory – 1981)**, в которой есть место лишь для одной универсальной трансформации *move  $\alpha$*  ‘перемещение  $\alpha$ ’ и ряду специфических модулей (Икс-бар синтаксис, теория связывания, теория управления, теория падежей, тета-теория). Каждый из них имеет свои собственные принципы и параметры, которые предопределяют на выходе специфический для каждого языка результат. **Минималистская программа (The Minimalist Program – 1992)**, в которой наряду с базовыми компонентами, а именно – лексиконом и вычислительной системой – есть два интерфейса: фонетический и логический. **Теория неоформленных фраз (Bare Phrase Structure – 1994)**. **Пофазовая деривация (Derivation By Phase – 2001)**. Аппарат описания, равно как и многие научные постулаты, оказались неузнаваемыми, понятия глубинной и поверхностной структур, годами упорно продвигаемые генеративными грамматистами и Хомским, были упразднены

усилиями его бывших аспирантов Посталом, Россом и Макколи, набор трансформаций был заменен на общую операцию перемещения, вся структура генеративной грамматики приобрела совершенно иные очертания.

Благодаря своему структуралистски ориентированному образованию в Университете Пенсильвании, Хомский следовал традиции, уделяя внимание прежде всего синтаксису, оставляя семантику за бортом лингвистического описания. Однако язык человека с его главной функцией – быть репрезентацией мысли, делать ее ясной как для самого себя, так и для передачи другим, – не мыслим без значения. Поэтому синтаксис и семантика не могут быть разделены. Соответственно, Хомский под влиянием лучших своих учеников был вынужден ввести в Расширенную стандартную теорию семантический компонент, предназначенный для того, чтобы дать семантическую интерпретацию порожденным предложениям. Этот шаг привел к возникновению целого ряда интерпретационных или генеративных семантик и стал, в то же время, «революцией внутри революции» [там же], или началом так называемых лингвистических войн между лингвистами восточного (Н. Хомский, Дж. Катц, Р. Джэкендофф как наиболее яркие представители) и западного побережья (с Ч. Филмором и Дж. Лакоффом в качестве лидеров). Генеративные семантики считают, что генеративным и тем самым ядерным компонентом лингвистической теории является не синтаксис, а семантика. Исследования сторонников генеративной грамматики выявили другую слабую сторону грамматики Хомского. Генеративная грамматика призвана производить правильные предложения, приемлемые носителями языка.

Принимая во внимание наши постоянно меняющиеся намерения произвести определенный эффект на слушателей и множественные ошибки, которые мы делаем при производстве и понимании предложений, можем с легкостью сделать вывод, что представления Хомского о нашей языковой компетенции и использовании языка, как отмечают критики Хомского, достаточно ошибочны.

Среди ученых не было единодушия и относительно концепции Хомского о природе человеческого разума. Взгляд этого ученого на язык как уникальную человеческую способность влечет за собой вопрос о том, как развивалась у человека эта способность. Ответ Хомского состоял в том, что универсальная грамматика, которой пользуется ребенок, является частью его генетического наследия, другими словами, язык является врожденной способностью. Это заявление посеяло раздор среди психологов (среди которых наиболее слышны были голоса Жана Пиаже, Элизабет Бейтс и Майкла Томаселло, ведущих специалистов в психологии усвоения языка) и нейрофизиологов. Они яростно воспротивились теории врожденности языка и в противовес ей объясняют появление языка рядом общих характеристик мозга, а усвоение языка ребенком – с помощью общих механизмов обработки информации мозгом, взаимодействующих с разнообразным и сложным социальным окружением, в котором язык усваивается и используется. Среди других недостатков генеративной грамматики Хомского было то обстоятельство, что она,

основываясь в значительной степени на логических и философских аспектах теории языка и развивая их, в то же время приводила к тривиальным практическим выводам и наблюдениям, в целом к ничтожным реальным результатам. Таким образом, обещания, данные в начале, остались невыполненными.

Мне не хотелось бы давать здесь какие-либо свои оценки. Вместо этого, завершая статью, я бы хотела подчеркнуть, что Н. Хомский сместил фокус научных интересов на рассмотрение одного из наиболее важных вопросов гуманитарной науки «Что есть язык для человека? Что делает нас особенным видом животных? Как работает наш мозг?». Если оценивать его научные достижения в этом свете, то я полностью согласна с Джоном Серлем, который сказал, завершая анализ работ Н. Хомского, следующее: «В конечном итоге, я думаю, что его самым большим вкладом будет считаться сделанный им большой шаг вперед в направлении восстановления традиционных представлений о величии и уникальности человека». С этой позиции лингвистические взгляды Ноама Хомского представляют собой увлекательную картину переходного периода в истории науки, занимающей значительную часть в истории общества.

*(after З. А. Харитончик «Хомскианская революция: обещания и результаты», 2017)*

*Key words and phrases:*

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**Task Four.** *Render the following into Russian:*

Language has double characters. On one hand, it is the product from the mind and the mouth of individuals, and it expresses one's thoughts. On the other hand, whenever one speaks, he speaks to others and inevitably has some effect on others, and therefore, language is also the tool of human communication.

Following these two lines, since the 1950s, there have been two linguistic schools appearing among others, each developing along its own line and both gaining more impact and influence than the others. One is the transformational generative grammar (TGG) represented by Chomsky, an American scholar; the other is the systemic functional grammar (SFG), represented by M.A.K. Halliday, a British linguist.

As most previous literature has taken TGG and SFG as two contradictory perspectives to language and their differences have already been talked thoroughly time and again, in this study, the author mainly focused on the non-contradictory side of the two approaches to see how they could supplement each other and forms a more comprehensive picture of the language of English. The research method adopted in the present study is qualitative to describe the two approaches of grammar and to explore how they could be "combined" in terms of linguistic competence, syntax and pragmatics.

To achieve this goal, the attitudes of the two grammars towards the nature of language and linguistic competence will be discussed to see how, instead of being exclusive to each other, they could mutually support each other. Then, special attention will be paid to different functional purposes that guide the transformation from the same deep structure to different surface structures, and the transformational processes that facilitate the completion of linguistic functions.

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Furthermore, bearing these similarities and complementation in mind, most importantly, this paper discusses how to combine these two perspectives to make the best use of them in second language acquisition and second language teaching.

### **Transformational generative grammar (TGG)**

Chomsky's TGG sees language as a system of innate rules. For TGG, a native speaker possesses a kind of linguistic competence. The child is born with knowledge of some linguistic universals. Thus, language learning is not a matter of habit formation, but an activity of building and testing hypothesis (Chomsky, 1986).

Chomsky's theory initiates from his three main questions: a) What constitutes knowledge of language? b) How is such knowledge acquired? c) How is such knowledge put to use?

With sentence as his focus, Chomsky's grammar has essentially two basic components: Phrase structure rules and transformational rules. Phrase structure rules are generalizations about the ways in which categories (such as noun, adjective, verb, etc.) can be combined to make phrases and sentences in a language. With these rules, many sentences can be created:  $S \rightarrow NP + VP$ ;  $VP \rightarrow V + NP$ ;  $NP \rightarrow Det + N$ , and so on. Such rules are the major source of productivity in grammar (Chomsky, 1986, 1994).

For the transformational rules, according to Chomsky (2002), a sentence has two structures, one is surface structure and the other is deep structure. The surface structure is the kind of sentence we ordinarily say, while the deep structure is an abstract syntactic representation of sentence from which its surface structure generates. The deep structure specifies the basic meaning and categories of the sentence. In other words, it is the skeleton of a sentence with all the information necessary to do three things: to derive a well-formed sentence, to give it a phonological representation and to give it a semantic interpretation. This structure is modified in various ways to become a surface structure, which is the linear arrangement of words and phrases which will be produced. The rules with which we transform the deep structure of a sentence into the surface structure are called transformational rules. They are rules of passive transformation, yes/no transformation, do transformation, negation transformation, etc. These rules were used to add, delete, or permute, that is, change order and some-times also hierarchic relationship among constituents of the deep structure to turn it into an ordinary sentence we use in everyday life.

### **Systemic functional grammar (SFG)**

Contrary to Chomsky's TGG, Halliday's SFG attaches great importance to the sociological aspects of language. He views language as a form of "doing" rather as a form of "knowing" (Halliday, 1979; Halliday and Matthiessen, 2014).

SFG focuses on the following two questions: a) What are the special functions of language? b) How are these functions reflected in the linguistic system? Halliday (1973) recognizes three functions of language in communication of human society. They are: 1) Ideational function: language functioning as a means of conveying and interpreting experience of the world (this function is subdivided into two sub-functions, the experiential and the logical sub-functions). 2) Interpersonal function: language functioning as an expression of one's attitudes and an influence upon the attitudes and behavior of the hearer. 3) Textual function: language functioning as a means of constructing a text, that is, a spoken or written instantiation of language.

Halliday's functional theory is based his systemic theory, with the former as the output of the latter. They are two inseparable parts for an integral frame work of linguistic theory. Systemic grammar aims to explain the internal relations in language as a system network, or meaning potential. And this network consists of systems from which language users make choices. The items of a particular system should belong to the same area of meaning.

### **The nature of language**

Looking at language from the inside, Chomskian linguists define language as a set of rules or principles. They believe that human beings are born with a language acquisition device, which enables them to acquire a language in such a way that other animals cannot. TGG relates language with human being's physical and psychological features and views language as "a form of knowing". Chomsky considers language as the starting point to investigate the common laws of language and to find out the cognitive system, mental laws and intrinsic quality of human being.

On the other hand, SFG views language as a systematic resource for meaning expression in social context, and thus linguists should focus on how people exchange meanings through the actual use of language. Halliday (2004, 2007) views language as form of "doing", and holds that the nature of language is determined by the functions it evolves to serve in the society. This functional perspective to the nature of language is deeply rooted in its anthropology and sociology origins from Malinowski and Firth.

From the above analysis, we can see that although TGG and SFG look at language from two different angle— one from a psychological perspective inside the language, and the other from a sociological perspective outside the language, they do not exclude each other, but are different aspects of the same subject- language. It would be unthoughtful to deny that language is a psychological phenomenon, but equally unwise to deny that it is a social phenomenon. Taking the two perspectives together, we can gain a more wholesome understanding of the nature of language as both inside knowledge and a behavior serving certain social functions. Without language acquisition device in human mind, it would be impossible for human beings to ever start acquiring language, not to say using language to serve certain purposes. Meanwhile, leaving the social and functional aspect of language unconsidered, there would be no reason for the existing of language. Everything in the world is connected

with others, the same is true for language. Language could never be fully understood leaving its social features aside.

### **Parole and Langue**

As both SFG and TGG belong to modern linguistics, they all follow the basic principles of modern linguistics proposed by Saussure and get new linguistic points from previous linguists. Both of them pay attention to the distinction of **LANGUE**- the linguistic competence of the speaker (sentence) and **PAROL**- the actual phenomena or data of linguistics (utterance).

Following Saussure's concepts of langue and parole, Chomsky introduces the fundamental distinction of linguistic competence and performance in his aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965). In that book, he points out a language user's underlying knowledge about the system of rules is called his linguistic competence; while the actual use of language in concrete situations of daily communication is named performance. As TGG is primarily concerned with the internal knowledge of language inside human mind, it focuses more on the linguistic competence rather than performance which contains numerous false starts, deviations from rules and changes of plan in expression, and so on. In Chomsky's view, linguistic competence can explain every single linguistic performance, as thus, it should always be the focus of linguistic study.

In the meantime, Halliday (2001) distinguishes linguistic behavior potential and actual linguistic behavior. He sees language as a three-level semiotic system, consisting of a semantic system (what can be done), a lexico-grammatical system (what is meant to be done) and a phonological system (what can be said) with the higher-level systems embedded/realized in the lower level systems. Halliday points out clearly that linguistics study should include both langue and parole. But he does not use these two terms proposed by Saussure, instead he uses "can do" and "does". "Can do" refers to the meaning potential which provides various possibilities to human beings for communication thorough language, while "does" refers to the actual choices of the possibilities, that means, the choices of lexico-grammatical system reflecting the chosen meaning potential. However, he also noticed that as "can do" is what is hidden behind, we cannot observe it directly. The only way we can get to know the linguistic potential (can do) of someone is through the observation of his/her actual linguistic behavior (does). As thus, in SFG, more attention has been paid to actual linguistic behavior, or linguistic performance in Chomsky's term.

However, although in different terms, as pointed by all the three linguists: Saussure, Chomsky and Halliday, all languages have an internal side and an external side, to know a language, we should have the knowledge of both internal "linguistic competence"/ "what one can do" and external "linguistic performance"/ "what one does". We can work from the external to shed light on the internal or vice versa, but whatever the start point is, the ultimate goal of linguistics should be to gain a knowledge of both aspects of language. So from this perspective, we may say that the distinction between the focuses of SFG and TGG is a matter concerning the start point, rather than a black and white contradiction. They are more like two roads leading to the same destination, each with its own landscape.

## **Syntax and pragmatics**

### ***Functional guidance of transformation***

SFG has evolved in use and it has no existence apart from the practice of those who use it. The social functions of language have occupied a crucial place in SFG. According to Halliday, ‘language is because of the functions it has evolved to serve’ (1976, p. 26). SFL puts great emphasis on the different functions language serves in the social communication of human beings. Halliday defines functional grammar as essentially a natural grammar, in the sense that everything in it can be explained, ultimately, by reference to how language is used. As SFG takes clause as the basic unit of analysis, on the syntax level, all the transformational rules in TGG could be explained with the functions it is to accomplish. Whenever and wherever there is transformation, there is a reason behind, and the ultimate reason is the function it is to serve.

To take the sentence “John broke the vase” for example, it can be transformed to the following sentences under the transformation rules:

1. John didn’t break the vase.
2. Did John break the vase?
3. The vase was broken by John.
4. The vase was broken.
5. ....

All the transformations are guided by the functions the deep structure “John broke the vase.” This structure is called “kernel sentence” by Chomsky. In the first example, the kernel sentence undergoes the transformation of negation. The function it serves is to express the addresser’s attitude or belief in the topic under discussion. In this way, it serves the interpersonal function. Example 2 is a case of interrogative transformation, it serves the function of “demanding information” with the form of an interrogation. It belongs to the interpersonal function and makes up the principle speech role of question according to Halliday. The next sentence “The vase was broken by John.” undergoes passive transformation from the kernel sentence. By putting the object “the vase” in the beginning place of the sentence, the departure of the information delivered by the sentence has changed accordingly from “John” to “the vase”. It represents a different way of our perception of the world. So it serves both ideational and textual functions. In the last example, the subject “John” is omitted directly from the original kernel sentence. This is an optional transformation in passive transformation. Nevertheless, it has its own functions to serve. By omitting the actor (John) of the material process, this whole action seems to happen all by its own, thus hiding the causal relationship between the actor and the process (break), creating a mystifying effect. The vase seems to break all by itself. In this way, the actor “John” is protected from his responsibility of breaking the vase.

From these examples, we can see that functions are served during the transformation processes from the same deep structure to a variety of surface structures, and even within every transformational step in every transformational process, transformation is functionally directed. In the extended standard theories of Chomsky, he also admits that any kind of transformations will certainly change the

sentence meaning, and now completely puts semantic interpretation which is related with the functions of language into the surface structure.

#### *Linguistic function facilitation of transformational device*

In the meantime, in order to serve some particular functions, particular forms of language should be taken. We cannot use the same surface structure once and for all the different functions we want to achieve. According to Chomsky (1965), the deep structure specifies the basic meaning and categories of the sentence. In other words, it is the skeleton of a sentence with all the information necessary to do three things: to derive a well-formed sentence, to give it a phonological representation and to give it a semantic interpretation. To express different meanings to serve various functions, the same deep structure has to be transformed into a variety of surface structures. As thus, the transformational devices facilitate the accomplishment of functions language serves, and it is what makes the language creative and functionable.

The ideational function, as it deals with the conveying of new information through specific use of language to refer to categories of experiences in the world, can only be achieved by the different uses of language (surface structures). And the same world process can be expressed in different ways according to our different understandings. For example, the material process “John broke the window” can be reworded as “the window was broken by John” or just “the window was broken” if the speaker does not know who broke it or chances may be that speaker does know who broke the window but does not want to tell the others. Thus, our particular perceptions of the world are tied up with particular expressions. And as for the interpersonal function which deals with people’s attitudes, the same kernel sentence “John broke the window” can be said as “perhaps John broke the window” or with more confidence “It must be John who broke the window.” So we can see, in order to achieve different degrees of confidence, to express different attitudes, we have to apply different surface structures. And textually, as the textual function deals with combining stretches of discourse into a coherent and unified text, to make a passage coherent and sound natural, we have to make some transformations from the deep structure. For example, to make the actual sentence “John ate some spaghetti, and Mary some macaroni” work, first we have the deep structures “John ate some spaghetti” and “Mary ate some macaroni”, then we have to add the conjunction “and” to combine these two sentences together, then the combined sentence “John ate some spaghetti and Mary ate some macaroni” undergoes the deletion rule – the second “ate” is omitted to make the sentence sound more natural and coherent. This combining and deleting transformations together facilitate the textual function of a language.

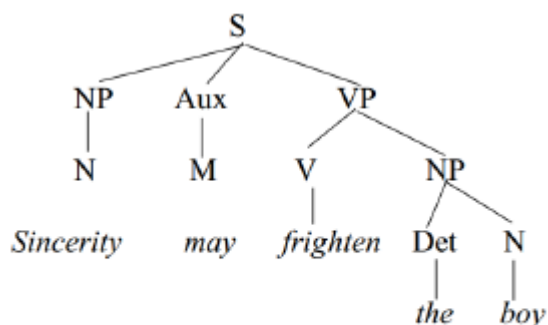
In summary, we can see that transformation process from the same deep structure to a variety of surface structures allows for the achievement of different functions. It is the generative nature of these transformational rules that made it possible to achieve the numerous functions we can fulfill with our language.

### **IMPLICATIONS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND TEACHING**

#### *Application of TGG*

Although Chomsky announces that his theory applies primarily to native speakers but not to second language learners, there are several aspects of his theory which is significant in second language acquisition and have been adopted by many second language teachers and researchers.

TGG presents grammar as a linguistic knowledge capable of generating an infinite number of sentences from a finite set of rules which is capable of generating all and only the grammatically correct sequences of that language. From this point, to know a language means to know the finite set of rules. This makes language learning and teaching a much easier and more direct experience. For example, from the tree diagram (Figure 1) of the sentence “sincerity may frighten the boy”, the structure of this sentence is presented clearly. The following phrase structure rules are applied to generate this sentence.



**Figure 1.** Tree diagram for “sincerity may frighten the boy”.

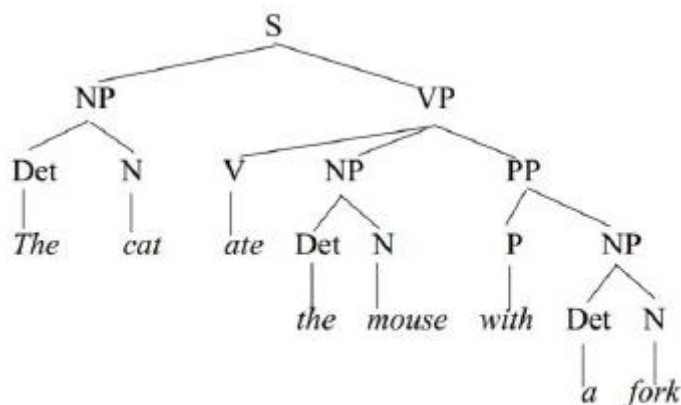
1)  $S \rightarrow NP + Aux + VP$   
 $VP \rightarrow V + NP$   
 $NP \rightarrow Det + N$   
 $NP \rightarrow N$   
 $Det \rightarrow the$   
 $Aux \rightarrow M$

2)  $M \rightarrow may$   
 $N \rightarrow sincerity$   
 $N \rightarrow boy$   
 $V \rightarrow frighten$

When we learn this sentence, we do not just know the surface expressions of the sentence; instead, we learn the set of rules that could generate the sentence, so that we can make other sentences with the same structure. For example, we know that a sentence may consist of a noun phrase, an auxiliary verb and a verb phrase. Then we may generate other sentences like “John may come”, “The bird can imitate what people say” and so on. Then on the lower level, the verb phrase “frighten the boy” in this sentence is formed by a verb and a noun phrase, following this rule, we may generate an infinite number of verb phrases like “eat an apple”, “sing a song”, etc. By the same token, the students can generate all the negative sentences by acquiring

the negative transformation rule, and interrogative sentences and passive sentences, so on and so forth. In this way, the students can acquire a language easily by mastering a finite number of phrase structural rules and transformational rules.

Besides, the deep structure and surface structure may also help the students to understand some ambiguous expressions. Take the sentence “the cat ate the mouse with a fork” for example, the ambiguity of the sentence comes from the two deep structures it is related with.



**Figure 2.** Tree diagram for “the cat ate the mouse with a fork”.

In the first deep structure, the PP “with a fork” is attached with the verb “ate”, generating the meaning of “the cat ate with a fork”, while in the second deep structure of the sentence, as can see the PP can also be attached to the noun phrase “the mouse”, so it becomes “a mouse with a fork was eaten by the cat”. In this way, TGG helps the students to understand particular sentences and allows the teachers to explain clearly to their students wherever ambiguities occur.

#### *Application of SFG*

Unlike most theoretical linguistics, SFG makes no distinction between linguistics and applied linguistics (Chen, 2008), always ready to apply their theory of language use and meta-functions to educational practices. Via foregrounding the social nature of language and viewing language in functional terms, SFG has been a useful model in a pedagogically applied sense since its emergence. One basic assumption of all these functionally oriented pedagogies is that the ultimate goal of knowing a language is to communicate with others— language is a tool of communication. If we want to interact in the world successfully, we must learn more about the usage of a certain language instead of the rules of that language system itself. The objective of language teaching is to generate successful language users and not flawless grammarians.

Having said that, SFG is extremely useful in communicative approaches of second language teaching where function is always considered as an important issue. It leads directly to the development of notion/ function-based syllabuses (Chen, 2008). This approach was first proposed by Wilkins (1976) and van Ek (1975), two famous linguists in U.K. and has received considerable attention since the 70s in 20th century. In the fully notional model proposed by Wilkins (1976), there is great emphasis on Halliday’s meaning potential which is the semantic system of a

language, and thus he coins the term notional. The functional model proposed by van Ek (1975) has much in common with Wilkins' notional model, but it further takes in Halliday's concepts of meta-functions. Van Ek's focus of the functional model is on what a learner can do with language rather than the meaning potential he has in mind and intends to express. However, focusing on the communicative or functional aspect of second language teaching and learning does not mean that SFG totally ignores the rules of language or that the rules are not important in second language teaching and learning, rather, it proposes that if we view the linguistic system as closely related to our social needs and the functions that it serves, then we may begin to make sense from the way it is organized. To know a language, we have to know both the grammatical organization of the language itself, and how to use language appropriately in practical interactions with people around us.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that SFG and TGG are not mutually exclusive. On the surface, these two approaches seem to be opposed to each other. They have different views towards the nature of language; they propose different emphasis on research, and they have totally different analytical frameworks. Nevertheless, based on the above analysis, we may see that each of them has a considerable amount of truth on its own side. Instead of being completely contradictory and mutually exclusive, SFG and TGG supplement each other and together present us a more holistic picture of language with their own strengths and weaknesses. They offer us a multi-angle view towards the nature of language. While it would be unwise to deny that language is a psychological phenomenon, it would be equally senseless to deny that it is a social phenomenon. On the syntax level, the different theories of SFG and TGG can be used to elaborate each other. Although, their research focuses are different with one on linguistic competence and the other linguistic performance, this is more a difference of starting points which gradually lead to the same destination, as both of them admit and accept the two aspects (competence and performance) of language and acknowledge their importance. Linguistic knowledge that should be a combination of the two. In the field of second language teaching and acquisition, each of the two approaches has its own advantages. To be a competent language user, one should be able to speak that language in a correct way and in an appropriate manner.

(after 2017 Rong Xiao "Combining transformative generative grammar and systemic functional grammar: Linguistic competence, syntax and second language acquisition", 2017)



## CHAPTER TWO

### APPLIED LINGUISTICS

#### *PART ONE: THEORETICAL ASPECTS*

#### **WHAT IS APPLIED LINGUISTICS?**

The application of the concepts and methods of linguistics to any of various practical problems involving language. The term applied linguistics is most often encountered in connection with foreign language teaching. But linguistics has also proved useful in a variety of other practical domains, such as mother-tongue teaching, lexicography, translation, the teaching of reading, forensic linguistics, and the diagnosis and treatment of language disability. Today all these are understood as for main part of applied linguistics, such that the term is used by many simply in contrast with theoretical linguistics to emphasize its practical, fieldwork-based, data-driven and empirical nature.

Applied linguistics is an interdisciplinary field of study that identifies, investigates, and offers solutions to language-related real-life problems.

Major branches of applied linguistics include bilingualism and multilingualism, computer-mediated communication (CMC), conversation analysis, contrastive linguistics, language assessment, literacies, discourse analysis, language pedagogy, second language acquisition, lexicography, language planning and policies, pragmatics, forensic linguistics, and translation.

Applied linguistics is the academic field which connects knowledge about language to decision-making in the real world. Generally speaking, the role of applied linguists is to make insights drawn from areas of language study relevant to such decision-making. In this sense applied linguistics mediates between theory and practice.

The origins of applied linguistics lie in the mid-twentieth century effort to give an academic underpinning to the study of language teaching and learning. Until at least the 1980s applied linguistics was most closely associated with the problems and puzzles surrounding language pedagogy, learning and acquisition. This focus is still

prominent for many: it remains the most active area of applied linguistic enquiry, though the time is past when it could be considered the sole motivation for the field. Applied linguistics concerns range from the well-established ones of language learning, teaching, testing and teacher education, to matters as disparate as language and the law, the language of institutions, medical communication, media discourse, translation and interpreting, and language planning.

Applied linguistics engages with contemporary social questions of culture, ethnicity, gender, identity, ageing, and migration. Applied linguists adopt perspectives on language in use spanning critical discourse analysis, linguistic ethnography, sociocultural theories, literacy, stylistics and sociolinguistics. And applied linguistics draws upon descriptions of language from traditions such as cognitive linguistics, corpus linguistics, generative linguistics and systemic functional linguistics, among others.

Though this is an applied field and an interdisciplinary one, it is not fragmented. The distinctive identity of contemporary applied linguistics can be characterized both in conceptual terms and in terms of its scope and coverage (*The handbook of applied linguistics*).

Unlike some branches of theoretical linguistics which are concerned with language as an abstract object, applied linguistics must take into consideration not only the nature of language but the nature of the particular world in which language is used, the beliefs, social institutions, and culture of its users, and how these influence language use. Ideally, the job of an applied linguist is to diagnose a problem in real-world language use, bring the insights of linguistics to bear on the problem, and suggest solutions. An applied linguist, for example, might be called upon to recommend clinical treatment of a language impairment, design an educational program for immigrant children, or advise a school district on language policy. Because the questions addressed by applied linguistics deal with language use in the full richness of its context, applied linguists work closely with professionals in other disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and education.

Although applied linguistics is “problem-based,” much work in applied linguistics has not reached a stage where specific solutions to problems can be suggested in particular settings. Rather, much research is conducted at the first stage, namely, accurately describing the use of language in particular settings or by particular participants.

The field now includes work in the general areas of cross-cultural pragmatics, psycholinguistics, language acquisition and socialization, language for specific purposes, literacy, language policy and planning, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, rhetoric and stylistics, and translation and interpretation. These areas are in addition to the more traditional areas of concern: second language pedagogy, assessment, second language acquisition, bilingualism, and bilingual education. In other words, the questions that applied linguistics seeks to answer range over a multitude of disciplines and real-world settings.

### **DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Discourse analysis is a subfield of linguistics, it is also appropriate to say that discourse analysis goes beyond linguistics as it has been understood in the past. For as I have discussed above, discourse analysts research various aspects of language not as an end in itself, but as a means to explore ways in which language forms are shaped by and shape the contexts of their use. Further, discourse analysis draws upon (and is practiced by scholars in) not only linguistics (especially functional linguistics), but also anthropology, sociology, psychology, philosophy, cognitive science, and other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences concerned with human communication. Discourse analysis is a wonderfully creative enterprise. It is also a disciplined enterprise. It is creative in the sense that one can, for instance, combine interests in conversation analysis, grammar, storytelling, institutional discourse and gender by investigating how gender is reflected and recreated through specific speech exchange systems and specific grammatical processes in conversational storytelling at workplaces. It is disciplined in the sense that not all approaches to discourse are equally defensible against all sources of doubt and that

one needs to determine what constitutes the nature of the research question and to choose which set of theoretical and methodological constraints to abide by. Discourse analysis promotes a view of language which says that language use is not only reflective of other aspects of our lives but is also constitutive of them. In this sense, it revitalizes, advances, and systematizes functional and anthropological oriented schools of linguistics, thus creating a healthy balance with autonomist linguistics. As it draws insights from various disciplines, it also contributes to interfacing linguistics with other domains of inquiries, such that for example we might now investigate the construction of culture through conversation or program computers to generate interactive texts based on our understanding of the rules and principles of human interaction. Finally, discourse analysis brings to linguistics and related disciplines a human dimension. It focusses on language as it is used by real people with real intentions, emotions, and purposes (*after Handbook of Linguistics, 2003*)

## **CORPORA LINGUISTICS**

Languages and linguistics also cannot help exploiting this tool for storing, processing, exploring language material and linguistic matters. So, within applied linguistics some variations of databases can be found as means of language studies: term banks and language corpora. Databases are now widely used in and for various spheres of human life: science (informatics, mathematics, etc), everyday activities (shopping), industry, communication (social nets) and so on.

### **The essence of the corpus**

**A corpus (pl. corpora)** is a large collection of written or spoken language (a store of used language) that is used for studying the language.

**Corpus linguistics** is the study of language as expressed in samples (*corpora*) or "real world" text. It "shows" how language works and how knowledge about language can be applied in certain real-life contexts.

Originally done by hand, corpora are now largely derived by a computer automated process. The improved accessibility of computers has changed corpus study from a subject for specialists only to something that is open to all.

The aim of corpora investigation is to introduce students to corpus applications in their studies of language: theory, teaching, translation, lexicography, forensic linguistics, etc.

There are two major directions of corpora studies:

\* *the effect of corpus studies upon theories of language* and how languages should be described. Corpora allow researches not only to count categories in traditional approaches to language but also to observe categories and phenomena that have not been noticed before.

\* *the critical approach to the methods used in investigating corpora*, and a comparison between them. It is important to be aware of the possible pitfalls in their production.

### **The ways of processing data from a corpus**

The corpus is not a library or an electronic archive. A corpus is planned and designed for some linguistic purpose that is other than to preserve the texts themselves; it is stored to be studied non-linearly, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Corpus access software can re-arrange that store so that observations of various kinds can be made. A corpus does not contain new information about language, but the software offers us a new perspective on the familiar. Most readily available software packages process data from a corpus in three ways:

frequency, phraseology, and collocation.

#### **Frequency**

The words in a corpus can be arranged in order of their frequency in that corpus. Frequency lists from corpora can be useful for identifying possible differences between the corpora that can then be studied in more detail; or the frequency of given words, compared across corpora.

#### **Phraseology**

Most people access a corpus through a concordancing program. Concordance lines bring together many instances of use of a word or phrase, allowing the user to

observe regularities in use that tend to remain unobserved when the same words or phrases are met in their normal contexts.

### **Collocation**

The data in corpora can be manipulated in the calculation of collocation.

Collocation is the statistical tendency of words to co-occur

### **The applications of corpora**

Corpora nowadays have a diverse range of uses:

- \* for language teaching;
- \* individual exploring allowing to observe nuances of usage and to make comparisons between languages;
- \* translators use comparable corpora to compare the use of apparent translation equivalents in two languages;
- \* general corpora can be used to establish norms of frequency and usage against which individual texts can be measured (stylistics, clinical and forensic linguistics);
- \* for investigation cultural attitudes expressed through language.

### **Types of corpora**

The type of a corpus depends on its purpose. Here are some commonly used types:

- \* Specialised corpus
- \* General corpus
- \* Comparable corpora
- \* Parallel corpora
- \* Learner corpus
- \* Pedagogic corpus
- \* Historical or diachronic corpus
- \* Monitor corpus

<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/> British national corpus

<http://www.anc.org/> American NC

<http://www.americancorpus.org/>

<http://corpus.byu.edu/>

<http://www.ruscorpora.ru/en/> Russian NC

<http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.htm> International English C

<http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/uhlcs/readme-all/README-turkic-lgs.html>

Computer Corpora of Turkic languages

<http://www.collinslanguage.com/wordbanks/>

## **TRANSLATION AND CORPORA**

Translation is an increasingly important application of corpora, partly because of the needs of institutions, for whom translation is crucial, to improve and automate the process. Research into corpora and translation tends to focus on two areas: practical and theoretical.

In practical terms, the question is:

What software can be developed that will enable a translator to exploit corpora as an aid in the day-to-day business of translation?

In theoretical terms, the question is:

What does a corpus consisting of translated texts indicate about the process of translation itself?

Because corpora can be used to raise awareness about language in general, they are extremely useful in training translators and in pointing up potential problems for translation. E.g. unusual collocations exploited by writers and where this poses a problem for translators rendering the texts into target language (Kenny 2000).

E.g. many documents from EU are produced in several languages simultaneously. It is possible to align these documents so that sentences can be extracted that include a word a phrase in one language and its equivalent in one or more other languages.

A translator using corpora and software such as this can see at a glance what possible translations are available for a given word or phrase. Corpora used in this way often comprise original texts and their translations.

E.g A multilingual concordancing program MULTICONC. This program has been developed as part of an EU-funded project which has also collected a multilingual parallel corpus.

Corpora can be used to identify what terms are used in a particular discipline in a given language and can therefore improve the dictionaries available to translators.

They might also help in developing machine translation (a single word may be translated differently depending on the context). A corpus approach that identifies phrases rather than individual words can help to make machine translation more accurate.

So, corpora can provide not only evidence for how words are used and what translations for a given word or phrase are possible, they also provide an insight into the process and nature of translation itself.

## **TERM BANKS**

Technological development in the second half of the 20th century also resulted in the more important innovations in the field of terminology. At that time, data banks first appeared, and the initial approaches were made to standardise terminology within a language.

Moreover, the spread of personal computers brought about a major change in the conditions for processing terminological data.

Terminological data bank, or term bank broadly applies to any system, which stores specialised vocabulary in electronic form.

EURODICAUTOM, TERMIUM



**? Answer the questions and comment on the following:**



1. What is applied linguistics?
2. Is language teaching the only field of study in applied linguistics?
3. Give the branches of linguistics.
4. What other aspects of contemporary life is applied linguistics related to?
5. Is it true to say that applied linguistics is fragmented due to its interdisciplinary character?
6. What other scientific branches is applied linguistics interrelated with?
7. Is applied linguistics more practical than theoretical discipline?
8. What is discourse analysis?
9. What does corpora linguistics study?
10. What aspects of the relation translation and corpora is it necessary to emphasise?
11. What is a term bank?



## ***PART TWO: PRACTICAL TASKS***

### **Task One.** *Analyse the following:*

Despite its name, applied linguistics draws its inspiration not only from linguistic theory but from theories that have been developed in other fields, such as psychology, sociology, or anthropology. But these theories are not blueprints for explaining the practice and then proffering recommendations for solving problems in the real world, or even for predicting the success of certain practices over others. Like any research on complex systems, the goal of applied linguistic research is twofold: (i) to observe, explain, analyze, and interpret the practice and to communicate the results of its research to practitioners; (ii) to reflect on both the practitioner's and the researcher's practice and to develop a theory of the practice that is commensurate with its object of study.

A number of applied linguists have offered, in recent years, elements of an applied linguistic theory of language practice. For example, scholars from the Vygotskian school of sociocultural psychology have focused on the activity as the unit of analysis in SLA (Lantolf 2000; Lantolf and Thorne 2006), Pennycook's *Language as Local Practice* (2010) has shown how language emerges from the activities it performs on the level of the local or particular, even though the particular is always defined in relation to the universal. Widdowson's *Practical Stylistics* (1992) has offered the opportunity to explore what theoretical insights the practice of stylistics can yield for both the researcher and the practitioner. Conversation analysts

such as Kasper (2001), Markee (2004), or Gardner and Wagner (2004) have examined what an analysis of conversational practice can contribute to SLA theory. The contributors to Kramsch (2002) have sought to construct a phenomenology of language learning practices that richly added to Larsen-Freeman and Cameron's complexity theory of SLA (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). And in the professional field, Chris Candlin and Srikant Sarangi have renamed their journal *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice* to under

*(after Claire Kramsch "Applied Linguistics: A Theory of the Practice", 2015)*

*Key words and phrases*

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**Task Two.** *Read and analyse the given extract and render the information in English:*

В настоящее время понятие прикладной лингвистики многозначно и довольно аморфно. Иногда понятия прикладной и компьютерной лингвистики считаются синонимическими, в некоторых ситуациях прикладной считается переводческая деятельность. Однако современный объем понятия «прикладная лингвистика» значительно расширился.

Во-первых, следует заметить, что **современное языкознание** можно подразделить:

- на **теоретическое языкознание**, которое изучает язык как систему, языковые единицы и отношения между ними, правила их сочетания, грамматические, лексикосемантические категории и т. п.;

- **практическое языкознание**, которое изучает конкретные языки с целью их использования как средства общения;

- **прикладная лингвистика** (прикладное языкознание), которая занимается разработкой и прикладыванием лингвистических данных и знаний к практическим потребностям человеческого общества.

Во-вторых, под понятием «прикладная лингвистика» понимают такое направление языковедческой науки, которое разрабатывает и осуществляет практическое лингвистическое обеспечение для разнообразных сфер производства, науки, культуры и др. Таким образом, попробуем определить современную **прикладную лингвистику** как совокупность многих языковедческих наук, данные которых *используют* различные отрасли человеческой деятельности.

**Предмет исследований прикладной лингвистики** лежит на границе языка и различных отраслей производства, науки, техники, культуры, которые пользуются лингвистическими данными и знаниями в своей деятельности. **Основными направлениями прикладной лингвистики** сегодня считаются: 1) *социолингвистика* 2) *психолингвистика* 3) *коммуникативная лингвистика* 4) *когнитивная лингвистика* 5) *антропологическая лингвистика* 6) *лингвокультурология* 7) *структурная и математическая лингвистика*: 8) *компьютерная лингвистика*: 9) *терминоведение и терминография лексикография* 11) *преподавание языков* 12) *переводоведение* 13) *языковая кодификация*: 14) *теория письма*: 15) *обработка текстовой информации* 16) *интерлингвистика* [16].

Особо следует отметить одно из главных направлений прикладной лингвистики – **лексикографию**. Это наука, искусство и практика создания, изучения и использования словарей. Лексикография систематизирует и вбирает в себя всё человеческое знание. Как учебная дисциплина наука о словарях необходима не только филологам, но и специалистам других отраслей знаний. Каждый человек должен научиться ориентироваться в море информации, которая, как правило, собрана и определённым образом организована в словарных произведениях. Математик, химик, технический или гуманитарный специалисты обязаны знать, где и какую информацию они могут найти, а эти сведения может предоставить, прежде всего, такая база энциклопедических и лингвистических данных как словарь. **Главная цель специальности «Прикладная лингвистика»** – сформировать междисциплинарного специалиста на грани наук – языкознания и других информационных, технических, производственных отраслей человеческой деятельности. Определённое Министерством образования и науки Украины направление подготовки прикладных лингвистов – «Филология» – подчёркивает и требует от технических вузов направленности на гуманитарную составляющую технического образования. **Будущее прикладной лингвистики** видится в гармонизации всех перечисленных направлений и в подготовке широко образованных специалистов по соответствующим лингвистическим и научно-техническим дисциплинам. Разработка и использование новых информационных технологий также невозможны сегодня без учёта интеллектуальных компонентов, без обеспечения их системами, работающими с естественными языками. Это обуславливает исследования механизмов естественного языка, что, в свою очередь, требует разработки современных математических методов формального описания текстовой информации. Все народнохозяйственные отрасли, связанные с информатикой и компьютерной техникой, требуют лингвистического обеспечения информационных систем, а

государство, со своей стороны, – наличие специалистов (прикладных лингвистов), которые владеют знаниями современных информационных технологий и высокой языковедческой квалификацией.

*(after В. В. Дубичинский «Основные направления прикладной лингвистики в учебном процессе», 2015)*

## CHAPTER THREE

### SOCIOLINGUISTICS

#### *PART ONE: THEORETICAL ASPECTS*

#### **WHAT IS SOCIOLINGUISTICS?**

The term sociolinguistics is used generally for the study of the relationship between language and society. This is a broad area of investigation that developed through the interaction of linguistics with a number of other academic disciplines. It has strong connections with anthropology through the study of language and culture, and with sociology through the investigation of the role language plays in the organization of social groups and institutions. It is also tied to social psychology, particularly with regard to how attitudes and perceptions are expressed and how in-group and out-group behaviours are identified. We use all these connections when we try to analyze language from a social perspective.

Dealing, as it does, with language use in social contexts, research in the area of sociolinguistics concerns itself primarily with how language is actually used by speakers: how it varies, how it changes, how meaning is signalled and interpreted in social interaction. As such, as well as allowing a better understanding of the structure of language and of the structure of society, sociolinguistic findings also have immediate and significant applied value. Surveys which document the facts of linguistic variation over geographical space, and studies which describe structured variation in the speech of a socially stratified sample of speakers provide much-needed knowledge and points of reference for all manner of people who are responsible for taking language-related decisions in the real world.

By providing a level of understanding of how language is used to signal who we are and how we fit into the world, sociolinguistic research is immediately relevant to questions involving language users in real world contexts. Indeed, it could be argued that sociolinguists have a particular responsibility to take an ethically involved position and to use the knowledge they gain to influence the direction of government language policies, educational practices and so on (see, for example, Wolfram 1998).

Variation in language use, which is inherent and ubiquitous, is centrally important in sociolinguistics. The structured variability in language, which is systematic and socially conditioned, is not dismissed as free or random, nor (being difficult to model elegantly) of little consequence to mainstream linguistic theory. Analysis of this structured variation, and of the linguistic and social constraints on it, allow us to better understand how and why language changes. And knowledge of how and why language varies across time, space, place, topic, audience, style and so on is of direct benefit to those who make language-related decisions.

Studying linguistics we may focus on the fact that not everyone in a single geographical area speaks in the same way in every situation using the same language. We recognize that certain uses of language are more likely to be found in the speech of some individuals in society and not others. We are also aware of the fact that people who live in the same region, but who differ in terms of education and economic status, often speak in quite different ways. Indeed, these differences may be used, implicitly or explicitly, as indications of membership in different social groups or speech communities.

A speech community is a group of people who share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language. The study of the linguistic features that have social relevance for participants in those speech communities is called “sociolinguistics”.

Whereas the traditional study of regional dialects tended to concentrate on the speech of people in rural areas, the study of social dialects (sociolect) has been mainly concerned with speakers in towns and cities. In the social study of dialect, it is social class that is mainly used to define groups of speakers as having some thing in common (middle class, working class, working class speech, upper middle class speech, etc). As in all dialect studies, only certain features of language use are treated as relevant in the analysis of social dialects. These features are pronunciations, words or structures that are regularly used in one form by one class speakers and in another form by another class speakers. The examples of language use that might be

characteristic of a social dialect, we treat class as the social variable and the pronunciation or word as the linguistic variable.

Although the unique circumstances of every life result in each of us having an individual way of speaking, a personal dialect or idiolect, we generally tend to sound like others with whom we share similar educational backgrounds and/or occupations. A social marker is the feature occurring frequently in your speech (or not) and marking you as a member of a particular social group, whether you realize it or not.

Speech style is considered as a social feature of language use. The most basic distinction in speech style is between formal uses and informal uses. A change from one to the other by an individual is called style-shifting. When a speech style is used to emphasize social distance between speakers, the process is called divergence. We can make our speech style diverge from another's by using forms that are distinctly different.

### **SOCIOLINGUISTICS: LANGUAGE AND GENDER**

It is seldom the case that class is the only sociological factor involved in language variation. There is a strong case for considering gender to be an equally significant (or more significant) factor. *In Fischer's study in New England, girls were found to use more of the standard variant (-ing) than boys.*

Although the biological distinction ("male, female") underlies the social distinctions ("father, mother"), there is a great deal about the social roles of individuals as men or women that is unrelated to biology. It is in the sense of social gender, through the process of learning how to become a "boy" or a "girl," that we inherit a gendered culture. Becoming a social gender also involves becoming familiar with gendered language use.

In Sidamo, spoken in Ethiopia, there are some words used only by men and some used only by women, so that the translation of "milk" would be *ado* by a man, but *gurda* by a woman. Many Native American languages, such as Gros Ventre (in Montana) and Koasati (in Louisiana), are reported to have had different versions used by men and women. In Japanese, when referring to themselves ("I"), men have

traditionally used *boku* and women *watashi* or *atashi*. In Portuguese, saying “thank you” is *obrigado* if you’re a man and *obrigada* if you’re a woman.

There are other examples, used to talk about men and women, which seem to imply that the words for men are “normal” and the words for women are “special additions.” Pairs such as hero – heroine or actor– actress illustrate the derivation of terms for the woman’s role from the man’s. Marking this type of difference through gendered words has decreased in contemporary English: firemen and policemen have become fire-fighters and police officers, but there is still a strong tendency to treat forms for the man (his) as the normal means of reference when speaking generally: *Each student is required to buy his own dictionary*. However, alternatives that include both genders (his or her), or avoid gendered usage (their) are becoming more common. Other terms, such as career woman and working mother (rarely “career man” or “working father”) continue the pattern of special terms for women, not men .

Yet, within each social class, there is substantial variation according to gender. Generally speaking, whenever there is a higher- versus lower-prestige variable (e.g. talking/talkin’ or I saw it/I seen it ), women are more likely to use the higher-prestige forms.

In general, men have longer vocal tracts, larger larynxes and thicker vocal folds than women. The result is that men typically speak in a lower pitch range (80 –200 Herz) than women (120– 400 Herz). The term pitch is used to describe the effect of vibration in the vocal folds, with slower vibration making voices sound lower and rapid vibration making voices sound higher. Although “normal speaking” takes place with substantial overlap in the pitch ranges of men and women, there is a tendency to exaggerate the differences in many contexts in order to sound more “like a man” or more “like a woman.”

Among women speaking contemporary American English, there is also generally more use of pitch movement, that is, more rising and falling intonation. The use of rising intonation (↑) at the end of statements (*It happened near San Diego ↑ ,in southern California ↑*), the more frequent use of hedges ( sort of , kind of ) and tag questions (It’s kind of cold in here, isn’t it? ) have all been identified as characteristic



of women's speech. These features of women's speech all seem to be ways of inviting agreement with an idea rather than asserting it. Men tend to use more assertive forms and "strong" language (*It's too damn cold in here!*). Other researchers have pointed to a preference among women, in same-gender groups, for indirect speech acts (Could I see that photo?) rather than the direct speech acts (Gimme that photo) heard more often from men in same-gender groups.

It is important to pay attention to the concept of "same-gender" talk in describing features in the speech of men and women because much of our socialization takes place in such groups. By the time we are three years old, we have established a preference for talking to same-gender others. By the age of five, boys are actively excluding girls from their activities and commenting negatively on other boys who associate with girls. Throughout childhood, boys socialize in larger groups, often in competitive activities, establishing and maintaining hierarchical relationships (I'm Spiderman and you have to follow me). Girls socialize in smaller groups, more often in cooperative activities, establishing reciprocal relationships and exchanging roles (You can be the doctor now and I'll be ill). In many societies, this same-gender socialization is reinforced through separate educational experiences, creating young men and women who may interact with each other only rarely outside family settings. Not surprisingly, there are differences in the way each gender approaches interaction with the other.

## **LANGUAGE CHOICE IN BILINGUAL COMMUNITIES**

Many studies of language use in bilingual communities have been concerned with the habitual language choices made by speakers.

The term 'habitual' is important. In many cases, speakers could, in principle, use any of their languages in interaction with others, but in practice certain languages tend to be associated with certain contexts (with certain settings, topics, groups of interlocutors, and so on).

In an early paper on language variation in bilingual settings, Joshua Fishman argued that, in cases of stable bilingualism, "Proper" usage dictates that only one of

the theoretically coavailable languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics' (Fishman 1972).

'Proper' usage seems to refer to the usage that would be expected in particular contexts.

While some aspects of Fishman's claims have been criticised (for instance, the association between just one language and one domain does not hold in some communities), several researchers have, like Fishman, been concerned to establish patterns of language use at a general (societal or community) level. Such research has often relied on large-scale surveys investigating speakers' reports of their language use.

Examples of domains could include the family, education, employment, friendship, government administration.

Evidence from urban communities in Africa suggests that patterns of language choice vary according to speakers' social backgrounds and the types of interaction in which they engage.

Most urban Kenyans use their mother tongues at home or with others in the community from their own ethnic group.

The mother tongue is important as a means of maintaining ethnic identity and in securing certain material advantages – for example, help from other members of the group in obtaining employment or other benefits.

People at the top of the socioeconomic scale also use some English at home, particularly with their children to help them to do better at school. In Nairobi, speakers sometimes switch between their mother tongue, Swahili and English. This is particularly prevalent among children and young people, and a slang variety called Sheng has grown up in certain areas – a mix between Swahili and English.

At work, speakers may use their mother tongue with people from the same ethnic group, or Swahili with people from other groups.

English is used particularly in white-collar occupations. It may be used when communicating with superiors as an indicator of education and authority.

Relationships between languages in bilingual communities may be relatively stable, but they may also change. A variety of social changes (migration, invasion and conquest, industrialisation) have been associated with a process termed language shift, in which the functions carried out by one language are taken over by another.

Sometimes this shift threatens the viability of a language, and may even result in language death, as has been the case for some American Indian languages and some Aboriginal languages in Australia.



**?** Answer the questions and comment on the following:

1. What does the term “sociolinguistics” mean”?
2. How are the structure of language and the structure of society interrelated?
3. What questions are relevant in sociolinguistic studies?
4. What is speech community?
5. What is sociolect? How are the terms “sociolect”, “LSP”, “sublanguage” interconnected?
6. What are sociable variable and linguistic variable?
7. What is idiolect?
8. What is social marker?
9. What are speech style, style shifting and divergence?
10. Explain gender as a significant factor for language variation study.
11. What are the relationships between languages in bilingual communities?



## ***PART TWO: PRACTICAL TASKS***

**Task One.** *Analyse the following:*

1) How does “micro-sociolinguistics” differ from “macro-sociolinguistics”?

*Key words and phrases:*

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2) In the study of social dialects, what is “the observer’s paradox” and how can it be overcome?

*Key words and phrases:*

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3) What is the difference between style-shifting and code-switching?

*Key words and phrases:*

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4) What is the origin of the term “Ebonics” and how has its meaning changed?

*Key words and phrases:*

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*(after V. Evans and M.Green, Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction, 2006)*

**Task Two.** *Do the following:*

1) Variation in language use according to social status is evident in those languages that have a system of honorifics. What are honorifics and in which languages are they most commonly used? Using what you discover about honorifics, try to decide which speaker (A or B, C or D) in the following dialogues has superior status within the business organization in which they both work:

A: *Konban nomi ni ikoo ka* (tonight drink to go question)

B: *Ee, iki-masyoo* (yes, go-honorific)

C: *Konban nomi ni iki-masyoo ka* (tonight drink to go-honorific question)

D: *Un, ikoo* (yes, let's go)

*Key words and phrases:*

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2) According to Fought (2003), Chicano English is spoken in the southwestern region of the USA (from Texas to California), mainly by individuals of Mexican American heritage. Consider the following statements about Chicano English and try to decide whether you agree or disagree with them, providing a reason in each case for your decision.

1 Chicano English is a dialect of American English.

2 Chicano English is another term for “Spanglish.”

3 Chicano English is simply ungrammatical or “broken” English, as exemplified by sentences such as Everybody knew the Cowboys was gonna win again and She don't know Brenda.

4 Chicano English is the second language learner's English of people from countries where Spanish is spoken.

5 There are no native speakers of Chicano English.

*Key words and phrases:*

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(after V. Evans and M.Green, *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*, 2006)

**Task Three.** *Discuss the following:*

I According to Brown and Attardo (2005): If children move to an area before the age of nine, they are able to “pick up” the local dialect, which their parents do not. Do you think this statement is true of both regional dialect and social dialect? When and how do you think people develop their social dialects? (For background reading, see chapter 6 of Brown and Attardo, 2005.)

*Key words and phrases:*

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II From a linguistic point of view, there are no good or bad varieties of a language. However, there is a social process called “language subordination” whereby some varieties are treated as having less value than others. Can you describe how this process works in any social situation you are familiar with? (For background reading, see Lippi-Green, 1997.)

*Key words and phrases:*

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